Active stakeholder perceptions of policy transfer between UNESCO and national governments: The case of the historic inner city of Paramaribo, Suriname.

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Abstract

Supra-national organizations play an increasing role in contemporary policymaking through policy transfer. In general, policy transfer research focuses on economic organizations such as the IMF or World Bank, but policy transfer also occurs in heritage management with UNESCO and its heritage management guidelines. The objective of this master thesis project is to explore how policy transfer from UNESCO to national governments is perceived by the different stakeholders involved with the management of World Heritage sites. To achieve this research objective, a case study approach is used with the qualitative research methodology of in-depth interviews with active stakeholders. The selected case study is the historic inner city of Paramaribo, Suriname, a colonial heritage area that was threatened to be placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger in 2013 if heritage management did not improve. The Emergency Action Plan that was developed in response to this threat can be seen as a form of policy transfer between UNESCO and a national government. In relation to the research objective, the main research question, therefore, was how the active stakeholders in Suriname perceive the influence of UNESCO on the management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo.

After a stakeholder analysis that identified heritage organizations, the urban planning department, the tourist industry and interest groups as the relevant active stakeholders, in-depth interviews were conducted in Paramaribo between February 4, 2015 and April 6, 2015. The verbatim transcripts of these interviews were analyzed with a variable-oriented and case-oriented cross-case analysis using a deductive and inductive coding scheme. This analysis resulted in the research finding that the active stakeholders perceive the role of UNESCO as a needed watchdog to improve the Surinamese heritage management and, consequently, ensure the preservation of the historic inner city of Paramaribo. The active stakeholders identified eleven reasons why UNESCO threatened to place the historic inner city of Paramaribo on the List of World Heritage in Danger, most of which lead back to the functioning of the government, including an immature planning system. The stakeholders also identified the existence of heritage dissonance and no link between the tourist industry and heritage preservation. Only a minority of the active stakeholders expressed pride of being a World Heritage site, but heritage management was seen as important. The UNESCO guidelines are seen as a form of obligated policy transfer, because Suriname voluntarily asked to be inscribed on the List of World Heritage. Even though several stakeholders indicate that they perceive the management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo as a national affair, none of the stakeholders indicated to perceive the role of UNESCO as external interference or western imperialism. However, the stakeholders did indicate that there is a group within Surinamese society that sees the role of UNESCO as interfering in the affairs of a sovereign nation.

Keywords: *Policy transfer, UNESCO, Heritage planning, World Heritage, Paramaribo*

Acknowledgements

Acronyms

HUL	Historic Urban Landscape
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
MINOV	Ministry of Education and Community Development
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
OW	Ministry of Public Works
PWHSMP	Paramaribo World Heritage Site Management Plan
RGB	Ministry of Spatial Planning, Land and Forestry
SGES	Suriname Urban Heritage Foundation
SHP	Urban Renewal Paramaribo
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHS	World Heritage Status

Translations

Bestemmingsplan	Local land-use plan
Bouwcommissie	Building committee
Commissie Monumentenzorg	Monuments committee
Ministerie van Natuurlijke Hulpbronnen	Ministry of Natural Resources
Ministerie van Onderwijs en Volksontwikkeling	Ministry of Education and Community Development
Ministerie van Openbare Werken	Ministry of Public Works
Ministerie van Ruimtelijke Ordening, Grond- en Bosbeheer	Ministry of Spatial Planning, Land and Forestry
Monumentenwet	Monuments Act
Noodplan	Emergency Action Plan
Planwet	Planning Act
Speciale Beheersgebieden	Special Governmental Area
Staatsbesluit	Executive order
Stedenbouwkundige Wet	Urban Development Act
Stichting Gebouw Erfgoed Suriname	Suriname Urban Heritage Foundation
Stichting Stadsherstel Paramaribo	Urban Renewal Paramaribo
Structuurplan	Structure plan
Verkavelingsplan	Allotment pan

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1 Introduction

A key feature of contemporary policymaking is the search beyond temporal and national borders for examples to successfully address societal issues (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2012; Randma-Liiv & Kruusenberg, 2012). The growing importance of this process of policy transfer is caused by an increase in accessibility of governmental policies (e.g. through the internet) and globalizing forces in the political world (e.g. supra-national organizations such as the World Bank and the European Commission) (Evans, 2009; Randma-Liiv & Kruusenberg, 2012).

An example of a supra-national organization that engages in policy transfer is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), a specialized organization of the United Nations. UNESCO's objective is "the building of peace, the eradication of poverty, sustainable development and intercultural dialogue through education, the sciences, culture, communication and information" (UNESCO, 2015c). Part of this objective is the preservation of cultural and natural heritage through the creation of a List of World Heritage and UNESCO's devotion to help protect the heritage sites on this list (UNESCO, 2015a) by providing operational heritage management guidelines (UNESCO, 2012) and a List of World Heritage in Danger to "encourage corrective action" when the characteristics of a World Heritage site are threatened to be lost (UNESCO, 2015d).

In May 2015, UNESCO's World Heritage list consisted of 1007 heritage sites, including 779 cultural heritage sites, 197 natural heritage sites, and 31 mixed heritage sites (UNESCO, 2015e), almost half of which can be found in Europe and North America (479 heritage sites). The latter statistic is one of the reasons why criticizers of UNESCO's World Heritage list argue that the organization is imposing Western values upon the world, resulting in a new form of imperialism (Hahn, 2011). In addition, many World Heritage sites in former colonial countries are strongly connected to their colonial history or natural heritage rather than their local non-Western culture. In total, there are 57 colonial World Heritage sites, most of which are located in Central America, the Caribbean and South America. In general, the management of heritage sites is already complex as current generations claim ownership of remnants of the past, while these remnants are also seen through a form of otherness as they stem from a different time and/or culture. Colonial heritage increases the complexity of a heritage site as it is often perceived as dissonant heritage or it is disconnected from the cultural identity of these societies. In other words, colonial heritage adds an otherness of culture to the already complex otherness of time.

The role UNESCO plays in national heritage management can be seen as a form of policy transfer, because UNESCO provides heritage management guidelines to which heritage site managers need to adhere in order to receive and/or maintain the World Heritage status. However, policy transfer between UNESCO and national governments concerning heritage management of World Heritage sites remains under researched, just like colonial heritage planning does not receive much academic attention (Van Maanen & Ashworth, 2013). Research about colonial heritage usually focuses on the complex connection between colonial heritage and postcolonial identity (Jones & Shaw, 2006; Munasinghe, 2005; Yeoh, 2001) and the economic exploitation of colonial heritage sites (Teo & Huang, 1995). In addition, policy transfer research has focused predominantly on the process and content of economic policy transfer between developed countries (e.g. Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996, 2000; Rose, 1993). As a result, not only is policy transfer in developing countries under researched, the perceptions that national policy makers have about policy transfer from supra-national organizations to national policies also remains under researched.

With the expanding conceptualization of what heritage entails (e.g. the inclusion of intangible heritage and historic urban landscapes), the influence of UNESCO's heritage management guidelines is increasing, but also the List of World Heritage in Danger is increasing in influence. However, more research is required to understand the influence of these

developments. Consequently, the objective of this master thesis project is to address the aforementioned missing research aspects by exploring how policy transfer from UNESCO to national governments is perceived by the different stakeholders involved with the management of World Heritage sites. To achieve this research objective, a case study approach is used in which in-depth interviews form the main primary data source. The selected case study is the historic inner city of Paramaribo, Suriname, which has been a UNESCO World Heritage site since 2002 because of its colonial architecture (UNESCO, 2015b). On October 14, 2013, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) published its advisory report for UNESCO on the state of the historic inner city of Paramaribo. ICOMOS stated that many of the colonial wooden houses in Paramaribo were in a dilapidated state and several colonial buildings had already been replaced by buildings with modern architectural designs (ICOMOS, 2013). In addition, Paramaribo's main square had been renovated without consulting UNESCO (Boerboom, 2013). UNESCO feared that Paramaribo's inner city would lose its colonial heritage and threatened to inscribe the site on the List of World Heritage in Danger. In response, the Surinamese government developed an Emergency Action Plan that was approved on January 28, 2014 by Suriname's council of ministers. This Emergency Action Plan convinced UNESCO that inscription on the List of World Heritage in Danger was unnecessary (UNESCO, 2014).

The development of the Emergency Action Plan in response to ICOMOS' advisory report and UNESCO's statements may be seen as an example of policy transfer between UNESCO and national heritage policies of a post-colonial society. This leads to the following main research question of this master thesis project:

How do the different stakeholders that are involved with heritage management in Suriname perceive the influence of UNESCO on the management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo?

To answer this question, several subquestions have been developed:

1 How is Paramaribo's colonial World Heritage managed?
2 What are the perceived underlying reasons for UNESCO's threat to place the historic inner city of Paramaribo on the List of World Heritage in Danger?
3 To what extent do the active stakeholders view Paramaribo's colonial heritage as part of and/or contributing to Suriname's cultural identity?
4 To what extent do the active stakeholders perceive the World Heritage status as important and why?
5 To what extent do the active stakeholders perceive the role of UNESCO in the heritage planning of the historic inner city of Paramaribo as interference in Suriname's internal affairs?
6 To what extent do the different stakeholders perceive the role of UNESCO in the heritage planning of the historic inner city of Paramaribo as Western imperialism?

To answer these questions, the remainder of this master thesis is structured in five sections: theoretical framework, methodology, results, discussion and conclusion. The theoretical framework contains the conceptualization of three separate research fields: policy transfer, urban planning and cultural heritage. The latter conceptualizes both the link between heritage and identity and between heritage and tourism. The three separate research fields are synthesized at the end of the theoretical framework into policy transfer in heritage planning, followed by the conceptual model. The research design describes the methodology by discussing the research context, the study design (a combination of a case study approach and qualitative research approach), the data collection methods (policy document analysis and variable-oriented and case-oriented cross-case analysis), participant recruitment, data processing (verbatim transcripts and coding scheme), data analysis, and data quality and study

limitations. In the latter, the most important ethical issues are discussed. The results follow the structure of the subquestions, answering each subquestion in a separate section with the last two subquestions answered in the last section. Tables are used to indicate what each participant discussed and examples are used to illustrate their points. In the discussion, the results are connected with the theoretical framework. The conclusion answers the main question by synthesizing the results and discussion. It also discusses possible implications of the research findings and identifies aspects that require further research.

2 Theoretical Framework

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of this research, the theoretical framework is based on the three distinct conceptual frameworks of policy transfer, urban planning and heritage, followed by a synthesis of these three. To be able to analyze how policy makers and other stakeholders involved in heritage management perceive the role of UNESCO, the planning culture and institutional design need to be analyzed, because the context in which policy makers operate is essential for their views. Besides this planning context, the function of heritage in a post-colonial society is also essential, because the way heritage is valued and interpreted shapes the way heritage management is perceived.

2.1 Policy Transfer

Policy transfer is defined by Dolowitz and Marsh as "a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions, etc. in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and/or place" (1996, p. 344). Or, as Common states, policy transfer "is the conscious adoption of a public policy from another jurisdiction" (1999, p. 19). Researchers use different terms when addressing this adoption of public policies from another jurisdiction, including lesson-drawing (Rose, 1991), policy diffusion (Clark, 1985), policy convergence (Bennett, 1988; 1991), policy emulation (Howlett, 2000), policy learning (May, 1992), and social learning (Hall, 1993; Knoepfel & Kissling-Näf, 1988). Evans (2009) argues that policy transfer functions as an umbrella term for these different forms of policy transfer, even though each term has differences in scope. For example, policy diffusion focuses on the process of transferring policy programs from one place to another, which can lead to the spread of a particular policy (Clark, 1985), while policy transfer also takes the content of the policy programs and the actors involved into account (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996).

   Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) developed a framework to analyze the process of policy transfer based on the actors engaged in policy transfer, the reasons to engage in policy transfer, the content of policy transfer, and the degree of transfer (see Table 1). Identifying and understanding the answers to the questions in this framework (i.e. who, why, what and how) can help in making policy transfer successful.

Actors (who)	Reasons (why)	Content (what)	Degree (how)
Civil servants	Micro level influences	Ideas and attitudes	Copying
Politicians		Ideologies	
Policy entrepreneurs	Policy transfer network influences	Negative lessons	Emulation
Policy experts		Policy content	
Interest groups	State-centered forces	Policy goals	Hybridization
International organizations		Policy instruments	
Supra-national organizations	Global, international and/or transnational forces	Policy programs	Inspiration
Global financial and legal institutions			

Table 1: Framework of Policy Transfer. Source: Dolowitz and Marsh (1996; 2000).

2.1.1 Actors of policy transfer
Both governmental and non-governmental actors engage in policy transfer (Stone, 2000; 2004). In total, eight different types of actors who engage in policy transfer have been identified: civil servants (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996); politicians (Rose, 1993); policy entrepreneurs including think tanks (Rose, 1993; Stone, 2000); policy experts including academics and consultancy firms

(Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000); interest groups (Stone, 2004); international organizations including NGOs (Bennett, 1988; Stone, 2004); supra-national organizations (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996); and global financial and legal organizations (Stone, 2004). In other words, all actors that engage in policy making on different governmental levels can be involved in policy transfer.

2.1.2 Reasons for policy transfer

Besides different actors that engage in policy transfer, there are different reasons to engage in policy transfer. Evans (2009) identifies four underlying reasons why actors engage in policy transfer: micro level processes; policy transfer network influences; state-centered forces; and global, international and/or transnational forces. The latter include ideational discourses (e.g. Europeanization) (Padgett, 2003); global economic institutions (e.g. the IMF, the World Bank) (Dai, 2007; Stiglitz, 2002); international financial markets (Cerny, 1997); international inter-governmental organizations (e.g. the OECD) (Kiddal, 2003); international treaties (e.g. NAFTA) (Villarreal & Ferguson, 2015); and transnational and non-state organizations (Stone, 2000). When a World Heritage site is (threatened to be) placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger, the underlying reason for the resulting policy transfer between UNESCO and the responsible heritage management agency (e.g. a national government or heritage organization) occurs through transnational forces, being a combination of a transnational organization (UNESCO) and an international treaty (the ratification of the 1972 Convention concerning the protection of world cultural and natural heritage, which founded the World Heritage List).

An important aspect of the reason to engage in policy transfer is the level of voluntariness (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996), which ranges from voluntary to coercive policy transfer (Dolowitz, 2000). Lesson-drawing addresses the circumstances that can lead to the transfer of policy programs from one place to another (Rose, 1991), but exclusively addresses this transfer of policies from a voluntary starting-point (Dolowitz, 2000). The inclusion of obligated and coerced starting-points has led to a continuum of the forms of policy transfer visualized in Figure 1 with voluntary and coercive policy transfer at its extreme ends (Dolowitz, 2000, 2003) and obligatory policy transfer in between this voluntary-coercive dichotomy (Evans, 2009).

Figure 1: Continuum of Policy Transfer Forms. Based on Dolowitz, 2000; 2003; Evans, 2009.

Voluntary	Obligatory	Coercive
Lesson-drawing	Negotiated	Direct Imposition

Voluntary policy transfer usually occurs to find solutions for public policy problems (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996) or remedies for policy failures (Schimmelfennig & Sedelmeier, 2005). However, voluntary policy transfer can also occur to gain legitimacy of chosen policies (Evans, 2009), political support (Stone, 1999) and/or reputation. Obligated (or negotiated) policy transfer occurs when governments are obligated to change policies due to negotiated decisions by supra-national organizations of which they are a member (e.g. the European Union) or to adhere to international treaties they signed (e.g. the Kyoto Protocol). Dolowitz and Marsh explain that supra-national organizations can "force governments into policy transfer, because they hold a trump card" (1996, p. 348), for example economic aid (Randma-Liiv & Kruusenberg, 2012), accession to a supra-national organization (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000) or inscription on the World Heritage list. However, Wallis and Goldfish (2013) argue that there is no evidence that incentives and sanctions provided by supra-national organizations actually results in policy diffusion through policy transfer. Direct coercive policy transfer occurs when one government forces another government to implement policy changes against their will (Evans, 2009), for example when a colonial power forced a colony to implement particular policies. This type of

policy transfer occurs predominantly in developing countries (Randma-Liiv & Kruusenberg, 2012).

2.1.3 Content and degree of policy transfer
Besides the underlying reasons that lead to policy transfer, there are differences in what is transferred and how it is transferred. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) identify seven categories of what is transferred: ideas and attitudes; ideologies; negative lessons; policy goals; policy content; policy instruments; and policy programs. These seven categories are adopted in different degrees (see Table 2). The differences in what is transferred (i.e. categories of policy transfer) and how this is transferred (i.e. degree of policy transfer) influence the success of steering societal processes in the desired direction, because these societal processes are context dependent. This means that the appropriate category and degree of policy transfer differ between cases. Developing countries often copy policy programs and instruments from developed countries or supra-national organizations (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; Randma-Liiv & Kruusenberg, 2012). This direct implementation often results in uninformed, incomplete and/or inappropriate policy transfer (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000), because economic, political, legal and administrative differences are not taken into account (Minogue, 2002). In other words, direct implementation often leads to policy failure, because the context is not taken into account in the transfer. This policy failure often leads to frustration amongst the policy donor (e.g. the supra-national organization) (Minogue, 2002), which can lead to withdrawing the trump card that formed the main reason behind engaging in policy transfer.

Degree of transfer	Definition
Copying	Complete or direct implementation
Emulation	Transferring the ideas behind a policy
Hybridization	Combining several policies to create a new policy
Inspiration	Using an example to create new ideas

Table 2: Degrees of policy transfer. Source: Common, 1999; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000; Evans, 2009.

2.2 Urban Planning
One of the areas in which policy transfer occurs is urban planning. De Roo and Voogd (2007) argue that every planning issue is situated on a continuum with technical rationality and communicative rationality at its extreme ends (see Figure 2). The complexity of a planning issue determines where it is placed on this continuum of rationality and whether a government (i.e. top down) or governance (i.e. bottom up) approach should be followed. The link between complexity and the rationality behind the planning approach is based on the ontological perspective of relativism in which reality is context dependent and co-constructed. As reality is socially constructed, public support for planning policies are determined by the degree of agreement about the validity of the socially constructed reality that lies at its foundation. Connected with complexity, this translates into simple planning issues having a broadly based agreed upon reality and complex planning issues having no (or weak) agreed upon reality. As a result, simple planning issues can be solved through a government approach, while complex planning issues require stakeholder negotiations towards consensus building, which means a governance approach is most suited. Cash et al. (2006) define governance as the cross-level and cross-scale negotiations between all stakeholders to reach an improved spatial quality. In addition, Moulaert et al. (2013) state that relations between actors and the articulation between the dimensions of spatial quality are influenced by time-space dynamics, which means that the perception of spatial quality changes with each interaction between the actors involved. In other words, what is perceived as the desired planning outcome is dynamic over time and changes after each round of negotiations. This is why stakeholder negotiations should be implemented in all stages of the decision making process of complex planning issues.

Figure 2: Rationality continuum of urban planning. Based on De Roo & Voogd, 2007.

Technical rationality   Communicative rationality
Simple issue   Complex issue
Government approach   Governance approach
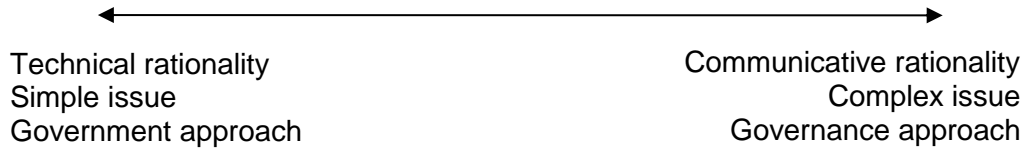
While the rationality continuum can be applied to planning practices in every society, each society has its own urban planning structure. In other words, national planning policies and procedures, including heritage planning, are based on a particular planning culture. Planning culture is defined by Sanyal as "the collective ethos and dominant attitudes of planners regarding the appropriate role of the state, market forces, and civil society in influencing social outcomes" (2005, p. xxi). In general, four broad planning traditions have been identified (see Table 3) (European Commission, 1997).

Regional economic planning approach	Spatial planning concerns the pursuit of wide social and economic objectives, especially in relation to disparities in wealth, employment and social conditions between different regions of the country's territory. Where this approach to planning is dominant, central government inevitably plays an important role in managing development pressures across the country, and in undertaking public sector investment.
Comprehensive integrated approach	Spatial planning is conducted through a very systematic and formal hierarchy of plans from national to local level, which coordinate public sector activity across different sectors, but focus more specifically on spatial co-ordination than economic development. This tradition is necessarily associated with mature systems. It requires responsive and sophisticated planning institutions and mechanisms and considerable political commitment to the planning process. Public sector investment in bringing about the realization of the planning framework is also the norm.
Land use management approach	Spatial planning is closely associated with the narrower task of controlling the change of use of land at the strategic and local levels. In this situation, local authorities undertake most of the planning work, but the central administration is also able to exercise a degree of power, either through supervising the system or by setting central policy objectives.
Urbanism tradition	Spatial planning has a strong architectural flavor and concern with urban design, townscape and building control. In these cases, regulation is undertaken through rigid zoning and codes. There is a multiplicity of laws and regulations but the systems are not so well established, and do not command great political priority or general public support. As a result, they are less effective in controlling development.

Table 3: Four main planning traditions. Source: European Commission, 1997.

Seven criteria are used to differentiate between these four planning traditions (European Commission, 1997; Nadin & Stead, 2012) (see Table 4). The European Commission (1997) defines these criteria as: 1) the legal framework: the nature of the spatial planning law (e.g. the extent to which policies are binding); 2) scope: the range of policy topics that the planning system influences (e.g. social, economic, environmental); 3 the focus of national and regional level planning with regard to governmental levels; 4) the governmental level (i.e. central, regional, local) that controls planning (i.e. locus of power); 5) public/private involvement in the planning process (e.g. funding); maturity based on public acceptance of the importance of and need for urban planning legislation and the constant development of up-to-date policy instruments and programs; and 7) distance between objectives and outcomes.

	Legal family	Scope	National and regional planning	Locus of power	Public or private	Maturity	Distance
Regional economic planning	Mixed	Wide	National planning	Center and local	Public	Mature	Mixed
Comprehensive integrated	Mixed	Wide	Multi-level	Mixed	Public	Mature	Narrow
Land-use management	Discretion	Narrow	Local	Center	Mixed	Mature	Narrow
Urbanism	Code	Narrow	Local	Local	Mixed	Immature	Wide

Table 4: The characteristics of the four planning traditions. Source: Nadin & Stead, 2012.

In addition to the importance of a society's planning culture, its institutional design also plays a crucial role in how urban planning issues are dealt with. Alexander defines institutional design as "designing institutions: devising and realizing rules, procedures and organizational structures to enable and constrain behavior and action and conform them to held values, achieve desired objectives or execute given tasks" (2012, p. 164). He identifies three levels within institutional design: the macro level (often the national level), the meso level (focused on inter-organizational networks) and the micro level (focused on intra-organizational networks). The importance of each of these levels is reflected in the planning culture of a society. For example, urban planning in the land use management approach focuses predominantly on the micro level, while the comprehensive integrated approach focuses more on the macro level.

Policy transfer can strongly contribute to a more thorough understanding of spatial planning, because it can improve planning practice "by exposing officials and researchers to alternative understandings, approaches and methods" (Nadin & Stead, 2013, p. 1542). In addition, institutional design is essential for successful policy transfer when implementation of the borrowed policy or plan requires new organization or reorganization, legislation, regulation or new routines and procedures (Alexander, 2012). Differences in institutional design can, therefore, make policy transfer more complex, but this does not mean that policy transfer between different planning cultures and/or institutional designs cannot be successful. In sum, it is essential to address differences in planning culture, institutional design and the desired planning outcomes when conducting policy transfer in urban planning, especially considering the differences in agreed upon reality.

2.3 Heritage
An important aspect of urban planning is how to deal with the existing urban fabric. Heritage conservation is an essential element in this as it focuses on what needs to be preserved and what can be replaced or adjusted. The valuation of the existing urban fabric as heritage is often done by connecting buildings and/or urban areas to historic narratives. Heritage and history are strongly connected, but they are not the same (Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Van Maanen, 2011). Ashworth elaborates on this difference between heritage and history by stating that "history is the remembered record of the past, [while] heritage is a contemporary commodity purposefully created to satisfy contemporary consumption" (1994, p. 16). This differentiation between heritage and history is included by Ashworth and Tunbridge (1999) in their definition of heritage. They define heritage as "the contemporary usage of a past [which] is consciously shaped from history, its survivals and memories, in response to current needs for it" (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1999, p. 105). In other words, meaning is ascribes to a heritage site or object in the present (Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996), which indicates that heritage not about historic accuracy or intrinsic authenticity (Graham et al., 2000), but about the extrinsic narrative attached to it.

The aforementioned conceptualization of heritage makes it possible to regard heritage as the commodification of history by means of selecting resources from the past (e.g. monuments, artifacts, activities or sites) and adding a particular value to these resources through interpretation, creating a heritage product. Graham et al. (2000) argue that the interpretation of the meaning of heritage in the present occurs through representation. Hall states that "it is by our use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them – how we represent them – that we give them a meaning" (1997, p. 3). This meaning may provide a sense of identity and a sense of belonging. The interpretation and valuation of a heritage site make its meaning and value subjective and dynamic (Timothy & Boyd, 2003), which means that there are multiple readings of the meaning and value of a historic site between different groups. In other words, there are different meanings and valuations of a heritage site depending on the background (e.g. cultural, religious, social) of the consumers and producers of heritage.

2.3.1 Heritage and Identity
Although the meaning of heritage is extrinsic rather than intrinsic (Graham et al., 2000) and although heritage is conceptualized as selective, subjective, and dynamic (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1999; Timothy & Boyd, 2003), it is often not perceived this way by local communities, policy makers and the general public. Because heritage often provides a sense of belonging to a group through association to the narrative ascribed to a heritage site, Ashworth and Kuipers (2002) view heritage conservation as one of the main instruments for the creation and maintenance of identity, whether conceived in national, regional, local, ethnic or social group terms. In addition, Lowenthal (1985) identifies heritage as a way to validate or legitimate a cultural identity by constructing boundaries between who is included in or excluded from this cultural identity. Baumeister (1986) explains that cultural identity forms the foundation on which individual choices are made and relationships with others are formed. Douglas (1997) adds that these relationships constitute a sense of belonging to a group, which is not only the foundation for social interaction, coherence and consensus, but also for the development of an image of 'the other'. He defines 'the other' as "identities and groups with competing and often conflicting beliefs, values and aspirations" (Douglas, 1997, p. 152) and adds that recognition of 'the other' helps to reinforce self-identity.

This process of individual and collective identity formation through differentiation between the 'self' and the 'other' connects heritage studies with postcolonial theory (Harrison & Hughes, 2000). Postcolonial theory focuses on "unveiling, contesting and changing the way that colonialism structured societies and the ideologies associated with colonialism" (Harrison & Hughes, 2000, p. 237). As a theoretical approach, postcolonial theory emerged from the work of Fanon (1967) and Said (1978). Fanon (1967) argued that Western culture and wealth was built on the exploitation of non-Europeans. Said (1978) adds that the conceptualization of Western identity, culture and civilization by the West both created and was created by the Western conceptualization of the Orient, processes which he labeled as 'othering'. Colonial power and domination was based and justified on the conceptualization of the colonized by the colonizer as being the 'other' to the West (Harrison & Hughes, 2000). However, postcolonial theory goes beyond this colonizer-colonized dichotomy by adding subtleties and nuances in the creation of the colonial other, resulting in a form of hybridity (Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1995). Hall (1995) argues that even though both colonized and colonizer have used the process of 'othering' to create their own self-identity during the late twentieth century, there are also groups that fall in between these two seeming opposites, blurring the line between the two seeming opposites, because these people "belong to more than one world, speak more than one language, inhabit more than one identity, have more than one home [and] learned to negotiate and translate *between* cultures, and, … are irrevocably the product of several interlocking histories and cultures" (Hall, 1995, p. 273). The debates about identity formation and its implications are not just relevant for heritage policy makers in former colonized societies, because the issues raised by

postcolonialism have resulted in a rethinking of ownership and contestation of all heritage sites (Waterton, 2005).

Harrison and Hughes (2010) argue that the connection between heritage and collective identity formation is the strongest in societies with a clear dominant ethnic or social group. However, most postcolonial societies, both former colonizers and former colonized, are multi-ethnic and multi-cultural. Multi-ethnic and multi-cultural societies are often associated with differences in interpretation, including differences in the interpretation of heritage sites. The plurality of meaning ascribed to a particular heritage site can lead to heritage dissonance, which is defined by Ashworth et al. as "a condition that refers to the discordance or lack of agreement and consistency as to the meaning of heritage" (2007, p. 37). Hardy (1988) explains this more thoroughly by differentiating between the conservative and radical forces of heritage, with the first referring to supporting the dominant ideology by merging feelings of nostalgia with the meaning ascribed of heritage, and the latter referring to a narrative or meaning ascribed to heritage challenging the dominant ideology. When the radical force of heritage (e.g. the narrative of a minority ideology) becomes part of the dominant ideology, it starts to adopt the conservative force of heritage. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) add that heritage dissonance is intrinsic to the nature of heritage, because of its zero-sum characteristic in which the connection with one cultural identity automatically disconnects it from other cultural identities. Heritage dissonance can also occur because of the commodification of heritage sites that are sold to tourists with meanings that are different from the ones the local community attaches to them (Kong, 2001).

Whether colonial heritage is seen as dissonant heritage depends on the way the post-colonial states interpret the remnants of colonial times. Van Maanen defines colonial heritage in two interconnected ways, the first being the "expression of the interpretation of tangible resources i.e. buildings, sites, monuments and architecture that goes back to colonial times" and the second being the "feelings and experiences [that] serve as a reminder of experiences with negative connotations" (2011, p. 31). In other words, colonial heritage refers to the tangible resources dating from a colonial era (e.g. plantations) and to the political narrative associated with the colonial era (e.g. slavery). One of the problematic aspects of colonial heritage is that reinterpretation proves to be difficult. However, there are cases of colonial heritage that have been reinterpreted and are now an important part of the national identity of former colonies.

2.3.2 Heritage Tourism

Visiting cultural heritage sites, monuments and landscapes for touristic purposes is the fastest growing and one of the most popular component(s) of the tourism industry with an approximate one-third of all international tourism being related to heritage tourism (Salazar & Zhou, 2015). Consequently, Timothy calls heritage the "essence of tourism" (1997, p. 751) and Graham et al. describe heritage as the "most important single resource for international tourism" (2000, p. 20). Heritage tourists are usually highly educated with an above average income, travel predominantly in groups and spend more than average tourists (Salazar & Zhou, 2015). MacCannell (1976) argues that heritage tourism is motivated by the search for cultural, natural and ethnic authenticity in often exotic destinations. Visitor satisfaction in heritage tourism is to a large extent determined by perceptions of the authenticity of the tourist experience (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). The search for authenticity, combined with the often incapability of discerning the difference between reality and fabrication, resulted in staged authenticity in the tourism industry (MacCannell, 1976), and, subsequently, to the commodification of heritage (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). As indicated above, the meaning of heritage is ascribed to it in the present, which makes authenticity a social construction. Whether it is problematic that tourists search for an authentic experience in areas of which the meaning is socially constructed, depends on the definition by the individual tourist of what an authentic experience is. Timothy and Boyd (2003) indicate that

many tourists simply search for memorable experiences, which can be achieved with staged authenticity.

Heritage sites that are inscribed on the World Heritage list are often the centerpiece of heritage tourism as the most important destinations (Shackley, 1998). Even though the World Heritage list was never intended as a marketing device for the tourist industry (UNESCO, 1972), the World Heritage status now often acts as a mark of externally recognized top quality in tourism promotion (Harrison, 2010; Leask & Fyall, 2006), turning the List of World Heritage into a 'must see' tourist's to do list of the most authentic, unique and spectacular cultural and natural sites (Evans, 2004; Shackley, 1998). As a result, heritage and tourism are now perceived as being inextricably connected as the tourist industry can generate the funds needed for heritage conservation, while conservation strengthens the foundation on which the tourist industry is based (NWHO, 1999). National governments are keen on nominating sites for the World Heritage list, because of its perceived guarantee of economic gain through tourism (Pendlebury et al., 2009; Smith, 2002). However, Salazar & Zhou (2015) argue that this assumed inevitability between inscription on the World Heritage list and increasing tourism revenue is not only erroneous, but also shows a lack of awareness of the motivation behind the World Heritage list. According to Salazar (2012), this lack of awareness is often found in developing countries, where there is also often a lack of awareness about the value of cultural resources and the need to safeguard them. As a result, there are "significant economic, social, political, management, conservation, and interpretation differences between developed and developing countries in terms of heritage tourism" (Salazar & Zhou, 2015, p. 248).

Besides these differences, there are also often conflicts between local and global interests about heritage maintenance and tourism development, especially in the developing world (Hampton, 2005). Global heritage tourism is faced with an increased standardization as international and supra-national organizations develop policies and ethnic codes for sustainable tourism development (Salazar & Zhou, 2015). Sustainable tourism development is defined as "tourism which meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems" (MacIntyre, et al., 1993, p. 7). Yu et al. 2011 add that sustainable tourism aims at minimizing the negative impacts on the local community and natural environment while generating benefits for the local community. Realizing sustainable tourism requires planning strategies that have the support of the local stakeholders through a governance process (Parra, 2013).

Developing countries often struggle to meet the standards set by international and supra-national organizations to reach sustainable tourism development, because of the power struggle between the different stakeholders with often contrasting political and economic agendas (Salazar & Zhou, 2015). As a result, heritage tourism can have a negative impact on the local community, including overcrowding of public spaces, traffic and parking problems, increased noise and pollution levels, increased crime levels, decreased biodiversity and natural environment, rising costs of living, rising rents leading to gentrification and exclusion, decrease in social cohesion, friction between tourists and residents, and, most importantly, a loss of the overall way of life (Andereck et al., 2005, Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Deery et al., 2012; Haley et al., 2005; Timothy, 2011; Van der Borg et al., 1996). The costs of tourism often fall on the visited region or nation and not the tourism industry (Graham et al., 2000). Moreover, many heritage sites are surrounded by large parking areas and tourist related retail, which disconnects the heritage site from its surroundings and context, creating an island seemingly frozen in time. From this point of view, tourism can be seen as parasitic upon the host community.

2.4 Policy Transfer in Heritage Planning

Supra-national organizations, with UNESCO and ICOMOS as most influential, have produced 42 policy documents in the last 25 years for their signatory states that provide guidelines to protect cultural heritage (Getty Conservation Institute, 2015). However, the most influential policy document was created in 1972 during the *convention concerning the protection of world cultural and natural heritage* (henceforth the 1972 convention) organized by UNESCO and ICOMOS (UNESCO, 1972). To ensure the protection of heritage sites of 'outstanding universal value' (OUV), the 1972 convention announced the creation of the List of World Heritage and UNESCO's commitment to help protect the heritage sites on this list. By 2015, 187 out of the 191 UN member states and four non-UN members (the Cook Islands, the Holy See, the island of Niue and Palestine) had ratified the 1972 convention (UNESCO, 2015a), making it the most successful UN convention. This high ratification rate gives the 1972 convention an extensive legitimacy and helps assure its future (Van der Aa, 2005).

2.4.1 Policy transfer from UNESCO to national governments

To facilitate the implementation of the 1972 convention, UNESCO developed the *operational guidelines for the implementation of World Heritage Convention* (henceforth UNESCO guidelines). While national governments can use these UNESCO guidelines to create the mandatory Management Plan for their World Heritage sites, the UNESCO guidelines also provide the rules to which the signatories of the 1972 convention need to adhere. One of these rules states that:

> "When a property inscribed on the World Heritage List is threatened by serious and specific dangers, the [World Heritage] Committee considers placing it on the List of World Heritage in Danger. When the Outstanding Universal Value of the property which justified its inscription on the World Heritage List is destroyed, the Committee considers deleting the property from the World Heritage List" (UNESCO, 2012, p. 2).

In other words, in order to keep the World Heritage status, the OUV needs to be protected. Whether this is done successfully is based on the judgment of the World Heritage Committee, which is advised by ICOMOS and the World Conservation Union. In this process, the aforementioned selective, subjective and dynamic nature of the value of heritage sites is often ignored by UNESCO, as well as the possibility of heritage dissonance. In relation to the aforementioned conceptualization of policy transfer, the World Heritage status functions as a trump card to ensure the successful protection and management of a World Heritage site.

The UNESCO guidelines briefly discuss how they envision the protection and management of World Heritage sites by providing multiple requirements in the nomination format that national governments need to provide during the nomination process. One of the requirements is including "the list of the legislative, regulatory, contractual, planning, institutional and/or traditional measures most relevant to the protection of the [nominated] property and provide detailed analysis of the way in which this protection actually operates" (UNESCO, 2012, p. 33). Part of these measures is the creation of clear boundaries of the nominated property and adjacent buffer zones.

Moreover, a management system or plan needs to be developed, preferably through a governance approach, which includes the principles of sustainable development (UNESCO, 2012). These guidelines can be seen as policy transfer of policy instruments and programs. The existing differences in planning culture (described in Table 3) is acknowledged by the UNESCO guidelines with the statement:

> "An effective management system depends on the type, characteristics and needs of the nominated property and its cultural and natural context. Management systems may vary according to different cultural perspective, the resources available and other factors. They may incorporate traditional practices, existing urban or regional planning instruments, and other planning control mechanisms, both formal and informal" (UNESCO, 2012, p. 27).

This statement indicates that UNESCO does not proscribe a particular institutional way to organize the management of World Heritage sites. States can decide on the best way to manage their World Heritage sites as long as their OUV is protected in the eyes of UNESCO.

2.4.2 Development of UNESCO's vision

UNESCO's vision about the desired heritage management has seen significant changes after the 1972 convention as a result of several declarations and international meetings. *The Nara Document on Authenticity* (ICOMOS, 1994) added that urban areas need to develop and should not be frozen in time in an attempt to preserve their authenticity. This document was followed by the *Vienna Memorandum* (UNESCO, 2005) that focused on urban heritage areas by introducing the concept of the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL). The HUL approach discourages new architectural designs and other developments that have profound impact on historic areas by changing the OUV ascribed to it by UNESCO. On November 10, 2011, UNESCO adopted the HUL approach to operationalize the *Vienna Memorandum* by providing guidelines on how to manage urban heritage areas successfully. The goals of the HUL approach are to "increase the existing built environment, intangible heritage, cultural diversity, socio-economic and environmental factors along with local communities" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 5). These goals mark a shift in UNESCO's vision on how to manage heritage by moving from a conservation narrative to an urban development strategy in which social and economic development is integrated with heritage conservation. Moreover, the HUL approach created a new framework in the global heritage debate that could have profound effect on national heritage planning strategies.

The practical implications of the HUL approach are still unclear due to its recent introduction. However, the potential impact seems significant, especially for the development of urban areas and entire cities that are on UNESCO's World Heritage list. Pendlebury et al. (2009) argue that urban World Heritage area management (implying the management of a historic neighborhood) is more complex than site-based world heritage management (implying the management of one historic building or monument), because of the extent of the World Heritage site's boundaries and buffer zones, the large number of landowners and stakeholders, and conflicts between tourism development and planning for the local population. The HUL approach focuses on urban heritage areas rather than sites, leading to a higher complexity of heritage planning. This means that heritage planning shifts to the right on the rationality spectrum in Figure 2, and, consequently, to a governance approach with a focus on stakeholder negotiations. Van Maanen and Ashworth (2013) argue that local participation might be the key to successful heritage policies. However, the desires of local inhabitants of urban World Heritage areas are often marginalized in the process of gentrification or tourist development as indicated in the cases of Quebec City in Canada (Evans, 2002), the Katmandu Valley in Nepal (Owens, 2002), Angkor in Cambodia (Winter, 2004), and Mesoamerican World Heritage sites in Mexico (Evans, 2004). This marginalization of the desires of the local community often leads to a lower connection of the local community with the heritage site and, consequently, to low public support for heritage and tourism development.

2.5 Conceptual Model

The conceptualization of policy transfer, urban planning and cultural heritage resulted in the following conceptual model:

Figure 3: Conceptual Model
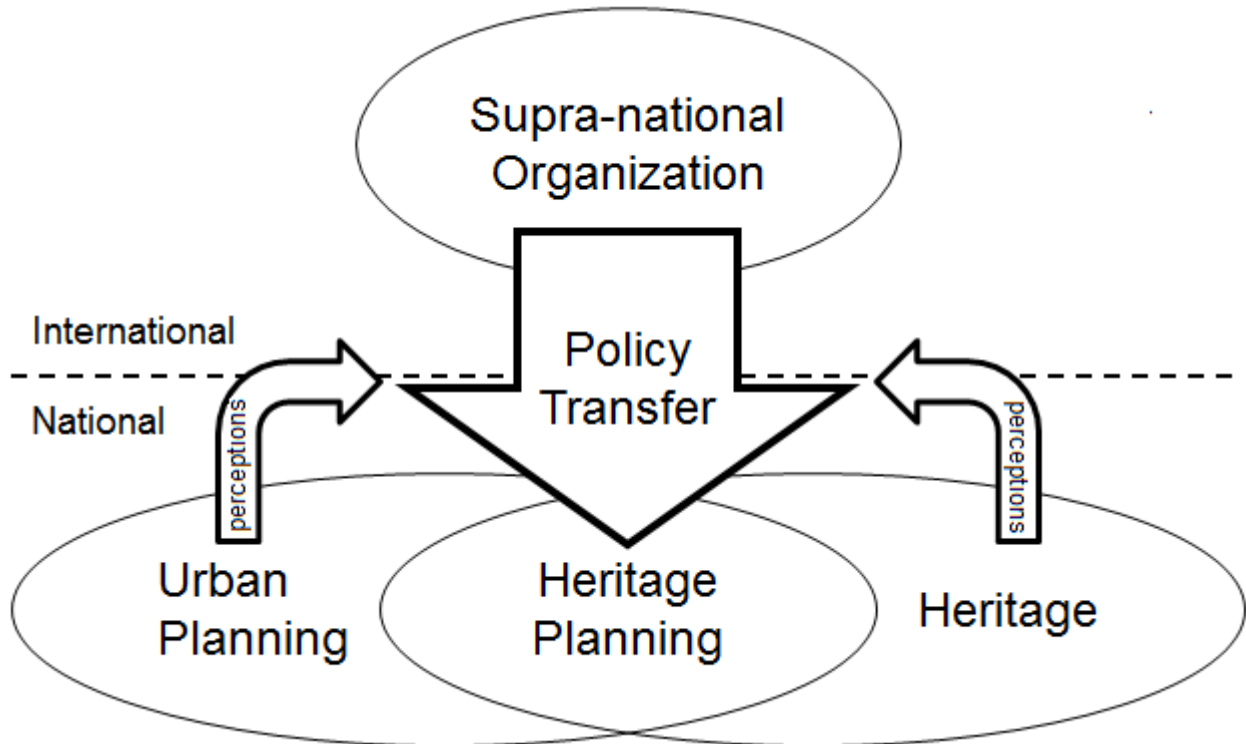
Heritage planning is where urban planning and cultural heritage overlap each other, which means that this is where the planning culture and institutional design of a nation meet the valuation and interpretation of cultural heritage in this nation. Supra-national organizations influence heritage planning on a national level through policy transfer. For example, UNESCO influences heritage planning of World Heritage sites through the UNESCO guidelines and the requirements it has placed on obtaining and keeping the World Heritage status. The stakeholders involved in heritage management on a national level perceive this policy transfer from supra-national organizations in particular ways, which in turn affects heritage planning.

3 Research Design

The research design of this study consists of a case study approach in which the qualitative research methodology of in-depth interviews with relevant stakeholders is used to gather the primary data in Paramaribo, Suriname. Below follows an explanation of the reasons why this research design was selected.

3.1 Research context

The primary data collection was conducted in Paramaribo, Suriname in the period February 4, 2015 until April 6, 2015. Suriname is the smallest independent nation in South America covering an area of 163,820 km² (Central Intelligence Agency, 2014). Together with its eastern neighbor (British) Guyana and western neighbor French Guyana, Suriname is part of the area previously known as Guyana in between the rivers the Orinoco in Venezuela and the Amazon in Brazil (Dalhuisen et al., 2007). This area (see Figure 4) borders the Atlantic Ocean and lies just north of the equator. The average temperature during the day is around 31°C all year round, with temperatures decreasing to around 23°C at night (Dalhuisen et al., 2007). Besides these warm temperatures, Suriname's climate is characterized by above average hours of sunshine (between 2500 and 3000 hours a year) and rainfall (between 1500mm and 2500mm a year) with two wet seasons in the periods December – January, and May – August (Dalhuisen et al., 2007).

Figure 4: Geographical location of Suriname. Source: Lonely Planet (2015).
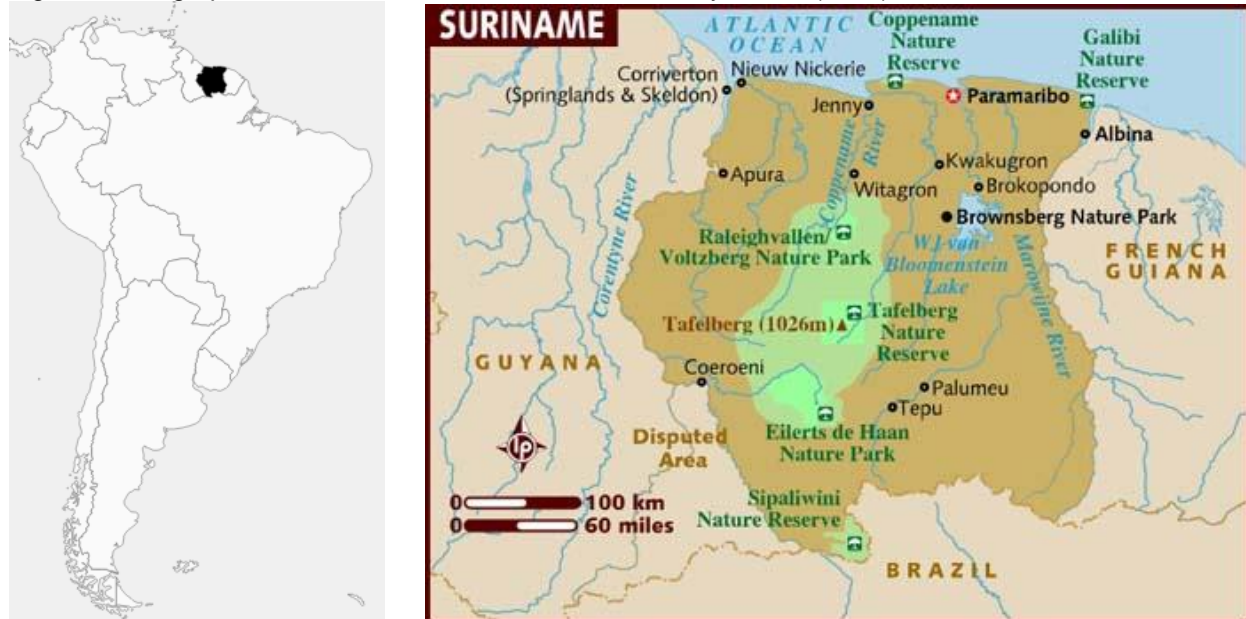
In 2014, Suriname had a population of 573,311 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2014). This population is characterized by its multi-ethnicity (see Table 5), which finds its origin mostly in its colonial history (Dalhuisen et al., 2007). Suriname's early colonial history was characterized by conquests of the Dutch and English. After the Peace Treaty of Breda in 1667, Suriname became a Dutch colony, with the exception of a brief period of English rule in the Napoleonic era between 1799 and 1815. Suriname's economy was based on sugar plantations for which slaves from West Africa were brought in to do the work. Around ten percent of the African slaves fled into Suriname's interior, from which the Marrons descended (Dalhuisen et al., 2007). With the abolition of slavery around 1850, Asian contract laborers from China, Java and British India were shipped to Suriname to replace the slaves on the plantations. After the plantation

industry diminished, most of the population concentrated in Paramaribo, the administrative center, which became a multi-ethnic city as a result.

Before Suriname gained its independence on November 25, 1975, its colonial status within the Netherlands had already changed in 1954 with the Royal Charter (*Koninkrijksstatuut*) in which Suriname became predominantly self-governing. For many Surinamese, this arrangement was preferred, but Surinamese students in the Netherlands started supporting the idea of an independent Suriname. After these students returned to Suriname, their ideas did not receive much enthusiasm. The only ethnic group that was sympathetic to Suriname becoming independent was the Creole elite. The Hindustani were against Surinamese independence, because they feared the Creole would claim power and dominate the other ethnicities. The substantive Javanese group did not join the discussion about independence, because this group still considered returning to Indonesia. Surinamese independence polarized Surinamese society and politics. When a coalition that was not negative towards independence came to power in 1973, the path towards independence was started with support of the Dutch government that wanted to avoid any accusation of being connected to colonialism. However, opponents of Surinamese independence migrated to the Netherlands in high numbers. For example, in 1986 forty percent of the people of Surinamese descent lived in the Netherlands (Dalhuisen et al., 2007). In 2011, the number of Surinamese people in the Netherlands had risen to 345,000.

Ethnicity	Population	Percentage
East Indian (Hindustani)	212,000	37%
Afro-Surinamese (Creole)	178,000	31%
Javanese	86,000	15%
Maroons	57,000	10%
Indigenous Amerindian	11,000	2%
Chinese	11,000	2%
Caucasian	6,000	1%
Other	11,000	2%
Total	572,000	100%

Table 5: Multi-ethnicity of Suriname. Source: Central Intelligence Agency (2014).

The geographical and historical context is important for this research, because the climate affects the wood from which the colonial buildings are made and, subsequently, requires constant reparation (Van Maanen, 2011). Suriname's colonial history indicates that the heritage is not necessarily seen as part of the identity/identities of the Surinamese. In addition, Suriname still has strong ties with the Netherlands through their shared colonial history and through the large group of people from Surinamese descent in the Netherlands. These ties are dominated by the Dutch reluctance to be associated with (neo)colonialism, which affects the way that the colonial heritage in Suriname is managed (e.g. through funding). The ethnic diversity indicates that there can be differences in the connection between the heritage and their identity, making the expectations from the Surinamese people more complex.

3.2 Study design: Case study approach and qualitative research approach
Yin defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the *case*) in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident" (2014, p. 16). Stake adds that a case study "is not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied … By whatever methods we choose to study *the case*. We could study it analytically or holistically, entirely by repeated measures or hermeneutically, organically or culturally, and by mixed methods – but we concentrate, at least for the time being, on the case" (2005, p. 443). Case study research focuses on answering exploratory "how" and "why" questions (Thomas, 2011; Yin, 2014). The

way heritage planning functions in a nation depends on its planning culture and political structure (i.e. institutional design). In this sense, the heritage planning of the historic inner city of Paramaribo depends on the planning culture and institutional design of Suriname. This shows that heritage planning depends on its context. In addition, the research topic is derived from the contemporary development that UNESCO threatened to remove the World Heritage status from Paramaribo's historic inner city. This forms an example of the influence of UNESCO and policy transfer through the use of a trump card. UNESCO's threat, therefore, functions as an example of UNESCO's influence on national heritage planning. Yin argues that a single case study design is appropriate when the case "represents (a) a critical test of existing theory, (b) an extreme or unusual circumstance, or (c) a common case, or where the case serves a (d) revelatory or (e) longitudinal purpose" (2014, p. 56). In this master thesis project, Paramaribo serves as a revelatory case of the perceptions of heritage management stakeholders on policy transfer from UNESCO to a nation. Paramaribo also functions as an extreme circumstance of heritage planning thanks to the connection of the heritage area to Suriname's colonial past and the influence of Suriname's multi-ethnic society.

According to Hennink et al., "qualitative research is an approach that allows you to examine people's experiences in detail, by using a specific set of research methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussion, observation, content analysis, visual methods and life histories or biographies" (2011, p. 8-9). Moreover, "one of the main distinctive features of qualitative research is that the approach allows you to identify issues from the perspective of your study participants, and understand the meanings and interpretations that they give to behavior, events or objects" (Hennink et al, 2011, p. 9). Qualitative research is deemed the most appropriate research approach for this master thesis, because 1) the main research questions involve the perceptions of the different actors involved in the planning and management of Paramaribo's historic inner city; and 2) the research has an exploratory nature.

3.3 Data collection method: document analysis

This research contains two data collection methods: document analysis and in-depth interviews. The document analysis consists of a selective content analysis of the relevant legislative documents for heritage management in Suriname (see Table 6). Bowen defines content analysis as "the process of organizing information into categories related to the central questions of the research [which] entails a first-pass document review, in which meaningful and relevant passages of text or other data are identified" (2009, 32). The content analysis was selective, because only the passages in these documents were analyzed that were relevant for answering the first subquestion. This means the document analysis was used for identifying Suriname's planning culture (see Table 4 for the criteria used), describe Suriname's institutional design regarding urban planning and heritage planning, and identify the policy categories and degree of policy transfer (see Table 1).

Surinamese planning legislation	Urban Development Act (1972)
	Planning Act (1973)
Surinamese heritage legislation	Monuments Act (2002)
	Executive Order #74 (2001)
	Executive Order #34 (2003)
	Paramaribo WHS Management Plan 2011-2015
	Emergency Action Plan (2015)

Table 6: Analyzed policy documents.

3.4 Data collection method: in-depth interviews

The other research method on which this research is based is in-depth interviews with different stakeholders involved in the planning and management of Paramaribo's historic inner city.

According to Hennink et al., the objective of in-depth interviews is "to identify individual perceptions, beliefs, feelings and experiences" (2011, p. 53). This connects well with the objectives of this master thesis. An interview guide was developed (see Appendix 2) based on Hennink et al. (2011). It follows the structure: introduction, opening questions, key questions and closing questions. The questions in the interview guide are designed as open, short and simple, follow the structure of the research questions and are based on the theoretical framework. Each key question was designed to start a discussion that could be linked to the concepts of the theoretical framework. For example, the first key question can be linked to heritage dissonance, the second to the inextricable link between heritage and tourism, the third to institutional design and planning culture, the fourth to the content of policy transfer and the fourth to the level of voluntariness of policy transfer. This deductive interview guide changed during the fieldwork when new topics arose, which means that inductive inferences were incorporated "to go deeper into the research issues and gain rich detailed data" (Hennink et al., 2011, p. 82) until the point of saturation. In addition, the questions asked during the interviews were tailored according to the expertise or function of the interviewee to increase the relevant information obtained during the interviews.

3.5 Participant recruitment
The research population of this master thesis research consists of the stakeholders of heritage management in Suriname. A stakeholder analysis was conducted to identify the relevant stakeholders of the research population. Reed et al. define stakeholder analysis as "a process that i) defines aspects of a social and natural phenomenon affected by a decision or action; ii) identifies individuals, groups and organizations who are affected by or can affect those parts of the phenomenon …; and iii) prioritizes these individuals and groups for involvement in the decision-making process" (2009, p. 1933). Grimble & Wellard (1997) differentiate between active and passive stakeholders, with the first referring to actors that affect decision making and the latter referring to actors that are affected by decision making. This master thesis project focuses on active stakeholders, because these actors are directly involved in the decision making process, and, therefore, are directly involved in the policy transfer between UNESCO and Surinamese heritage planning. The eight identified stakeholders of policy transfer (see Table 1) were used as a guideline for the stakeholder analysis, which resulted in the identification of the following active stakeholders: policy makers, civil servants, heritage related organizations, the tourism industry, academic experts, Surinamese politicians, and UNESCO. Individual stakeholders connected to these groups were then identified though previous academic research (e.g. Van Maanen, 2011) and desktop research.

Prior to the fieldwork in Paramaribo, these stakeholders were contacted through email. According to Valentine (2005), the response rate to interview requests is higher when they are addressed to named individuals rather than organizations. Therefore, the emails were addressed to individuals only. During the fieldwork in Paramaribo, individuals and organizations that did not respond to the emails were contacted with a phone call or personal visit. Snowball sampling was used to acquire more participants when conducting the fieldwork. In general, every participant was asked to identify potential stakeholders that could be contacted. The academic expert that was interviewed provided many potential participants. After several interviews, the identification of potential participants by the participants reached the point of saturation.

In total, fourteen in-depth interviews were conducted with stakeholders identified either during the stakeholder analysis or through snowball sampling (see Table 7). Identifiers (ID) have been created to use during the data analysis in order to indicate where quotes originate from. An additional interview was conducted with the director of the Directorate Culture from the Ministry of Education and Community Development (MINOV), but this interview was not recorded. Instead, notes were taken and a summary was made afterwards. This interview has

not been added to the data analysis, because of the missing transcript, but it has been added to the narratives told by the heritage organizations. Most identified stakeholders participated, even though several stakeholders did not respond to the interview requests (e.g. the overarching organization of tour operators and the directorate of public green spaces). Several of the participants were connected to heritage management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo in different ways. For example, two architects were interviewed that functioned as supervisor of individual renovation projects, while also being on advisory committees. Another participant was selected because of previous employment at the planning department.

Organization	Type of stakeholder	ID	Identified with
Suriname Urban Heritage Foundation	Heritage Organization	H1	Stakeholder Analysis
Urban Renewal Foundation Paramaribo	Heritage Organization	H2	Snowball Sampling
UNESCO Suriname	Heritage Organization	H3	Stakeholder Analysis
Monuments Committee / KDV Architects	Heritage Organization / Urban planning	HP1	Stakeholder Analysis
Conservation Foundation Suriname / Former employee planning department	Heritage Organization / Urban planning	HP2	Snowball Sampling
Building Committee / Woei A Sioe Architects	Urban planning	P1	Stakeholder Analysis
Ministry of Public Works – Directorate Constructional Works	Urban planning	P2	Snowball Sampling
Ministry of Public Works – Directorate Spatial Planning	Urban planning	P3	Snowball Sampling
Anton de Kom University – Urban Planning & Management	Academic Expert / Urban planning	PE	Stakeholder Analysis
National Reclamation Committee	Interest Group	IG	Stakeholder Analysis
Suriname Tourism Foundation – Data & Research	Tourism Industry	T1	Stakeholder Analysis
Suriname Tourism Foundation – Marketing	Tourism Industry	T2	Stakeholder Analysis
Suriname Tourism Foundation – Tourist Information Center	Tourism Industry	T3	Snowball Sampling
Tourist Operator – Access Suriname Travel	Tourism Industry	T4	Snowball Sampling

Table 7: Research participants

3.6 Data processing
The in-depth interviews were digitally recorded with permission of the participants. These digital recordings were mostly transcribed into verbatim transcripts directly after each interview to implement particular research findings in subsequent interviews, enable further participant recruitment, enable the point of saturation and ensure the quality of the data and interview guide (Hennink et al., 2011). The remainder of the interviews was transcribed after returning from the fieldwork in Paramaribo. Afterwards, the transcripts were prepared for analysis by anonymizing them to ensure the participants' anonymity by erasing all personal identifiers. However, the

organization of the participants is important for the data analysis, which is why these identifiers were not anonymized.

The data obtained during the in-depth interviews are analyzed using a codebook that includes code name, code description, connection to the research questions and connection to the theoretical framework (see Appendix 3). The function of this codebook is to transform the data obtained during the in-depth interviews into standardized form (Babbie, 2013) to facilitate data analysis (Hennink et al., 2011). During the coding process, two stages of coding were used: open coding and axial coding. A deductive codebook was made based solely on the concepts explored (i.e. open coding). For example, three codes were made for each form of policy transfer. This codebook was tested on three interviews, leading to a reanalysis of the codebook (i.e. axial coding). Inductive codes were added, while other codes were merged or deleted. This resulted in a codebook including both deductive and inductive codes.

3.7 Data analysis

The data analysis method involves variable-oriented and case-oriented cross-case analysis to answer the research questions. First, variable-oriented analysis was conducted to answer subquestions 1 (heritage management) and 2 (reasons UNESCO interfered) by developing a thick description. Crang argues that "codes provide a means of conceptually organizing your materials, but are not an explanatory framework in themselves" (2005, 224). Therefore, the focus in the analysis lies predominantly on the narratives, perceptions and opinions of the participants and not on the quantity of these narratives. However, a certain amount of quantification of the data was made, because reasons that are mentioned by almost all participants are deemed to indicate that these reasons are widespread in the perceptions of the stakeholders.

Second, a combination of variable-oriented and case-oriented analysis was conducted to answer the remaining subquestions. After describing the main narratives through variable-oriented analysis, these narratives were analyzed by comparing the narratives of the different stakeholders that were combined in four groups: heritage organizations; urban planning; interest groups and the tourism industry. This case-oriented analysis was conducted to provide more depth of the qualitative analysis by analyzing what narratives were mentioned by each group and also what narratives were not mentioned by each group.

3.8 Data quality and study limitations

In 1979, the Belmont Report identified three core principles of ethical conduct: respect of person, benefice, and justice. These three ethical principles were adopted by Hennink et al. (2011) into several important ethical considerations when conducting qualitative research: informed consent, self-determination, minimization of harm, anonymity and confidentiality. These ethical considerations have been integrated in the interview guide (see Appendix 2). Miller and Bell argue that "gaining informed consent is problematic if it is not clear what the participant is consenting to and where participation begins and ends" (2002, p. 53). Therefore, an explanation of the interview, its goals and its outcomes was provided prior to each interview. Participants were also told that they did not have to answer questions that they did not want to answer. In addition, the participants were asked whether they agreed with audiotaping the interview after explaining why this would be done. Using gate-keepers to find participants raises the ethical issue whether these participants are participating voluntarily or whether they were forced by the gate-keeper (Miller & Bell, 2002). Self-determination is connected to guaranteeing informed consent, as the participants were asked whether they wanted to be interviewed. Prior, during and after the interview, efforts were made to minimize harm. Valentine (2005) states that different power relations between the researcher and participants need to be recognized, especially when interviews are conducted in a different cultural context. This ethical consideration is crucial in the context of this research, because of the multi-ethnic society of

Suriname, the colonial ties between the Netherlands and Suriname and the research objectives. Attempts were made to prevent the participants to feel attacked or uncomfortable during the interviews. In addition, the role my positionality (a student from the Netherlands) could play on the interviews is acknowledged. Guaranteeing confidentiality and anonymity was difficult in this research, because the master thesis report will be available on the university website, and because the employment of the participants will easily lead to the identity of the participants.

4 Results

In order to answer the research questions, the results have been divided into five sections with each section focusing on one research question, except for the last section in which subquestions 5 and 6 are answered.

4.1 Heritage management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo

To answer the first subquestion, this section describes the institutional design and planning culture of Suriname, followed by a description of the heritage management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo. As indicated in the methodology, this section is largely derived from an analysis of the policy documents (Advertentieblad, 2003; SGES, 2011; Gouvernementsblad, 1972; 1973; Government of the Republic of Suriname, 2014; Staatsblad, 2001; 2002) that were received after the interviews with several of the stakeholders. This section also includes an analysis about policy transfer categories and degrees between UNESCO and Surinamese heritage planning legislation and the perceptions of the participants on this policy transfer.

4.1.1 Institutional design and planning culture

The institutional design of urban planning in Suriname is based on two laws: the Urban Development Act (*stedenbouwkundige wet*) from 1972 and the Planning Act (*planwet*) from 1973. This means that the most important planning legislation in Suriname stems from when it was still under colonial rule. In fact, the Urban Development Act and Planning Act have predominantly been created by the Dutch lawyer J. Vink, former Director-general of the Rijksplanologische Dienst in the Netherlands. It is, therefore, not surprising that Surinamese planning culture strongly resembles Dutch planning culture and can be categorized as a comprehensive integrated approach with a strong hierarchy of plans in which the main focus lies on spatial co-ordination.

The Urban Development Act states that the Ministry of Public Works (*Ministerie van Openbare Werken* (OW)) is responsible for a structure plan (*structuurplan*) on a national level in which the urban development areas are indicated. To realize the vision of the structure plan, local land-use plans (*bestemmingsplannen*) are created at a regional level. On a local level, allotment plans (*verkavelingsplannen*) are developed, usually by private parties, that need to adhere to the local land-use plans in order to receive a building permit. Of these three planning levels, only the local land-use plan is legally binding.

The Planning Act states that a planning map needs to be developed by the planning office of the Ministry of Natural Resources (*Ministerie van Natuurlijke Hulpbronnen*, previously known as *Ministerie van Opbouw*) in which Suriname is divided into development areas, residential areas, and special governmental areas (*special beheersgebieden*). This distinction is important for the Urban Development Act, because this act only applies to residential areas and a strip alongside the main roads. Outside of these areas, no building permit is needed for allotment plans.

Responsible Ministry	Role in Planning	Judicial Base
Ministry of Public Works (PW)	Creation of structural plans and local land-use plans for residential areas in Suriname; providing building permits for allotment plans.	Urban Development Act (1972)
Ministry of Natural Resources	Subdivision of Suriname between development areas, residential areas and special governmental areas.	Planning Act (1973)
Ministry of Spatial Planning, Land and Forestry (RGB)	Creation of local land-use plans for non-residential areas in Suriname.	Executive Order #94 (2005)

Table 8: Institutional design of urban planning in Suriname.

In 2005, executive order #94 divided the Ministry of Natural Resources, creating the Ministry of Spatial Planning, Land and Forestry (*Ministerie van Ruimtelijke Ordening, Grond- en Bosbeheer* (RGB)). Even though this ministry contains spatial planning in its name, there is no legal base for this ministry to create plans, because the urban development act and planning act were never adjusted. Therefore, RGB can only develop local-land use plans for non-residential areas in relation to land grants.

4.1.2 Heritage Management
The legal foundation of heritage management in Suriname consists of the Monuments Act (*Monumentenwet*) of 2002 and executive order #74 of 2001. The Monuments Act created the Monuments Committee (*Commissie Monumentenzorg*) of which the members are appointed by the Ministry of Education and Community Development (*Ministerie van Onderwijs en Volksontwikkeling* (MINOV)). The Minister of MINOV also designates buildings as monuments. Permits are needed to demolish, change and/or renovate a monument, and it is illegal to withdraw monuments from sight (e.g. by placing large advertorial signs). Owners of a monumental building need to manage the building properly. If a monument falls into decay, the Minister of MINOV can order restoration on the costs of the owner. The Minister of MINOV is authorized to grant subsidies for repairs on monuments. The Monumental Act also discusses conservation areas. These areas can be appointed by the Minister of MINOV, the Minister of OW, the Monuments Committee and the Planning Department. In these areas, it is illegal to demolish a building or to construct a new building without a permit. A demolition permit can be granted by MINOV, and a building permit is granted by OW. The protection of these areas, according to the Monuments Act, should be legally based in a local land-use plan.

In 2001, executive order #74 created the legal foundation of the Building Committee (*Bouwcommissie*) of which the members are appointed by OW. The tasks of the Building Committee are to check allotment plans and renovation plans for urban areas of aesthetic value in order to advice the Minister of OW about granting building permits. The specific criteria that the building committee uses for their advisory reports are laid out in executive order #34 in 2003. These criteria are: design, measurement and scale, color usage, material usage, construction of roofs, sidewalks. It also discusses the construction of additions (e.g. dormer windows, balconies, advertising signs and roll-down shutters). Moreover, executive order #74 provides the boundaries of the historic inner city of Paramaribo and two buffer zones (the eighteenth century city expansion and the neighborhood Combé; see Figure 5). In the added explanation of executive order #74, it is stated that the order was created in direct response to the nomination of the historic inner city of Paramaribo for the UNESCO World Heritage list by the Surinamese government. In order to succeed, several conditions needed to be met regarding the legal protection and management of the historic inner city, including clear boundaries of the inner city and two buffer zones. The boundaries of these areas were based on advice of the World Heritage Center. This means that not only the policy instrument (buffer zones) was directly copied from UNESCO's guidelines, but also the specifics of this policy instrument. Moreover, the development of executive order #74 and the Monuments Act can be seen as direct coercive policy transfer from UNESCO to the Surinamese government with the World Heritage status functioning as the trump card to realize the implementation of UNESCO's guidelines.

Figure 5: Boundaries UNESCO World Heritage Site and Buffer Zones. Source: Monuments Act, 2002.
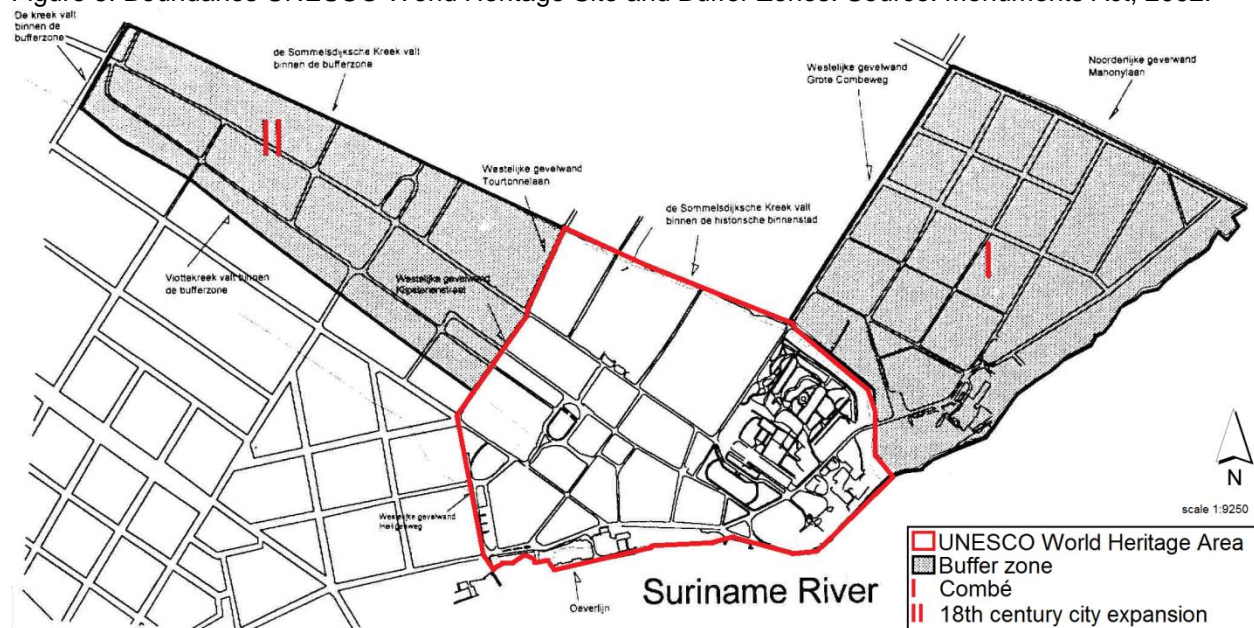
Several foundations are involved with the actual management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo, including the Suriname Built Heritage Foundation (SGES) and Urban Renewal Paramaribo (*Stichting Stadsherstel Paramaribo* (SHP)). SGES is the site manager of the historic inner city of Paramaribo and is responsible for the creation of a management plan to ensure the preservation of the monumental area. This Paramaribo World Heritage Site Management Plan (PWHSMP) has a directing and coordinating function, but has not been officially adopted by the Surinamese government. The PWHSMP was created through stakeholder negotiations and describes the history and significance of the historic inner city of Paramaribo. It also describes the current physical condition of the site and its management context. Even though the PWHSMP was developed three years before UNESCO stated the World Heritage status of the historic inner city of Paramaribo was in danger, the identified management problems have not received adequate attention, despite several recommendations made in the PWHSMP.

SHP is a foundation established in 2011 that aims at re-establishing "the balance between living and working in the inner city through sustainable and commercially viable restoration and management" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 18). To achieve this aim, SHP buys monuments in a dilapidated state, renovates them and then rents them out. SHP is based on the model of Stadsherstel Amsterdam, which "supports, advices and works intensively together with [SHP] to redevelop and protect built heritage in Paramaribo" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 18). It can, therefore, be seen as a voluntary form of policy transfer in which a policy program, policy instrument and policy goals are directly copied. Funding for SHP came from The Dutch Embassy, Het Prinsbernhardfonds and De Surinaamse Bank, the largest private bank in Suriname. In 2013, SHP became a limited liability company giving out shares with a modest dividend to gather more funding. In June 2015, SHP owned four monumental buildings, of which two have been fully renovated. SHP was awarded as best practice in 2013 (UNESCO, 2013).

Heritage management stakeholder	Role in heritage management	Judicial Base
Ministry of Education and Community Development (MINOV)	Appoints the members of the Monuments Committee. Grants demolition permits within the historic inner city of Paramaribo. Can designate buildings as national monuments. Can appoint a conservation area.	Monuments Act (2002)
Monuments Committee	Advices OW in granting building permits for new buildings and renovation projects in the historic inner city of Paramaribo. Can appoint a conservation area.	Monuments Act (2002)
Suriname Built Heritage Foundation (SGES)	Site manager of WHS the historic inner city of Paramaribo. Advices MINOV about heritage management by creating a WHSMP. Was involved in nominating the historic inner city of Paramaribo to become a WHS and created SHP. Created the Emergency Action Plan.	
Urban Renewal Paramaribo (SHP)	A limited liability company that buys monuments to restore them and rent them out.	
Ministry of Public Works	Appoints the members of the Building Committee. Grants building permits for the historic inner city of Paramaribo. Can appoint a conservation area.	Monuments Act (2002)
Building Committee	Checks allotment and renovation plans to advice OW about granting building permits for the historic inner city of Paramaribo.	Executive Order #74 (2001); Executive Order #34 (2003)

Table 9: Institutional Design of Heritage Management in Suriname.

4.1.3 Policy transfer between UNESCO and Surinamese heritage management

During the nomination process, policy transfer between UNESCO and Suriname started with the creation of the nomination file and the aforementioned created legislation to support the management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo. As mentioned above, the Monuments Act and executive orders #34 and #74 can be seen as direct coercive policy transfer of policy content, instruments and programs. Participant PE provides an example of policy content that was transferred between UNESCO and Suriname in the Monuments Act by stating that "the nomination for the World Heritage list required that the legislation made it possible to appoint protected urban heritage areas. That was not yet in place [in the existing legislation]. … And as a result, you find something about protected urban heritage areas in the Monuments Act".

After the historic inner city was added to the World Heritage list, Suriname needed to adhere to several requirements set up by UNESCO, including the creation of a management plan and informing UNESCO of prospective changes to the heritage site due to planning projects. The creation of the PWHSMP by the SGES can be seen as coercive policy transfer of policy goals, content, and instruments, because the UNESCO guidelines require the creation of this management plan and also proscribes what the content should focus on. For example, the UNESCO guidelines proscribe that the required management plan for the protection and management of World Heritage sites should contain an overview of the pressures that can negatively affect the site and the proposed ways to protect the site from these pressures (UNESCO, 2012). The PWHSMP contains an overview of the pressures that the historic inner city of Paramaribo faces and also proposes solutions to prevent these pressures to have a negative effect on the World Heritage site.

During a monitoring mission by ICOMOS, it became clear that the Surinamese government had not informed UNESCO about several planning projects in the historic inner city. This resulted in the threat by UNESCO that the historic inner city of Paramaribo would be placed on

the List of World Heritage in Danger, which, in turn, resulted in the creation of the Emergency Action Plan for the safeguarding of the historic inner city of Paramaribo (see Appendix 3). The content of this emergency plan is based on the advisory report by ICOMOS, which can, therefore, be seen as the transfer of policy goals and content.

Almost all participants, except those of the tourist industry, mentioned that Suriname voluntarily asked for the historic inner city of Paramaribo to be inscribed on the World Heritage List. These participants also indicated that being inscribed on the World Heritage List means having to adhere to UNESCO's guidelines. Therefore, the participants perceive the UNESCO guidelines as an obligated form of policy transfer, which they voluntarily entered. The participants indicated that this obligated policy transfer is the most important reason for why there is policy transfer between UNESCO and Suriname. When it comes to the policy transfer category and policy transfer degree, the participants indicated that the direct copying of policy content and instruments were most common. For example, the creation of buffer zones was given as an example of policy transfer instruments by participants H1, H2 and PE, while the creation of a management plan was given by participants H1 and HP1.

Interview	Suriname voluntarily asked for WHS	WHS means adhering to UNESCO guidelines	Mentions reasons for policy transfer	Mentions policy transfer category	Mentions policy transfer degree
H1	x	x	x	x	x
H2		x		x	
H3	x	x	x	x	
HP1	x	x		x	x
HP2	x	x		x	
P1	x	x		x	
P2	x	x			
P3		x		x	
PE	x	x	x	x	x
IG	x	x			
T1					
T2					
T3					
T4					

Table 10: Participant perceptions on policy transfer between UNESCO and Suriname.

4.2 Reasons for UNESCO's statement that the management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo needed to improve

In general, the participants seemed to agree with UNESCO that the heritage management in Paramaribo does not meet UNESCO's management standards, which eventually resulted in the creation of the Emergency Action Plan. However, there are also participants that do not agree with UNESCO and state that the heritage management is actually not that bad. For example participant HP1 states: "But I find [UNESCO] a supercilious organization … I still think that it is not going too bad. I see improvements in the city. … Perhaps it can all be a bit better, but they at least they are there. … If I look objectively, there are quite some buildings that look decent. … Yes, it depends on how you look at it. You know, if you look at it from the perspective what people are used to, then you will say that things could be better. And if you look at it from the perspective that people struggle to reach this result, then it is not going that bad". Participant T3 shares a similar view by stating that "I think that the people of UNESCO encounter situations where everything is perfect and orderly and when they then go to places where it is a bit

chaotic, then they think it is not good. They do not see the small improvements. For them it is not enough, but they do not take the priorities of a country into account".

Eleven often interconnected reasons were given by the participants for the insufficient heritage management of the inner city of Paramaribo (see Table 11). Most identified reasons are connected to the functioning of the responsible ministries, but there are also two identified reasons that connect to the private owners of the monumental buildings. The most widespread identified reasons are the missing local land-use plans, the low priority of heritage management among the responsible ministries and the high maintenance costs.

Identified reasons	Participants													
	H1	H2	H3	HP1	HP2	P1	P2	P3	PE	IG	T1	T2	T3	T4
Missing plans	x	x	x	x	x		x		x					
Competition	x					x		x						
Corruption					x	x								
Low priority	x	x	x		x	x	x					x		
Implementation		x						x						
Judicial prosecution	x		x	x				x						
Awareness	x													
Costs/funding		x		x		x	x	x		x		x		
Delays renovation		x				x	x							
Estates	x	x						x						
Owner resistance				x		x			x					

Table 11: Identified reasons of insufficient heritage management in Suriname.

4.2.1 Missing structure plan/local land-use plans
As indicate above, the Urban Development Act requires the creation of a structure plan on which local land-use plans can be based. However, since the 1980s, no structure plans have been created. Participant PE explains why this is a problem: "There is friction between the Monuments Act and the Urban Development Act, because the Monuments Act proscribes that the historic inner city of Paramaribo will be protected through a local land-use plan for this area. This was put into the Monuments Act and UNESCO was content with that, but it will not be effective. The problem is that there is no structure plan and without this you cannot make a local land-use plan according to the Urban Development Act, because it will not be legally valid". As a result, no local land-use plan has been created for the historic inner city of Paramaribo. Instead, the PWHSMP has been created by the SGES, but this plan functions as an advisory report and has not been endorsed by the Surinamese Council of Ministers. All heritage participant and most of the planning participants stress the importance for the creation of a structure plan in order to be able to develop local land-use plans.

The participants provide two reasons why no structure plan has been developed since the 1980s: the military coupe of 1982 and the current short term focus of the government. Participant HP2 explains how the military coupe influenced urban planning in Suriname: "In the 1980s, the government conducted a so-called intervention and kicked out the people that they did not like, because they worked for the overthrown government. They were replaced by other people that did not understand [urban planning]. … As a result, the quality of the government as an organization has decreased tremendously". In other words, one of the consequences of overthrowing the Surinamese government during the 1980s was that the planning department lost many of its civil servants with a university degree and, therefore, most of its expertise. Participant H1 argues that the short term focus of the Surinamese government impacts heritage management and planning by stating that "you need to understand that the minister or politicians need to realize as much as possible within five years to ensure that they will be

reelected and the fastest way to realize this is through tangible things". The development of a structure plan is not part of these fast tangible things according to participant H1.

4.2.2 Competition between ministries

The lack of a structure plan results in a lack of coordination between ministries. Participant H1 explains that the lacking local land-use plan "is a big coordination problem. Everybody does their own thing in the inner city, but these activities are not geared to one another. … The problems in the inner city are not tackled from a particular vision or a particular plan. It is constantly ad hoc policy". The heritage organizations argue that the different ministries that operate in the historic inner city of Paramaribo do not want to share their power. This view is shared by participant P1, who stated that "you are dealing with the Ministry of Education and Community Development. You also need to deal with Public Works. I think you also have Spatial Planning. And those three need to look in the same direction. And often there are then political interests". This coordination between ministries is often lacking as participant H1 states: "The ministries do not have the tendency to share parts of their power, especially not Public Works". This is one of the reasons why there is no overarching heritage management organization with judicial power and why the PWHSMP has not been endorsed.

4.2.3 Corruption

Participants HP2 and P1 identified corruption as a serious problem for heritage management, especially at OW. HP2 states that "there are, especially with this government, several processes in which people, being the rulers, the directors, are corrupt. And that there is corruption through the contractors. … It is publicly known, that is why I can say this". Large scale corruption within the government is a common item in the Surinamese media (see De West, 2015; Kalidien-Mansaram, 2013). A recent example of corruption at OW is the forced resignation of the minister of OW and the minister of RGB in 2013 due to the large scale corruption at both ministries (Van Maele, 2013). In general, the allegation is that urban planning projects are given to contractors close to the ministers in charge for much higher prices than necessary, strongly influencing the functioning of the government. However, the corruption allegations also have indirect effects. Participant P2, who was appointed in OW after the previous minister was fired in 2013, stated that: "the new director … noticed that there were no maintenance plans. We are now in a time squeeze. We are currently working on this, but, and this sounds a bit like hitting our predecessors when they are down, but the work that they performed did not materialize, which made it difficult". The corruption scandals and the political consequences, therefore, affect the work that is done at the ministries. Moreover, participant HP1 stated that because of the large scale corruption at these ministries and amongst contractors, many highly skilled and highly educated people do not want to work at these ministries. This results in a brain drain away from these ministries, which influences the quality of the work. Participant P1 adds that "the Ministry of Justice and Police has bad experiences with Public Works, because [a building contract] is given to their friends and that does not go well". In other words, because of the corruption at these ministries, renovation and maintenance of governmental buildings is often of inadequate quality, resulting in ministries avoiding OW by hiring their own architects as building contractors.

Box 1: Land Issue on the Waterkant

An example of alleged corruption that affects the historic inner city of Paramaribo is the land issue on the Waterkant from March 26, 2015. This land issue of 1.1356 hectare on the Waterkant between the Keizerstraat and Heiligenweg (see Figure 6) by RGB to NV Cactus received many allegations of corruption (see Cairo, 2015; De Surinaamse Krant, 2015; Suriname Herald, 2015). NV Cactus leases this land to construct a mall, hotel and parking facilities, even though this development seems in contrast with the preservation of the historic

inner city of Paramaribo and goes against the UNESCO guidelines. The minister of RGB stated on March 30, 2015 that the Monuments Committee had no objection against this land issue (Star Nieuws, 2015). In response, SGES stated that the Monuments Committee had not been informed about the land issue and that the Committee would never have agreed to it, because the land issue seriously jeopardizes the OUV of the historic inner city of Paramaribo (Dagblad Suriname, 2015). Despite the governmental response that all necessary procedures were followed regarding the land issue on the Waterkant (Hubard, 2015; Pross, 2015), the land issue of the Waterkant retains its air of corruption.

Figure 6: Land issue on the Waterkant

4.2.4 Heritage management being a low priority

Participants H1, H2, H3, HP2, P2, and T2 indicate that they believe heritage management is not a high priority of the Surinamese government. For example, participant T2 states: "right now, especially with the current situation here, the government checks what its priorities are and then they say 'no that prefers our priority'. Education for example or something else than the maintenance of buildings". Urban planning, maintenance of public areas (e.g. squares, sidewalks), heritage management and tourism development are not seen as important issues, according to these participants, because the government focuses on more tangible short term improvements (as indicated above). During the fieldwork, heritage management was completely put on hold, because of the elections in May 2015. For example, participant H2 states that OW "does not have enough money to take care of their own monuments. … They rather spend that for the promotion of their [political] party. It is not a priority". Participant HP2 indicates that this lack of priority is not just caused by the upcoming elections, but has been the trend of the last five years. This participant states "in the beginning of this century, between 2000 and 2010, the maintenance of the inner city was better than during the current government. In the beginning [of this government's rule] you did not see the deterioration. Now this starts to become visible. You obviously need to take measures against this, but these measures need to be taken by the government and this is where it often goes wrong".

4.2.5 Inadequate implementation of the heritage legislation

The heritage organizations indicate that the Surinamese government does not do enough to ensure the implementation of the legislation concerning the protection of the historic inner city. For example, participant H3 states: "The SGES, certain officials of [the department of] Culture and myself as official [of UNESCO Suriname] are of the opinion that the government needs to monitor the strict compliance with the legislation relating to the historic inner city". This participant continues with "through the Ministry of Public Works, we were trying to realize supervision and the creation of legislation. But this is where it goes wrong. If they were more rigid in the implementation of their policy and supervision on this, we would be much further ahead". Participant P3 acknowledges this by stating that "our [OW] supervision is weak" and "we do not adhere to our own legislation". In other words, the Surinamese government itself does not always adhere to its own legislation.

Box 2: Decolonization of the Presidential Palace.

The influence of political priorities can be seen in the decolonization of the Presidential Palace that was announced on December 10, 2014. The Presidential Palace still contained the coat of arms of the *Geoctroyeerde Sociëteit van Suriname* and the *wapen van Amsterdam* in its fronton (see Figure 7) and these symbols are currently being removed. Participant H1 explains that "there is currently a revival of what they call reclamation of the damage [caused by colonialism and slavery]. This involves not only the suffering of the slaves, but also the economic damage of slaves and their descendants. That is a very topical subject. There is now a National Committee that suggested the removal of the colonial coat of arms on the Presidential Palace". The National Committee that participant H1 refers to is the National Reclamation Committee of participant IG. Participant IG stated in a newspaper article that they advised the president of Suriname to remove the colonial symbols, to conserve them and place them in a museum, because it is the coat of arms of "a Dutch enterprise involved in the slave trade in the period 1683-1795 that imported billions worth of goods produced by African slaves in Suriname. This enterprise enslaved the indigenous population in their own country and is responsible for the deaths of thousands of Africans in their pursuit for profit" (Zunder, 2014). Decolonization is a politically important topic and the president of Suriname partly followed the advice by the National Reclamation Committee by replacing the coat of arms with the national symbol of Suriname. This example shows that funding is found for projects that are in the interest of the political groups.

Participant H1 indicates that the decolonization of the presidential palace is not by definition a problem, but that the heritage organizations do protest against the way this decision was made by stating: "The problem we have is that they did not follow the right procedure even if it was a presidential decision. They still need to follow the set procedures. Because it is a national monument, you cannot change things without permission of the responsible minister. The legal procedures have not been followed. … The president has to adhere to these procedures, he is not above the law". The decolonization of the presidential palace is, therefore, also an example of the weak implementation of the heritage legislation by the Surinamese government.

Figure 7: The fronton of the presidential palace in Paramaribo. Source: Sterkendries, 2013.

4.2.6 Lack of judicial prosecution of violators

Closely connected to the aforementioned inadequate implementation of the heritage legislation is the lack of judicial prosecution of violators of the heritage legislation. Participant H1 explains the connection between supervision and prosecution by stating: "there is a lack of supervision of compliance to the Monuments Act. We [the SGES], together with the Monuments Committee,

try to fill this gap, but if a monument is demolished and we report this, this gets stuck at the justice department. No further legal action is taken against such an owner and that is the biggest problem that we face". Participant H3 agrees by stating that "there is no penalty to violations". One of the identified problems is that the committees involved with heritage preservation do not have any legal authority, because they only have an advisory role. Participant HP1 indicates this by stating that "besides legislation you need several institutions to ensure protection. I am a member of that committee [monuments committee] and we can threaten to do serious things if people do not maintain their monumental buildings, but these threats are paper tigers, because when it arrives at the court of law it takes ten years to have a verdict". Participant P3 also agrees and adds: "Yes that is true. In fact, the authority of the committees that deal with these issues should be much stronger. Because Surinamese people are very bold. If it turns out that there are no sanctions against something, they will do exactly what they want".

4.2.7 Lack of awareness
Participant HP2 argued that the reason for the inadequate heritage maintenance by the government was a lack of awareness. This participant stated that "it has to do with knowledge. It has to do with understanding, call it awareness, and with the fact that the civil servants push work away instead of working, probably because they do not know how to deal with these types of things". This participant connects this lack of awareness with the aforementioned corruption that takes place in the government and also the brain drain that occurred after the military coupe of 1982. Participant P1 also discusses the effects of the military coup by stating: "we have had a gap, because of the revolution, resulting in many people leaving that have not come back. Because of this, there were not many good architects left. Additionally, there are now not many architects that have the proper architecture degree". Participant P1 continues by stating that it is not possible to explain to these architects without the proper training why their designs are rejected in the historic inner city, because they do not know the basics of architecture. Lack of awareness also plays a role in perceptions of the importance of the World Heritage site and the potential of the tourist industry, but these two will be explained below.

4.2.8 High maintenance costs and lack of sufficient funding
The high maintenance costs of the monumental buildings in the historic inner city of Paramaribo are mentioned by participants H2, HP1, IG, P1, P2, P3 and T2. Connected to the high maintenance costs is the lack of insufficient funding at both the owners and the government. Land prices are relatively high in the historic inner city of Paramaribo and renovation is more expensive than demolition and constructing a new building. This makes it uneconomical for many owners to continue maintaining their monumental buildings. Participant P1, therefore, opts for the creation of a maintenance subsidy from the government, but as participant HP1 states, "the government does not have the money to maintain their own governmental buildings". Participant P2 acknowledges this by stating that OW "cannot maintain so many fragile buildings at the same time. … We do not have a special fund or special policy that is reserved for the preservation of monumental buildings. We, therefore, need to take the funds from our own budget." The ministries that are using monumental buildings also do not seem to have the financial means to maintain their buildings. There are no maintenance plans and, as a result, maintenance is sometimes not included in the budget of these ministries. As a result, there are funding problems within the public and private sector and the ministry responsible for maintenance can also not fund many projects. The Monuments Act states that a restoration fund can be created and that owners who are neglecting adequate maintenance can be forced to pay for restoration after OW has restored these buildings. Both options have not yet happened, because of this lack of funding, as participants H1, HP1 and P2 indicate.

4.2.9 Slow renovation process
The slow renovation process of monumental buildings owned by the Surinamese government was mentioned by participants H2, P1 and P2. Participant P2 explains that delays in the renovation process are caused by two underlying reasons: "We often face the problem that the building still houses the users, because they neglected to find another location. You really have a problem when the contract starts, but the user is still using the building. That causes delays …, because you need to adjust from you original planning". The other reason provided by participant P2 is that there are no maintenance plans for the monumental buildings and it often occurs that more work needs to be done. The contractors hired to perform renovations have contracts for a certain period of time. If delays are met, a new contract needs to be created and this takes time. Participant P1 adds that contractors and renovation supervisors experience serious delays in getting paid for their work (see Box 3). As a result, renovations often stop because payments are delayed.

4.2.10 Owners of monumental buildings
Two non-government related reasons for the insufficient heritage management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo were identified: the so-called estate ownership in which a building or plot is owned by many different people as a result of inheritance; and owner resistance to the designation of their buildings as a monument. Estate ownership is a problem, because many monuments are owned by a large group of people that are spread around the world. Moreover, estate ownership can bring difference of opinion about what should be done with a building. While some might want to renovate the building, others want to sell it. This often leads to decay as renovations are postponed because no single owner wants to pay these costs.

Other owners dispute the legality of the designation of their building as a monument. The problem lies in the appointment of monumental status, which has often been done without the owners' consent. Monumental status brings many rules to which the owners need to adhere and this automatically leads to maintenance costs. Some owners do not want to adhere to these rules for various reasons. They cannot afford the maintenance costs or they want to demolish the house to build something else. Often, the buildings become monuments regardless of the actions against this by the owners, because they do not follow the right procedures against this appointment. However, this can then often lead to neglect of the buildings.

Box 3: Renovation of the Court of Justice on the Independence Square.

On January 15, 2011, renovations started at the Court of Justice (*Hof van Justitie*) located on the Independence Square (see Figure 8). It was estimated that this renovation project, issued by the Ministry of Public Works, would be finished on October 15, 2011. However, on April 5, 2015 the renovations were still ongoing. The reason for this delay is that the architect in charge of this renovation project and the building contractor were not paid for their work. Participant P1 explains that "our declarations lie on a pile at the Ministry of Finance. Public Works already processed it. Justice and Police has processed it. It then lies at Finances and there the declarations are drawn from the pile with 'oh this is a friend'. Most people are not paid. Eventually you will get paid, because you have a contract, but you do not know when". Normally this takes a couple of months, but lately this period has increased to such an extent that several building contractors with many governmental projects already went bankrupt. Work on the Court of Justice has resumed according to participants P1 and P2, but it remains unclear when this renovation project will finish.

Figure 8: Renovation of the Court of Justice. Source: collection author.

4.3 The historic inner city of Paramaribo as part of a Surinamese identity

During the first interviews conducted, in particular with the heritage organizations, the answers to the questions about the role of the historic inner city of Paramaribo in Suriname's identity was generally answered by referring to previous research that had focused on this question (see Table 12). The conclusion of these research projects was that Paramaribo's historic inner city is generally seen as an important aspect in Suriname's national identity. However, the findings by Van Maanen (2011) contradict this by stating that not all ethnic groups identify with Suriname's colonial history. Participant H3 explains that "part of the interviewees [in the study by Van Maanen (2011)] link the inner city with slavery. Therefore, certain groups of the population do not see the inner city as part of themselves, because it is not linked to integration". However, participant H1 disputes the validity of the findings by Van Maanen, because the usage of *colonial heritage* opposed to *historic* is deemed to have negatively influenced the way respondents viewed the connection of the built monuments in Paramaribo to Suriname's national identity. The impact of the terminology used in the research and its influences on the outcomes needs further research to confirm.

Research	Degree	Findings
Nagtegaal (2009)	Bachelor Thesis	Dutch tourists in Suriname are generally positive towards the value of the historic inner city of Paramaribo. There is no sense of ownership based on the shared history amongst the Dutch tourists.
Rijkers (2006)	Master Thesis	Surinamese citizens are generally positive towards the value of the historic inner city of Paramaribo for their personal identity and Suriname's national identity. Preservation of the historic inner city is deemed important.
Van Maanen	PhD Thesis	The colonial heritage of the historic inner city is not seen as a shared heritage by all ethnic groups in Suriname. The government also does not use the

(2011)		historic inner city to stimulate nation building of a shared Surinamese identity for all ethnic groups.
Veen & Veen (2007)	Master Thesis	Surinamese citizens are generally positive towards the importance of the historic inner city of Paramaribo. Representing the colonial history of Suriname, the colonial heritage is seen as a shared history for Suriname's different ethnic groups.

Table 12: Previous research about the role of Paramaribo's historic inner city in Suriname's national identity.

Besides referring to previous research, many participants indicated that part of the Surinamese population does not see the historic inner city of Paramaribo as part of the Surinamese identity, because of the aforementioned connection to slavery. Participant H1 states that "naturally there are people … that want nothing to do with heritage. … They see it as Dutch heritage". Participant EP acknowledges this sentiment amongst the Surinamese people by stating that "there are many people that say 'yes this is Dutch heritage and we are not concerned with Dutch heritage'". None of the participants specifically mentioned to be proud of the historic inner city of Paramaribo. However, participant EP mentions that monumental buildings do provide a certain status to their owners: "apparently it is worth it for the Business School to be located in such a building. That is apparently a piece of his identity. You also find several law firms and notary offices in that heritage area. Therefore, the heritage contributes to the status of these business owners". In general, the monumental buildings of these businesses are well maintained, possibly because of this connection to the owner's status.

Interview	Mentions opposition	Mentions colonial past	Mentions personal status/pride	Mentions contribution to identity	Mentions othering	Mentions aesthetic value
H1	x	x		x	x	
H2						x
H3	x	x		x	x	
HP1	x		x			x
HP2						
P1		x		x		
P2						
P3		x		x		x
PE	x	x	x	x	x	
IG	x	x			x	
T1				x		
T2				x		
T3	x	x		x		
T4				x		x

Table 13: Results of the importance of Paramaribo's historic inner city to Suriname's national identity.

Views of the participants on the proportion of the population that see the historic inner city of Paramaribo as dissonant heritage differed from "some in the population" (participant H3) to "around seventy percent" (participants HP1; IG). In general, the heritage organizations refer to previous research to stress that the majority of the Surinamese people does find the historic inner city part of the Surinamese identity, but the other stakeholder groups predominantly think the majority of the Surinamese people do not feel attached to the historic inner city. Participant P1 explains that "I do not believe that the group is large that is proud of their city and wants to preserve it as it is. The nationalistic feeling in that respect, regarding the preservation of those buildings, is not very big, definitely amongst the younger population". Only participant IG sees

the historic inner city of Paramaribo as dissonant heritage and stated that "some Dutchmen, especially professors, want to make the Dutch, but also the Surinamese, believe that there is a shared history, but we say that there is no shared history. It is an extension of Dutch history".

There are several differences between the stakeholder groups in the answers given to the importance of the historic inner city of Paramaribo to Suriname's national identity. In general, the participants in the heritage organizations and the tourist industry stated that the historic inner city contributed to Suriname's national identity. The participants in urban planning were less focused on this contribution. The tourist industry focused predominantly on the importance of the historic inner city of Paramaribo for the self-esteem of Suriname. For example, participant T4 states that "[heritage management] is not just important to have beautiful buildings in that area, but also for the national identity, for our self-esteem". The view that the historic inner city was important for Suriname because of its unique selling point was not mentioned by the tourist industry, but by the urban planners. For example, participant P3 stated that the historic inner city of Paramaribo "is one of the identities of Suriname, but it is also your selling point to the rest of the world. We have a wooden city, which is unique. … That is your selling point: how you present yourself as a nation". The tourist industry does not seem to value of the historic inner city as important for tourism.

4.4 The importance of the UNESCO World Heritage status

In general, most participants acknowledged the importance of the World Heritage status (WHS) of the historic inner city of Paramaribo. The participants provided several reasons why they viewed the WHS as important (see Table 14) of which providing a legal foundation for preservation and the marketing value for the tourist industry were most widely discussed.

Interview	WHS is important	WHS is important for legislation	WHS is important for protection	WHS is important for tourism	WHS is important for funding	WHS is important for national pride/status
H1	+	+	+	+	+	+
H2	+		+	+		+
H3	+	+	+	+	+	+
HP1	-	+	-			+
HP2		+		-		
P1	+	+			+	
P2	+			+		
P3	+		+			+
PE		+				
IG	-			-		
T1						
T2	-			-		
T3	+			+		+
T4	-			-		

Table 14: Results of the deemed importance of the WHS and the underlying reasons.

4.4.1 Legal foundation for preservation

Most of the heritage and planning participants described that the inscription of the historic inner city of Paramaribo on the UNESCO World Heritage list resulted in the creation of legislation about heritage management and preservation. The complete aforementioned heritage management legislation (the Monuments Act of 2002, executive order #74 of 2001 and executive order #34 of 2003) were created by the Surinamese government as part of the nomination process. As participant H3 states "because of [the WHS], the Monuments Act has

been pushed through, resulting in an improved management and preservation. The implementation is still mediocre, but the government did create legislation because of it". Participant P3 adds that "If we did not have UNESCO, then [the deterioration of the historic inner city] would probably have continued, but because of UNESCO and also the Suriname Built Heritage Foundation, there have been negotiations, during which UNESCO stated that we need to comply with certain demands". Participants HP1 and P1 indicate that the WHS increases the importance of preserving the historic inner city of Paramaribo for the Surinamese government. This increased importance ensured the creation of heritage management.

While participants H1, H2 and H3 indicate that the creation of heritage legislation in response to UNESCO's guidelines is an important first step towards improved heritage management, not all participants indicated that they see the WHS as important. Participant IG disputed the importance of the WHS in general by stating: "I did not test this, but I am certain that at least seventy percent of the people do not care at all whether Suriname is on the World Heritage list or not". Participant HP1 also disputed the importance of the WHS by stating: "I never found [the WHS] important. I believe that every beautiful old city should be proud of its monuments. For me they are all World Heritage. I do not make a distinction between them". Later in the interview, this participant explains this view with "At a certain moment they found it important to try if we could be placed on the World Heritage list … Well, that was accomplished and it helps a little. It is nice, but we need to do [the preservation] because we find it important, not because we are World Heritage". In other words, this participant argues that the actual preservation needs to be the goal of heritage management, not keeping the WHS. As a result, the creation of legislation is an important effect of the WHS, but successful heritage management depends on the implementation of the legislation and most participants indicated that the implementation of the heritage legislation is not seen as a priority by the Surinamese government. However, participant H3 does not agree that the WHS is unimportant for heritage management by indicating that without the WHS, heritage management would decline and "the ratio wooden buildings and stone buildings will shift towards fifty-fifty".

4.4.2 Marketing value for tourism
As indicated in the theoretical framework, the WHS is often connected to tourism. This connection is also often made by the participants. Participant H1 sees the WHS as a mark of quality and states that "we need to anticipate on and use that in our marketing strategy for tourism. How do we use that mark of quality that has been given to the historic inner city to our benefit? I personally believe that this is not done enough". Participant H3 connects this mark of quality with acquiring more funding for heritage conservation by stating: "you are part of the World Heritage and that provides you as a nation with the possibility to shop, to call it that. You are on the World Heritage list and you can use your site for touristic purposes. Of course, it provides more meaning to your tourism if you say 'this is our inner city, which is placed on the World Heritage list'". Not just the heritage organizations indicate the importance of the WHS for the tourist industry. This connection is also often made by the participants in urban planning. For example, participant P2 states that "you need to profit from the World Heritage status. That is how I see it. I am practically minded and there has been debate about dropping Suriname from the list and that can have far-reaching consequences for tourists. … Therefore, we need to keep the World Heritage status for our tourism policy".

While the heritage organizations and urban planners indicate the importance of the WHS for the tourist industry, the tourist industry itself does not perceive this connection. Only participant T3 hesitantly acknowledged the importance of the WHS by stating that "the inner city of Paramaribo is designated as World Heritage by UNESCO, so you see that it has something to do with tourism". The other participants of the tourist industry stated explicitly that the WHS was not seen as important for the tourist industry. For example, participant T4 states that "we do not specifically use [the WHS] in our promotion. … No, [the historic inner city] is not marketed as

such, not yet. Perhaps it is a good idea to do that, but right now it is not the case". Later in the interview, this participant mentioned to be unaware of the influence the WHS can have on tourism. "I do not know if there are cultural heritage tourists that specifically visit world heritage. I do not know. There are many cities and areas in every nation that are cultural heritage. And I do not know if it matters much that people will specifically visit cultural heritage. Perhaps they do, then it becomes interesting. If there is a specific target group, then it would immediately become interesting". Several participants outside of the tourist industry acknowledge that the WHS is not used in the marketing of Suriname as a tourist destination. Participant HP2 questions "whether [the WHS] had an effect on the economic activities of this nation, in particular the tourist industry. It had no extra effect". Not only does the WHS not play a role in the tourist industry, the tourist industry itself is not seen as an important sector by the government, which is acknowledged by all participants. As participant IG calls it: "cultural tourism is not yet well developed in Suriname. And because Suriname has much fertile land and a good water supply, I do not think that tourism will ever be a determining sector. We do not have white beaches, so tourism will never be determining. Therefore, cultural tourism only provides a very small contribution to our gross national product".

4.4.3 WHS provides status/pride
The WHS is also often seen as providing pride and status to a nation. Only a few participants indicated that this was also the case in Paramaribo. Participant T3 stated that "through the recognition of World Heritage, Paramaribo has become known in the world as the wooden city … that gives us the feeling that we are doing something right". Participant P3 connects this recognition to Suriname's self-esteem as a nation by stating that "the World Heritage status is important, because you get the global recognition of your own worth, your uniqueness. In this way, I see it as being important. That it is recognized that we possess objects that are important". However, several participants indicate that this sense of pride is not widespread. For example, participant H3 states that "you have the recognition, you have the label from UNESCO. You should be proud of that, but the people are not aware of this". Participant IG is not proud of the WHS because of the connection to slavery and colonialism. He states: "People are proud of the symbols of oppression. And I say that they do not realize that the Dutch have occupied and ransacked this nation. People do not realize that this is not good. It is, therefore, an ethical question". Still, other participants indicate that the WHS provides a status of importance for the government, which then resulted in the creation of heritage legislation.

4.5 Stakeholder perceptions about the role of UNESCO
The participants described their view on the role of UNESCO in two ways: how they personally perceived the role of UNESCO and how they believed others perceived the role of UNESCO. Most participants stated that they perceived the role of UNESCO positively. The reasons for this positive perception are connected to the reasons given in response to why the WHS is important. For example, participant H1 stated: "I see it as something positive. There are many gaps in the legislation and if we did not take that step [to become a WHS site], then we would not have the legal protection of the monuments". Participant T2 is also positive about the role of UNESCO, but for another reason: "I think it is a good development, because you sometimes need someone that reminds you whether you are doing things correctly or incorrectly. Because if they as an authority do not supervise, then there is a high chance that people just sell everything or let everything deteriorate. … It is always good to have an objective organization that acts from the interest of culture and built heritage". Participant P3 agrees by stating: "To be honest, I see it as the big stick, because Suriname has the tendency to go its own way. … And with UNESCO, I now see the opportunity that subsequent governments take it [heritage preservation] into account". Participant H3 and P2 call UNESCO "a needed watchdog" for this reason. Other participants argue that UNESCO is doing what Suriname voluntarily asked for by

nominating the historic inner city of Paramaribo for the World Heritage list. For example, participant HP2 answered to the question if the participant perceived the role of UNESCO as positive or negative: "I would not call it either. … It is not just for Paramaribo that these demands are made. They are the norms for the continuation of areas that are seen as World Heritage by UNESCO. So when a nation, in this case a city, Paramaribo, does not meet these demands … then UNESCO is obligated to state that the quality of the heritage maintenance is below the mark and you need to do something about that'. Otherwise, we need to withdraw the qualification of heritage". This reason is connected to the perception of the participants whether the policy transfer between UNESCO is voluntary or coercive.

Interview	Finds the role of UNESCO positive	Sees UNESCO as a needed 'watchdog'	Argues that UNESCO is doing what Suriname asked for	States that the role of UNESCO should increase
H1	x		x	
H2	x	x		
H3	x	x	x	
HP1				
HP2			x	
P1	x			x
P2		x		
P3	x	x		
PE				
IG				
T1				
T2	x	x		
T3				
T4				

Table 15: Results 1 of stakeholder perceptions about the role of UNESCO.

During most of the interviews, the participants were directly asked about whether they perceive the role of UNESCO as external interference or Western imperialism. None of the participants perceive the role of UNESCO as Western imperialism and only participant T3 stated that there might be some people in Suriname that perceive UNESCO this way. The most frequently mentioned reasons why participants did not perceive UNESCO as western imperialism are that Suriname voluntarily ratified the 1972 UNESCO Convention and also voluntarily nominated the historic inner city of Paramaribo to be added to the World Heritage list.

In response to the question whether the participants perceived the role of UNESCO as a form of western imperialism, several participants indicated that this was not the case. For example, participant IG stated: "I do not want to call [UNESCO] an imperialistic institute, because of the fact that we have joined it ourselves. We have not been forced, but we went ourselves". Moreover, several participants indicated that instead of Western imperialism, there are those who view the role of UNESCO as external interference in Suriname's national affair. For example, participant H1 stated that "especially within the government there are many voices that say 'who is UNESCO to decide for us? We are a sovereign nation'". Participant HP1 agreed by replying to the question whether UNESCO is seen as negative external interference with "Yes that is said sometimes, especially when things are going with difficulty. Especially the Ministry of Public Works has the tendency to conduct interventions without telling anyone. And if you do that in the historic inner city that is a UNESCO World Heritage site, this is not allowed and that is perceived by such a ministry as a restraint". Not all participants state that the

problem lies at OW. For example, participant HP2 stated that the problem lies more with politics. In response to the question whether UNESCO is seen as negative external interference at OW, this participant responded with "No. Because what is the annoyance of it? The revolution is already thirty to thirty-five years ago and in the meantime people with adequate knowledge and expertise have come to Public Works. They just do not have the authority, because they are currently being pushed into a particular corner by the ministers, by the politicians I should say".

Interview	Indicates being unaware of the role of UNESCO	Perceives UNESCO as external interference	Mentions others that perceive UNESCO as external interference	Finds heritage planning a national affair	Perceives UNESCO as Western imperialism	Mentions others that perceive UNESCO as Western imperialism
H1		-	x		-	
H2	x					
H3		-		x		
HP1		-	x	x	-	
HP2		-	x			
P1						
P2	x					
P3		-				
PE	x					
IG		+		x	-	
T1	x					
T2	x					
T3					-	x
T4	x					

Table 16: Results 2 of stakeholder perceptions about the role of UNESCO.

One of the reasons mentioned by the participants for perceiving the role of UNESCO as negative external interference is the lack of familiarity with the 1972 UNESCO convention. For example, participant H1 stated "People see it more as interference in Surinamese affairs. In fact, this is caused by unfamiliarity with the World Heritage convention. People do not look into that material". This unfamiliarity returns in the answers of participants IG and P2. Participant IG responded to the question about his view of the role of UNESCO with "Is there a signed treaty with UNESCO? No right? There surely is no international treaty". Participant P2 indicated that "I have not been here [the Ministry of Public Works] for long … and I have focused predominantly on other projects: commercial and industrial projects. ... Those types of projects have more priority. … I have not familiarized myself into that yet, into the policies on monuments I mean". Participants PE, T2 and H2 referred to someone else to ask questions about the role of UNESCO, because they were unfamiliar with the role of UNESCO. For example, participant H2 responded to the question about his view on the role of UNESCO with "about the UNESCO story I cannot tell you much. That belongs to [SGES]".

5 Discussion

In this section, the results are connected to the theoretical framework. In other words, a theoretical analysis is made of the research findings. The same structure is followed as in the results.

5.1 Heritage management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo

The document analysis of the Urban Development Act and the Planning Act based on the seven criteria that differentiate the planning cultures (see Table 4) indicates that the institutional design in Suriname has developed a clear comprehensive integrated planning approach with a systematic and formal hierarchy of plans (i.e. the structure plan, local land-use plans and allotment plans) and a strong focus on public sector investment in urban planning. However, the comprehensive integrated planning approach needs a mature planning system to function (European Commission, 1997; Nadin & Stead, 2012) and this currently does not seem to be the case in Suriname. With the absence of a structure plan since the 1980s and the various examples of corruption at the Ministry of Public Works, the planning system of Suriname can be characterized as immature. A similar immaturity is found in Suriname's heritage management. The document analysis of the Monuments Act and executive orders #34 and #74 indicates that the institutional design of the heritage legislation seems firm, but again the participants indicated that the implementation of this legislation is insufficient. Using the three levels of institutional design (Alexander, 2012), it can be argued that despite a seemingly firm macro level, the weak meso level and micro level prevent this macro level to be properly implemented. The participants indicated that the Surinamese government does not adhere to its own legislation and there are no real consequences for private parties that violate the heritage management laws. Moreover, the participants indicated that the government does not always follow the advice provided by the Monuments Committee, the Suriname Built Heritage Foundation and the Building Committee, which results in developments in the historic inner city that are not in line with the heritage legislation.

The document analysis and cross-case analysis indicate that heritage planning in Suriname draws extensively on policy transfer, not only from UNESCO, but also from the Netherlands (e.g. in the development of the Urban Renewal Foundation). The document analysis indicated that this often involves direct copying of planning goals, content (e.g. the inclusion of conservation areas in the Monuments Act), instruments (e.g. the creation of buffer zones) and programs (e.g. the development of the PWHSMP), which confirms the argument that developing countries engage in policy transfer predominantly through direct copying (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; Minogue, 2002; Randma-Liiv & Kruusenberg, 2012). The association of direct copying of policies and policy failure by not taking the context into account (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; Minogue, 2002) also becomes apparent in Suriname as several participants indicated that UNESCO's guidelines do not consider the priorities and capabilities of developing countries. For example, UNESCO granted the World Heritage status on the condition that heritage management would have a legal foundation. As a result, the Monuments Act contains a section about the creation of a local land-use plan to guarantee this legal foundation, but without a structure plan this local land-use plan cannot be created.

5.2 Reasons for UNESCO's statement that the management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo needed to improve

Many of the identified reasons by the participants for the insufficient heritage management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo are interconnected and eventually lead back to the functioning of the government. Van Maanen (2011) already indicated that heritage management did not have a high enough priority for the Surinamese government and that this was not only caused by economic motives, but also by the government's limited experience, awareness, and

capacities. The eleven identified reasons provide a similar argument. A lack of awareness, problems with corruption and the brain drain away from several ministries after the governmental coupe of the 1980s have resulted in the absence of a structure plan, competition between ministries and heritage management not being seen as a priority by the government. This, in turn, resulted in inadequate implementation of the heritage legislation and a lack of judicial prosecution of violators.

Van Maanen (2011) also argues that there is a lack of awareness, involvement and appreciation by the Surinamese population, caused by a very low participation amongst the local population in heritage management. The involvement of the Surinamese population in heritage management was not identified by the participants as an aspect that needed improvement, but that could be caused by a lack of awareness amongst the participants of the importance of this involvement as Van Maanen (2011) argues. The document analysis of the PWHSMP indicates that stakeholder negotiations were held in the construction of the PWHSMP and, as such, local communities are involved in heritage management. This was confirmed by the participants of the heritage organizations and urban planning department. However, the participants from the tourist industry stated that they were not involved in these stakeholder negotiations. In addition, the participants stated that owners of buildings were not involved in the creation of the monuments list, resulting in resistance amongst owners about the legitimacy of this list.

5.3 The historic inner city of Paramaribo as part of a Surinamese identity
The participants had opposing views about the importance of the historic inner city of Paramaribo to Suriname's identity, which connects with differences in previous research (see Nagtegaal, 2009; Rijkers, 2006; Van Maanen, 2007; and Veen & Veen, 2007). All participant groups acknowledged that a group existed within Surinamese society that does not identify with the historic inner city, but the perceived size of this group varied. This research finding corresponds with the argument by that heritage dissonance is intrinsic to the nature of heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). Three reasons were identified by the participants for the dissonance of the historic inner city of Paramaribo. First, a group of people in Suriname sees the heritage area as representing Dutch heritage rather than Surinamese heritage. Second, there is a group that does not associate with the heritage area because they view its colonial connection as a negative aspect of their own history from which they dissociate themselves. Third, a group of people does not perceive the colonial history of Suriname as their own history and, therefore, dissociate themselves with the historic inner city of Paramaribo as being part of their ethnic or cultural identity. From the identified reasons, the complex character of colonial heritage becomes apparent. The heritage area is inextricably associated to slavery during Suriname's colonial past, but there are differences between the perceived otherness in time and otherness in place. The differences between the three identified reasons for heritage dissonance connect to the argument that not all ethnic groups identify with the historic inner city of Paramaribo (Van Maanen, 2011). Even though the identified reasons do not confirm this argument, it does show that it is perceived to be this way.

5.4 The importance of the UNESCO World Heritage status
The participants were divided in their perception of the importance of the World Heritage status (WHS). The three main reasons that were given for the importance of the WHS are its influence in the creation of legislation, the importance for the tourism industry and the influence on national pride and status, even though the latter seemed of less importance than the first two. The argument that the WHS is often perceived as important for recognition of national and/or cultural self-worth and the expected revenue from heritage tourism (Pendlebury et al., 2009; Smith, 2002) is, therefore, only partially supported by these research findings. For the participants, heritage conservation seemed to be the main reason why the WHS was deemed

important. Even though the WHS was perceived as important for the tourism industry by the participants of the heritage and planning groups, the participants of the tourism group did not perceive the WHS as important for their sector. Moreover, all participant groups indicated that the tourism industry is not seen as an important industry for the Surinamese government. The inextricable connection between tourism and heritage (Graham et al., 2000; Salazar & Zhou, 2015; Timothy, 1997) and its associated generation of funds (NWHO, 1999) was, therefore, not reflected in the perceptions of the participants of the tourist group. This leads to a circular argument that heritage conservation is important to keep the WHS, which, in turn, is important to ensure heritage conservation, making heritage conservation a goal in itself.

With the tourism industry still in its infancy and heritage tourists not being part of the targeted market by Suriname's tourism promotion, not much can be said about the impact of the tourism industry on the local community. However, the different interests of the various stakeholders which often results in negative impacts on the local community (see Andereck et al., 2005; Deery et al., 2012; Timothy, 2011) is already present, as is shown by the land issue of the Waterkant (see Box 1). As a result, the contrasting political and economic agendas are already starting to show in Suriname, which, according to Salazar & Zhou (2015) can jeopardize the chances for sustainable tourism development.

5.5 Stakeholder perceptions about the role of UNESCO

Almost half of the participants, predominantly from the tourism group, indicated that they could not say much about their perception about the role of UNESCO, because they were unaware what this role entailed. Of the participants that did know the role of UNESCO, the majority perceived UNESCO as a needed watchdog to help the Surinamese government to make heritage management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo successful. Additionally, the participants of the heritage group perceived UNESCO as merely doing its job. In general, the role of UNESCO was seen as positive. Despite some participants indicating that they perceived heritage management as a national affair, the role of UNESCO was not seen as external interference, but several participants acknowledged that other stakeholders might perceive the role of UNESCO this way. None of the participants perceived the role of UNESCO as a form of Western imperialism, which does not completely dismiss the argument by Hahn (2011) that UNESCO can be seen as a new form of Western imperialism, but it does indicate that it is not perceived this way in Suriname by the active stakeholders in heritage management.

5.6 A synthesis of the research findings

The aforementioned answers to the subquestions indicate the interconnectedness of the heritage management and planning of the historic inner city of Paramaribo and the Surinamese context. The immature nature of Suriname's planning culture and the identified heritage dissonance negatively affect the heritage management of Paramaribo's colonial heritage. These research findings support the argument by Pendlebury et al. (2009) that the management of a World Heritage area is highly complex due to the many stakeholders involved with different agendas. Consequently, following the argument by De Roo and Voogd (2007), a governance approach seems to be required for the management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo. It was indicated that the heritage organizations do attempt to involve stakeholders in the creation of the management plans (e.g. the PWHSMP), but not all stakeholders seem to be part of the stakeholder negotiations. While stakeholder negotiations can increase the support for heritage management, the participants indicate that they are searching for expertise to help improve the heritage management in Suriname. Even though only one participant indicated that UNESCO should play a larger role in national heritage management, several other participants indicated that they expect UNESCO to step in when the management and planning of the historic inner city of Paramaribo is insufficient to guarantee its preservation.

6 Conclusion

The objective of this master thesis research was to explore how policy transfer from UNESCO to national governments is perceived by the active stakeholders involved with the management of World Heritage sites. This objective was attempted to be reached by researching how the active stakeholders involved with heritage management in Suriname perceive the influence of UNESCO on the management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo. It was found that the active stakeholders perceived the policy transfer between UNESCO and the Surinamese government through the UNESCO guidelines as obligatory policy transfer. All stakeholder groups besides the tourist industry indicated that Suriname had voluntarily nominated the historic inner city of Paramaribo for inscription on the List of World Heritage and that this inscription meant they needed to adhere to the management guidelines that UNESCO proscribed. UNESCO is seen by the active stakeholders as a needed watchdog that ensures the conservation of the historic inner city of Paramaribo through its expertise. Policy goals content, instruments and programs seem to be mostly directly copied, which could be caused by policy transfer being perceived as obligated from an organization that has a higher expertise than the heritage organizations in Suriname. The stakeholders did not see the role of UNESCO as external interference or Western imperialism. These findings indicate that the threat of being placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger can have a strong influence on obligated policy transfer between UNESCO and a national government, with the World Heritage status functioning as a trump card.

The perception of UNESCO by the active stakeholders as a *needed* watchdog is partly caused by the insufficient heritage management, especially of the monumental buildings in public ownership, and the immature planning system with a tendency of the government to not adhere to its own planning and heritage legislation. The active stakeholders stressed that guidance from a higher governmental level than the national government is needed to ensure heritage preservation. Heritage preservation seems to be a goal in itself in Suriname, because the often identified benefits of cultural heritage (national/personal pride and tourist revenues) do not seem highly developed yet.

6.1 Practical implications

The research findings of this master thesis research can have several practical implications. First, the identified reasons for the insufficient heritage management of the historic inner city of Paramaribo can lead to improvements of Suriname's heritage management. The development of a structure plan, increasing funds for heritage management and stimulating tourism development seem the most important points of improvement. Involving the tourist industry in heritage management and promoting Paramaribo's historic inner city could result in more economic revenue. Even though participants EP and P2 started the development of a structure plan in the beginning of 2015, it is unclear if the elections in May 2015 have affected this development. The planning issues in the historic inner city (e.g. parking, traffic congestion) were not on the political agenda during the elections. Moreover, shortly after the political party of President Bouterse had won the national elections, he stated that Suriname was close to falling into an economic crisis, which would mean the government has to make drastic cutbacks (Lamé, 2015). This can have a serious impact in the available funds for heritage maintenance and tourism development, which is already perceived by the active stakeholders as being insufficient.

The research findings can also have practical implications for UNESCO. The research findings indicate that the active stakeholders in Suriname perceive UNESCO as a needed watchdog, which means they turn to UNESCO for their expertise. Additionally, the threat of being placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger resulted in the development of new heritage management measures. Even though the List of World Heritage in Danger seems

successful as a way to stimulate improvements in the management of World Heritage sites, the implementation of the newly created heritage management measures might not be as successful in practice. As indicated, the legislation itself does not seem to be the cause for the insufficient heritage management in Suriname, but its implementation. This raises the question whether UNESCO should increase its influence in national heritage management when a heritage site is (threatened to be) placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger. Improving heritage management on a national or regional level requires solutions based on the planning culture and institutional design. In other words, the context needs to be taken into account.

Another way the research findings can have practical implementations for UNESCO is that the research findings indicate that the heritage organizations and urban planners are looking towards UNESCO for expertise, which can indicate that UNESCO can have a stronger influence on national heritage planning and can steer heritage management to their own insights. This could influence the impact that the newly developed HUL approach can have. With the surrounding of heritage sites and areas becoming integrated in UNESCO's vision on conservation, heritage management is getting more complex. The HUL approach could result in resentment towards heritage conservation as it influences the development of new buildings. Because policy transfer is perceived as voluntary obligation by the active stakeholders in Suriname, this could be a foundation to strengthen and improve heritage management to include the HUL approach. However, for the HUL approach to become successful, it seems that the support of civil servants and interest organizations is not enough when the politicians do not share the need for heritage conservation. The case of Suriname shows that as long as heritage management is not a priority for the politicians in charge of urban development and heritage management, heritage conservation remains a struggle.

6.2 Further research
The research findings raised several new questions that need further research. First, more research is needed about the perceptions of politicians towards policy transfer between UNESCO and national heritage management. Unfortunately, politicians were absent from the participants in this research. Second, other case study research is required about active stakeholder perceptions of policy transfer between UNESCO and national governments in the management of World Heritage sites. As the historic inner city of Suriname can be seen as an extreme case of heritage management due to its increased complexity caused by its colonial characteristic, other colonial and non-colonial cases could increase understanding of policy transfer in heritage management and perceptions on this policy transfer. Third, further research is required about the influence of using 'historic' opposed to 'colonial' on the perceptions, interpretations and valuations of heritage sites by local communities in postcolonial settings. This research could improve the understanding of the link between colonial heritage and personal, cultural and/or national identity. Fourth, more research is needed on stakeholder perceptions about being placed on the List of World Heritage Sites in Danger and the effects of this placement. This could increase understanding of the functioning of the World Heritage status as a trump card in the successful policy transfer of heritage management guidelines.

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Appendix 1: Research summary used during participant recruitment

Het erfgoedbeleid van Suriname aangaande de historische binnenstad van Paramaribo

Masterscriptieproject
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Het onderwerp van dit masterscriptieproject is het erfgoedbeleid van Suriname aangaande de historische binnenstad van Paramaribo en de rol van UNESCO in dit beleid. Ik raakte geïnteresseerd in dit onderwerp door de berichtgeving dat UNESCO dreigde met het ontnemen van de werelderfgoedstatus van Paramaribo's historische binnenstad als er geen veranderingen kwamen in het beleid om het te beschermen. Hierop volgde de ontwikkeling van een noodplan, waardoor Paramaribo haar Werelderfgoedstatus heeft behouden.

Het doel van mijn onderzoek is om meer inzicht te krijgen in de visie van de verschillende relevante actoren op de rol die UNESCO speelt op het beleid ten aanzien van de historische binnenstad van Paramaribo dat op UNESCO's Werelderfgoedlijst staat. Om dit doel te bereiken zal ik in de periode 2 februari – 6 april in Paramaribo zijn om de verschillende actoren te interviewen. De volgende onderwerpen zullen ter sprake komen tijdens deze interviews:
- In hoeverre de historische binnenstad van Paramaribo wordt gezien als onderdeel van de identiteit(en) van Suriname.
- Wat het belang is van de Werelderfgoedstatus van de historische binnenstad van Paramaribo.
- Wat de belangrijkste elementen zijn van het ontwikkelde noodplan en wat de uitwerkingen zullen zijn daarvan.
- Hoe het dreigement van UNESCO om Paramaribo's Werelderfgoedstatus te ontnemen wordt ervaren.
- Wat UNESCO's rol is in het erfgoedbeleid van Paramaribo en hoe deze rol wordt ervaren.

Mijn masterscriptieproject betreft een kwalitatief onderzoek waarbij gebruik wordt gemaakt van semi-gestructureerde interviews. De interviews worden opgenomen en vervolgens getranscribeerd in een letterlijke schriftelijke weergave. Deze transcripten zullen dienen als de belangrijkste data waarop de uitkomsten van dit onderzoek worden gebaseerd.

De uitkomsten van het onderzoek kunnen behulpzaam zijn bij het ontwikkelen van toekomstig beleid inzake de monumentale binnenstad van Paramaribo en eventuele andere erfgoedgebieden. Daarmee kunnen diverse belangen gemoeid zijn, zoals dat van de Surinaamse nationale identiteit, dat van de ontwikkeling van Suriname als toeristische bestemming, en het ondersteunen van zelfbewust Surinaams optreden ten opzichte van internationale partners, zoals UNESCO, ICOMOS en monumentenorganisaties vanuit Nederland.

Appendix 2: Interview guide

Introduction
- Interviewer introduces himself
- Explanation of the purpose of the research
- Description what will be done with the data collected
- Outline of the outcome of the research
- Ethical issues (confidentiality, anonymity)
- Ask for consent of participation
- Permission to audio-record after an explanation what will be done with the recording

Opening questions
- The role/function of the interviewee in the heritage planning of Paramaribo's colonial heritage.

Key questions
- To what extent do the different stakeholders view Paramaribo's colonial heritage as part/constituting Suriname's (cultural) identity?
- To what extent is Paramaribo's title of being a UNESCO world heritage site seen as important? Why?/Why not?
  o Tourism?
  o Prestige?
- How is Paramaribo's colonial World Heritage managed?
  o What is the legislation and what is in it?
  o Who is responsible for the heritage management?
  o Is the management seen as successful? (Yes: why; No: Why, what could be improved?)
  o What is the role of NL in its management?
- What is the influence of UNESCO on the way Paramaribo's colonial heritage is managed?
  o What were the changes of the new Emergency Plan that was created in response to UNESCO's threat to take away Paramaribo's World heritage title compared to the situation prior to the development of this plan?
  o What do the different stakeholders think about this plan? Will it be successful? Will it make a difference? Was it needed?
- How do the stakeholders perceive the role of UNESCO?
  o External interference?
  o Western Imperialism?

Closing questions
- Other stakeholders to interview

Appendix 3: Emergency Action Plan

Main conservation Issues	Emergency Measures	Responsible Agent
Implementation management plan	Endorse and circulate PWHSMP	CoM
	Strengthen SGES with adequate staffing and budget	MINOV/CoM
	Provide SGES with legal tools for management of the PWHS and communicate the legal position of SGES as Site Manager for the PWHS to all governmental levels, stakeholders and community	MINOV/CoM
	Prepare an integral urban development plan as part of or supplement to the PWHSMP	OW/MINOV
Conservation of PWHS	Re-establish Building Committee	OW
	Regulate advertisement	OW/ILACO
	Temporarily stop mass activities on Independent Square (1 year)	PO/OG
	Establish event management guidelines for use Independence Square	
	Complete ban on driving and parking on Independence Square	
	Rehabilitation program by SHP	SHP
	Rehabilitation program of State-owned monuments	OW/CoM
Public Awareness	Implement UNESCO project 'World Heritage in Young Hands	SGES/SCOM
	Organize yearly an Open Monuments Day	SGES/SHP
	Publication Monuments Calendar	SGES
	Organize educational programs and press campaigns	MINOV
Legal Framework	Revision Monuments Act	MINOV/MC/SGES
	Update legal instruments on heritage conservation and urban development	MINOV/OW
Traffic/Parking	Control traffic within PWHS	OW/PD/TCT
	Regulate car parking	OW/PD
	Stimulate paid parking	OW
Urban Planning	Development Master Plan PWHS	OW/MINOV
Rehabilitation	Rehabilitation 'Building 1790'	OW
	Rehabilitation Waterkant 30-32	OW
	Rehabilitation Henck Arronstraat 1	OW

Appendix 4: Codebook

Code	Code Family	Type	Description	Answers question	Based on
Ad Hoc Policy	Heritage management	In Vivo	Description of heritage management as ad hoc	1, 2	Interviews
Estate Property		In Vivo	Multiple heirs of one heritage building/plot, often mostly living abroad	1, 2	Interviews
Ministry Buildings	Case Study	Inductive	Example of a ministry building to illustrate heritage management	1, 2	Interviews
Independence Square	Case Study	Inductive	Example of independence square to illustrate heritage management	1, 2	Interviews
Presidential Palace	Case Study	Inductive	Example of the presidential palace to illustrate heritage management	1, 2	Interviews
Colonial	Heritage & Identity	Deductive	The connection between the historic inner city and colonialism	2, 3, 4	Harrison and Hughes, 2000; Van Maanen, 2011
Dissonant	Heritage & Identity	Deductive	The historic inner city seen as dissonant heritage.	2, 3, 4	Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996
Othering	Heritage & Identity	Deductive	The sense of othering towards the historic inner city.	2, 3, 4	Harrison and Hughes, 2000; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996
Personal Status	Heritage & Identity	Inductive	The importance to personal status of the historic inner city.	2, 3, 4	Interviews
Surinamese Identity	Heritage & Identity	Deductive	The importance to the Surinamese identity of the historic inner city.	2, 3, 4	Ashworth and Kuipers, 2002; Harrison and Hughes, 2000
Heritage & Tourism		Deductive	A connection made between heritage and tourism	3, 4	Harrison, 2010; Shackley, 1998
Costs	Heritage Management	Deductive	Mentioning of the costs of heritage management	2	Graham et al., 2000
Emergency Action Plan	Heritage Management	Deductive	Mentioning of the Emergency Action Plan.	1, 2, 4	UNESCO, 2014
Failure	Heritage Management	Deductive	Mentioning of the failure and reasons of failure of Surinamese heritage planning.	2	Boerboom, 2013; ICOMOS, 2013
Implementatio n Failure	Heritage Management	Inductive	Mentioning of missing or inadequate implementation of heritage legislation.	2	Interviews
Importance &	Heritage	Inductive	Mentioning of the	2	Interviews

Priority	Management		importance and priority of heritage management for the Surinamese government.		
Judicial Failure	Heritage Management	Inductive	Mentioning of missing or inadequate judicial actions.	2	Interviews
National Affair	Heritage Management	Inductive	Surinamese heritage management is seen as a national affair.	2, 4, 5, 6	Interviews
Restrains Development	Heritage Management	Inductive	Heritage preservation is seen as restraining the development of Paramaribo.	2, 3, 4	Interviews
Stakeholder Negotiations	Heritage Management	Deductive	Mentioning of negotiations between stakeholders in heritage management	1, 2	De Roo & Voogd, 2007; Pendlebury et al., 2009
Successful	Heritage Management	Inductive	Heritage management is seen as successful	1, 2	Interviews
Supervision Failure	Heritage Management	Inductive	Mentioning of missing or inadequate supervision of the government on heritage management.	2	Interviews
Colonial Past	Influence Context	Inductive	Mentioning of the influence of Suriname's colonial past.	2	Interviews
Military Coup	Influence Context	Inductive	Mentioning of the influence of Suriname's military coup.	2	Interviews
Netherlands	Influence Context	Deductive	Mentioning of the influence of the Netherlands.	1, 2	Dalhuisen et al., 2007
Heritage Management	Institutional Design	Deductive	Anything related to the institutional design of heritage management in Suriname.	1, 2	Alexander, 2012
Tourism Industry	Institutional Design	Deductive	Anything related to the institutional design of the tourist industry in Suriname.	2	Alexander, 2012
Urban Planning	Institutional Design	Deductive	Anything related to the institutional design of urban planning in Suriname.	1, 2	Alexander, 2012
Ideas and attitudes	Policy Transfer Category	Deductive	Ideas and attitudes are transferred by Suriname from UNESCO.	1	Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000
Ideologies	Policy Transfer Category	Deductive	Ideologies are transferred by Suriname from UNESCO.	1	Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000
Negative Lessons	Policy Transfer Category	Deductive	Policy transfer is used to find negative lessons from UNESCO and avoid them by Suriname.	1	Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000

Policy Content	Policy Transfer Category	Deductive	Policy content is transferred by Suriname from UNESCO.	1	Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000
Policy Goals	Policy Transfer Category	Deductive	Policy goals are transferred by Suriname from UNESCO.	1	Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000
Policy Instruments	Policy Transfer Category	Deductive	Policy instruments are transferred by Suriname from UNESCO.	1	Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000
Policy Programs	Policy Transfer Category	Deductive	Policy programs are transferred by Suriname from UNESCO.	1	Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000
Copying	Policy transfer degree	Deductive	Policies are directly copied by Suriname.	1	Common, 1999; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000; Evans, 2009
Emulation	Policy transfer degree	Deductive	Policies are emulated by Suriname in the creation of new policies.	1	Common, 1999; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000; Evans, 2009
Hybridization	Policy transfer degree	Deductive	Policies are hybridized into new policies by Suriname.	1	Common, 1999; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000; Evans, 2009
Inspiration	Policy transfer degree	Deductive	Policies are used as inspiration by Suriname in the creation of new policies.	1	Common, 1999; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000; Evans, 2009
Coerced	Policy Transfer Form	Deductive	Policy transfer between UNESCO and Suriname is seen as coercive.	1	Dolowitz, 2000; 2003; Evans, 2009
Obligated	Policy Transfer Form	Deductive	Policy transfer between UNESCO and Suriname is seen as obligated.	1	Dolowitz, 2000; 2003; Evans, 2009
Voluntary	Policy Transfer Form	Deductive	Policy transfer between UNESCO and Suriname is seen as voluntary.	1	Dolowitz, 2000; 2003; Evans, 2009
Trump Card	Policy Transfer	Deductive	Related to the UNESCO WHS being seen as a trump card.	1, 4	Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996
Governmental Continuity	Influence politics	Inductive	Mentioning of the influence of (the lack of) governmental continuity on heritage management.	2	Interviews
Influence Elections	Influence politics	Inductive	Mentioning of the influence of the elections on heritage management.	2	Interviews
Internal Competition	Influence politics	Inductive	Mentioning of the influence of internal	1, 2	Interviews

			competition on heritage management.		
National Prestige	Influence politics	Inductive	Mentioning of the influence of national prestige on heritage management.	3, 4	Interviews
Not Enough	Role UNESCO	Inductive	The role of UNESCO is seen as not being enough.	5	Interviews
External Interference	Role UNESCO	Deductive	The role of UNESCO is seen as external interference	5	Hahn, 2011
Othering	Role UNESCO	Deductive	UNESCO is seen as different (the other).	5, 6	Said, 1978
Opinion	Role UNESCO	Inductive	An opinion is given about the role of UNESCO and whether it is needed.	5, 6	Interviews
Western Imperialism	Role UNESCO	Deductive	The role of UNESCO is seen as Western Imperialism.	6	Hahn, 2011
Destinations	Tourist Industry	Deductive	Related to the tourist destinations.	3, 4	Graham et al., 2000; Salazar & Zhou, 2015; Timothy, 1997
Failure	Tourist Industry	Inductive	Related to insufficiencies in the tourist industry.	3, 4	Interviews
Importance	Tourist Industry	Inductive	Related to the (deemed) importance of the tourist industry in Suriname.	3, 4	Interviews
Policy	Tourist Industry	Inductive	Related to tourism policies	3, 4	Interviews
Potential	Tourist Industry	Inductive	Related to the tourist potential of the historic inner city of Paramaribo.	3, 4	Interviews
Promotion	Tourist Industry	Deductive	Related to tourist promotion.	3, 4	Graham et al., 2000; Salazar & Zhou, 2015; Timothy, 1997
Statistics	Tourist Industry	Inductive	Related to statistics of the tourist industry.	3, 4	Interviews
Guidelines	UNESCO	Deductive	Mentioning of the UNESCO Guidelines	1	UNESCO, 2012
List of Endangered	UNESCO	Deductive	Mentioning of the List of UNESCO WHS in danger.	1, 2, 4, 5, 6	UNESCO, 2014
Management Report	UNESCO	Deductive	Mentioning of the UNESCO management report.	1, 2	ICOMOS, 2013; UNESCO, 2014
World Heritage Status	UNESCO	Deductive	Mentioning of the UNESCO WHS.	1, 4, 5, 6	UNESCO, 1972
Failure	Urban Planning	Deductive	Anything related to why urban planning in	1, 2	De Roo & Voogd, 2007

			Suriname is insufficient.		
Importance	Urban Planning	Deductive	Related to why urban planning is important.	1	De Roo & Voogd, 2007
Planning Culture	Urban Planning	Deductive	Related to the planning culture of Suriname.	1	European Commission, 1997; Sanyal, 2005
Effects	World Heritage Status	Deductive	Related to the effects of the WHS.	4, 5, 6	Graham et al., 2000; NWHO, 1999; Salazar & Zhou, 2015; Timothy, 1997
Importance	World Heritage Status	Deductive	Related to the importance of the WHS.	4, 5, 6	Pendlebury et al., 2009; Smith, 2002
Nomination Request	World Heritage Status	Inductive	Related to the nomination request for Paramaribo to become a WHS.	1, 4	Interviews