

Managing complexities and governance practices in heritage towns

Governance recommendations for heritage town Orvelte based on management practices from UNESCO heritage towns



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August 2019



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Collage on the front page: The interconnectedness of multiple aspects within Orvelte are depicted. From top right, clockwise to the middle picture.

1. Farmer in Sunday's attire, photograph taken in 1944. (representing past generations and continuity)¹
2. Local enthusiast displaying traditional ways of harvesting. (representing educational use)²
3. Local café/restaurant with tourists. (representing leisure and entrepreneurship)³
4. Fully renovated farmstead 'Bruntingerhof' with traditional, status-indicating wickerwork patterns. (representing heritage conservation and historical value)⁴
5. Orvelte's residents discuss frictions between stakeholders. (representing the dissonant nature of heritage as a result of different uses)⁵
6. A house for sale in Orvelte. (representing the resident-community and living heritage)⁶
7. Two children explore Orvelte. (representing the most mentioned purpose of heritage: preserving remnants of past generations for generations to come)⁷

¹ Mode Muze (2009). <https://www.modemuze.nl/collecties/boer-uit-orvelte-zijn-zondagse-pak-1944-0>

² De Borckerhof Groepsaccomodatie (2019). <https://www.borckerhof.nl/zien-en-doen/museumdorp-orvelte/>

³ De Krant Midden-Drenthe (2016). https://dekrantvanmiddendrenthe.nl/artikel/468951/orvelte-brainstormt-over-toekomst.html?harvest_referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F

⁴ Petra's fotowebsite (2019). <https://www.sandersweb.nl/orvelte>

⁵ ILA (2019). <http://www.ilabour.eu/news-events/one-last-chance-tc-took-place-in-orvelte-the-netherlands>

⁶ Funda (2019).

https://www.google.com/search?q=huis+te+koop+orvelte&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiS1-zsvqDjAhXMKVAKHfWaBiMQ_AUIECgB&biw=1280&bih=578#imgrc=bYT15ySEuAUF4M:

⁷ Viervoetervriendelijk (2019). <https://viervoetervriendelijk.nl/voor-welke-leeftijd/>

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank the respondents who were willing to talk to me about delicate and personal matters. Their interest and enthusiasm made the entire process all the more gratifying.

To Peter Groote (supervisor), thank you for your patience and constructive feedback. This gave me the confidence I needed to continue and a growing enthusiasm for the academic field of heritage. Without this, I would not have chosen to continue my studies in Sweden.

To Irina Dragomir, thank you for the fascinating conversations about the nature of heritage.

Lastly, I would like to express my appreciation to my family who has supported me in many ways throughout the past year.

Abstract

The objective of this research is to formulate recommendations for the heritage town of Orvelte. Orvelte is in the process of implementing a participatory governance system. As a consequence, the owner of most of Orvelte's heritage, Het Drentse Landschap, and the municipality of Midden-Drenthe will reduce their influence. However, no blueprint is available to guide such a new governance structure successfully. Therefore, this research explored international management structures. A total of 53 UNESCO-status towns were analysed and three classes of management structures were distinguished.

The class coined 'Heritage Governance', which involves multiple stakeholders, aligns most with Orvelte's case. ICOMOS reports of the 'Heritage Governance' towns were analysed more elaborately in comparison to the other classes. This resulted in the identification of relevant management practices that proved successful and/or common within this class. This research found that a strong governmental influence is prevalent. These governmental bodies should facilitate a network of partnerships (both public and private) to successfully manage various stakeholders. Furthermore, when the resident of heritage towns own their house their 'place attachment' to the town and their dwelling will increase. As a consequence, the owners will properly maintain their homes. Lastly, the participation degree of resident-community is relatively high, but overall still limited, within this class. The potential dangers of this class are excessive tourism and exploitive public-private partnerships. Both these issues have a destructive influence on material heritage and the resident-community's standard of living.

As derived from the analysis, the main recommendation for Orvelte are: to revise the reduced relationship the institutions Het Drentse Landschap (the owner of most of the heritage in Orvelte) and the municipality of Midden-Drenthe. 'Cutting the cord' with these institutions will most likely lead to a loss of communication and resources. Secondly, clarify the expectations (and degree) of participation to prevent unmet expectations and frustrations, as adjusting the relatively high degree of participation will not be realistic. Lastly, discussions on the selection of future tenants and homeowners should be started to foster an increase of 'place attachment'.

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1. Introduction

Orvelte is often called the most primal and characteristic village of the province of Drenthe (Masterplan Orvelte 2018). The earliest official documentation indicates the origin of Orvelte in 1362. Nowadays, the village is characterized by 19th century Saxon farmhouses. The village counts a total of 64 farmhouses of which 21 are listed as national monuments. In addition, the village's view is safeguarded as well (Cultureel-historische waardstelling, 2017; Rijksmonumenten, 2019). Orvelte is considered a prime example of an *esdorp* (a.k.a. *Angerdorf*), meaning a village built on sand in the High Middle-Ages (Boivin, 2015). The term *esdorp* is derived from *es*, this is a plain on a higher altitude within the village on which manure was deposited and resulted in an even higher plain that was used collectively by farmers. This is where crops were grown, as well as where cattle was kept. Orvelte was a thriving village: using the fertile moorlands and pastures as means of production and later adapting to technological developments by constructing milk factories. These developments might imply prosperous times that are reflected in stately farmsteads. However, up to the mid-twentieth century, most of the farmsteads were in disastrous condition due to the fact that most farmers were leasing the farms and its agricultural land. This meant that they did not own the farmsteads and had no incentive to maintain or restore them beyond the bare minimum as can be seen in Pictures 1 and 2 (Boivin, 2015).

Deteriorations continued until 1967 when the mayor could finally realize a project that would turn Orvelte into a recreational village; it was envisioned to be a living monument offering an historical and agricultural atmosphere (Boivin, 2015). It was anticipated that agricultural activity would eventually reduce, asking for new functions that would drive the village's productivity. Next to educational and recreational purposes, tourism would promise financial opportunity to maintain Orvelte as a living village containing monuments and traditional crafts. The farmsteads that could be saved were all reconstructed according to the situation in 1860 (Boivin, 2015). Some farmsteads were beyond saving, these spaces were filled with farmsteads from elsewhere and fit the building-style of the 1860's (farmsteads from this era were known to be deconstructed and assembled elsewhere). It is therefore stated that Orvelte as a village is constructed, not reconstructed, while characteristic elements such as the *brink* have undergone significant changes and were relocated. In addition, deviant looking farmhouses were largely replaced or largely hidden from the eye to create a coherent whole (Boivin, 2015).

Due to intensive historical reconstruction, Orvelte is often characterized as a heritage village or a museum village. Despite the latter notion of the village being a museum, this is an unwanted term as it indicates a static display. This is not the case as people have always lived there and some still maintain their farms. As heritage villages have seen an increase in tourists, entrepreneurs have settled and slowly increased their numbers (Orbaşli, 2000; Boivin, 2015).

This trend set in motion a whole series of conflicts between different stakeholders (an elaborated conflict description can be found in the next chapter). The contemporary conflict is between the organization that took over heritage management in Orvelte, Het Drentse Landschap (HDL), local interest groups OPO (entrepreneurial organization) and VABO (organization for the general interest/liveability). The overarching problem is an absence of agreement regarding the role and jurisdiction of HDL on village management. Despite such discord, all stakeholders have come together and formulated a masterplan that can be seen as the necessary grounds to start successful cooperation. Eventually, a cooperation is to be formed of relevant stakeholders who represent entrepreneurs, the general public and heritage events. This participatory governance structure has

yet to take physical form and most of the stakeholders do not yet know what their role and responsibilities will entail.

To contribute to such questions and provide recommendations for future endeavours of the village and its cooperation, this thesis has analysed the performance of management practices from international heritage towns that resemble Orvelte. In academic or in institutional circles, there is no universal blueprint for the management of heritage villages and its participatory governance structures. No general manual of its strengths and weaknesses is given, as place-specific circumstances need to be taken into account (UNESCO, 2018; Perkin, 2010). In later chapters, this will be discussed more elaborately and nuanced.

Due to a lack of such a blueprint, this thesis is designed to gradually construct a better understanding of the worldwide phenomenon of ‘the heritage town’ and to subsequently apply management practices to the specified case of Orvelte. To operationalize this aim, the overarching question that needs answering is:

‘How are management practices performed in international heritage towns which can contribute to the future policy and decision-making of Orvelte?’.

To answer this question, four sub questions have been formulated:

- What is the past and current situation of Orvelte?
- Using the UNESCO database, how are heritage towns organized?
- How are management practices performed in the class of ‘Heritage Governance’?
- Based on the analysis, what recommendations can contribute to Orvelte’s new management structure?



Picture 1⁸ & 2⁹: Orvelte, unspecified pre-renovation period

⁸ Historische Vereniging Gemeente Westerbork (2011). <http://www.historischeverenigingwesterbork.nl/fotoalbum/8/6/orvelte>

⁹ Beeldband Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed (2019). <https://beeldbank.cultureelerfgoed.nl/alle-afbeeldingen/?q=orvelte&mode=gallery&view=horizontal>

2. Context Orvelte

2.1. Stakeholder conflict

After the deteriorations of Orvelte’s buildings until the 1970’s, a new start for Orvelte was realized when Het Drentse Landschap (hereafter HDL) became the new steward. HDL now owned nearly 80 percent of Orvelte’s material heritage and restored its farmhouses and public spaces. HDL successfully restored, partially sold and is still in charge of the farmhouses that are rented out. With newly renovated farmhouses and potential for tourism, a different kind of obstacle occurred for the community of Orvelte. Due to various historical and personal conflicts between residents, the village has been tainted by decades of conflict. A chronological overview of the events leading to the current situation will serve to illustrate the importance of the historical roots of the conflict. Its importance has been emphasized by all stakeholders as explanatory for contemporary issues. The main three conflicts are shortly elaborated on. Conflict (1) occurred in the 1970’s as newcomers started to flow into Orvelte under supervision of the previous steward of Orvelte: Stichting Orvelte. This policy set in motion an increasingly heterogenized population of new, well-endowed entrepreneurs and the residents who had been living there for generations (Boivin, 2015). This brought about the HVO (initial entrepreneurial organization) to promote Orvelte and attract tourists. This was met with residents’ concern as tourism increased and cohesion within the newly ordered community decreased. This resulted in the VABO that represents the general interest of liveability and cohesion within Orvelte. The representation of the two parties resulted in a resolved disagreement, according to Boivin (2005). However, a well-established stakeholder representation only proved the start of more conflict. A (chronological) overview of the interest groups and how they are re-named can be found in Figure 1.

	Previous	Present
Stewardship Organization	Stichting Orvelte	Het Drentse Landschap
General Interest Organization	VABO	VABO
Entrepreneurial Organization	HVO	OPO
Cultural, enthusiast organization	CAVO	OP

Figure 1: Chronological Overview of Orvelte’s Interest Groups
Source: Boivin (2005) ; interviews with OP, VABO, OPO representatives

Conflict (2) is set in the 2000’s as the CAVO (who organized cultural activities as a partner of HDL) and the HVO were given more responsibilities to uphold material and immaterial heritage with less financial support from the government. Therefore, both stakeholders were in need of financial capital and both organized cultural activities to improve their financial situation. As entrepreneurs, the HVO organized activities for money while the CAVO (as historical enthusiasts) offered free activities for tourists. This led to both parties considering the other as a threat to their livelihoods. Sentiments accumulated into one of the parties setting fire to the other’s property. This conflict made headlines in the national newspaper *Trouw* stating that ‘Orvelte is split due to entrepreneurial jealousy’ (Van der Naald, 2006). A conflict manager was hired by HDL and the municipality to resolve these issues. Mitigation efforts were considered successful when those who were key players in the

conflict left the village. These events have made such an impact that people wanted to rename their organizations. The CAVO turned into *Orvelte Poort* (hereafter OP) and HVO became *Ondernemers Promotie Orvelte* (hereafter OPO). Both the OP and OPO still adhere to their initial interests as heritage enthusiasts and entrepreneurs respectively.

While the latter conflict is most known, and was the initial impulse to this thesis subject, there is a more contemporary, less-public conflict (3) that was pointed out by the presidents of the VABO and OPO. This conflict is described as being between heritage steward HDL and OP and on the other side the OPO and VABO. HDL is the organization that manages the overall village and consequently draws up the contracts and oversees who signs the rental contracts. This implies HDL's significant influence on the content of the contracts, resulting in prescriptive ways of when, what and how to manage one's business and house (president OPO). Moreover, HDL also selects the future renters to inhabit the farmhouses. The latter fact is comparable to conflict (1) and proves structural organizational friction based on jurisdiction and responsibility (interview president VABO). In extend to these structural-organisationally based conflicts, the role and partnership of OP were questioned by OPO and VABO as they were called 'a spy of Het Drentse Landschap'. This reluctance towards an Orvelte-based heritage organization stems from their partnership with HDL. OP manages the paid parking space for HDL. The proceeds would solely go to OP for years, however, this has changed due to critique and proceeds above 10.000 Euro will go to projects benefitting the whole village such as playgrounds.

2.2. Mitigation efforts

The above-mentioned conflicts resulted in the awareness that a structural organ was needed to ensure successful conflict mitigation between stakeholders. All parties came together in an effort to cooperate and formulate a masterplan to realign their interests in favour of increased liveability in Orvelte. All stakeholder organizations and facilitators are involved into formulating the masterplan: VABO, OPO, OP and extra-local parties HDL and the municipality of Midden-Drenthe. Thus, with a willingness to cooperate, foundations for a legitimate executive cooperation were realized. After approval and signatures of the province of Drenthe in early 2019, it is to be expected that an participatory cooperation will be formed with representatives from the organization for overall liveability (VABO), entrepreneurship (OPO) and cultural activities (OP). Each interest party will hold four chairs, these representatives will answer to a council of members, irrespective of a specific interest. This will mean that HDL will transfer most of its decision power to the cooperation. Both HDL and the Municipality Midden-Drenthe will be considered 'contract partners' in the new governance structure, instead of authorities. This entails that both parties are largely absent from the entire management process of Orvelte. Lastly, a professional project coordinator will be hired to oversee fair decision-making. The cooperation will base their decisions on the conclusions made by working groups who will thematically discuss issues of marketing, tourism and green space maintenance. The working groups are also responsible for the execution of the plans which are approved by the cooperation (see Figure 2 for a full overview of the participatory governance structure).

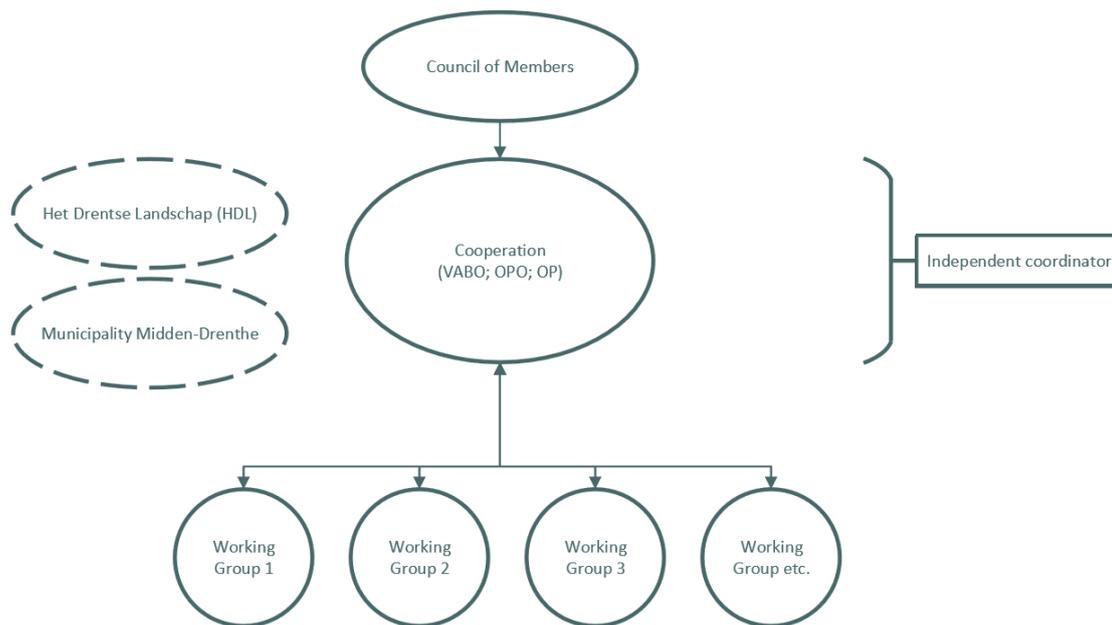


Figure 2: Overview of future participatory governance system.
Source: Masterplan Orvelte, 2018; interview president VABO

2.3. Masterplan for Orvelte’s future

To guide the formulation of a masterplan, a total of three research topics were outsourced to get a detailed account of pressing issues on which concrete actions could be build:

- Cultural-historical value of Orvelte’s material heritage (Het Oversticht, 2017)
- Research into the visitor experience (I&O Research, 2017)
- Traffic circulation and parking (BVA Verkeersadviezen, 2017)

In the masterplan, these researches are presented to facilitate an optimization of the relation between the conservation of cultural heritage, residents, entrepreneurs and tourists of all ages. Emphasized in all three reports is the realization of Orvelte as a living village (Masterplan Orvelte, 2018). It is stated that the village must not be approached as a static, physical artefact that must stay unchanged. Orvelte should be lived, and should therefore be managed to facilitate an environment for living, working, leisure, and multiple historical layers that form Orvelte’s heritage values. Such an approach is widely theorized and recommended by academics and institutions (Ashworth, 2005; Howard, 2005; Orbaşlı, 2000; EU, 2018).

Of course, the heritage values as described by the cultural-historical report are to be well managed and preserved accordingly. The material and immaterial heritage values are to be maintained to keep proving an ‘authentic’ experience (Het Oversticht, 2017). ‘Authenticity’ is used repeatedly for different issues in the masterplan, however, it is not explained what this concept entails for Orvelte’s future. Objective values such as authenticity of the maker, function, materials or building-style could be meant and are implied but not specified. An emphasis on these objective forms of authenticity is often seen in policy reports of heritage towns, especially material authenticity is meant but

unclarified (Vahtikari, 2016). In extension, the masterplan seems to imply the importance of how Orvelte should provide an authentic experience. This phrasing would imply individual experience that is realized in activity. The latter approach to the concept of authenticity is increasingly popular in tourism studies and is deemed more useful in understanding the tourist experience. It emphasizes the importance of the individual's self-identification with the object, in which object or place is instrumental, and is called 'existential authenticity' (Wang, 1999). Orvelte implies offering the raw material for this individual experience in stating that Orvelte presents a shared past and therefore informs us who we are today. What defines this identity is not made clear. When relating to academic literature, these heritage values are presented in terms of continuity. Implying that experiencing the past provides people the ability to place themselves in the present. This process is a part of identity-making in the present. An integral part of what heritage is theorized to provide and consequently why it should be valued (Ashworth 2005).

The second research that was conducted was to gain an understanding of the visitor's experience and their statistical numbers. Based on experiences in comparable (heritage) villages, marketing could be improved by presenting a coherent story and offer complementing (local) products (I&O Research, 2017). This way of marketing the locale has widespread recognition of its economic and social potential when all stakeholders benefit, often conceptualized as having a culture economy using neo-endogenous development (Ray, 1998; Bosworth et al., 2016). This theme will be theoretically discussed and related to Orvelte in following chapters.

Lastly, traffic circulation and parking is mentioned to form an issue. The issues revolve around parking behaviour of tourists. Tourists are to park their cars in the designated parking lot and do not enter the village by car. For the residents, it is stated that they can enter the village by car but must adjust their driving behaviour to the character of the village, which implies driving slowly (BVA Verkeersadviezen, 2017).

3. Theoretical Framework

Heritage can be analysed through different lenses, resulting in an array of notions and features of its essence. The demarcated focus of this chapter is to explore theoretical accounts of contested heritage due to conflict based on stakeholder's interests and how to address them accordingly. Therefore, theory on the contested nature of heritage will be provided first. It will be followed by scenarios on how conflict between different stakeholders generally unfold, specifically in cities and towns. Lastly, the use of participatory governance in heritage management, as is intended for Orvelte, will be discussed by reviewing both theoretical and institutional (UNESCO) recommendations.

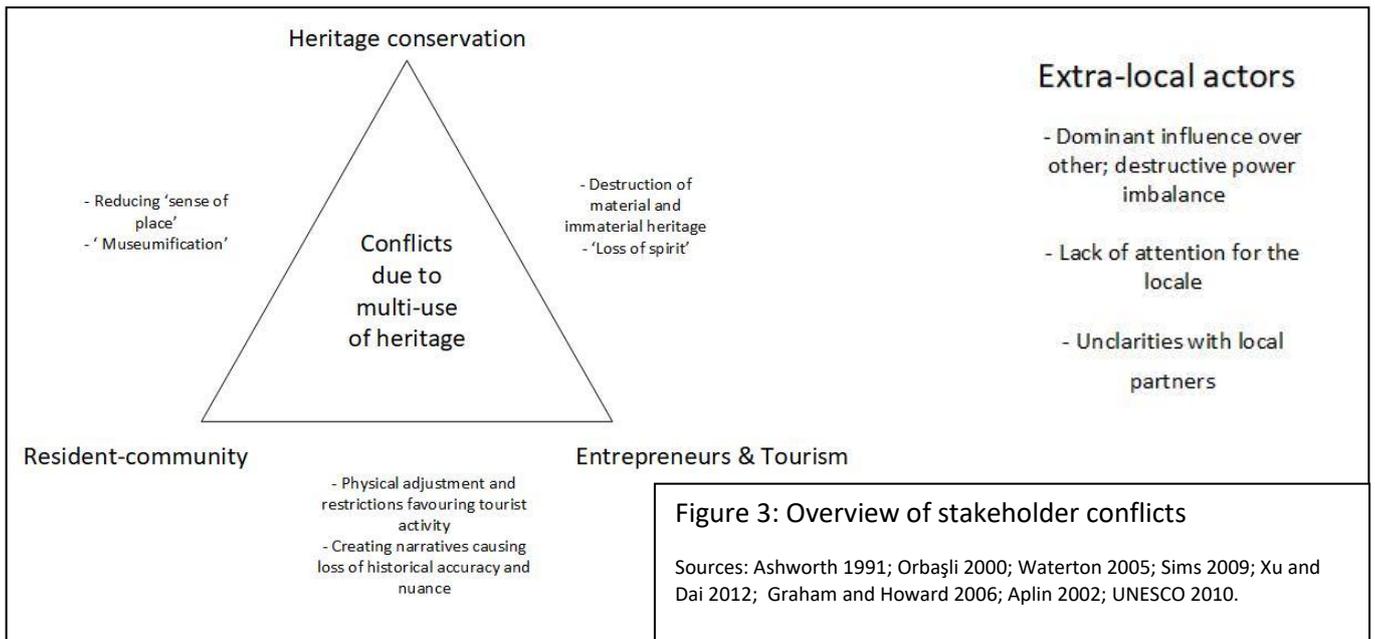
3.1. The dissonant and political nature of heritage

As Orvelte has a long history of conflict between different stakeholders, the first part of the theoretical framework is dedicated to embedding these issues in academic debate. Tunbridge and Ashworth greatly contributed to the topic of conflict stemming from different uses, and inherently users, of heritage sites (1996). It is stated that the underlying causes of such conflict must be analysed, as these form the essence of heritage management issues. To structurally analyse conflict, the concept of *dissonance* is introduced. *Dissonance* is taken from the psychological concept of cognitive dissonance, meaning a state of mind in which one conveys inconsistent attitudes and/or behaviours. In terms of heritage conflict this means 'a discordance or a lack of agreement and consistency' of interpretation and due action (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, p. 20). The reason for congruities in heritage sites is because of the nature of heritage: a selection of the past. In other words, ' [...] heritage is as much about forgetting as remembering the past' (Ashworth 2005, p.4). This characteristic gives way to different interpretations by different (groups of) people. Consequently, the following question must be answered 'between what elements does dissonance occur?' (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, p. 20). One such element is people's difference of interpretations of heritage, or rather the difference of *uses* of heritage as Tunbridge and Ashworth conceptualize (1996). These different uses can be seen as a zero-sum game; by 'creating' (giving meaning to) heritage you, by definition, disinherit the other's meaning. In the worst case scenario this can lead to perceived desecration of the other's heritage (Graham and Howard 2008). Concluding, heritage is, by its nature, extremely prone to conflict and this state 'is universal in that it is a condition, whether active or latent, of all heritage to some degree' (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, p. 21).

While this sounds like any site of multi-use heritage inevitably leads to conflict, it does not necessarily have to. When it is accepted that different interpretations exist and are acted upon separately from your own heritage, conflict is not inevitable. Thus, disinheritance does not equal conflict. Additional optimistic words are given by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) as they state that heritage sites are amendable to mitigation of dissonance and conflict due to its flexible nature in interpretation. The next section, 3.2., will elaborate on the concrete implications of the dissonant nature of heritage.

3.2. The interplay of multi-users: conflicts between heritage, resident-community, tourism and extra-local actors

Figure 3 depicts an ideal-type overview of conflict between the separate stakeholders. The explanation below provides a nuanced and more true to reality account of the relation between the four stakeholders. Each relationship between the stakeholders will be addressed.



3.2.1. Heritage conservation versus resident-community

A long-prevailing approach to heritage is that of the conservationist. This approach, in its purest form, is now negatively typified as placing a glass dome over the heritage site. The 'conserving-as-found' approach is grounded in a vision that heritage has intrinsic value and therefore must always remain unchanged and preserved according to a certain standard (Ashworth, 1991; Orbaşlı, 2000). However, in recent case-studies the nature of the conflict does become clear when solely archaeological standards of value are used to manage heritage. While emphasizing archaeological values does attract visitors to the site who were drawn in by the 'sudden discovery' of the place that was not valued as such before, it ignored the community's rich values they had given to their surroundings. As a consequence, the community did not relate to their cultural surroundings anymore, also because of the increase in visitors (Waterton, 2005). The earlier notion of heritage as a zero-sum game is applicable to this situation, with subsequent conflict. Conservationists lay claim on the heritage towns by imbuing values of historical, intrinsic significance. Claiming its meanings easily ignores temporary, public meanings and claims (Graham and Howard, 2006; Xu and Dai, 2012; Waterton, 2005). It can be argued that the dynamic nature of heritage towns and the multiple layers of meanings that it inherently encompasses were neglected. This denied the resident-community's social-psychological needs that they derive from their place of residence. This social-psychological issue relating to place can be conceptualized as a faltering of 'place identity'. To clarify 'place identity', Jorgensen and Stedman provide a definition that is widely accepted: 'Place identity was conceived as representing beliefs that the self was defined in relation to [a place]' (2005, p. 317). Consequently, it can be stated that the 'museumification' of heritage towns in favour of strict conservation hijacks the way in which residents define and express themselves through their living environment (Orbaşlı, 2000; Xu and Dai, 2012; Waterton, 2005; Worden, 1996). In addition to the above-mentioned issues of a faltering place identity, policy aimed at mere conservation often creates

obstacles that severely limit residents' possibilities of making physical adjustments to their town. This restricts developments and other aspects of life for the resident-community (Orbaşlı, 2000).

3.2.2. Entrepreneurs & Tourism versus heritage conservation

Some academics have observed heritage tourism as certain destruction of material and immaterial heritage, heritage towns not being exempted (Newby, 1994; McKercher, Ho and Du Cros, 2005; Xi and Dai, 2012). Newby (1994) argues for a deterministic process in which the dominance between the three stakeholders shifts in heritage towns. First, a coexistence between the stakeholders prevails. This would gradually evolve in exploitative practices that would eventually lead to the final stage of a staging of culture in which material and immaterial heritage is constructed to facilitate the visitor's experience. This process would neglect conservationists' and resident-communities' claims to the heritage site (Newby, 1994). These external pressures are and will continue to endure as tourists

'... are not primarily looking for scientific historical evidence. They may even be only partly interested in the historical reality as such. Visitors to historic sites are looking for an experience, a new reality based on the tangible remains of the past. For them, this is the very essence of the heritage experience' (Schouten, 1995, p21).

Physically, this would result in the heritage town becoming a fairy-tail like experience. In more concrete terms, this would imply the conservation of material and immaterial features in a way which appeals to the visitor. This approach has led to copying good practice policies of relatable (and especially successful) heritage towns. This can be characterized as following a 'tried and tested' formula as it were. Visitors can take a break from their busy, modern lives to escape into a simple and more comprehensible world (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Orbaşlı, 2000). This would result in the loss of distinctiveness between heritage towns which could, paradoxically, lead to a loss of attractiveness for the visitor because the same experience can be found elsewhere (Orbaşlı, 2000; Sims, 2009).

3.2.3. Entrepreneurs & Tourism versus resident-community

The tendency to transform a heritage site for tourists can be framed into Tunbridge and Ashworth's concept of multi-use and respective disinheritance. They state that 'you cannot sell *your* [the residents'/locals'] heritage to tourists: you can only sell *their* heritage back to them in your country' (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, p. 66). This quote indicates the discrepancy of understanding and interpreting the heritage site when visitors become a permanent presence. As a consequence, entrepreneurs need to be aware of this discrepancy and adjust their business model accordingly if they want to be successful. Heritage can therefore be seen as a demand-driven entity, indicating the selectivity and constructed nature of the presented heritage. This often does not reflect the lives and narratives of current communities and neither contributes to historical accuracy. Marketing theories recommend using an image that is expected and familiar for the tourist. This concretely means that not too much detail and nuance must be presented in the narrative. However, the narrative must still live up to a certain expected unfamiliarity and novelty as long as it can be reached through familiarity. This marketing strategy often excludes minorities and other lesser-presented groups which leads to disassociation of those groups with their heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996).

3.2.4. Extra-local actors within heritage governance

Extra-local actors are a set of rather novel stakeholders who increasingly gain influence in the heritage sector. They can be either public or private entities as they occupy diverse positions such as private art collectors who display their collections, non-governmental stewardship organizations and

investors/developers who see financial potential in cultural heritage. These stakeholders form cooperative networks with local actors. These relations are often defined as public-private partnerships. This multi-stakeholder management style within the public domain is considered *governance* (Bovaird, 2005; Hooghe and Marks, 2003; Shipley and Kovacs, 2008). Theories and concepts have been developed within the fields of administrative studies and urban and rural studies to understand and make use of this trend. Urban and rural literature discuss the inevitable and necessary influence of external actors abundantly in local economies. How to properly manage such relations in locally-oriented economies relations has also been researched. Four components have been identified by Coulson et al (2007) to contribute to success partnerships and networks: a strong local institutional presence (of both public and private); high levels of interaction between local organizations; a mutual awareness of being involved in a common enterprise; structures of dominance and/or patterns of coalition. Manifesting these components would lead to 'institutional thickness' which results in a fair, profitable and sustainable local economy (Coulson et al., 2007).

UNESCO seems to scarcely report on this trend. UNESCO explicitly warns for the involvement of extra-local investors and developers within heritage towns. More often than not, local entrepreneurs who want to invest in heritage-rich sites want to draw in extra-local partners whose investments, knowledge and contacts could make their business successful. In addition, it would provide opportunities for fellow-residents in the process. Despite bringing such opportunities, these extra-local partners are seen as potentially problematic, as they use the profit-potential of the locale but have little knowledge and eye for the local way of life. The latter development could eventually lead to the disruption of the community's living style. It is stated how difficult it is for public institutions, in most cases, the municipality to balance the needs of extra-local actors who bring necessary capital and safeguarding the community's livelihoods simultaneously. To mitigate the plans of extra-local actors UNESCO recommends an international manual on clarifications. Such a manual would offer guidelines to clarify and act on the wants and needs of local and extra-local partners in heritage towns (UNESCO, 2010).

Surprisingly, the academic field of heritage studies does not offer its expertise on this need for clarification. Even despite the fact that heritage is often used as a source for commercial activity in local economies. At best, merely a 'remark' is made on the existence of extra-local actors and their importance in the heritage sector (Fisch, 2008, p. 144). Heritage studies could offer a comprehensive understanding of these issues which would be to the benefit of local and extra-local actors (Xiong et al., 2018; Coulson et al., 2007; Bosworth et al. 2016; Shipley and Kovacs 2008).

3.3. Participation, its implications and recommendations

The past decades have seen a redefinition of citizenship with the 'active' citizen at its core. Citizens are expected, and sometimes coerced, into taking responsibility for their selves, families and communities. A shift from what was once the sole responsibility of the public domain is now transferred to individuals and private collectives. (Newman and Tonkens, 2011).

This shift has trickled-down to the heritage sector as well. However, it can be deduced that participation within heritage sector governance is potentially more treacherous opposed to other public sector due to its dissonant nature (Newman and Tonkens, 2011; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996).

Despite, or even because of, the described stakeholder conflicts it has been advised by academics and (international) heritage institutions alike that community involvement is of paramount importance to mitigate such conflict (Waterton, 2005; Aplin, 2002; Elerie and Spek, 2010; Perkin, 2010; UNESCO, 2010; Ying and Zhou, 2007). However, no universal blueprint for organizing a successful

participatory governance within the heritage sector exists, let alone for a heritage town. Each heritage site has its own problems, strengths, dynamics and histories which can be hard to predict. Consequently, when projects are designed to involve the community, concrete implications, issues and limitations are largely left undefined. Most of the unclear implications of participatory governance is because of the ambiguous nature of this concept. There are many concepts used to describe involving the community and it is often not clear how and to what extent people participate (EU, 2018; Perkin, 2010; Van Balen and Vandesande, 2018). The degree of participation can differ significantly, from merely informing those who will be affected by it to letting the public take control, as can be seen in Figure 4 (Arnstein, 1969). This can result in feelings of deceit on the community's part as they mostly have different understanding of participation than i.e. governmental institutions (Hudson et al., 2017).

General recommendations can be deduced from cases taken from theory, case-studies and UNESCO conventions:

- Manage expectations of the community when promising participation (Hudson et al., 2017). In addition, ask that all stakeholders formulate their expectations of the project. It should also be clear why the project was started, what the goals are, who has the decision-power (EU, 2018);
- Use clear definitions when talking about concepts with multiple stakeholders to prevent confusion and subjective understandings (UNESCO, 2010);
- Balance power relations between parties (Perkin, 2010). This would give those with lesser (financial, intellectual and social) capital to demand concessions on restrictions and activity in the town in favour of heritage conservation and tourism (EU, 2018);
- Maintain extra-local relations which can lead to greater success (Bosworth et al., 2008);

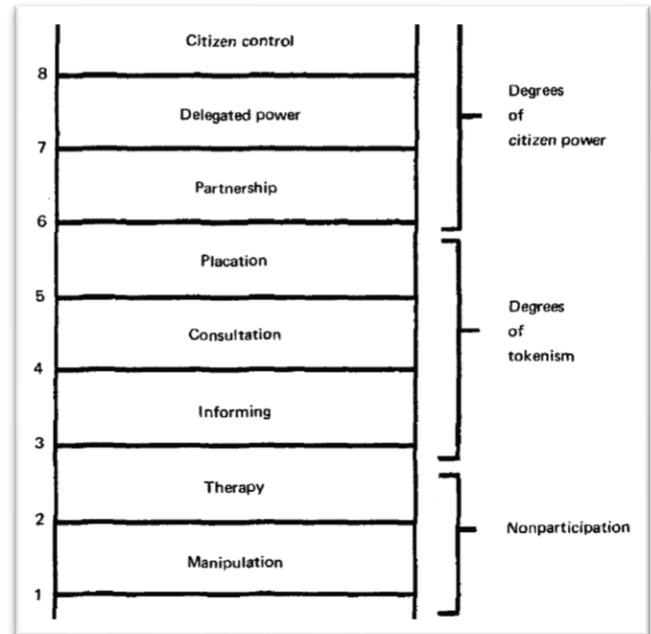


Figure 4: Eight Rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation Source: Arnstein 1969, p. 219

- Establish trust between stakeholders of all levels and facilitate the means to ensure ongoing relations of trust when these seem to be under pressure (EU, 2018; Coulson et al., 2007);
- Appoint an external, impartial manager who oversees and guides fair meetings, to accomplish this (Perkin, 2010).

4. Methodology

4.1. Research process

An embedded mixed-methods methodology was used to realize a set of recommendations based on international experience. Each research stage has its own distinct method and is 'nested' in the former stage (Creswell 2014, p.228).

First, a classification was constructed to get a basic, quantitative understanding of the phenomenon of 'the heritage town'. The variable that determined the different classes is by what heritage management structure the towns are organized. The required data of the heritage towns was collected by reviewing and comparing UNESCO-status heritage towns that are included in UNESCO's database. This database contains various documents on each heritage town, including reports of its heritage qualities, organizational structures and the problems they are facing. The following criteria were set to establish a dataset of comparable heritage towns:

- Town *an sich*, no singular church or farmhouse within the town makes the town eligible for inclusion.
- A small number of cities centres is included, as they show similar struggles to that of heritage towns.
- The towns be inhabited, however, no limitations are set to the number of inhabitants.

Thereafter, a second explorative investigation was started. A multiple-stakeholder perspective of the past and present characteristics and issues of Orvelte was needed to be fully knowledgeable about Orvelte (Hay 2016). In total, five semi-structured interviews were conducted to question each stakeholder's view on their role in the proceedings of Orvelte. This offered the interviewee to voice his/her opinions and views on the matter and detect inconsistencies between stakeholders (Hay 2016). The first interview was conducted with the head of the cultural heritage from Het Drentse Landschap. In the following order, interviews were scheduled with the project manager of the Municipality of Midden-Drenthe; the president of the VABO, president of the OPO and a board member from Orvelte Poort. The interviews were limited to these five respondents as their respective organizations are at the centre of Orvelte's past and future management.

The interviews were not recorded and transcribed for two reasons. Firstly, because the goal of getting an understanding of Orvelte was reached rather fast during the interviews. The relevant information was written down and drawn in clear overviews that provided the necessary information to get an understanding of Orvelte. As such, transcribing the interviews would not have contributed to a better understanding of Orvelte. In addition, personal and other sensitive information were given during all the interviews. This was not relevant to transcribe as this data could not be used in any case because it could potentially inflict future social harm (Hay, 2016).

Having both a quantitative understanding of heritage towns through the classification and an in-depth understanding of Orvelte facilitated the next stage of the thesis. The individual case of Orvelte could be embedded into the quantitative overview of the organizational structures used by heritage towns. The class of 'Heritage Governance', characterized by a network of stakeholders fits with Orvelte's case, as became clear from the interviews. The heritage towns of this specific class were being analysed in more detail, compared to the others, by mean of content analysis. The before-mentioned UNESCO-database's holds documents from the advisory body ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) and other reports on each town. These documents were put into qualitative statistic programme Atlas.ti to be coded and were eventually formulated into themes.

Consequently, these results were compared to the context of Orvelte and recommendation were formulated.

4.2. Research Ethics

As stated before, the village of Orvelte has a long history of conflict. When interviewing stakeholders of the different interest groups, this topic was elaborately spoken about because the conflict is still present in private and public village life. As a consequence, accusations were being made towards other parties and individuals during the interviews.

The above strongly calls for anonymity of the interviewees. However, the interviewees were either presidents or members of the board of their respective interest groups. This makes them public figures in the organizational sphere in Orvelte. This made ensuring anonymity hard and quite ineffective considering the small population of Orvelte (Hay, 2016). Furthermore, informed consent has been given before each interview was planned. It has been made clear via email that the interviewees would be asked about their perspectives on the situation of Orvelte. In addition, the possibility that the recommendations would be available to all interested parties was made clear. This provided each interviewee to refuse to talk about their perspective beforehand if they felt uncomfortable talking about the issues and/or the possibility it becoming public.

The initial intention of this thesis was to conclude the research gathering process with a focus group. This group would consist of the representatives of the main stakeholder organizations. They would come together and discuss the formulated recommendations. This would increase the relevance and usability for Orvelte. However, this last phase could not be started due to difficulties with scheduling and conflicted histories between the stakeholder-representatives.

4.3. Weaknesses

It must be emphasized that performing a document analysis on the ICOMOS-reports brought with it certain limitations. The reports vary in their coverage of certain topics, mostly on the involvement of the public and other partners involved in the towns. Making comparisons between the reports was therefore not always straight forward. However, these are known limitations of the method of content analysis (Hay, 2016).

5. Results & Analysis

5.1. Classification of Heritage Towns

To answer the question ‘How are heritage towns organized?’ 50 international UNESCO-status heritage towns have been classified. The heritage towns are scattered across continents: 10 in America; 13 in Asia; 2 in Africa; 23 Europe; 2 in Oceania. The classification can be seen in Figure 5. This chapter will elaborate on the characteristics of each class. Orvelte has been classified within the class of ‘Heritage Governance’. Therefore, this class will be discussed last and is elaborated on more extensively: more details and examples are given to provide material for Orvelte’s recommendations.

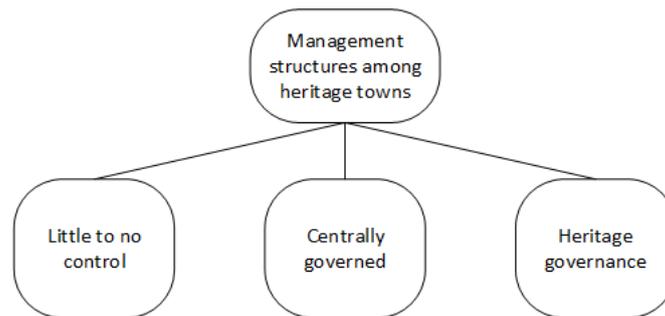


Figure 5: Classification of management structures among UNESCO-status heritage towns. (Based on UNESCO descriptions 2018)

5.2. Little to no control

First, very few heritage towns were implied as having little to no control, according to UNESCO and ICOMOS. A total of 5 towns are urged to improve their management to conserve their unique Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), as documented by UNESCO. This category covers the towns that are considered to have a lack of internal management and/or external relations that influence the heritage town’s value and potential.

An extensive case of little internal management can be found in the German town of Goslar. Here, authorities in charge fail to ‘bring together stakeholder involved in the conservation and management of the serial property’ (UNESCO website Historic Town of Goslar, Germany). Failing to bring together all the involved stakeholders causes issues in multiple areas. One of the most fundamental is the lack of a coherent vision of their unique Outstanding Universal Value. This causes the absence of an overall management plan in which a coherent conservation plan is formulated that optimizes the heritage site for different stakeholders. Moreover, this also stalls plans on current and anticipated development. The most pressing need is a study into the current and expected increase in tourism which is considered troublesome as no adequate measures can be taken at the moment (UNESCO website Historic Town of Goslar, Germany, 2019). Another major concern in these towns is an absence of control over external development that threaten the surrounding buffer zone (surrounding cultural landscape). These can stem from poor relations with the concerned parties and/or a lack of authority. Plans for industrial complexes or wind turbine parks, for example, would mean a loss of their OUV, according to UNESCO’s standards (UNESCO website Cultural Landscape of Maymand, Iran, 2019; UNESCO website Vegaøyen archipelago, Norway, 2019).

The relatively low number of towns with little to no control can be explained. Towns with clear management structures often have more sufficient political, financial and intellectual capital at their

disposal to enter and complete the UNESCO selection (UNESCO, 2018). This allows for the question on the selective nature of the UNESCO-status which is based on resources not related to UNESCO's selection criteria of an OUV (Outstanding Universal Value). In contrast, the next class of towns demonstrate a strict organizational order. Therefore, it is to no surprise the next class contains the highest number of towns.

5.3. Centrally governed

The most occurring town in the classification is distinguished as 'centrally governed'. Most of the Asian, especially Chinese, towns are governed by a strong centralized management structure. Responsibility for legislation and other decisive power lies almost entirely with the administrative hierarchies, from the national to the respective local administrative institutions. This implies that responsibility and initiative for future projects, grants, aid, and other actions ultimately lie with the governmental authorities (ICOMOS Anhui villages, China, 2000; ICOMOS Kaping Diaolou, China, 2007; ICOMOS Fujian Tulou, China, 2008).

Conservation Priority

When analysing this management style closer, it becomes clear that centrally governed towns explicitly prioritize the conservation of material heritage over other aspects. These heritage towns stress the importance of monitoring tourism, adjustments made by residents and commercial activity to preserve and protect their material heritage. In addition, the degree of participation is the lowest among the classes and seems to be instrumental to prioritize material heritage above all else. An illustrative case can be seen in Fujian Tulou, China. The overview on UNESCO's website states that the management structure is 'involving both government administrative bodies and local communities' (UNESCO website Fujian Tulou, China, 2019). However, when assessing the concrete implications of the involvement it is stated that authorities 'lay stress on the role of the local communities' (ICOMOS Fujian Tulou, 2008, p.28). This refers to the prescribed conservation procedures for their own property, in addition to collective duties. These collective duties include 'install appropriate fire-fighting equipment'; establish 'a force of the masses' from residents that specializes in 'public security', protection of material heritage from tourists and 'firefighting'. In addition, residents are 'enjoined' to perform maintenance on their property and to uphold a prescribed the considered 'original appearance' of the entire village (ICOMOS Fujian Tulou 2008, p.28). The specific regulations ultimately serve to maintain a specified original appearance of the heritage village. This materializes in 'an absolute ban on all development [...] and strict controls over height and appearance' in designated areas (ICOMOS Old town of Lijiang, 1996, p. 123).

In another cluster of Chinese heritage villages, the Anhui villages, this top-down management style is explained. The national nomination application states that residents are lacking an overall 'preservation awareness' (ICOMOS Anhui villages, 1999, p.65). It is to no surprise that residents do not participate in any decision-making. Instead, professionally trained teams are in charge of maintenance (ICOMOS Anhui villages, 1999).

These statements are elaborated on by Yan (2015, p. 78) who concludes that Fujian Tulou's 'discourse is largely hegemonic and imposed on local inhabitants by the elite group'. Local life is 'forced' [and] is also associated with the state-making process. World Heritage Fujian Tulou is utilised by the Chinese government as a tool to define and regulate social behaviours and moral discipline' (Yan, 2015, p. 78). In addition, when relating the form of participation of Fujian Tulou resident's to Arnstein's eight rungs of participation, the involvement is categorized as 'manipulation' (1969).

Residents of Fujian Tulou are not enabled to participate in any planning but instead are instructed how to manage their property (Arnstein, 1969; ICOMOS Fujian Tulou, 2008; Yan, 2015).

It can be concluded that heritage towns in this category are not exempted from serving a strong national use, especially in China. The respective UNESCO-report does not mention any of the issues raised by Yan (2015). Considering that UNESCO expresses itself as an advocate for the involvement of residents in heritage management processes makes clear how strongly management of these sites lies with national authorities (UNESCO seminar 'Visitors and Residents at World Heritage Sites', 2012).

Consequences of restrictions

However, in another centrally governed town, Goiás in Brazil, clear consequences are reported by UNESCO that directly stem from prioritizing conservation. Local authorities are responsible for 'day-to-day enforcement of the heritage site, a task accomplished primarily through ongoing monitoring and surveillance of the site' (UNESCO website Town of Goiás, Brazil, 2019). In an effort to do so, tourism and physical developments are kept to a minimum to ensure the protection of material heritage and traditional life of the residents. To involve residents in this management strategy 'educational initiatives have been sponsored with a view to transforming the local population into a primary guardian of local cultural heritage, guided by the recognition that this objective is inextricably bound to the local community's knowledge and understanding of that heritage.' (UNESCO website Town of Goiás, Brazil, 2019). Once again, this classifies as instructing people of how to properly manage and live their cultural heritage. This way of involving residents can be categorized as manipulation, according to Arnstein's rungs of participation (1969).

In all three cases, heritage protection is prioritized over physical developments, and secondly, tourism which has a great impact on resident-communities. Therefore, the conflicts would mostly be expected to arise between the priorities of heritage conservation and resident-community. As theory indicates, a management strategy that is primarily concerned with conservation restricts the overall liveability of its residents. This is seen most directly in town of Goiás where the resident-community has organized themselves in a civil society. The resident-community aims to come to a management strategy that is implemented with measures to 'endow historical cities with the means to adapt themselves to the needs of contemporary life while preserving their cultural heritage' (UNESCO website Town of Goiás, Brazil, 2019). This mainly aims at finding a balance between conservation and opportunities for the resident-community (ICOMOS Town of Goiás, Brazil, 2001). (Orbaşlı, 2000; ICOMOS Town of Goiás, Brazil, 2001). In addition, theory cautions for a faltering of place identity when conservation is put first. However, when looking at the town of Goiás, Brazil, cultural life has been reported to flourish under an increase of conservation and limited tourism. This is especially true of intangible traditions and rituals (ICOMOS Town of Goiás, Brazil, 2001). In this case, it can be argued that a total ban on physical developments and a partial one on tourism needs nuancing. This implies agreeing on a balance in accordance with residence, which raises another distinctive trait of this management structure. In all three cases UNESCO reported the presence of 'local participation'. However, the concrete practices of their participation forms classifies these towns as having an 'educational' and 'manipulative' way of participation.

5.4. Heritage governance – Orvelte's class

This specific class distinguishes itself by having a management style that can largely be conceptualized as heritage *governance* as these towns involve a variety of actors who participate in the towns' management. The actors who take part in this management structure are a mix of public and private entities, the most distinguishable characteristic of the concept of governance (Boivard, 2005). The number of possible stakeholders and its complexity can be seen in Cornwall, England, as their management plan was comprised by a 'Partnership [that] consists of representatives from 73 stakeholder organizations' (ICOMOS Cornwall, England 2006, p. 128). Each town contains a different set of stakeholders who are involved in the management process. Most of the towns are comprised out of the following actors: traditional governmental agencies, private stewardship agencies, entrepreneurs, investors, residents, religious institutions, and various experts (ICOMOS Cornwall, England 2006; ICOMOS Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia, 1993; ICOMOS Pienza, Italy, 1996; ICOMOS Levuka, Fiji, 2013; ICOMOS Quedlinburg, Germany, 1993). This management structure is envisioned in Orvelte as residents (VABO), entrepreneurs (OPO), experts (OP), a traditional governmental agency (municipality Midden-Drenthe) and a stewardship organization (HDL) will all be involved.

Networks of Partnerships

Most towns have produced intricate networks of partnerships to align stakeholders in an effort to bring and keep such high numbers of partners together. To illustrate, a network of partners and stakeholders was constructed in Cornwall, England to formulate a nomination plan to attain UNESCO World Heritage-status. A complex and detailed management plan was made 'which stresses the need for an integrated and holistic management of the large, fragmented and diverse nominated areas. It lists policies to address key issues' (ICOMOS Cornwall, England 2006, p. 128). The terms *integrated and holistic* refer to the extensive involvement of various actors. It can more concretely be conceptualized as a complementing network of expertise, resources and participation which results in its legitimacy and effectiveness (ICOMOS Cornwall, England, 2006). An organizational hierarchy was negotiated when the management plan was constructed, all the major parties have been included (see Appendix 1 for organizational hierarchy). A collective of various public management bodies formed the WHS Partnership Board (Cornwall Council, 2013). This board is tasked to implement the management plan which contains heritage issues that need optimization. For each issue, relevant partners and stakeholders have been identified and included in the decision-making process to assess its viability and pool together resources (Cornwall Council, 2013). All partners within the management hierarchy concluded its successful practices. In addition, ICOMOS praises Cornwall's successful management plan as all relevant stakeholders were brought together and coordinated adequately (ICOMOS Cornwall, England, 2006).

Clearly, this reorganization of traditional, top-down heritage management results in complex networks and partnerships. More interactions between different partners are necessary to come to legitimate agreements. This is in stark contrast with the centrally governed towns that adhere to a traditional, hierarchical form of governance which makes power relations clear and effective (Hooghe and Marks 2003). Within governance structures, power relations are less self-evident and an adaptive form of management must manifest (Boivard, 2005; Shipley and Kovacs, 2008). As stated in the case of Cornwall, this more flexible management structure can be successful. The success of this performance of heritage governance can be explained by the key pillars of *institutional thickness*. All four pillars have manifested in Cornwall's site. This will be shown below.

Firstly, a *strong local institutional presence* is seen in the collective body of the WHS Partnership board that includes the local authorities. These include environmental agencies and the Mineral Planning Authorities. In addition, various other bodies are extensively included as well such as marketing agencies, (prospective) investors and local initiatives that are tourism related or otherwise (Cornwall Council, 2013; Land Use Consultants Ltd., 2017; Coulson et al., 2007).

Secondly, *high levels of interaction between local organizations* is implied due to an extensive policy overview in which a series of local organizations participate and cooperate. Moreover, the WHS Partnership Board continues to facilitate and encourage interactions between stakeholders by means of regular liaison between the WHS Partnership Board and private initiatives. This would align heritage conservation and regeneration goals (Cornwall Council, 2013; Coulson et al., 2007).

Thirdly, a *mutual awareness of being involved in a common enterprise*, or in other words, having a common agenda that aligns all partners involved. This third element is implied in the latter one as high levels of interaction are a means to keep private partners in line with regeneration and conservation goals related to the OUV of Cornwall's site. Furthermore, the WHS Partnership Board wants to structurally incorporate heritage goals in private and public endeavours in an attempt to efficiently assimilate these goals. This would both enhance heritage values and economic growth .

Lastly, clear *structures of domination and/or patterns of coalition* should be present to restrain rogue behaviour through collectively sharing costs and losses. It is hard to adequately state whether this is the case through documents alone. However, it is clear that the WHS Partnership Board is Cornwall's centrally organized body that is tasked with overseeing the management of the UNESCO heritage site (on behalf of the UK Government) (Cornwall Council, 2013). The board is a collective that is made up of representatives of local authorities, resulting in a public domination of Cornwall's heritage governance. The role of all other major stakeholders, including private corporations and initiatives, is considered advisory. It is implied that local stakeholder-representatives contributed to the nomination where after a 'Working Group' of professional governmental and non-governmental entities translated this into a viable nomination plan. Nonetheless, it is stated that 'The main strength of the [UNESCO nomination] plan is the effective network of local authority and other stakeholders that underpins it.' (ICOMOS Cornwall, England, 2006, p. 128). This entails quite a complex network, as Cornwall entails '(...) 19,700 hectares across ten areas, in multiple ownerships, this means that responsibility for meeting the terms of the Convention sits with a wide range of bodies, including public, charitable and private organisations, and individuals.' (Cornwall Council, 2013, p. 75).

Cornwall's management plan complies with the underpinnings of the framework of institutional thickness. Applying the framework could have brought the latent elements of successful heritage governance to the fore. Management relations and opportunities based on (rural) heritage towns seem to fare well under these elements, despite the fact that this framework has been developed based on governance aimed at (urban) economic development. However, the number of public-private partnerships are relatively few compared to non-heritage contexts (Coulson et al., 2007). Consequently, it can be suggested that the heritage context, and especially when the site has UNESCO-status, does prevent more private partners to involve themselves.

This apparent incompatibility between these partnerships and heritage (towns) can be clearly seen in Bridgetown, Barbados. The local authorities of Bridgetown have decided to facilitate financial arrangements for private investors to redevelop a certain area within town: 'Outline planning approval has been given for the comprehensive redevelopment of this site for retail, restaurants,

entertainment, offices, a museum, a design centre, an hotel, and/or residential and parking facilities' (ICOMOS Bridgetown, Barbados 2011, p. 349; 353). ICOMOS considers these development plans as disturbing. The development plans to facilitate tourism are in the process of realization and will most likely completely alter former parade grounds in the buffer zone (ICOMOS Bridgetown, Barbados, 2011). Most clearly is the fact that the Bridgetown authorities succumb to the commercial and tourism pressures, assuming a neo-liberal form of regeneration. The exact nature of the power relations between private and public entities is not discussed in the ICOMOS report (ICOMOS Bridgetown, Barbados, 2011). At first glance, public-private partnerships seem to bring about the best of both worlds: investments, expertise and the willingness to bring about positive projects for communities. However, the public sector often bears most of the cost and the risk in order to create favourable terms for private corporations to come aboard. Private corporations profit from these terms and reap the (potential) profits. What basically happens is the transition from public money in corporate money (Woods, 2015). The question remains largely unanswered how to facilitate such partnerships in a more beneficial and fair way with regards to public money. Formulating an answer on public-private partnerships would be even more complex in heritage towns. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, resident-communities can easily feel that their heritage is appropriated or feel excluded and exploited altogether. This is especially true if these corporate entities are not local (Ashworth 1991; Orbaşlı, 2000; Waterton, 2005; Sims, 2009; Graham and Howard, 2006; Aplin, 2002).

Another issue can be found in Cornwall's *structures of domination*. Inequalities do exist between representatives in the WHS Partnership Board and those who are defined as 'other major stakeholders' in the management structure. In other words, it is implied that the nomination plan is legitimate as it has taken into account wishes and ideas of stakeholders with less decisive power and authority. Thus, it can be stated that Cornwall upholds a nuanced hybrid form of two ideal types. The first is a traditional (public) top-down management which dictates responsibility and entails inherent power inequalities. The other is governance management and adheres to the principles of equal power distribution in which all stakeholders have a fair share in the project's opportunities, access, profits and costs. Despite the fact that Cornwall governance does provide ample opportunity to get involved in heritage related initiatives and developments, traditional and mostly public hierarchies dominate the higher levels (Boivard 2005; Hooghe and Marks 2003; ICOMOS Cornwall, England 2006). Such a hybrid management construction is argued by most academics to be inescapable. This power performance is seen as 'a trade-off between governance principles and efficiency' (Boivard 2005, p. 223). It is even suggested that full stakeholder involvement throughout all levels of decision-making would reduce efficiency. To mitigate all interests would give rise to extra costs and delays in decision-making and implementation (Boivard, 2005). Moreover, involving basically all those who want to be on the highest levels raises issues of democratic accountability. These newly negotiated policy makers are not elected in any way relatable to official elections of town councils (Boivard, 2005).

In conclusion, networks of various partners do seem to promise great potential. Integrated networks that govern heritage sites comply with tested frameworks for (economic) development (Coulson et al., 2007). However, the exact role of (non-local) private corporations and other entities seems to be hard to define. An integrated network that is dominated by public entities does not seem to facilitate optimal conditions for corporate entities to come aboard. The pre-dominance of public representatives and hierarchical structure makes Cornwall more of a traditional form of government (ICOMOS Cornwall, England 2005). The other extreme, that of a private-public partnership, is seen to produce uncontrolled developments in favour of any form of regeneration with no regard for the

OUV of the site. This would imply a neo-liberal form of social domain governance and developments. This approach' positive effects were believed to 'trickle-down' to all segments of the community but this did not become reality (ICOMOS Bridgetown, Barbados 2011; Maiello and Pasquinelli 2015). A more detailed description of the consequences when specifically tourism is not controlled within these towns is discussed next.

Consequences of Tourism

Involving different stakeholders who cooperate to manage their town results in no significant single priority. UNESCO presents this as a desired situation (UNESCO, 2012). However, this produces complex relations between stakeholders that demand attention (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1996). Issues surrounding sustainable tourism are discussed most extensively in the reports of these towns. The dependence of multiple stakeholders such as governments, entrepreneurs and resident-communities have been entrenched within such towns. Those parties have become more reliant, either entirely or partly, on tourism. This reliance and its issues can be seen in Hollókő, Hungary. Unsurprisingly, the residents experience significant external pressure of commercialization on their way of life, as tourism increased over the last decade. In a response to increasing tourism, a significant number of residents has relocated to a newly built town to regain a less museum-like cultural life (UNESCO website on Hollókő, Hungary, 2019). The town of Hollókő is an extreme case, however, issues surrounding sustainable tourism and quality of life are widespread (UNESCO website Vegaøyan, Norway, 2019; UNESCO website Hollókő, 2019; UNESCO website Old Town of Lijiang 2019; UNESCO website Visby, Sweden, 2019). The residents' place identity has been drastically reduced due to tourism as they felt they had to move from the old town. Residents are at risk of losing the ability to define themselves through their environment as tourists have squeezed them out. This could eventually lead to an overall 'loss of spirit' of the town (Jorgenson and Stedman, 2005; Orbaşli, 2000). The next section will offer a possible counter-measure to a decline in place identity and 'loss of spirit' due to tourism.

Ownership of Heritage Homes

UNESCO reports on legal ownership of heritage property show an overwhelming prevalence of mixed-ownership. The actors with property are mostly a mix of governments, private commercial entities, private individuals (mostly residents), charitable institutions and religious organizations. Due to fragmented ownership within these towns, several councils designed a number of projects to maintain a uniform and high standard of maintenance (Queslindburg, Germany 1993). Projects have been developed to optimize and unify conservation efforts between the varying owners. These projects are built upon 'urban architecture studies', 'optimization, assessment' or even 'penal sanctions if they [home owners] fail to maintain them [heritage properties] adequately' (ICOMOS Queslindburg, Germany, 1993; ICOMOS Vlkolínec, Slovenia, 1991).

Despite these protective regulations on privately-owned heritage, owners are generally considered to uphold a uniform and high standard for their heritage property. It has even been suggested within UNESCO reports that pride increases once heritage is owned by those who reside or differently use heritage buildings within these towns (ICOMOS Santa Cruz de Mompox, Colombia, 1994; ICOMOS Visby, Sweden, 1994).

Pride is often mentioned when the nature of heritage is discussed. Mostly, the connection between heritage and pride is discussed in terms of place-specific narratives which channel local or national pride (Schouten, 1995). Finding a connection between home ownership, pride and consequent heritage maintenance can be explained by looking into the role of the home (in a globalizing world)

in relation to the concept of place attachment. The home is widely and universally considered to be the prototypical place (Lewicka, 2011; Carsten, 2003). 'Home is a symbol of continuity and order, rootedness, self-identity, attachment, privacy, comfort, security and refuge' (Lewicka, 2011, p. 211). Homes are therefore of great importance to humans as they give us a sense of continuity and security in a globalizing and unpredictable world. This is why humans divide what is essentially not-home (the uncontrollable and fast-pacing public world) and what is home (intimate, controllable and continuous). The home facilitates us with a spatial anchor on mental maps to which we refer as we structure the reality of our spatial surroundings (Lewicka, 2011).

The underlying characteristics of what the home symbolizes for us can be connected to the concept of place attachment. Place attachment is described as the positive bond between a place and an individual (or group) which is based on the interaction between emotion, knowledge and beliefs. Thus, what the home provides us is the basis of this positive emotional bond with place: a primal sense of place attachment. Expectedly, numerous studies found a positive correlation between place attachment and home ownership. More specific and relevant, legally owning a home increases its value to the owner and subsequently his/her pride to own it, a mechanism coined 'the mere ownership effect' (Nuttin, 1987; Lewicka, 2011). However, the mechanism could also be the other way around as the desire to live in a certain place and house could precede the valuation linked to ownership. Either way, the house would still be of paramount importance to our place attachment. Moreover, (place) attachment to one's home is strongest in traditional surroundings with smaller populations (Lewicka 2011). Thus, the concept of place attachment and associated mechanisms could explain why home owners properly maintain their heritage properties and mixed-ownership of heritage is widely spread within this class.

In conclusion, homeowners in living heritage towns are likely to feel greater place attachment to their home and surroundings. It therefore argued here that the desire of heritage home-owners to properly maintain their houses increases when more control over homes is allocated to private individuals or entities.

Due to a relatively high place attachment the resident-community will be highly affected by any policy-making and respective changes in their surroundings. It is therefore of the utmost importance that residents are involved in the decision-making process due to its impacts on their place attachment, among other reasons (Van Balen and Vandesande 2015). This topic will therefore be discussed next to get an understanding of resident-community participation within these heritage towns.

Participation of the resident-community

One of UNESCO's core principles regarding heritage management is community participation. Involvement increases legitimacy and taps into the potential of local resources (UNESCO, 2013). Therefore, it is no surprise that most towns with UNESCO-status adhere to some form of community involvement in their decision-making process. A wide variety of similar terms are used to represent some form of public involvement such as 'civic participation', 'assigned participation' and 'public consultation' (ICOMOS New Lanark, Scotland, 2003; 2013; ICOMOS Santa Cruz de Mompox, Mexico, 1994; ICOMOS Levuka, Fiji, 1999; ICOMOS Champagne Hillside, France, 2014). It is implied that most towns have an adequate and clear form of community participation. However, when looking at the supposed adequate forms of participation, their exact influence on decision-making, their legal

position and implications are often unclarified or even absent. This section will analyse the exact nature of these participation practices by means of Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969).

First, Champagne Hills, France will be discussed. The UNESCO report states that a conference for stakeholders and representatives was organized to serve as 'a platform for dialogue' (ICOMOS Champagne Hillside, 2015, p. 185). The supposed input of stakeholders or what was done with the input is not elaborated on. Further on in the report it is pointed out how additional participatory activities have been organized which were key in its nomination as a UNESCO site (and were seen as adequate forms of participation). These activities were designed to 'communicate the values of the nominated property' by means of 'leaflets in different languages [...] to spread the knowledge of its values' (ICOMOS Champagne Hillside, 2015, p. 186). Furthermore, photography competitions among schools were held to increase knowledge among students about Champagne's heritage (ICOMOS Champagne Hillside, 2015).

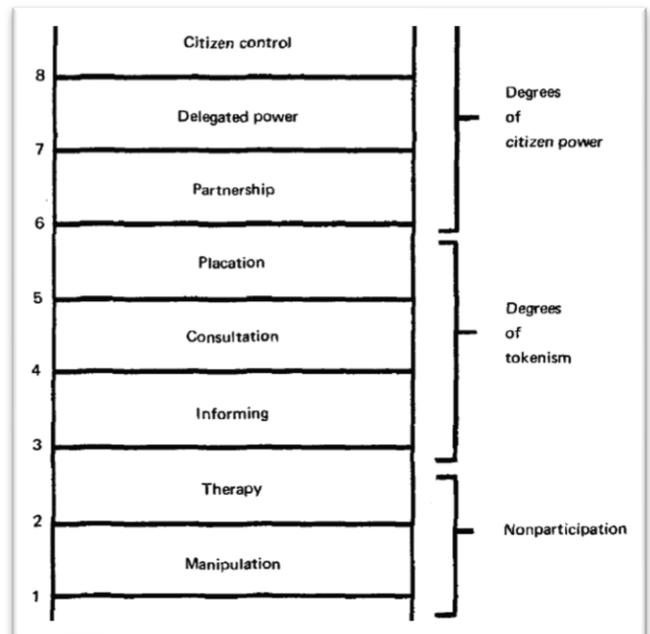


Figure 6: Eight Rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217)

It can be stated that several distinct rungs of participation are performed in the town of Champagne, France. Firstly a 'platform for dialogue' was created for stakeholders and representatives from the resident-community were appointed. These practices correlate with 'degrees of tokenism' as can be seen in Figure 6. It is not entirely clear what the meetings entailed. However, it can be assumed that the resident-community would be 'informed', 'consulted' or 'placated' (according to Figure 6). In addition, the values of the heritage site were 'communicated' by means of leaflets and photography competitions among schools. This latter way of 'participation' can be classified as 'therapy', a form of non-participation. The goal of this degree of involvement is "[...] not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programs, but to enable powerholders to "educate" or "cure" the participants.' (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217). Clearly, values have been made clear to the resident-community.

A second example in which different rungs of participation are apparent is located in Old Rauma, Finland. A clear form of structural participation is implied as one member of the local council is seated by a representative of the resident-community. Moreover, a local site manager has been appointed by national authorities to support residents in their designated task to maintain their heritage properties. This materialized into a bank providing free building materials, expertise and workshops for Old Rauma residents (ICOMOS Old Rauma, Finland, 2009). Old Rauma adheres to several rungs and degrees of participation. The fact that one seat in the local council is reserved for a representative of the resident-community indicates higher levels of participation. This type of participation can be aligned with the degrees of 'placation' and/or 'partnership'. Thus, either a higher for of 'tokenism' and/or actual 'citizen power' (Arnstein, 1969). Placation is seen as unequal power relations that create false expectations for involved participants as '[...] the ground rules allow have-nots to advise, but retain for the powerholders the continued right to decide.' (Arnstein, 1969, p.

217). The lowest level of citizen control, 'partnership' is also reflected as the representative ' [...] negotiates and engages in trade-offs with traditional powerholders. ' (Arnstein, 1969, p.217). Old Rauma's community involvement does fall short of the highest degrees of citizen control because a minority of the managerial power lies with traditional authorities. However, it can also be argued that Old Rauma authorities adhere to the rung of 'informing' as they provide expertise, materials and workshops to educate the residents on to maintain their property 'properly': a one-way flow of information and instruction is given that provide certain heritage values (ICOMOS Old Rauma, Finland, 2009; Arnstein, 1969).

Lastly, the Vegaøyan archipelago in Norway. The local council includes several cultural experts, local and extra-local representatives with each their own complementary expertise. Moreover, these varied experts of the local council communicate with the "Society of Friends of the World Heritage Area" who organize 'hands-on' projects by and for the local community and visitors to communicate their heritage values. In turn, the society maintains intensive contact with the entire resident-community as they are seen as a vital component of the legitimacy of the heritage site and its meaning: 'Through their [residents'] business activities, societies and organisations, as well as their documentation efforts, the local inhabitants help to pass on vital knowledge concerned with looking after values in the local community.' (UNESCO, 2004, p. 71). Residents within the archipelago hold strong control over the meaning and distribution of their heritage through their civil society network. In combination with the acknowledgement of authorities of their importance, the inhabitants are placed in the highest rung of participation: 'citizen control' over their cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2004; Arnstein 1969). Despite the fact that the resident-community may have a strong grip on the content and distribution of their cultural heritage, the actual decision-making on policy matters lies with traditional authorities. Thus, a partial citizen control can be concluded in the case of the Vegaøyan archipelago.

Overall, all of the heritage towns have relatively low degrees of participation in comparison to other public planning sectors in which participation is used (Arnstein 1969). The heritage towns adhere to degrees of 'non-participation', 'tokenism' and partial 'resident-control', according to Arnstein's rings of participation (1969). Moreover, various rungs and degrees of participation can be classified *within* heritage towns. This reaches from what is conceptualized as 'therapy' (the resident-community is told what they should value about their properties and how to maintain them accordingly) to 'placation' and/or a 'partnership' (a representative from the resident-community has a seat in the council to advice the other members but has no significant influential voice) (Arnstein 1969; ICOMOS Old Rauma, Finland, 2009).

Thus, there is no uniform way to involve the resident-community in UNESCO heritage towns. Consequently, it is no surprise that UNESCO and ICOMOS reports do not differentiate between these different forms of participation. The degrees and forms of participation seem difficult to correctly classify as involvement is mostly based on context-dependent circumstances. For instance, the civil society in Vegaøyan archipelago in Norway testifies for a strong influence of cultural context on participation. The Vegaøyan archipelago has always had an intricate network of associations and organizations that laid the basis for the strong resident-community representation in a multi-stakeholder network (UNESCO, 2004).

Despite this solid foundation for resident-community participation, the Vegaøyan archipelago residents are limited in their involvement. The production and communication of cultural knowledge is overseen by a myriad of experts and enthusiasts from the resident-community. The local authorities are responsible for possible adjustment based on their cultural knowledge. Trust is

implied between the resident-community and traditional top-down authorities. Trust is a component of a successful network and therefore mentioned as part of institutional thickness, as discussed in the paragraph on network of partnerships. This would imply that the success of the resident-community involvement is due to trust and a demarcated 'citizen control' which reduces unmet expectations but increases strong ties within the governance network. Limiting civic participation aligns with theory which warns for a reduction in efficiency but an increase in frustration and cost (Boivard 2005; Perkin 2010). A partial resident-community driven project with managed expectations would be optimal for all who are involved.

In addition, the stakeholder group who are characterized as extra-local experts often play an active guiding role in local heritage management. Expert knowledge is formulated into heritage values and in corresponding maintenance rules for the resident-community (ICOMOS Champagne Hillside, France, 2015; Old Rauma, Finland, 2009). Favouring expert knowledge over that of the resident-community has been seen to result in a loss of 'place attachment' for residents (Waterton, 2005; Worden, 1996). However, this too is context dependent as heritage towns deal with fundamentally different issues, as has been pointed out in the conflict triangle in the theoretical framework. It is seen that heritage towns could greatly benefit from expert knowledge as some towns accommodate tourism over heritage conservation and/or the resident-community which results in their respective issues (UNESCO website on Hollókő, Hungary, 2019). In these cases, the experts could improve the state of the cultural heritage and/or the residents' place attachment. Of course, communication between experts and the community is of paramount importance, especially in heritage towns in which cultural life is still active. The overall acknowledgement of the importance of expert knowledge in decision-making also contributes to more top-down structure and less room for resident-community participation (UNESCO 2012; Van Balen and Vandesande 2015).

In conclusion, the sum of these diversities and complexities are fundamentally embedded in heritage towns, and can therefore be considered as a distinct form within heritage management and subsequently the public sector. Due to this, the governance of heritage towns must be approached in a distinct way as well. More specifically, it is argued here that the degrees of resident-community participation in heritage towns are overall less adapt to foster high degrees of participation, as opposed to other public planning sectors. It can be concluded that the use of Arnstein's ladder of participation has given valuable insight into the nature of participation as practiced in heritage towns. However, due to the different nature of participation in the heritage sector as opposed to other public sectors, the 'eight rungs on a ladder of citizen participation' by Arnstein (1969) can be considered inadequate to measure and assess participation practices in heritage towns. As mentioned above, constructing a rigid classification of participation for heritage towns is difficult and, probably unproductive as comparing participation practices in one town would not benefit the other. However, it seems viable to constructing a general overview of possible forms of participation that takes into account the implications of heritage. Aspects such as the (often) prominent of experts and the dissonant nature of heritage can be basic premises on which this 'overview of participation in heritage (towns)' can be build. This new 'overview' might well take a less linear form than Arnstein's model (1969). Ultimately, it would facilitate heritage practitioners with clarity and the means to argue why a certain degree was chosen to the resident-community. Consequently, the overview would reduce unclarities and unmet expectations (Hudson et al., 2017; UNESCO, 2018; Van Balen and Vandesande, 2015).

6. Conclusions

The objective of this research has been to formulate recommendations which can contribute to the future policy and decision-making of Orvelte. First, a classification was made to get an understanding of the ways in which heritage towns are organized. Orvelte has been classified within the 'Heritage Governance' class. Therefore, this class will be discussed more extensively.

The classification of the UNESCO heritage towns proved to be a simple one; either little to no control, a centrally governed one or a governance structure were distinguished. The towns that have 'little to no control' have a lack of internal management and/or external relations that influence the heritage town's value and potential. The dominant factors that lead to the most severe cases was failing to bring together stakeholders and an absence of strong relations with external parties. Concretely, the absence of these factors lead to an absence of a unified management which stalled necessary development and interventions (i.e. tourism management). Subsequently, this would entail the endangerment of the sites' OUV (Outstanding Universal Value) (UNESCO website Cultural Landscape of Maymand, Iran, 2019; UNESCO website Vegaøyen archipelago, Norway, 2019; UNESCO website Goslar, Germany, 2019).

Secondly, a centrally governed management structure was identified among the UNESCO towns. These towns are governed by a strict governmental, administrative hierarchy. These towns are predominantly located in Asia. The priorities centre foremost around the conservation of material heritage. This implies restrictions on developments of material heritage; a policy known as placing a glass dome over heritage sites (Orbaşlı, 2000). In addition, this class is typified by structurally having the lowest degrees of participation, according to Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969).

Lastly, the class 'Heritage Governance' was identified from the UNESCO towns. As implied in the name, this class typifies itself through the involvement of a vast array of (private and public) stakeholders. As a consequence of this involvement, the nature of the management structure is *and must* much more open to changes that occur. These changes are more likely to happen in this class as opposed to the latter class because no strict hierarchy is final (i.e. stakeholders join or drop out) (Hooghe and Marks, 2003; Boivard, 2005; Shipley and Kovacs, 2008).

The ICOMOS reports on the towns within this class have shown three recurring themes related to management practices: networks of partnerships; ownership of heritage homes; resident-community participation. Networks of partnerships have proven to be fruitful and high numbers of stakeholders seem to be able to align in an effort to successfully manage their heritage town. The fact that the components of 'institutional thickness' by Coulson et al. are largely present within these towns is argued by this thesis to be the cause of the towns' success (Coulson et al., 2007; Cornwall Council, 2013; Land Use Consultants Ltd., 2017). However, when taking a closer look at the power relations within such multi-stakeholder entities, the traditional governmental agencies exercise most power in a top-down manner. Non-public entities are included in a limited way (to illustrate, see Appendix 9.2 for Cornwall's management structure). Conversely, instances of intensive involvement of private entities (mostly corporations) have also been seen in heritage towns (ICOMOS Bridgetown, Barbados, 2011). Involving these non-public entities might seem as an increase in legitimacy within management. However, these public-private partnerships have proven to produce exploitative relations as the corporations gain the potential profit while the public sector shoulders most of the (financial) risk. Moreover, this also produces the issue of turning public money into corporate money; a questionable neo-liberal approach to public issues (Woods, 2015). Another troubling issue arising

from these partnerships is an increase in tourism for financial gains. This can result in a drastic reduction of cultural life which raises questions surrounding sustainable tourism and the impact of developments which mostly facilitate tourists (UNESCO website Vegaøyen, Norway, 2019; UNESCO website Hollókő, Hungary, 2019; UNESCO website Old Town of Lijiang, China, 2019; UNESCO website Visby, Sweden, 2019).

Secondly, UNESCO reports on legal ownership of heritage property show an overwhelming prevalence of mixed-ownership. This can be explained by the strong connections between theoretical concepts of 'home', 'ownership' and 'place attachment'. In globalizing times of constant change, humans are still, or rather, especially in need of a sense of stability, control and spatial attachment (Ray 1998; Sims 2009). The home is considered the primal source of such stability, control and spatial attachment. In addition, ownership and control of objects increases the owners perceived value of it and he/she will take better care of it (Lewicka 2011; Carsten 2003). It therefore argued that the desire of heritage home-owners to properly maintain their houses increases when more control over their dwellings is allocated to private individuals or entities.

Lastly, the nature of participation has been looked at more closely in this multi-stakeholder class. After assessing the ICOMOS reports within this class, it became clear that low levels of participation are predominant in the multi-stakeholder structures as well (but still higher participation degrees than the centrally-governed towns). The heritage towns adhere mostly to degrees of 'non-participation' and 'tokenism' and scarcely to a limited forms of 'resident-control', according to Arnstein's ladder (1969). Governmental agencies and (historical) experts often exercise most power with successful results (as has been touched upon in the section regarding partnerships). This often leaves little significant power for resident-communities to exercise. Therefore, the highest form of successful participation is a limited form of resident control (i.e. a resident-representative has a seat in the local council) (ICOMOS Old Rauma, Finland, 2009; ICOMOS Cornwall, England, 2006; Van Balen and Vandesande, 2015; Arnstein 1969; Boivard, 2005). Thus, it is argued that a hybrid form of traditional, governmental power relations and limited resident-control is best suited for heritage towns.

6.1. Reflections on theory and further research

The Western world is gradually decentralizing and privatizing its public sectors, including the heritage sector. This created opportunities and difficulties for newly involved actors (Newman and Tonkens, 2011). Unsurprisingly, the occurrence of difficulties due to this shift is also found within the heritage sector. However, the heritage sector sets itself apart by its inherent dissonant nature, as described by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996). Different users of a single heritage site claim its cultural value as their own which is a mechanism that is prone to conflict. Heritage management is therefore treacherous and must be implemented with great nuance (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). Subsequently, the dissonant nature needs to be adequately approached in a decentralized heritage governance structures in which new actors have manifested themselves.

Despite these issues, the field of heritage studies does not touch upon such contemporary and impactful implications on their object of study. Studies conducted within the field of administrative studies and urban and rural studies have documented these practices in the public sphere. However, these studies do not take the many uses and dissonant nature of heritage into account, let alone what conflicts potentially stem from this and how to mitigate these. As has been pointed out, public-public partnerships within the heritage sector potentially produce exploitative relations, financially and/or culturally. Such a topic would benefit from a multi-disciplinary approach which includes heritage scholars who can bring the dissonant nature of heritage to the fore.

Secondly, 'place attachment' among home owners in heritage towns is theorized to foster pride and incentive to maintain heritage properties adequately. This series of positive correlations is in need of empirical studies to gain a quantitative and qualitative understanding of a potential link between aspects of 'place attachment' and maintaining residential heritage properties. Lastly, community participation has been discussed and reported on by many academics and policy-makers and is regarded as necessary yet hard to define (EU, 2018; Perkin, 2010; Van Balen and Vandesande, 2018). However, participation has relatively limited potential in heritage towns as a predominance of top-down management structures seem necessary. As has been shown, Arnstein's ladder would regard participation within the heritage sector as mere 'tokenism', or worse: 'non-participation', which is deemed inadequate and is even argued to be a criminal practice (1969). Therefore, the heritage sector is in need of an adapted participation ladder which is built on premises such as the (often) prominent of experts and heritage's dissonant nature. This would provide heritage practitioners with a relevant and applicable tool to explain and legitimize why a certain participation degree was chosen. This would most likely lead to a decrease of unmet expectations and frustrations (UNESCO, 2010).

7. Recommendations for Orvelte

This chapter will formulate recommendations based on theoretical debates and the analysis, both part 1 and 2. All issues will be applied and/or compared to Orvelte’s specific context based on common and/or successful performances of management practices.

7.1. Optimal management relations within heritage towns

Despite the rise of governance practices within heritage towns, traditional governmental structures are still prevalent in heritage towns. This is evident from the analysis of UNESCO heritage towns practices. An example from a UNESCO heritage town with a successful management structure can be seen at the left side in Figure 7. Cornwall adheres to a hierarchical structure in which the Cornish Mining WHS Partnership Board is regarded as the highest (local) body that exercises the most power. The name of the board does imply participation from various stakeholders; however, this body consists of public servants who facilitate adequate communication between partners. These partners, who can be seen below the Partnership Board in figure 7, are governmental agencies, experts in historical and/or technical issues and consultancy corporations. One tier lower, the councils are, again, mostly seated by public servants. The only non-public body is described as ‘other major stakeholders’ that consist of the resident-community, entrepreneurs and landowners (Cornwall Council, 2013; Land Use Consultants Ltd., 2017). Thus, a successful management structure within heritage towns (still) seems to be built on a dominant governmental presence.

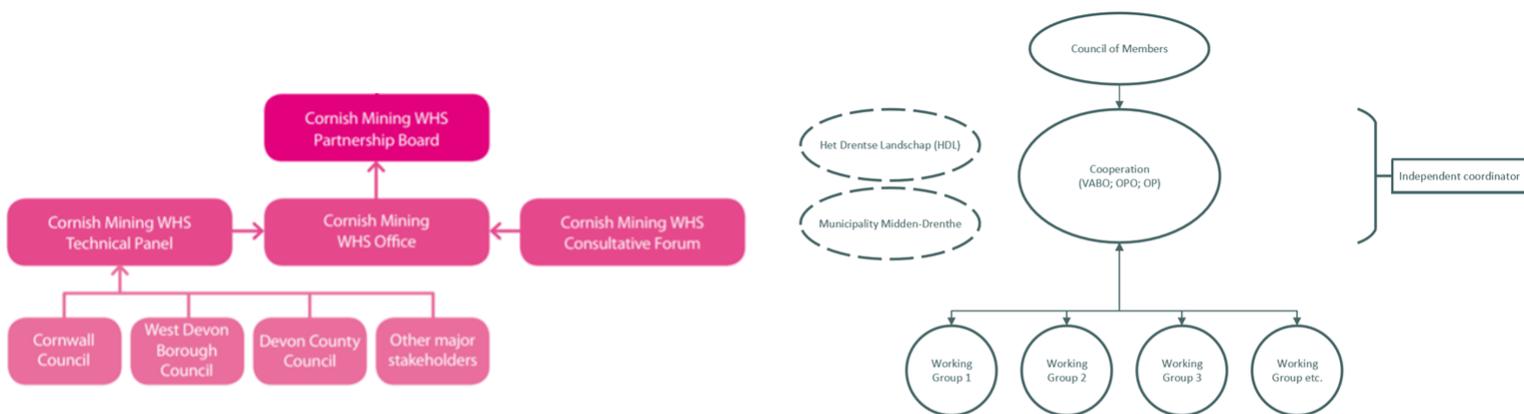


Figure 7: Comparison between management structures Cornwall (left) and Orvelte (right). Sources: Cornwall Council, 2013; Land Use Consultants Ltd., 2017; Management Plan Orvelte, 2008; interview president VABO.

In comparison, Orvelte is introducing a significantly less-governmental management structure. Instead, a dominant role is reserved for a cooperation that is being operated by the primary three interest groups of the Orvelte (VABO; OPO; OP). Stewardship organization Het Drentse Landschap (HDL) will remain the owner of most of the material heritage, but will not actively be part of the cooperation nor will HDL be present during decision-making processes. The municipality of Midden-Drenthe will also reduce its influence as they will also be no longer part of the active management process. Both HDL and the municipality can be argued ‘to retreat’ in their roles as they will be considered ‘contract partners’, meaning solely facilitators when needed, instead of authorities.

In conclusion, Orvelte's prospective cooperation will be relatively isolated, considering that successful management structures seem to contain significant governmental influence. 'Cutting the cord' with HDL and the municipality will most likely reduce the exchange of expertise and resources. Consequently, Orvelte's cooperation will be at a risk of having inadequate resources to manage Orvelte properly. This will be discussed more in detail below.

Secondly, a network of partnerships is seen as a successful approach to mitigate conflict between various stakeholders. This thesis has used the analytical concept of 'institutional thickness' to get a qualitative understanding of what components make successful partnerships in heritage towns. The components of 'institutional thickness' can be seen in heritage towns (Coulson et al, 2007; Cornwall Council, 2013; Land Use Consultants Ltd., 2017). Therefore, it would prove useful to assess whether and to what extent these components are present in Orvelte's envisioned management structure.

Achieving 'institutional thickness' within a management system builds on (Coulson et al., 2007):

1. A strong local institutional presence;
2. High levels of interaction between local organizations;
3. A mutual awareness of being involved in a common enterprise;
4. Structures of dominance and/or patterns of coalition.

First, a strong local institutional presence will not entirely manifest in Orvelte. In fact, local institutional presence will partly decrease in the new management structure seeing that the municipality of Midden-Drenthe and HDL will transfer authority to the new cooperation. Despite the reducing influence and authority of these institutions, the intended cooperation would provide the necessary local presence and will offer a low threshold for non-cooperation residents from Orvelte. This issue debouches into the second pillar of 'institutional thickness': interaction between local organizations. Since relations between different stakeholders increase (cooperation of VABO; OPO; OP), it can be argued that this condition of 'institutional thickness' is met. However, interactions with the legitimate 'owner' of Orvelte, HDL, will reduce.

Thirdly, the mutual awareness among stakeholders will rise due to the envisioned cooperation as it will form a single body of multiple interests. However, no precautionary measures have been formulated to mitigate multiple interests. Such an absence must be addressed as conflict is already hindering negotiations between the stakeholders of the prospective cooperation, let alone future conflicts which are inescapable (interview president VABO; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). Lastly, structures of dominance and patterns of coalition will be assessed. Despite Orvelte's apparent hierarchal structure in Figure 7, structures of authority are largely undefined, in contrast to the successful Cornwall governance structure (Masterplan Orvelte, 2018; interview president OPO). Authority seems to lie with the prospective cooperation since HDL and the municipality have retreated from their roles. The role of the working groups can be considered slightly 'below' that of the cooperation as these groups will deliver the content of the thematic interventions and/or projects. These interventions will be reviewed by the cooperation and will ultimately be executed by the working groups themselves. Coalitions, however, could potentially be enhanced as the cooperation brings together diverse stakeholders within the cooperation and the working groups. In addition, the entire management process will be overseen by an independent coordinator who will ensure fair and rightful decision-making. Installing an independent coordinator has been argued to mitigate conflicts adequately, which would in turn lead to an increase in trust (EU, 2018; Coulson et al., 2007; Perkin, 2010). Another way to build trust between parties with varying degrees of (financial, political and/or intellectual) capital is to partly reduce power imbalances. Concretely, this

would give those with lesser capital the influence to demand concessions and restrictions on activity in the town in favour of their priorities (Perkin, 2010; EU, 2018).

In conclusion, the establishment of a cooperation can be expected to enhance the 'institutional thickness' within the management body of Orvelte, which at first glance can be expected to bring about positive change (Coulson et al., 2007; Masterplan Orvelte, 2018). However, the reduced relationship with HDL and the municipality of Midden-Drenthe can potentially inhibit the overall 'institutional thickness'. This is a development which would go against both theory and the findings of this thesis as the success of intensive partnerships relations has been proven (Bosworth et al., 2008; Coulson et al., 2007; Boivard, 2005). Therefore, it is advised to revise the envisioned relationships with HDL and municipality Midden-Drenthe to increase 'interaction between local organizations' (Coulson et al., 2007). Especially the reduced relationship with HDL seems potentially problematic since HDL will continue its role as owner of the farmsteads. Also, it is advised to put precautionary measures in place to mitigate conflict based on inherent stakeholder differences, an inherent part of successful heritage management (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Van Balen and Vandesande, 2015).

In extension, the involvement of the resident-community will be discussed. As has been argued, a strong governmental presence in addition to experts and consultants is both common and successful in UNESCO heritage towns. This leaves little room for resident-participation and is therefore documented as such: relatively low and/or limited degrees of resident-community participation. Concretely, participation reaches from what is conceptualized as 'therapy' (the resident-community is told what they should value about their properties and how to maintain them accordingly) to 'placation' and/or a 'partnership' (a representative from the resident-community has a seat in the council to advice the other members) (Arnstein, 1969).

In comparison, Orvelte has an unusually high degree of participation for a heritage town. It classifies as 'citizen control', the highest form of participation possible (Arnstein, 1969). Despite the lack of a universally applicable participation form within heritage towns, some general prerequisites for an optimal participation process can be deduced from theory and case studies. Manage expectations for the participating community will help reduce frustrations and unmet expectations. Furthermore, it will increase structures of authority and responsibility (Hudson et al., 2017). In addition, it is important to ask all participants to formulate their expectations of the project in advance; it should be clear why the project was started, what each participant's goals is and who has the final say in the decision-making process (EU, 2018). Moreover, in consideration of the various stakeholders who will be involved in Orvelte's management: use unambiguous definitions and concepts to prevent confusion and subjective understandings (UNESCO 2010).

In conclusion, establishing the cooperation indicates a high degree of participation. When analysed by means of a participation scale, Orvelte's envisioned management plan would produce significantly higher participation degrees compared to other heritage towns (Arnstein, 1969). Whether this high degree would cause difficulties is hard to predict. Moreover, revising basically the entire management plan would be unrealistic at this stage.

7.2. Additional recommendations and considerations

Successful heritage management has been linked to the creation of partnerships between stakeholders of public and private nature. In particular corporations are increasingly seen as a complementary partner that offer financial capital and expertise where public bodies cannot (Bosworth et al., 2008; Coulson et al., 2007). However, these public-private partnerships have shown

to be potentially harmful to local stakeholders; they are seen to leave resident and local entrepreneurs feeling exploited (Hudson et al., 2017; Woods, 2015; ICOMOS Bridgetown, Barbados, 2011). Therefore, Orvelte's management is recommended to be cautious of any future endeavours involving extra-local corporations and institutions.

The ownership of heritage properties in almost all towns is mixed: governmental bodies, commercial entities, private individuals (mostly residents), charitable institutions and religious organizations have all been documented as owners. No UNESCO heritage town seems to be owned by a single entity. Residents who own their dwellings are argued to take greater pride in their homes and feel more attached to it. Consequently, owners take better care of their residence compared to tenants and no extreme forms of control are necessary to prevent owners from neglecting heritage (ICOMOS Visby, Sweden, 1994; Lewicka 2011). Therefore, transferring ownership from HDL to residents is expected to have both a positive influence on the residents and the historical farmhouses in Orvelte.

Tourism in heritage towns has great financial potential and its revenues can be used to sustain both heritage and its residents (UNESCO, 2010; Orbaşlı, 2000). However, too many tourists can also have detrimental effects on both the resident-community and material heritage. A way to control the effects of tourism is to determine the desired number of tourists. Tourist quota can be based both on the desires of entrepreneurs, the resident-community and on the number of tourists a town can physically accommodate. An absence of a future-oriented tourist strategy will lead to uncontrollable situations with unforeseeable effects on heritage and the resident-community (Orbaşlı, 2000; UNESCO website Historic Town of Goslar, Germany, 2019). Therefore, Orvelte is advised to start formulating such a quota as the management plan does touch upon the potential dangers of tourism.

7.3. Summary of recommendations

1. Increase communication with HDL and municipality of Midden-Drenthe to use their expertise and prevent a hostile, two partisan relation.
2. Clarify expectations (and degree) of participation, where to involve resident-community, demarcate tasks to prevent unmet expectations.
3. Be cautious of extra-local actors (i.e. investors and public-private partnerships) as exploitative situations have been documented. Often, governmental bodies, residents and local entrepreneurs will be left with a feeling of being exploited.
4. Open-up discussions on the selection of future tenants and homeowners. Recommended is transferring the authority over the selection process from HDL to the resident-community (or to the prospective cooperation). Later on, discussions could start on transferring ownership of the farmhouses from HDL to those who wish to own their heritage home.
5. Make comprehensive tourist strategy to prevent 'museumification', destruction of material heritage and an increase in stakeholder conflict.
6. Do not approach the current management plan as final; revise and adjust where desired. Optimal would be a periodic meeting with all stakeholders to assess management practises and detect issues before they get out of hand. The independent coordinator could organize and lead such meetings.

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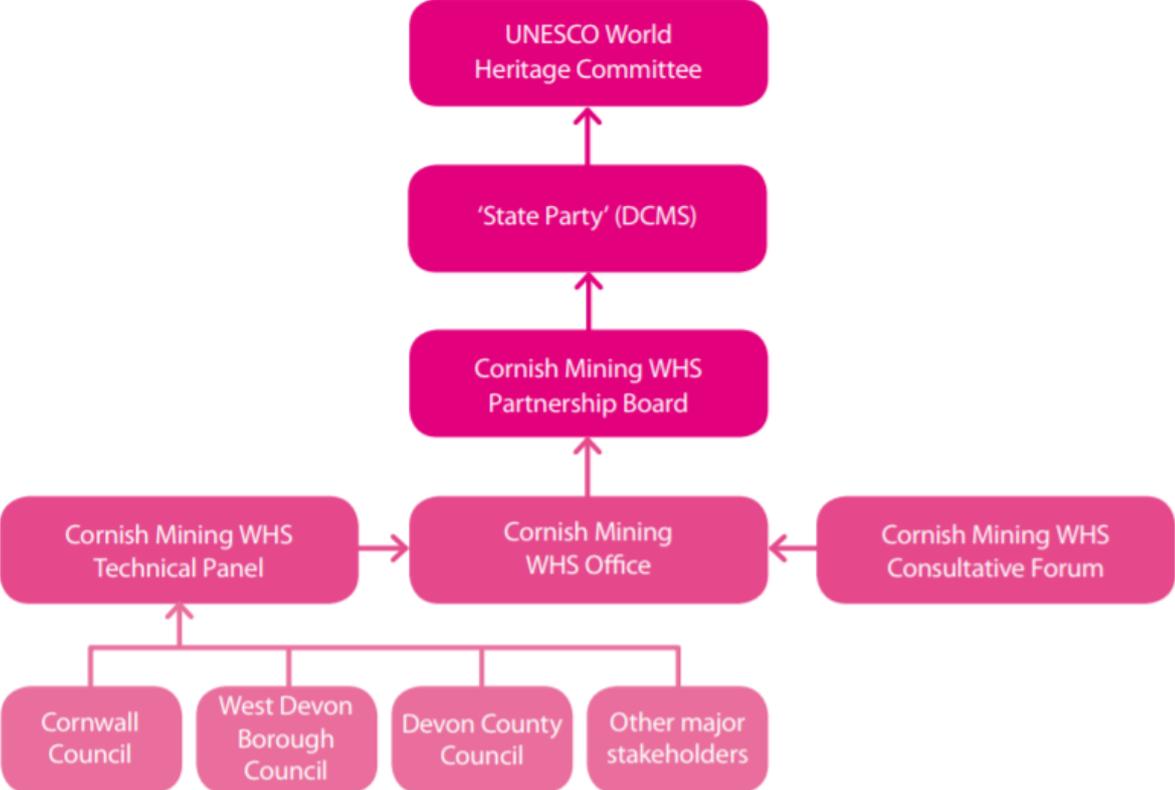
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9. Appendix

9.1 [Classification of UNESCO heritage](#) towns based on their management structure

Little to no control (5)	Centrally governed (30)	Heritage Governance (21)
<p>Historic Town of Grand-Bassam (Côte d'Ivoire)</p> <p>Historic Town of Goslar (Germany)</p> <p>Historic Centre of Santa Cruz de Mompox (Colombia)</p> <p>Cultural Landscape of Maymand (Iran)</p> <p>Village of Battir (Palistine)</p>	<p>Shirakawa-go and Gokayama (Japan)</p> <p>Xidi and Hongcun (China)</p> <p>Alberobello (Italy)</p> <p>Hahou (South-Korea)</p> <p>Historic Town of Ouro Preto (Brazil)</p> <p>Historic Centre of the Town of Goiás (Brazil)</p> <p>Old Town of Lijiang (China)</p> <p>Holašovice (Czech Republic)</p> <p>Bursa and Cumalıkızık (Turkey)</p> <p>Town of Bamberg (Germany)</p> <p>Vilnius Historic Centre (Lituania)</p> <p>Solovetsky Islands (Russia)</p> <p>Bursa and Cumalıkızık (Turkey)</p> <p>Saltaire (UK)</p> <p>Hahou (South Korea)</p> <p>St George and Related Fortifications (Bermuda, UK)</p> <p>Historic district of Québec (Canada)</p> <p>Kaiping Diaolou and Villages (China)</p> <p>Historic Centre (Old Town) of Tallinn (Estonia)</p> <p>Fujiang Tulou (China) Historic Centre of Camagüey (Cuba)</p> <p>Town of Luang Prabang (Lao People's Democratic Republic)</p> <p>Dong villages (China)</p> <p>Rimetea (Romania)</p> <p>Old town Lunenburg (Canada)</p> <p>Church Town of Gammelstad, Luleå (Sweden)</p> <p>Champagne Hillsides, Houses and Cellars (France)</p> <p>City of Quito (Ecuador)</p> <p>Vegaøyan (Norway)</p> <p>Koutammakou (Togo)</p>	<p>Historic Bridgetown and its Garrison (Barbados) Visby (Sweden)</p> <p>Old Rauma (Finland)</p> <p>Champagne Hillsides, Houses and Cellars (France)</p> <p>Historic Town of Banská Štiavnica (Slovakia)</p> <p>Levuka Historical Port Town (Fiji)</p> <p>Old Town of Quedlinburg (Germany)</p> <p>Crespi d'Adda (Italy)</p> <p>Historic Centre of the City of Pienza (Italy)</p> <p>Historic Fortified Town of Campeche (Mexico)</p> <p>Vegaøyan (Norway)</p> <p>Cornwall (UK)</p> <p>New Lenark (Scotland, UK)</p> <p>Historic Centre of Santa Cruz de Mompox (Colombia)</p> <p>Vlkolínec (Slovenia)</p> <p>Bardejov (Slovakia) Hollókő (Hungary)</p> <p>Viking villages across Europe (Halewood & Hannam 2001)</p> <p>Tauranga (New Zealand)</p> <p>Vegaøyan (Norway)</p> <p>Old Town of Lijiang (China)</p>

Cornish Mining WHS Governance and consultation framework



Source: Cornwall Council, 2013, p. 75