'Peripheral identities or mainstream futures?'

Three case studies on new heritage practises in the periphery of Amsterdam

By Jorien Posthouwer

Cover images were retrieved on June 7 2017 from Google Maps Streetview.

Up: Damsquare, Amsterdam city centre;
Down: E. Kanthof, Amsterdam Nieuw-West

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We're on a road to nowhere
Come on inside
Taking that ride to nowhere
We'll take that ride

There's a city in my mind
Come along and take that ride, it's all right

Road to nowhere - Talking Heads

Acknowledgement

Ironically I have called this thesis project 'the never ending story' or the 'road the nowhere' in the first week that I started. Not knowing how true that would become.

Now, more than a year and multiple abandoned thesis topics further, it has finally gotten so far that this thesis-writing journey has come to an end. I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Martijn Duineveld for his enormous support. Your enthusiasm, critical feedback and trust were really what I needed and I always left our meetings very inspired. I also would like to thank Roel During for guiding me to this topic, your enthusiasm and critical insights were very helpful and I really value your curious and open perspective on the world. I also would like to thank Julia and Karim for their critical feedback, I really enjoyed our conversations and learned a lot from you.

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And eventually the never ending story has ended and it became quite a road to nowhere, from the journey itself to the topic it eventually evolved into.

Jorien Posthouwer, June 2017

Summary

In current dominant discourses on the development of Amsterdam there is worry about the 'overcrowding' and 'touristification' of the city centre. Local government sees deconstructing tourists outside the city centre into peripheral regions as a solution to these issues (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015). However their planned and implemented measures are top-down and little is known about the peripheral regions and how they relate to the city centre.

As culture researcher Itamar Even-Zohar states, I belief that 'contrary to common belief, interference often takes place via peripheries' (Even-Zohar, 1990: 25). In order to contribute to current debates on 'overcrowding' and 'touristification' of Amsterdam this thesis aims to provide insights in cultural dynamics and processes of cultural change by focussing on the periphery of Amsterdam. The periphery is approached as a geographical and discursive construct. This categorization of the peripheral is based on a cultural opposition between high/low and a geographical opposition between centre/margin (Millington, 2005 as quoted in Burdsey, 2016).

What is approached as the 'centre', or as the 'canon', is based on an analysis of the production and consumption of tourism activities in Amsterdam. The canon is found to be geographically located in the city centre and canonized 'sites' are often traditional cultural heritage practises. This analysis of 'the canon' complied to other previous research (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990; Bijkerk & De Ridder 2011; Van Loon & Rouwendal, 2017). Therefore, the periphery was established as geographically far from the city centre and discursively very different than traditional heritage.

Theoretically heritage is approached as a discourse inevitably related to power/knowledge. Two theories conceptualizing peripheral heritage are used complementary: the Authorized Heritage Discourse (Smith, 2006) and Polysystem theory (Even-Zohar, 1990; Even-Zohar, 2010).

Via social media analysis three organisations were found who function as a window on mechanisms, dynamics and negotiations of centre-periphery relations. The three case studies are: Street Art Museum Amsterdam, Black Heritage Tours and inhabitants of the ADM-terrain. Al three engage with heritage or are applying for a heritage status. Based on interviews, participant observation and documents a critical discourse analysis was performed. This provided insights in the 'use' of heritage by these organisations, how they challenge and adapt to the canon and which dilemmas and paradoxes this creates.

The three organisations were found to be highly reflective and critical on the use of the concept of heritage. Although engaging with heritage was mostly perceived as a means to negotiate power and centre-periphery relations it was also found to be a means of attributing and expressing value and meaning. In their use of heritage the three case studies challenged and adapted to the canon. However this created several paradoxical situations and challenges since the three organisations legitimize their existence by their peripherality but are also threatened by their peripherality.

Zooming out to the current tourism dynamics in Amsterdam, this research shows that in the periphery of Amsterdam several examples can be found of organisations who worry about, and aim to counter, dynamics of 'overcrowding' and 'touristification'. These initiatives could contribute to the initiatives currently undertaken by local government. However they have a paradoxical relationship to the centre and these ambiguities and dilemmas and the power mechanisms underlying them should be taken into account when collaborating.

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Acronyms

ADM	Amsterdamse Droogdok Maatschappij
	Amsterdam Drydock Company
AHD	Authorized Heritage Discourse
BHT	Black Heritage Tours
ICOM	International Council of Museums
NIICEN	Nationale Inventaris Immaterieel Cultureel Erfgoed in Nederland
	National Inventory Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Netherlands
SAMA	Street Art Museum Amsterdam
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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1. Introduction

Tourism in Amsterdam is a hot topic. Especially the 'touristification' and 'overcrowding' of the city centre is one of the most prominent discourses on the development of the city. The local government and a big promotion bureau called Amsterdam Marketing see deconcentrating the tourist outside the city centre into peripheral regions as a solution to this situation (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015). However, their measures to change the tide are top-down implementations and little is known about the peripheral regions and how they relate to the centre. That is what this thesis aims to find out.

1.1 Tourism in Amsterdam

Attracted by images of the city as 'the city where everything goes' or 'the city of cultural heritage', Amsterdam receives yearly millions of tourists. In 2016 Amsterdam received more than 7 million overnight visitors who stayed an average of 1.91 nights (OIS Amsterdam, 2017). This is an increase of 7% relative to 2015. The number of tourists has almost doubled since 2000[1] and is expected to keep growing (Couzy, 2016).

One strategy to counter this is the relabeling of places outside Amsterdam as part of Amsterdam. The castle of Muiden is relabelled as 'Amsterdam Castle' and the beach towns Bloemendaal and Zandvoort are relabelled into 'Amsterdam Beach'. All are located approximately 30 minutes by train from Amsterdam central station. This caused a lot of commotion in public press and among local Amsterdammers and inhabitants of Bloemendaal and Zandvoort. Other strategies by local government are all top-down implementations in which the growth of visitors and inhabitants of Amsterdam is seen as a given fact necessary for the development of the city (Rekenkamer Amsterdam, 2016).

The sites and practises that are part of the canon of 'must sees' of Amsterdam are supported by different actors and discourses. For example, narratives about Amsterdam as 'the city where everything goes' or 'the city of cultural heritage' are discourses influencing, and are influenced by, which sites are considered to be 'must sees' or 'attractions'. These discourses are supported by a wide range of actors, as for example marketing offices, local government, guidebooks, tourists, tour operators and many more. Although this can be a strong self-supporting system, innovation and change still take place in the construction of the canon of Amsterdam. The example of re-labelling the Muiderslot Castle is a top-down approach changing the canon by reconstructing a site as 'Amsterdams'.

However, despite strategies, interventions and other involvement of the tourism industry, tourists and tourism related activities cannot be fully controlled. Tourism activities are managed and coordinated but as geographer Tim Oakes remarks:

> "Tourism, as many observers have found, is as much about deviating from the script as following it. For every account of the "masses" and "herds" of tourists bumbling along wherever they're led, and of tourism as a form of social control, there's another confirming the spontaneity, irony and unintended discovery of the tourist experience." (Oakes, 2011: 104)

It is exactly these deviations, unintended discoveries and non-canonized activities that are the focus of this thesis. Local government proposes top-down measures in order to seduce the tourist to

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[1] 4.015.000 overnight visitors in 2000 and 7.231.000 in 2016 (OIS Amsterdam, 2017)

go into more peripheral areas of Amsterdam, but what happens actually in these peripheral regions? And how do they relate to the canon of Amsterdam? Cultural dynamics are not only changing by top-down implementations, they are also challenged from bottom-up (Even-Zohar, 1990).

To answer these questions I will first establish what can be considered as the periphery, the centre and the canon of Amsterdam. The periphery is considered to be a geographical and a discursive construct, this cultural categorization is based on a cultural opposition between high/low and geographical opposition between centre/margin (Millington, 2005 as quoted in Burdsey, 2016). This means that the periphery is geographically opposite to the centre and discursively opposite to the canon.

Canonization is the selection of most appropriate and successful practises as enlightening examples (During, 2010). To distinguish what is considered to be the canon of Amsterdam – What are 'enlightening examples' that show what Amsterdam is about? – I analyzed data on the behaviour of tourists (where do tourists go) and data on the promotion of Amsterdam to tourists (what is 'sold' to tourists). According to this simple analysis the most visited and promoted 'sites' are all located in the city centre of Amsterdam. They also confirm the narrative of 'Amsterdam as the city of cultural heritage', with a strong presence of elite and traditional forms of heritage (as for example the Grachten and the Rijksmuseum). These findings correspond with previous findings as found by Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990), Bijkerk and De Ridder (2011) and Van Loon and Rouwendal (2017). Therefore, further analysis to establish the canon/centre was not found necessary. The centre of Amsterdam is geographically established as the city centre and the canonized 'sites' are discursively constructed as aligning the narrative of 'Amsterdam as the city of cultural heritage' and can be considered as traditional or elite forms of heritage. More details and the analysis itself can be found in the appendix. Consequently, the periphery of Amsterdam is geographically situated far away from the city centre and discursively constructed as different than traditional forms of cultural heritage.

1.2 Heritage as a means to move from periphery to centre

> *"There's a never-ending selection of things to do in Amsterdam in any weather – so whether you're visiting for the weekend or for a fortnight, here's your essential checklist of the best Amsterdam attractions and unmissable experiences in the 'Venice of the North'".* (Amsterdam Marketing, 2017)

Almost every guidebook, city brochure or tourist map contains a category of 'top attractions' or 'must-sees'. Listings as 'things you should do' or 'you cannot miss' encourage tourists to visit specific attractions and have certain experiences while visiting. 'Must-see' is translated in Dutch as 'bezienswaardigheid' or in German as 'Sehenswürdigkeit', and literally means something that is worth seeing (one could translate it as 'seeworthiness' in English). The Rijksmuseum, the Red-Light district and the Grachten are all part of the 'must sees' of the city Amsterdam. Consequently, categorizing these places as 'must see' or 'attraction' also implies a certain practise and hierarchy, in relation to sites not being categorized as 'attraction' or 'must-see'.

One could describe these lists and categories as a process of canonization, they select objects, practises and places as enlightening examples of what a place is about. The Rijksmuseum and the Grachten are part of the 'essential-checklist' referred to in the quote above, and are constructed as 'the best of the Amsterdam attractions'. Therefore these can be seen as a canonized part of Amsterdam. Hereby is explicitly not the term 'canonical' used, but rather 'canonized'. This implies that canonicity is not an inherent, static feature but rather an activity of attributing value and therefore dynamic (Sheffy, 1990).

Including a location on the 'essential checklist of the best of Amsterdam' or even naming it an 'attraction' necessarily implicates a hierarchy and exclusion of other locations which are not labelled as a 'site' or an 'attraction'. This thesis engages with these excluded and, as I call it, peripheral locations and aims to understand how they relate to, and engage with, the canonized centre of Amsterdam. According to culture researcher Itamar Even-Zohar, "contrary to common belief, interference often takes place via peripheries" (Even-Zohar, 1990: 25). Therefore, the periphery is used as a starting point to understand dynamics of culture dynamics and canon-change.

A canon and the process of canonization are both related to the term heritage and the process of heritagization (Even-Zohar, 2010). "The term 'Heritage' normally refers to the accepted canon of precious goods. (...) It normally works as a tool for validating the effectiveness of an established repertoire (i.e., historically accumulated), and for securing its perpetuation" (Even-Zohar, 2010: 11). The label 'heritage' implies that an object, practise, person, event or landscape is deemed important (Kelly, 2009). Acquiring a 'heritage' status or engaging with 'heritage' can therefore be seen as a means to negotiate the canon. What is considered to be the canon and what is considered to be heritage is not interchangeable, one could say that heritagization is a form of canonization.

Taking the canonization effect of heritage into account, researching new heritage practises and the processes of heritagization may provide useful insights in the processes of canonization. This will be helpful to understand the process of canon-change and culture dynamics, which is highly relevant considering current developments in Amsterdam as described before.

This thesis focuses on new heritage practises in the periphery of Amsterdam. The relevance of the focus on heritage is twofold. On the one hand acquiring a heritage status or engaging with heritage is, as described above, a means to negotiate centre-periphery relations and challenge the canon. Exploring new heritage practises will provide insights in these negotiations. On the other hand, heritage and heritage tourism are considered to be key assets of Amsterdam. Exploring the centre-periphery relation of heritage practises in Amsterdam will provide insights in how peripheral practises of a canonized repertoire interact.

Therefore, the main question of this research is: how do new heritage practises negotiate centre-periphery relations in Amsterdam? To research this, three case studies are selected that engage with heritage and are situated in the geographical and/or discursive periphery of Amsterdam. These organisations are considered to be peripheral since they are or very far away located from the centre or represent something that is very different than the canon in the city centre. (1) The first case study is the Street Art Museum Amsterdam. This recently established museum is situated in Amsterdam Nieuw-West and facilitates, promotes and curates street art in the neighbourhood. (2) The second case study is Black Heritage Tours. This tour operator established in 2013 and provides tours through the city centre of Amsterdam that highlight the presence of the African diaspora in Amsterdam. (3) The third case study, the ADM-terrain, is a former shipyard which was squatted and inhabited since 1997. Inhabitants are currently applying their lifestyle, which they call 'vrijplaatscultuur', for the national inventory of intangible heritage. The three case studies offer a window on mechanisms, dynamics and negotiations of centre-periphery relations.

1.3 Problem statement and research questions

As explained above, due to the increasing numbers of tourists there is a clear call for changing tourism patterns and dynamics in Amsterdam with regards to the overcrowding and touristification of the city centre. A top-down strategy to change these patterns is the relabeling of tourist attractions outside Amsterdam as being part of Amsterdam (for example, Amsterdam Beach and

Amsterdam Castle) and thereby include them in the canon. These strategies caused a lot of commotion among local inhabitants of Amsterdam and the relabelled areas. However, a canon is never static and is always contested from outside (Even-Zohar, 1990). New heritage practises interact and negotiate with the canon. This thesis focuses on these new heritage practises in order to provide more insights in canon-change and contribute to the debate of changing tourism patterns and dynamics in Amsterdam.

In a review of the current state of critical heritage research sociologist Tim Winter (2013) calls to prioritize an engagement with the professional heritage conservation sector. "If critical heritage studies is to have any influence in this arena it needs to cultivate a language that crosses intellectual and sector boundaries" (Winter, 2013: 533). This research responds to his call by actively engaging with new heritage conservation organisations and aiming to understand how they use heritage, how they interact with the dominant repertoire of heritage institutions and what kind of paradoxes and dilemmas' this unfolds.

According to the anthropologist Katharina Schramm "even in critical heritage discourse there has been a tendency to juxtapose and somewhat fix dominant and subaltern actors in relation to heritage and its institutionalization" (Schramm, 2015: 443). The theoretical framework provided in chapter 2 corresponds to Schramm her analysis. Therefore, this thesis aims to further complicate the interactions and negotiations between 'dominant' and 'subaltern'. By focussing on the perspectives of new peripheral heritage practises I aim to respond to this knowledge gap.

In order to answer the main research question 'how do new heritage practises negotiate centre-periphery relations in Amsterdam?' I developed three sub-questions:

1. How is heritage used and produced in the periphery of Amsterdam?
2. How do new heritage practises adapt to, and challenge the canon of Amsterdam?
3. What paradoxes and dilemmas need to be negotiated in the periphery of Amsterdam?

1.4 Outline

The thesis is structured as follows: in the next chapter (2), I will provide the theoretical framework guiding this research. I will introduce my conceptualization of heritage as a social construct and heritage as a discourse. After that I will introduce my understanding of centre-periphery relations and how centre-periphery relations have been researched in critical heritage studies. Two theories will be used complementary guiding this research and are introduced next, the Authorized Heritage Discourse as developed by Smith (2006) and Polysystem theory as developed by Even-Zohar (1990). The theoretical framework will conclude with 3 assumptions that are deducted underlying the two aforementioned theories, these assumptions will be compared to the empiric data in the discussion chapter. In the next chapter, (3) methodology, I will explain how this research was conducted and set up. The process of case study selection is introduced as well. In chapter four (4) I will provide the context of this research by describing the current dominant discourse on the development of Amsterdam and the measures implemented to counter these developments. In the next chapter (5) I will present my findings of the three case studies. The data generated and analysed will be described per case study and is structured along the three sub-questions. From every case study I will describe an introduction, how heritage is used and produced, how they challenge and adapt to the canon, what dilemmas this entails and how this relates to the theoretical framework. In chapter six (6), the conclusion, the three case studies are compared to each other and an answer to the sub-question and the main question is provided. In the next chapter (7), the discussion, the cases are compared to

the assumptions as generated in the theoretical framework. The last chapter (8) is an epilogue in which the findings are used to shed light on the current dynamics of touristification and overcrowding in Amsterdam.

2. Theoretical framework

The main objective of this research is to understand how new heritage practises negotiate centre-periphery relations in Amsterdam. In this chapter I will explain how that objective is theoretically grounded. The chapter is divided in two parts. The first part conceptualizes the different concepts I used in this research namely: heritage, centre and periphery. The second part introduces two theories who can be used to study peripheral heritage practises.

   The first part starts with a review on critical heritage studies in order to position this research. After that I will explain how I conceptualize heritage as socially constructed and the role of power in this. Following, I will explain how I understand centre and periphery and how peripheral heritage practises have been researched in heritage studies before.

   Subsequent, two theories will be introduced offering insights in peripheral heritage practises. The first theory is the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) as developed by heritage researcher Laurajene Smith. This theory has been highly influential in critical heritage studies and draws specific attention to the exclusionary effects of heritage and the existence of 'subaltern' heritage discourses (Smith, 2006). The second theory that I will introduce is developed by culture researcher Itamar Even-Zohar, and provides a methodological and conceptual framework explaining centre-periphery relations and processes of canonization (Even-Zohar, 1990; Even-Zohar, 2010). This theory has received little attention in the field of heritage studies, only the social scientist Roel During (2010) has used Polysystem theory in heritage research. Polysystem theory has mostly been applied in literary and translation studies (Salvador, 2002), although it aims to speak for the whole notion of culture. These two theories are chosen complementary since they both theorize on centre-periphery relations – although Smith uses different terms namely dominant and subaltern – and provide insights in the workings of heritage, both from a different perspective. AHD comes from and is widely cited in critical heritage studies, while Polysystem theory takes a more encompassing approach and theorizes about the dynamics of the whole workings of culture. As the explanation of these theories will show, their understanding on centre-periphery relations are based on several, sometimes similar, assumptions. The theoretical framework will end with three deducted assumptions on centre-periphery relations. In the discussion chapter these assumptions will be compared to the generated empirical data.

2.1 Critical heritage studies

In their literature review on contemporary heritage research the two heritage researchers Emma Waterton and Steve Watson (2015) observe two distinctive strands of heritage literature developing in the '90s. One strand would explore the idea of heritage from an operational practise perspective and its supporting discourses, another strand would understand heritage and its discourses as a form of cultural practise. The first strand approaches heritage from a managerial perspective while the second with critical cultural analysis. I consider myself to be in the second strand.

   In the second strand, from a range of diverse disciplines, sociological, cultural, social geographical and anthropological thought, critical analysis of heritage was voiced. Waterton and Watson coin Tunbridge (1984), Byrne (1991), Smith (1993), Hall (1999) and Graham et. al. (2000) who began to

problematize what Harrison (2008) labelled as a 'predatory' way of thinking about heritage as the starting point of a substantial critique on heritage. This critique understood heritage to be a selective process relating to issues of power, identity and control. Since this time the discipline, called critical heritage studies, has engaged with these issues. One would suggest that this review would function as a kind of 'backdrop' scenario from which the discipline has evolved into something else (Waterton & Watson, 2015). However this is not the case and issues of inclusion and exclusion are still on the forefront of critical heritage studies.

Key in this understanding is that heritage is a discourse inevitable related to power/knowledge (Smith, 2006). Coming from this perspective, one has to proceed that heritage is always contested. Any construction of a certain heritage – and thereby not a different construction in favour of someone else – leads to the potential disinheritance or exclusion of those who do not subscribe to the promoted heritage (Kelly, 2009). Critical heritage studies is the discipline engaging with the consequences of this exclusion and offers critique where heritage policy fails to acknowledge or address its social political implications (Winter, 2013).

On a more conceptual level, Felders, Duineveld and Van Assche (2015) distinguish three different ways of thinking about heritage in post-structuralist studies. First, heritage as an object already assumed valuable to which different meanings are described. Second, heritage as a normative concept ascribed to objects. Felder et al. draw upon a quote by Waterton and Smith (2009) to describe this: "In this definition, all heritage is intangible, as it is redefined as a cultural process in which the values and cultural and social meanings that help us make sense of the present are identified and negotiated" (Waterton & Smith, 2006 as quoted in Felder et al. 2015: 461). Different groups of people make different constructions of the past and therefore ascribe different meanings to objects.

However I consider myself to approach heritage from the third way in which heritage objects themselves are the result of discursive construction. Seen from this perspective heritage values are not new layers of meaning but are understood as new objects. Why is that a useful approach one can legitimately ask. We do not want to be tangled up into deconstructing for the sake of deconstructing. Coming from a post-structuralist perspective I hold the ontological and epistemological assumption that 'reality' is unknowable. All we can know is the representation and constructions of realities (Dunn, 2009). By seeing heritage values as new objects one does not ascribe inherent meaning into these objects. Without denying its materiality an object is inherently nothing, only our representations and constructions of it. Seeing different values ascribed as new objects makes clear that there is no inherent hierarchy between those ascribed values. These constructions differ however hierarchically in which constructions is considered to be more 'true' and is therefore dominant and which construction is more peripheral.

To sum up, I consider this thesis part of critical heritage studies in which heritage is considered to be a discourse inevitably related to power/knowledge. Seen from this perspective heritage is the result of discursive construction and therefore attributed heritage values are seen as new objects.

2.2 The social construction of heritage

I consider heritage to be a socially constructed discourse inevitably related to power/knowledge. Below I will explain why and what this entails.

2.2.1 The process of constructing heritage

Heritage practises can be considered to 'conserve objects, places and practises "from the past, in the present, for the future" (Harrison, 2015: 27). This means that heritage is a process which might have the past as a topic of interest but which happens in the present with the aim of influencing the future. Using the past in the present is a process of selection and interpretation since not all perspectives and stories can be told (Kelly, 2006).

> "Here I make reference to the need to remain vigilant and deeply suspicious of heritage. Heritage is rarely deployed innocently. (...) Nonetheless, heritage has simultaneously, through its infiltration of almost every part of our lives, become an important language by which people globally attribute value and express a sense of care for special objects, places, and practises." (Harrison, 2015: 38 – 39)

Harrison touches upon two aspects of heritage that are key in the understanding of heritage in this thesis. First, he notes the intrinsic political nature of heritage. Claims on heritage are often divisive or exclusionary and function to normalize and historicize inequalities (Harrison, 2015). By claiming something as heritage it becomes something inherited from the past and therefore makes present developments – since heritage is a process happening in the present – constructed as inherited. These are often 'divisive or exclusionary' since they represent a specific construction of the past, and thereby not a different construction in favour of someone else, which lead to exclusion of those who do not describe to this construction of the past (Kelly, 2009).

Second, Harrison notes how heritage is a concept used by people to express care for, and assume an ethical stance toward the future (Harrison, 2015: 40). By all focus on the politics of heritage it is easy to forget that heritage is also used to express value and care towards objects and a sense of belonging. It is exactly this combination – of heritage as excluding and a means of expressing meaning in (everyday) life – that makes it a useful and interesting concept for studying cultural dynamics. Key in this understanding of heritage is the concept of power.

2.2.2 Heritage and Power

Claims to heritage are never non-political since they are tied to claims to, and expressions of, power. Heritage is part of the discourses and strategies deployed by different groups to help them legitimize and assert cultural, social and economic aspirations (Smith, 2006). There exists no objective past or history, the past is always represented and constructed in the present social and political context for some particular interest (Wu & Hou, 2015).

Understanding heritage in this sense, one can see heritage as a kind of rhetoric. The anthropologist Lafrenz Samuels distinguishes rhetoric of cultural heritage in two aspects (Lafrenz Samuels, 2015). First, how heritage acts as a kind of rhetoric being mobilized within diverse contexts where it gives persuasive force to particular standpoints, perspectives and claims. In this sense, the concept of heritage is used as strategy to persuade specific goals, as for example reinforce communities or reconstruct present phenomena as historically accumulated. Second, such arguments must be made through existing institutional mechanisms and discourses – an existing 'rhetoric of heritage' – within which cultural heritage can be mobilized. This existing 'rhetoric of heritage' is the institutions and discourses that legitimate current norms and values on what is considered to be heritage and how one forms and engages with heritage. An example is the UNESCO convention on intangible heritage saying that all intangible heritage should be transmitted from generation to generation (UNESCO, 2003). In this example is the idea that heritage is transmitted between generations the existing 'rhetoric of heritage' through which heritage can be mobilized. Power could therefore be seen as an inherent part of heritage. Heritage is a means of power and power is transmitted through heritage. In other words, heritage is a medium and a source of power.

As Schramm (2015) notes, Graham (2002) conceptualizes heritage as one fundamental element in the shaping of power networks. According to Schramm, this perspective acknowledges the decentralization of power, power is not operating top-down from a central source but rather operates as a network. However this approach, which is drawing on Castell's network society (1997), approaches power as something that exists 'out there' (Walters 2012: 3, as quoted by Schramm, 2015: 443). In contrast, a more Foucauldian approach would emphasize the paradoxical and ambiguous workings of heritage, being it enabling and debilitating, empowering and subjugating (Bond & Gilliam, 1994 as quoted in Schramm, 2015:443). Power is not a force executed by someone, it is a 'productive relation that produces powerful effects of subjectification' (Schramm, 2015: 443).

Foucault argued (as cited in Berg, 2009: 215) that "discourses are practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak." Therefore, applying the concept of heritage forms the object, or as Felder et al. put it, heritage objects themselves are the result of a process of discursive construction (Felder et al., 2015). This complies with a Foucauldian approach of discourse, discourse is not 'about' something but brings these things into being. In this sense discourse does not reflect 'reality' but performs 'reality' and produces 'truth effects' (Cresswel, 2009). Discourse is not only spoken and written word, it includes all forms of representation (as e.g. institutions, objects and practices). Seeing heritage from this perspective means that I believe that heritage is a discourse and comes into being by the use of the concept 'heritage' but also by the institutions, legislations, objects and practises related to it.

Discourse, and therefore also heritage, is inevitably related to power/knowledge. Power and knowledge are intricately intertwined, "there is no power relationship without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations" (Foucault as cited in Berg, 2009: 215). What is considered to be true or what is considered knowledge is formed by, and at the same time forms, who has power. Also vice versa this relationship exists, who has power is formed by, and forms, what we consider as knowledge. Both are intertwined and cannot be seen separate, therefore Foucault uses the term power/knowledge. Power is not a top-down process, it infuses all social relations. Seen from this perspective, heritage is both a product and a medium of power (Berg, 2009).

To summarize, heritage is a discourse. It is a framework of ideas that structures how objects and practises are valued and interacted with and by that produces objects. Labelling something as 'heritage' implies specific assumptions, practises and ideas about that something and consequently creates a new object. These assumptions, practises and ideas are produced by discourse. Knowledge about these discourses regarding 'heritage' are intrinsically embedded within power. Who decides what is considered 'heritage' and what implications the heritage-concept imply produces who has power, and is produced by who has power.

2.3 Centre-periphery relations

This thesis is concerned with understanding how peripheral heritage practises relate to the centre. In this part I will provide a brief overview of how I conceptualize the centre and the periphery and the relevant studies regarding centre/periphery relations in heritage.

2.3.1 What is a centre and a periphery?

Centre-periphery is a common spatial metaphor used to describe an unequal distribution of power (Pietikainen & Kelly-Holmes, 2013). However, in this thesis the periphery is not only approached as a geographical construct but also as a discursive construct. This means that something is considered to

be peripheral when geographically far away from the city centre or discursively constructed as different than the canon.

Key in the concept of periphery is that a periphery has a relationship with the powerful other, the centre (Boniface, 2000). The cultural categorization of peripheral spaces is dependent upon the acceptance of a cultural opposition between high/low and a geographical opposition between centre/margin (Millington, 2005 as quoted in Burdsey, 2016). This opposition is always relational. Whether something is considered to be central or peripheral is dependent on its relationship towards the context. For example, the case studies selected in this research are positioned peripheral in relation to Amsterdam since they are approached from a perspective on tourism in Amsterdam. If seen from another perspective, for example that of tourism in the whole of the Netherlands, they are considered to be part of the power centre since they are situated within Amsterdam and Amsterdam is the most powerful attractor of tourists in the Netherlands.

According to Pietikainen and Kelly-Holmes (2013) centre and periphery are not given concepts but are understood as discursive constructs in a reciprocal and dynamic relationship. They approach 'centre' and 'periphery' as fluid, negotiated and reconfigured ideas. Peripheries could become central while centres can become less dominant and peripheral. In this sense, peripherality is changing constantly, a process, practise or location can be both peripheral and central.

> "It is this simultaneous, shifting and ambiguous position between peripherality and centrality, and the tensions that arise from these transformations that make the examination of peripheral sites interesting and revealing. It is the contradictions and tensions between these two tendencies—on the one hand, the fact that core/periphery relations are both multiplying and no longer fixed, and, on the other hand, the continuing discursive power of the 'core' as the all-powerful centre—which have important implications for the sites, processes, and practices under study." (Pietikainen & Kelly-Holmes, 2013: 5)

Concluding, the periphery is approached as a fluid and ambiguous concept. It assumes an unequal power-relationship with the centre because of its geographical marginality or because it is considered to be culturally low or different than the canon.

2.3.2 Centre-periphery relations in heritage studies

Within critical heritage studies it has been widely acknowledged that heritage creates exclusion (Waterton & Watson, 2015). As a result, many calls for a more 'inclusive' approach have been made in order to include voices and perspectives of the excluded in constructions of heritage (Smith, 2006; Pendleburry, et al. 2004). Within the research regarding these inclusion/exclusion effects several terms are used to pin down these hierarchical differences. To name a few: authorized/subaltern (Smith, 2006), marginal/mainstream (Dellios, 2015), minority/official (Khabra, 2013; Arokiasamy, 2012), alternative/official-mainstream (Arboleda, 2016, Merill, 2015; Sexton, 2012), grassroots/official (Mozaffari, 2015), authorized/unauthorized (Roberts & Cohen, 2014) and periphery/centre (Penalla, 2012).

Although these terms are not interchangeable and refer to different aspects of heritage they all assume a binary and hierarchical relationship between an included and an excluded group in constructions of heritage. Therefore, insights from the above mentioned studies are used to inform the literature review below on heritage practises in the periphery. Except Penalla (2012), the concept of peripherality has not yet been applied in heritage research.

The anthropologist Cristiana Penalla (2012) concludes in her research on centre-periphery relations in Mali that tourist art crafters should not be excluded by the Malian State Heritage foundation, as is the case today. The economic survival strategies of tourist art crafters do not

exclude the aesthetic dimension of cultural production but they do refer to international and national hierarchies between centre-periphery and show strategies for iconographic innovation and social change (Penalla, 2012). This research shows important insights in cultural production in the periphery and how economic necessity can be considered a part of a cultural product and do not decrease its value. Her research challenges the idea that 'art' can only be 'art' when created for the sake of 'art'.

The Urban Studies researcher Pablo Arboleda (2016) frames the practise of urban exploration and its interest towards abandoned places from a heritage perspective. Applying Smith's (2006) conceptualizing of heritage as 'the experience at a heritage location', he concludes that the urban explorers do not consider the progressive and natural decay and eventual disappearance of places as something negative but rather as a positive attribute. This research shows how peripheral cultural activities can be complex and paradoxical. A paradox that Arboleda found was a tension between "explorers' decisions to reject official attention, allowing them to accept the loss of abandoned places as a paradoxical way to preserve their authenticity" (Arboleda, 2016: 378). By accepting loss and degradation authenticity was preserved.

Geographer Samuel Merrill frames sub-cultural graffiti and street art as heritage in his research (2015). He develops the concept of 'alternative heritage' to account for the traditions of illegality, illegibility, anti-commercialism and transience related to street art and subcultural graffiti.

> "The alternative heritage of graffiti subcultures might be interpreted as an example of the subaltern heritage discourse that highlights how subaltern groups are predominantly positioned outside the official authorised heritage discourse and are restricted in their autonomy to conceive of heritage in ways outside the dominant framework. (Smith, 2006)" (Merill, 2015: 385)

In his analysis 'alternative heritage' operates outside the formal heritage frameworks.

The interaction between 'official' and 'unofficial' heritage practises is key in the work of Alexandra Dellios (2015) on migrant centres as grassroots and official heritage. Her research shows "how individuals, communities and other groups (the grassroots) draw on sanctioned and publicly circulating narratives to mark their site as heritage-worthy" (Dellios, 2015: 1068). By focussing on the emotional engagements on site, she shows how these practises are not in opposition to official heritage discourses, nor operating outside official heritage discourses. This is rather an "interactive relationship, in which grassroots groups draw on the sanctioned discourses available to them in order to mark their sites as heritage-worthy" (Dellios, 2015: 1081).

Concluding, these case studies all focus on heritage practises not included in mainstream/dominant constructions of heritage and approach this from a different perspective. They provide insights in the interactions between the dominant and the peripheral heritage practises and/or suggest a reconceptualization of the notion of heritage. Hereby the concept of heritage expands and new practises (for example tourist art carvers, graffiti, urban exploring) can be incorporated.

2.4 Authorized Heritage Discourse

One of the most influential theories in critical heritage studies is the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) as developed by the cultural heritage professor Laurajene Smith (Smith, 2006; Neal, 2015). Against a backdrop of increasing awareness on the political nature and contestation of heritage, as developed by Graham et al. (2000) and Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996), she developed a critical reflection on how heritage was understood and performed in the heritage industry.

2.4.1 What is an Authorized Heritage Discourse?

Smith (2006) argues that there is an Authorized Heritage Discourse about heritage, which acts to constitute the way we think, talk and write about heritage. This heritage discourse, however dynamic and changing, naturalizes and validates the practises, institutions and meanings of heritage (Smith, 2006). Consequently, this AHD is a particular way of constructing heritage that leads to privileging the cultural symbols of the white, middle/upper-classes and thereby excludes alternative ways of understanding heritage (Waterton, 2009).

"There is, really, no such thing as heritage" is the first sentence of the first chapter of 'Uses of Heritage' in which Smith launches her theory (2006: 11). According to her, heritage is not an inherent aspect of an object, it is socially constructed. "'Heritage' is therefore ultimately a cultural practice, involved in the construction and regulation of a range of values and understandings" (Smith, 2006: 11). This means that the concept of heritage, and its institutionalisation, influences the way we act and value objects and practises. She approaches heritage as a discourse, inevitable related to power/knowledge. This means that what is considered to be knowledge, for example what is understood to be heritage, how heritage is portrayed, presented and treated, is intertwined with who has power. Therefore, constructing something as heritage influences who has power, and is influenced by who has power.

2.4.2 How does the Authorized Heritage Discourse work?

According to Smith, heritage is actively framed to exclude ethnic minorities and the working class (Smith, 2009: 2). She draws upon a text by Graham et al. (2000: 258) saying that heritage may represent the dominant ideological discourse, but that it is also ensuring that heritage can become the focus of alternative meaning for those who dissent. She describes those dissenting discourses and critiques as 'subaltern discourses' standing outside of the dominant discourse. "The point is that the AHD, and the social inclusion concerns that it frames, can not engage with subaltern definitions of heritage as to do so destabilises the existing cultural and social power structures" (Smith, 2009:9).

Inspired by Smith, many heritage scholars offer critique on how the Authorized Heritage Discourse and its institutions provoke exclusion and favour the interests of specific groups. Many have sought for a new approach to cultural heritage, on that is bottom-up, participatory and/or grounded in subaltern concerns (see, amongst others, Arboleda, 2016; Merill, 2015; Waterton & Smith, 2010; Khabra, 2012; Mydland & Grahn, 2011).

According to Smith, the top-down recruitment of excluded groups into existing practises does not challenge the AHD. She quotes Pendlebury et al. saying: "merely enabling more people to enjoy heritage, or extending how it is defined to recognize the diversity of society, does not in itself challenge power relations and control over the process by which heritage is defined and managed" (Pendleburry et al., 2004: 23 as quoted in Smith, 2006: 37). Therefore, according to Smith, the AHD can only be challenged from bottom-up.

According to Gnecco (2015):

> "what Smith (2006) calls the 'authorized heritage discourse', undergirded by dynamics of inclusion and exclusion policed by institutional heritage discourses, has been contested at the grassroots level. Such a contestation reveals that the national and post-national conceptions of heritage can only be imposed with a high dose of violence – symbolic and otherwise. Different conceptions of heritage – different conceptions of the past, of time, of life – now unfold in highly politicized arenas characterized by competing narratives and institutions. An increasing body of literature documents the struggle for key sites and narratives and the different positioning of the actors involved, in which local communities confront the establishment (museums, archaeologists, multilateral agencies)." (Gnecco, 2015: 273)

In this conceptualisation of the AHD there exists an opposition between the dominant authorized, and the subaltern grassroots discourses in which both groups compete with each other. According to Gnecco the dominant conceptions of heritage are imposed 'with a high dose of violence'.

Smith does not approach subaltern groups as 'passive' towards the AHD. According to her subaltern groups can and do use heritage in subversive and oppositional means.

> "Heritage thus becomes not only a tool of governance, but also a tool of opposition and subversion. Heritage can therefore be understood as an important political and cultural tool in defining and legitimizing the identity, experiences and social/cultural standing of a range of subnational groups as well as those of the authorizing discourse. However, it may also be an important resource in challenging received identity and cultural/social values. This latter use of heritage is often undervalued, but is as important and significant as is its use in constructing and validating identity." (Smith, 2006: 52)

Concluding, AHD is widely cited in research on the issues of power and exclusion of heritage. Smith's theory provides insights in the 'use' of heritage and how it includes and excludes specific groups and narratives. She developed the concept of 'subaltern' discourses on heritage to explain how the Authorized Heritage Discourse is challenged from bottom-up.

2.5 Polysystem Theory

The work of culture researcher Itamar Even-Zohar focuses on understanding culture dynamics and culture change by using the concepts of centre and periphery. His methodological and theoretical framework called Polysystem theory aims at understanding changes in culture and the dynamics of canonization. Polysystem theory is (still) a peripheral theory in culture studies, and – although it provides a set of hypotheses and theoretical insights for the whole notion of 'culture' and 'culture making' – has mainly received attention in specific topics and disciplines (predominantly translation studies and literature (Salazar, 2002)).

2.5.1 What is a polysystem?

Polysystem theory is concerned with understanding and explaining dynamics and heterogeneity of culture (Salvador, 2002). This theoretical and methodological framework was initially developed to understand dynamics in the semiotic system of literature and translation studies. However, with the further development of the theory, it became a methodology for dealing with the larger range of complexity in culture (Salvador, 2002). Even-Zohar describes a polysystem as "a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent" (Even-Zohar, 1990: 11). For example, when one approaches tourism in Amsterdam as a polysystem this means that 'tourism in Amsterdam' functions as a structured whole, all different aspects and parts are mutually dependent on each other. Because it is approached as a polysystem, and not as a single system, the system of 'tourism in Amsterdam' is again interdependent on other systems.

Culture is defined in Polysytem theory as a dynamic, functional, stratified, open system that is heterogeneous, partly autonomous and which is subject to change over time. This definition of culture is in contrast to structuralist/functionalist theories that examine language and culture as closed systems (Bonifačić, 1996; Even-Zohar, 1990). Since handling an open system is more difficult than handling a closed system, the level of exhaustive analysis may be more limited. Therefore, Even-Zohar suggests, perhaps more room will be given to 'disorders' (Even-Zohar, 1990: 12). When one takes the concepts heterogeneity and dynamics, and aims for formulating explanatory hypotheses about the working and creation of culture, one takes plausibly into account parameters as change,

conflict, contradiction, alternative options, competing possibilities, blurred borders between activities and institutions (Salvador, 2002: 3).

Polysystem theory is specifically designed to search for general laws or mechanisms that explain the functioning of cultural activities, accounting for the possibility of historical change (Salvador, 2002). Important to note is that, in line with post-structuralist thinking, these laws it seeks to uncover are not seen as an 'eternal truth' but rather as a set of temporary hypotheses that are open to verification or adaptation whenever change is necessary (Even-Zohar, 1990: 4).

2.5.2 How does a polysystem work?

A polysystem consists of different repertoire. A repertoire is the collection of rules, principles, structures and actions that governs practise (During, 2010: 40). Culture repertoires are not seen as side-effect or reflections of political and economic processes, but as concrete forces that constrain and shape such processes, "constituting the channels through which social life is actually generated and transformed" (Sela-Sheffy, 2010: 2).

An institutionalized repertoire could also be described as canonized. Canonization involves the selection of most appropriate and successful practises as enlightening examples (During, 2010). For example the Rijksmuseum and the Red Light District but also the Amsterdam Castle are part of the canonized repertoire of tourism activities in Amsterdam, they serve as enlightening examples of what the city Amsterdam is about.

Heritagization could be seen as a form of canonization. According to Even-Zohar:

> "the term 'heritage' normally refers to the accepted canon of precious goods, thus designating distinction and a useful benchmark for competition. It thus normally works as a tool for validating the effectiveness of an established repertoire (i.e., historically accumulated), and for securing its perpetuation." (Even-Zohar, 2010: 11)

Canonization, the process of including objects, practises or places in the canon, takes places in the power centre(s) of a polysystem. Within a polysystem, multiple centres of power exist (eg. marketing offices, tourists, guidebooks, UNESCO, etc.). However, when projects are bottom-up qualified as 'successful' this is called codification. Codification takes place in the periphery of the system and aims at acquiring a higher status by describing practises as a system of good working rules. Both processes, codification and canonization, interrelate with each other. The difference between canonized and non-canonized strata is whether practises are found legitimate by the dominant circles within a culture.

There is a reciprocal dynamics between the cultural centre and its periphery (Even-Zohar, 1990). However, within a polysystem one must not think of only one centre and only one periphery but multiple centres and peripheries can exist within one polysystem.

To understand the transfer from uncanonized repertoire (periphery) to canonized repertoire (centre), Even-Zohar uses the concepts of innovative and conservative elements (During, 2010). When a repertoire is coherent and predictable it is called conservative but when it includes new and unpredictable elements it is innovative. Innovation can be enhanced by complexity since complexity leads to heterogeneity which is the basis of innovation (During, 2010). When procedures for canonization are not fixed and when competition between repertoires exist, opportunities for innovation and thereby change in the canon are increased. Without competition from non-canonized repertoires, a canonized repertoire is likely to stagnate. Competition guarantees the evolution of the system, which is the only means of its preservation (Even-Zohar, 1990: 16). The process of repertoire change from innovative to conservative always goes along with simplification.

Analysing a repertoire along these lines can be very difficult since there are multiple centres of power, nothing is completely canonized and fixed procedures are never entirely fixed. Therefore, the concepts of Polysystem theory as explained in this paragraph – as repertoire, canonization, codification, centre, periphery, heterogeneity and dynamics – can be used to guide the search for understanding the pluralism of culture activities.

One aspect of Polysystem theory is the rejection of value judgement of culture and culture products. This implies that when studying 'culture' or 'tourism' one cannot only focus on the 'masterpieces' or 'top-attractions' to understand the phenomenon. From Even-Zohar's point of view, no shift in a culture can be accounted for without the study of the dynamics of the system. Therefore it is imperative to deal with peripheral, often covert, strata. "'Popular Culture' is not a set of products and behaviours in connection with 'the arts', but anything that does not conform to the official or institutionalized repertoire" (Salvador, 2002: 5).

To summarize, Polysystem theory tries to understand the dynamics and mechanisms of culture by focussing on centre-periphery relations. It conceptualizes heritagization as a form of canonization, a means to validate the existence and dominance of certain repertoires. However, change and dynamics are inherent in this systems and guarantee the survival of the system.

2.6 Assumptions

From the two theories explained above several assumptions on the relationship between centre and periphery guiding the research can be deducted. With assumptions I mean the ideas about the construction and working of the periphery and how this relates to the centre that underlie their theoretical approach. In this paragraph I will further elaborate on these assumptions and how they are constructed. In the end of this thesis, in the chapter discussion, I will come back to these assumptions and explore whether the data generated in this thesis confirms or complicates these assumptions.

#1 Periphery threatens to replace/challenge centre

According to Even-Zohar, cultural systems need a regulatory balance in order to not collapse or disappear (Even-Zohar, 1990: 17). This regulatory balance is brought by competition from outside the dominant centre. A canonized repertoire would stagnate if not for competition from non-canonized challengers which threaten to replace them (During, 2010; Even-Zohar, 1990). This assumption, of a natural tendency from peripheral cultural strata to want to become central lies behind the conceptualization of Polysystem theory.

Smith's AHD does not explicitly state that the subaltern threatens to replace the dominant discourses on heritage. However she does assume that subaltern discourses challenge the authorized heritage discourse, and that engaging with subaltern definitions of heritage would destabilize existing structures (Smith, 2009). The anthropologist Cristobal Gnecco described the contestation of subaltern towards the dominant as 'struggle for key sites' and 'confront the establishment' (Gnecco, 2015: 273). This shows that also AHD assumes a centre-periphery relationship in which the periphery challenges or contests the centre.

Both theories have in common that they assume a tense relationship between centre and periphery in which the periphery aims to challenge (Smith, 2006) or replace (Even-Zohar, 1990) the centre.

#2 Periphery operates outside the centre or follows the centre

In her conceptualisation of the 'Authorized Heritage Discourse' Laurajene Smith states that the AHD cannot engage with subaltern definitions of heritage. This would "destabilise the existing social

and cultural power structures" (Smith, 2009: 9). She assumes that 'subaltern' heritage discourses operate outside the 'authorized' heritage discourse, however the subaltern practises are not the focus of the AHD theory and are not further conceptualized.

Even-Zohar conceptualises in his Polysystem theory culture as an open system. This means that culture is open for interferences and outside influences. This does not imply a strict separation between the peripheral and the central. However he conceptualises the relationship between periphery and centre as: "a periphery is allowed only to follow what is already available in the centre, while the centre is free to offer new options daily" (Even-Zohar, 2010: 95). Underlying this notion is the idea that the periphery strictly follows the centre and does not have the power to change and influence a central repertoire. However, Even-Zohar also assumes that "contrary to common belief, interference often takes place via peripheries" (Even-Zohar, 1990: 25). This seems contradictory at first sight. A periphery only follows the centre but also provides interferences? According to Even-Zohar, interferences indeed take place via the periphery although for them to be able to challenge the centre they need to be at least partly established. This means that the periphery can challenge the centre when it acquires certain more dominant characteristics (Even-Zohar, 2010). Implicated in this understanding of the periphery is that peripheral practises can at the same time have more dominant characteristics.

Both theories assume a different relationship between centre and periphery. The AHD does not conceptualize any negotiations or reciprocity between them. Within Poly-system theory these negotiations and reciprocity are part of the relationship between centre and periphery, however in this relationship the periphery follows what is already available in the centre unless it obtains certain dominant characteristics itself.

#3 Periphery as unambiguous/ambiguous

Within AHD theory the status of peripheral or subaltern is not further conceptualized. The focus of the theory is not on the mechanisms that constitute the margin but rather on the power processes that reinforce the centre. Therefore, the 'subaltern' is approached as rather unambiguous. Smith speaks about subaltern discourses as outsiders of the dominant heritage regime. Although she does not imply that subaltern groups are passive, they "can and do use heritage in subversive and oppositional ways" (Smith, 2006: 52); she does not attribute any dominant or 'authorized' characteristics towards the subaltern. No mentions are made of subaltern heritage practises increasingly becoming included in the AHD or having powerful characteristics.

This assumption is not underlying Polysystem theory. Even-Zohar conceptualizes a polysystem as having multiple power centres and peripheries. Therefore, in the approach of a polysystem something can be considered peripheral in one system and central in another system. Since he understands culture as an open polysystem this is ever changing and in constant flux. From this perspective periphery and centre are ambiguous and dynamic concepts.

AHD and Polysystem theory have both a different and opposite perspective on this. Smith does not further conceptualise the peripheral while Even-Zohar conceptualises the periphery as ambiguous.

3. Methodology: How to study centre-periphery relations?

"To critically understand what heritage is and does in the present, how local contexts, historical moments and different cultural traditions shape and use it, it is useful to focus on the discursive (re)production of heritage" (Wu & Hou, 2015: 37). This quote from Wu and Hou summarizes my approach of the concept of heritage, which is more elaborately explained in the theoretical framework.

Every researcher holds specific assumptions and ideas about the nature of reality (ontology), what is knowledge (epistemology) and what guidelines should guide how knowledge is gathered (methodology). Those assumptions together form a paradigm, a particular view on how the world works and guides action (Danaee Fard, 2014). I approach this research from a post-structuralist paradigm. This means that I belief that any ontology is always already an outcome of our socially constructed ways of knowing. Therefore we need to reflect not only on how we know, but also on how elements of ontology, such as space, place, nature, culture, become framed in thought. By asking such questions, post-structuralists examine how social relations of power fix the meaning and significance of social practices, objects, and events (Woodward, et al. 2009). I belief that 'reality' is unknowable, all we can know are the representations and constructions of realities (Dunn, 2009).

In this methodology chapter I will explain what the practical and methodological implications are for doing research from this approach and how this helps me to study interactions and negotiations between peripheral and central heritage practises in Amsterdam.

3.1 Research design

This thesis is conducted according to a 'qualitative explorative multiple case study research design'.

Qualitative research methods (normally) inductively explore social phenomena in order to find empirical patterns that can function to generate theory (Boeije, 2009; 5, Bryman, 2008). In the problem statement I concluded that there exists a knowledge gap in critical heritage studies about the interactions between peripheral and central heritage practises. With this thesis, I hope to contribute to the conceptualisation and understanding of the workings and uses of heritage. Therefore, qualitative methods are used.

Explorative research is especially relevant due to the aforementioned knowledge gap (Kumar, 2014). Data generation and data analysis are continually adjusted to the emerged findings (Boeije, 2009). Since there is relatively few information on uses of heritage by grassroots activist and almost none on new heritage practises in the periphery of Amsterdam this research has an explorative nature.

Multiple (3) heritage initiatives were selected as a case study. The main aim of this research is to contribute to scientific understanding of the workings of heritage. I believe that multiple case studies can offer a more informed view on the uses and workings of heritage and are more helpful in generating theory than a single, but more extensive, case study. Especially due to the explorative nature of this case study and the aforementioned knowledge gap, insights in a broader range of heritage practises was considered to be more useful than an extensive understanding of one case. However, more than three case studies was not feasible due to time constrains.

The research design of a case study is chosen since it enables me to intensively study and explore new heritage practises. Complex phenomena, as heritage, need to be explored within their physical settings, historical backgrounds and specific socio-cultural and political contexts (Ilakova, 2013), which is possible in a case study design.

3.2 Case study selection

In order to select the case studies I first needed to establish what is considered the periphery and what is considered the centre. The details of this analysis are explained in the appendix.

Three different heritage organisations were selected as a case study. Since the initial aim of this research was to gain insight in the 'underground' and 'peripheral' heritage practises I needed a strategy to become aware of these organisations and see what cultural activities happen outside the canon of Amsterdam. Social Media analysis is considered a useful method to gain insight in social dynamics and human mobility in the urban space (Pithakkitnukoon et al., 2012). Therefore I used a free trial of the web based program EchoSec to analyse social media messages according to their geo-tagged location. Via this program one can select specific regions and receive an overview of all publicly available and geo-tagged social media messages posted within this area on a broad range of social media (as amongst others Twitter, Instagram, Reddit, Foursquare).

To explore what tourism or cultural activities people undertake in the 'periphery' of Amsterdam I analysed social media messages in the areas around the city centre. This made me acquainted with the Street Art Museum Amsterdam (SAMA) and the ADM-terrain. After online research on these organisations they were found applicable for this thesis. Both are located in the periphery of Amsterdam and engage with heritage. They both aim to acquire a heritage status for cultural assets very different than represented in the canonized sites in Amsterdam. SAMA aims to acquire a heritage status for street art and inhabitants of the ADM-terrain aim to acquire a heritage status for their lifestyle which they call 'vrijplaatscultuur'.

However, periphery is not only understood as a geographical concept but also as a discursive concept. Therefore geographical peripherality was not found necessary and organisation engaging with heritage but located in the centre are also applicable for this research. To get acquainted with the heritage practises available in Amsterdam I used the tourism review website Tripadvisor. The website provides a list with all the available tours, based on ratings and how often it is reviewed. Starting at the bottom of the list (starting with the least popular, least reviewed) and scrolling up I encountered Black Heritage Tours (BHT). This tour-operator was, after an online exploration, found applicable for this research. They provide tours in the city centre in which they reinterpret and construct heritage objects in the light of the history of the African diaspora in the Netherlands. Although they engage with canonized sites, they provide peripheral interpretations and narratives on these heritage sites.

As explained in the paragraph about the research design, I decided to do multiple case studies to improve the insights on theory generation. These three cases were found relevant for studying centre-periphery negotiations since they all were forming or interacting with heritage and acted from a discursive peripheral position, two of them (SAMA and ADM) are also geographically peripheral. Heritage is a part of their activities, however it is not their main purpose. This enables me to explore how organisations draw on the concept of heritage and how they use it. The organisations are not part of the popular attractions of Amsterdam and do promote different narratives and perspectives on heritage and Amsterdam than found in the canon. The combination of these three case studies reflects a diversity in heritage practises, they share similar characteristic but are also very different. SAMA and BHT are both commercial organisations earning money with heritage and engaging in tourism. The ADM-terrain has no commercial aspect. SAMA and the ADM-terrain are both active in the formation of heritage while BHT offers new perspectives and narratives on existing heritage objects and practises. The ADM-terrain and BHT share that their heritage practises focus on the past

while SAMA focuses on heritagization of present day created objects. In figure 1 it can be seen where the three researched organisations are located.

3.3 Data generation

As part of the explorative nature of this research, there has been a constant alternation between data generation and data analysis. To contribute to the clarity of this chapter, data generation and data analysis have been artificially separated in two sub-chapters although practically they have been intertwined.

After the case study selection the data generation started in December 2016 with explorative interviews with spokespersons of the three researched organisations. I conducted in total 6 interviews. These open interviews were semi-structured along a topic-list and were quite extensive (between 1.5 and 3 hours). Also, participant observation was possible with SAMA, BHT and ADM and field notes were made. The interviews were transcribed. I was able to get in contact with the organisations via the email addresses provided on their websites.

Analyzing the interview transcripts I found that a lot of paradoxical and ambiguous information was provided. Ambiguities, silences, etc. are an important part of discourse analysis (Berg, 2009). Therefore I decided to re-establish the research sub-questions, and focus on the ambiguities and paradoxes evolving out of centre-periphery negotiations. Other insights from these interviews did not comply with conceptualisations of centre-periphery relations in the literature review of heritage studies. Therefore I decided to deduct assumptions underlying two theories conceptualizing centre-periphery relations namely the Authorized Heritage Discourse (Smith, 2006) and Polysystem theory (Even-Zohar, 1990; Even-Zohar, 2010). These deducted assumptions were added to the theoretical framework and are compared to the empiric data in the discussion chapter.

In February 2017 I did two more semi-structured interviews with SAMA and ADM. In the first explorative round of case studies I interviewed BHT as last. Therefore I could already add the insights that the interviews with SAMA and ADM provided to the topic list and it was not found necessary to interview BHT again during this round. Before the second interview with SAMA there was one hour of participant observation. In May 2017 I did participant observation by joining a tour with SAMA and BHT and a festival at the ADM-terrain. During the participant observations it was possible to conduct several conversational interviews.

The data generation was spread over six months in which key informants were interviewed multiple times in different settings. Next to participant observation and interviews I analysed newspaper articles and documentaries featuring the three organisations. I used the websites of the organisations and their social media feed as a source and the heritage applications as provided by SAMA and ADM, to these documents will be in the text referred to as Internal Documents. I also analysed the guidebook co-produced by BHT on black heritage in Amsterdam. And a public debate on developments in Amsterdam in which an inhabitant of ADM participated (Stadsgesprek De Balie, 2017). Lastly, also digital personal correspondence between me and the key-informants is part of the data generation, to this correspondence will be in the text referred to as Personal Correspondence.

An overview of my generated data sources is provided in figure 2 and 3. The interviews and observation are in referred to thorough the thesis by their code.

Code	Interview with	When	Hours	Recorded	Transcribed
iSAMA1	Founder SAMA	06/12/2016	3	X	X
iADM1	Inhabitant A ADM	08/12/2016	1		
iADM2	Inhabitant A + B ADM	08/12/2016	1.5	X	X
iBHT1	Founder BHT	14/12/2016	1.5	X	X
iADM3	Inhabitant A + C ADM	14/02/2017	1.5	X	X
iSAMA2	Intern A + B SAMA	20/02/2017	1.5	X	X

Figure 2 Overview of interviews

Code	Participant observation of	When	Hours
oADM1	'SchijnbevrijdingsFestijn' at the ADM-terrain	06/05/2017	3
oSAMA1	Introduction for new interns	20/02/2017	1
oSAMA1	Tour through SAMA	13/05/2017	3
oBHT1	Black Heritage Tour	21/05/2017	4

Figure 3 Overview of observations

3.4 Data analysis

I used the method of discourse analysis to analyze the generated data. However, implied in a post-structural approach is a suspicion towards fixed procedures and roadmaps. Recognizing the shortcomings inherent in an approach without a written canon of methods, Berg (2009) summarizes the seven key methodological components to discourse analysis as discussed by Rose (2001) and Waitt (2005). I will now shortly introduce the seven components and explain how they have guided my research.

#1 Suspending pre-existing categories

"Given that one of the key components of any discourse analysis is to attempt to identify hegemonic discourses in action, it is especially important for a discourse analyst to step outside hegemonic discourses" (Berg, 2009: 219). Although I do not deem it possible to really 'step outside hegemonic discourses', I tried to be critical and aware of knowledge taken for granted and existing categories in order to be able to grasp the workings of power/knowledge. Implicit in this line of thinking is a reflexive awareness of situational knowledge. *"Self-reflexivity is a deliberate attempt to situate one's own knowledge, to emphasize that such knowledge is not detached from the world, that the researcher embodies a range of affects, social meanings, and power"* (Kobayashi, 2009: 139). This includes being aware that I am, just as the concept of heritage is, intertwined in mechanisms of power. I 'channel' power by selecting case studies and thereby neglecting others, while I am a source of power for the researched organisations since I offer publicity and a means of voicing their message in academic circles. Also, the fact that they cooperate in academic research can enhance their status and can be seen as a means to negotiate centre-periphery relations. Therefore, I need to be aware of these power-relations and how it influences our interviews during data generation and analysis.

#2 Absorbing oneself in the text

To go repeatedly through the generated data and alternate several times between data generation and data analysis I hope to have become fully familiar and 'absorbed' with the case studies. This makes it possible to be able to identify particular themes that arise in the reading of texts (Berg, 2009).

#3 Coding themes

The transcripts of the interviews have been deductively and inductively coded.

#4 Identifying regimes of truth

"All discourses rely on particular knowledge that defines the legitimacy of any particular statement of narrative in terms of truth/falsehood, normal/abnormal, moral/immoral, etc." (Berg, 2009: 219). Taking this into account, in the data analysis I focussed on understanding what mechanisms were used to emphasize the validity of this discourse. Practically, this means that attention is paid to what kind of experts or expertise is called upon to pronounce truth and how statements of 'real', 'truth', 'normality' or 'morality' are made.

#5 Identifying inconsistencies

The data generated in this thesis offers insights into peripheral - or as Berg calls it 'subordinate' – discourses, contesting peripheral – or hegemonic – discourses. Contestation is at the heart of discourse. All discourses are characterized by inconsistencies, contradictions and paradoxes (Berg, 2009). "Perhaps more importantly, these inconsistencies and disruptions allow for the creation of new subject positions and identities in discourse" (Berg, 2009: 219). This means that while these 'subordinate' discourses have their own inconsistencies, contradictions and paradoxes, at the same time they interact with inconsistencies, contradictions and paradoxes of 'hegemonic' discourses in order to contest them. In the set-up of this research only 'subordinate' discourses are analysed and no insight is provided in 'hegemonic' discourses. However, in the analysis attention is paid to how these 'subordinate' discourses negotiate and interact with the 'hegemonic' and how inconsistencies, contradictions and paradoxes play a role in that.

#6 Identifying absent presence

"Discourses often rely on silences for their power and it is important for discourse analysts to identify these silences and to theorize how they operate to create particular subjects (and how they might erase others)" (Berg, 2009: 219). Although my research is focussed on a further understanding of the 'absent' – namely the absent from the canon, which I call the peripheral – within these peripheral discourses absence is also present. Although this is extremely difficult and complicated, in my analysis is tried to be aware of the things that were not told.

#7 Identifying social contexts

To understand the workings of power/knowledge in discourse, it is important to identify the social contexts in which a discourse operates. Therefore, in chapter five each case study starts with an introduction in which the researched organisation is contextualized. In chapter four there is a literature review provided on current dominant discourses on tourism in the city of Amsterdam, which is in this research the context in which the three case studies are situated.

3.5 Limitations

The aim of this thesis is to increase understanding of centre-periphery negotiations by exploring new heritage practises in the periphery of Amsterdam. However, one could criticise this idea by saying that since these case studies were 'found' they are not peripheral anymore. I, as a researcher, am the one who is labelling these organisations peripheral and am therefore steering this research in a particular way. I would like to reply to those two critiques by saying that the label of 'peripheral' can be defended since the researched organisations fall out of the 'Authorized Heritage Discourse' which is one of the most leading theories in critical heritage studies. Also, I would not deny that there might exist more 'peripheral' heritage practises in Amsterdam which are not covered in this research. Therefore, I am not speaking on behalf of the whole periphery in Amsterdam but what I could conclude on basis of this research is that certain mechanisms and constructions were found and these mechanisms and construction are part of the workings and uses of heritage.

A limitation of this study is that my main data generation is based on interviews with spokespersons of the organisations. The exploration interviews with BHT and SAMA were with the founders of the companies and the explorative interview at the ADM-terrain was with one of the first inhabitants and one of the newest inhabitants. In the second interview round with SAMA I got to interview two Italian interns working for SAMA, this interview was arranged with the founder of SAMA and it might be that they did not feel that they could express their honest opinion. My second interview with inhabitants from ADM was again with one of the newest inhabitants and a different inhabitant, also living there since the beginning of the squat. During the interviews with ADM inhabitants I perceived a hierarchy between the inhabitants based on their time living on the ADM-terrain. I tried to overcome this bias by asking specific questions to the newest inhabitant and by starting the conversation before the recorder was on and the other inhabitant arrived.

I tried to overcome a bias in which my key informant steer the information generation too much by doing participant-observation. I joined a festival at the ADM-terrain held by the inhabitants, during this festival I was able to roam around freely and talk to different inhabitants. I also joined a tour with SAMA and BHT in which I could observe a tour myself. However, this dependency on the key informants was impossible to really overcome since SAMA and BHT are run by one person and the heritage application for the inhabitants of ADM was organised by a group of three but mostly executed by one. Therefore, the perspectives and beliefs promoted by the organisations are considered to be almost identical to the perspectives and beliefs of the interviewees.

The interviews were a means for the 'key informants' to express and promote their organisations mission, it could be possible that they portrayed their reality more extreme (better or worse) than they actually believe. I do not regard this as a problem. This research is about how these organisations are positioned and the underlying mechanisms and constructions stay the same. However, I have to be aware of this tendency and how this research functions as a source of power for the researched organisations.

The relative little numbers of interviews (6) and participant observations (4) can be considered as a limitation. However, this amount of generated data already contributed new insights on the existing theoretical conceptualisations of heritage in the periphery and provided an answer on the main- and sub-questions. Also during the interviews and participant observation several similar constructions and mechanisms were found along the different case studies and the different methods of data generation (interviews, participant observation and document analysis). Although more interviews and moments of participant observation would increase the internal validity of the results, and more case studies would increase the external validity, I belief that the results can be considered as valid.

The aim of this research is to contribute to understanding of centre-periphery relations, however only perspectives of peripheral organisations are included and there is a rather simplistic understanding of 'the canon' and the 'dominant repertoire' made. Therefore, this thesis speaks only from the perspective of the periphery. For further research it would be suggested to expand this focus and also include perspectives and constructions of the centre. However, since an explanatory theory on the understanding of peripheral heritage practises is still vacant in critical heritage studies the focus on only the periphery can be legitimized.

4. Context: 'Overcrowding' and 'touristification' in Amsterdam

Before providing the results of the three case studies I will first elaborate on the context in which the researched organisations are situated. This will be done by elaborating upon the current dominant discourse on the development of Amsterdam constructing the city as becoming increasingly 'overcrowded' and 'touristified'. Thereafter, I will explain the measures currently deployed to counter this.

As explained, Amsterdam is currently facing increased pressure on the city due to the growing numbers of tourists. The increasing numbers of people on the streets lead to uncomfortable or unsafe situations (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015). Next to the expected yearly growth in visitors of 5-6%, Amsterdam welcomes every year more than 10.000 new inhabitants (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015: 16).

The increased pressure on the city of Amsterdam is considered its primary problem these days. Concerns are raised by local and national newspapers (amongst others Couzy, 2016; Couzy, 2017; Van Der Crommert & Muller, 2017; Groen, 2017; Kruyswijk, 2017; Pama, 2017), research journalists (Milikowski & Naafs, 2017), in public debates (Pakhuis de Zwijger, 2016; Stadsgesprek De Balie, 2017) and in academia (Nijman, 1999). The local government has set up a policy program called 'balance in the city' in 2015 in order to deal with overcrowding in the city and the major of Amsterdam has dedicated in October 2016 a full speech called 'state of the city' on this issue (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015; Van Der Laan, 2016).

However, these growth numbers and increased pressure on the city have not always been considered to be a problem. In 2006 the geographers Kavaratzis and Ashworth published a paper in which they stated that Amsterdam should improve its city marketing because:

> "the position of Amsterdam as a major national and international cultural centre has for some time been threatened by a sharpening of competition from other cities both within and outside The Netherlands. (...) As a tourism destination, the city has been under threat by several European cities." (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006: 15)

In their research it is assumed that improved marketing is needed to enhance the status of Amsterdam to increase the number of tourists.

According to Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990, as cited in Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006) the image of Amsterdam as a tourism destination is based on two themes: (1) the wealthy 'Golden Age' trading city and (2) sexual liberalism and narcotic indulgence. A more recent analysis of the projected and perceived image of Amsterdam by Bijkerk & De Ridder (2011) showed similar findings. Amsterdam was on the one hand perceived as a city of culture and cultural heritage, and on the other hand a city of sex and drugs. This study was also conducted with the aim of enhancing the position of Amsterdam in competition with other cities, and thereby to increase its visitor numbers.

The urban geographer Nijman (1999) mentioned almost twenty years ago how tourism was turning Amsterdam into a theme park. According to him, mass tourism and the globalisation of information flows have resulted inevitably in an increasingly shallow understanding of local cultures and identities. The historic identity of Amsterdam as being tolerant is transformed into a 'sex-and-drugs theme park' (Nijman, 1999).

"More recently, Amsterdam has become a site of growing tension between efforts to sustain cultural heritage and efforts to develop the city's global potential as a financial/cultural hub in the style of London or Paris (Lindner, 2013)" (Lindner & Meissner, 2015: 5). According to these geographers, policies and marketing instruments in Amsterdam have resulted in a double identity for Amsterdam, it is both a heritage city rooted in the past and a global city oriented toward the future.

The *Rekenkamer Amsterdam* registered a shift in the public opinion on growth in the city (Rekenkamer Amsterdam, 2016). The Rekenkamer Amsterdam is an independent research institute researching and monitoring the local government of Amsterdam and their legitimacy, efficiency and effectiveness (Rekenkamer Amsterdam, 2017). They coin the first weekend of May 2014 as a shifting point in the public opinion about growth in Amsterdam, during this weekend multiple events caused an increase in crowdedness. One of the most populous streets, the Damrak, was under construction, the yearly may-fair started and the beginning of May is usually the start of the influx of tourists (Rekenkamer, 2016; Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015). As a response, local government decided to create a policy agenda called *Stad in Balans* (translated as city in balance) to address the questions and bottlenecks regarding growth and liveability of the city.
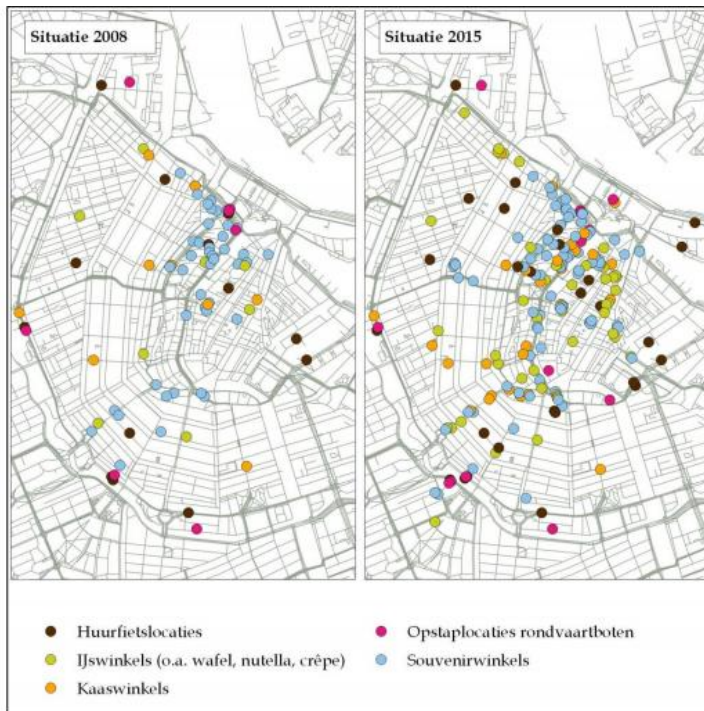

Figure 4 Tourism recreation facilities in 2008 and 2015 (Rekenkamer, 2016)

The Rekenkamer decided to dedicate their yearly research report on liveability and growth in the city based on a panel with 900 citizens from Amsterdam. Out of four topics the panel decided that this was the most urgent and important topic to further investigate (Rekenkamer Amsterdam, 2016).

Although the definition of the tourism industry is complex (not all tourists stay overnight, locals also use tourism facilities) the Rekenkamer visualised recent developments in the tourist industry by illustrating facilities almost exclusively used by tourists. Figure 4 shows that tourism facilities have increased from 79 in 2008 till 199 in 2015. This illustrates the rapid changing urban environment in the city centre of Amsterdam.

De Rekenkamer concluded in their analysis on the measures implemented by the local government that a growth of visitors and inhabitants of Amsterdam is seen as a given fact necessary for the development of the city (Rekenkamer, 2016). Also, no plan or information is provided on cooperation with bottom-up or grassroots organisations who might pursue or contribute to aligning goals. The implementations focus mainly on improving efficiency of public space by redesigning public space, construct new traffic connections over water and road and reduce traffic pressure. They also assign Stichting Amsterdam Marketing a big task to use city marketing as a means to spread tourists in areas outside the city-centre. They stopped marketing Amsterdam abroad 'since tourists will come anyway' (Major of Amsterdam Van Der Laan as quoted in Rekenkamer Amsterdam, 2016: 60) and relabelled outer regions as being part of Amsterdam. Another measure taken is the differentiation in tourism taxes for overnight visitors, the tourism tax will be higher in the city-centre and lower outside the city centre (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2016). However, in his speech 'State of the city' in October 2016 the major of Amsterdam mentioned for the first time the need for a stop in growth of the city (Van Der Laan, 2016). These implementations only focus on countering the processes of 'overcrowding' and no measures or plans are mentioned to counter the 'touristification' of the city.

5. Case Studies: providing a window on centre-periphery relations

Three peripheral heritage organisations are used as a case study in order to provide insights in centre-periphery relations in Amsterdam. The chapter is structured according to the three case studies: Street Art Museum Amsterdam (SAMA), Black Heritage Tours (BHT) and the ADM-terrain.

The data description and analysis of the case studies structured according to the sub-questions. I will first provide an introduction of the case study, then I will explain how heritage is used and produced by the studied organisation (sub-question 1). Subsequently I will describe how they challenge and adapt to the canon (sub-question 2) and what dilemmas this creates (sub-question 3). The sub-chapter ends with a more theoretical reflection. In the next chapter (6) the findings of the three case studies are compared to each other and a conclusion to the sub- and main-question is provided.

5.1 Case study 1: Street Art Museum Amsterdam

The first case study, Street Art Museum Amsterdam, is considered to be both geographical and discursively peripheral. It is located in the outskirts of Amsterdam where no popular tourism or heritage attractions are. Although street art is increasingly getting more popular, the artist Banksy being one of the most popular examples, it is not commonly considered to be heritage.

5.1.1 Introduction

"We actually never come in this part of Amsterdam. We live inside 'the ring', people normally come to us instead of us coming to them" (oSAMA2), said one of the participants during our tour with Street Art Museum Amsterdam (SAMA). 'The ring' is a circular highway in Amsterdam and is in common language often used to represent the divide between centre – inside 'the ring' – and periphery – outside 'the ring' – of Amsterdam.

SAMA is located outside 'the ring', in the neighbourhood Amsterdam Nieuw-West. It takes 30 minutes to get to their 'headquarters' by bike or public transport from Amsterdam Central Station. In the public opinion Nieuw-West is often spoken about as 'a bad neighbourhood' and as 'not truly being part of Amsterdam'. This is one of the reasons why SAMA was created, Amsterdam Nieuw-West needed to be "put on the map" (iSAMA1). During our tour with SAMA, this idea of Nieuw-West as peripheral was often confirmed (e.g. "You are in the ghetto now")

SAMA is the brainchild of Anna Stolyarova. This non-profit NGO actively facilitates the creation, preservation and exposition of street art in the neighbourhood Amsterdam Nieuw-West. SAMA is not what one would describe as a typical museum. There is no museum building which you can enter with a ticket. Instead, the museum is the whole neighbourhood. The art-pieces are part of houses, schools, electricity boxes and other parts of the built environment. One can enter the museum by walking through the neighbourhood but SAMA also provides group tours. Tours are offered twice a day and take approximately 1.5 hours. A tour ends in the 'headquarters' in which an exhibition can be seen and guests are welcome to have a coffee/tea and browse through some catalogues and books about street art.

During the tour roughly 30% of the art-works are shown. A tour guide provides information on the meaning and the process of creating the artwork. The tours are guided by interns working for SAMA or paid volunteers from the neighbourhood. SAMA is currently setting up a 'straat-curator school' in which local youth from the neighbourhood will be trained to provide tours and thereby earn some money. In this sense, SAMA could be seen – and promotes itself indirectly during their tours – as a form of 'pro-poor tourism'. Taking a tour with them facilitates upgrading of the neighbourhood via

the creation of street artworks and creates jobs and a steady income for the local youth of the 'ghetto' (iSAMA1, oSAMA1, oSAMA2).

In 2010 Anna started facilitating nine street artworks in Amsterdam Nieuw-West under the name of 'Tales Of The Nine' which were completed in 2012. In 2013 the collection expanded to 24 artworks and she started to name it Street Art Museum Amsterdam. Nowadays in 2017, the collection includes over 150 different artworks, from which 30 already disappeared mostly due to renovation and demolishing of buildings. Almost all paintings are legally created, this means that SAMA cooperates with organisations as the local government, housing cooperation or property owners to find places to paint.

SAMA proudly calls itself a 'democratic movement'. In their vision, the streets are from everyone and it is important to them that local inhabitants give their consent on the artworks, "they are the ones that have to look at it" (iSAMA1). In Anna her own words the process goes as follows:

> "We go three times to all the residents personally ringing doorbells saying 'Hi, we are going to work on your wall. You are going to see it every day, what do you think?' If we have 80% okay, we go for that artist. The artist gives a sketch, and then we show it to the people and if they are okay with that we give the final notice and say that 'On this ... day we will paint, come and visit you have two more weeks to still say no.'" (iSAMA1)

In other scenario's when the painted object is more public (for example a children's playground), they need consent from the commissioner. This occasionally causes friction between the street artist and SAMA since street artists are not used to comply their art to the requirements of others.

On the website, the mission of SAMA is defined in six points: (1) Be an eco-museum where art and stories come together, (2) give street art a function as a tool to connect people within the community, (3) be the first open source and shared impact museum, (4) create jobs for local youths as Street Curator, (5) combine technology and art together to work on the future of heritage and (6) put spotlight on our neighbourhood of Amsterdam Nieuw-West (Street Art Museum, 2017). Seen from this mission statement on could conclude that SAMA uses street art to negotiate centre-periphery relations. A means to accomplish their mission is obtaining a heritage status for their artworks. In our interviews, Anna speaks about 'polite gentrification' to describe her goals.

> "In some cases it is cleaner [in the space] around them [the artworks]. Because when I come with the journalist from Taiwan Business week, or when I come with a group of Japanese tourists, the boys who used to stand here [next to the street artwork] smoking dope is not here anymore. Because he knows there are photographs taken. And to me, this is a polite gentrification. (..) It is a case of 'Ooh my area is popular, my area is of interest.' (..) Rather than, becoming something like in London where the first inhabitants do not live there anymore... So the bedoeling [bedoeling means purpose in Dutch] is to not go that far. So that is why a museum and why a small collection." (iSAMA1)

SAMA is increasingly becoming more established as a museum. They are officially recognized as museum by the International Council of Museums in May 2017. They also increasingly have more tour participants and media coverage. However, they also experienced many setbacks in 2017, in May almost all funding was withdrawn and in February their brand new computer was stolen. Because of these setbacks they are planning to reconsider their anti-commercial attitude and implement more activities focussed on profit making to assure the future of the museum. This is a difficult step for Anna since it is against her ideas and ideals of what street art is about.

SAMA is run by Anna, she organizes everything. From the selection of the street artists to the external communication to the subsidy applications. All year round she is supported by several interns; approximately twelve a year. The interns are from a range of different subjects, from

heritage studies, to hyper-media to art history. 'Two local moms' or the interns are available to provide the tours (iSAMA1, oSAMA1, oSAMA2).

Concluding, SAMA is an officially registered museum currently applying for a heritage status for the street artworks in Amsterdam Nieuw-West. The peripheral location and status both offers advantages and challenges. Lack of funding forces them to shorten their ideals while their peripherality also provides an identity which is often endorsed during their tours. At the end of our first interview Anna walked me to the tram station and said "this is your way back to civilisation again" (iSAMA1).

5.1.2 Producing and using heritage: "Putting Nieuw-West on the map"

According to Anna, the founder of SAMA, the label heritage distinguishes the street art museum from other street art activities in the centre (iSAMA1). There is a recent increase in commercial activities in the centre of Amsterdam labelled as 'street art' but SAMA considers itself as very different than them. 'Street art' is hyped, the interviewees said (iSAMA1, oSAMA1, iSAMA2). Several galleries sell art labelled as street art and a big street art museum has opened in an abandoned factory in the neighbourhood Amsterdam-Noord. However, SAMA does not identify with these practises and considers itself as different. They value their non-commercial approach as integral to the 'street art mentality'. According to them, the lack of 'street art mentality' and the absence of 'the street' in the art makes the galleries and museum in the city centre less 'real'. "That museum is not a street art museum, it is a museum of big canvasses made by people who usually paint on the street, but it is not street art" (iSAMA2).

Acquiring a heritage status helps SAMA distinguish themselves and their artworks from other galleries and museums in the centre. However, SAMA is also struggling with keeping in line with the 'street art mentality'. Their disgust from commercialism requires them to work with local institutions and therefore to negotiate their wishes with other actors. Also, their dependence on subsidies and an unexpected stop in subsidies forces them to find new financial resources of which increased commercialisation will be one.

According to two interns working at SAMA, the museum is a new evolution/new development of street art necessary in response to the 'hype' of street art. They witness an increasing popularity of street art, in which street art moves away from illegality and 'against-the-establishment' towards commercialisation and gentrification. Creating a street art museum like SAMA is to them an option to keep street art in the streets (and not on canvasses in galleries) and keep the social relevance (instead of the commercial relevance). However, this evolution/development also means that the nature of street art changes.

Anna sees the heritage label as a solution to the ownership-question in street art. Is the artist the owner of the artwork? But he left it on the street. Is the owner of the wall the owner? Is the commissioner the owner? Is the tour guide, receiving money for showing the art, the owner? By making the artworks officially heritage, they become publicly available and thereby publicly owned and the artworks will serve 'the publics' interest (iSAMA1).

To SAMA, very important in the heritagization process is that the street artworks are never preserved as permanent. Street art is, according to them, not meant to be permanent. Therefore they advocate for augmented reality (AR) or virtual reality (VR) as a means of preservation.

SAMA is a social enterprise, having as a main goal to increase the quality of life in Amsterdam Nieuw-West by "creating art available for everyone, from everyone. That inhabitants will see the beauty and the value of their neighbourhood and will use the opportunities the neighbourhood

offers" (Internal Document). That Amsterdam Nieuw-West will not be considered to be a 'second-class' neighbourhood and that its inhabitants are not considered 'second-class' citizen (iSAMA1). "I want to put Amsterdam Nieuw-West on the map, and by getting an official heritage and becoming an official museum people cannot ignore us anymore" (iSAMA1).

According to two interns, heritagization of the street art is also necessarily to understand current developments in contemporary art in the future (iSAMA2). They consider heritage as a means to document and preserve the development of this art movement and a recognition that street art matters as a form of art.

In the case of SAMA, acquiring a heritage status is a strategy to distinguish from other commercial street art activities as happening in the centre of Amsterdam. Furthermore, the label heritage increases the status of SAMA and thereby the status of Amsterdam Nieuw-West, they hope.

5.1.3 Challenge preservation and conceptualisations while adapting to institutions

During our last encounter in May 2017 Anna proudly waves an envelope in my face. "We are finally officially a museum!" (oSAMA2). She holds an envelope with a letter and membership card of the ICOM in her hand, the International Council Of Museums. From the 1st of May onwards, SAMA is officially a member. What this actually means for SAMA she does not know yet but she is very happy with this official recognition. From the ICOM website I can find that this means that SAMA is officially recognized as a museum and that they confirm to the ICOM definition of museum:

> "A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment." (ICOM Nederland, 2007)

This implies that the artworks 'acquired, conserved, researched, communicated and exhibited' by SAMA are regarded as 'tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment' by this institution. However, on their website ICOM says: "Documentation is essential to all aspects of a museums activities. Collections without adequate documentation are not true 'museum' collections" (ICOM International, 2017).

In order to become a 'true museum' collection, SAMA needs to document their collection according to some specific parameters, namely: institution name, inventory number, object keyword, short description and/or title, method of acquisition, acquired from and location. However, these parameters do not capture the value of the artworks, according to Anna. Therefore, SAMA will add several other parameters in valuing and documenting their artworks: the artist, date of documentation (due to the transience of the artwork the results of the documentation differs during different times), material, technique, condition of the artwork, surface (in what kind of surface is the artwork created), size, details of perish (how did the artwork perish), stories (documenting collected oral histories regarding the artworks and media coverage of the artworks) (Internal Documents SAMA, 2017). In our interview Anna added another parameter for valuing and documenting the artworks: social impact. However, this parameter has not been operationalized yet.

This example of documenting and valuing the collection of SAMA shows how SAMA at the same time adapts and challenges powerful discourses on heritage. They apply their museum for ICOM and therefore grand this international museum institution more power but at the same time they add new values to this documentation and therefore challenge the understanding and constructions of heritage and of a museum. They add new ways of preserving, AR and VR, to the repertoire of documenting heritage and thereby challenge notions of heritage as 'static' and 'preserved'.

Beside this institutional framework and these political characteristics, heritage is also considered to be a means of expressing value and meaning (Harrison, 2015). The following example will demonstrate how artworks created by SAMA have become meaningful for local inhabitants of Nieuw-West.

Figure 5 shows an illegal artwork called Mario which was created by a French artist called Oak Oak in collaboration with SAMA. In 2016 the local government of Nieuw-West commissioned SAMA to paint this public passageway and the Italian artist Orticanoodles created the painting in figure 6. During the process of painting this passage and covering the image of Mario they received a lot of feedback from local passengers.

> "While we started it created a lot of emotions in the neighbourhood. Local people were crying and screaming and saying you killed Mario! What did you do with Mario? You! And they were kids and ladies and adults with the hoofdoekjes [headscarves]." (iSAMA1)

This example shows how local inhabitants can feel connected to certain artworks and can respond emotionally towards disappearing of them, although transience is inherent in the artworks.

Figure 6 Mario by Oak Oak (SAMA)

Figure 5 Tulips by Orticanoodles (SAMA)

5.1.4 Using and challenging the periphery

On several occasions (iSAMA1; oSAMA1; oSAMA2), Anna told me:

> "I wanted to host people on couchsurfing [an internet platform where travellers can find free accommodation with locals]. But when the guest who can stay at your apartment for free does not want to stay with you because you are too far away and you are not on the map and he does not believe you are in Amsterdam it is a problem. And I fight it." (iSAMA1)

The museum and the artworks are for her a means to challenge the status of Amsterdam Nieuw-West as peripheral. By decorating the urban environment they hope to improve the status of Amsterdam Nieuw-West. However, although they want the area to improve they state that they do not want to 'gentrificate' the area.

> "In times of skyrocketing rental prices in Amsterdam it won't take long before Nieuw-West will become a popular location, leading to a decrease in authenticity due to gentrification. To position SAMA as an ecomuseum, she can play an important and necessary role in this." (SAMA Internal Document, 2017)

This shows that they see SAMA as a guardian of authenticity of the neighbourhood and to temper the effects of gentrification. On the other hand they also see a role for SAMA in providing opportunities to spread tourists from the city centre into Nieuw-West (iSAMA1).

At the same time the construction of Nieuw-West as 'peripheral' is often reoccurring in the art-works and tours through the neighbourhood. The tour guide refers to Nieuw-West as 'the ghetto' and makes explicit that this neighbourhood is different from the rest of the Netherlands by saying things as 'People in this neighbourhood do not identify with Dutch symbols as Van Gogh or Johan Cruyf' and 'people in this neighbourhood can really use some distraction from the struggles of daily life' (oSAMA2). In this tour they often refer to and celebrate Nieuw-West as a multicultural area. Some artworks represent aspects of 'Dutchness' or 'Amsterdamness'. For example figure ... portrays a Dutch milkmaid, the artist added the 'sexy leg' in order to celebrate the Amsterdam culture of liberty (iSAMA1, oSAMA2). Other artworks represent the multicultural identity of the neighbourhood (iSAMA1, oSAMA2).

Figure 7 Glory by Pez & Recall (SAMA)

5.1.5 Paradoxes and dilemmas: Forever temporary and real or profitable?

Street art is born as an illegal, rebellious, anti-establishment form of public art. Heritage is a strongly institutionalised label and a process of canonization. One can imagine that labelling the 'anti-establishment' as 'established' will create some paradoxes and dilemmas.

One of the paradoxes regards the temporality of the art. Street art is created as situational and temporary. The context of the street and its surroundings interact with, and thereby create the art. However, these situational conditions may also cause degradation of the artwork. Rain, sunshine, human interactions all contribute to the degradation. According to Anna, the founder of SAMA, the temporality of the artwork is part of its value: "that is what makes it so special. Because you can only see it for so long and in that spot" (iSAMA1). Also during the tour, the temporality is presented as an inherent part of the artwork: "It is temporary, but that is the beauty of it" (iSAMA2).

Heritagization implies the safeguarding, preservation or protection of an object. However, in the case of street art this is against one of its primary values, temporality. Therefore, Anna works on Augmented Reality (AR) and Virtual Reality (VR) as a means of preservation. AR is a live view of a physical environment in which elements are supplemented. The most famous example of AR is the recently publicly available Pokemon Go. VR is a real or imagined environment produced on a screen (often glasses) that simulate a physical presence in that environment. By recording the artwork in an AR or VR setting one can still see the artwork in its 'natural environment', although digitalised, without the actual painting being there. However, this 'solution' does decrease the accessibility of

the artworks – accessibility of art for the neighbourhood is now one of the most important assets, according to SAMA. One needs a smartphone and a specific app to be able to view the street artworks. SAMA has already built an app in which the painting of Mario is restored in AR (oSAMA2).

In one of the interviews, two interns of SAMA mentioned how these preservation methods can also endanger street artworks. They referred to an example of street art in Italy in an

> "old abandoned factory with a lot of street art, hundreds of hundreds giant paintings, one of the biggest painted place in Europe. Local government wants to build a new shopping mall on this place, on this abandoned place. The artists are angry, they have put more than ten years of work. Artists from all over the world. The local government says, it is not a problem, we are making a VR so we can document and destroy it. In this case the VR, the documentation the heritage is a bad thing, because it is not 'I recognize your cultural power and I want to preserve it', they want to document it to destroy it." (iSAMA2)

In this situation preservation could, paradoxically, also mean destruction.

Another paradox regards the rebellious, anti-establishment character of street art. Other street art institutions in the city centre of Amsterdam – like galleries and the museum in Noord – are moving away from the anti-establishment character by making street art a commercial product to sell and buy. In this sense, they sell to and are themselves the establishment of the art-scene in Amsterdam. SAMA is also negotiating this anti-establishment character, by increasingly becoming a more established museum and by working with 'the establishment'. SAMA is closely working together with established actors as the local government, the social housing association and the Reinwardt Academy (University of Applied Sciences for heritage professionals). They provide SAMA with funding, locations for street art or interns. These collaborations are fruitful – one can even say necessary – for SAMA but also provide the museum with new challenges. The creation of an artwork is not the result of the artist and his object (a wall, electrical box, etcetera) anymore. It is the result of a negotiation between the artist, the object but also the commissioner and the neighbourhood. In this way, rebellion is not the source of the artwork but pragmatics and negotiations are. However, according to Anna, the main element of street art is playfulness which can still play an important part in the artworks despite these negotiations.

Another dilemma in which Anna has to choose the position of SAMA is between making SAMA a profitable organisation or staying non-commercial but 'real'. Right now SAMA is dependent on several subsidies and is able to provide their tours for cost price. Within the organisation she only works with interns and non-professionals. However, this is not sustainable and in several occasions Anna had to invest her own money in specific art-projects. Therefore she will have to move away from the non-commercial nature of the museum and will start to invest in merchandise and a gallery. They hope this will make the museum more sustainable although these developments are against her own visions and beliefs about what 'street art' is. The museum will stay a non-profit organisation (iSAMA1). During the last interview moment in May 2017 Anna was just informed that almost all her funding was cut, therefore she decided to apply more commercialisation strategies in the near future.

These negotiations and developments show that street art within SAMA, and maybe street art in general, is developing in a new movement. Several dilemmas and paradoxes will influence the development of this movement.

5.1.6 Theoretical reflections

Heritage is never non-political, it is part of the discourses and strategies deployed by different groups to help them legitimize and assert cultural, social and economic aspirations (Smith, 2006). The case of SAMA shows clearly how this works in practise. When I ask Anna in one of our last conversations in May 2017 about the progress on the heritage application she answers me:

> "We are still working on that. According to UNESCO graffiti and street art are not heritage. So we played the cards from intangible heritage and storytelling. So we use words like gallery and exposition to convince them this is heritage. It is kind of a loop-hole but that is how we try to get in." (oSAMA2)

This quote illustrates how heritage is a strategic power play for SAMA. They talk about 'playing cards' and finding a 'loop-hole' to 'get in'. Acquiring a heritage status is perceived to be something that attributes them with power in order to legitimize their aspirations. It will distinguish them from other street art activities and assert them as 'real'. This quote also illustrates that the concept of heritage is perceived as a diplomatic manner and that there is no emotional investment in the idea of becoming heritage. In none of our interviews it was mentioned what the meaning or emotional value would be of a heritage status. However, the example of the over-painting of Mario caused a lot of emotional response from local inhabitants, according to SAMA (iSAMA1, oSAMA1, oSAMA2). This shows that the street artworks do have emotional value and therefore could be perceived as objects of heritage for some people.

Part of the Authorized Heritage Discourse theory is the notion that heritage is actively framed to exclude and disconnect ethnic minorities and the working class from heritage (Smith, 2009: 2). In the case of SAMA an opposite process is found. Anna says that acquiring a heritage status for the street artworks will provide a solution to the question of ownership. In her argumentation, when the artworks receive a heritage status they will be publicly owned and therefore will serve the interest of the public. From her perspective, acquiring an official heritage status is used to include the interests of the ethnic minorities and the working class – since they are the main inhabitants of Nieuw-West and the ones who will 'have to look at it' (iSAMA1) - in the use of the artworks.

As explained in the theoretical framework, I consider heritage objects to be the result of discursive construction. A heritage value or status is not understood as new or different layers of meaning attached to an object but as a new object. Therefore, the creation of street art on objects in Amsterdam Nieuw-West creates new objects. The electricity box in figure 8 is by constructing it as a heritage object not 'just an electricity box' anymore. It can be seen as an artwork, a decoration, an act of feminism, trash, vandalism, a heritage object, etcetera. These different meanings cannot be seen as different layers of meanings but as different objects because moving from seeing it as 'an electricity box' to 'a heritage object' changes the nature of the object completely. The construct of heritage implies a different hierarchy, meaning and practise than the label 'electricity box'. This analysis shows us that heritage objects are not given but are the results of discursive construction.

Figure 8 Lana Turner by BToy (SAMA)

5.2. Case Study 2: Black Heritage Tours

Black Heritage Tours is considered to be discursively peripheral. The narratives and histories they promote are discursively highly different than what is usually shared about the "canals and the related cultural heritage of the seventeenth century 'Golden Age'" which "are probably the 'trademark' of the city" (van Loon & Rouwendal, 2017: 110).

5.2.1 Introduction

Black Heritage Tours (BHT) provides since 2013 tours in the city centre of Amsterdam that highlight the presence of the African Diaspora in Amsterdam from the 16th century until present. These tours offer complementary narratives and hidden histories on Dutch history by showing different touristic highlights from an African perspective. By foot and by boat sites as the Dam Square, the Scheepsvaart museum or the Rijksmuseum are visited and information from a tour guide is provided.

BHT started as a one-time project by Jennifer Tosch, a Surinamese-American woman with Dutch roots. She initially came to The Netherlands in 2012 for a summer school on postcolonial history in Amsterdam but also to do research about her mother who had lived and studies in the Netherlands just after world war two.

> "And it was really, what was at that time I felt really missing history, or hidden history what was not being discussed in the public space or in the public sphere. And the discourse was very much focussed on just the one-sided story of the Dutch East India Company, the east indies in particular. And I was very frustrated because my heritage is directly connected to Suriname and to the Netherlands of course more broadly. So it really started as a project that evolved into a tour which was intended to really show the other side of that missing history." (iBHT1)

The initial plan was to do a tour to share the findings and discoveries she encountered in her research.

> "Because research happened and I was so amazed by the discoveries that I had found that I wanted to share it with you know colleagues and friends, and of course it was logical to me, the way to do that was to do that through a boat tour, because you are in Amsterdam. It makes perfect sense that you would do that in the city. So I took some friends on a boat tour, and literally it was like the whole experience came to life. And people were saying like: you got to do this. So it really, again, just evolved out of my experience. And other people their reactions." (iBHT1)

In 2017 this 'single project' has become a company providing tours in Amsterdam, New York and Brussels and a guidebook on slavery heritage in Amsterdam co-written by Jennifer. The guidebook is in English and Dutch and points out specific objects and locations in the public space of Amsterdam and how they relate to slavery. She aims to highlight what she considers to be "hidden in plain sight" (oBHT1).

Jennifer and BHT are strongly academically rooted. The development of BHT is seen by her as a product of a bigger community of researchers and heritage professionals. She is herself a student in a dual master program on heritage and memory and there is a lot of correspondence and interaction between BHT and scholars working on black presence, heritage, history and culture.

> "Every new bit of knowledge that is produced. Or new literature that is written about, or research that is presented, really adds another layer to the tour. Because when I first started, the whole idea of black history of black presence in Amsterdam during the golden age was something of an abnormally. Nobody really accepted that notion, or very few people. Especially historians. So now new researchers literally within this last year what has come forward that highlights the black presence in the golden age and even before that. It is even in the sixteenth century that there is always been this presence. And now, when we take the tour, we have been expanding this narrative because of new research that keeps

coming out. So I think it is not just because of my tour, that my tour is a part of a much bigger collective of work that is been done by some amazing scholars and historians and story tellers." (iBHT1)

According to Jennifer, there has been a relative recent change in public opinion on racism and black presence in The Netherlands, benefiting BHT and its mission to reveal hidden histories (iBHT1, oBHT1). In 2013, when the tour operator started, there was a heightened interest in black presence and slavery because of the commemoration of 150 years of slavery. This made it possible to connect to specific museums as the Amsterdam Museum, Geelvinck Museum and Scheepvaart Museum since they had specific expositions regarding these topics. But also more generally in public debate she witnesses a positive shift.

"It is changing. It is. All be it, I think, slowly, but in the four years that I have been in the Netherlands. Conversations about race, I mean even those difficult and sometimes contentious conversations are now becoming more apparent. It is clear to me that discussions about history, heritage, culture, identity have now reached another level in the public space. Where it was somewhat denied for or marginalised for so long. Now we have, because of this new research and all this new archives, we have an ability to have a conversation that expands the notion of identity. Who gets to be included, and belonging, who belongs to that." (iBHT1)

In short, BHT is a relative new company providing tours highlighting the black presence in the Netherlands which they consider to be "hidden in plain sight" (oBHT1). Although the tour is becoming increasingly more popular and its message is more present it can still be regarded as a peripheral heritage narrative. The tour operator is the only one of its kind and draws its existence from their difference from mainstream narratives. Also the narratives and perspectives on heritage they promote challenge the dominant narratives and perspectives on heritage.

5.2.2 Producing and using heritage: Claiming a place in the Netherlands and in Dutch history

Jennifer, the founder of BHT, has named her tour specifically Black Heritage Tours instead of Black History Tours. For her, the concept of heritage includes history but also identity and culture. The tour is not only about the black history in Amsterdam but also about Dutch identity and culture nowadays. To her, the tour is a means to diversify the notion of 'Dutchness' and include "the diversity of people who have either been brought here by force or who are immigrating here because of their heritage" (iBHT1). Although BHT is the first of its kind in the Netherlands and the only one in Amsterdam, Jennifer strongly emphasizes that the tour is only one aspect of a much bigger community of academics and heritage professionals that is working on the same topics and is conveying the same message.

The tour company tries to make knowledge and discussions about notions of 'Dutchness' and Black presence in The Netherlands more mainstream. To them, the city of Amsterdam serves as an archive with tangible material heritage reminding of, and presenting the black presence in the Netherlands. During the tour it was often mentioned that these histories are 'hidden in plain sight' (oBHT1). The tour becomes the channel through which you can experience that history (iBHT1).

I will provide two examples, one of absence and one of presence, of black representation in heritage in Amsterdam. These examples will show how the tour engages with heritage objects and how these objects are reconstructed in this tour.

The tour starts at the national WWII monument at the Dam Square. This monument is the location of the national commemoration ceremony of WWII in the Netherlands, which receives the most attention in Dutch commemoration culture. At the back of this monument one can see 12 little shields, see figure 9. These shields are coat of arms representing the eleven provinces of the Netherlands. In 1950 a coat of arms of the former Dutch East Indies was added. Behind these coat of arms there is an urn filled with soil of the represented locations hidden in the monument to represent and commemorate the Dutch war victims. In our tour, Jennifer points out that a coat of arm representing the other

Figure 9 Backside of monument on the Dam (Van Der Krogt, 2010)

former Dutch colonies, Suriname and the Dutch Antilles, is absent. She uses this as an example of how Dutch commemoration culture and memory of colonisation is mainly focussed on the former Dutch Indies and commemoration of other Dutch colonies is absent. She uses absence of representation to highlight the peripherality of black narratives in Dutch commemoration and memory.

Part of a Black Heritage Tour is a museum visit. During the tour in which I did participant observation we visited the Rijksmuseum. The Rijksmuseum is, after being closed for a renovation taking ten years, reopened in 2013. In their mission they state "As a national institute, the Rijksmuseum offers a representative overview of Dutch art and history from the Middle Ages onwards, and of major aspects of European and Asian art" (Rijksmuseum, 2017). The main sponsor of the Rijksmuseum is the national government, *Rijk* means the national government. Therefore, the museum and its objects automatically refer to a nationalized context.

During the renovation the central hall has been fully reconstructed and renovated. Jennifer points us to an image high in the central hall, above the 'honorary gallery'. This image is titled 'zelfopoffering' meaning 'self-sacrifice' and portrays a white woman breastfeeding a black and a white baby, see figure 10. This is one of the few images in the Rijksmuseum in which a black body is

Figure 10 'Zelfopoffering' in the Rijksmuseum (Tripadvisor, Black Heritage Tours)

shown. In the tour, Jennifer constructs this image as representing a more general attitude in Dutch society towards black bodies and narratives in which the white body/person is seen as superior and 'tolerating' black bodies/persons as a sacrifice in order to help them.

In this example, she draws upon representations in heritage to display structures and processes in Dutch society and constructions of 'Dutchness', reconstructing the object from representing 'moral values' into an object representing colonial racism.

Although the focus and topic of BHT are situated in the past, it serves as a strategy to accomplish changes in the present and future.

5.2.3 Diversifying voices, perspectives and narratives

"It is accepting all the voices that are speaking about this shared heritage. And making that mainstream, that is where we are still headed" (iBHT1). This quote is from Jennifer, founder of BHT, and shows us that BHT aims to challenge ideas about periphery – namely accepting all the voices – and challenging the concept of heritage – namely accepting these voices and perspectives in heritage.

In the chapter about SAMA, it is relatively easy to distinguish between efforts to challenge the periphery and to challenge the concept of heritage. However, in the case of BHT these two notions are far more interconnected. In the interviews done for this research, Jennifer was the only one who spoke about my heritage" (iBHT1). This shows that heritage is in this organisation really considered as something valuable and inherent in identity, "I am not talking about my heritage or only yours, I am talking about our shared heritage" (oBHT1). Therefore, speaking about challenging the concept of heritage automatically relates to identity and therefore to peripherality of the African diaspora in the Netherlands.

The Black Heritage Tour and the book Slavery Heritage Guide Amsterdam take a reflective stance towards constructions of heritage and history. This is often an academic activity but is now the main focus of a tourism tour and a guidebook. During the tour the power of a museum or a monument is often challenged as the previous example of the WOII monument of the dam shows.

The tour also directly reflects on the workings and formation processes of heritage and the role of the museum, I observed (oBHT1). According to Jennifer, there is increasingly more awareness by museum and heritage professionals about the whiteness and elitism of heritage and museums. Therefore there are recent aims to 'decolonize the museum' in which museums aim to reflect more on their colonial past. For example, where formerly images were appointed as 'slave' they are now described as 'enslaved'. However, according to Jennifer during our tour, this increased awareness has paradoxically mainly lead to erasing stories from people of colour instead of telling these stories. During the tour in the Rijksmuseum, she questioned several information descriptions of different artworks and thereby challenged the power of the museum. This broadens the conceptualisation and understanding of heritage and forms heritage objects in 'what is not told/shown'. According to Jennifer, it is necessary to include the perspectives from people from the global south in this process of 'decolonizing the museum'. By saying this the museum is challenged for its western and European focus.

There can be a big difference distinguished in how these reflections are expressed in the guide book and during the tour. The tour is more reflective and critical on museum institutions than the book.

Moreover, in the tours and the guidebook buildings and object who on first sight not necessarily relate to enslavement are reconstructed as related to colonialism and black history. An example is

the *Keizersgracht*, this is the most expensive and prestigious part of the Amsterdamse Grachten and also recognized by UNESCO as world heritage. In the tour, this wealth and prestige is related to colonialism. The owners of these houses were mostly related to the VOC and WIC and made their wealth by 'trade' with the colonies and are therefore directly related to enslavement, according to Jennifer (oBHT1). The word 'trade' is during the tour challenged since it implies an equal relationship between the two parties. However, during colonialism this was not the case, according to Jennifer. Also other terms as 'slave' and 'masters' are contested in the tour and in the guidebook and are replaced by the terms 'enslaved' and 'enslavers'. This shows how BHT challenges perception and construction of history by changing vocabulary.

Another example of reforming heritage objects into heritage object of black history is an explanation Jennifer gave is in the Rijksmuseum in the medieval section. There was a display of several golden and silver relics, which are often portrayed in paintings or displayed as a form of prestige and status. However, in Europe there is no gold and silver in the soil, this has been imported and 'traded' from other places but these stories are not told in the museum (oBHT1). Hence, the objects in display are not objects of prestige but are objects of 'trade' and 'imperialism'.

During the tour, the concept of the 'touristified' picture of Amsterdam is several times used in order to identify the tour as 'real'. For example, in the Rijksmuseum Jennifer said "Please come to the frond and step closer to the painting. I want you to explore beyond the tourist gaze" (oBHT1). Part of a Black Heritage Tour is a boat tour, 'because when you are in Amsterdam, you have to do a boat tour!' (oBHT1). During this boat tour a story was told about the name of a bridge, 'but that is only the tourist myth, the real story is...' (oBHT1). In this example there is the concept of a tourist myth is used to portray the tour as more 'real'. During the tour it happened more often that the touristified image of Amsterdam was used, ironically or serious, to reconstruct the tour as 'real'.

BHT closely works together with several museums in Amsterdam. Also if they are convinced the heritage displayed in this museum is contested they create a partnership. It is very important to Jennifer that this tour is not about 'demonizing the Dutch' or 'victimizing people from African descent', she says. She wants to create and keep an open conversation in which these histories are explored together (iBHT1, oBHT1).

BHT challenges the concept of heritage by diversifying the voices, perspectives and narratives talking about this heritage. By this they broaden the conceptualization of heritage, 'Dutchness' and national identity. Next to challenging the concept of heritage, BHT also challenges the peripheral position of the African diaspora in the Netherlands by bringing their history to the forefront. An example of this can be found in the interaction between BHT and the Rijksmuseum.

To establish the tour through the Rijksmuseum, BHT worked together with the Rijksmuseum. At the beginning of her research people from the Rijksmuseum said, according to Jennifer, "You probably won't find anything. There was no black presence in The Netherlands. But we are very curious what you will find" (oBHT1). This shows that although people and institutions can be very cooperative, there is this idea that there is no black history in the Netherlands. According to Jennifer, this can be partly explained due to the fact that most involvement of the Dutch in slavery happened overseas and there was no slavery on Dutch ground. However, the Dutch have been extensively involved in slavery in the colonies (for example, Amsterdam was 2/3 owner of Suriname). This example shows that the history of African diaspora in the Netherlands is so peripheral, it is even thought to be non-existent by heritage professionals in the Rijksmuseum. BHT challenges this peripherality by searching for these stories and sharing them.

From the perspective of BHT, ideas about history and heritage have their implications for current day structures in society. By highlighting historical narratives of Black presence in the Netherlands they aim to question current societal structures and create a more equal society.

5.2.4 Paradoxes and dilemmas: Tourism to oppose touristification

In our interview Jennifer, the founder of BHT, says: "what we are trying to do is the opposite of the disneyfication of Amsterdam. It is making it become again real" (iBHT1). By providing a touristic tour, BHT is trying to move away from the touristified side of Amsterdam. Instead of engaging with narratives as 'Amsterdam as the city where everything goes' they try to focus on the different layers of the city and showing its 'realness'. Hereby tourists are used to change the touristified and stereotypical idea of Amsterdam. However, during the tour she draws upon specific 'tourist myths' or touristified images of Amsterdam to oppose herself to and identify as 'real'.

A dilemma can be found in the attitude of BHT towards partners and contested heritage. The explanations in the guidebook do not contradict the information provided in the tour but the tour is more critical on the existing constructions of heritage in Amsterdam. An example of this is the Van Loon Museum in the Keizersgracht. During the tour Jennifer expresses her views on how their heritage is contested. Willem Van Loon was one of the founders of the VOC (Museum van Loon, 2017) and one of his descendants was a governor of the WIC. The coat of arms of the family van Loon includes moor heads, see figure 11. However, the current family van Loon proclaims that their ancestors were not involved in slavery. During the tour this is heavily doubted by Jennifer but the book does not provide any information on this discussion. This example shows how Jennifer needs to negotiate between expressing her convictions and creating partnerships and how she adapts her expression to specific platforms.

Figure 11 Coat of arms Family van Loon (Slavery Heritage guide by BHT)

5.2.5 Theoretical reflections

The experiences of Jennifer, as presented in this chapter, partly comply with the Authorized Heritage Discourse. According to AHD, the dominant construction of heritage leads to privileging the cultural symbols of the white, middle/upper-classes (Waterton, 2009). In the experience of Jennifer this is slowly changing. BHT aims to further change this and in order to do so she created partnerships with several museums in Amsterdam as amongst others the Amsterdam Museum, Scheepvaart Museum and the Rijksmuseum. By collaborating with these dominant institutions she hoped that the message would become more central, to show that BHT is not an isolated entity (iBHT1). The mission of BHT and the construction of the tour and the guidebook affirm Smith's suggestion that dominant constructions of heritage privileges the white, however her experiences also tells that this is changing.

Another comment on the experience of Jennifer in the collaboration with the Rijksmuseum reaffirms this statement of the AHD. According to her there is an increasing awareness and willingness to 'decolonise' the museum. However, due to the lack of including people of 'the global south' in reinterpreting this heritage this awareness and willingness has not led to radical change but to 'erasing stories from people of colour'. This affirms the idea of an Authorized Heritage Discourse privileging the white.

When she started BHT in 2013 Jennifer experienced that several museums were very open to her message (iBHT1). She relates this to timing, that year was the commemoration year of 150 years

abolition of slavery in the Netherlands and there was a heightened interest in the topic. Therefore museums were searching for an opportunity to comply this in their program. This complies to the hypothesis in Polysystem theory that every polysystem contains of multiple power centres and peripheries (Even-Zohar, 1990). In the year 2013 black heritage was a central topic due to the commemoration of 150 years slavery abolition. Therefore, although the topic of BHT is from a heritage perspective peripheral due to this event, it became a topic of heightened interest. This shows that BHT has at the same time peripheral and dominant characteristics.

BHT engages with objects which are already considered heritage: memorial monuments, gable stones documented in archives, land mark buildings, museumized objects or an UNESCO world heritage site. This construction of 'heritage' is only one of the many formed objects these are and is also not unambiguous. For example the relics in the medieval section of the Rijksmuseum may be heritagized because of the representation of their prestige and status or of their craftsmanship or because of their representation of repression of the church. Many, many more formations of these objects exist however this ambiguity is not depicted in the museum.

In a Black Heritage Tour and in the Slavery Heritage Guide, these objects are again reinterpreted and appear as new objects. These new objects are discursively constructed as hiding or showing narratives of people form African descent. Hence the medieval relics in the Rijksmuseum become objects of intercontinental and unequal 'trade' during the tour.

Applying this analysis of heritage objects as the result of discursive construction, as explained by Felder et. al. (2014), provides insights into how objects are discursive constructions without denying their materiality. This is useful since it shows that an object is inherently nothing except its materiality. By using the concept of 'a new object' when speaking of a 'new reconstruction' it shows that all our understanding of the world around us is discursively constructed and it is a matter of power which construction is considered as, the most, true. The construction of BHT of the medieval relics as objects of unequal intercontinental 'trade' is however a peripheral one.

5.3 Case Study 3: ADM-terrain

The ADM-terrain is geographically and discursively peripheral. The terrain is located in the western-harbour area of Amsterdam and inhabited for almost twenty years by squatters who consider themselves as one of the last free-havens of Amsterdam and are threatened by eviction.

5.3.1 Introduction

> "The cultural free-haven ADM is one of the last large live/work communities of Amsterdam. On the terrain reside now some 130 people from all ages, nationalities and walks of life. Amongst them are; children and pensioners, theatre-makers and stage-builders, inventors and technicians, dancers and musicians, actors and directors, crafts-men and women, sailors and buccaneers, life-lovers and 'different-thinkers'…" (adm.amsterdam, 2017)

That is how the inhabitants of the ADM-terrain see and describe themselves on their website. ADM stands for *Amsterdamse Droogdok Maatschappij* (=Amsterdam Drydock Company), the terrain is a former shipyard which has been squatted and inhabited since 1997. Inhabitants do not only live and work there, they also organise festivals, music nights, dinners, theatre shows and other activities where outsiders are welcome to participate. This community, although in changing combinations of people, has been living on this terrain for nearly 20 years. Today, the area is still squatted and the owner of the area, the real estate business Chidda Vastgoed BV, wants to reclaim the land. There is a lawsuit between the ADM-community and Chidda in order to resolve this issue. The outcome if this lawsuit is expected to come during summer 2017 (Personal Correspondence, 2017).

A group of three ADM-inhabitants, assisted by a sociologist, is currently involved in the application of an intangible heritage status. They want to apply their lifestyle, which they call 'vrijplaatscultuur', for the National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Netherlands (NIICEN). This inventory is the implementation of the UNESCO convention on intangible heritage. The inhabitants describe their lifestyle in several compartments: (1) live and work at the same place (2) as much as possible in a non-materialistic way (3) in care for the environment (4) in a close community (5) being culturally free (Internal documents, 2017).

In order to be included in the national inventory they need to walk through several steps. Step 1 is applying your heritage by describing it, step 2 is creating a 'heritage care-plan' in which you describe how you will protect your heritage against threats and will be able to pass it down to future generations, step 3 is creating a plan to be able to inspire others with your heritage (NIICEN, 2017).

The ADM-community finished step 1 and is currently creating a heritage care plan for step 2 (iADM3; Personal Correspondence, 2017). However, they are not featured yet on the website of the national inventory because they have not been accepted yet. Although the application is carried out by inhabitants of ADM, they aim to speak for the whole notion of 'vrijplaatsculturen' in The Netherlands which they consider to be 'highly threatened' (iADM1, iADM2, iADM3, Stadsgesprek De Balie, 2017).

Figure 12 Entrance ADM-terrain (Google Maps Streetview)

The ADM-terrain is located 12 kilometres from Amsterdam Central station, it takes 45 minutes to cycle there and getting there by public transport is not possible. From the train station Amsterdam Sloterdijk in Amsterdam Nieuw-West it is still a twenty minute bicycle ride (6 kilometres) along industrial parks and highways. When arrived at the destination, as seen on figure 12, one sees that a part of the ADM-terrain is divided with a fence and a gate. The group of people calling themselves the 'ADM-community' living in the 'free-haven' with a 'vrijplaatscultuur' live behind this gate. Outside the gate, still formally part of the ADM-terrain, other informal settlements exist. In my fieldnotes I wrote, about my first visit to the ADM:

> "After cycling half an hour I arrived at the ADM. Behind several industrial parks it is situated along a side road of a big road. Ones departed from the big road you'll see the ADM-terrain directly, a big fence with iron decorations marks the entrance of the 'vrijplaats'. It is surrounded by caravans with pieces of area surrounding them as far as the eye reaches. A few man are moving pieces of old iron. The road used to be paved with asphalt but is full of potholes now. A woman arrives from within the 'vrijplaats' and

explains me how to open the gate. Within the gate, there is a total different atmosphere, there are plenty of trees and along the road many iron rusty artworks serve as decoration." (Fieldnotes, 08/12)

It almost never happened that people from outside the gate move into the 'vrijplaats' (iADM2). Inhabitants of the 'vrijplaats' consider themselves as very different and recall several examples in which inhabitants from outside the fence were requested or forced to leave. However, the gate is not locked and according to my interviewees everybody living outside the fence knows how to open the gate. Therefore they consider it to be a mental barrier rather than a physical barrier.

"We are two totally different groups (...) in most of the cases people outside the fence do not want to live here or requested to live here but were not allowed. But mostly it are people that not, who actually ... We have chosen to live here I would say, and people outside of the fence have been send there. They are completely..., this is their last resort." (translated from iADM2)

To sum up, the ADM-terrain is a squatted area inhabited by a group of people who apply their lifestyle for an intangible cultural heritage status because they consider this lifestyle to be highly threatened. Peripherality can be seen as inherent in their existence while also threatening their future. However, at the same time they physically and discursively differentiate themselves from other 'peripheral'/alternative people living outside their fence.

5.3.2 Producing and using heritage: Earning the right for a place

Inhabitants of the ADM are currently applying for an intangible heritage status for their lifestyle, which they call 'vrijplaatscultuur'. A working group of three residents is established to do this application, they work together with a sociologist who is not living on the ADM but has strong affiliation with the ADM and squatting (iADM3). When asked why they are applying for a heritage status they straightforwardly answer "publicity" (iADM2).

They hope that acquiring an intangible heritage status for their lifestyle will help them acquire a place to live. They are aware that obtaining a heritage status does not provide juridical or governmental protection, they hope it will positively attribute to the public opinion about the inhabitants of ADM and thereby increases their chances for being allowed to stay at the terrain.

According to them, the only means of the survival of 'vrijplaatscultuur' is changing the public perception of squatting. They say that squatting was made illegal due to the negative perception of squats. Sharing their lifestyle by inviting the public for events on the ADM and participating in research (as this one) are means for them to change the public perception. Acquiring a status as intangible heritage will positively increase the public perception of 'vrijplaatscultuur', squatting and the inhabitants of ADM, they are convinced. Consequently, they hope, this will increase the chances of being allowed to stay living on the ADM-terrain. They call this 'cultural self defence', by being culturally different and providing cultural expressions "which form an inspiration for others" they want to claim the right for a place to live (iADM2). In their application for a heritage status, they do not consider the ADM-terrain to be a necessary part of 'vrijplaatscultuur'.

Acquiring a heritage status is not only a strategy with an outgoing purpose, it also has its benefits inwardly towards 'the own community'. Receiving an intangible heritage status for 'vrijplaatscultuur' will give a sense of recognition from outside (iADM2, iADM3). According to an inhabitant:

"It is important for us to be recognized. Because we always had to fight, it is an everlasting fight because we do not have any status. Diversity within the city is accepted but only if it meets all the little laws and regulations. It is 'not done' to be different like us." (translated from iADM3)

The format of the heritage application as set by the national inventory provides the group with the opportunity to present themselves as they wish. They are able to highlight the things that they value the most, and how they wish to present themselves to the outside world. However, the

procedure also forces them to think about the issue of safeguarding and passing on 'their culture' on future generations, which was not something they were explicitly concerned with before (iADM3).

Concluding, applying for a heritage status is for the ADM-residents a means of promoting themselves positively and by that they hope to increase their chances for staying at the ADM-terrain. At the same time a heritage status will provide them with a feeling of recognition from outside in which the inhabitants feel valued for their different lifestyle.

5.3.3 Adapting to the requirements to challenge peripherality

"We would not do anything different (...) That is our own track, in that regard we are building and designing a new future for ourselves, outside all rules. Outside ale regulations. We do not give a shit. I am really convinced, at the moment you adapt to anything you will have the threat to become a disneyfied extract of yourself as Ruigoord [a legalised former squatting village nearby ADM] is. You have to do your own thing." (Translated from iADM2)

Although inhabitants of the ADM like to portray themselves as very independent from the rest of the world, there are many connections and interactions with dynamics from Amsterdam. In their intangible heritage application, they both challenge and adapt to discourses on heritage and the periphery.

In their application for the inventory of intangible heritage the established working group from ADM an adaptive stance is taken. Although not all procedures and questions are found to be relevant by the working group, they do aim to pass these through correctly in order to obtain the status. In our interviews, they express many doubts, reflections and ambiguities to this intangible heritage status and institutions and on the concept of heritage in general. "It is just weird because heritage, because when, who decides what is heritage? It is just really strange" (Translated from iADM3).

"The heritage world used to be very traditional, (...) but now it has changed to, a lot of things can be heritage, also intangible heritage. There is a UNESCO convention saying that every country should protect its intangible heritage. And the Netherlands just created a little club of people, and you can add you own stuff." (Translated from iADM2)

Despite these doubts and ambiguities they still aim to use the concept of heritage for their own means by following the steps provided by the inventory without valuing them as necessary or important.

On the other hand, if an intangible heritage status is acquired for 'vrijplaatscultuur' this challenges the concept of heritage. The concept of illegality is inherent in 'vrijplaatscultuur' (iADM2, iADM3).

'Once you have been legalised you have to pay rent and you have to do commercial stuff to pay your rent. And that is the whole point why ADM is so special. You almost do not have to spend any money so you can do all your crazy ideas." (Translated from iADM2)

In another interview we have discussed this topic literally:

"Q: Have 'vrijplaatsen' always been threatened?
A: Actually, yes.
Q: Can you consider it part of the culture? The illegality, the threathendness?
A: Yes, unfortunately." (Translated from iADM3)

Also in other ways it is expressed how 'being threatened' is inherent in their lifestyle. The text in figure 13 could be translated as 'They want to chase us to the end of the world, but the world is round!' This is written down on one of the houses on the ADM-terrain and the text is also mentioned in one of our interviews. During a public debate on homogenization in De Balie one of the inhabitants of ADM showed this picture and said: "They want to get rid of us. But they cannot. We will always meet each other. And we will always be, I hope, in a healthy battle with each other" (Translated from Stadsgesprek De Balie, 2017).

Figure 13 Description house (Stadsgesprek De Balie, 2017)

By applying 'vrijplaatscultuur' for an intangible heritage status, the conceptualisation of heritage is challenged to include illegality and being threatened as an intangible cultural trademark needing safeguarding.

Next to adapting to and challenging the discourses of heritage, the concept of peripherality is also considered to be challenged and adapted to.

"It is important for us to be recognized. Because we always had to fight, it is an everlasting fight because we do not have any status. (...) A village, because that is what it [ADM] is actually, a village, an alternative village. That should be allowed to be on the map. That is quite a thing. It is not only [being] culturally [different], it is also the fact that we have the right to be and to be who we are." (translated from iADM3)

This quote shows that obtaining a heritage status is for them a means to acquire recognition and thereby challenging their status of peripherality. However, at the same time this status of peripherality is also part of their identity and part of their positioning in relation to the city of Amsterdam.

In a public debate about homogenization in Amsterdam one of the inhabitants, also involved in the heritage application working group, was invited to speak about ADM. In this debate he portrayed ADM as one of the ways to be different in Amsterdam. According to him, the 'vrijplaats' ADM is produces 'free spirits' which are 'very necessary today in Amsterdam' (Translated from Stadgesprek De Balie, 2017). In this narrative, ADM is portrayed as an alternative to the gentrified and commercialised city Amsterdam. The status of peripheral, and thereby alternative, ungoverned and 'real', is strongly identified with. Also in my interviews this narrative appeared: "Amsterdam itself, you are seeing Amsterdam really heavy commercialising. And this [the ADM terrain] is just a sort of oasis actually. A non-commercial oasis in the money desert of Amsterdam" (translated from iADM2). They adapt to current dominant discourses on Amsterdam in which people worry about the touristification and gentrification of Amsterdam and thereby position themselves as the necessary 'real' outsider.

However, they do not see this as opposing themselves to the centre of Amsterdam but as a means to "create a world you do agree with. (...) To be able to stand for your ideal" (translated from iADM2).

5.3.4 Paradoxes and dilemmas: Preserving being under threat

The 'vrijplaatscultuur' – the lifestyle that the residents of ADM are currently trying to acquire an intangible heritage status for – has always been threatened, according to two residents (iADM3). The illegality and endangering is part of that culture. The process of creating intangible heritage is in itself a paradoxical one (Margry, 2014), intangible culture is dynamic and changeable but describing it in order to 'safeguard' this description would make it static and unchangeable. However, in the case of applying 'vrijplaatscultuur' for an intangible heritage status an extra paradox is added. Part of the process of applying for an intangible heritage status is the creation of a 'zorgplan' (translated as care plan) in which is written down how the culture will be safeguarded against future threats. However, being illegal, and therefore threatened, is part of the living reality and identity of this culture. At the same time, residents of ADM strongly identify with the periphery. They describe themselves as outsiders and alternative. This peripherality functions at the same time as their identity but is also their main thread and may cause their removal.

Inhabitants express themselves as proud on several trends and cultural traits they have developed which became popular in Amsterdam. "Not to congratulate myself, but from these places [ADM and other vrijplaatsen] there have been injections into the city. Which all have become trends, which all have become hip/hypes" (translated from iADM3). As examples they name among others foodtrucks, festivals, environmental lifestyles and tiny houses. This pride is paradoxical because on the one hand they aim to distant themselves from gentrification and commercialisation but on the other hand it is appreciated when their cultural traits become popular and mainstream.

Another paradox can be found in the relationship with the city Amsterdam. The aim of the inhabitants of ADM is to be as self-sufficient and sustainable as possible (Internal Document, 2017). They want to 'cut themselves loose' from the things they do not agree with (translated from iADM2). However, this self-sufficiency is partly based on the insufficiency of others. For example several inhabitants acquire their food by 'skipping' – taking the food from garbage bins. This is only possible by the un-sustainability of others.

Also their relationship with inhabitants outside the fence can be considered paradoxical. Although inhabitants of the 'vrijplaats' identify themselves with being an outsider and peripheral and feel like their lifestyle is threatened, other people living outside their gate are being even more marginalised – this is their last resort according to an interviewee – and are excluded from the property of the 'vrijplaats'.

The increase of attention from local government for the added value of squats to the city is also considered a threat for 'vrijplaatscultuur', paradoxically (iADM2).

> "The more creative or adventurous people have now other options than squatting, they can live anti-squat or work in a broedplaats [An artist-run facility for starting artists provided by local government, often located in legalised squats]. (...) And that is quite cool. You can do your own thing in your atelier but you do have to pay for that, and pay the rent of your house." (translated from iADM2)

According to them, these alternatives do not provide the freedom and possibilities of a 'vrijplaats' but they do satisfy people enough to not request more. Therefore, the need and request of 'vrijplaatsen' decreases which threatens the survival of the 'vrijplaats'. In this sense the attention for added value of artists and squats for the city of Amsterdam becomes a threat, according to interviewees (iADM2; iADM3).

5.3.5 Theoretical reflections

The use of heritage by this organisation complies with the understanding of Harrison of heritage as on the one hand a political means and on the other hand a means to express and attribute value and care for the future (Harrison, 2015).

Inhabitants of the ADM-terrain use the concept of heritage in order to obtain power. By acquiring a heritage status it is hoped to positively influence imaging of squats and create positive publicity. In their use of the concept of heritage this is approached as a set of procedures which need to be walked through. No emotional attachment to the concept of heritage or being included on the list of intangible heritage list is shown. This could be interpreted as that heritage functions strictly as a medium of power to the inhabitants of ADM. From the perspective of Smith (2006), heritage becomes the focus of alternative meaning for those who dissent.

When we talk about 'vrijplaatscultuur' itself the interviewees show a lot of care and emotion towards the existence and guaranteeing the future existence of this lifestyle.

> "But that we can do it [live in a 'vrijplaats' and in a 'vrijplaatscultuur'] that is just super fucking important. Now in Amsterdam or around Amsterdam it is a thousand times more difficult. Because Amsterdam is so heavy gentrified. And because of the squatting ban. But on the ADM we can still do it." (translated from iADM3)

When we talk about the concept of sharing or presenting your culture to others as being part of heritage the interviewee also shows an emotional response: "I find that really, I find that just really important. I think that is just the most important thing" (translated from iADM3).

This shows that although the official label of heritage is approached as a means of power and negotiating their status as peripheral to more central, the aspects of heritage – safeguarding for future generations and presenting/sharing your culture – are valued highly important. Hence, this complies with the approach of Harrison (2015) who sees heritage as being intrinsically political and as a means to express care and value towards objects, places and practises. Harrison specifically notes how heritage is a mode to 'take an ethical stance towards the future' (Harrison, 2015: 39). This 'ethical stance towards the future' is where in this case the two aspects of heritage – political and attributing meaning – come together. The concept of heritage is used as a means to influence power mechanisms. 'Vrijplaatscultuur' is deemed important and needing protection against threats in order to stay relevant in the future. By acquiring an official heritage status they hope to positively influence this and improve their position towards these threats.

6. Conclusion: centre-periphery interactions, negotiations and complications

In the previous chapter I have answered the three sub-questions per case study and provided a more theoretical analysis. In this chapter, the three case studies will be compared in order to answer the sub-questions. The chapter will end with an answer to the main question: 'How do new heritage practises negotiate centre-periphery relations in Amsterdam?'

6.1 Using and producing heritage to move from periphery to centre

The first sub-question is: 'How is heritage used and produced in the periphery of Amsterdam?' From my analysis it became clear that the three organisations share that they all engage with heritage in order to improve the position of a certain group (inhabitants of Nieuw-West, people from African descent in the Netherlands, squatters) in the present and future. In the case of Black Heritage Tours (BHT), how the past is presented in the present is the focus of the organisation, the other two cases directly engage with present phenomena. Street Art Museum Amsterdam (SAMA) focuses on heritagization of artworks created nowadays and inhabitants of the ADM-terrain on heritagization of living culture. This is in line with heritage research saying that although the past is often the topic of heritage, it is always situated in the present and focused on the future (Harrison, 2015).

SAMA and BHT both attribute new values and meanings towards existing objects and thereby discursively create new objects. However, their discursive constructions are not dominant and rather understood as peripheral. They challenge dominant constructions of objects by adding these new constructions but are depended on dominant institutions to be able to move their object formations from periphery to centre. For example, when the Rijksmuseum would rewrite the description signs of a certain object as proposed by Jennifer during a Black Heritage Tour, this would reconstruct Jennifer her description as 'more true' and therefore more dominant and less peripheral. This would change the dominant understanding of what this object is, but would hardly change the power mechanisms who are able to construct this object.

In the theoretical framework it is explained that heritage is a discourse, and both a product and a medium of power (Berg, 2009). Heritage is always preserved because of political strategic reasons (Harrison, 2015; Wu & Hou, 2015). People and organisations have specific interests in remembering and heritagizing specific constructions and forgetting others. What is considered to be heritage, which implicates that something should be protected and remembered, is therefore always interrelated with power relations.

The analysis of the three organisations shows that their engagement with heritage or their application for a heritage status is a means to influence these power relations. For example Black Heritage Tours engages with objects which are considered to be heritage. They reinterpret and reconstruct these objects as a form of presence – or absence – of people from African descent in the Netherlands and its construction of the past. BHT aims to challenge these existing constructions by promoting and adding new narratives and perspectives. Engaging with heritage is a means to influence these existing power mechanisms. Also in the case of SAMA and the inhabitants of ADM this is the case, they aim to acquire a heritage status in order to change current power relations and structures of what is valued as important in Amsterdam. For SAMA this means 'putting Nieuw-West on the map' and seeing it as a valuable part of Amsterdam, for inhabitants of ADM a heritage status is a recognition of their cultural attribution towards the city. Hence, we could say that heritage is used as a means to move from periphery to centre.

The three organisations are also subject to existing power mechanisms. Whether they acquire an official heritage status or whether their interpretation and reconstruction of heritage is found legitimate depends on other institutions. SAMA is depended on the 'Rijksdienst voor Cultureel Erfgoed', the national governmental institute for cultural heritage, for the approval of their heritage application and on the ICOM for their museum status. Black Heritage Tours strongly cooperates with academia and several museums. Within the tours they can express themselves as they wish but in their produced guidebook they seek cooperation and approval of other museums for their constructions and descriptions of heritage. Inhabitants of the ADM-terrain are depended upon the national inventory of intangible heritage. In my analysis it became clear that the construction and interpretation of heritage from the three researched organisations is dependent on others.

This complies to the idea proposed in the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) theory of Smith (2006) that heritage may represent dominant discourses, it can also become the focus of alternative meaning for those who dissent. The analysis of the three organisations shows that when the organisations consider it as relevant for them, they draw upon, and use the institutions and discourses which are part of the AHD. For example, inhabitants of ADM are aware of current trends in the heritage sector of safeguarding living cultures as a form of heritage and use this for their own means. Also BHT responded to the heightened interest of black history during the commemoration of 150 years abolition of slavery. These examples show that the three organisations not operate outside the Authorized Heritage Discourse but rather interact with it, they use the discourses and institutions when found applicable but are also subject to its power mechanisms.

A notable similarity between the three researched organisations is that they all are very reflective and critical on the concept of heritage. There is a lot of interaction with academics and the three organisations which makes them more aware of current debates in heritage, their role in these debates and thus more reflexive and self-critical. In BHT academia is the most prominent, Jennifer considers BHT to be a part of a broader academic movement in history and heritage studies and strongly relies and adds on academic research. In the case of SAMA and ADM the academic influence is less prominent but still visible. Their heritage application strongly relies on interns from the Reinwardt Academy, a university of applied sciences entirely focused on heritage. In the case of ADM there is also a sociologist involved in the application and in the case of SAMA there is also a big influence and relying upon academic students and recently graduated.

To sum up, the three researched organisations all engage with the concept of heritage in order to influence the position of certain groups in the present and future. In their use of heritage a highly reflective and critical stance towards to concept of heritage is taken. This can be explained due to the interactions between academia and these organisations. Heritage is found to be a means to influence existing power mechanisms, while at the same time the researched organisations are subject to these existing power mechanisms. This analysis made clear that engaging with heritage is a means to negotiate centre-periphery relations.

6.2 Challenging and using the canonized repertoire

The second sub-question is: 'How do new heritage practises adapt to, and challenge the canon of Amsterdam?' The analysis shows that the studied organisations sacrifice certain values in order to comply to existing power mechanisms, but that they also challenge these mechanisms by providing new perspectives and conceptualisations of heritage.

The organisations studied all diversify the concept of heritage and thereby connect to current academic debates about the diversification of the concept of heritage (Smith, 2006; Wu & Hou,

2015). In the case of SAMA the notion of temporality, dynamics and changeability are added as characteristics of heritage and the parameter social value is added as an aspect to estimate the value of heritage. BHT diversifies the concept of national identity and creates space for non-white history in heritages and diversifies the narratives, voices and perspectives in heritage. ADM does comply with the increasing attention for bottom-up and intangible heritage in the heritage sector (Ministerie van Onderwijs Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2017).

All three apply specific strategies and sacrifices in order to connect to the existing central repertoire. SAMA uses existing procedures and institutions, like the Museale Weegschaal and the ICOM, for their heritage application while these are not considered to be relevant for themselves. They also reproduce the current dominant discourse on overcrowding in the city centre of Amsterdam and suggest themselves as a solution to this and a means of deconcentrating tourists into peripheral regions. BHT also uses the current discourses on 'touristification' of the city centre to distinguish themselves from that. A strategy BHT uses is to keep an open and not offensive tone in debate and conversations with museums. They also created partnerships with museums from which they are convinced their represented heritage is contested. ADM adapts to the central repertoire of heritage formation, they go through procedures of heritage formation as set by the National Inventory of Intangible Heritage while they do not consider this as necessary themselves. These adaptations performed by the three studied organisations can be seen as sacrifices. Although these procedures or institutions are not considered as relevant or they do not agree with them, they sacrifice their time and still invest in them or temper their expressions in order to comply with these procedures and institutions.

SAMA and BHT are also actively trying to challenge and change the current dominant heritage repertoire. SAMA adds new parameters, as social relevance, to the assessment criteria for heritage applications. They also use new preservation methods, Virtual Reality and Augmented Reality. BHT challenges the current dominant heritage repertoire by using a specific vocabulary. They speak strictly about 'enslaved' and 'enslavor' instead of 'slave' and 'master'. They also aim for an acceptance of all voices who are speaking about heritage and discover and add hidden narratives and silenced voices as part of the central heritage repertoire. By setting up a black heritage tour as a dialogue instead of a presentation by a tour guide they aim to reconstruct the heritage on the ground. A difference between SAMA and BHT is that BHT really aims to challenge and change dominant discourses on heritage while SAMA aims to become included in these dominant discourses.

Inhabitants of the ADM-terrain do not aim to challenge the repertoire of intangible heritage, instead in the procedure they adapt to the expectations and parameters on which they are graded. This could be explained by their relatively little attribution of meaning towards the obtaining of a heritage status. The heritage label is rather something they use to indirectly achieve other goals, publicity and an increased understanding of their lifestyle. However they use the intangible heritage application as a means to describe and present themselves as they wish.

Concluding, the three organisations all challenge and adapt to the current dominant heritage repertoire. By their attempts to diversify the notion of heritage they comply to current academic calls for diversification of the heritage repertoire. The adaptations they effectuate and the challenges they posses on dominant repertoire differ in level and manner between the three organisations. While SAMA challenges the conceptual understanding of heritage by adding temporality as a characteristics, BHT challenges the representation and interpretation of heritage by adding new perspectives, narratives and voices. Inhabitants of the ADM-terrain also challenge the conceptual

understanding of heritage by adding a culture with illegality and being under threat as inherent characteristics needing safeguarding.

6.3 Paradoxical relations between centre and periphery

The third sub-question is: 'What paradoxes and dilemmas need to be negotiated in the periphery of Amsterdam?' In previous sub-chapter I concluded that forming or engaging with heritage is a means to negotiate ones position from periphery to centre. However, these negotiations implicate several dilemmas and paradoxes.

The three studied organisations have in common that their existence is legitimated by their peripherality. They derive their existence from the notion that they are alternative to, or counter dominant repertoire. SAMA legitimizes for example their existence by the argumentation that the neighbourhood Amsterdam Nieuw-West needs to be improved and enhanced. BHT can only be called Black Heritage Tours because black heritage is not yet normalized and included in dominant narratives and perspectives of heritage. Inhabitants of the ADM-terrain name their lifestyle 'vrijplaatscultuur', which can only exist as a counter to the 'not-free mainstream culture'. This means that the identity of the three organisations is dependent upon their peripherality and therefore their existence is legitimized by their otherness towards the dominant. This shows that a status of peripherality is not necessarily something that is experienced as something that is important to change quickly. In contrast, in the case of SAMA and ADM the peripherality is something that is cherished and valued.

At the same time, the three organisations are also profiting from specific mainstream developments in which their focus of interest – street art, racism/Dutch identity and alternative lifestyle – become of heightened interest. This interaction shows that the concept of peripherality is found to be far more complex than yet conceptualized in critical heritage studies.

All researched organisations have next to their peripheral characteristics also more dominant characteristics. For example, the case of the inhabitants of the ADM-terrain. They can be considered to have many peripheral characteristics, they are located 45 minutes cycling from the city centre of Amsterdam. It is impossible to get their by public transport. There are no facilities nearby. In case of a dangerous situation – as has happened ones with toxic gas in the air (iADM1) – nobody notifies them to evacuate. And most importantly, they are involved in several lawsuits threatening their existence. Their messages and lifestyle are relatively unknown and not perceived as mainstream. They are highly dependent upon the approval of others actors for their future on the ADM-terrain.

On the other hand, in comparison to the people living outside the fence they are less marginalised. Also they have seven lawyers covering their lawsuits. They receive a lot of media coverage (among others; Obbink, 2017; Muller, 2017; Beentjes, 2016) and several representatives of the local political parties have visited the area (iADM2). In discussions on the 'touristification' and 'commercialisation' they are invited to speak and thereby represent 'one of the last free spaces in Amsterdam' (Stadsgesprek De Balie, 2017). This shows that an identity or status of peripheral is very complex and includes a more diverse range of characteristics than just 'peripheral'.

Another similarity can be found between the three researched organisations in their relationship towards offered 'alternatives'. All three organisations convey a specific messages or ideals and all three have experienced examples in which a dominant party partly adopts these messages and ideals. The provided alternative option in which the initial ideals are partly adopted offers a threat towards the initial ideals. The alternative provides the idea that the ideals are fulfilled but still does not convey the full message as expressed by the researched organisations.

In the case of SAMA, AR and VR are provided as means to preserve the artworks while the buildings are destructed. However, in the interview a situation was recalled in which local government proposed to do a VR-scan in order to be able to destruct a series of buildings which were significantly cultural valuable for the street art community (iSAMA2). In the case of BHT, they witness an increasing awareness within the heritage sector of the exclusion effects of the current heritage repertoire and aim to 'decolonize' this. However in their attempt they only partly fulfil this mission. This acknowledging and increasing awareness within the dominant heritage institutions can be seen as a first step in diversifying heritage. However it consequently also discourages the needs and demand for a radical change. The inhabitants of the ADM-terrain see the governmental alternative for a 'vrijplaats', which is called 'broedplaats', as a thread towards 'vrijplaatscultuur'. The 'broedplaats' does provide some freedom and creativity towards people looking for that but is still, according to ADM inhabitants, not providing 'true freedom' due to its embedding in legal and financial frameworks. Hence, according to my interviewees, people who would normally like to live in a 'vrijplaats' are now satisfied with something less 'free', a 'broedplaats' and do not request for more.

To sum up, comparing the three organisations shows that the relationship between periphery and centre provides many dilemmas, often paradoxical ones. In these three organisations peripherality is at the same time challenged but also provides legitimacy for existence. Also, the concept of peripherality is more complicated and entails also dominant characteristics. To increase complexity, the concessions offered by dominant institutions can also threaten the accomplishment of the ideals and spreading of the messages of the peripheral organisations.

6.4 Conclusion: Peripheral identities or mainstream futures

In the previous sub-chapters I have explained how new heritage practises form and use heritage in the periphery, how this challenges or adapts to the canon and what kind of dilemmas this creates. That makes that I can answer the main question 'how do new heritage practises negotiate centre-periphery relations in Amsterdam?'

Based on the analysis we can conclude that peripheral organisations use heritage in order to negotiate their position towards the centre. In their use of heritage a reflective and critical stand towards the concept of heritage is taken. Heritage is at the same time approached as an instrument to achieve certain goals, on the other hand it is also used as a means to express care and value for certain objects, places and practises. The three researched organisations acquire a heritage status or engage with heritage in order to negotiate their position from peripheral to more central. To do this they cooperate with or use existing powerful heritage institutions and protocols. However they do not only adept to them, they also challenge the centre to diversify their conceptualisation or content of what is considered to be heritage.

However, this creates certain dilemmas and paradoxes. The three researched organisations all legitimize their existence by their peripherality. BHT engages with heritage in order to move from the periphery to the centre, in the other two organisations there is a more complicated relationship between centre and periphery. SAMA and inhabitants of the ADM identify with the periphery and consider themselves to be alternative and outsiders from the mainstream. Therefore, heritage is not necessarily used to become the centre, it is rather used to become less peripheral. This shows that peripherality is not only considered to be something that limits ones possibilities, it is also something that can be cherished and provides identity. This centre-periphery relationship is further complicated since concessions and alternatives offered by the centre can be experienced as threatening by the peripheral organisations. Future will tell what these dynamics will unfold into: peripheral identities or mainstream futures?

7. Discussion: empirical data and theoretical assumptions

The theoretical framework in chapter 2 ended with three assumptions on the relationship between centre and periphery deducted from the Authorized Heritage Discourse theory from Smith (2006) and Polysystem theory as developed by Even-Zohar (1990; 2010). In this discussion chapter I will compare the empirical data generated in this research with the deducted assumptions in order to attribute to the academic literature on peripheral heritage practises.

#1 Periphery threatens to replace/challenge centre

Both theories share that they conceptualise the relationship between centre and periphery as tense. According to Smith the periphery challenges the centre while according to Even-Zohar the periphery threatens to replace the centre.

The generated empirical data shows however that this relationship is more complex. Peripherality is not only considered as something that limits ones position, it is also experienced as something to identify with. All three researched organisations legitimize their existence by their peripherality. Only in the case of BHT there can be a strong aim witnessed to be incorporated in the central discourses. The other two organisations, SAMA and inhabitants of the ADM-terrain, have a more complex relationship towards the centre. Their peripherality threatens their future (SAMA is cut in funding which threatens their future and their headquarters has been robbed several times; inhabitants of the ADM might be removed from the terrain) but their peripherality also provides an identity (SAMA facilitates art in order to improve a peripheral neighbourhood; inhabitants of ADM consider themselves to be an alternative option to a mainstream cultural lifestyle).

However, despite this complexity, both organisations challenge the centre because they need something from it. Inhabitants of ADM need permission in order to stay on the terrain and SAMA needs funding and objects and places to paint. By these requests they challenge the centre to allow them and support their activities.

The description 'threatens to replace' assumes a fear or feeling of threat from the centre. This thesis has only engaged with perspectives from the periphery, therefore this side of the assumption cannot be checked. Further research including perspectives from the centre would be needed to provide insights in the whole interaction of centre-periphery relations. However, based on the findings of this research I would suggest to further complicate the conceptualisation of peripheral heritage practises in future heritage research; to include a focus on identification with the periphery and not approach the periphery only as a limitation. The empiric data generated in this research complies to the assumption of Smith (2006) that the periphery (or subaltern as she names it) challenges the centre.

#2 Periphery operate outside the centre or follows the centre

As conceptualized by Smith peripheral heritage practises operate outside the authorized heritage discourse. However, in the three researched organisations there is an interaction between centre and periphery and they use the dominant heritage institutions and discourses in order to accomplish their own means. This interaction is the most clearly visible in the case of BHT, they create several partnerships with powerful heritage institutions in order to establish their organisation and achieve their mission. Also in the two other cases this interaction and strategic use of dominant actors and discourses is visible. In the case of inhabitants of the ADM-terrain the whole intangible heritage application can be seen as means to use a dominant institution, the inventory of intangible heritage, for their own means. Within their application they draw on scientific perspectives of heritage and cooperate with a sociologist in order to complete the application. Also SAMA uses heritage in order to achieve specific goals. They cooperate with powerful institutions as the local government, housing

corporations and apply for the ICOM. In their heritage application they draw upon knowledge and skills from interns studying heritage. These might not be seen as powerful actors since they are students. However, they are trained to become heritage professionals and therefore operate from one of the forefronts of heritage knowledge production. The three organisations interact and use (aspects of) the authorized heritage discourse. However this does not deny that they are still subject to the power mechanisms which are constructing the Authorized Heritage Discourse.

Therefore we can conclude that new heritage practises do not operate outside the dominant heritage discourses and institution. Instead, they interact with them and use them to accomplish their own means. However, this does not deny the unequal power distribution between periphery and centre.

According to Even-Zohar interaction and reciprocity are part of centre-periphery relations. He assumes that the periphery follows what is available in the centre unless the periphery becomes a more established repertoire and obtains central characteristics. This assumption is found to be correct when the two researched organisations BHT and inhabitants of the ADM are compared. ADM does not cooperate with institutions while BHT strongly cooperates with several museums and is embedded in a community of researchers. Therefore one could conclude that BHT is less peripheral and more embedded in the centre than the ADM inhabitants. In their heritage application the ADM inhabitants adapt to the existing requirements – they follow the centre – while BHT aims to challenge dominant discourses on heritage and experience that notions of heritage are changing and are increasingly more achieving their goals. This assumption cannot be checked for the case of SAMA. They do aim to challenge the construction of heritage, however future will have to tell whether they will accomplish that.

Concluding, conceptualizing the centre as operating outside central heritage discourses does not do justice to the empirical data. In future research I would suggest to include the reciprocity and interactions between centre and periphery in the conceptualization. In this research, one example is found to support the assumption of Even-Zohar, more research is needed to see whether this assumption can be supported in other contexts as well.

#3 Periphery as unambiguous/ambiguous

The ADH theory is not focussed on a conceptualisation of the status of peripheral or subaltern, it is rather approached as an unambiguous status. According to Even-Zohar a polysystem has multiple power centres and peripheries, he approaches periphery as an ambiguous and dynamic concept.

The gathered empirical data supports Even-Zohar his assumption. The three organisations can be considered peripheral but do also have certain central or dominant characteristics. They are all subject to hypes which increased a heightened interest in their topic of interest (street art, racism, alternative lifestyle), this could be seen as a dominant aspect. Also they are invited as representatives of their promoted topics, some recent examples: SAMA about street art (TEDxAmsterdam, 2016), BHT about identities in art (Artez, 2017) or inhabitants of ADM about being different in Amsterdam (Stadsgesprek De Balie, 2017). Also the strong involvement of academia and researchers in these three organisation makes them part of a more dominant, and less peripheral, repertoire. Scientific attention provides them with more status and makes them more powerful actors.

These examples show that peripherality is an ambiguous concept and that organisations can always combine peripheral characteristics with central ones. In future research I would suggest to take this ambiguity in account when studying peripheral organisations.

8. Epilogue

In the introduction I started with a description of the current dominant discourse on Amsterdam and its 'overcrowding' and 'touristification'. What has this research brought that might be of help in contributing to a solution on these issues?

Well, the solution might be right in front of you. The problems of 'overcrowding' and 'touristification' have thus far been mainly approached top-down by marketing instruments, restructuring of the public space and financial impulses (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015, Rekenkamer Amsterdam, 2016). However, in the periphery of Amsterdam several grassroots organisations are found who feel highly involved and connected to the city and who worry as well about these developments. They aim to counter these trends from a bottom-up approach. And I do agree with Even-Zohar saying that cultural interference often take place via peripheries (Even-Zohar, 1990). This thesis has researched three organisations who aim to diversify the city of Amsterdam by improving the outskirts (SAMA), showing the different layers of the touristified places (BHT) or creating spaces where certain people feel free (ADM-terrain). Although they manage to spread their messages and keep their organisations running it is not an easy process and they, the one more than the other, encounter several setbacks. More support, or less resistance, could make a big difference for these organisations.

This thesis has covered only three organisations. I can imagine that a city as Amsterdam has many more of these initiatives who might contribute to an expansion or diversification of the canon of Amsterdam. Instead of promoting the big cultural heritage land mark items as the Grachten or the Rijksmuseum, and thereby reinforcing their prominence, I would suggest to let the canon being challenged from bottom-up. There are groups of people out there in the margins forming and preserving heritage still neglected by the dominant repertoires. They could contribute to the current mission of local government to counter 'overcrowding' and 'touristification'.

However, this research has also shown that these organisation often have a paradoxical relationship to the centre. Measures taken by central institutions in order to contribute to the mission and ideals of the peripheral organisations can also be experienced as threatening. Because of the presence of an alternative it is more difficult to convey their own messages and ideals. Also is the existence of the three organisations researched in this thesis their legitimated by their peripherality.

Top-down intervening in these centre-periphery dynamics may therefore unfold in paradoxical situations countering what was initially planned. As Smith suggests "a critical and engaged understanding of the power and authority of competing heritage discourses, and the relative power and authority that underpins them, is necessary before negotiation can commence" (Smith, 2004 as quoted in Smith, 2006: 38). Therefore, in order to effectively intervene in this force field I would suggest to align and cooperate with academic research and take into account the paradoxes and ambiguities inherent in centre-periphery relations and the power that constructs them. If so done, there can be a great potential found in the discursive and geographical periphery of Amsterdam countering processes of 'overcrowding' and 'touristification'.

Jorien Posthouwer, June 2017

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Appendix: Establishing the centre and periphery

To distinguish what is considered to be the canon of Amsterdam – What are 'enlightening examples' that show what Amsterdam is about? – I used four sources, divided in two categories of data. First, I analyzed data on the behaviour of tourists, where do they actually go? I did this by (1) using data on most visited attractions and sites in combination with (2) a social media analysis of the distribution of tourists. Second, I analyzed data on the promotion of Amsterdam to tourists, what is 'sold' to tourists? I did this by analysing (3) a list with the 'top 20 things to do' as selected by the biggest marketing office in Amsterdam, called Amsterdam Marketing, in combination with (4) information on 'top choices' by the guidebook Lonely Planet. Many more actors and variables influence canonization in Amsterdam. However the results from this simple analysis confirmed previous findings as found by Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990) and Bijkerk & Ridder (2011) and therefore a more elaborate study was not found necessary.

Combining the sites as occurring the four sources provided the table as seen in figure 14. This table includes all 'attractions' which are occurring at least twice. There is no differentiation made between hierarchy of the different attractions. For example whether an 'attraction' is number one or number twenty in the 'top things to do' list does not influence the table.

Figure 14 Canonized sites in Amsterdam

#	What	Visiting numbers	Flickr Photography	Lonely Planet	Amsterdam Marketing
1	Canal Boat tours	Yes			Yes
2	Bike rental	Yes			Yes
3	Rijksmuseum	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
5	Van Goghmuseum	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
6	Anne Frank house	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
7	Eye Film museum	Yes			Yes
10	Heineken Experience	Yes	Yes	Yes	
11	Artis Zoo	Yes		Yes	
12	Dam Square		Yes	Yes	
13	Red Light District		Yes	Yes	
14	Munttower & Flowermarket		Yes		Yes
15	Begijnhof		Yes		Yes
16	Albert Cuypmarkt			Yes	Yes
17	Stedelijk Museum	Yes		Yes	Yes
18	Vondelpark			Yes	Yes
19	Brouwerij t'IJ			Yes	Yes

All 'attractions' found in the table above are geographically located in or nearby the city centre. The three attractions that are found in all four of the sources (Rijksmuseum, Van Gogh Museum, Anne Frank House) are cultural heritage 'attractions'. Two (Heineken Experience and Stedelijk Museum) occurred three times. Although this is a very simple analysis, the findings presented in this table correspond with analysis by Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990), Bijkerk and de Ridder (2011) and van Loon and Rouwendal (2017) who describe part of Amsterdam's identity as being 'the city of cultural heritage'. The heritage attractions occurring in this list represent a rather traditional form of heritage as they present 'high' art or focus on widely commemorated events..

Below I will first describe and show the data from the four different sources.

#1 Most visited attractions

Figure 15 shows the attractions with more than 150.000 visitors in 2014. Eye (formally named Filmmuseum), the Rijksmuseum, Stedelijk Museum and Heineken have the biggest growth between 2008 and 2014. The most popular attractions are the Rijksmuseum (2.5 million visitors), Van Gogh museum (1.6 million), the zoo Artis (1.3 million) and the Anne Frank house (1.2 million). The Amsterdam Arena (the football stadion) with 1.9 million visitors is not portrayed on the map due to its location in the south-east of Amsterdam.

Other popular activities offered by multiple organisations are canal boat tours and renting bikes. In 2014 3.8 million people did a canal bout tour which makes it the most popular attraction of Amsterdam (Rekenkamer Amsterdam, 2015). There is no data available on number of rented bikes. Accept the Amsterdam Arena, all attractions and museums are located in and nearby the city centre.
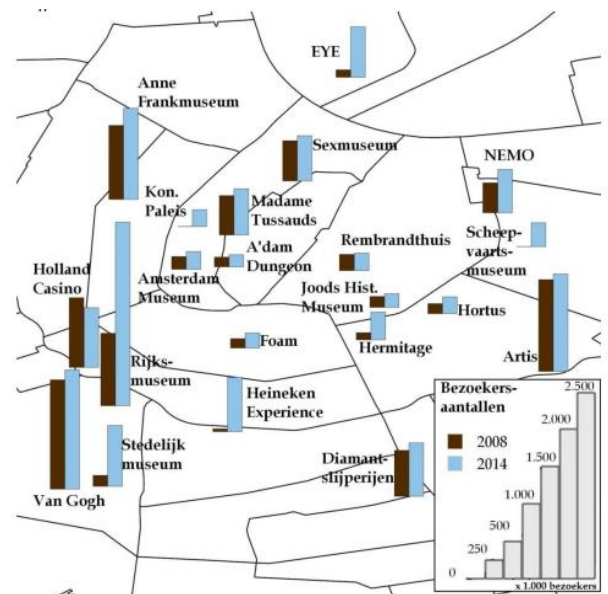

Figure 15 Visitor numbers for museums and attractions in 2008 and 2014 in Amsterdam (Rekenkamer Amsterdam, 2016)

#2 social media

Van der Drift (2015) explored distributions of tourists in Amsterdam by analyzing Flickr photographs. His findings correspond with the attractions found in the previous listing based on visitor numbers. However, several more 'attractions' come up in his analysis. The Dam square and the red light district are the most photographed sites. Figure 16 shows a list with all identified attractions and figure 17 shows where they are located on the map.

Figure 17 Map of detected and identified hotspots in Amsterdam (Van Der Drift, 2015)

Figure 16 Clusters distinguished by Flickr analysis (Van Der Drift, 2015)

#	Location
1	Dam Square
2	Red Light District & Oude Kerk
3	Rijksmuseum & Museum Square
4	Westerkerk & Anne Frank House
5	Munt Tower & Flower Market
6	Flower Market
7	Central Station
8	Nieuwmarkt
9	Begijnhof
10	Leidse Square
11	Rembrandt Square
12	Van Gogh Museum
13	Heineken Experience

#3 'The essential checklist of the best of Amsterdam'

Figure 18 shows a list with attractions, sites and activities that are promoted by Amsterdam Marketing as the 'top 20 activities' in Amsterdam.

Figure 18 'The essential checklist of the best of Amsterdam' (Amsterdam Marketing, 2017)

'Hop on your bike'
Jordaan
Museumplein (Rijksmuseum, Van Gogh Museum, Stedelijk Museum)
Amsterdam Noord
Canal cruise
Try Herring
'Independent shopping streets' (negen straatjes)
Anne Frank House
Brouwerij t'IJ
Westergasfabriek
Flowermarket
'Parklife' (Vondelpark, Westerpark, Sarphatipark, Rembrandtpark)
'Day trip from Amsterdam' (Amsterdam Castle, Amsterdam Flowers, Amsterdam Beach)
'Local Neighbourhoods' (De Pijp, De Plantage, Oosterpark)
Markets (Albert Cuyp Market, Waterlooplein Market)
De Hallen
Van Gogh Museum
Begijnhof
Eye Filmmuseum
I Amsterdam sign

#4 'Top sights' according to Lonely Planet

Figure 19 displays all 'attractions' which are labelled as a 'top sight' or 'highlight' in the Lonely Planet (Nevez, le & Schechter, 2016). These lists have been collected from the ebook version of the Lonely Planet guidebook about The Netherlands.

Amsterdam Highlights
1. Plunging into the **Rijksmuseum** (p59), housing a trove of Vermeers, Rembrandts and other national riches.
2. Experiencing a young girl's hidden life at **Anne Frank Huis** (p52).
3. Admiring the vivid swirls of a tortured genius at the **Van Gogh Museum** (p59).
4. Visiting the Golden Age painter's inner sanctum at **Museum het Rembrandthuis** (p48).
5. Feeling *gezelligheid* (a cosy sense of wellbeing) in the lanes and *cafés* of the **Jordaan** (p88).
6. Trawling the exotic goods at **Albert Cuypmarkt** (p60), Amsterdam's largest street market.
7. Wandering the **Red Light District** (p43), a contradiction of charming *cafés* and near-naked women in windows.
8. Kicking back amid the ponds, lawns, thickets and paths of **Vondelpark** (p60).
9. Sipping sensational microbrews under an 18th-century windmill at **Brouwerij 't IJ** (p91).

Jordaan & the Western Canal Ring
Top Sights
1 Amsterdam Tulip Museum....................C3
2 Anne Frank Huis....................................C3

Southern Canal Ring
Top Sights
1 Albert Cuypmarkt G5
2 Heineken Experience.............................F5
3 Museum Van Loon.................................G3
4 Museum Willet-Holthuysen H2
5 Rijksmuseum...E4
6 Stedelijk Museum D5
7 Van Gogh Museum D5
8 Vondelpark B5

Amsterdam Centre
Top Sights
1 Amsterdam Museum C7
2 Begijnhof...B8
3 Museum het Rembrandthuis.................G8
4 Museum Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder......F4
5 Nieuwe Kerk C5
6 Oude Kerk E5
7 Royal Palace C5

Eastern Islands & Plantage
Top Sights
1 Artis Royal Zoo......................................D5
2 Hermitage Amsterdam A6
3 Joods Historisch Museum A5
4 Verzetsmuseum C5

Figure 19 'Top Sights' and 'Highlights' of Amsterdam as presented in Lonely Planet (Nevez, le & Schechter, 2016)