



Constructing ‘Schokland 2.0’: The threat of deauthorization and its consequences of object (de)formation in the governance context of UNESCO World Heritage site Schokland

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Zuidpunt

*En als een schipper op de ree
Vraagt waar men Zuidpunt vindt,
Dan wijst men naar de grauwe zee
Die Schokland traag verslindt.*

*Toch trekt de zee zich soms terug,
En met een huivering
Ziet men een rookpluim in de lucht
Waar eens een dorp verging.*

- Ede, B. V. (1988)

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Abbreviations

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| OUV | Outstanding Universal Value |
| UWHSS | UNESCO World Heritage site Schokland and Surroundings |
| ROB | Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek (former RCE) |
| NOP Municipality | Gemeente Noordoostpolder (Noordoostpolder Municipality) |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| RCE | Rijksdienst Cultureel Erfgoed (Governmental Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands) |
| RVB | Rijksvastgoedbedrijf (Governmental property management agency) |
| Ministry of OCW | Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science) |
| DLG | Dienst Landelijk Gebied |
| NLTO | Noord-Nederlandse Land- en tuinbouworganisatie (northern branch of the agricultural and horticultural association) |
| PRSC1 | Periodic Report on the State of Conservation Schokland and Surroundings 2006 |
| PRSC2 | Periodic Report on the State of Conservation Schokland and Surroundings 2013 |

Abstract

This study regards the consequences and purposes behind the threat of heritage deauthorization, withdrawing official heritage status. Contrary to many other contemporary heritage studies this thesis embraces a post-structural perspective on heritage and sees the heritage 'object' as a discursive construction in itself, allowing for an analysis of object (de)formation. The first Dutch World Heritage site to be included on the UNESCO World Heritage List, UNESCO World Heritage site Schokland and Surroundings (UWHSS), which is portrayed to be under threat of deauthorization, shapes the case study for this research. Interviews were conducted with representatives from organizations that are involved in the governance of UWHSS and all sorts of documentation concerning the governance of the site was studied. It is found that the threat of deauthorization does not come from the authorizing institution (UNESCO), but is created in the governance context of UWHSS as a way to generate the financial means to carry out a nature development project that not only ensures the World Heritage status is kept, but also solves a big issue local agrarians face. The threat physically affecting UWHSS is for this purpose reframed as agriculture, which justifies a function change to nature, for which financial means are available. The threat of deauthorization is found to destabilize the 'old discursive object' through techniques that cause for its denaturalization, deobjectification, disintegration and decodification. This leads to the de-heritagisation of 'the old discursive object', which is found necessarily to allow for re-heritagisation of a 'new discursive object', 'Schokland 2.0'. 'Schokland 2.0' becomes increasingly more real as a result of techniques of object formation and stabilization, such as reification, institutionalization, objectification, solidification, codification, reification and reduction. This research makes a contribution to post-structuralist conceptual frameworks of object (de)formation and raises questions about the meaning of heritage and heritage status, the use of heritage status as a conservation strategy and the role of heritage status in conservation decisions.

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1. Introduction

When an assigned status to something is brought to discussion it can have all sorts of consequences. During Catalonia's referendum this year for example, 90% of the Catalan votes made for a vast majority in favor of terminating Catalonia's status as an autonomous region of Spain. The referendum was the beginning of nationwide upheaval as protestors in favor and against the split took to the streets to voice their points of view (de Waal & Greven, 2017). The threat of withdrawing status awarded to a person can stir up controversy as well. In 2009 former lieutenant Marco Kroon was appointed Knight of the Military Order of William for his military actions in Afghanistan, but his alleged drug use resulted in his worthiness of the status being questioned and the possibility of retracting the status became subject to public debate as well as a to court judgement (Gedecoreerde militair Marco Kroon vervolgd, 2010). The 'Black Pete discussion', that revolves around the character of Sinterklaas' dark-skinned helper and its relation to the social exclusion of Dutch minorities, shows how the threat of losing or amending something, that has had the status of heritage since the 20th century and was placed on the official national inventory of intangible heritage, can become an annually recurring sore subject. These three cases exemplify that when 'things' are given a certain status it affects the way these 'things' are seen, valued and interacted with and how the possibility of losing status can become a controversial issue and have many effects. This thesis studies what happens when awarded status is potentially withdrawn and does so by studying the threat of deauthorization and its consequences in the context of heritage.

The amount of heritage expressions that have received official status by enlistment on heritage registers has seen a tremendous increase the past decades (e.g. Walsh, 1992; Smith, 2006; Harrison 2013b). Harrison (2013a) even speaks of a 'late modern heritage boom'. The most renown organisation involved in authorising expressions of heritage is UNESCO, with its World Heritage List that includes over 1.000 properties that the organisation deems to be of 'outstanding universal value'. Since the 1950s the UN organization has provided the dominant intellectual framework for international understandings of heritage (Smith, 2015) and set 'the rules of the game', the now globalised 'UNESCO approach' (Harrison, 2013a) to how heritage should be managed.

This process that "places value upon places, things, practices, histories or ideas as an inheritance of the past" (Ashley, 2014, p. 39) is a central topic in heritage studies that is referred to as heritagisation. Critical heritage scholars have problematised heritagisation by asking questions about who is in charge of the process (Smith, 2006; Waterton and Watson, 2014), for which purposes it is done (Anderson, 1983; Garden, 2004; Hall, 2005), whose heritage it is (Tunbridge, 1984; Shore, 2006; Kelly, 2009) and who it is for (Graham et al., 2000; Schofield, 2015). Despite this academic problematisation many scholars acknowledge that an Authorized Heritage Discourse (hereinafter AHD), as identified by Smith (2006), still shapes heritage practice and "the way we think, talk and write about heritage" (Smith 2006, p. 11). This dominant discourse prioritizes material manifestations of heritage that have an innate value and significance that can be determined by knowledgeable experts and sees heritage as fragile, non-renewable and therefore in need of protection (Smith, 2006). Harrison (2013a) describes that once these fragile 'things' are given official heritage status by enlistment on a heritage register and become part of class of things that are seen to be of so much value that they should be preserved for future generations, there is a tendency to perceive these objects, places and practices as fixed and stable. Rarely are they seen as revertible or transformable (Harrison, 2013a).

In this thesis the positivist notion of heritage as something with an inherent value to be discovered by a knowledgeable expert is rejected and it goes beyond seeing heritage as a "cultural

process that identifies those things and places that can be given meaning and value as ‘heritage’, reflecting contemporary cultural and social values, debates and aspirations” (Smith, 2006, p. 3). Instead, this thesis employs a post-structural perspective on heritage in which the ‘object of heritage’ is not considered an a priori unity (Felder et al., 2015). It sees reality as constructed through discourse, "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1969, p. 49), instead. The ‘object of heritage’ is therefore seen as a discursive construction in itself. Heritage that has been authorized, received official status by enlistment on a heritage register, is in this thesis thus studied as a new object, formed through practices, agreements and choices. Approaching heritage this way allows to see it as a construct that is never entirely stable.

To understand what the consequences of the threat of deauthorization, losing official heritage status, are on the ‘object of heritage’ this thesis studies the process of object (de)formation and (de)stabilization in the governance context of the Netherlands’ first site to have been enlisted on the UNESCO World Heritage list: UNESCO World Heritage site Schokland.

1.1 Problem statement

In academic literature heritagisation, “the process through which objects, places and practices are turned into cultural heritage” (Sjöholm, 2016) has been seen as the outcome and the end of a process. Once an ‘object of heritage’ has received authorization by its enlistment on an official heritage register it is seen as a fixed and stable object. Little academic attention has been given to what happens to the ‘object of heritage’ when it is contested or challenged in another way. Harrison (2013a) notes that “we rarely consider processes by which heritage objects, places and practices might be removed from these lists, deaccessioned from museums and galleries, or allowed to fall into ruin” (Harrison 2013a, p. 166). This thesis thus firstly aims to explore the fixed or unfixed nature of a ‘heritage object’ that is under threat of deauthorization, meaning a possibility exists the ‘heritage object’ is delisted from an official heritage register.

Furthermore this thesis aims to interrogate the ‘secret work of heritage practice’ (Watson and Waterton, 2010) by studying the threat of deauthorization as a way of exercising power that may work as a performative (constitutive) force and thus have performative effects on the ‘object of heritage’. This thesis partly makes use of an existing conceptual framework proposed by Duineveld et al. (2013) to study object formation and stabilisation, but taking into account both the possibilities of de-heritagisation and re-heritagisation, the model is adapted to also study object deformation and destabilization.

Apart from providing insight into the little explored topic of object formation in heritage studies this thesis also aims to further knowledge by introducing and exploring the performative effects of heritage de-formation and de-stabilization, aiming to make a contribution to post-structuralist conceptual frameworks of object (de)formation. Investigating the workings of the threat of deauthorization may also provide insight into the meaning of heritage and heritage status in contemporary society and provide insights into power relations in the heritage industry.

1.2 Research questions

This study thus has the objective to gain insight into the rationale behind and the consequences of the threat of deauthorization, withdrawing official heritage status, on the discursive construction of a heritage object. To do so processes of object (de)formation and (de)stabilisation will be examined in the governance context of UNESCO World Heritage site Schokland. The research aims to answer the following question: Which purpose(s) does the threat of deauthorization serve and what are its consequences on the discursive construction of the heritage object? To answer this question the following sub questions were formulated:

1. How did the threat of deauthorization come into being? Who was involved, for which reasons or purposes?
2. Which performative effects of object (de)formation and (de)stabilization were triggered by the threat of deauthorization?
3. Does the threat of deauthorization stabilize or destabilize the heritage object? Is it a rhetorical only device to ensure re-heritagisation or is de-heritagisation also a possible outcome?

1.3 Outline

The introduction of this thesis described a lack of research on processes of heritage deauthorization and a need to look at heritage as less stable and fixed. Also, the main objectives of the study and the research questions to be answered were defined. Chapter two provides the theoretical framework guiding this research, starting of with a problematization of the concept of heritage and an explanation of the broad overall framework of this research, Sjöholm's (2016) phases of heritagisation. The implications of a post-structuralist perspective on heritage, as a discursive construction, are explained. The conceptual framework to study heritage formation suggested by Duineveld et al. (2013) is explained. Lastly, an adapted conceptual model is provided based on the theories explained. Chapter 3 explains the research design of the study, justifies the case study selection and elaborates on data collection and analysis and the validity and reliability of the research. To provide the reader a basic understanding of Schokland and Surroundings as a UNESCO World Heritage site chapter 4 provides some insights into what has made for its enlistment and terminology used by UNESCO and throughout the report is explained. Chapter 5 provides a historic overview of the heritagisation of Schokland and its surroundings and focusses especially on the changing governance context of UWHSS and the involvement of different organizations with different (sometimes conflicting) functions, responsibilities and goals. The following chapters are based on the findings provided in this chapter. In chapter 6 the emergence and workings of the threat of deauthorization are analyzed and chapter 7 analyses object (de)formation making use of the adapted conceptual model in chapter 2. The model is adapted once again to visualize how object (de)formation, de-heritagisation and re-heritagisation took place in the governance context of UWHSS as a result of the threat of deauthorization. Chapter 8 provides the conclusion and discussion of the research.

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter presents the theories and concepts that in the end of the chapter shape the conceptual model that was composed to facilitate studying the threat of deauthorization and its consequences on the discursive heritage object. First, the concept of heritage is problematized as always contemporary, selective and intertwined in power relations. Sjöholm's (2016) phases of heritagisation are clarified next, after which the post-structural perspective on heritage that this study employs is introduced. The conceptual model suggested by Duineveld et al. (2013) to study object formation is explained, followed by the adapted conceptual model used in this study.

2.1 Heritage

As little as thirty years ago heritage was understood simply as an inheritance from the past and concerned objects with an assumed intrinsic value and their classification, conservation and interpretation (e.g. Brisbane & Wood, 1996; Waterton & Watson, 2015; Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000). Nowadays the definition of heritage has broadened and can concern any relict survival of the past, intangible aspects of the past, cultural or artistic activity, landscapes and flora and fauna (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). On this Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) note "[s]uch a package can be extended to include almost any aspect of national life which contributes to the effective functioning of society or to the favoured national image, and which is thereby worthy of note of preservation for the enjoyment of this and future generations" (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, p.2). Contemporary research in heritage has moved away from thinking about the objects of heritage and instead focuses on its social and cultural context (Waterton and Watson, 2013). Heritage is seen as a present-day process which is used in the creation of identities off all forms (Hall, 1999; Harvey, 2001; Smith, 2006), e.g. to cultivate an 'imagined community' of nationhood (Anderson, 1983), a collective social memory (Hall, 2005) or gain support for political initiatives (Garden, 2004). Unsurprisingly heritage is therefore, and of course for its more tangible value in the leisure and tourism industry, an important issue for governments and governmental agencies.

Although heritage is a reflection of the past (or rather a past), it is constructed in the present as it concerns a present-day selection of those versions and parts of the past that are seen as heritage. Tunbridge and Ashworth state "Heritage is thus a product of the present, purposefully developed in response to current needs or demands for it, and shaped by those requirements" (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, p. 6). Therefore heritage is not the same as history as "History seeks to convince by truth. Heritage exaggerates and omits, candidly admits and frankly forgets, and thrives on ignorance and error" (Lowenthal, 1998, p. 7). Not all transmitted culture is heritage either, as it is only those parts of cultural traits that have been branded by a group with some form of power that become heritage (Even-Zohar, presentation, April 14, 2017). At the core of heritage is thus that it is always contemporary and selective and intertwined in power relations.

A distinction can be made between official and unofficial heritage. Harrison (2013b) defines official heritage as "a set of professional practices that are authorised by the state and motivated by some form of legislation or written charter" (Harrison, 2013b, p. 14). Unofficial heritage concerns all aspects mentioned in the beginning of this paragraph that are not recognized by official forms of legislation, but that are described using the same language as official heritage and are assigned the same qualities as official heritage. As this thesis examines the threat of deauthorization, it concerns official heritage that has received by enlistment on an official heritage register.

2.2 Heritagisation, re-heritagisation, de-heritagisation

Sjöholm (2016) defines heritagisation as "the transformation of objects, places and practices into cultural heritage as values are attached to them" (Sjöholm, 2016, p. 5). By studying how heritagisation in built environments is affected during structural changes in the environment she introduces two new phases of heritagisation, re-heritagisation and de-heritagisation. Sjöholm (2016) states that during situations of change heritage is contested and challenged. Re-heritagisation refers to the process during which heritage is reaffirmed. During this process it can be ascribed the same heritage values as before. Re-heritagisation can also occur through re-interpretation, when the designated heritage is ascribed new meanings when it is placed in a new location or seen in a different context for example. When the cultural significance of heritage is lost or diminished during a situation of change de-heritagisation takes place. Removal from official heritage lists is a consequence of de-heritagisation according to Sjöholm (2016), Harrison (2013) however states that in reality this rarely happens.

2.3 A post-structuralist perspective on heritage

Felder et al. (2015) recognize three lines of inquiry in post-structural studies on heritage. First, heritage is seen as an object, that is an a priori unity, that is already assumed to be valuable, but is ascribed different meanings by different people. In a second line of inquiry, in which most contemporary heritage studies fall, all heritage is considered intangible as it is seen as a process. In this process cultural and social values and meanings are negotiated and re/constructed (Smith, 2014; Silverman and Ruggles, 2007; Waterton and Smith; 2009).

A third post-structuralist perspective on heritage identified by Felder et al. (2015) is rooted in Foucault's assertion that reality is constructed through discourse. Foucault (1969) describes discourses as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1969, p. 49). These practices can be linguistic as well as non-linguistic (Foucault, 1994). Pinkus (1996) explains discourses as shaping and creating 'meaning systems' of which some gain status and are seen to reflect the 'truth' and determine how we organize the social world. Discourse naturalizes these 'meaning systems' and makes them seem self-evident. A discourse or knowledge is thus reproduced through everyone's daily actions and perceptions and forms social realities that are normalized and reinforce a certain discourse of power / knowledge. Discourses thus constitute power and are shaped in power relations (Duineveld & Van Assche, 2011). The power relations in which discourse is produced are multiple and mobile (Foucault, 1978) and as in this last post-structural perspective on heritage it is believed that "discourse not only reflects social meanings, relations and entities, it also constitutes and governs them" (Smith, 2006, p. 14), the entities, or 'objects of heritage' as used in this thesis, cannot not be assumed stable, secure or unified. Accordingly, Foucault argues:

"We should not be deceived into thinking that ... heritage is an acquisition, a possession that grows and solidifies; rather it is an unstable assemblage of faults, fissures and heterogeneous layers that threaten the fragile inheritor from within or underneath."
(Foucault as cited in Matless, 1992, p. 51)

In this thesis the 'object of heritage' is thus seen as the result of discursive construction, it is constituted in the process of speaking of it. Once an object receives an official heritage status it is therefore a new construction, or object, formed by practices, choices and agreements that are guided by a certain discourse.

2.3.1 Authorized Heritage Discourse

Smith (2006) identified a hegemonic discourse in the heritage industry that she refers to as Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD). This dominant discourse shapes “the way we think, talk and write about heritage” (Smith 2006, p. 11) and thus also shapes heritage practice. AHD prioritizes material manifestations of heritage that are aesthetically pleasing and have an innate value and significance. Antiquity and knowledgeable experts are seen to determine the value of an object. Furthermore AHD privileges heritage objects that promote a consensus version of history and nation building (Smith, 2006). Smith (2006) argues that AHD has become such a powerful discourse that it has become commonsense for the population. An implication of this is that heritage practice has become 'secret work' in which experts reveal the meanings of the objects of the past using their expert knowledge that allows only them to authoritatively talk about it. To authoritatively talk about heritage one must therefore be an expert and acquire expert knowledge, thereby legitimizing and reproducing AHD.

2.4 The rules of formation of discursive objects

Having established that the object of heritage is a discursive formation, this section dives further into Foucault's (1972 [2012]) *The Archeology of knowledge* to understand what governs the rules of existence and disappearance of such discursive formations, as the framework proposed by Duineveld et al. (2013) and the adapted conceptual model guiding this thesis (both described hereafter) are rooted in these assertions.

In *The Archeology of Knowledge* Foucault (1972 [2012]) understands discursive formations as 'systems of dispersion', formed by 'groups of statements' that together do not form a coherent nor permanent system (Brown and Cousins, 1980). He exemplifies this by studying the discursive construction of madness, which does not refer to one single thing, but was continually transformed as institutions described it differently over time. The 'unity of discourse' on an object is thus not based on an intrinsic or unique value of an object but on the 'space' in which the object emerges and transforms over time (Garritty, 2010). There is thus no stable object around which discourse forms, as the object itself is shaped by the discourse that speaks of it (Foucault, 1972 [2002]).

In *The Archeology of Knowledge* Foucault is interested in the rules of formation (or existence, but also coexistence, maintenance, modification and disappearance) of objects of discourse. Foucault suggests the consideration of the 'surfaces of emergence', the 'authorities of delimitation' and the 'grids of specification' to analyze what governs the existence of discursive objects. The concept 'surfaces of emergence' refers to the social and cultural domains in which a discourse makes its first appearance through an utterance (Foucault, 1972). These 'places', as Duineveld et al. (2013) refer to them, are the contexts, varying from informal conversations to formal settings, in which the initial differentiation takes place that distinguishes the discursive object as something other than previously already known. 'Authorities of delimitation' regard those individuals, groups and disciplines that come to be seen as qualified to identify discursive objects (Gutting, 1993) by determining its boundaries, designating (or appointing) it, giving it a name and defining it. Sidhu (2003) notes that not everyone can speak with the same authority and describes authoritative speakers as having legitimate, institutionally sanctioned authority, such as politicians, bureaucrats, business professionals, academics and media magnates. Lastly, 'grids of specification' refer to the systems by which the discursive object is “divided, contrasted, related, regrouped” (Foucault, 1972, p. 42) or as Kooij (2015) describes it “the differentiation and articulation of elements within an object” (Kooij, 2015, p. 147).

2.5 Techniques of object formation and stabilization

In this study authorized heritage (heritage that has received official heritage status) is seen as the result of discursive construction and the authorized heritage object is therefore seen as a new object in itself. Foucault (1972) introduced the idea of analyzing object formation as a way to understand how changing power relations have material consequences on the ground and studying object formation is mostly done in the context of spatial planning, governance and public policy. The formation of objects is best studied in an emerging power-knowledge nexus, in which power relations are not stable yet (Kooij, 2015). This study analyses a situation in which already settled power relations are destabilized and possibly shifted through the threat of deauthorization, which makes an analysis of object (de)formation very useful to understand the consequences of the threat of deauthorization.

Duineveld et al. (2013) provide a conceptual framework to study the process of object formation and stabilization in governance practices. Central to this framework is power, which is conceptualized as present everywhere and exerted from multiple positions, a force that can be constructive as well as oppressive, that is subject to change and produces certain discourses, knowledge, values and realities and marginalizes others. The framework is also based on notion that for an object to be real, it needs to be enacted as real. Realities are thus seen as dependent on their continued construction by humans and non-humans (e.g. policies, natural phenomena, techniques) (Law, 2004). The framework can be seen to reflect the post-structural approach to heritage as described previously as the 'object of heritage' is not considered an a priori unity but as a construction itself produced through (linguistic and non-linguistic) practices.

Duineveld et al. (2013) define three techniques for the formation of objects; reification, solidification and codification. Although Duineveld et al. (2013) acknowledge that nothing is necessarily fixed, they describe objectification, naturalization and institutionalization as techniques that can provide relative stability and ensure the survival of the object. **Reification** refers to the emergence of a separate object distinct from its environment. As the object is clearly delineated and less abstract it can be represented and acknowledged in a network or discourse in which it is treated as a physical thing. Reification also takes place through critiques, that not only shape the object but also make the object extra visible as a fact or reality that cannot easily be unthought. **Solidification** refers to the assembling of the elements that the object consists of by differentiation and linking up of concepts. In this process, that regards the internal world of the object, the function of it becomes clear. Through techniques of **Codification** the objects' spatial and conceptual boundaries are clarified and a distinction is made between elements of the environment that are included in the object and those that are outside of the object. This technique of object formation simplifies the object for the external world. The aforementioned techniques form the object, but whether the object will remain depends on stabilizing techniques. **Objectification** refers to the processes in which the object is constructed as a (scientific) fact or an objective truth. **Naturalization** refers to processes that increase the naturalness of the object within daily life and makes that the object becomes unquestioned. In this process the way that the object came into being is masked and the object is presented as natural, objective and truthful. **Institutionalization** refers to the assimilation of the object or the discourse within the institutions, plans and policies in which the object was constructed (Duineveld et al. 2013; Kooij, 2015; Djanibekov & Valentinov, 2015).

2.6 Conceptual model

The conceptual model illustrated below that will guide this study is composed out of the different theories described in the literature review that have been adapted to better facilitate studying

processes of deauthorization. The phases of heritagisation defined by Sjöholm (2016) serve as a broad overall framework. The first phase in her framework is heritagisation, which is "a process through which objects, places and practices are turned into cultural heritage" (Sjöholm, 2016). Heritage that is authorized, that has been placed on an official heritage register, has already passed this first phase of heritagisation. The possible re-heritagisation (when heritage is reaffirmed and ascribed the same heritage values as before or ascribed different meanings) and de-heritagisation of heritage (when the cultural significance of heritage is lost or diminished) during 'situations of change' are used as a broad overall framework. Sjöholm's (2016) 'situation of change' is in this study replaced by the threat of deauthorization, which is also a situation of change and may therefore also result into the beginning of a new phase of heritagisation.

Taking on a post-structural perspective on heritage, heritage that is authorized (such as UNESCO World Heritage site Schokland) is in this study seen as a new 'object' in itself that is the result of discursive construction. Studying object formation can provide insights into how changing power relations have material consequences on the ground (Foucault, 1972) and an emerging power-knowledge context is therefore useful (Kooij, 2015). The threat of deauthorization and thereby possible loss of official status makes that power relations are destabilized and may possibly shift and bring with it all different performative effects. The conceptual framework designed by Duineveld et al. (2013) provides a lens to study how objects can become stable. Techniques of object formation and stabilization ensure the survival of the object. As this research is interested in the opposite, possible loss of the object, these techniques are turned around to imply the opposite of the original framework. This thesis will also not speak of techniques but of processes as they may not be the result of purposeful action.

The first technique of object deformation is **dereification**, which refers to processes in which an object loses its distinction from its environment and as a consequence is no longer represented and acknowledged in a discourse or network. The object is no longer clearly delineated and becomes more abstract. Techniques of **disintegration** disassemble the elements and concepts that combined together make up the object. **Decodification** blurs or erases completely the conceptual and spatial boundaries of the object. It becomes unclear towards the external environment what is within and what is outside of the object. Through techniques of **deobjectification** the objective truth of the object is questioned and its constructed nature is made visible. **Denaturalization** happens when the naturalness of the object in daily life is put into doubt. Lastly **deinstitutionalization** refers to the disappearance of the object or discourse from the organizations, plans and policies that constructed the object.

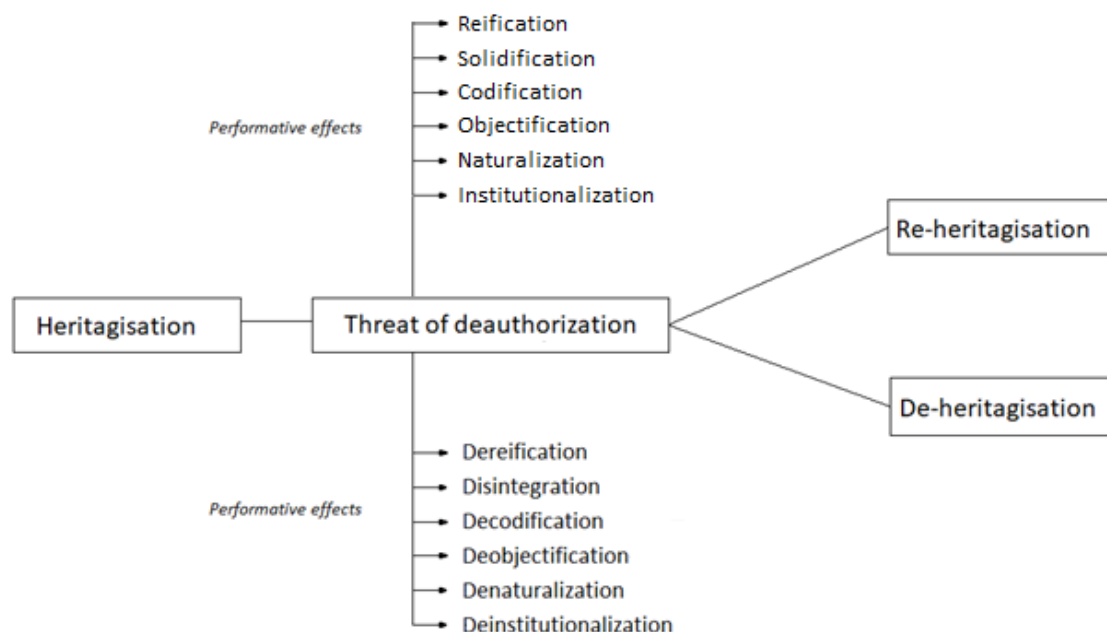


Illustration 1: Conceptual model.

3. Methods

This chapter explains the design of the research and the suitability of the chosen case study. Furthermore the way data collection and analysis were done is described and the validity and reliability of the study, as well as difficulties encountered during the research process, are elaborated on.

3.1 Research design

In this post-structural study a qualitative case-study approach was used to explore the discursive context in which the 'heritage object' is (de)constructed. In the theoretical framework of this research was already established that the heritage object is seen as a discursive construction and thus discourse analysis, a qualitative method, was conducted to study object (de)formation. The choice for one case-study, defined by Yin (2009) as "a methodological approach to empirical inquiry that explores a relatively bounded phenomenon in depth and examines the contexts under which this phenomenon occurs, particularly when the margins between context and subject are blurred" (Yin, as cited in Mohammed et al., 2015, p. 99), allowed for in-depth analysis of the of patterns of action, practises, ideas, beliefs and attitudes that make for the complex discursive contexts in which objects are (de)constructed (Lessa, 2006). As also established in the theoretical framework of this thesis, discourse is shaped in power relations (Duineveld & Van Assche, 2011) and as "Everywhere that power exists, it is being exercised" (Foucault, 1977) the study required insights into the perspectives of multiple stakeholders with different interests and different points of view. For this thesis the focus is thus on the governance context of a heritage object, in which governmental and non-governmental institutions are seen to work together (Bramwell, 2011) and both can steer and influence facets of reality. The research had an explorative nature because the area of research, object (de)formation in the context of heritage, is little studied. This allowed for a flexible approach, in which data collection and analysis were continually adjusted as new findings emerged (Boeije, 2009).

3.2 Case study selection

As the formation of objects is best studied in an emerging power-knowledge nexus (Kooij, 2015) and this study is interested in both object formation as well as object de-formation, a case was selected in which the discourse of power/knowledge in which the social reality of a heritage objects' authorization (recognition as official heritage through enlistment on a heritage register) is created and normalized, became disrupted. In the case studied in this thesis this was done by the threat of deauthorizing (losing World Heritage status) UNESCO World Heritage site Schokland. I first heard about the issues around UWHSS in October 2016 in a meeting with siteholder (organisation responsible for conservation of the site) representatives of the Dutch UNESCO World Heritage sites that I attended as part of my internship at UNESCO World Heritage site the Wadden Sea. Here Marinelli, who works for NOP Municipality as the executor of the 'siteholder-ship', expressed her fear that UWHSS might lose its World Heritage status. The existence of the UNESCO World Heritage in Danger List is proof that other cases exist worldwide in which there is a fear of losing authorized heritage status, let alone that there are cases in which a struggle exists to keep heritage status but that are not noticed in such a way. The case's suitability to study object (de)formation, its location in the province of Flevoland in the Netherlands, combined with the high esteem recognition from UNESCO holds and the access that I had to the governance context made that UWHSS was chosen as the case study.

3.3 Data collection and analysis

For the discourse analysis I relied on interviews, governmental reports, policy documents, managements plans, covenants, reports on the state of conservation of the site, publicly available minutes from meetings, publicly available letters and local media. A lot of documents were publicly available, while some documents (such as the Managementplan 2014 – 2019) I attained through helpful interviewees. There were also documents that I knew of that I was not allowed to review, such as the financial business case for the conservation plans that this report will address, but through the reflections of interviewees on the document I did have a broad outline of the document. Other documents that I wanted to review were aged and untraceable and therefore I had to rely on reflections of multiple interviewees on certain situations as well.

I used the ‘snowball method’ to find interviewees by asking participants for the names of others who are subsequently approached (Boeije, 2009). After an initial telephone conversation with Marinelli to explore the surface of the case a bit more she agreed to do an interview later. During this interview she explained which organizations were all involved in the governance of UWHSS and provided me with contact information. All interviewees she suggested work for organizations that are part of the siteholdergroup, which includes; Noordoostpolder Municipality, (hereinafter NOP Municipality), The Flevolandscape Foundation, Governmental Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (Rijksdienst Cultureel Erfgoed, hereinafter RCE), the Province of Flevoland, the northern branch of the agricultural and horticultural association (Noord-Nederlandse Land- en tuinbouworganisatie, hereinafter NLTO), the Zuiderzeeland District Water Board and the Governmental property management agency (Rijksvastgoedbedrijf, hereinafter RVB) . The broad range of different organizations that are part of the siteholdergroup make that the different stakes in UWHSS are represented and therefore representatives from each organization, except for the RVB, were approached. Multiple interviewees indicated that the role of RVB in the siteholdergroup is more that of a governmental ‘cash book’ and that the organization is not really involved in the decision-making process of UWHSS. All approached interviewees, except for a representative from the RCE, agreed to an interview. During the process of conducting interviews it became clear that Schokland’s Boerengood, a local agrarian advocacy organization not included in the siteholdergroup, influenced the decision-making process as well and therefore an interview with its chairman was also conducted. Later in the research process the perspective of an UNESCO employee involved with endangered heritage on the case also appeared relevant and therefore I contacted K. Spitz, who agreed to an interview but because of time constraints preferred answering my questions by email.

| | Name | (Non-)Governmental institution | Function | Interview |
|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------|
| 1 | M. Marinelli | Noordoostpolder Municipality | Coordinator UWHSS | Semi-structured |
| 2 | "J. Doe" | The Flevolandscape Foundation | Senior management | Semi-structured |
| 3 | M.Verhage | LTO Noord - Noordoostpolder | Board member | Semi-structured |
| 4 | T. Leijten & F. Stoppelenburg | Zuiderzeeland District Water Board | Local official ('heemraad') & Policy advisor / hydrologist | Semi-structured |
| 5 | F. Omta | Schokland's Boerengood | Chairman | Semi-structured |
| 6 | M. Waaijenberg | Commissioned by Province of Flevoland | Member projectgroep 'Zuidelijk duingebied' (Nieuwe Natuur) | Semi-structured |
| 7 | K. Spitz | National UNESCO commission | Programme coordinator for culture & heritage in crisis situations | Structured (email) |

Table 1: Overview of interviewees

All other interviews were conducted in the period between the last week of August 2016 until halfway September 2016. The interviews lasted between 50 minutes and 1,5 hours. To get a true understanding about the issues around UWHSS a list of topics was prepared for each interview, changing a bit throughout the process of conducting interviews as it became more clear what important topics were. The interviews were thus semi-structured (Boeije, 2009). Open questions, for

example about how the organization the interviewee works for is involved with UWHSS, allowed the interviewees to express what were in their eyes important issues. As most interviewees raised the same issues, but had different perspectives on them, it became clear what was important to focus on. After having been granted permission interviews were recorded and transcribed to facilitate the data analysis.

As established earlier in this chapter, in this thesis discourse is perceived as “systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and worlds of which they speak” (Lessa, 2006). For discourse analysis I thus analyzed these things in the collected data. The process of data analysis started off by organizing the different types of data (e.g. making a chronological overview of mentions in the media and transcribing the conducted interviews) followed by reading data thoroughly to select the parts that were relevant and meaningful to the research. I used the existing conceptual framework for studying object formation by Duineveld et al. (2013) to define deductive codes (reification, solidification, codification, objectification, naturalization and institutionalization) and by reversing these techniques other codes were defined (dereification, disintegration, decodification, deobjectification, denaturalization, deinstitutionalization). An inductive code, reduction/simplification, arose from the obtained data. A code tree was developed to define what exactly these concepts entail and to facilitate the analysis.

3.4 Validity and reliability

A limitation, while simultaneously also very useful for the study, that I was made aware of early on in the process of conducting interviews, was that the financing of a big nature development project appeared inextricably related to my topic of study and that decision-making around the financing had reached a critical moment. Several interviewees mentioned that some people might give ‘safe’ answers, not to endanger finances from being made available. This relates to the validity of the research, as it regards whether I was able to ‘measure’ what I intended to measure (Golafshani, 2003). To ensure the data generated and used in this research was valid I took several measures. To overcome the obstacle of ‘desirable’ answers I conducted extensive interviews and improvised with follow up questions if answers appeared unclear. I also did ‘member validation’, by asking participants to validate the quotes that I wanted to use in this study to rule out misunderstandings (Boeije, 2009). Apart from providing more clarity on data this was also a way to ensure my interviewees that I would treat their shared knowledge with integrity. Upon request I also sent the transcribed interviews to interviewees and if wanted they could remain anonymous (hence ‘J. Doe’ from the Flevolandscape Foundation) . These methods might potentially impact the research (Forbat & Henderson, 2005), but I believe that in this case it has been the reason interviewees were open and helpful and why the alterations that were made in some quotes are only small and do not affect the essence of what was said. Another way that the validity of the data was increased was through the triangulation of research methods. Statements made by my interviewees were not only compared to each other but also checked with available documentation on the particular matter. The timing of the project, at the peak of a disputed financial decision-making process, could be seen as to affect the reliability of a study (Bryman, 2008), but in this study the unstable situation caused by the threat of deauthorization of the heritage object is exactly what I set out to study.

4. The case

This chapter provides background information of UNESCO World Heritage site Schokland and introduces some concepts and terms that are used throughout the report. The included succinct history of Schokland, the map that indicates the most important archeological sites and pictures serve to create an impression of the site.

4.1 UNESCO World Heritage site Schokland and Surroundings

When UNESCO called for applications to add to their World Heritage List in 1994 the Dutch ministry of Education, Culture and Science (ministerie voor Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, hereinafter OCW) was quick to respond and had the ROB (nowadays Rijksdienst Cultureel Erfgoed) put forward a nomination dossier titled *'Schokland and Surroundings, Symbol of the Dutch Battle against Water'*, that made for its enlistment in 1995 (Maas, 2014). The surroundings of Schokland were also enlisted because archeological finds were also done in the agricultural parcels surrounding the former island. The borders of the World Heritage site were decided upon based on the borders of the provincial 'soil protection area' that were defined in the 1980's (DLG, 2012). In total the World Heritage site covers 1306 hectares, of which Schokland and the hydrological zone are approximately 600 hectares and the agricultural area surrounding it 700 hectares (siteholdergroup, 2014). See illustration 2 (p. 20) for a map of Schokland and Surroundings UNESCO World Heritage site and its main archeological sites.

4.2 Outstanding Universal Value

To many it came as a surprise that a site located on one of the IJsselmeer polders, that are often critiqued as lacking history and identity (Maas, 2014), was the first site in the Netherlands to receive UNESCO World Heritage status. Klappe and Veer (2009) describe a surprised nationwide reaction to receiving the status (Klappe and Veer, 2009):

"In 1995 our country was surprised by the announcement that the former Zuiderzee-island Schokland was declared a monument of outstanding value by its placement on the UNESCO World Heritage List. This list includes impressive names of world-famous monuments and thus it is not the least honorable mention! Many people might have been somewhat surprised, wondering: Schokland? Why Schokland? [...] What is so special about this former island, that is not very noticeable and seems to be no more than a slight bump on the flat Noordoostpolder landscape?"

(Klappe and Veer, 2009, p. 7, own translation)

UNESCO however agreed with the submission report that described the site to be of 'Outstanding Universal Value', a term UNESCO ascribes to the 'properties' included on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Properties are only enlisted when they meet at least one of UNESCO's criteria that indicate the property is of such value. Schokland and its surroundings meet two of these criteria. The first criterion (iii) it meets is "to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared" (UNESCO, 2017). Different from its use by UNESCO the abbreviation OUV, from Outstanding Universal Value, is in the governance context of Schokland used to refer to the attributes that express these criteria of enlistment. The OUV that thus expresses criterion iii are the prehistoric and early historic remains of wetland settlements (UNESCO, 2013). This regards to archeological value (known and unknown), or soil archive, in the ground of Schokland and

the surrounding parcels. The second criterion that Schokland meets is “to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change” (UNESCO, 2017). The OUV’s that express this criterion are the island Schokland itself, the surrounding agricultural landscape created as a result of the reclamation of the former Zuiderzee and the settlements, cemeteries, mounds, dikes and parcel systems (PRSC2, 2013). In order to keep the UNESCO World Heritage Status these OUV’s should be maintained. Not attempting to tell a history of Schokland, the succinct version below related to the OUVs explains how it came to meet these criteria.

4.3 A succinct history of Schokland

Schokland’s submission report for the UNESCO World Heritage List may have presented it as a symbol for the fight against water of the Dutch, but finds such as hunting camps from the Mesolithic provide insights into human life long before the sea came. Archeological remains were also found from the Neolithic and Bronze ages. Thousands of years after the sea, the Zuiderzee, started rising and a thick layer of peat developed allowing agrarians to settle in medieval times. Exploitation of the land caused the sea to encroach parts of the land and mounds and dikes are made to help for a while but the peninsula continued shrinking and became an island around 1450. It remained inhabited, but towards the mid-nineteenth century erosion had shrunk the island even more, making life on the island dangerous and making a living difficult. The island was evacuated for these reasons between 1855 and 1859. The Zuiderzee Works (a system of dams, dikes, land reclamation and water drainage works) allowed for the reclamation of the Noordoostpolder. The island Schokland was taken up in the Noordoostpolder, but the island was not leveled with the ground or given an agricultural function, making it an island on dry land (Huisman and Mauro, 2012).



Picture 1: Elevation of island above (n.d.)



Picture 2: Archeological finds on P14. (n.d.)



Picture 3: Schokland before reclamation. (n.d.)



Picture 4: Schokland after reclamation. (2016)

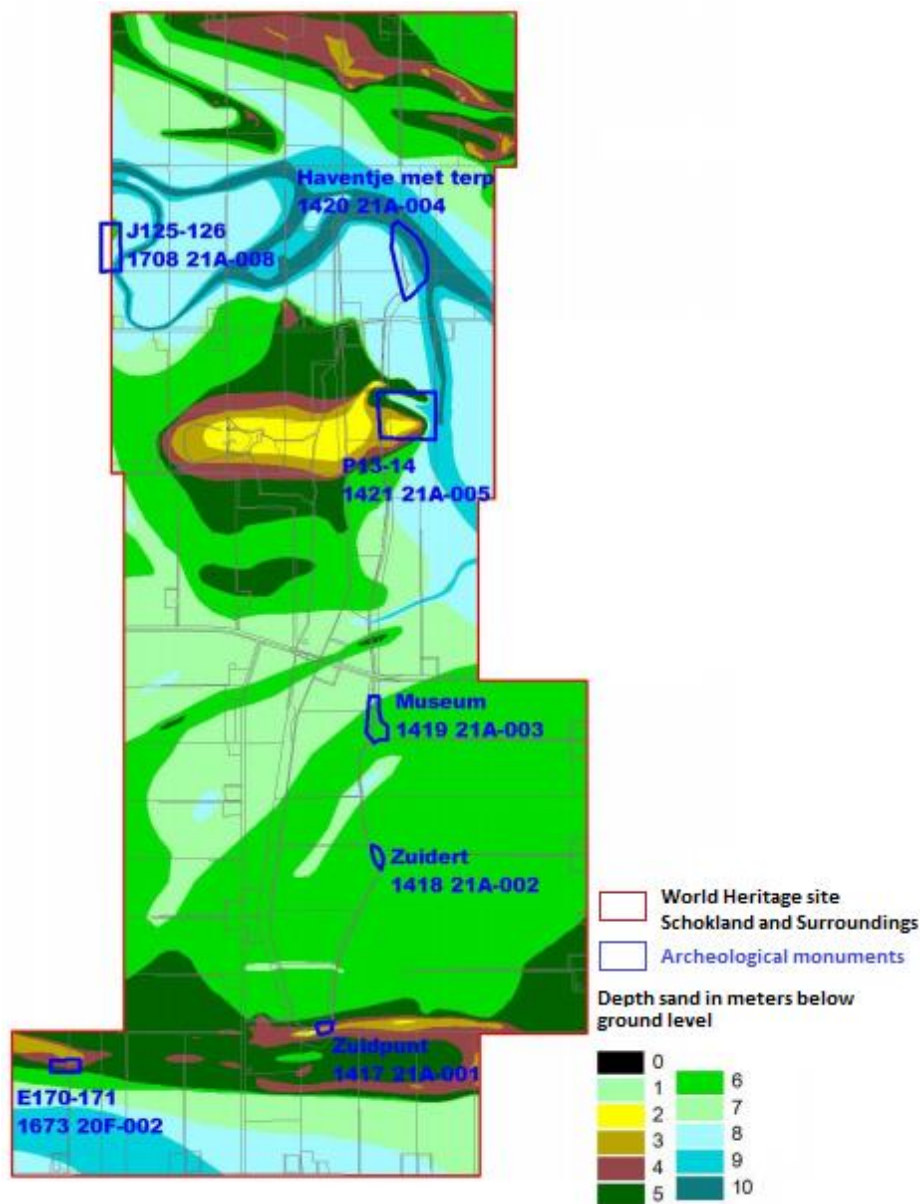


Illustration 2: Map of UNESCO World Heritage Site Schokland and Surroundings and its most important archeological sites. See also table 2. Source: Gotje (2010).

| Monument number | Status | Age | Location | Archaeological finds |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| 1417 21A-001 | Protected National Monument | Medieval village mound | Southpoint | Foundation of lighthouse |
| 1418 21A-002 | Protected National Monument | Medieval village mound | Zuidert | Poles, pottery |
| 1419 21A-003 | Protected National Monument | Medieval village mound | Museum | - |
| 1420 21A-004 | Protected National Monument | Medieval village mound | Harbour | - |
| 1421 21A-005 | Protected National Monument | Meso- and Neolithic finds | P13 - 14 | i.a. crockery, cultivation tools, fireplaces, maps of houses, 6300 year old footsteps, bones |
| 1673 20F-002 | Extreme archeological value | Meso- and Neolithic finds | E170-171 | i.a. traces in ground (pits, wooden poles), botanic material, firestone, naturestone, pottery |
| 1708 21A-008 | Extreme archeological value | Meso- and Neolithic finds | J125 - J126 | i.a. firestone, cultivation tools, pottery |
| 12051 21A-020 | High archeological value | | UNESCO World Heritage site | All of the above and scattered finds |

Table 2: Protected national monuments by law (Rijksmonumenten) and other important sites on UWHSS. Own translation. Source: Kroes (2009). Archeological finds added. Source: Raemaekers et al. (2010)

5. The heritagisation of Schokland and surroundings

This chapter provides a historic overview of the heritagisation, defined by Harrison (2013) as the “process through which objects, places and practices are turned into cultural heritage” (cited by Sjöholm, 2016, p.5) of Schokland and its surroundings. In this chapter the changing governance context of UWHSS and the involvement of different organizations with different (sometimes conflicting) functions, responsibilities and goals is elaborated on. A focus lies on the continuous struggle to conserve UWHSS and simultaneously the struggles *with* the conservation of UWHSS. The chapter also reflects on what has over time been seen to threaten the site and which implications this has had. This leads up to the current struggle to ensure the continued heritagisation of UWHSS and the path chosen for the future of UWHSS is explained. This historic overview informs chapter 6 and 7.

5.1 Reclamation and the growing desire for conservation

Initially the Directie van de Wieringermeer, that was founded to develop the newly created polders, had planned to flatten out Schokland and make it part of the Noordoostpolder parceling for agricultural purposes (van Leijten, interview, 2017; Marinelli, interview, 2017). Multiple Dutch newspapers that write about Schokland in the 1940’s describe a future in which the rich Schokland history is forever lost as because of this (Maas, 2014). Many articles also state that one day it will be necessary to elevate the former island so that it remains usable as agricultural ground (e.g. Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, 1947; Agrarisch Nieuwsblad, 1941). When the Noordoostpolder fell dry in 1942 however, polder construction workers found very well conserved remnants of prehistoric landscapes and civilizations and the decision was made to exclude Schokland from the parceling. The seabed that was now the Noordoostpolder came up quite flat and the former island stuck out 2 to 6 meters and could thus be seen from afar (Rijksinstituut voor Natuurbeheer, 1989).

From the 1930s on archeological research is done in the area and Schokland became the center of it, functioning as a provincial depot to store and research finds. From 1947 on the finds, such as parts of skeletons and 4000 year old footprints, are exhibited on the island in the 19th century church that was given the function of museum (Maas, 2014). Doe (interview, 2017) states that in the 1950s it became clear that because of the natural process of ground subsidence the height difference between the polder and the island would be lost and the Rijksdienst voor de IJsselmeerpolders contoured the island using plantation to ensure Schokland would be visible as an island even if it would decline and level with the agricultural ground.

The first restorations after the inpoldering take place in the 1960s and regard the church and some of the surrounding buildings. Smith and Waterton (2009) describe a growing concern in the 1980s for the consequences of industrialization and economic growth on the environment that was connected to the professionalization of the heritage industry. This seems to apply to Schokland as well. In the 1980s some mounds became Rijksmonument (official status for national monuments), protection of archeology was made obligatory by law through the Monumentenwet (1988) and later, with the signing of the Valleta Treaty (1992), rules for protection became even more stringent. Around this time the director of the museum and NOP municipality develop plans for Schokland to attract more visitors. All plans saw a big expansion of the museum and its activities and received criticism from the department of Archeological Soil Research (Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, hereinafter ROB), as construction was planned on archeologically valuable grounds and would be too damaging, and from Staatsbosbeheer and the Schokkervereniging, that found such scale enlargement harmful to the character of Schokland. The province of Flevoland was also not enthusiastic and

eventually the Gedeputeerde Staten (Provincial Executive) vetoed the plan. A new plan for Schokland arose in 1994, when UNESCO called for applications to add to their World Heritage List (Maas, 2014).

5.2 Enlistment: a catalyst for action

After Schokland and Surroundings was enlisted on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1995 a steering group chaired by the province of Flevoland was formed. The steering group also consisted of the RCE and parties involved in the management of the site; Zuiderzeeland District Water Board, NOP municipality, the Flevolandscape Foundation, the northern branch of the agricultural and horticultural association (NLTO) and the central government property management agency (RVB). An action plan titled '*Action plan New Schokland 1998*' ('*Plan van Aanpak Nieuw Schokland 1998*') was formulated, in which archeological issues as well as agricultural issues with the subsiding ground were taken up. At this time there was already knowledge about the fast pace at which archeological sites E170 and E171 (now known as sites of 'extreme archeological value') deteriorated (Gotje, 2010). The World Heritage status that the area had received was an important factor for the development of the plan (Huisman & Mauro, 2012). Doe (interview, 2017), who works in the higher level management of the Flevolandscape Foundation, has been involved with Schokland since the 1990's and remembers well what she thought of the condition Schokland was in when she first visited the site in the early 90's :

"A lot was broken. It was really very bad. It was little managed. Maybe not wrongly managed, but the monuments had subsided. [...] Anyways, it looked neglected, or not cherished at least, let me put it that way. I was very happy that it would improve."

(Doe, interview, 2017, own translation)

The first years after having become a World Heritage site are dedicated to restauration. On the island mounds and buildings are strengthened and local agrarians owning parcels that fall within the borders of the World Heritage site were given land-use restrictions to prevent damaging of the archeological finds at the uppermost layers of the ground. Deep ploughing, as well as agricultural techniques to maintain the land, such as draining and leveling, became prohibited. Marinelli (interview, 2017) refers to this as a "protection regime" that was placed upon the entire site at once, without considering the precise locations of archeological finds. She also states that in 1995, the year Schokland and Surroundings was enlisted on the World Heritage List, it was already clear that to protect the archeological finds the water level would have to be raised (Marinelli, interview, 2017).

5.3 Agriculture and archeology: a field of tension

Apart from restorations and land-use restrictions the '*Action plan New Schokland 1998*' also included the plan to create a 'hydrological zone' (Huisman & Mauro, 2012). Between 2001 and 2007 the Flevolandscape Foundation, the nature organization that owns and manages the hydrological zone and Schokland, started buying up agricultural land around the island to create a natural buffer zone directly behind the north- and south point of Schokland and along the entire eastside (RCE, 2009). Omta, chairman of Schokland agricultures advocacy organization Schoklands Boerengoes and agrarian within the borders of the World Heritage site, recalls how at the time adequate compensation made fellow agrarians change their attitudes towards Schokland receiving World Heritage status from suspicious to cooperative:

“You’re immediately like: they are touching my property, even though you are just a tenant. That’s your income, it’s where you grow potatoes and onions. [...] But I have to say there was enough compensation money to facilitate the process and we all ended up satisfied. There were opportunities to expand. Farmers that wanted to quit received money and those who stayed were compensated adequately. But first [when Schokland had just received UNESCO World Heritage status] there was suspicion, what’s happening, nature organizations, panic, digging our heels in the sand.”

(Omta, interview 2017, own translation)

After having taken 135 hectares out of agricultural production a rewetting process began in 2003, following the water level advice of the ROB the shell directly north and south and along the entire eastside of Schokland was turned into wet grassland, in which ditches, dykes and elevations were created to manage the water (RCE, 2009). This was done to benefit the cultural heritage in multiple ways. Firstly, the agricultural activities, that harmed the archeological finds were completely stopped. Secondly, the increased water level around Schokland would limit the subsidence (lowering) of the island itself, as at this time there was a fear the island would lose its unique character as an island on dry land (Plan van Aanpak Nieuw Schokland, 1998). Thirdly, the archeological finds could now be preserved *in situ* (Siteholdergroep, 2014). *In situ*, underground, preservation prevents deterioration caused by exposure to oxygen (Smit et al., 2005).

Some parcels to the west of Schokland are taken out of agricultural production a few years later and turned into wet grassland as well. This was primarily done to enhance nature values, but as a consequence the archeological finds also benefitted (Huisman and Mauro, 2012). A shell was now created around Schokland on which the water level is higher than on the surrounding parcels. When references are made about the “hydrological zone” however, this implies the rewetted zone east of Schokland, that was created specifically to preserve the archeological finds.

What exactly the consequences of the hydrological zone are for the surrounding agrarians is a disputed topic. The hydrological zone and Schokland itself are owned and managed by the Flevolandscape Foundation and Zuiderzeeland District Water Board is responsible for managing the water level, many other organizations however (the RCE, the province of Flevoland, NOP municipality, Staatsbosbeheer and the Northern Agricultural and Horticultural Organisation) were involved during the process of its creation and intense discussions with local agrarians were held. During these discussions it became clear that from the outset and throughout agrarians were skeptical about the plans for the hydrological zone, fearing that the higher water level would rewet their parcels, and thus ruin their crops (Maas, 2014). The involved parties, apart from NLTO and the local agrarians, in their turn appear a bit skeptical about the extent to which the agrarians experience problems from the hydrological zone. Doe (interview, 2017), from the Flevolandscape Foundation, states that the Zuiderzeeland District Water Board increased the water level slowly over time and has made yearly measurements that indicate the water effluence is minimal and believes the problems that the agrarians experience are related to a few dry years that speeded up the process of ground subsidence. Verhage (2017), from the Northern Agricultural and Horticultural Organisation (NLTO), believes that other factors than the hydrological zone have contributed to the problems as well, but also thinks that slowly over time the hydrological zone could have caused underground water veins to appear that wet the agricultural parcels. He believes that for the agrarians the hydrological zone, in combination with the beforementioned land use restrictions, has become an emotional matter. Verhage (interview, 2017) states:

“Having an agricultural enterprise is already a professional sport, but now there are external factors that make it even harder. [...] There is no screen that 100% prevents water from seeping through [the hydrological zone to agricultural parcels]. Water can seep through just a single pore and go where the water pressure is not. And you can make all sorts of drainage ditches and other things, but we cannot see what happens two or three meters below the surface and we do not know how far it spreads. [...] And I can imagine that if there is a pool of water behind your parcel that is higher than your water level, it is very difficult and you will think: Oh no, that’s wrong. And all these factors combined have caused an emotion [among local agrarians].” (Verhage, interview 2017, own translation)

The discussion about the hydrological zone and its possible consequences sheds some light on the relationship between local agrarians and other stakeholders involved with Schokland that are important for the coming developments related to the site. It becomes clear that there is little trust among agrarians in the Zuiderzeeland District Water Board. Both Verhage (interview, 2017) and Omta (interview, 2017) from the agrarian organizations involved with Schokland (NLTO and Schokland’s Boerengoe) state that local agrarians have in fact experienced negative consequences from the hydrological zone. Other parties involved trust the techniques and measurements of the Zuiderzeeland District Water Board’s hydrologists. Leijten (interview, 2017), heemraad (official at a Dutch water board) at Zuiderzeeland District Water Board, is aware of this mistrust related to the increased water level in the hydrological zone and feels that the organization therefore operates in a “field of tension”.

References are also made about the attitude of agrarians toward the wet grassland nature developed on the hydrological zone by the Flevolandscape Foundation, that signify a difficult relationship. About this Omta states:

“The land that we handed in became property of the Flevolandscape and they wanted to breed birds, sow grass, more water. And that has no place in a farmer’s heart.” (Omta, interview, 2017, own translation)

“In interviews on television or on the radio I’ll sometimes say something like that, that we should be proud to be here, because it is a unique part of the world. Fine, that sells well. But I am not proud that my land is now nature.” (Omta, interview, 2017, own translation)

This resonates with Marinelli’s (interview, 2017) view, who feels that there is an anti-attitude toward nature development in the Noordoostpolder, that can be explained by it being an agricultural municipality. With its ca. 840 active agricultural and horticultural businesses, it is the biggest agricultural municipality in the Netherlands (CBS, 2017). Four NOP municipality councilmembers are also part of Schokland’s agrarian advocacy organization Schoklands Boerengoe (Omta, interview, 2017). Logical reasoning leads to assume that agrarian interests are for these reasons taken serious in NOP municipality.

5.4 A new governance structure

After the actions described in the *'Action plan New Schokland 1998'* were completed the steering group ceased to exist and got a new form with the signing of the Culture covenant 2001 – 2004 by the province of Flevoland and the Ministry of OCW. This convention called for a 'siteholdergroup' that included representation from all parties involved in the management of the site (Maas, 2014). Doe (interview, 2017) explains that the convention made for a commitment that surpassed the temporal nature of the involved governmental parties, as their administrators are always subject to elections and that because of this there was more certainty that changing policies would not affect planned actions from being taken.

When the siteholdergroup was initially created there was no official main siteholder, but the province of Flevoland took the lead, as it did in the former steering group, in the creation of a covenant titled the *'Area Document for Schokland and Surroundings with administrative arrangements'*, prolonged in 2008. In this covenant the siteholdergroup makes clear that preserving the archeological finds is a serious problem for which no structural solution exists yet (OCW, 2005). At this moment the rewetting process for the creation of the hydrological zone was already in full swing. Among other statements, the document also underwrote that the siteholdergroup intended to provide insight into how a long term sustainable future for UNESCO World Heritage Site Schokland and Surroundings could be achieved and to formulate guidelines for preserving the site's OUV's (UNESCO, 2006b). The first Periodic Report on the State of Conservation Schokland and Surroundings (hereinafter PRSC1) (UNESCO, 2006b) that dates back to this same time does however not raise much concern about the state of conservation of the site. Although the report acknowledges that "possible further unexpected subsidence of the former island" and "developments towards possible intensification of agriculture" (UNESCO, 2006b, p. 5) could harm the archeological finds and recommends to think of a conservation strategy for the archeological finds of extremely high value (see illustration 2 and table 2, p. 20), it also states that authenticity and integrity of the OUV's have been maintained and that the protection regimes are sufficiently effective (UNESCO, 2006b).

The siteholdergroup, of which NOP Municipality became the official leader in 2010, consists of delegates at the decision-making level from the organizations listed in table 3, is given the final responsibility of ensuring the management plan is carried out. Members of the regional committee, that is more involved in the daily activities that support the carrying out of the management plan, prepare the decision making process within the organizations they represent (Siteholdergroup, 2014). The regional committee also includes Schoklands Boerengood, which like NLTO is an advocacy organization for agrarians, but differs from it in scale. NLTO is the northern part of a national agrarian advocacy organization (LTO) and in the siteholdergroup the LTO Noordoostpolder department represents 11 villages in total. Schokland's Boerengood represents almost all landowners and land users of parcels that lay within the World Heritage site.

| Organization | Role | Siteholdergroup | Regional committee |
|--|----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| NOP Municipality | Chair and secretary | + | + |
| The Flevolandscape Foundation | Partner | + | + |
| Governmental Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (RCE) | Facilitating | + | + |
| Province of Flevoland | Facilitating | + | + |
| Northern branch of the agricultural and horticultural association (NLTO) | Stakeholder advocacy | + | + |
| Zuiderzeeland District Water Board | Facilitating | + | + |
| Governmental property management agency (RVB) | Facilitating | + | + |
| Schokland's Boerengood | Stakeholder advocacy | - | + |

Table 3: Organizations involved in the siteholdergroup and regional committee and role. Adaptation from original. Source: Siteholdergroup Schokland (2014).

5.5 Agrarians: disruptors or disadvantaged?

In the years leading up to NOP Municipality becoming official siteholder in 2010 the issue regarding the archeological finds gains a new urgency. Marinelli (interview, 2017) states that at this time it became very clear that because of the land subsidence the archeological finds would slowly enter the ploughing zone and that in 2008/2009 agrarians started speaking up more about the problems they experienced from their wetter parcels and the land-use restrictions (Marinelli, interview, 2017). Schokland's Boerengloed, the agrarian advocacy organization later included in the steering committee, was founded in 2007 by the union of local agrarians that felt that they were not heard nor taken seriously in the political realm (Omta, interview, 2017). In the report of Gotje (2010), commissioned by the Province of Flevoland just before passing on the lead to NOP Municipality, threats to the soil archive are listed, highlighting the role of agriculture:

- The low water level that facilitates agriculture makes that a valuable part of the soil archive lays above water level and will even more in the future. This makes that the soil archive degrades because of drought and oxidation as a result from aeration of the soil.
- The uppermost part of the soil archive lays within ploughing reach and is therefore endangered by agricultural activities.
- The low water level makes that the peat layers in the ground subside, making that increasingly more archeological finds lay within ploughing reach.
- The low water level allows for pyrite to arise, which could lead to the degradation of bone material.

(Gotje, 2010)

Gotje (2010) confirms what periodic monitoring had already indicated: the water level is too low to conserve the archeology and agricultural activities are harmful to it. In the report the effect agriculture has on the archeology is described and insights into possibilities for preservation are provided, Gotje (2010) does however not reflect on the consequences of preservation for agrarians.

At the time this was an issue at national level. In 2011 the Wet op de Archeologische Monumentenzorg (Dutch law for Archeological Monument care) was evaluated on behalf of the RCE and it was concluded that "small disruptors" on archeologically valuable ground, such as agrarians, were too often not compensated proportionately for the limitations they experience (RCE, 2013). This evaluation was the reason for NOP municipality to write an official letter to the state secretary of the ministry of OCW informing him of the archeological and agricultural situation in Schokland (NOP Municipality, 2013). As a response UNESCO World Heritage site Schokland and Surroundings was taken up in the Ministry of OCW's TOPsites project, a project meant for endangered archeological monuments (RCE, 2015) that aims to protect archeological monuments against the effects of gradual degradation (Huisman et al, 2017). This was seen by NOP Municipality as a commitment of the Ministry of OCW to invest in the protection of the World Heritage site (NOP Municipality, 2013).

5.6 Keeping the World Heritage status

In 2011 the siteholdergroup asks Dienst Landelijk Gebied (governmental organization that advised on rural development, hereinafter DLG) to produce a report about required measures to be taken to preserve the OUV's, on which the UNESCO World Heritage status is based. In 2012 DLG produces *'Towards sustainable conservation of Schokland'* (*'Naar een duurzaam behoud van Schokland'*) (Verstraten et al., 2012) in collaboration with members of the siteholdergroup, Schokland's

Boerengood and Gotje (who described the causes of the soil archive degradation, see 5.5). In the report DLG provides five possible scenarios for the future of Schokland. The information in this report guides the direction developments take in the years to come.

In the DLG report (Verstraten et al. 2012) the UNESCO World Heritage site is divided in three parts; the northern parcels (parcels north of Schokland), the middle parcels (parcels east and west of Schokland), the southern parcels (parcels south of Schokland). The archeological finds on the island itself are seen as sufficiently protected. Three main problems that affect the different parts of the World Heritage site in varying extents are identified. First, the diminishing archeological value in the parcels directly around Schokland as a result of land subsidence (and thus drought, oxidation and vulnerability to agricultural activities) is described as the biggest problem. It is stated that this creates a threat to the UNESCO World Heritage status. Secondly, the problems local agrarians experience are described. The uneven land subsidence north and south of Schokland is predicted to worsen over the years and within 25 years the ground water level is expected to level with the land surface. Land use restrictions in place for the protection of the soil archive make agrarians unable to correct the effects of land subsidence and thus their land is wetter and uneven. The report states that even if land use restrictions were lifted agrarians would not be able to stop land subsidence, but would be able to deal with it better. The solutions provided by the DLG report focus on these two problems. A third problem defined by DLG is that the elevation of Schokland will be lost because of the land subsidence and that the island will no longer be distinguishable from the surrounding agricultural land. This will affect the OUV 'the island Schokland'. DLG advises to focus more on other aspects that physically distinguish Schokland from its surroundings, such as the parceling structure that is breached around Schokland, the openness of the landscape around it and the use of land (Verstraten et al., 2012).

5.6.1 Letting go of the northern parcels

The DLG report states that to preserve the archeological finds in the northern parcels rewetting would be necessary but that it is technically difficult because of the distance to the Ketelmeer that would supply water. It is also stated that from an archeological viewpoint further research on the area north of Schokland is advised, as it is suspected that there may be valuable archeological sites. To keep the UNESCO World Heritage Status however, it is stated that no further research is required, as upon receiving the status it was unknown what exactly lays under the northern parcels and thus no archeological finds are described in the UNESCO report that explains what should be preserved (Verstraten et al., 2012). Marinelli (interview, 2017) explains how this offered some opportunities:

“When we took a closer look at the UNESCO file it turned out that this river dune south of Schokland, was well described in the UNESCO file. The river dune north of Schokland was not described in the UNESCO file. That gave some future possibilities, because what we will do north of Schokland has no impact on the UNESCO status. And that allowed us to choose a different path: not protection, but more research and possibly excavations instead of preservation. The ministry has indicated that the river dune south of Schokland is what should be protected and that's the focus of their attention”.

(Marinelli, interview, 2017, own translation)

Although the northern parcels are part of the World Heritage site the DLG report thus notifies the siteholdergroup that loss of the archeological value there would not affect the World Heritage status. Three possible options are defined for this area. The first option is autonomous development, meaning

that there are no interventions to preserve the archeology. There is currently little knowledge about what lays in the ground of the northern parcels, what exactly would be lost in this scenario is also unknown, which DLG sees as both positive and negative. Accidental finds by agrarians would make research necessary and land use restrictions would stay in place. The second option is to conduct extra archeological research that would clarify what archeological finds can actually be found. A negative consequence of this according to DLG is that the northern parcels could be more archeologically valuable than anticipated and that interventions will have to be made after all. Possibly being able to reset the boundaries of the World Heritage site by excluding the northern parcels and consequently not having to conserve it anymore, providing possibilities for agriculture, is seen as a positive possible outcome of this scenario. In the case of extra archeological research the land use restrictions would stay in place as well. The third option of dealing with the northern parcels is to benefit agriculture by lowering the water level and lifting the land use restrictions, which would allow agrarians to optimize their land for cultivation. The archeology would be lost, but the ground would be suitable for agriculture again (Verstraten et al. 2012). Omta (interview, 2017) explains that agrarians active on the northern parcels currently have serious problems dealing with the high water level that keeps Schokland elevated above the agricultural land.

5.6.2 Middle parcels sufficiently protected

For the protection of the middle parcels, those east and west of Schokland, DLG states that no further measures are necessary. The archeological finds on the east parcels, including 'archeological site of extreme value' P-14, lay within the hydrological zone that creates a preservative environment. Less research has been conducted on the parcels to the west of Schokland, but it is known that archeological site J125 is located here, which is also valued as one of the most important spots in UWHSS. J125 is conveniently located under a road of a western parcel, sheltered from agricultural activities. The layer boulder clay (or till) under the middle parcels prevents water from seeping through, which creates a naturally wet environment that benefits the soil archive. DLG thus concludes that the archeological finds in the middle parcels are protected sufficiently and that doing nothing will not result into loss of the OUV and thus not into loss of the World Heritage status (Verstraten et al. 2012).

5.6.3 A function change on the southern parcels

Throughout the parcels south of Schokland multiple archeological finds have been done and some of them, E-170 and E-171 (see table 2, p. 20), are deemed to be of very high archeological value. Their existence was known upon enlistment on the World Heritage list and played an important part in it. The DLG report states that in order to keep the world heritage status the only absolute necessity would be better preserving site E-170. Although it cannot be said with complete certainty, it is expected that throughout the southern parcels more archeological finds exist. The report states that to preserve the soil archive in the southern parcels the water level will have to be raised. A possible consequence of a higher water level DLG describes is that parcels other than the southern parcels (those adjacent to the southern parcels) experience water excess from it, disadvantaging other local agrarians. A higher water level would make the current *intensive* agricultural land use impossible and a function change of the southern parcels is thus necessary. *Extensive* use of grassland (e.g. extensive livestock farming) or the development of wet nature are given as options. Ex-situ preservation, which implies digging up the archeological finds, is also mentioned as an option. This is however not favorable as it offers no solution for the agrarians on the southern parcels who are experiencing problems with the land subsidence, the land use restrictions and thus experience water excess. DLG predicts that if no action is taken land

subsidence will continue, organic finds will degrade, archeological value will be lost and the World Heritage status will be endangered (Verstraten et al. 2012).

5.7 Future scenarios

The DLG report describes 5 possible scenarios for the future of UWHSS including a timespan and an indication of the financial means needed per scenario. Scenarios range from doing nothing and consciously giving up the World Heritage status to a complete function change (to nature or extensive agricultural land use) for the whole of UWHSS and in between are scenarios that ensure keeping the status focusing only on the southern parcels. DLG calls for a decision of principle because of the rapid degradation of archeology above groundwater level and to create clarity for agrarians who do not know if investing in their business is worthwhile (Verstraten et al., 2012).

0. Autonomous development

No action is taken to better preserve the archeological finds in UWHSS. The land use restrictions stay in place and for agrarians the subsiding ground and the excess water as a consequence will become more difficult to deal with and eventually become impossible. Especially landowners in the Southern dune, of which RVB is the biggest owning 130 ha out of 200 ha, will see their ground devaluating as it will be less suitable for agriculture. This scenario will mean no solution for the agrarians and loss of the UNESCO World Heritage status.

1. Minimum approach E-170 (18-30 ha)

DLG describes this scenario, measures to preserve site E-170 in the southern parcels, as the only one that is absolutely required to keep the World Heritage status. This is because archeological finds in the northern parcels are not vital to maintain the OUV and the soil archive under the middle parcels is seen as sufficiently protected. To realize this scenario ca. 18 ha that E-170 takes up will have to be purchased or a parcel exchange will need to be done with the agrarian cultivating on it to be able to rewet the ground. An extra 12 ha. is needed to isolate the rewetted ground protecting E-170 from surrounding parcels, so that surrounding southern parcel agrarians do not have to process even more excess water. This scenario offers a solution for a part of the archeology in the southern parcels, but offers no solution for the agricultural problems as the land continues subsiding.

2. Broad approach southern dune (200 ha)

In this scenario all southern parcels are rewetted so that the archeological finds can be preserved in-situ (underground). DLG states that this will be a costly scenario as the original, agricultural, function of the parcels will have to change as it will no longer be suitable. Agrarians will have to be financially compensated or offered parcel exchange. This scenario offers a solution for the agriculture on the southern parcels and for the archeology there, except for the top of site E-170, that is still expected to oxidize and thus degrade.

3. Broad approach southern dune (200 ha and digging up top of E170)

This scenario is exactly like scenario 2 (rewetting the southern parcels to preserve the soil archive in-situ, financial compensation or parcel exchange for the agrarians on the

southern parcels), but includes the digging up of the top of E170 that will degrade otherwise and plans to preserve it ex-situ (above ground). This is seen as a possibility to attract more visitors and to organize activities around. This scenario offers a solution for the agriculture on the southern parcels and for the archeology in the southern parcels.

4. Complete approach UWHSS

In this scenario a complete function change of all agricultural parcels within the UWHSS is envisaged. The entire site would be rewetted in phases so that agrarians are given the time to quite their business at a natural moment. The parcels will then be used by agrarians that can deal with the wetter ground. This scenario provides a solution for the all agrarians and the soil archive within the borders of UNESCO World Heritage site Schokland.

N.B.: Land use restrictions of the entire UWHSS will be lifted in scenario 1, 2 and 3 after more archeological research is conducted. If archeological research reveals archeological finds the agriculture will have to stop there despite the chosen scenario.

(Verstraten et al., 2012)

5.8 Farmers faith in expert hands

After consideration of the consequences of each scenario the siteholdergroup decides that scenario 3 offers the best solution. Apart from not intervening on the middle parcels, where archeological finds are believed to be sufficiently protected, opting for scenario 3 also meant that the problems protecting the archeology in the northern parcels will not be resolved, as their loss does not affect the World Heritage status. About this van Stoppelenburg (interview, 2017) states the following;

“It [the northern parcels of UWHSS] is still heritage, but it is not protected sustainably at the moment. But you see how difficult it is getting something done for a smaller part [the southern parcels] already. You have to make choices”.

Van Stoppelenburg (interview, 2017, own translation)

Although scenario 3 is believed to be the best option for agrarians on the southern parcels, who will receive a parcel elsewhere in exchange or a financial compensation, there are also some remarks on the decision-making process (Omta, interview, 2017). Omta (interview, 2017) argues that the agrarians on the southern parcels were involved much too late and asked for their opinion at the very last moment. He states that the willingness of agrarians to move was an assumption that was too easily made. Agrarians were thought to be around retirement age anyway and it was expected they had nobody to take over their business. It is the uncertainty about what will be done about the subsiding ground and how this will affect the agrarians' businesses, that according to Omta (interview, 2017) lasts already 10 years, that frustrates agrarians. He believes that if this scenario is to be carried out there should be constant dialogue with the agrarians, because if not he expects agrarians to be less cooperative.

Both Verhage (interview, 2017) and Omta (interview, 2017) from agrarian advocacy organizations NLTO and Schokland's Boerengoeid state that this scenario has triggered especially agrarians just northwest of the southern parcels to express their concerns. They fear that even though their parcels fall outside of the scenario, the elevated water level on the southern parcels might cause water to enter the veins of sand that run through the underground clay and find its way to their land.

They thus fear that scenario 3 might potentially damage their agricultural parcels. Initial studies conducted by hydrologists from Zuiderzeeland District Water Board indicate that water excess to other parcels will be minimal and NOP Municipality, the Flevolandscape Foundation and the province of Flevoland trust in this conclusion (Marinelli; Doe; Waaijenberg, interviews, 2017). This trust in research conducted by the Zuiderzeeland District Water Board is not shared by Verhage (interview, 2017) and Omta (interview, 2017). Both mention the effects on agrarian parcels that according to them are caused by the hydrological zone, but measurements done by the Zuiderzeeland District Water Board indicate this is more likely the result of land subsidence in general. Initial research that predicts minimal impact of scenario 3 on surrounding parcels is thus not very credible in the eyes of Omta and Verhage. Verhage (interview, 2017) describes how agrarians have had to deal with excess water before that measurements did not foresee:

“Desk studies can indicate now that the damage, the water excess, etcetera, will be minimal. But with all respect, the outcome [of the desk studies] will be what you want it to be. [...] A bit crude perhaps, but that’s the feeling I have. It happens more often that calculations are made and that the effect is negligible. We had it when digging was done in the IJsselmeer and the water practically rose on the other side of the dyke because it caused pressure differences. And that was not anticipated. No offense to those that have researched this [the effects of scenario 3], but there are always unforeseeable factors. There are underground layers and water flows and other things that can have an effect, but that current techniques do not see. So, you have to take into account that there will be effects on the surrounding parcels”.

(Verhage, interview 2017, own translation)

Omta (interview, 2017) also believes the concern of the agrarians that fall just outside of the southern parcels should not be taken lightly and questions the measuring techniques applied by hydrologist from the Zuiderzeeland District Water Board that indicate impact should be negligible, stating:

“At a seepage point, when you have a parcel and there is a sand layer that just, just reaches the surface and then goes down again. The chance for water impoundment from another area is big here. Where does the water board place a gauge well to see what is going on? They place it there. They should place it here! Sometimes it seems, but then I am speaking as an agrarian, as if they just do their own thing to make it seem as if impact is minimal”.

(Omta, interview 2017, own translation)

Apart from comments on the decision-making process and a lack of trust in the consequences of the scenario, Omta (interview, 2017) comments that with the ambition to pursue scenario 3 the agrarians north of Schokland are not helped as they still have to deal with the subsiding ground and still have to process excess water that keeps the island elevated. He states that for these reasons such a financial investment only in the southern parcels is not completely fair for agrarians on the northern parcels.

5.9 Reinterpreting UNESCO

In 2014 a new management plan is produced for the period 2014 – 2019. The report states that this was necessary because of the attention points raised in the 2013 *‘Periodic Report on the State of Conservation’* (hereinafter PRSC2), that describes agriculture as a threat to the soil archive and makes no mention of land subsidence, and because of an updated *‘Area Document for Schokland and*

Surroundings with administrative arrangements 2008 – 2013'. In the management plan it is stated that the goal of the plan is that the conservation of the OUV's of UWHSS is arranged and carried out, so that it is safeguarded for future generations (Siteholdergroup, 2014).

A big portion of the plan focuses on addressing an issue raised in the PRSC2, namely that it is unclear to both the parties involved and the public what makes Schokland and Surroundings a UNESCO World Heritage site that is deemed to be of Outstanding Universal Value. About this Marinelli (interview, 2017) states:

"People didn't really know what exactly we had to do for the UNESCO-status. Which values are we talking about? And what exactly do we have to protect? Most importantly: why is Schokland a World Heritage site? Most people refer to the battle against water because of the Schokkers, but that's not what is mentioned in the UNESCO report. The report is much more specified, and refers to 160 archaeological sites, combining over 8000 years of occupational history. If you read the UNESCO report, it states exactly what we have to protect."

(Marinelli, interview, 2017, own translation)

The criteria Schokland and Surroundings meet for enlistment on the UNESCO World Heritage list have remained unchanged since 1995, but in PRSC2 the OUV's that make that the site meets the criteria are clarified; the prehistoric and early historic remains of wetland settlements, the island Schokland itself, the surrounding agricultural landscape created as a result of the reclamation of the former Zuyder Zee and the settlements, cemeteries, mounds, dykes and parcel systems (UNESCO, 2013). In the management plan 2014 – 2019 the siteholdergroup gives a slightly different interpretation of the OUV's. The first OUV described in the management plan is the contours of the island, presumably following DLG's recommendation to make the island, the original OUV, distinguishable in other ways than by its elevation, as land subsidence will make the island level with the ground in the future. Another difference is that the siteholdergroup adds nature to the list of OUV's that should be protected, as nature is part of the agricultural landscape (an OUV) and part of the contouring of the island (new OUV). Nature is not acknowledged as an OUV by UNESCO.

The siteholdergroup thus makes selective use of UNESCO requirements to keep the World Heritage status. First it is done by giving up archeological value as it is discovered not to influence the World Heritage status as its existence was unknown at the moment of enlistment. Secondly it is done by bending the OUV 'the island' into 'the contours of the island' that makes the island distinguishable from its surroundings. Lastly it is done by adding nature as one of the values to be preserved to maintain the Outstanding Universal Value of the site and thus keep the World Heritage status.

Apart from giving a new perspective on the OUV's other more issues are addressed in the management plan 2014 - 2019, such as goals related to tourism, recreation and education that involve a wish for a new museum. Much attention is also given to risks the OUV's face and how they can be diminished. Scenario 3 is thus introduced and actions to be taken are listed. Actions include discussing the scenario with the agrarians it concerns, making Schokland a 'national project' so that parcel exchange becomes possible and investigating financing options. The Flevoland provincial program 'Nieuwe Natuur' is mentioned as a possible finance stream.

5.10 Funding for a function change

In October 2013 the province of Flevoland launched subsidy program Nieuwe Natuur (New Nature) and calls upon business owners, inhabitants, landowning organizations and municipalities in Flevoland

to send in plans for the creation of new nature. Projects applying for the subsidy should realize accessible nature with recreational space. Through this program the province of Flevoland wants to see the different functions of land, nature, agriculture and buildings become more interwoven (Provincie Flevoland, 2017a).

The call for applications came at a very convenient time for the siteholdergroup. The choice for scenario 3 was already made, which implied function change of the land, as the water level would be elevated elevating the water level on the southern parcels and saw the agrarians there offering agrarians there parcel exchange or financial compensation. The need for a function change because of the planned rewetting was also already expressed in the PRSC2 and in the management plan 2014 – 2019. In the latter nature was even described as one of the to be protected values, vital for the maintenance of the Outstanding Universal Value of UWHSS. Arranging the financial means to pursue the scenario however appeared difficult and the subsidy from program Nieuwe Natuur was seen as a trigger to set the process in motion (Doe, interview, 2017).

In 2014 the siteholdergroup thus submitted plan '*Nieuwe Natuur bij Schokland*', in which the southern parcels are envisaged as a wet natural zone ideal for different species that occur in the region and full of recreational possibilities. The project became one out of 22 projects that are honored and it is granted ca. 10 million euros. A financial business case is drawn up for program Nieuwe Natuur and the costs of scenario 3 are estimated at ca. 32 million instead of the initial 18 million. The remaining sum of money has to be co-financed by the parties involved and the Province of Flevoland makes it clear that it will not be the financial risk carrier when the plan is implemented (Provincie Flevoland, 2017b). As previously described, the plan is not completely without risks. Agrarians that fall outside scenario 3 could possibly experience negative consequences from it and might have to be compensated.

In plan '*Nieuwe Natuur bij Schokland*' agriculture is seen as possible only in the form of extensive livestock farming or extensive arable farming of crops that grow despite the elevated water level and only in the beginning of the parcels. Verhage (interview, 2017) from NLTO states that this demand for agrarians in the application '*Nieuwe Natuur bij Schokland*' came as quite a surprise to him and Omta from Schokland's Boerengoeid. He states that he does not know if organic farmers are able to deal with the rewetted ground that may cause unwanted weed and other difficulties to arise, especially as they do not make use of chemicals, pesticides or fertilizers. Doe (interview, 2017) states that as a nature organization the Flevolandscape Foundation wants agriculture to be biological and she does not see how this would be impossible after a conversion process.

The subsidy application also reads that this process (carrying out scenario 3) does not stand alone, as the World Heritage site is developing in several ways. It states that possibilities are being explored to build a new visitor center (NOP Municipality, 2014). In a 2017 progress report on the projects honored for program Nieuwe Natuur the intention to build a World Heritage center within the borders of UWHSS is mentioned again. In an official report informing NOP municipality councilmembers about the developments and consequences of scenario 3, developments regarding the desired World Heritage center are also taken up. When asked if the finances to carry out scenario 3 will also be used for a World Heritage center Doe (interview, 2017) explains it all has to do with making use of momentum:

"No, that's a track parallel to this track [scenario 3]. But we keep on mentioning it [the World Heritage center] because we think that if the project on the southern parcels does not happen, we will be not be able politically to get funding for the World Heritage center. I'm afraid we

will not be able to because then there is no cause. And when you do something big like this [scenario 3] there is a cause, a drive. For Schokland 2.0, that's how they call it sometimes. A new phase again, to take it to a higher level.”
(Doe, interview, 2017, own translation)

Besides the application for Nieuwe Natuur subsidy for the southern parcels submitted by the siteholdergroup, another application for funding is done by three agrarians on the northwest parcels within UWHSS. As explained before these agrarians, like the agrarians on the southern parcels, also experience negative consequences from the high water level in favor of the archeology and to elevate the island. They propose their agricultural parcels become nature as well, so that the World Heritage status can be secured for the long term. The application is not honored by the Province of Flevoland. NOP municipality does not support the proposal at the moment and the Flevolandschap Foundation states that although the parcels are interesting, their focus now goes to the southern parcels (Schenk, 2014).

5.11 The current situation

Currently '*Nieuwe Natuur bij Schokland*' has been honored, an action plan has been drawn up and an intention agreement between the siteholdergroup and the province of Flevoland has been signed. If scenario 3 is to be carried out is not sure however. Aside from the Nieuwe Natuur subsidy from the province of Flevoland, the means made available by the Flevolandschap Foundation, NOP municipality and the Zuiderzeeland District Water board and the willingness of the RVB to participate in parcel exchange, another ca. 7 million is required to start the process. Eyes have been pointed to the state since 2015, when the ministry of OCW was made aware of the plans on the southern parcels and asked for a financial contribution (Marinelli, interview, 2017). The ministry of OCW did award a relatively small amount of 2 million to the project (provincie Flevoland, 2017c), but with organizations involved stating they have reached the ceiling of their possible investments, the continuation of the plan is seen to depend on an additional investment from the ministry of OCW. Multiple interviewees refer to the pledge of the Dutch state to conserve the national World Heritage sites, officialized by signing the World Heritage Convention. The siteholdergroup had hoped a decision about additional funding would be reached during the second Rutte cabinet, but it did not and during the period of resignation the developments around Schokland were seen as too controversial to make decisions about (van Leijten, interview, 2017; Marinelli, interview, 2017). Currently the siteholdergroup is awaiting the decision of the ministry of OCW.

6. The threat

This chapter answers the first sub question of this research: How did the threat of deauthorization come into being? Who was involved, for which reasons or purposes? Statements made in this chapter are based on the findings in chapter 5. The chapter begins with a comparison between the purpose of enlistment and the purpose behind the threat of deauthorization in the case of UWHSS. How the threat of deauthorization has come into being and which organizations played an active role in this is also elaborated on. The last paragraph analyses how the threat affecting the Outstanding Universal Value of UWHSS is framed over time and has now changed for a specific purpose.

6.1 Authorization and possible de-authorization: two sides of the same coin

Examining the threat of de-authorization of UNESCO World Heritage site Schokland and Surroundings is only possible after the site became authorized as a World Heritage site by its enlistment on the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1995. The fear of loss however appears to have been present long before the site became a World Heritage site. The fear of losing the rich history of the island and its distinctive elevation above land make that Schokland is left out of the parceling structure (Maas, 2014) and greenery is planted to contour its borders (Doe, interview, 2017). More research on the soil archive in the 1980's result into a 'soil protection area' being defined and international treaties and national laws make that the protection of archeological finds becomes obligatory. No land-use restrictions to preserve the soil archive are in place yet, but when plans for a big expansion of the museum are proposed the plan is vetoed by the provincial state as it is expected to be harmful to the archeological finds. All these actions show that Schokland was valued as heritage decades before it became a UNESCO World Heritage site and indicate a fear of losing it and a desire to protect it.

Apart from planting greenery to contour the island and the restoration of a few monuments, the period prior to enlistment sees no big conservatory measures. Doe (interview, 2017), the only interviewee involved with Schokland prior to enlistment in 1995, states that Schokland had in the early 1990's already fallen victim to land subsidence, that it looked neglected and that she was happy that it would improve. Leijten (interview, 2017) believes being able to preserve the bump of the former island was the reason to apply for formal heritage status. Both statements of Doe and Leijten (interview, 2017) and the actions described above make that in this case Harrison's (2013) notion, about heritage sites becoming authorized by enlistment on official heritage registers because of a heightened sense of vulnerability, applies. This is not to say other reasons do not, as Marinelli (interview, 2017) also believes the states eagerness to be included on the World Heritage list combined with the speed at which a report for submission could be produced played a big role. Both Doe and Leijten (interview, 2017) however indicate that receiving the status, and with this the acknowledgement of being of outstanding universal value, was a way to ensure conservation of the site. The first years after becoming a World Heritage site land use restrictions for agrarians are put in place, buildings and mounds are strengthened and restored and plan '*New Schokland 1998*' is formulated, which describes the implementation of the hydrological zone. Receiving the World Heritage status was thus a catalyst for conservation actions to be taken.

After becoming World Heritage site Schokland and Surroundings in 1995 there is a period of approximately 10 years during which conservation measures are carried out to battle the consequences of land subsidence. In documentation no mention is made of the UNESCO term Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) until the '*Area Document for Schokland and Surroundings with administrative arrangements 2004 - 2006*' notes the intention of the siteholdergroup to formulate

guidelines to preserve the OUV's to ensure a sustainable future for UWHSS. It is the 2012 DLG report that first describes which threats each of the OUV's face and how this could endanger the UNESCO World Heritage status. The scenarios that DLG sketches range from doing nothing and losing the World Heritage status to protecting all archeological sites on the UWHSS by raising the water level and stopping all agricultural activities on all parcels. The siteholdergroup choses a middle scenario (scenario 3) that protects the archeological finds in the southern parcels, but offers no solution for those north of the plan. From this moment on it is clear to the siteholdergroup how the World heritage status can be lost and how it can be kept, by pursuing scenario 3.

In communication outwards scenario 3 seems to be the only solution to keep the World Heritage status. An interview with mayor Van der Werff (until recently involved in the siteholdergroup on behalf of NOP Municipality) leads Omroep Flevoland to conclude "The World Heritage status of Schokland is in danger. The area south of the island has to be rewetted to maintain the archeological value. If this does not happen, UNESCO will withdraw the status" (Werelderfgoedstatus Schokland in gevaar, 2014) and in another interview "Mayor Aucke van der Werff from Noordoostpolder hopes the Provincial States of Flevoland decide to make additional funding available to rewet Schokland. If this does not happen the mayor states Schokland could lose its World Heritage status" (Staten besluiten over behoud Erfgoedstatus Schokland, 2014).

Apart from mentions of possible deauthorization in the media, communication within organizations involved in the siteholdergroup and between involved organizations the status is also described as to depend on the pursuit of scenario 3. Within NOP municipality for example scenario 3 is referred to as "a structural solution to keep the World Heritage status" (NOP Municipality, 2017, p.4) and the Province of Flevoland communicates that "The World Heritage and the World Heritage status are [...] the reason for the initiative takers [...] to realize a natural zone south of the former island [scenario 3]" (provincie Flevoland, 2017, p.2). The threat of deauthorization, losing World Heritage status, is thus connected to keeping the World Heritage status, which is seen to fully depend on the envisaged conservation measures (scenario 3). Therefore it can be concluded that in the case of UWHSS receiving World Heritage status and the threat of losing it serve the same purpose, they are two sides of the same coin. Receiving the World Heritage status led to the conservation measures to create 'New Schokland 1998' (see 5.2), the ambition behind the threat of de-authorization is generating financial means are made available so that conservation measures can be taken to create 'Schokland 2.0'.

6.2 Self-imposed

If the World Heritage status is truly at such risk as the statements above suggest is doubtful. Apart from the fact that the majority of the interviewees indicate they do not believe the possibility of losing World Heritage status is actually realistic, it is also noteworthy that the possibility's first mention in official documentation is in the DLG report (2012), which is the same report that suggests the (costly) conservation measures of rewetting the southern parcels. The Periodic Reports on the State of Conservation (from 2006 and 2013) that describe the threats that affect the OUV's of the site are also not documents composed by UNESCO, but composed by the siteholdergroup to inform UNESCO. Spitz (personal communication, 2017), who is program coordinator for culture and heritage in crisis situations at the National UNESCO commission, states she cannot make statements about Schokland in particular as the National UNESCO commission has an advising role and is not in charge of the authorization process. She does however make the following statement:

“I can’t comment on the situation of Schokland specifically. In general it can be said that the Outstanding Universal Value of a World Heritage site has to be protected. When heritage is endangered to such an extent that its authenticity and integrity cannot be preserved and irreversible damage or changes take place, the World Heritage Committee can decide to place the property on the World Heritage in Danger list. This is the decision of the World Heritage Committee to make. Also, only the World Heritage Committee can decide if the Outstanding Universal Value is affected to such an extent that it will lead to withdrawing the World Heritage status. This is a drastic decision that often takes years to be reached and that the government should not take lightly. Since 1978 it only happened twice.”

(Spitz, personal communication, 2017, own translation)

Spitz (personal communication, 2017) makes very clear that it is only the World Heritage Committee that decides if the heritage object is under such threat that its OUV is affected to a degree that the property would first be placed on the UNESCO World Heritage in Danger list or status would be withdrawn. No public communication or documentation suggests UNESCO itself has uttered this threat. Although the actual threats UWHSS faces, that of land subsidence and as a consequence agricultural activities, are very real, the threat of losing World Heritage status is thus self-imposed.

6.3 Changing and multipurpose

In this section it is important to clearly keep in mind the difference between the threat of deauthorization, which refers to the possibility of losing the World Heritage status, and the threats physically affecting the integrity of the Outstanding Universal Values on which the granting of the UNESCO World Heritage status is based. In this section it is argued that the way this last threat is framed has purposely changed in order to ensure a path is chosen that does not only safeguard the World Heritage status, but also solves another big issue members of the siteholdergroup face.

From the reclamation on it was evident that land subsidence is a problem in the entire Noordoostpolder and thus also a threat physically affecting Schokland. It was a known fact that land subsidence would make the former island lose its distinctive elevation above surrounding parcels and that land subsidence was also the cause for the built monuments to sink and the mounds to flatten with the ground. The implementation of land use restrictions in the 1990’s indicates that at least from that time it was known that because of land subsidence the archeological finds came continuously closer to the surface, making them vulnerable not only to oxidation and degradation, but also to agricultural activities. Agriculture is thus a threat to the archeological finds because of land subsidence. On the other hand, land subsidence is also a threat to agriculture as with the lowering ground parcels become wetter and less suitable for the cultivation of crops.

These two threats to the soil archive are thus connected and where known facts in the governance contexts and acknowledged in management and action plans for decades already. The DLG report (2012) however changes the way the threats to the soil archive are framed. The DLG report (2012), produced to inform the siteholdergroup about measures required to preserve the OUV’s and the World Heritage status, states that “There is a shared wish to keep both archeology and agriculture. In practice this appears impossible. So, a decision has to be made” (DLG, 2012, p. 27, own translation). A shared function for the southern parcels, that of agriculture and archeology, is thus ruled out. The DLG report (2012) describes that not only a solution is needed to stop the degradation of the soil archive, but a solution is also needed for the agrarians’ (of the southern parcels) problems with the

land use restrictions in place to protect the soil archive and the continuing land subsidence that is predicted to make agriculture impossible in 25 years.

To preserve the soil archive the siteholdergroup choses a scenario proposed by the DLG (2012) that sees the southern parcels cleared of extensive agriculture and in need of a function change. Preserving the soil archive is however not the only desired outcome of the scenario, as a future that includes agriculture on the southern parcels is not beneficial to any of the siteholdergroup members. With the continuing land subsidence, and thus a higher water level, it will become more difficult for the Zuiderzeeland District Water Board to manage the water level to be suitable for agriculture (Waterschap Zuiderzeeland, 2017). It is thus inevitable that the southern parcels will become too wet to cultivate crops on for the agrarians and thus the land will become less valuable for the RVB, the biggest landowner in the region (DLG, 2012). For NOP Municipality, the biggest agrarian municipality in the Netherland (CBS, 2017), and NLTO as an agrarian advocacy organization, aiming to meet the needs of their inhabitants and members is a given.

Apart from protecting the soil archive the scenario thus also solves the problems agrarians on the southern parcels face with the subsiding ground. The solution is however costly because rewetting the southern parcels implies agrarians there will have to be offered a good financial compensation or parcels elsewhere. The siteholdergroup is not able to cover the costs themselves and therefore needs to attract finances that can be used to purchase agricultural land to be able to realize the function change. The shared desire by members of the siteholdergroup to lose the agricultural function of the southern parcels and replace it with another function ties in well with the provincial program 'Nieuwe Natuur', that has made funds available for the development of nature in the province of Flevoland. Developing nature thus becomes the solution to two big problems, the degradation of the soil archive and the inevitable faith of terminating the agricultural function.

As mentioned before, from the introduction of the scenario in the DLG report (2012) onwards the threat is framed differently in documentation than before. The 2013 Periodic Report on the state of Conservation (PRSC2), composed by NOP municipality and the RCE to update UNESCO, exemplifies this well. While the first Periodic Report on the state of Conservation from 2006 (PRSC1) mentions land subsidence numerous times as a threat to the soil archive and in all conducted interviews it comes up as a major concern, no mention is made to land subsidence in PRSC2 at all. The harmfulness of agriculture in general and crop production in particular are instead mentioned numerous times. Noteworthy is also that PRSC2 does mention without further explanation 'erosion and siltation / deposition' as a threat, not to be confused with land subsidence which happens as a result of subsiding peat meters deep under the surface, while erosion regards the wearing down of the field's topsoil by natural forces or forces associated with farming activities (Ritter, 2015). It is clear that this is a way to put forward agriculture as the to be resolved threat as the management report 2014 – 2019 elaborates on the threats brought to light in PRSC2, stating: "There is soil erosion. [...] In the [DLG] report it is stated that elevating the water level and changing the function of the southern parcels to extensive livestock farming or nature is recommended to protect the archeological finds" (Siteholdergroup, 2012, p. 32, own translation). Framing the agricultural function as the threat to be resolved in official documentation is thus a way to solve the problems with the degrading soil archive and the unavoidable faith of terminating the agrarian function, as it will require a function change for the area and for that of nature there is a big fund available through program Nieuwe Natuur.

7. Object formation and deformation

What has become evident so far is that the self-imposed threat of deauthorization has served as a way to attract finances to carry out conservation measures that serve multiple purposes. On one hand they make sure the Outstanding Universal Values (OUV's) of UWHSS are maintained and the World Heritage status is kept and on the other hand they also solve an inevitable problem with agrarians in the south. In this section the consequences of the threat of deauthorization are analyzed by looking at techniques of object (de)formation and (de)stabilization. For this the conceptual framework in chapter 7.3 is used. A new technique of object formation is suggested and the conceptual framework is adapted to the specific case of UWHSS. Lastly this chapter reflects of what the techniques of (de)formation and (de)stabilization have meant for the heritagisation of the site.

7.1 Object (de)formation and (de)stabilization

The emergence of 'Schokland 2.0' is to begin with a result of processes of **de-naturalization** of UNESCO World Heritage site Schokland and Surroundings (UWHSS). Denaturalization refers to processes that decrease the naturalness of an object within daily life and makes that the object becomes questioned. Since the site became enlisted as a UNESCO World Heritage site it was never fully naturalized, as that would imply a naturalness of the object within daily life (Duineveld et al. 2013). The object was never entirely stable as it was critiqued from its emergence on because it came with land use restrictions and the hydrological zone that, according to local agrarians, resulted in wetter parcels. Instead of a natural object within daily life, UWHSS is thus a constantly critiqued burden in the life of many local agrarians. Also within the siteholdergroup the object has no natural place in the normal order of things. A difficult tension between a desired water level for agriculture and the required water level for the maintenance of UWHSS is the daily business of the Zuiderzeeland District Water Board and NOP Municipality. Doe (interview, 2017) also mentions the difficult position of the Flevolandscape Foundation, as a nature organization that manages the nature on and around the island (the contours), that has to prioritize 'heritage needs' that benefit the esthetics of the site or strengthen the OUV's over 'nature needs'. This context, one characterized by difficult relationships agrarians and members of the siteholdergroup have with the 'old object' shapes the 'surfaces of emergence' (Foucault, 1972) for the 'new object' to arise.

De-objectification, previously described to occur when the constructed nature of an object is made visible, came about as a result of the DLG report (2012) that described possible future scenarios of UWHSS by looking closely at which archeological finds were described and which were not in the submission report that made for Schokland's enlistment on the World Heritage list. As it became clear that the northern parcels were not described and that UNESCO thus does not require their protection, despite the current expectation that the ground is archeologically valuable, it becomes evident that what constitutes UWHSS is not based on facts or science, but on agreements and choices made. Here the constructed nature of UWHSS is thus made visible. The consequence of de-objectification in the case of UWHSS was that the 'old object' was destabilized as it was no longer seen as the 'real object', as the 'real object' should never have included the northern parcels.

Something else that the 2012 DLG report did was for the first time make a connection between the degrading soil archive (that was a known fact since ca. the 1990's), this affecting the OUV's and that possibly affecting the World Heritage status. This began a process of **reification** as the threat of deauthorization allowed for the emergence of a 'new object' to be discussed within the siteholdergroup based on the future scenarios defined by the DLG that aimed at keeping the World

Heritage status. The utterance of the possibility of losing World Heritage status not only allowed for the emergence of a 'new object' within the network of its initial construction (the siteholdergroup), after techniques of codification and solidification (explained below) made clear what the 'new object' should entail, it also triggered discussions about its new function (nature) in the media, the political realm and among agrarians, making the 'new object' a topic in multiple discourses, making the 'new object' more real.

After techniques of de-objectification had made that the constructed nature of UWHSS was made visible and the threat of de-authorization had triggered the process of reification through which a new object could emerge, techniques of **de-codification** could occur, meaning that that the spatial boundaries of the object become blurred or erased all together. De-objectification allowed the siteholdergroup and the RCE (advised by the DLG) to see the borders of the World Heritage site as 'less fixed'. Although the DLG proposed the scenarios for the future of UWHSS, the siteholdergroup and the RCE were deemed qualified to make a decision that affected what is seen as to constitute UWHSS, which makes them in Foucault's (1972) terminology the 'authorities of delimitation'. At the present the set borders of the UWHSS are unchanged, but what is seen to actually make up for UWHSS does not include the northern parcels anymore. In the DLG report (2012) it is stated that as what happens to the archeological value in the northern parcels does not affect the World Heritage status, soil research commissioned by NOP municipality (that Marinelli confirms will be done in the interview, 2017) might have the positive consequence of being able to redefine the borders of UWHSS, leading to the **codification** of 'the new object' ('Schokland 2.0'), which would encompass less of the surrounding agricultural parcels. A negative consequence of conducting more research on the soil archive in the northern parcels described by the DLG (2012) would be the possible discovery of archeological finds more valuable than expected and having to put in place expensive conservation measures anyway. Archeological soil research that has been conducted recently has also led to withdrawing land use restrictions on other parcels surrounding the island (van Stoppelenburg, interview 2017; Marinelli, interview, 2017), that also make up for the UWHSS. Whereas the former 'protection regime' was put on all the agricultural parcels around the island that fell within the borders of UWHSS, now the northern parcels and patches of the other parcels are excluded, making it vague what is within and what is outside of UWHSS, which made for the **de-codification** of the 'old object'. Codification and de-codification happened simultaneously through the different DLG scenarios that aimed to maintain the status. The first scenario (scenario 0) meant doing nothing, which would mean the degradation of archeological value in all agricultural parcels and no solution for the local agrarians. Not meeting any of the goals the siteholdergroup aimed for, it cannot really be seen as a real option. If the last scenario (scenario 4) was a realistic option is doubtful, as it regarded a complete function change of all agricultural land within the borders of UWHSS (and therefore a buyout of all agrarians) and was estimated to costs roughly 100.000.000 euros more than other scenarios. All scenarios that lay between these two extremes regard only the southern parcels. Discussions and considerations that resulted in the decision to choose the third scenario were thus about the southern parcels only, which made them an important fact in 'Schokland 2.0'. What would happen to the other parcels, on which more research would have to be done to determine a future, remained rather vague.

The **solidification** of 'Schokland 2.0' came about when the function of nature became seen as the way to tackle the agricultural problems and keep the World Heritage status at the same time. The need for a function change was stated in the 2012 DLG report and nature was described as a possible solution, but so was extensive agriculture. Extensive agriculture was pushed to background and became much less part of the 'new object' when chances were seen to finance the plan (scenario 3, rewetting of the

southern parcels) through the provincial 'Nieuwe Natuur' program. Funds were of course only available when they would go to developing nature. As described previously some resistance against a natural function of the parcels existed among agrarians. This was shared by some councilmembers of NOP Municipality (Verhage, Omta, Marinilli, interview, 2017) and thus the provincial 'Nieuwe Natuur' subsidy was not welcomed by everyone immediately, but about this Verhage (interview, 2017) states the following:

"If the province is not involved [providing the Nieuwe Natuur subsidy] it all just ends there. So, they may want something different [than a natural function], but financially that can never be realized. So then the soil archive will be lost and so will the status, probably."
(Verhage, interview, 2017, own translation)

As finances became available for a function change to nature the *option* for a natural function of 'Schokland 2.0' became naturalized. The naturalization of this option made that nature became seen as *the* solution for the archeological and agricultural problems. Other possibilities, for example a complete extensive agricultural farming function, are not mentioned in documentation. Another demand for 'Nieuwe Natuur' subsidy is that the newly developed nature should be accessible for recreational purposes (Provincie Flevoland 2017a), which matched with the siteholdergroups' desire to develop the recreational and educational function of the 'old object' more (Siteholdergroup 2014 – 2019) as the interpretative and visitation facilities were in the 2013 Period Report on the State of Conservation described as negatively affecting the property. Documentation from the siteholdergroup following the application for 'Nieuwe Natuur' funds (e.g. the management plan 2014 - 2019, the PRSC2, progress report 'Nieuwe Natuur in Flevoland') always makes mention of both the need for the function change to nature and the goal of building a new visitor center. Although agriculture became much less a part of the 'new object', a small part at the beginning of the southern parcels was reserved for extensive forms of agriculture, such as organic farming and life stock farming. Intensive agriculture was no longer seen as part of what 'the new object' should encompass at all (i.a. Doe, interview, 2017; progress report 'Nieuwe Natuur in Flevoland') which can be seen as **disintegration** of the 'old object'. The solidification of the 'new object' thus came about by giving it a function, that of nature, and assembling the elements that it further consists of, such as the new visitor center and extensive agriculture.

As mentioned previously the 'old object' was destabilized by techniques of de-objectification that revealed its constructed nature. Techniques of **objectification** make that the 'new object' can emerge as a scientific fact. This is mostly done by the siteholdergroup, as the 'authorities of delimitation' (Foucault's, 1972), relying fully on the scientific knowledge of hydrologists and archeologists that legitimizes the emergence of the 'new object'. Measurements and calculations of hydrologists from the Zuiderzeeland District Water Board have indicated that that the plans to rewet the southern parcels can be carried out without rewetting surrounding parcels and most members of the siteholdergroup trust these measurements (Marinelli; Doe; Leijten; Stoppelenburg; Waaijenberg, interview 2017) and an intention agreement to pursue the plan was signed (Provincie Flevoland, 2017c). Verhage from NLTO (member of the siteholdergroup) and Omta from Schokland's Boerengood (member of the regional committee), the agrarian advocacy organizations involved in the governance of UWHSS, do express concerns in the science that supports the rewetting of the southern parcels, an important part of what makes up for 'Schokland 2.0'. Omta (interview, 2007) thinks the hydrologists' measuring techniques are inadequate and that they might "just do their own thing to make it seem as

if impact is minimal” (Omta, interview, 2017) and Verhage (interview, 2017) expresses concern about the validity of desk studies to measure if water effluence from the rewetting will also rewet other surrounding parcels. The importance of science in the formation of ‘Schokland 2.0’ also shows in the power vested in archeologists as the embodiments of objective truth. Archeologists determine the location, as besides them nobody knows the exact location of archeological value as it is located under the ground surface. Archeologists also determine the way the soil archive should be preserved, namely in-situ (underground). While because of the initial archeological finds a “protection regime” (Marinelli, interview, 2017) was put in place, land use restrictions became increasingly more of a burden combined with the subsiding ground and new archeological knowledge was used to withdraw the land use restrictions at some spots, that had been in place for decades, as the ground was found not to be of such archeological value after all. The decision to focus on the southern parcels is also partially based on archeological knowledge, as archeologists have determined that sites in those parcels are of ‘extreme archeological value’. Expert-knowledge has thus been used to construct ‘Schokland 2.0’ as a scientific fact.

Despite the process of carrying out the actual rewetting plans (an essential part of ‘Schokland 2.0’) having come to a standstill as the financial contribution of the ministry of OCW is awaited, the process of **institutionalization** of the ‘new object’ was relatively smooth. This can be attributed to the fact that the protection of the soil archive of UWHSS became institutionally imbedded with the enlistment of the site on the World Heritage list. It was the ministry of OCW that initiated the process of constructing Schokland and its surroundings as a World Heritage site. With its enlistment and by signing the UNESCO Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, the Ministry of OCW had the formal responsibility to conserve the site (Spitz, personal communication, 2017). In the siteholdergroup, to which the control (but not final responsibility) over the conservation of the site was displaced, organizations are involved that represent the different stakes in UWHSS. Most organizations are however governmental organizations (the province of Flevoland, NOP municipality, RVB, the Zuiderzeeland District Water Board) that are highly unlikely to go against the will of the Ministry of OCW and as the creation of ‘Schokland 2.0’ (which implied a function change to wet nature) became seen as the way to maintain the World Heritage status (see: solidification) they support the plan. Documentation or interview data does not reveal how support within these individual governmental organizations came about, except for in the case of NOP Municipality. Within NOP Municipality some (VVD) councilmembers questioned to what financial extent conservation of UWHSS was worth the World Heritage status (Wiedijk, 2017) and some parties (the PU, CDA and VVD) were critical about the risks of rewetting for other parcels (Verhage, interview, 2017), but eventually it is decided NOP Municipality financially contributes to the plan as well (NOP investeert 2,3 miljoen in Schokland, 2017). Non-governmental institutions that are members of the siteholdergroup also support the plan, as it sees an expansion of the nature function of Schokland (attractive for the Flevolandscape Foundation) and solves the issues agrarians on the southern parcels have with land subsidence (attractive for NLTO). Becoming one of the Ministry of OCW’s TOPsites also increased the institutionalization of ‘Schokland 2.0’, as in ‘Schokland 2.0’ there is no place for extensive agriculture on the southern parcels and by becoming a TOPsite it became acknowledged at the highest level that UWHSS is an endangered archeological monument (RCE, 2015) and that this has to do with the difficult combination of archeology and agriculture (NOP Municipality, 2013). To offer agrarians on the southern parcels that wish to continue their business (instead of terminating it and receiving compensation) a parcel in exchange, the project had to become a ‘National Project’ (Rijksproject),

which it did in 2014 (Bussemaker, 2014) and as a consequence 'Schokland 2.0' institutionalized even more.

As previously mentioned the *option* of nature as the solution to the agricultural and archeological problems became **naturalized**. As the 'new object' is physically yet to be constructed as there is still a lack of finances (see 5.11) if the object will or will not become a natural fact in daily life cannot be said with certainty. However, drawing on the historical overview provided in this thesis (chapter 5), there is a fair chance that the 'the new object', of which rewetting is an essential part, will not become naturalized as agrarians and (hydrological) experts have never seemed to be in agreement on what the effects of measures to conserve the archeological soil archive (e.g. elevation of the water level and the hydrological zone) are on surrounding parcels. A chance thus exists the new discussion will be about if the rewetting of the southern parcels has or has not negatively affected surrounding parcels. I therefore believe that 'Schokland 2.0' may never be a naturalized object as long as the land within UWHSS has both an agricultural and archeological function.

7.2 Reduction / simplification

To these techniques of object (de)formation and (de)stabilization I suggest adding the object formation / stabilization technique of **reduction**, in which ideas of what constitutes the heritage object are reduced or simplified to make their continued existence more manageable. Like the techniques defined by Duineveld et al. (2013) this technique is rooted in Foucault's assertion that (linguistic and non-linguistic) practices systematically form the objects of which they speak (Foucault, 1969). Marinelli (interview, 2017) states that when NOP municipality became the main siteholder of UWHSS one of the first things it did was clarify what made the site worthy of World Heritage status, because this appeared unclear to member organizations of the siteholdergroup. It did so by clarifying the OUV's (term used by the siteholdergroup to name what UNESCO refers to as the attributes that make up for the overall Outstanding Universal Value of the site) in the management plan 2014 – 2019, but by doing this it simplified the heritage object. UNESCO defined the 'island of Schokland itself' as an attribute to the overall Outstanding Universal Value of the site and efforts to keep the island elevated (by supplying water that pushes it upwards) above other parcels have been in place for decades and according to agrarians also caused damage to agricultural parcels (Omta, interview, 2017). Instead of 'the island itself' the management plan 2014 – 2017 refers to 'the contours of the island'. Hereby following the DLG (2012) suggestion not to focus on the elevation, which will become increasingly difficult because of the land subsidence problem, but on the distinguishability of the island in other ways, e.g. by its contours (the greenery, dikes, mounds that surround it). This change in the framing of the OUV thus changes the to be protected object and allows for physical impacts on the site. The elevation of the island becomes allowed to lessen and nature (that is an important part of the contouring) becomes an even more justified part of 'Schokland 2.0'.

7.3 Adapted conceptual framework

To visualize the consequences the threat of deauthorization has had on the discursive construction of the heritage object the conceptual framework composed in chapter 2.6 is adapted in the illustration below.

It should first be noted that the meanings of the different phases of heritagisation by Sjöholm (2016), that serve as an overall framework for this thesis, have to be adjusted slightly to fit the post-structural perspective on heritage of this study. In Sjöholm's (2016) framework heritage is seen as an a priori unity that can be challenged and as a consequence lose its cultural significance (de-

heritagisation) or have its cultural significance be reaffirmed or be ascribed completely new meanings (re-heritagisation). This study has shown that the heritage object in itself is not an a priori unity to which meanings are ascribed, but a discursive construction in itself that changes through the threat of de-authorization. De-heritagisation is therefore in this adapted framework the result of a process of object deformation and destabilization and re-heritagisation the result of object formation and stabilization. The outcomes of de-heritagisation and re-heritagisation should however not be seen as final stages as the heritage object itself has been found not to be stable.

This research has made a distinction between the 'old discursive object' (UWHSS) and the 'new discursive object' (Schokland 2.0). With this it is not suggested that the name of UWHSS will change to Schokland 2.0, but to identify the change that takes place within the object because of the triggered techniques of object (de)formation and (de)stabilization that modifies the object to such an extent that it is not the same object anymore as in the beginning of the process.

In the case of UWHSS the threat of deauthorization triggered techniques that destabilized the 'old discursive object' with the purpose of being able to gather the financial means that would allow for the construction of 'Schokland 2.0', the 'new discursive object'. Because the 'old discursive object' was never a stable object (UWHSS was critiqued from its inclusion on the World Heritage list on because of the restrictions it gave and the conservation efforts it required) it triggered techniques that 'unmasked' UWHSS as a false construction that should not have included the northern parcels. The de-heritagisation of the 'old object' allowed for the emergence of the 'new object' that would ensure the World Heritage status is kept. Noteworthy is that two techniques leading to re-heritagisation (reduction and reification) make use of UNESCO concepts to further the process of object formation and expert knowledge is used to make the 'new object' seem like a scientific fact. That many governmental organizations are involved in the governance context of the heritage object makes that the need for a 'new object' is institutionally embedded and that all organizations involved benefit from a function change makes the 'new object' became increasingly more stable. The threat of deauthorization, as a purposeful and self-imposed threat, has thus destabilized the 'old discursive object' and facilitated the construction of 'a new discursive object'. In the case of UWHSS the threat of deauthorization was thus a rhetoric only device to ensure re-heritagisation aimed at keeping the World Heritage status and simultaneously solving the agricultural problems with land subsidence in the south as well.

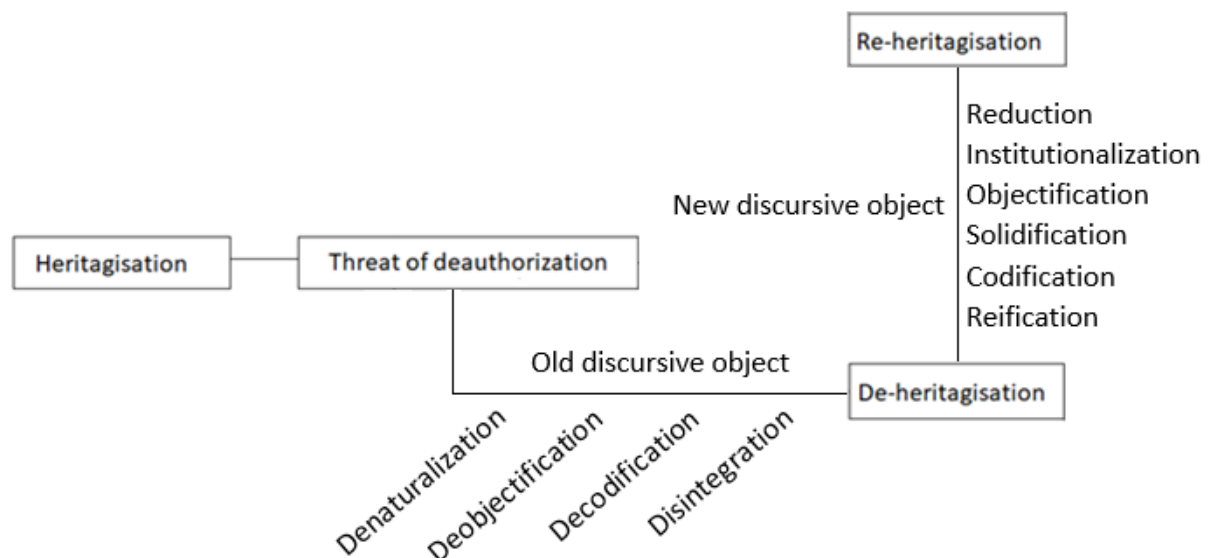


Illustration 3: Adapted conceptual model.

8. Conclusion and discussion

This thesis is an answer to Harrison's (2013a) call for research that focusses not just on heritagisation, a process that "places value upon places, things, practices, histories or ideas as an inheritance of the past" (Ashley, 2014, p. 39), but also on the processes by which heritage objects are erased of heritage registers, deaccessioned from museums or allowed to fall in ruin. UNESCO World Heritage site Schokland and Surroundings, which is under threat of deauthorization (withdrawing of World Heritage status) was chosen as the case study. A post-structural perspective on heritage was employed in this thesis, which sees the 'object of heritage' not as an a priori unity, but instead as a discursive construction. This allowed for the following main question to be asked: Which purpose(s) does the threat of deauthorization serve and what are its consequences on the discursive construction of the heritage object?

The first research question of this research was: How did the threat of deauthorization come into being? Who was involved, for which reasons or purposes? Main findings regarding this question were that the threat of deauthorization does not come from UNESCO, but is self-imposed by the siteholdergroup (organizations in charge of the conservation of UWHSS) with the purpose of collecting the necessary finances to carry out a big nature development plan. Also, the threat of losing status and initially applying for and receiving World Heritage status have had the same function as both actions were meant to trigger conservation measures. The self-imposed threat of deauthorization in the case of UWHSS serves multiple purposes. Apart from its use to generate financial means necessary to rewet agricultural parcels to ensure the protection of the degrading soil archive (and thus keeping the World Heritage status), it also solves a longstanding problem most member organizations of the siteholdergroup have with land subsidence and its negative effects on the agricultural parcels that surround Schokland. Land subsidence is expected to make agriculture on the southern parcels impossible in 25 years (DLG, 2012) and financial means to carry out the conservation measures also means compensation or parcel exchange for agrarians on the southern parcels becomes possible. In documentation about the threats UWHSS faces from its enlistment on the UNESCO World Heritage List until the present a noteworthy shift in the way the threats are framed can be seen. After it becomes clear that a possible subsidy exists if a function change takes place from agriculture to nature agriculture becomes framed as the main threat to the soil archive and keeping the World Heritage status.

The second research question asked which performative effects of object (de)formation and (de)stabilization were triggered by the threat of deauthorization. This question appeared very much related to the last research question which asked if the threat of deauthorization is a rhetorical only device to ensure re-heritagisation or if de-heritagisation was also a possible outcome. Informed by the interviews and documents that regard the governance of the site it became clear that the destabilization of 'the old discursive object' was necessary for a 'new discursive object' to emerge. Without going into each individual technique (see 7.1) the biggest conclusions are provided here. Techniques of object deformation and destabilization made that the 'old discursive object', which was never a truly accepted object in the daily life of agrarians nor in its governance context because of all the difficulties it brought since its creation (hydrological zone, elevated water level, land use restrictions), became even more questioned. Its constructed nature was made visible by revisiting the UNESCO file that turned out not to include the archeological value in the northern parcels and consequently the 'old discursive object' was no longer seen as the 'real' to be protected object, leading to the de-heritagisation of the 'old discursive object'. Techniques of object formation and stabilization

allow for 'Schokland 2.0' to become increasingly more real by giving it a specific function (nature) that can attract a subsidy that will serve the purposes described above. Assembling the elements that it further consists of, such as the new visitor center and extensive agriculture, make that the idea of 'Schokland 2.0' becomes increasingly solid. Noteworthy is that the formation of the 'new discursive object' is furthered by techniques that use UNESCO knowledge and concepts to their own advantage to reset the boundaries of the to be protected heritage object (de-codification and consequently codification) and reinterpret what it should regard (reduction/simplification). The use of expert knowledge (hydrologists and archeologists) that supports the creation of 'Schokland 2.0' and the contestation of this knowledge (by agrarians and agrarian advocacy organizations) naturalizes 'Schokland 2.0' as an object, which makes it more and more of a (debated, but still) fact. The fact that all organizations involved in the siteholdergroup, that governs UWHSS, have a stake in the continuation of the plans of 'Schokland 2.0' makes that its institutionalization went quite smooth. The threat of deauthorization was thus self-imposed by the siteholdergroup and used as a tool, a rhetoric device, to ensure re-heritagisation of a 'new discursive object' ('Schokland 2.0') could take place, which not only allows for the World Heritage status to be kept but also solves a (big part of a) problem with agriculture on subsiding land.

Different from much contemporary research on heritage this study has shown that heritage cannot be seen as a fixed a priori unity with an inherent value or just as a cultural process of identifying 'things' that can be given meaning (Smith, 2006). By studying the consequences of the threat of deauthorization making use of a post-structural framework of object (de)formation this study has shown that the object of heritage itself is constructed through linguistic and non-linguistic practices. The object of heritage is therefore never an entirely stable object but instead it is a construction of discourse through which it can be created, modified or made to disappear.

The post-structural conceptual framework of object formation provided by Duineveld et al. (2013) has thus been of much use. The scientific objective of contributing to post-structuralist conceptual frameworks of object (de)formation has been met by incorporating the original framework with the heritagisation model by Sjöholm (2016) in which the 'situation of change' was replaced with the threat of deauthorization. Also, the techniques of object formation and stabilization were contrasted, assuming that the threat of deauthorization might also erase or blur the object of heritage. Lastly, a new technique of object formation / stabilization was defined, reduction / simplification, in which ideas of what constitutes the heritage object are reduced or simplified to make their continued existence more manageable. The objective of gaining insight into the meaning of heritage and heritage status in contemporary society has brought to light several things, for example the importance of status in conservation decisions, which seemed to be more guiding than the physical heritage object. It also raised the question if enlistment on a heritage register is actually the best strategy to ensure conservation of a heritage object. Perhaps some sites are better off without official heritage status. As this research has illustrated heritage is a discursive construction future research should further interrogate the (de)constructing power vested in those in charge of the heritage object.

While the threat of deauthorization creates the context in which this research has purposely been conducted it also made the topic a 'sensitive topic'. A shortcoming of the research could therefore be that interviewees might have been less expressive about their opinions as they did not want to negatively influence the continuation of the process of ensuring the status was kept. It would also have been interesting to see what happens to the heritage object after (and if) the conservation measures on the southern parcels are carried out, which the duration of this thesis does not allow.

Lastly the fact that there is little literature on heritage that embraces a post-structuralist perspective to fall back made conducting this research challenging and interesting at the same time.

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