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WALK MY STREET TO ROME

COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS OF ROMAN HERITAGE

Roos Nagtegaal

Registration number: 850325 595 080

MLE student

GEO-80433

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Department of Environmental Sciences

Cultural Geography Chair Group

Examiners: Meghann Ormond and Claudio Minca

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SUMMARY

In this report the research question “What are perceptions of residents of Hunnerberg concerning Roman heritage in relation to their multiple identities?” is answered. The objective of the study is to provide exploratory knowledge about people living in a place known for its Roman heritage relating their multiple identities. A more general objective of the study is to provide explorative information on methods and general themes to research perceptions on heritage in communities. The field study is one in which perceptions of heritage in a particular community are researched using a case study. By voicing a community that is normally not heard, power structures are revealed. The value that is given to heritage by different parties is deconstructed by confronting expert and public meaning making of heritage.

In the theoretical framework a historical overview of the development of the concept of heritage is given. It starts with the grand tour in Renaissance and goes via the development of museums and mass tourism to the explanation of how heritage is used in the construction of identities. Then, scales of heritage are discussed. For national, European and world heritage, also the Roman heritage is highlighted. In addition to these scales of heritage, personal and local heritage is also theorized.

The case study in this research is about the heritage and representations of Roman times in the neighborhood of Hunnerberg, Nijmegen, the Netherlands. This heritage is seen as part of the *limes* by the national government. The Roman *limes* (Latin: border) was developed as a trade route through Europe. There are two different sample groups: the first consists of 20 residents of Hunnerberg, the other consists of 9 experts on Roman heritage. The experts are interviewed using semi-structured interviews, while the residents of Hunnerberg are interviewed using ‘walking with’ interviews and questionnaires. The walking with interview is conducted using a pre-defined route.

Results are described following the route as set in the ‘walking with’ interview. Also the findings from the interviews of experts are merged in this chapter. Combining all of the information gives a diverse image of the different parties that are interviewed.

Conclusions are that heritage is experienced in personal ways that overlap with experiences of the local, national and transnational heritage. Practices of Roman heritage are seen on governmental levels as well as on lay levels and on individual basis. As such, heritage is created top down as well as bottom up. The neighborhood of the Hunnerberg community is powerful and therefore has a say in the creation of heritage. This creation of heritage happens from the outside as well as in the minds of the public (and governmental representatives). This is because Roman heritage is part of the upbringing, especially of those of the higher class. Roman heritage is claimed by government to carry the values of the cradle of society. As being cultural capital it is used in the gaining of social capital. Experience with heritage related to multiple identities can be seen in the reinforcement and undermining of heritage values on different levels. Representations of Roman heritage are valued by respondents. In this thesis it is assumed, that this is because of the social status it gives to the neighborhood. In Hunnerberg the representations of Roman times are experienced by respondents. Exploratory information about methods is that the walking with method served well as a means to capture emotional attachments of residents of the community of Hunnerberg.

1 INTRODUCTION

In heritage practices, governmental and scientific worldviews are dominant. Tourism scholars are invited to “disturb and critique hegemonic socio-political practices” (Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2011, p. 942). In this study, what is taken for granted is challenged and social constructs around heritage are examined. Ren et al. (2010, p. 885) state that the field must develop

conceptualizations of tourisms that encompass multiple worldviews and cultural differences as well as research praxis that recognizes and reflects the plurality of multiple positions, practices and insights.

By voicing governments and scientists as well as communities facing Roman heritage, the complexity of different positions regarding heritage is respected. Furthermore, the community approach that is often applied to developing countries now sheds light on a neighborhood in Western Europe with more highly educated people. Also, this angle adds to the complex worldwide discussion in tourism, heritage and community research. In this case study, the method of the ‘walking with’ interview is utilized and using this mobile method adds to knowledge to its practice. Although being a very intuitive way of interviewing, ‘walking with’ interviews have not been used that often (Kusenbach, 2003).



Figure 1 Roman Empire 80-180 AD, Buro Kloeg, 2009

The case study in this research is about the heritage and representations of Roman times in the neighborhood of Hunnerberg, Nijmegen, the Netherlands. This heritage is seen as part of the *limes* by the national government. The Roman *limes* (Latin: border) was developed as a trade route through Europe (see figure 1) that was built around the first century. Over time, walls, ditches, forts, fortresses, and civilian settlements were built close to that road to prevent attacks from outsiders like Germanic tribes living close to the borders. The trail became the border of the Roman Empire. Around 80-180 AC, during the ‘Roman golden ages’, the *limes* was at its strongest. It stretched over 5,000 km from the Atlantic coast of Northern Britain, through Europe, to the Black Sea (Ginkel & Verhart, 2009). In the Dutch educational canon, *limes* is linked to being the first civilization populating the present Netherlands (CommissieOntwikkelingNederlandseCanon, 2006-2012).

Currently, there is a European project called 'Roman limes' going on with the goal of improving the visibility and protection of the limes. In the Netherlands as well, efforts are taken to show what is hidden beneath the ground. One of the main reasons to do so is because governmental organizations and entrepreneurs working on heritage are striving for a UNESCO nomination to put the limes on the world heritage list (Stichting Romeinse Limes Nederland, 2015). Other parts of the limes are already listed, like *Hadrian's Wall* in Northern England, *Antonine Wall* in Scotland and the *Germanic and Raetian Limes*, parts of the *Limes Germanicus* in Germany. These parts of the limes are listed as 'Frontiers of the Roman Empire' (UNESCO, 2015b). The limes underneath Dutch soil is called the *lower Germanic limes*. The *lower Germanic limes* started in Katwijk, went through Leiden, Utrecht and Arnhem following the lower Rhine branches. The *lower Germanic limes* developed around the year 47. In the year 69 Bavarians and Canafats revolted against the Romans and set many of the forts on fire. After this riot, the Romans rebuilt many of the forts. An immense military base was set up in the area of Nijmegen. The legion was called the 'tenth legion' and contained 12.000 men. From this location, commanding officer Drusus undertook his field battles against the "barbarians". Around the year 122, a solid infrastructure was built, connecting 19 fortresses. In approximately 50 AC the Roman domination in the Netherlands ended (Ginkel & Verhart, 2009).

To explain about my positionality, I grew up right where the tenth legion was settled, at the door of the commanders building. As a child, I often played outside during archeological excavations and always wondered what was so important beneath the streets that people would dig for years. Later on I came in contact with someone working at the archeological section of the town museum and learned about the Roman history of Nijmegen. During my master's I had the opportunity to do an internship about the Roman limes. I made a booklet with all representations of Roman heritage on the Dutch limes (Nagtegaal, 2012). I also attended meetings with different national and provincial parties promoting the Roman limes.

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

A place is only valuable because of the activities that give life to a place. Because a big part of (archeological) heritage is the meaning people attach to it today, activities, experiences and stories of people relating to archeological legacies are an interesting field of study. To know the value of heritage, the voice of the public has to be heard (Synnestvedt, 2010). From the tourism field, a contribution is asked to the investigating of the (tourist) experience and more specifically, the emotional attachment of heritage tourist to their own heritage (Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2004). In many studies, motivations to visit heritage sites concentrate on educational reasons or recreational grounds (Moscardo, 1996). Other motivations to visit heritage sites are pleasure of viewing, education, information, relaxation, entertainment and exercise (Davies & Prentice, 1995). However in their article, Poria *et al.* describe that emotional involvement with the heritage experience is often overlooked. People might visit their heritage because they feel connected to it, that they belong or that the heritage is theirs (2004). Also Urry illustrates that tourists not only visit 'their' heritage to gaze at it, but also to engage with it (2005).

The Romantic scholar Ruskin suggests that heritage belongs to those who have built it and that it is part of the patrimony we leave to future generations. This statement refers to the conservative notion that legacy has to be preserved as a sacred obligation for future generations (Lowenthal, 2005). Values are given to heritage top-down and bottom-up and are infused in politics and in lay activities around heritage. Those who have a voice in the debate have the power to decide which value is given to heritage. Those who interpret and represent heritage can have purposes in the construction of identities. Or as Graham and Howard point out:

The meaning of the past in the present that unites all heritage lies at the very contested core of who we are and of who others want us to be." (Graham & Howard, 2008, p. 13)

The way Dutch and local governments promote Roman heritage seems a sacred obligation to preserve the past (Lowenthal, 2005). Roman history seems 'given', a story that innately belongs to us, us Europeans, us Dutch people and us people from Nijmegen. For example, a project supported by the European council called EMMINA, operating in Austria, Bulgaria, and Germany to improve the visibility of the limes claims about development of the limes experience: "to make the European identity and the common European history visible and accessible for visitors from all over the world." (EMMINA, 2012). On a national level, efforts are taken to bind together organizations, spread knowledge and conserve national Roman heritage. National and local governments speak of a low reputation of the 'limes' (Leene, 2012). Nijmegen claims to be the oldest city of the Netherlands, referring to a Roman emperor that first founded the city (Smit, 2013). Little to no information about people's connection to Roman heritage is available (Leene, 2012). Heritage is seen as being 'inherited', the voice of the public needs to be heard (Harvey, 2001).

1.2 SCIENTIFIC OBJECTIVES

Scientific objectives for this study are;

- The specific objective of this study is to provide explorative knowledge about present-day people living in a place known for its Roman heritage and how this heritage relates to their multiple identities.
- A more general objective of this study is to provide explorative information on methods and general themes to research perceptions on heritage in communities where heritage sites are located.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION

What are perceptions of residents of Hunnerberg concerning Roman heritage in relation to their multiple identities?

1. To what extent are inhabitants of Hunnerberg emotionally involved with Roman heritage in their neighborhood?
2. What do residents experience/practice in their daily lives of Roman heritage?
3. How does this experience relate to their multiple identities (national, local, European)?
4. How do inhabitants perceive representations of Roman heritage around them?
5. How is this perception shaped by local/national/European/worldwide identity claims?

1.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY

This field study is one in which perceptions in a particular community are researched. The method used is mainly qualitative with a quantitative component. There are two sample groups: Residents and experts in the field of Roman limes. The residents are interviewed in pairs by means of a walking with interview and one questionnaire with semi-structured questions and one questionnaire with pre-structured questions. These methods are used to provide insight in the perceptions of residents of Hunnerberg regarding Roman heritage. Walking with people as a research method involves engagement with people's worldviews and can reveal emotional attachments, activity patterns and lifestyles (Büscher & Urry, 2009). The experts are interviewed using semi-structured, mainly sedentary, interviews. The information drawn from this data is used to outline identity claims from different governmental layers.

The results of the study will be of an exploratory character. The information about the walking with interview can be used in the development of this method. Outcomes and analysis of the perceptions relating identity claims may provide evaluations for certain parties (like the municipality Nijmegen), because their projects will be reviewed. However, this study is not set up as an evaluation research.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Going through this report, the reader is invited to feel “on tour”. When starting this tour like any other tour, one leaves home. The home of this report is the introduction; above I have described where I come from, my positionality. As I grew up in the researched area, my views are that of an insider. But as I did an internship at the project of national limes association I am also aware of the national policy. Before ‘leaving’, I tend to read some reviews of other ‘tourists’, which is what I did in the literature review (section 2). I read and reviewed so I could set the path I want to walk with others. In the methods section, I show how I walked my route and how I invited others to walk with me. The results section forms the actual tour I did with respondents combined with the results connected to literature. In the conclusion, the reader will find an answer to the research questions and problem statement, as well as the findings of the tour. Also, recommendations are given, as well as a practical application of the information gained during the tour.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This is the part of the journey where guide books are reviewed. A summary of readings about residents' perceptions of heritage regarding their multiple identities is given here. In the first paragraph, a historical overview of the conceptualization of heritage is presented to clarify how heritage has become a process of meaning making, and identity building. This information is necessary to understand the current web of heritage concepts and practices. In the second paragraph, scales of heritage are explained. Heritage is often used in the creation of spatial identities. How this has happened in the past is shown in examples. Scales of heritage are described. To understand how heritage is consciously used in the making of nations (or other territories) gives insight in the power structures including and excluding certain groups of people.

2.1 A HISTORY OF HERITAGE TOURISM

Heritage as a concept and as a practice for tourism has developed from the late middle ages until now. In Renaissance, the first heritage travels took place. In modernity, heritage was viewed in an essentialist way and as a good for commoditization. Mainly museums were the place of heritage objects. Heritage and its authenticity were mostly viewed from an objective point of view. During post modernity, different voices could be heard and different kinds of authenticity became of importance. Tourism is practiced in a more existential way (Wang, 1999). In contemporary heritage practices, the different views and activities concerning heritage interact and form the field of heritage tourism. Museums and other tourism agents create tourism experiences and tourists recreate their meanings and experiences of heritage (Graham & Howard, 2008).

In the following sub-paragraphs, an overview is given from the conventional ways of heritage practices to how heritage is practiced and identified today.

2.1.1 THE BEGINNING OF HERITAGE TOURISM

Heritage tourism was first practiced by young men visiting ancient remnants of Greek and Roman times. To treasure ancient history, first it had to be recognized as something apart from everyday life. That revolutionary conception had its origins in Europe during Renaissance. During the Middle Ages every explanation found grounds in Christianity. The glory of antiquity (and nature), found its recognition by the first humanist Petrarch. He described his emotional involvement with the writings of classical antiquity. From the 15th century onwards antiquity became more a subject of study and arts. Findings from Pompeii and Herculaneum in Italy in the 18th century were exotic curiosities revealing a fascinating past. Christian pilgrimage arose around the 15th century when men travelled for religious reasons. The notion that traveling brings insight and wisdom became common in the 16th century. Young people in the northern part of Europe went on a Grand tour to complete their upbringing (Harvey, 2001).

Heritage tourism is closely linked with museum visits. The concept of museums existed already in Greek times in the form of a temple. In Mesopotamian times (around 530 BC) in the current Iraq, a collection of a princess was found, neatly organized with signs in three languages. This practice also occurred in the Roman Empire. Relics of war and images of lions were portrayed in large residences of the rich. A millennium later, in Renaissance times, the natural world became of interest again. Curiosity cabinets, private collections made out of arts and special natural objects were curated and kept by aristocrats. In 1840, the circus was a first kind of museum, with strange people and objects (Welten, 2013)

2.1.2 HERITAGE TOURISM IN MODERNITY

At the beginning of the 19th century, around the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars, nationalism arose and ancient monuments and symbols were used to build a collective identity. This led to an awareness of preservation of ancient buildings and monuments (McCrone 1995 in Harvey, 2001). During this time, the upper and middle classes could go to collections like the Louvre on certain days. They had to apply for it and go in small groups. Later, museums became centers for scholarship for everybody. Ticket price and marketing still select the visitors to museums (Welten, 2013)

Notions of heritage as a legal concept developed in modernity, around the final quarter of the twentieth century (McCrone 1995 in Harvey, 2001; Lowenthal, 2000). Heritage has its roots in the restructuring of the world economy during the changes in the post-Fordist economic climate, that characterizes this post-modern era began in the 1970s (McCrone 1995 in Harvey, 2001). In those times, urbanization and industrialization started to threaten both natural environments and the remnants of antiquity. Postmodernist Lowenthal describes that feelings of nostalgia grew for everything that was pre-industrial (2005). During modernity a commercial definition of heritage dominated. Commoditization of culture is driven by the demand for packaging heritage consumption of for tourists. Traditional values can be lost when heritage is prepared for mass consumption (Timothy, 2011). Many scholars reacted to the definition of heritage as a commodity. For example, Hewison, who criticized the so-called 'heritage industry', argues that the tourism industry is destroying an authentic version of the past and replacing it by simulacra of that past (1988). An example of that is the governing of Egyptian tombs in Gurna for heritage tourism. Villages had to be destroyed in order to remake and preserve them and an indigenous culture had to be revived to develop an Egyptian national heritage (Mitchell, 2001).

During Renaissance, people looked at antiquity as a period in which society was highly developed. Remnants of the past were treasured. Because symbols from Greek and Roman times were so valuable, they would later be used to glorify leaders and to build up nations. When many heritages were destroyed during WWII, people tried to regulate and protect heritage by setting up institutions. Heritage was destroyed as a result of bombings, but it was also consciously destroyed to build a new nation, the third Reich. Warsaw was supposed to be the new capital where Hitler would hold residence. Plans were made for the complete destruction of the city and new architectural plans were drawn. Aside from the protection of heritage, these regulating institutions were also used to exploit historic scenes for tourism. In post-modernity these practices of exploitation for consumption were questioned (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000).

2.1.3 HERITAGE TOURISM IN POST MODERNITY

Heritage in modernity was mostly defined as an economic and commoditized good or in an essentialist way. In post modernity, also a cultural meaning of heritage became important (Harvey, 2001). In an essentialist view, often practiced by historicists, the origin and the value of heritage is located in the past. Herein, the emphasis lays on its historical functions, meanings and contexts (Frijhoff, 2007).

A postmodern view on heritage is that of Lowenthal. He says that heritage is formed by meanings given to past events in a certain time and space. Meanings relate to identities and are reproduced by social interactions. Accordingly, heritage develops inherently to a group's identity. Those who represent history can have specific purposes in selecting, and giving meaning to, historic events. Roman heritage has been through the selection process of recognizing it as something apart from everyday life. By individuals and organizations, it is treasured as something to pass on to future generations. The question why it should be passed on is not being asked anymore. Moreover, the effort taken to conserve and promote this past seems almost like a sacred obligation (Lowenthal, 2005). So not all the past is heritage, as the observers have 'selected' events as history or remains as heritage, to define them as such, and by doing so give meaning to it (Duineveld & Kolen, 2009). Meanings are marked by identity, reproduced by social interaction like those in a variety of media and created through consumption.

Cultural heritage has to do with the transformation of values and identities through the ages. In this process, heritage becomes self-evident only when a group of people recognize it as such (Frijhoff, 2007). Hardy referred to heritage as a 'value laden' concept. That is to say, that heritage always relates to the present circumstances. For example, the swastika as a symbol was used in WWII to transmit Nazi values. However, throughout history it had been used in many different ways. Nowadays it is still used in spiritual ceremonies in India where the heritage symbol is laden with higher divine values (Hardy, 1988 in Harvey, 2001 p.324). Meanings will always change from culture to culture and period to period. Heritage is present-centered, fulfilling demands of the present. It is open for constant revision and change (Graham & Howard, 2008). Since all heritage is produced completely in the present (Duncan and Ley 1993:329 in Harvey, 2001), our relationship with the past is understood in relation to our present temporal and spatial experience. Harvey uses the simple definition of heritage as 'a contemporary product shaped from history'. This concise definition conveys how heritage is subjective and filtered with reference to the present, whenever that 'present' actually is. It is a value-laden concept. It relates to processes of commoditization. Though, it is intrinsically reflective of a relationship with the past, however that 'past' is perceived and defined (Harvey, 2001; Hewison, 1988).

Writings about history are always an interpretation of the past. Therefore, objective history does not exist. 'Although this is an hardly ever doubted true in the academic world, this given is hardly recognized in practice, especially in public affairs' (Fowler, 1992, p. 30). Furthermore, the term 'heritage' stresses the inheritance process (Vecco, 2010) for individuals or groups (e.g. communities). Consequently, the notion that heritage would always be in process is implied by (Vecco, 2010). That corresponds with the term of 'heritasation' Harvey introduced. He argues that, in time, heritage relates to the changes in technology, experience of place and space (2001). Features from the past have to become known to be inherited by people. This happens through representations of interpretations of the past that have been selected (Graham & Howard, 2008). Heritage could thus be described as an inheritance process provoked by selected representations.

Heritage in postmodernity is viewed not only as a commoditization but also as a cultural good that carries a meaning. Heritage has become seen as something that carries values and those values differ from time to time and are place-bound. In postmodernity also, heritage is seen as something that can be used in the process of identity making of nations. In this sub-paragraph, community archeology, existential authenticity and heritage, identity and power are described as heritage concepts and practices in the postmodern era.

COMMUNITY ARCHEOLOGY

From the 1980s, indigenous voices were included in ethnographic research. In that time, critical theory in the sciences arose. There were voices that claimed the fallacy of objectivity and subjectivity became introduced in science. The observer and its bias became recognized and different voices were heard. This inclusion of indigenous voices led to new challenges in cooperation between various stakeholders. Public archeology and community archeology developed, based on the right of knowledge about the human past for local communities and their responsibilities of protecting heritage (Pacifico & Vogel, 2012). Community archeology can foster an interest with the public for archeology and opens a source of knowledge about local history by investigating oral history (Moser et al., 2002). Oral history is a way of collecting histories by interviewing people about their places or activities. This type of research offers personal, socially embedded narratives about the landscape and counters the prevailing positivist gathering techniques. Oral histories give insight into the changing character of a landscape and reveal more recent history (Riley & Harvey, 2005).

Moser et al. describe an example in which Egyptians in Qesir get the opportunity to gain back the heritage that was managed by westerners for so long. Residents were actively engaged in knowledge and projects to conserve and present a newly found Roman port. Managers of community archeology are fighting against the way foreign multinational corporations, archeologists and tourist organization have been ruling heritage in Egypt for years (Moser et al., 2002). Also community participation projects are conducted in parts of sub-

Saharan Africa. Those projects have been welcomed by the population after many years of disenfranchisement of the local people from their heritage that took place during colonialism. An example of Chirikure et al. of community participation is given here. It describes community participation as an empowerment tool. For a long time, communities were left out of the policy making in regards to heritage. In community participation, locals are actively involved and have the chance to have a voice in decisions. Participation in heritage can also mean more involvement in local politics or trade of locals. Locals can gain from economic benefits of heritage exploitation and grow their businesses. An example of community participation was that of CAMPFIRE, a project of wildlife management and fighting the negative effects of poaching in Zimbabwe. Heritage managers had problems with defining communities because of unclear ancestral links in the heritage areas caused by land appropriation policies of colonial governments. The question for heritage managers was whether to include those communities with ancestral links or those living close to the heritage site (2010). Also an example of empowerment of a spiritual group was reported when they had the opportunity to maintain the heritage site where they had spiritual activities. This opportunity arose when the spiritual practices were seen as intangible heritage by UNESCO. The community gained strength and could organize itself in being able to initiate activities at their holy place (Munyaradzi, 2003).

Communities are constructed by memory, place, identity and cultural expression and the voices within do not need to be consensual. The term community is often seen as a questionable means of maintaining the status quo, denying its obvious links to many social relations of power. Often authorities speak on behalf of communities, expressing their feelings towards heritage. In this way communities can become constructed, marginalized by traditional heritage narratives. The heritage sector is dominated by those denying that representations of heritage can have powerful effects on groups under construction (Waterton & Smith, 2010). Included in this practice is the generalization of symbols in administrative codes of heritage practices. "Consequently, few heritage professionals ask what people's views of heritage are beyond the white middle-class cultural symbols" (Waterton & Smith, 2010, p. 11). The conclusion of the above is that:

The cuddly nature of 'community', together with the sense that the heritage sector is engaged in doing 'good' through its engagement with communities, ensures that the problematics of this are hardly articulated. (Waterton & Smith, 2010, p. 11)

In heritage practices the concept of community is often used to make heritage managers feel good about the work they do. The rhetoric of communities sounds nice but heritage managers must be thinking:

We reserve the right to speak for them and interpret them, and sometimes, ultimately, we reject them, especially if they fail to conform to our nostalgic ideals. (Waterton & Smith, 2010, p. 8)

Many community-based projects have arisen in the tourism and heritage sector, involving things that are done 'for communities, rather than with them'. Even worse, the types of projects that are mostly conducted in the heritage sector are those who apply best to middle-classes. Waterton and Smith note that mapping community perspectives should go together with dismantling authoritative roles. The underlying assumptions of heritage should be tested and explored to find a way of heritage management that truly reflects the needs of those in the present (Waterton, 2005).

EXISTENTIAL AUTHENTICITY

MacCannell introduced the concept of authenticity to sociological studies (MacCannell, 1973). Authenticity is relevant in the study of the other or the past. Many studied the concept and implications of authenticity. Urry notes that the term of authenticity is only applicable in some occasions (when studying the other or the past). Standing ways of viewing authenticity are objective authenticity and constructive (or symbolic) authenticity (Wang, 1999). At first, mainly the objective, museum-linked version was applied to tourism. This authenticity was about traditional culture and origin, a sense of genuine, the real and unique. For a tourism experience this

sense is too simple and therefore the two separate issues are split: authentic experiences and toured objects (like nature). An authentic experience is one in which the toured objects are experienced as real. In staged authenticity the experience (objective authenticity) cannot be authentic because the toured object is in fact 'false'. MacCannel (1973) brought up staged authenticity, Boorstin (1964) pseudo-events, and Goffman (1959) the 'front and back regions' in tourism. They all refer to the museum linked version of authenticity from modernity. Constructive authenticity is the notion that a toured object is the result of a social construct. Tourists experience toured object in relation to their view points. The symbolic meaning of the toured objects is interpreted in context. Where constructive authenticity is a concept of interpretivism, existential authenticity is from the postmodern, critical school. In existential authenticity, the experiences of the tourist are involved. Personal, intersubjective feelings activated by tourist activities are involved in the notion of authenticity (Wang, 1999). The toured objects are not authentic but the experience of non-ordinary tourist activities. 'Existential' refers to existential state of being that can occur caused by tourism having an 'authentically good time' (Wang, 1999, p. 352). Related to this notion of existential authenticity the idea of Simulacra of the French postmodernist Baudrillard (1983) is related. Simulacra explains different levels of the relation with the toured object and the 'real'. A very much used simulacra of this period are representations. People live in a world of representations because there is no referential any more. People are surrounded by images of things and places that no longer exist. 'Today's world is a simulation which admits no originals, no origins, no real referent but the metaphysics of the code' ((Baudrillard (1983) in Wang, 1999, p. 356). An existential experience has no concern for toured objects. It is about the state of being.

The contemporary tourist role is linked to this form of authenticity. 'Tourism is thus regarded as a simpler, freer, more spontaneous, more authentic, or less serious, less utilitarian, lifestyle which enables people to keep a distance from, or transcend daily lives' (Wang, 1999, p. 360). Wang introduced existential intra-personal authenticity and inter-personal authenticity. Part of the intra-personal experiences are bodily experiences, sensual and symbolic. In this intra personal experience the body is both a carrier of personal identities like health, movement and beauty as the feeling subject of the sensual pleasure. Tourists are not searching for the authenticity of the other, but of the authenticity of themselves. The inter-personal authenticity is about authenticity between tourists. For example family ties are celebrated during holiday (Wang, 1999).

Herbert writes about literary places attracting pilgrimages to these sites. In those places, a mix of real and the imagined is merging which gives the place a special meaning to the visitors. Even deep emotions relating to the childhood of the visitors, of stories they have been told, occur when places where writers have lived (2001). For the notion of heritage Urry writes that places have become centers of spectacle and display and that heritage can be nostalgic attraction (Urry, 1992). Foucault describes realities and fictions that are constructs of a continuing discourse and therefore a distinction of reality and fiction is irrelevant (Foucault, 1973).

Places acquire meanings from imaginative worlds, but these meanings and the emotions they engender are real to the beholder. Stories excite interest, feelings and involvement, and landscapes can be related to their narratives. Literary places can be "created" with these fictional worlds in mind and tourists may be less concerned with distinctions between fiction and reality than with what stirs their imaginations and raises their interests. (Herbert, 2001, p. 318)

Whether a place is real or not is not the most important feature for tourists. Emotions are real; stories excite feelings that invoke involvement relating to place. Touristic places can be created in the minds of tourists. The question of something being real or not brings us to the question of authenticity of the tourist experience. Therefore, the notion of authenticity is integral to the heritage experience (Herbert, 2001). The quest for authenticity is as a reflection of the desires of tourists and consumers for genuine and credible cultural constructions. Tourists are in search for the representation of authenticity in diverse cultural and heritage contexts (Zhu, 2012).

(tourists) are not primarily looking for scientific historical evidence. They may even be only partly interested in the historical reality as such. Visitors to historic sites are looking for an experience, a new reality based on the tangible remains of the past. For them, this is the very essence of the heritage experience. (Schouten 1995:21 in Herbert (2001))

In heritage places, the real and the imagined are merging. Heritage managers reinvent the past by reconciling past and present. To tourists, the authenticity of the place is not the most important feature, but the emotions that are emerging during the heritage experience. Those emotions are real in any case and relate to tourists' identities.

HERITAGE, IDENTITY AND POWER

Heritage is seen as a social construction, identity too is part of the meaning making of heritage. Heritage landscapes inhabit cultural meaning in relation to identity, belonging and sense of place. This linkage between landscapes and communities is often overlooked. To explore why connections to heritage landscapes are underplayed in legislation and public policy, the issues of ownership, power, knowledge and 'public' heritage need to be discussed (Waterton, 2005). And because viewers attach meaning to what they see, and do not necessarily receive the intended message, reception has to be studied no less than production (Morgan, 2007). Museumized heritage has been a product for the masculine, middle class, urban and Eurocentric consumer, as they have long been the bringers of historic narratives (Lowenthal, 1996). Accordingly, how heritage is perceived depends on class, gender and ethnicity of the perceiver.

According to Bourdieu (1984), every cultural object is both produced as a material entity and as a mental image of perception. The process of the creation of the cultural objects, Bourdieu refers to as the cycle of consecration. Consecration means: In which both cultural objects and the comprehension are created and recreated by institutions and agents. Consecration circumscribes the significance of the producers amongst its peers, competitors and clients, but moreover the comprehension, value and meaning of objects. Cultural needs are the product of upbringing and education; as cultural practices like museum visits and reading preferences are closely linked to educational level. Economic, social and cultural capital can be derived from the consumption of culture. Capital is derived from actions in the field. Fields are spheres of action where power is produced (work, friends, school). Understanding these 'fields' in which the actors play a role, give insights into his 'habitus'. Habitus is, according to Bourdieu, a 'structured and structuring structure which organizes practices and the perception of practice'. The habitus is formed in the fields and relevant spaces where the agents act. Social class, education, upbringing and past choices form part of this structure determine the behavior of an agent in the field. Social class is defined by the different positions in the field. Social class is determined by capital. Bourdieu defined capital as: a power over a field where the actor has a position. He described different forms of capital: economic capital (who owns the means of production), social capital (positions in the social hierarchy), cultural capital (knowledge, taste, education, skills) and symbolic capital (entails the use of symbols to express the other capitals). Agents are distributed in the field according to the volume of their capital and the composition of the capital. Heritage can be seen as cultural capital, used in the field to gain a better social status. According to Bourdieu, to exist is to exist socially, in relation to others. Power is thus within us, but our social circumstances play a significant role in determining our social status (1985).

Additionally, as heritage is part of the value system of the receiver, it is interesting to look at the psychological part of perception. Perception is, in that sense, the experience of a meaningful image the mind produces of sensations (the taking-in of raw information by mediation of our senses). In all our perceptions, we employ pre-existing mental concepts, in order to organize raw sensorial information into meaningful experiences. Mental concepts are units of thought that form our knowledge; they are necessary elements to produce a sensation into a perception. Knowledge is formed by mental concepts, but knowledge also creates mental concepts.

Perception has two components: a sensational, non-conceptual content (what we cannot remember after briefly looking at something) and a conceptual, non-sensational content (what we can remember after briefly looking at something). Paying attention to something turns sensations into conceptual content (Larsen, 2007). The non-conceptual content of the perception is thus the inhabited part of the receiver, the result of upbringing, education and nature.

The following figure (figure 2) summarizes the construction and consumption of a heritage object. First it is represented by text, images or buildings, and received by consumers. Consumers read and interpret the message, which causes an impact on the receiver, like formation of identity and community building. Values and priorities gained from the heritage place are (theoretically) given back to the producers. They can use the information to shape future heritage constructions (Herbert, 2001).

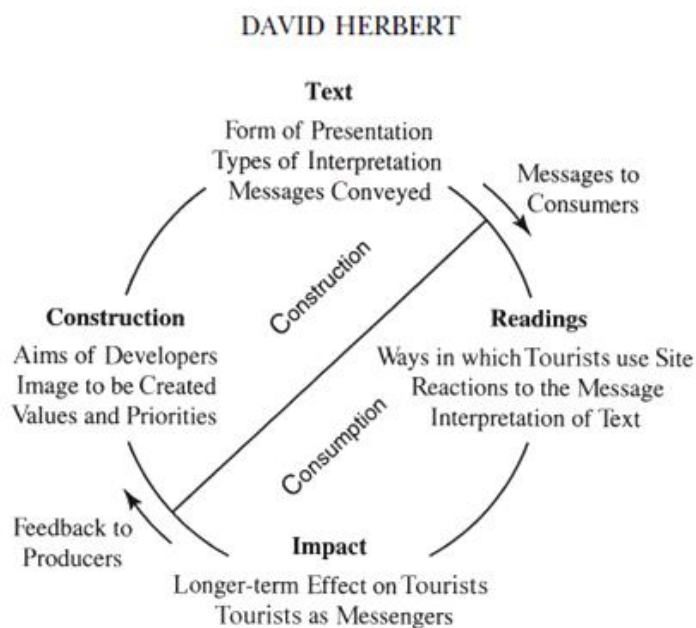


Figure 2 Construction and consumption of heritage places (Herbert, 2001)

The feedback stage is often overlooked, so information of receivers of messaging about heritage are not heard (Poria et al., 2004).

Both from Bourdieu's view, as well as from a psychological view, I can conclude: How people perceive material representations of history (or other images and text) is determined by structures within and around us. Those mental structures have been formed by the way we were raised and educated relating to our (class, gender, ethnic etc.) identities. Consequently, not only *what* we perceive is part of the agenda of powerful institutions (like governments and corporations), but also *how* we perceive it.

2.1.4 HERITAGE TODAY

Today, we are facing a web of regulations, institutions, symbols, production and consumption and critique towards the way heritage is managed: Heritage is a means of representation. It is used in cultural identity making and in commoditization. Heritage is produced and consumed. On the production side we see cultural and economic meanings produced and exchanged. On the consumption side we see cultural and economic meaning produced by consumption. Furthermore, heritage is regulated and cultural and economic meanings are organized in conducts and practices (Graham & Howard, 2008).

REPRESENTATIONS OF HERITAGE IN THE MEDIA

Today we are confronted with different historical narratives in different forms of media. Historical narratives are stories that communicate symbolic and practical meaning attached to history. Historical narratives connect individuals to a collective using symbols, knowledge, and meaning. Studying how people tell and understand stories, including stories of their history, gives insight about the process of how a group creates a social reality (Liu & László, 2007). The validity of the historic narratives depends on the credibility, authenticity and coherence, hanging on time, plot, characters, perspective, narrative intentions and evaluation. The form of knowledge created by this mechanism is validated and maintained in time and space as a part of a particular society's beliefs (Liu & László, 2007). In societies, representations of history are transferred through different media. Obviously, history is taught in schools and universities. From educational institutes, historical interpretations are exposed in mass media and other tribunes, which leads to the formation of a public opinion. Professional and lay representations of history can be distinguished. Furthermore, two kinds of professionals play a role in the representations of history: historians and political scientists on the one hand, versus politicians and opinion leaders on the other. The first group aims to produce valid and academic knowledge to provide a basis of collective wisdom as a basis to formulate scientifically justified policies. Politicians and opinion leaders seek to persuade the public of the correctness of the policies they advocate. In many cases, those two groups work together, which leads to successful reconstructions of history. These reconstructions become anchored in discourse and more tangible representations such as monuments, textbooks, and public holidays (Liu & Hilton, 2005).

In his influential article 'do artifacts have policies' Winner (1980) argues that technologies inherit morality. He gives as an example that gateways to parks by bridges in New York were too low to pass through by bus. This way, people from lower economical classes were discouraged to go to the park by consciously building infrastructure in a certain way. This practice is keeping up the classist society. In the same way, socially shared representations of history condition nations and peoples (Liu & László, 2007). Therefore, representations of history could be seen as performative materiality. Implicit and explicit definitions of how to behave 'normally' in public space embedded in many instruments, objects, places and spaces. In other words, people's behavior is governed or disciplined by means of material configurations that enable and constrain (L Winner, 1980). Latour subsequently argued that artifacts are bearers of morality as they are constantly taking all kinds of moral decisions for people. Objects embody what he calls 'scripts': just like the script of a film or play they prescribe who does what and when. Thus, for example, he shows that the moral decision of how fast one drives is often delegated to a speed bump in the road with the script 'slow down before reaching me'. Anyone complaining about deteriorating moral standards in our society, according to Latour, should use their eyes, as the objects around us are chock-a-block with morality (1992). The philosopher Verbeek argues that the non-neutrality of technology make it plausible to ascribe some morality to artifacts. Because technologies substantially contribute to the coming about of actions and of decisions about how to act, their role cannot be entirely reduced to the intentions behind their design and use (Verbeek, 2008).

Often, representations of history are shown as images. According to Baudrillard, with the emergence of visualized and digitalized forms of simulations of the social, the real was disappearing. He describes the concepts of simulacrum, a copy without a model. With this concept he describes images in society as hyper reality, produced without relation with reality (Baudrillard 1992 in Stocchetti & Sumiala-Seppänen, 2007). Bauman sees images as sites of imagination. The 'liquid sociality', as Bauman terms it, is supported by visual communication and imagination. With the term 'liquid' he stresses the processuality of relationships. Sociality is, in his eyes, growing in the soil of uncertainty and insecurity of all social forms (Bauman, 2007).

Representations of history are reaching us by different media. We are being confronted with them voluntarily (like during leisure activities) and involuntarily (like at school). Those representations of history are performative materiality because they inhabit morality and with that, they are telling us how to behave.

2.2 SCALES OF HERITAGE

Shared histories are strong in binding together communities because a group membership is about sameness and similar interpretations of history are creatable. Furthermore, people in a place have a sense of caring for places and sense of belonging to it. Historic places provide us with narratives about where we come from, relating to the essence of our group identity. In this section, a summary of readings regarding heritage and identities will be provided (Waterton & Smith, 2010). Representations of history in communities, perceptions and experiences of heritage, and different communal forms like the nation state, Europe and the neighborhood are described in this paragraph.

A heritage experience is connected to emotions and the experience of emotions is connected to identity. Both heritage and identity are slippery and ambiguous but important and intertwined concepts (Graham & Howard, 2008). Heritage can be viewed as knowledge, a cultural product or a political resource. The knowledge is always negotiated in certain milieus of time and space. Identity too, is a product that links to senses of time and place and is negotiable and multiple. Shared interpretations are used to construct inclusiveness and exclusiveness that shape communities. Identity is about sameness and is expressed and experienced in group membership. This group membership invokes the 'othering' of those who are outside that group. This process can lead to avoidance, distrust, distancing and exclusion of that 'other' from the group (Graham & Howard, 2008). Thus, both heritage and identity link to place and territory (Graham & Howard, 2008). Representations of history help us to define this group identity and moreover, it tells us how we relate to other groups (Liu & Hilton, 2005).

The idea of 'national heritage' was fundamental to the idea of the nation state and they developed alongside in nineteenth century Europe. The nation state required national heritage to build on national narrative (Graham et al., 2000). Heritage, however, is not only involved with national identities. Heritage relates to global values imbued with 'world heritage' and on a smaller scale European heritage. Heritage also has implications for local, and personal identities (Graham & Howard, 2008).

In this paragraph, the different scales in which heritage is used for meaning making is described. The scales described here are national-, European- and world heritage. Also literature about personal and local heritage is given. For the last category, no specific example of Roman times is given, as this is described in the case study in this report. For every subparagraph, a heading is placed under what the Roman heritage for that scale is described specifically.

2.2.1 HERITAGE ON A NATIONAL LEVEL

In this subparagraph, heritage on a national level is described using relevant literature. First, a general description is given. Under the heading 'Roman heritage on a national level', examples are described of how Roman heritage is used in other countries for the building of a national identity.

Cultural heritage promotes empathy, the ancestral specific gives personal allure and we are able to identify with it. Nations trumpet their cultural heritage and try to gain its restitution (Lowenthal, 2005). Also Harvey describes situations where heritage is used in order to legitimate a 'national consciousness' or a communal memory akin to an early 'nation state' (2001).

With the passage of time, the past experience of groups enters into social representations. Liu & Hilton argue that representations of history have a significant impact on the sense of identity of a group. Moreover, popular history is often a collective memory of conflicts with other groups. These collective memories forming so-called *charters* legitimize roles and mandate actions (Liu & Hilton, 2005). This charter is constitutional, a foundational myth for a society. It is defining rights and obligations for a group and legitimizing its social and political arrangements. The charter is explaining the group's present and it is shaping its future. It helps to define the

timeless essence of a group. Their shared experience and culture is transmitted across generations and to newcomers such as immigrants through education and other media (Liu & Hilton, 2005). The process of building a charter resulting in a national canon is an ongoing process. New historical events and figures can be brought into representational play as the current political situation changes (Igartua & Paez, 1997; Schwartz, 1997).

According to many theorists, social identification is not just the process of activating an identity, but the process of constructing an identity with a particular agenda (e.g. a charter) in mind. Evidently, only charters that are informally accepted by public opinion as true social representations of history legitimize a society's current social and political arrangements (Liu & Hilton, 2005). In his book *Imagined communities*, Anderson (1983) describes how colonial states used a charter in the form of census, maps and museums to control their territory. By producing a census, they imposed a classification of people based on how the colonialists viewed race. This influenced the existing hierarchy between 'native' people and colonizers. With maps, the state divided the country by drawing invisible horizontal lines over the country. With that, the colonial power holders did not follow existing lines but anticipated the diligence of power between colonial states. Museums portrayed religious assets of the culture. Those holy relics lost their holiness and became symbols of power being taught in school and reproduced in public places. Colonizers used this totalizing classification system, putting anything under state's control in a neat grid, explaining what belongs here and not there. This system was seen by an Indonesian poet as a glass house. In that glass house anybody and anything has a serial number. In Anderson's book, this image was compared with Bentham's panopticon; a state of complete visibility developed by new technologies as navigation, photography and the driving power of capitalism. Imposing this power using census, maps and museums has led to the formation of national states, like the example used in the book 'Imagined communities' of the nation state of Indonesia. Still, nation states owe much to the colonial state's curious imaging of history and power (Anderson, 1983). Today, nation states still choose the census, maps and museums to demonstrate and perpetuate their power. Heritage as an object is in this way used as a meaning maker for state values, like military power.

For people, the nationalistic feeling can seem innately given. In a study about emotional journeys in Korea, it is found that the nation is for many an extension of the family relation. The emotional belonging is so real; there is no question about the love for the nation like there is no question for the love of the family (Park, 2010). However, national identity can be formed with a particular agenda in mind. Historical charters have power over the individual. Because a historical charter is widely regarded as true, an individual cannot ignore it (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Liu and Hilton (2005) criticize the use of historical data by politicians by stating ironically:

A great advantage of history for politicians is that most of the participants in it are dead, and while immortal as symbols, can speak only through the tongues of present day interpreters. (Liu & Hilton, 2005).

In Mitchell's chapter (2001) about Egyptian tomb tourism, power holders created a heritage for the tourists and the nations (the particular agenda), excluding local people. The result of these actions was that people living close to the tombs were cut off from basic needs and had become dependent on tourist revenues (Mitchell, 2001).

Historic charters can be very powerful in nation building. Heritage can be consciously used in the building of a nation state to bind people together and to send implicit messages. This in itself is not problematic. However, the idea that heritage can be a vehicle for values that exclude certain people and can create common enemies is very frightening. We were taught over and over again about the horrors during WWII. The Nazis collected and interpreted tales from history to glorify themselves and make certain minorities inferior. They used many value-laden symbols that even today still carry those values. Heritage is used to build up a feeling of sameness and to include and exclude certain groups. On the other hand local people create their own heritage by

personal activities. National heritage can feel very intimate. Governments include personal activities sometimes in their heritage practices creating nations.

ROMAN HERITAGE ON A NATIONAL LEVEL

Witcher is part of a program in the U.K. that is set up with the name 'Tales of the frontier'. They provide studies covering Hadrian's wall on archeology and tourism. The conclusion by the researchers of Durham University is that Hadrian's wall has been used as a symbol for England's power, defining the barrier against the Scots. Furthermore, it is concluded that the wall is used as an iconic monument to an ancestral empire and the imperial frontiers of Britain's Empire. They also concluded that Hadrian's wall is often used as a counter argument of the ancient populations of Scotland and their successful resistance to Rome/England (Hingley, 2012). Tolia-Kelly and Hingley are also actively involved in tales of the Frontier. They researched that in public presentations of Romans in the U.K., black and African residents on the frontier are seemingly discordant. Tolia-Kelly re-narrated the multi-cultural tales of the Roman wall, centered on Emperor Septimius Severus, the African Emperor. She recovered a set of narratives that were taken for granted from the 19th century onwards (Tolia-Kelly, 2011). The author states that with her study and exhibition (an archeology of race) she shows:

A postcolonial interpretation of Hadrian's Wall enables us to see a dynamic, multi-cultured society, and thus challenges a seemingly benign white Imperial Romanness. (Tolia-Kelly, 2011, p. 85)

Result of the abstract ideas of communities and inelastic heritage practices is that people within communities become misrecognized and the misinterpretations of their identities become institutionalized. The heritage of the 'great' and the 'good' of white (British) history is prioritized over other histories like histories that in many ways could be coded as 'black', 'ethnic' or 'feminine' (Waterton & Smith, 2010).

An example of how Roman heritage played a role in Serbian national identity is that of the Roman emperors. Firstly, the Roman heritage was used to attract tourists, but at the same time it was a top down identity construction. The national identity is defined by neighboring identities. Heritage has been a symbol for Europe for a long time, constantly changed, transformed and reconstructed. Meanings have been ascribed to Roman heritage

particularly in the contemporary world, the Roman legacy has 'still remained a powerful source of inspiration in terms of legal, institutional, and architectural models, and the legacy of its imperial conquest continued to provide a standard of reference and ambition for modern European nations (Dietler 2005 in Kuzmanović & Mihajlović, 2014, p. 417).

'Roman emperors from Serbian soil have received considerable attention from the state institutions. Findings of Roman remains were spectacularly presented, reminding the people that Roman emperors were born on Serbian soil. At first, the Roman emperors did not speak so much to the public in terms of national identity because other (local) heritages were more important. An extreme nationalistic tendency was going on in the Milosevic era. After 2000, the fall of Milosevic, Serbia opened up to a more democratic and European-minded political climate. When the academic community adopted the Roman heritage, governmental institutions realized the value of it for tourism. The specific history of the Roman emperors born in Serbia became an economic source for tourism. The heritage confirmed that Serbia was part of Europe for over 1700 years. The Roman heritage promotion as a supranational heritage and a pan-European heritage was supported by EU means and seen as a European legacy by the European commission. Especially the promotion of emperor Constantine the Great speaks to the imagination of many. He won the utmost popularity in his time. He was key in the development of the Byzantine Empire and played an important role in the development of Christianity (Kuzmanović & Mihajlović, 2014). Therefore, the attendance of this emperor signifies the power of the east (of Europe) (Hocman, 2008). Those values were also important in modern Serbia. This emperor was especially connected to the city of Nis, conveying the superiority over other cities in Serbia. It is in accordance

to the state and the church. The narrative of Roman emperors is used to support the nation's discourse of cultural identity of Serbia. Certain types of conceptualization of heritage and integrative symbolism can be meanings and effects applied in a specific context. In this example, it can be seen that heritage can be constructed from a top-down position, but that the support of the public is essential in heritage construction. The people of Nis adopted the heritage and used it in tourism development (Kuzmanović & Mihajlović, 2014).

The Roman heritage is used in building an identity for Great Britain, consciously including and excluding certain tribes. In the example of Roman emperors from Serbian soil, it is to see that the Roman heritage is used to connect to a bigger whole. Of course, the Netherlands has a different identity and the Roman heritage will play out different identity traits.

2.2.2 HERITAGE ON AN EUROPEAN LEVEL

In recent years there seems to be a growing interest in symbols for Europe as a whole. The European council has been working hard on European symbols like a flag, a hymn, a currency and governmental buildings. The recent nominations on UNESCO's world heritage list, such as the Roman frontier fortifications, is another example of the search for symbols to represent Europe as a whole. However, a common destiny seems to be lacking (Van Gorp & Renes, 2007). Nonetheless, from the debate about Turkey and a number of Balkan countries becoming members of the European Union, it can be implied that there is a European culture. Next to economic doubts and the discussion about the size of the country of Turkey, a different cultural identity was an argument in the discussion (Van Gorp & Renes, 2007). In this subparagraph, it is explained which role Roman heritage has on a European level.

The idea of Europe is not new. European consciousness arose in the sixteenth century, the time of the Enlightenment or the Age of Reason. Before that, autocratic and religious authorities ruled middle age Europe. During the Age of Enlightenment, scientific methods as the act of 'reason' was increasingly practiced to discover truth, getting back to antique ways of finding truth. Also the idea of democracy revived after Romanticism and developed during the enlightenment. Political values that are still alive nowadays like consent, human rights and freedom of speech and the separation of church and state are rooted in the Age of Reason. Definitions of Europe have been controversial ever since. Some speak about a political project while others refer to a European identity related to cultural heritage. Little agreement on geographical borders exists and different notions of Europe developed in time from the sixteenth century to modernity and during cold war. A common part of the sense of Europe is that it is formed in time and space by many forces (Delanty, 2007).

From an Enlightenment world view, heritage became seen as something that could be apprehended and manipulated by the most powerful (Waterton, 2005).

The most important aspect of prized archaeological artifacts is not that these constitute data but that these 'inalienable possessions are the hub around which social identities are displayed, fabricated, exaggerated, modified, or diminished. (Weiner 1992 in Waterton, 2005, p. 318)

Such that:

The person or group that controls (and thus defines) the movement and meaning of such objects inherits an authority and a power over others. (Lahn 1996 Waterton, 2005, p. 318).

Archaeologists, as advocates of the past, are able to validate their esoteric position by controlling over heritage that represents the past (Waterton, 2005).

Europe presents itself as an urbanized, Christian continent with a long history, expressing its 'Europeanness' in standing common cultural habits such as Catholic charity, the Protestant ethic, or pasta and Beethoven (Amin, 2004). This old idea of Europe will not trigger the imagination and loyalty of minority ethnic groups with loyalties split between host nation and imagined communities dispersed around the world and in non-European histories at all? Amin (2004) argues for a new idea of Europe based on Socratic Europe of freedom as the product of dialogue and engagement. These values suggest that empathy/engagement with the stranger could become the essence of what it is to be 'European'.

In the Europe of today, residents have roots in countries from all over the world and that their identities are increasingly diasporic, transnational and translocal (Amin, 2004). It would be arrogant to believe in the superiority or universalism of the kind of thinking that underlies the Idea of Europe practiced by white males (Latour, 2002 in Amin, 2004). Furthermore, in article O of the Maastricht Treaty (TUE) it is stated that any state can apply to enter the European Union as a 'European state'. This indicates that the European Union is constructed (Burgess, 2002). Still, there seems to be an essence that legitimizes Europeanness, for example projects like Alexander's campaigns in the name of the unification of Europe or of the remaking of Europe after WWII (Burgess, 2002). Amin argues for the reinvention of the Idea of Europe, a certain ethos, one of empathy for the stranger and of becoming through interaction, supported by a framework of rights that draw upon elements of European political philosophy, including the Enlightenment ideal of universal freedoms and the French Revolution ideal of an equal and solidaristic society (2004). Accordingly, Zygmunt Bauman argues in his book *Europe, An Unfinished Adventure* that being 'European' is a conscious, self-aware choice and has nothing to do with the geographical place people are living in. What makes Europe unique is the 'discovery of culture as an activity performed by humans on the human world' (Bauman, 2004, p. 9). The discovery that all things are human-made, making of the world an object of 'critical inquiry and creative action' (Bauman, 2004, p. 11). The outcome is that we, the Europeans, are the sole people that have no fixed identity: 'we do not know who we are'. European culture is one of questioning the order of things and on questioning the fact of questioning it. And such an aware, self-conscious and self-constituting identity is indeed very different from national-territorial 'cultural identities (Bauman, 2004). Bauman argues that we should rather consider 'the practice of Europeanism', being a 'continuous negotiation of difference' instead of the static ideal of Europe (Bauman, 2004, p. 7). The European way of life is conducted in the constant presence of the others and the different, and the European way of life is a continuous negotiation that goes on despite the otherness and the difference dividing those engaged in, and by, the negotiation (Bauman, 2004). The ability of Europeans to live together is a specific asset of Europe. People in Europe learn and live: 'We are all others, and we are all ourselves' (Gadamer 1996 in Bauman, 2004, p. 7).

Neither histories nor heritage are defined on a European level. A list like a national charter or a list with the most important European heritage does not exist (Van Gorp & Renes, 2007). However the landmark new Constitution for Europe is trying to define the Union's competences seeking for the nature of European belonging (Amin, 2004). In 1972, the European Commission defines the European identity as follows: Firstly, the European identity consists of a common heritage, interests and special obligations within the community; secondly the 'dynamic nature' of European unification is mentioned; and thirdly the extent to which the states are 'already acting together in relation to the rest of the world' (European Commission, 1973). According to Amin, defining European heritage and tradition is based on four myths of origin, namely: the rule of Roman law, solidarity based on Christian charity and mutuality, liberal democracy rooted in the rights and, fourth, freedoms of the individual commonality based on reason and other Enlightenment universal principles (2004).

ROMAN HERITAGE ON AN EUROPEAN LEVEL

If the European union should describe a European heritage, what would it be? Having described discussions on a European identity, the content of the heritage is described here. In history, the Hansa trade route has led to integration of many European cities. However this event has negative implications in the Baltic States. Recent

attempts of political- and military unification were even more problematic. Both Napoleonic wars and the Nazi third Reich have a heavy negative load and therefore cannot act as symbols for European unification. Less controversial is the Roman Empire. The imperialistic activities are long ago and therefore have become more objectified, and the Romans still attract admiration for their military and organizational skills. Furthermore their architectural and town-building activities are easily recognized because of its great deal of standardization. The Roman Empire is often referred to as Mediterranean heritage. Yet, it seems to gain importance as a European symbol. The Frontiers of a Roman Empire on the world heritage list has been recently extended with parts of the German Limes and will be further extended with the Antonine Wall in Scotland. Hadrian's wall was already part of the world heritage list together with Roman sites in Germany, Italy, France (Van Gorp & Renes, 2007).

In the future, all Roman border fortifications, from Scotland to the Black Sea, might become one European World Heritage site. (Van Gorp & Renes, 2007, p. 411)

It seems to be that the European commission agrees with van Gorp and Renes. In the lead introducing the chapter "heritage conservation" in the report series: "Europe on the move", volume "A community of cultures, The European Union and the arts", the writers of the European Commission use the following phrasing:

The European Union's work on conserving and enhancing the cultural environment...Roman remains or a site of exceptional natural beauty are important not just for the people who live nearby, but for all the people of Europe. (EuropeanCommission, 2002, p. 14)

The values of reason, democracy, freedom of speech, and rights of the individual are often subject of debates in the European media nowadays, like they were during the Age of Reason. Getting to a common Europe as such reminds us of Enlightenment, like getting back to antiquity. Ancient history is already promoted as European heritage, although it is not written in a charter. This can be seen from documents written by the European Council, but also from direct representations around us. In the European anthem, in the second sentence, Europe is compared to Elysium, the ancient Greek image of paradise. Even more obvious, looking at our Euro bills, bridges from Roman times appear behind the numbers. Furthermore, the multicultural society, as the Roman Empire was, is exemplified in the European character slogan: 'Unity in diversity'.

The Maastricht Treaty of 1993 makes it possible to address cultural issues, protection of heritage and promotion of culture on a European level. An example of a project on European basis is the "European capital of culture program" started in 1985. Cities are for one year cultural capital of Europe and are supported with EU means. Aside from this, a European treaty controls the export of cultural products and the removal of heritage assets (Timothy, 2011). Furthermore Limissie, as mentioned in the problem statement, is a European project to improve cooperations for rural socio-economic development started in 2003 and ended in 2015. These projects are often associated with heritage. Limissie states: "The Roman history is common European history which is the cradle of our common EU culture member states (old and new)." Limissie in the Netherlands is a project of five rural local initiatives in the Netherlands led by Kromme Rijnstreek. Limissie is a part of Leader ('Liaison Entre Actions de Développement de l'Economie Rurale'). Leader is an initiative financed by the EU that aims for sustainable development of rural areas. On a Dutch national level, the organization 'Rijksmonumenten' is concerned with monuments. They term national monuments as real estate with cultural and historical value, selected by the national government to be protected and conserved. This organization and website functions under the authority of RCE, the national service for culture and heritage (RCE, 2011). On a local level, museums and municipalities often take the role of heritage conservers. Regionally, concerns about heritage are taken by the provincial deputy coworkers. Furthermore, tourism offices like RBTKAN, foundations, like 'stichting Romeinen festival' and agencies like those of Ulpia tekst productions of Paul van der Heijden work with heritage. In conservation those parties are hired by municipalities or provincial deputies to manage heritage.

Europe is divided into east and west. The influx of many immigrants in the 1990s from eastern European countries to the west was called 'limes'. Another example of a border like the limes is the Berlin wall. Limes divides communities.

Assume that the limes was no more than a line of reference for Romans and non-Romans, but that the influence of the former could be felt many miles beyond this supposed Roman frontier in imperial times. Because the frontier undoubtedly existed (and here we have proof from archaeology), however this does not mean that the Romans had no relations with the peoples situated on the other side of the line of military fortifications. Said in another way, the limes not only was an efficacious system for repelling possible incursions, but also a center of reference in which diplomatic, commercial, cultural and linguistic relations – at least – converged on both sides of the frontier line. (Bravo, 2005 in Martinez, 2006, pp. 58-59)

The Roman empire was the common denominator of what framed the mindset dividing east and west. The universal character of Roman influence has always been present in Europe. It makes the basis of western civilization. In the first century AD, Tacitus referred to Germania, Britannia and North-Eastern Europe as the periphery of the civilized world (Hocman, 2008). The idea of how west Europeans see the east of Europe is well defined by Pocock (2002) cited in Hocman (2008, p. 109)

The geographical concept of "Europe" has moved to the West to the point where it defines an Atlantic peninsula by calling it a continent. Similarly, the historical concept of "Europe" has migrated, to the point where everything we mean when we say "the history of Europe" refers to the history of the political and religious culture—the highly distinctive civilization—that arose in the far-western Latin speaking provinces of the former Roman Empire. This has become what we mean by Europe. The lands to which the term Europa was originally applied—Thrace, Macedonia, Illyria, the more modern Bulgaria, Albania and Serbia—those which the Byzantine emperors considered their European "themes" or provinces—are in our minds only marginally European, inhabited by uncouth warring tribes whose history is not ours and whose problems are not of our business.

Limes is a political tool that is used to make distinctions between communities. Between East and West Europe and between European and non-European. There are different levels of being European like there were different levels of being Roman. Those in the peripheries struggle to get an entry ticket like refugees from African countries trying to cross the Mediterranean sea. Those coming from Balkan countries try to make a living in western European countries for low wages under bad conditions. Being European does not mean right away that one can profit from the promised wellbeing of the continent. In Roman times, tribe members of outside the empire also had to pay duties before becoming a Roman. A way to enter the Roman empire as a legal citizen was for example to be a gladiator. Gladiators were in the beginning highly appreciated slaves but could become free Romans after a period of good duty. As well as in the Roman empire as in Europe, outsiders have to pass social, economic and legal borders to become part of the community. 'Unity in diversity' in Europe, could be seen as the Romans did it. They incorporated many different tribes to be part of a strong and diverse empire.

2.2.3 WORLD HERITAGE

The idea of creating a world heritage was first formed after WWI. International involvement with heritage began as an emergency response after the high Dam of the Nile flooded in 1950. The famous abu Simbel temples stood under water after the dam broke. The international parties responded by leading a rescue operation for the temples, placing them stone by stone on a higher dry part (UNESCO, 2015a). After WWII, a global cooperation in heritage resource cooperation developed. UNESCO, founded in 1945 during the rebuilding of the world after the war. The mission of this United Nations founded body was to promote peace

through science, culture and education. After the 'Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage' in 1972, the world heritage list was presented, a product of the world heritage committee. The mission of this committee was to identify, protect and preserve world cultural and national heritage. UNESCO strives to protect the legacies of the past from dangers of the modern world. This organization is counseled by ICOMOS, a scholarly advisory board that views heritage from different disciplines. UNESCO defines tangible and intangible heritage. Intangible heritage are cultural assets like traditions, myths and languages. Tangible heritage are monuments, groups of buildings and sites (UNESCO, 2015c). This subparagraph describes how heritage is created on a worldwide level.

UNESCO WHS (World Heritage Sites) are always nominated by national governments, so these sites always carry values of national interest. However, the world heritage list was initiated to protect heritage sites that speak to humanity. It grew to a brand and a seal of approval for tourism destinations. Of course it is not a brand in the traditional way, but it still offers tourists a differentiation in choosing a destination for their tour. Although many tourists may have little knowledge of the extraordinary histories of certain WHS, the UNESCO WHS label is seen as an assurance of the historical and cultural importance of heritage sites. This way, the brand makes a competitive advantage for the tourism destination with the brand (Ryan & Silvanto, 2009). The WH List consists of 890 sites in 148 countries: 689 are cultural sites, 176 are natural sites and 25 'mixed sites' combining cultural and natural heritage. But to reach the world heritage list as a heritage site, the site has to be first on the tentative list, which lists a total of 1466 sites (UNESCO, 2015a). Most of these site are nominated by the governments of developing nations. For those with lesser means and a more unstable climate of war and peace, it is harder to meet the protection standards (Ryan & Silvanto, 2009).

ROMAN WORLD HERITAGE

World heritage listings are always done nationally. In case of the Frontiers of the Roman empire, a transnational listing is required by the nation states and the monument is spread over several countries. As such, countries have to work together in order to make a listing (UNESCO, 2015a).

Parts of the limes in the UK (Hadrians' wall) and in Germany (Uppergerman and Raetian limes) are already listed on the UNESCO world heritage list (romanfrontiers, 2013; UNESCO, 2015b). They are listed under 'Frontiers of the Roman empire'. 'Frontiers of the Roman Empire' are described as "monuments" (UNESCO, 2015b).

Monuments are: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science." (UNESCO, 2014)

The Netherlands has proposed to place a part of the limes together with Germany: the lower Germanic limes, on the world heritage list. It is now placed on the temporary list. To enter the world heritage lists, plans have to be made for the protection and promotion of the heritage site (StichtingRomeinseLimesNederland, 2015).

Another global organization concerning heritage is the World Monument Fund WMF, founded in 1965. It is an American, private board giving monetary and technical support to architectural heritage.

2.2.4 PERSONAL AND LOCAL HERITAGE

Heritage is in this chapter described on a national, European and world level. Cultural heritage is the source of tourism in many destinations thinking about the masses of tourist visiting the Egyptian pyramids or Stonehenge. Heritage however speaks to many tourists often in personal ways like, genealogy or family

traditions connected to the broader heritage. How heritage can be experienced on personal and local levels, is described here.



Figure 3 Levels of heritage tourism experiences

The figure (figure 3) demonstrates four types of heritage experience: world, national, local and personal heritage tourism experience. There may be an overlap in the experience of heritage. One person can see some heritage as national where the other sees it as world heritage. The mass tourism destination may provoke wonderful experiences they do not connect to personal ties. For many tourists, visiting of national or world heritage attractions gives a glimpse of human unity. Heritage attraction of more local fame attract tourists that are stirred by emotions of a more personal character (Timothy, 1997). The destruction of many heritages provokes a feeling of nostalgia for the past. The search for roots and identity lies in this nostalgia for the own culture and family legacy (Lowenthal 1979 in Timothy, 1997) Personal heritage has received very little attention in comparison to the other forms mentioned here. It is a form of heritage in which personal attachment and emotional connection draw people to certain places. This also includes heritage linked to something specific to which the tourist belongs, like family or religious, ethnic or career groups. Travel to military reunions or other places of cultural or religious connection is personal heritage tourism. Like visiting a temple or grandmother's house can be personal heritage. Of course, when the temple is besides personal heritage of national value for example, these heritages can overlap (Timothy, 1997).

That heritage is consumed on a personal, emotional level is also to see in the popularity of heritage practices by others than professionals. 'Unmoored by institutional expectations, they are what we might call "outsider history-makers": genealogists, heritage tourism developers, and re-enactors, among others.' (Filene, 2012, p. 12). These outsiders operate on a more intuitive level than those working in museums and universities. The effort of outsiders brings new possibilities for attracting visitors to museums (Filene, 2012)

Heritage can thus , aside from being experienced on a national, European or world level, be experienced on a more personal or local level. The case study in this thesis will focus on that further.

3 METHODS

In this chapter, it is described how I will go on tour and whom I have invited. But first some introductory theory is provided.

Urry's 'Mobilities Paradigm' lets us look at how places are entangled with people who produce performances, instead of as authentic "entities" that are always there waiting to be visited by tourists (2002). We are looking at representations of heritage organized from governmental layers and how residents experience these representations, what they do themselves with the Roman heritage and how governmental organizations pick up these grassroots movements. Studies of movement, potential movement, blocked movement and studies of immobility provide interesting modes of knowing. In this 'co-present immersion', the researcher moves within modes of movement observation and recording techniques (Büscher & Urry, 2009). Examples of inquiries on the move are shadowing, stalking, walk-alongs, ride-alongs and participatory interventions. These kinds of inquiries enable questions about the sensory experience, embodiment, and emplacement. Inquiries on the move can give information about what guides people's moves. Inquiries on the move can provide information on what changes and what stays the same, and about the configuration and re-configuration of assemblies of objects, spaces, people, ideas and information (Büscher & Urry, 2009). To explore the emotional attachment, relations and activities concerning heritage, governments, residents and other organizations, a case study is chosen. Residents of Hunnerberg are taken as the main sample to investigate the research question. Also, experts concerning Roman heritage (representations) in the neighborhood have been questioned to reveal identity claims opposed on residents. The different viewpoints on Roman heritage in Hunnerberg provide an entangled picture of heritage connections and heritage production.

My attention in choosing a case study was drawn to the neighborhood I grew up in. However, besides my personal interest for this place, Hunnerberg is a good place for the case study for several reasons. In the neighborhood of Hunnerberg, one of the most important archeological sites of Roman heritage in the Netherlands is located, covered by houses and parks (Ginkel & Verhart, 2009). In this neighborhood, information panels, a biannual festival and replicas of Roman times are shown. Besides these representations of the municipality of Nijmegen and the foundation "Romeinenfestival" also two Roman routes are crossing the neighborhood and educational activities are executed by a foundation with enthusiastic about Roman heritage¹. By the municipality, this part of Nijmegen is targeted as Roman part of the city (Smit, 2012) Also Nijmegen is a center of attention according to the national Limes coordinator (Leene, 2012). Thus, Hunnerberg is an important archeological site for Roman remains and in Roman times it was the place where a great military center was at. Furthermore, several parties on different levels are involved in representing the Roman heritage there. The role of residents representing heritage and experiencing heritage representations is unknown (Heijden, 2013). Most residents in the neighborhood have higher incomes and higher education. My assumption was at the start of the research that, heritage being a good for the higher and middle classes (Waterton & Smith, 2010), should be interesting for residents of Hunnerberg. In what way residents connect to the heritage and representations is described in the next chapter.

Seeing the methods as going on tour, I have a walk invited two groups of people to go with me on this journey. One group are the residents of Hunnerberg, the other group are experts involved with Roman heritage representations relevant to the neighborhood. Experts are interviewed using semi-structured interviews. The chosen method to ascertain residents' connections with heritage are the 'walking with' interview, combined with a short questionnaire. The respondents are presented with mainly qualitative methods to provide a

¹ www.kopsplateau.nl

layered and diverse insight in meanings of heritage. The area in which the tour takes place is demarcated and a light is shed on the way of analysis.

3.1 DEMARCATION OF THE STUDIED AREA

The area under study is the neighborhood of Hunnerberg, located in the district of Nijmegen-Oost (eastern part of the city), situated nearby the city center. This area of the city is chosen for the case study because it is in those parts of Nijmegen where military archeological sites are located. Nijmegen is often referred to as the most important archeological site because of the excavations on “Kops Plateau” (Valkhofvereniging, 2012). There are also Roman archeological sites in other parts of Nijmegen, but they have received less attention in the past years. The municipality of Nijmegen targeted the eastern part of Nijmegen as a special area for Roman heritage suitable for further (tourism) development (Smit, 2012). Furthermore, in Hunnerberg many activities regarding Roman heritage have been organized in recent years. One of these activities is the development of routes. One of these routes is used as an entry to develop the research tool. It preliminarily demarcates the area under study, including Roman sites as found important by the municipality.

THE ROUTE TIJDPAD AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

For this study, the route ‘Tijdpad’ is used as a basis. Tijdpad booklet with a a touristic route combined with 15 information panels in the neighborhood localizing Roman archeological archeological sites. This booklet is currently available at Museum Het Valkhof and in the Marienburg Chapel (city center). The brochure of ‘Tijdpad’ costs €2,- at the museum-shop. According to the lady at the desk it is sold often, however no sales numbers were available (visit 25 October 2014). According to the museum director of the Valkhof museum ‘Tijdpad is not very well known by tourists (Brouwer, 2013). In the past, people could use mp3 players from the museum on the walk as an extra service, but this service did not work technically and is taken out of service (Smit, 2013). A link to the museum is that the route goes through the city and the original objects are on display in the museum (Brouwer, 2013). Other routes are also available on the internet like ‘Via Oost’ (municipality in cooperation with Wijkcomité) and ‘van Bron tot Kraan’ (Gilde Nijmegen). Those routes are also available as hard copies at VVV Nijmegen. I have chosen the route ‘Tijdpad’, because it entails a brochure as well as information panels placed in the neighborhood. It was also the most recent product at the time of the start of the research. The route ‘Tijdpad’ crosses different neighborhoods: Hunnerberg, Hengstdal and Altrade. I have chosen to take the inhabitants of Hunnerberg as the main sample group because it is in this area that most representations of Roman history are found. In addition, this area is seen as a community by the municipality. Representations past passed? by in the route are described in the results section. A map of ‘Tijdpad’ can be found here (figure 4), the neighborhood of Hunnerberg is demarcated in blue..

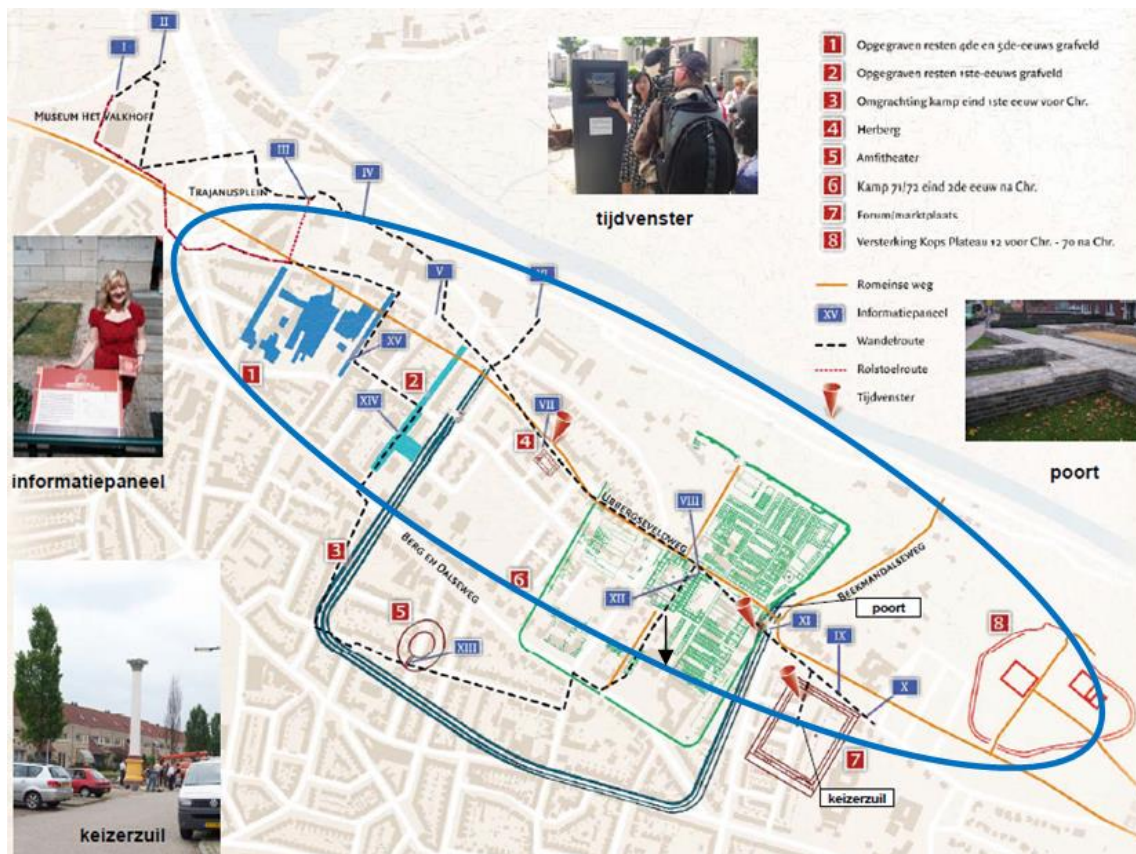


Figure 4 Route 'Tijdpad' (map) with demarcation of Hunnerberg (blue line)

The route 'Tijdpad' developed after an initiative of the municipality working together with the province of Gelderland. The municipality outsourced the project to an organization specialized in the representation of Roman heritage (Hazenbergh archeology). They involved another company (TGV presentaties) with more or less the same professional background. The first organization organized a meeting for residents. They also organized meetings with the neighborhood committee of Nijmegen-Oost (more about this committee is to be read in paragraph 3.3.1 Hunnerberg area). The committee was critical about the placement of the information panels. Also, a school did not want to place a panel on their territory because they thought the ground would decrease in value. Archeological work takes many years and they thought it might trigger excavations in the future.. From the neighborhood committee I can confirm the difficulties in the development of 'Tijdpad'. (Hamers & Schraven, 2013). Also the municipality policy maker (Smit) speaks about the involvement of the neighborhood committee. The chair of the committee went on tour with the policy worker of the municipality regarding archeology (Smit). She also went to a meeting of the committee to present the ideas. The committee did not have a voice in the content of the information panels. Smit thinks that the committee would have liked more involvement in that. The municipality decided on the content because the archeological service has knowhow about the excavations, according to the policy worker of the municipality herself. 'TGV presentaties' translated the information to a more readable version for a wider public (Smit, 2013). Another form of representation are 'time gates'. Time gates are pillars with video's in it. The video's are about Roman archeological sites in the neighborhood. The project of placing the time gates, was an apart project from the information panels (van Ginkel, 2013)

The project of the route 'Tijdpad' was part of the goals during 'Nijmegen 2000', in 2005. Many new initiatives have been developed since then. The goal of the route was to visualize Roman heritage and improve the experience. The eastern part of Nijmegen was the target area for Roman remains, in the center the middle ages are the focus and in the west, the Roman city that was found there. Subsidies for the projects came from the

province of Gelderland and the municipality. This includes the replicas, route with audio tour and time gates. Those representations were set up for people of the neighborhood and people of Nijmegen and later maybe for tourists. This consideration can be seen in the information given in Dutch most of the time and sometimes in English (Brouwer, 2013). According to a member of the neighborhood committee, the information in the neighborhood is mainly meant for pedestrians and cyclists in the neighborhood (Hamers & Schraven, 2013). No direct money from Europe was invested in the route. Cooperation on archeological levels exists with other cities in Europe like Xanten, a city in Germany where Roman heritage is rebuilt into an amusement park (Smit, 2013).

SCALES OF INFLUENCE

To reveal identity claims, it is important to demarcate the area on higher levels. Hunnerberg is a neighborhood in the eastern part of the city of Nijmegen (Nijmegen-Oost). Nijmegen is a city in the eastern part of the Netherlands and is part of the province of Gelderland. The Netherlands is a country in western Europe. All these governmental levels have input in the lives of people living in Hunnerberg. In the next paragraph, professionals concerning Roman heritage working on those different levels are described.

3.2 ROMAN HERITAGE EXPERTS

Experts were questioned mainly sedentary at their offices. Those ten people who are professionally involved with representations of Roman history are interviewed about spatial identity claims that rest upon the neighborhood of Hunnerberg. Parties involved in setting identity claims are organized on different spatial-governmental and non-governmental levels. The list of professionals to be interviewed I have selected on different levels of authority is given below (table 5). I recruited them personally by sending emails. I used the contacts I acquired during my internship. The internship is described in the introduction of this report.

Organization name	Organization description	Website	Scale on which organization operates	Contact person
Wijkcomitee Oost	Committee that is concerned with the wellbeing issues of the neighborhoods in the eastern part of Nijmegen	www.wijkcomiteeost.nl/wordpress/	Local (neighborhood)	Chair: Director Hans Schraven
Stichting Platform Hengstdal	Committee that administrates the issues of the neighborhood of Hengstdal, Nijmegen	-	Local (neighborhood)	Chair: Hans Hamers
Stichting RomeinenNU	Foundation that has the goal to promote the Roman legacy	www.Romeinen.nu	Local/national	Director/Chair/publicist: Paul van der Heijden
Museum het Valkhof	Museum for art and archeology Nijmegen	www.museumhetvalkhof.nl	Local (city)	Director: Marijke Brouwer
Municipality Nijmegen	Part of municipality Nijmegen concerned with archeology	www2.nijmegen.nl/wonen/oudste_stad/Archeologie	Local (city)	City archeologist: Mieke Smit
Province of Gelderland	Part of governmental administration province of Gelderland concerned with archeology	-	Local (province)	Policy advisor archeology: Henk de Jong

RBT KAN	Regional tourism office for Arnhem and Nijmegen	www.rbtkan.nl	Local (region)	Coordinator culture and historic projects: Peter Kruk
National limes association	National collaboration between three provinces in the Netherlands (Utrecht, Gelderland and Zuid-Holland) and the RCE promoting the Roman limes of the Netherlands and collaboration with European partners	www.romeinselimes.nl	National/European	Coordinator: Tamar Leene
RCE	State governmental cultural heritage agency	culturalheritageagency.nl	National/European	Account holder limes: Cees van Rooijen
TGV-presentaties	Publications on history	www.tgvpresentaties.com	National	Publicist/archeologists: Evert van Ginkel

Table 5 Interviews with Roman heritage experts

On a local level, Wijkcomité Oost Hans Schraven, Stichting Romeinen NU with archeologist Paul van der Heijden, the director of Museum het Valkhof Marijke Brouwer take part in creating a Roman identity for the neighborhood. The city archeologist of Nijmegen Mieke Smit sets out policies about Roman heritage for the city.

On a regional level, I have interviewed the head of heritage policy of the province of Gelderland, Henk de Jong. I also interviewed Peter Kruk of RBT KAN. RBTKAN is a platform for marketing of touristic products, in the region of Arnhem and Nijmegen. It is funded by governments and commercial parties. The project about Roman history they work on is funded by regional subsidies, not by European subsidies. Also Tamar Leene of the national limes association and Cees van Rooijen of the national cultural heritage agency RCE are part of the list. Furthermore, the archeologists Evert van Ginkel agreed on an interview. He has written many (educational) materials about Roman heritage and is therefore also an interesting person to interview about identity claims.

Only Marijke Brouwer and Paul van der Heijden I have interviewed while walking through the neighborhood. The others asked me to come to their offices.

Furthermore, organizations that have to do with Roman heritage in the Netherlands is the Roman limes foundation. It is developed from the 'Roman limes collaboration'. It was founded officially after I did the interviews with the Roman heritage experts. In the board parties are presented that I have included in the interviews like the director of Museum het Valkhof and the chair of RomeinenNU.

Questions I have asked to the persons mentioned above were:

- What is the aim of placing representations of Roman times in the neighborhood (of Hunnerberg)?
- What do you think residents feel about the representations in their neighborhood?
- To what extent is the policy about Roman heritage influenced by European/national/provincial politics?
- Do you have questions you would like to ask to residents of Hunnerberg?

3.3 RESIDENTS HUNNERBERG

With residents of Hunnerberg I walked through the neighborhood to talk about the Roman heritage. While walking, we passed by the representations. We talked about the representations but also about other things that occurred naturally. This is the so called 'walking with' method. This method, like other inquiries on the move is one in which the researcher observes mobile bodies enhanced with digitally enhanced observations (Evans & Jones, 2011). During the interview, the researcher walks along with participants while they are having encounters with other people, with places, and with events. Walking with people as a research method involves engagement with people's worldviews and can reveal emotional attachments, activity patterns and lifestyles (Büscher & Urry, 2009). Studies vary from wandering through landscapes talking with participants, to highly structured tours that are set up to bring out responses to specific, predetermined places (Evans & Jones, 2011). Interviewing while in motion will give a different bodily experience for the researcher as well as for the participant. This can result in an immediacy as well as provoking a kinesthetic rhythm in the conversation (Middleton, 2009 in Evans & Jones, 2011).

The method of walking interviews, supported by a questionnaire is chosen to investigate the research questions. In this paragraph, the area, the sample of residents of Hunnerberg and the used methods are described.

3.3.1 THE HUNNERBERG AREA

The studied population are the inhabitants of the neighborhood of Hunnerberg. In this subparagraph, general spatial information demographics of the area of Hunnerberg are described.

The Hunnerberg is an area located on top of a barrier remaining from Pleistocene times at the banks of the river 'Waal'. This hill and the platform on top ('Kops Plateau') makes for a very strategic location. It is not surprising that the Romans built military camps on this place. Also remnants from later Neolithic-, bronze- and Iron eras are found in the area of Hunnerberg. But none of them are represented in images of text in the neighborhood. In Hunnerberg, several national monuments can be found including: the former main building of Canisius college (not to be mixed-up with the current secondary school building), Maria geboortekerk (Catholic church), former Museum Kam (current archive for Roman heritage). More information about the Kam museum follows in the results section paragraph 4.1. Furthermore two other churches are located in the area (Sint-Stephanuskerk and Lutherse Kerk) (RegionaalArchiefNijmegen, 2012).

Below some key aspect of the socio-demographic situation of the area are described. Information is derived from a two-year monitor held by the municipality of Nijmegen (GemeenteNijmegen, 2012). The area of Hunnerberg has formed organically over the years resulting in the shape it has today. The area consists of mostly large 19th century buildings and some smaller rental houses, alongside with commercial premises. New houses have been built quite recently on the 'Kopse plateau' and behind 'Canisius College', a secondary school in the neighborhood. In the neighborhood there are 1.718 houses where 3.847 people live. The neighborhood has a social climate according the monitor I consulted at the start of the research (GemeenteNijmegen, 2012). The neighborhood has lots of quiet and green areas, according to many inhabitants. The area is close to various natural parks (woods and meadows). People enjoy especially the panoramic view over the meadows and the river (Hunnerberg Panorama) and the park of 'Patersbos'. The neighborhood is described by the municipality as stable and popular, with little tension amongst the inhabitants. For many, this is the best part of Nijmegen to live in. The little complaints are about neighbor annoyance, like the garbage students put in their gardens and old bikes that are parked everywhere. Also little tension exists of households to live isolated alongside each other. A strong committee in Nijmegen-Oost puts effort in the improvement of social cohesion. The committee is rich in knowledge and they are striving for conservation of the cultural heritage in the neighborhood (GemeenteNijmegen, 2012).

NEIGHBORHOOD COMMITTEES

Neighborhood committee Nijmegen-Oost, chaired by Hans Schraven, concerns about the neighborhoods of: Hunnerberg, a part of Altrade and crosses the Berg en Dalseweg until Daalseweg. Other borders are Trainusplein and Huygensweg. The committee consists of 14 people who make decisions democratically. Furthermore, there are various commissions that care about specific areas in the neighborhood. Like a group that cares for the little forest in the neighborhood, a group for maintenance of Kops Plateau (where important Roman remnants are at), historic group, group for another neighborhood (Schildersbuurt), group caring for a public garden. Platform Hengstdal is chaired by Hamers, it has currently 3 members on the board. The organization is growing towards a same kind of foundation as Neighborhood committee Nijmegen-Oost. The committees work together closely with the committee of Altrade (Hamers & Schraven, 2013).

3.3.2 THE SAMPLE

Respondents are selected according to the time they live or have lived in the neighborhood and different parts of the neighborhood. This first criteria set up because of the experience from residents with representations of Roman times. The longer a person have lived in the neighborhood the more experience with Roman heritage he or she has. A list of activities like the introduction of replicas, information panels and excavations can be found in below (table 6). In the left column the percentage of residents in the sample can be seen that have lived in the neighborhood for the given amount of years. In the middle column the year in which the representation was initiated is mentioned. In the right column the activities regarding Roman heritage in Hunnerberg is shown.

Years of residence in the sample	Year	Activity regarding Roman heritage in Hunnerberg
0-5 years of residence 20%	2013	Remnants of a Roman harbor was found at the foot of the hill (municipality archeology office Nijmegen)
	2013	Currently various smaller excavations in Nijmegen-Oost (municipality archeology office Nijmegen)
	2012	Opening route around Aqueduct (Via Natura) "Van Bron tot Kraan"
	2012	Second Roman festival, Kops Plateau (stichting Romeinenfestival)
	2011	Opening replica of emperors' column "Keizerszuil" (municipality archeology office Nijmegen)
	2010	Opening of the route 'Tijdpad' (TGV teksten en presentaties), opening of Video panels 'Timegates' (Leon Wennekes)
	2010	Opening Porta Romanum en visualizations (Heilijgers exploiter building),
	2009	First Roman festival, Kops Plateau (stichting Romeinen festival)
0-10 years of residence 10%	2005	Nijmegen 2000 festival, publicity to celebrate 2000th anniversary of Nijmegen oldest city of the Netherlands (municipality archeology office Nijmegen)
0-15 years of residence 5%	1997-2001	Excavations in 'het rooie dorp', after the demolition of the old houses (Thijssen, municipality archeology office Nijmegen)
	1986 – 1998	Excavations on Kops Plateau have been executed (Willems, Regional research bureau ROB)
0-25 years of residence 20% and 30%	1999	Closing of Provincial Museum G.J.M Kam, collection goes to Museum Het Valkhof. Building at Museum Kam street functions as depot and library and depot since then.
	1987 - 1997	Excavations have been done behind Canisius College (Bogaers en Haalebos, Provincial- Roman archeology/ University of Nijmegen KUN)
0-30 years	1987	Change of executer and name to: Provincial Museum G.J.M Kam

of residence 10%	1972 - 1986	In this period, excavations took place every year. Most research took only months. A great excavation was that near the Margriet Paviljoen (1980-1983) and one close by Mater Dei (1976-1977) (Bloemers Regional research bureau ROB)
65+ years 10%	1951, 1957, 1967	Research to castra between Huygensweg, Berg en Dalseweg, Broerweg/Beekmansdalseweg has been undertaken (Brunsting, Regional research bureau ROB/ Museum of antiquities, Leiden).
none	1922	Official opening of state museum "Kam", with collection Roman remnants of name holder, built by Oscar Leeuw. "Eleonora street" becomes "Museum Kam street" after death of Kam in the same year.

Table 6 Recent history of major activities around Roman heritage in Nijmegen-Oost

To spread the sample spatially I invited respondents from different areas in the neighborhood. To reach potential respondents I used snowballing. I sent possible respondents a personal invitation to my walking interviews. I sent invitations to people I know personally, people I know through my mother's semi-professional network, and people I know through the network I developed as an intern collecting Roman heritage data. Possible respondents were asked to bring a neighbor or housemate. First of all, I sent out invitations to 18 possible respondents by sending a hard copy of an invitation to a family or couple. I received responses from half of them by email. The others I called by phone to ask about their cooperation. The spread of the responses was equally shared over the neighborhood. A reason not to co-operate was a lower mobility (3 people. In two cases the partners of the one with lower mobility also rejected to go with me on the walking with interview. In 3 cases, the person brought another neighbor instead of his/her partner or family member. In two cases I arranged the couple with mutual agreement. In another case the respondent brought a neighbor that was not familiar to me.

According to the data from the questionnaires, the sample contains 20 people, 8 male and 12 female respondents. Age-wise, respondents represent the categories of 45-64 most with 62%. The age group 25-34 contains 19% of the people. The youngest and the oldest category represent 9% and 10% respectively. The average age was a bit lower than the age of the residents of the neighborhood. Gender was spread more or less equally. Those characteristics are important because they have shown in earlier research that there are differences in appreciation for heritage. A list of resident respondents is given here (table 7).

	Respondent code	Gender	Age category
1	Res06r	woman	15-24 years
2	Res08f	woman	15-24 years
3	Res04f	woman	25-34 years
4	Res04l	man	25-34 years
5	Res08j	man	25-34 years
6	Res05a	woman	45-64 years
7	Res05g	woman	45-64 years
8	Res06m	man	45-64 years
9	Res07h	woman	45-64 years
10	Res07p	woman	45-64 years
11	Res09e	woman	45-64 years
12	Res09g	man	45-64 years
13	Res10e	woman	45-64 years
14	Res10m	woman	45-64 years
15	Res11C	man	45-64 years

16	Res11m	woman	45-64 years
17	Res12E	woman	45-64 years
18	Res12H	man	45-64 years
19	Res03b	man	65-80 years
20	Res03g	man	65-80 years

Table 7 Residents respondents

The neighborhood is pretty homogenous in ethnicity and class. A big part of the respondents report having a high income in which is typical for the neighborhood. Respondents are mostly highly educated, which is again typical for people living in Hunnerberg. A low representation of immigrants is present in Hunnerberg. This also accounts for the sample. (GemeenteNijmegen, 2012).

3.3.3 DATA COLLECTION RESIDENTS HUNNERBERG

The instruments used are a questionnaire with qualitative and quantitative elements, including the method of 'mapping', a semi-structured interviewing method called 'walking with method' and observational instruments like pictures and notes.

QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was set up to provide demographic information, to get a first idea about their geographical identities and to see if respondents mention anything regarding Roman history on the questions. In this point of the research I have not mentioned the Roman heritage being the matter of research. I only informed people that the questions are about history in Hunnerberg.

The questions are categorized in three parts. The first set of questions is about the time and place participants have lived in the neighborhood. Participants were asked to point their home location on a map and circle their perceived neighborhood (mapping). They were also asked to write down their street of residence. Then people were asked about their perceived geographical identities (Dutch, European, Nijmegen, Gelderland, and neighborhood identity). Participants had the possibility to mark how much they feel a part of those communities on a 5-point Likert scale from 0-4. Participants were also asked about general historical events that relate to these territorial scales. At the end of the questionnaire demographics were enquired (age, gender, income, education, household and ethnicity). The last part is the qualitative part of the questionnaire. The questionnaire can be found in appendix I.

'WALKING WITH' INTERVIEW

An advantage of using the walking with method is that while walking the participant provides generally richer data about their environmental perception, spatial practices, biographies, social architecture and social realms. Walking interviews produce a particularly spatial and locational discourse of place, which is structured geographically rather than historically. Also, participants are less provoked to try and give the answers they think the researcher wants to hear (Kusenbach, 2003). Limitations of the method are that questions need to be framed by a place that can be walked. In this research, that means that Roman places cannot be visited because they are hidden under the ground. It is possible to walk the archeological sites covered with soil. Another limitation is that the act of walking may exclude certain types of participants and interviewing techniques, due to physical or motivational obstacles (Evans & Jones, 2011).

In this research a predefined route was used, leaving aside the possibility for the participant to set a route. This choice is made because data is needed about specific paths and objects in the area. Predetermining routes

might be expected to lessen the empowerment felt by interviewees choosing their own route, which may in turn detract from the informality of the encounter (Evans & Jones, 2011).

Kusenbach experienced that go-alongs with more than one participant can be very productive because the discomfort of being followed and inquired by an ethnographer is less when people are together with friends or family members (Kusenbach, 2003). During the data gathering, I also experienced this more or less intimate atmosphere was more likely to occur amongst people (closely) connected to each other. About the relationship between respondents: Respondents oppose, supplement and ask each other question. Many of them were enthusiastic about the walk and some even thanked me.

METHOD AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The total method consists of five parts. In part one, respondents were informed about the procedure and asked to fill out a questionnaire, the following parts were conducted while walking. Before the start of the interview participants are informed that they will contribute to a research on the neighborhood and its history. No specific questions about Roman times were asked before the first point in the route where a Roman visualization is at (former Museum Kam). This opened the possibility that people mention or do not mention Roman heritage in relation to the neighborhood spontaneously. Information from the questionnaire and the walk to the starting point (former museum Kam) can therefore be crucial. In part three, participants were asked about Roman history (in the neighborhood) while walking. In part four, concluding questions were asked. Part five is the closing of the interview. In all stages of the interview respondents were supported to ask questions (Boeijs, 2010).

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

Respondents were invited to my mother's house and introduced to the research. They were informed that they are asked to fill out the questionnaire and thereafter do a walking interview of about 1,5 hours. In the questionnaire the option is given to leave an email address for the outcomes of the study. Respondents are asked for their approval of recording the interview. Respondents are told that the information filled out and recorded will only serve for the research and will be destroyed afterwards. At this point I have stayed in the same room as the participants and answered questions. I have turned on my recorder while participants were filling out the questionnaire.

At the start of the walk respondents were generally informed about the route. They are asked to talk, be silent, walk or stop whenever they feel like it. The research is about their experience with the neighborhood and thus anything they experience is of value. They were informed that I will guide the specific route and that I will ask questions during the walk, but that they are free to talk about anything they think of while walking.

PART 2: THE WALK TO THE STARTING POINT.

I have walked with the participants from my mother's house to former Museum Kam (referred to as starting point of walk). At former Museum Kam I have informed the participants that the research focuses on Roman heritage. They are still free to share their experiences. Questions that I have asked during this 10 minute walk are:

- How would you describe Nijmegen-Oost to a person not from here? (qualities of the neighborhood)
- Do you like living in Nijmegen-Oost, if so why? Or why not? (Positive sense of place)
- What problems in Nijmegen-Oost do you encounter? (Negative sense of place)

These questions are inspired by work of Castillo (2006). They intend to archive perceptions of a city image and the relation of the residents with the cultural heritage.

PART 3: THE WALK PASSING REPRESENTATIONS OF ROMAN HISTORY

During this part of the walk, questions about representations of Roman times are asked. These questions return at every point where representations are encountered. Also more general questions about Romans in the neighborhood can be asked while stopping at representational objects.

Questions about places of representation:

- How do you feel about representations placed out in the area?
- What are your memories about this place?
- How important is this place for you?
- How would you feel about more promotion of Roman heritage in this neighborhood?
- How do you feel about the amount of money spent on the representation of Roman time?

Questions about experiences and practices in daily life:

- How often do you pass by?
- Have you ever stopped to look at the information?
- Have you ever walked the route in total?
- Besides these representations, how is the Roman history present in your daily life (if at all)?
- Is the presence of Roman representations something positive or negative?

Questions about Roman history in general:

- Which images come to mind when thinking of Roman times?
- What do you know about Roman history?
- Are you familiar with the term limes?

PART 4: FINAL PART OF THE WALK

I have walked back with respondents from the last representational point to the end of the route. On this walk, I have enquired more directly about people's identity relating to Roman heritage.

- To what extent do you feel Roman heritage is yours?
- Does it make a difference that you are a European, Dutch, "Nijmegenaar" or person from this neighborhood?

PART 5: CLOSING

After the interview, respondents have been asked about their experience during the interview and asked if they have any further questions. They are also asked if they are willing to help me find other respondents.

CHECKLIST I HAVE USED TO CONTROL THE ETHICS OF THE MEETINGS:

1. Inform participants about set-up of the interview and purposes of research (history and the neighborhood).
2. Ask participants approval for recording
3. Hand out questionnaire
4. Start voice recording
5. Inform participants about walk and general route and ask for further questions.
6. Inform participants about specific subject (Roman heritage) at Museum Kam: starting point.

7. Debrief participants with asking about their experience and asking for further questions. Also ask if they can send other possible respondents.

OBSERVATIONS AND OTHER INSTRUMENTS

Furthermore, for this research I have made pictures and I have made notes that I take into account writing the results. During the research I also attended a meeting in the neighborhood of Hengstdal (next to Hunnerberg) where a vote was held. This could be described as participatory method. During the meeting, I made notes, pictures and a video to later report about this voting. The vote was about which work of art should be placed at a roundabout in the neighborhood (more about this can be read in the results section in paragraph 4.8.1)

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

I have transcribed the 10 walking with interviews with 20 respondents. After that, open coding was done. Codes were described onto the interviews. In this stage all information out of the data is of importance. Categories were made. The approach was deductive, from the whole to the parts. After that, from the categories new information was sought (axial coding), new categories emerged. After that, the research questions were leading in finding information from the data inductively. Per question and location where residents spoke data was scrutinized. In the writing process, links were made and connected with the literature. Also connections were made to the data from the questionnaires that gave a more general outlook. The 9 interviews with experts were screened looking for identity claims and matched with location. Quotes were taken out of the interviews into the report.

4 RESULTS

Here I will discuss how I walked and talked with respondents going with me on tour. Both residents of Hunnerberg as well as experts concerning Roman heritage will have a voice in this section. Also some references to the literature are made. For every 'site' on the route (and thus every paragraph) I will show: What is there to see (observations), pictures, the relation of residents with the place (interviews and questionnaire, observations while walking), how the place is developed and governmental interaction with place (literature and interviews with experts), broader concepts related to the place (literature) and my positionality; how my perceptions have changed, connections, relations regarding the site.

Roman heritage is very much adapted by all kinds of individuals and organizations. The representing of history in Hunnerberg is very much focused on the Roman heritage. That is also the reason I choose this heritage as the object of research. The question remains why Roman heritage was chosen to represent predominantly and not another layer of history. In this results section, the layered way in which the Roman heritage is adapted is presented. The Roman heritage sites passed during the walk are mentioned below and visualized on the map (figure 8). Paragraphs follow the numbers on the map.

In this text, neighborhood residents respondents are often referred to as 'respondents'. Professionals in the field of Roman heritage are referred to as 'experts'.

Points on the map:

1. My mother's house
2. Kam museum
3. Sign 'all roads'
4. Panoramic view point
5. Time gate (video panels)
6. Castle houses
7. Porta Romana
8. Emperor's column
9. Sign kops plateau

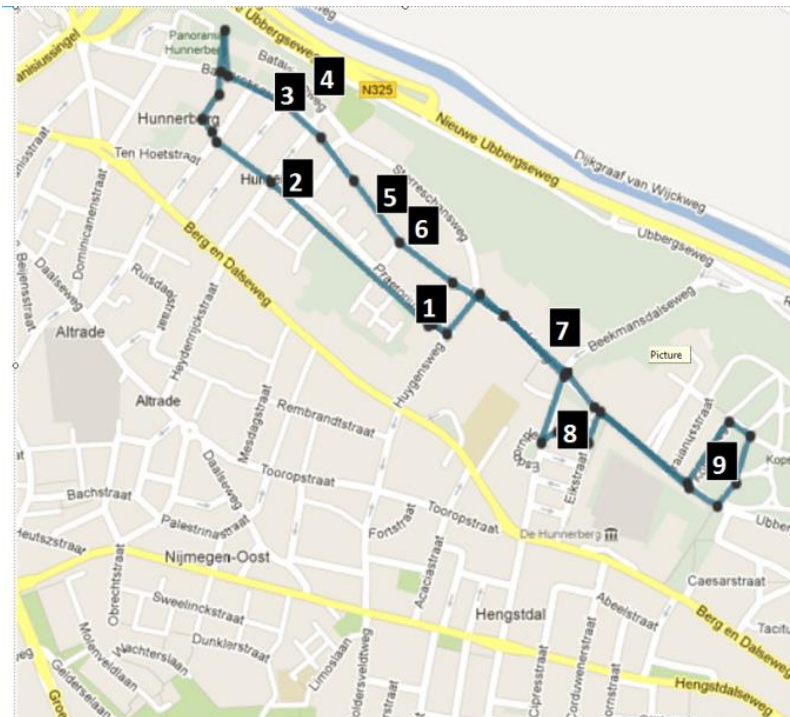


Figure 8 Map of the representations in the neighborhood

ROMAN SETTLEMENTS IN HUNNERBERG

As mentioned above, a reason to choose Hunnerberg as an area for this case study is the many representations of Roman heritage. The archeological remains represented by it, is explained by archeologists. Here, a short summary of the archeological heritage in the neighborhood is described. The information provided here is translated from the brochure of 'Tijdpad', the guide used for the walking with tour.

In the first century AD, emperor Tiberius founded Ulpia Noviamagus, the later Nijmegen. In front of the museum a replica of the stone that proves this fact is presented. In the 400 years that the Romans lived in Nijmegen many changes have been made. An important change was the revolt of the Batavi in the years 69-70 AD. The second century was wealthy and the third more troubled for the Romans. The city was located near the river banks of the Waal, west of the current city center. The militaries settled down on the higher grounds in the east of the city: Hunnerberg and Kops plateau. In between, the Valkhof park (where the central museum is located) has had both a military as well as a civil character (GemeenteNijmegen, 2005).

The eastern part of Nijmegen is built on a higher point in the landscape. This hill developed in the ice age when ice was shifting over the land. From Haarlem to Nijmegen it formed a moraine wall. The hill in the eastern part of Nijmegen is sand that is rinsed off the actual moraine wall. The highest parts: Hunnerberg and Kops plateau are points standing out over the river by 40-50 meters. The steep sides of the hill emphasize the difference in height. The steep wall side is formed by the river running in the valley. Inhabitants of prehistory already settled on the higher points in the landscape. Many remnants of these periods are found in the area (GemeenteNijmegen, 2005).

Around 150 BC, the Roman commanding officer Julius Caesar had conquered the current France (he called it Gaul). But on the eastern side of the empire, the Germans tried to enter Gaul. To avert the threat of the Germans the emperor August (adopted son of Julius Caesar) sent troops to the east. The troops had to set a new border to keep out the Germans. This military force took its place on Hunnerberg. This higher ground was a perfect place to settle down. Just after 19 AD, the military force founded a camp of 42 hectares (50 soccer fields), giving space to 15.000 men. Ditches and walls were built to protect the camp, existing of leather tents and wooden buildings (GemeenteNijmegen, 2005).

Later on, a camp was built on kops plateau. Because of the large commander's house, archeologists assume that a high commander had his post there. It could have been Drusus, the adopted son of August. He was the commander of an invasion army between 12 and 9 BC. The fort on Kops Plateau have long been in use, also after the wars against the Germans. The border changed its place around 50 AD and was no longer passing Ulpia Noviomagus. Many towers and fortresses protected the river. The military post on kops plateau was probably still of importance (GemeenteNijmegen, 2005).

The Roman border or limes was not only an 'iron curtain', it was also a line where persons and goods were transported. That happened over the rivers and via the road. Well-constructed and maintained roads were Roman's specialty. The roads were broad and had a spherical surface so water could run off. Ditches and consolidation of the road was made of material found on the spot. Also a road was found in Nijmegen. This road was crossing the fortress built after the year 70 AD by the tenth legion. The roads were made for military purposes but also for sales-men and transport of goods. Civilians could also use the roads. Taverns were situated by the roadside where people could rest and eat. Milestones led the way. Reaching a city a traveler could see the Grave yards that are also found back in Nijmegen at the entrance of the old Roman city (GemeenteNijmegen, 2005).

The revolt of the Batavi was a turning point in history for Roman Nijmegen. The Batavi, the original residents of the area of Nijmegen, revolted against the Roman power. A bloody war started. Everything the Romans had built regarding military and civil settlements up was pulled down. In the year 70, the peace was signed and Romans and Batavi started to rebuild the settlements. A big military force, the tenth legion was installed at a part of Hunnerberg, where long ago the big camp was situated. The new fort was much smaller (16 hectares), but just as good to protect the walls and ditches. It was inhabited by 4000 men. It was fenced off by a stone wall later. In the middle, a main quarter was measuring 93X65 meters. It was surrounded by houses of officers, sheds for the men, work places and warehouses. There was also a building for religious practices, religion having an important role in Roman times. In the camp, there was also a sickbay and public toilets. There was a plumbing system and a water system serving fresh drinking water. The water came from the hills in the current Groesbeek and was led by a genius system to the place where could be consumed (GemeenteNijmegen, 2005).

The tenth legion stayed on Hunnerberg for more than 30 years. The soldiers were an important economic player for the city of Noviomagus, inhabiting around 4000 people as well. The inhabitants traded with the militaries. When the army left for Eastern Europe in 104, it was replaced by smaller entities, the city became poor. Just before leaving, the soldiers built a market place and a theatre that could accomodate 12.000 people. The city kept on existing with less wealth, but at the end of the first century the military left. Five years later

the city burned down. The cause is unknown. It was rebuilt but left in 250. Residents settled on the Valkhof and a new fortification was built. German mercenaries in Roman services defended the city until 400. The Roman hegemony lost its power and for Nijmegen an end of Roman times was there. The inhabitants of the 150 year period were buried on the south of the Valkhof. The rich graves signal a wealthy period (GemeenteNijmegen, 2005).

4.1 MY MOTHER'S HOUSE

My mother's house (figure9) is the start of the 'walking with interview', but in a sense it is also the start of the motivation to do this particular master thesis. In this paragraph I explain my positionality and the motivations to begin this research. In the first subparagraph, expert meanings of this research are written down. In the second one, the neighbourhood and its people are described.



Figure 9 My mother's house from the outside and my mother's kitchen where the questionnaire was held

The choice of doing this research begins for me with growing up in the house at in Hunnerberg. During my childhood, many times the streets were open for digging in the soil. This was partly because a new sewage system was built, but also because archaeological investigations were done. I remember myself playing at the former sports field of the Canisius College next to the house, looking for fragments and coins. One respondent reminded me about that field and my childhood fear of dogs, because he was the one walking two black Doberman Pincher dogs to protect the field from anybody entering it. The Canisius College is often referred to by respondents. The oldest respondents tell about the Jesuit monks praying and walking in the garden (which is now known as the 'little forest'). He reports:

'So those aren't street names of fantasy figures but of real monks that did something remarkable here. These Jesuit monks lived and taught at the Canisius College.'

Others, like me, have been there to high school. More about the Canisius College is in the next paragraph.

As a researcher, I influenced respondents to know more about Roman heritage. Respondents also influenced me or pointed out to me the heritage of the house. The house was built before 1922. When I was telling my employer (woman 66 of years old, living in the neighbourhood) about the research, she started to explain about the Jurgens family that had lived there and what the house looked like. She played in the house as a little girl. The Jurgens family owned the stone factory in Ooy and I heard in the interviews that their family was also known for margarine sales. I have always known that the house was also used as a place for elderly Jesuit monks. In the house there are buttons, used to warn the nurse in case of a monk in need. My mother's house is the half of the villa named 'Eykenhorst' (Raeven & Janssen, 1992). It has a bomb shelter and holes of WWII shots in the walls.

Like myself, many respondents connect the (Roman) heritage to their own house. Respondents and their friends find remnants of Roman times in their back yard and often do not report them. They know that it is illegal to keep the archeological findings, but they have a sense that they belong to them. Others regret the private digging because of the archeological monument. A respondent notes that 'the findings in the garden of the neighbor bring Roman history closer'. People have used Roman remains in the decoration of their garden and house. But they ask me explicitly not to mention it, because they know it is illegal. Also other involvements are interesting:

"I have been involved in the development of the mosaic (representation) 'cave canem' in front of my apartment block. In every big villa in Roman times they had a symbol, of a dog to be watched out for. Normally they had it inside, but we have got it outside. They had it placed in the hallway like in Pompeii."

Castells (2008) argues, that there is not only the state and the society to consider (in the development of heritage), but also the importance of the public sphere, which lies in between and has an important role as it can be seen as a network with its own points of view and ways of communicating (Habermas, 1996 in Castells, 2008). This public sphere is becoming an essential component of sociopolitical organization, because in this sphere people share their ideas and form and reform civil society organized around the expression of those ideas. The relationship between the state and the public sphere is the foundation of the sociopolitical form of democracy (Castells, 2008). It is dependent on activities living people do, connecting to their local, regional, national or other identities, which assets of life become specially valued and thus heritage. Heritage relates often to personal attachments. Many times I mentioned Roman history and respondents started to talk about their own house (Filene, 2012). A respondent living on Kops plateau tells that 'the first association with Romans is the digging in my own garden'. Roman heritage is also apparent in the names of apartment blocks like: Titulus Hortus and Porta Romana. There are also many street names after Roman figures and the style of houses is adapted to Roman times. One neighbor said 'at the commanders building was situated where I live now'. Others referred to their house as being located in the *canabae* of Roman times (place for craftsman and women).

When people move into the neighborhood they are looking for stories to tell their friends and family about their new place. They collect stories and the Roman stories are one of these. A woman living in the neighborhood for 19 years talks about buying a new house: "When we bought this house (new house) and we signed for it: 'you are going to live in an archeological monument'...I have told other people about the Roman camp. At the end of primary school, my daughter had to write a report. She wrote it about the soldiers in the tenth legion. So in that sense it was lively for us. My brother, being classically educated, explained about the remains in our garden. We thought about doing a tour with our family." A man and his wife note about Roman heritage: "It is not in our daily awareness, but when we are confronted with it, when we bought the house, we read books about it." Another neighbor living only half a year in Hunnerberg said: "After this walk and with the references in the neighborhood, we can explain our history to visitors on a walk."

In the beginning I was very enthusiastic, which resulted sometimes in influencing respondents. By recruiting and interviewing participants I inspired a few to find out more information on Roman heritage or do walks with family or friends in the Hunnerberg. I have been asked at least five times if I could arrange a guided tour for people living in Hunnerberg and their family and friends. Participants wanted to know more about the Roman heritage and they found a walking tour by a neighbor a good way to do so. Some were very excited: "I would like to find out how it looked like in Roman times. My father grew up here, therefore part of my roots are here." This respondent was so enthusiastic, together with his girlfriend that they invited her parents to go on the walk with me. I had to reject the offer because they live in Friesland.

A man is studying to be a history teacher. He is involved with Roman heritage in many ways like he did a presentation, his football team has a Roman name, he read historic maps of the neighborhood etc. He is also passionate about other histories. Involvement: 'feels' kops plateau is a good place to build a settlement (for Romans). Another woman tells about the Roman laws, explaining she is a jurist. A man very much involved with spirituality says 'Christianity I feel as a very wise religion and more as something that is part of me than Roman history'. So respondents relate very personally to the heritage.

4.1.1 EXPERT MOTIVATIONS FOR THIS STUDY

At the very core of my motivation, my upbringing plays a role. Because of the excavations in the street I became interested in the Roman heritage for the first time. In 2011 I did an internship at the national limes, as explained in the introduction of this thesis. During that internship, I was missing the voice of the people in the neighborhoods. According to the plans of different governments they seemed like voice-less communities. The spread of Roman heritage seemed a given and nobody asked why it was so important to create awareness about Roman heritage. The national coordinators of heritage noted during the interview: 'people take pleasure in cultural history, therefore it is important to preserve it.' They also note that Roman history is in our roots, it is reflected in Renaissance the revolution of reason (van Rooijen & Leene, 2013). Little to no research to heritage perceptions was done. Experts feel a 'duty' to spread the 'full story' on historic knowledge and are not aware of the co-creation of locals in the process of heritage. Often the recreation of outsiders is viewed as too personal (Filene, 2012). However, it seems from the following that experts are often interested in what residents have to say. But it seems it is just not directly part of their agenda to investigate that. For example, the archeological expert of the Nijmegen municipality thinks that exploring resident's involvement with qualitative interview could be of value. Also to see if questions can be used on different locations in Nijmegen (Smit, 2013). The museum director of Valkhof Museum said that it is interesting to know for people where you come from, what your history is. It starts with family history, genealogy. People want to know where their roots are (Brouwer, 2013). The marketing manager of the regional tourism office (RBTKAN) notes that: 'it is very important to have people living in their own region to promote it as ambassadors'. Therefore, he thinks it is interesting to know how the Roman heritage is experienced. He thinks that people who live close by information panels about archeological heritage in Nijmegen-Oost will read it anyway. Therefore, he thinks it is more interesting to investigate the image that people have in the wider city. With that information RBTKAN, and other parties like Museum Het Valkhof, could target their marketing better. In the context of my research, he would like to know what kind of stories about Roman times are interesting to people. Like, from other histories, war and love or the many unlawful children of the duke of a particular castle. He suggests to enquire about things about the daily Roman life modern people associate with (Kruk, 2012). From a national viewpoint it would be interesting to know how to involve people with the limes, also in relation to education (van Rooijen & Leene, 2013). Van Ginkel thinks it is an essential question to ask how heritage contributes to identities (2013).

In this research I am both an outsider (a non-archeologist) as well as an informed player in the field of heritage experts (concerning the internship). I am looking for oral histories and emotional responses of the public to the past. Filene states that the public wants: 'emotional connections, personal perspectives, links to the here and now, and flights of fancy to the worlds beyond' (Filene, 2012, p. 31). In the article, a house was an example of a heritage site that provoked personal narratives connected to knowledge of the past. The same happened during the walk (Filene, 2012). Respondents started to talk freely about their pasts and families and related these issues to historic events.

4.1.2 THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND ITS PEOPLE

In the neighborhood we talk about how many layers of history could be traced back. But it is predominantly the Roman heritage that is emphasized with representations. The history of the neighborhood however is much older. Where exactly the name of Hunnerberg comes from is unknown, although the latter part of the word does mean hill. The hill came to be during the third ice age, some 250.000 years ago. The ice created a hill spanning from Haarlem to Utrecht to Kleve to Düsseldorf. That there were Romans on the Hunnerberg has been known for a long time. Around 1513, the first writings about Roman heritage by archaeologist Smetius were presented (Raeven & Janssen, 1992). I became aware of my own neighborhood when all of us had a sports day together. On the t-shirts we wore that day, the word 'Hunnerberg' was printed. I related it first with the youth prison in the neighborhood, but later I realized that it was the name of the place where I lived.

According to the members of the neighborhood committee Nijmegen-Oost, Hunnerberg is meant to be residential, not for tourists. 'Tourists will not come to Nijmegen-Oost; there is not much to see... The neighborhood is meant for people to live in, not for tourists. In Xanten there are replicas so that people can imagine the past better. Nice and small that's it.' (Hamers & Schraven, 2013)

Like inhabitants have reported in the monitor held biannually by the municipality of Nijmegen, inhabitants report being very satisfied with their neighbourhood. It is seen as quiet, safe, scenic, social, with an elite society. A resident describes it like this: "It is a neighborhood with affluent, highly educated people, a bit our kind of people'." Problems are parking and, for the people at the borders of the neighborhood, the traffic noise. Respondents talk about the many (perceived) green areas. Also the woods and the meadows nearby are mentioned as a positive characteristic of the neighbourhood. In the monitor, people especially enjoy the Hunnerberg Panorama and the park of 'Patersbos' (referred to as 'little forest'). During the walking with interview, we pass the little forest. For some, it is a place that reminds them of their children's childhood. By many the park is highly valued. It was the former garden of the Jesuit monks. Many special plants and trees are in there. The little forest is related to the Jesuit monks, but also to WWII, by respondents. The little statue of saint Mary in the centre of the park was a point that was not hit during the war, a respondent tells me. Likewise, according to the monitor, people describe Hunnerberg as the best place to live in, with little tension amongst the inhabitants (GemeenteNijmegen, 2012). Another forest is also important for the neighborhood and that is the larger forest in the direction of the village of Beek. This is a demarcation of the neighbourhood, often mentioned by respondents.

According to a respondent new to the Hunnerberg, the neighborhood could develop because of history. In the war a shooting field was at the top of the hill. Later larger houses with gardens could be built.

4.2 KAM MUSEUM

In this paragraph I describe the Kam museum (figure 10). Firstly, the meanings residents attach to the museum are given, then those of experts. Subsequently my perception and some literature are described. In the subparagraph I explain about the role of education in residents' lives regarding Roman heritage. Respondents' meanings are connected to literature and a few remarks of experts are given.



Figure 10 Kam museum and detail of Kam museum

Many respondents have nostalgic memories about the Kam museum because they went there as child during an educational trip. One respondent said: 'I went here with my school by bus. Back then we lived in Nijmegen-West, which was the other side of the world of course.' None of the respondents have visited the museum recently. Respondents went to the museum as children; when they are older they do not go there anymore. History can feel sometimes as if forced upon children. Some still feel the force on Roman history 'I have been to the gymnasiums but, I really hated the classical languages.' When people get older they start to have a different expression of heritage. They use it much more in a way in which they can connect with family and friends. They are using it as a history of the own house, to tell others that are coming to the neighbourhood (Timothy, 2011). Most of the respondents are familiar with it and see the Roman references in the jugendstil building. Many see the symmetry and the Roman coins and talk about Romulus and Remus and the birth of Rome. Most regard it as a beautiful building. One respondent said: 'It is a sweet little, compact museum.' By some, Kam seems to be viewed as a local hero. His legacy, the collection of Roman remains, had to be displayed in the museum, to respect his name. Now, the Roman remains are displayed in the Valkhof museum or preserved in the depot of the former Kam museum. The Valkhof museum is located in the city center on a central spot. The Kam museum is located only a few streets away, outside the city center in the living environment of Hunnerberg neighborhood. Some respondents react on the moving of the collection to the central museum as a betrayal of Kam's legacy.

The chair of the neighborhood committee does think so. The Kam building is still referred to as museum although it is a depot facility for archaeology for some years. At the 'Kam museum, director of Valkhof explains the exterior of the 20th century building, she highlights: *Senatus Populusque Romanus*. The senate and the people of Rome. She explains: The Kam museum was founded by G.M. Kam to display his collection of Roman remains composed of mainly pottery. Kam as a museum opened in 1922 to the public and was a provincial museum. People interested in Roman history from all over the country (and outside the Netherlands) visited the museum. The Kam museum had 15000 visitors per year (Brouwer, 2013). Out of practical reasons the collection moved to a new museum. The Kam museum was closed in 1998. Current conservators decided that the city museum (in commandarie of Saint Jan) and provincial museum Kam went together. In the new museum (Valkhof Museum) there is a special Kam exposition with explanation about Kam and his collection. In 2001, Kam reopened as provincial archeological centre. Roman remains found in Gelderland are stored in the Kam depot and the largest library on Roman archeology is found in the former Museum in Hunnerberg. The depot and library is open for people interested in archeology from profession or hobby. The former Kam museum is visited by few visitors. Also inhabitants of Nijmegen-Oost visit the archeological center, mainly on the yearly open monumental day (Brouwer, 2013). According to a chair of the neighborhood committee, only the Kam museum could be interesting for tourism in the neighborhood, but it has closed. The former museum is a very beautiful building. "Museum Kam is the most interesting, the rest is peanuts." Kam museum is now under the authority of the province of Gelderland (Hamers & Schraven, 2013). An archeological staff member

of the province notes that heritage is important because it differentiates one place from another. Buildings like castles or farms or natural assets like dunes or mountains have appeal to visitors. Cultural diversity is a part of the identity of the region. Heritage is preserved by province and municipalities (de Jong, 2013).

My personal connection to the museum is that when I was at the end of high school I was studying Roman history in class. I had my first boyfriend and he was working in the Kam museum as an archeological intern. I visited him often at his work place where he placed pieces of pottery in foam, to store it in a drawer. I was mostly fascinated with the emperors in the ceiling of the building on the inside, because I was hearing so many stories about them at school. I wasn't aware whether the former museum was open to the public; I felt like a special insider in this archeological world. I find the museum very beautiful outside and inside. I like it even more after the walk (with experts). Now I see all the style details, from jugendstil to Roman replicas.

Kam (1836-1922) was not an archeologist but a passionate traveler and collector of Roman remains. He has a connection with the museum of Leiden and its Roman artifacts. The whole concept of museumizing objects has its origins in Renaissance. Young men went on a trip and brought home relics from other places and times. They showed it in places that later became public museums. The purpose of these expositional places was to teach others about what was out there (Welten, 2013).

4.2.1 EDUCATION

In the neighbourhood many schools are at the museum director notes (Brouwer, 2013). The Canisius College was moved from the rather remote areas of Sittard, Limburg to the more prominent place in Nijmegen. Also a steam tram was stopping there, so it was very much a place of good infrastructure. The school was built by an architect that also built a cathedral in the former Batavia (Indonesia) in the style like 'Rijksmuseum' in Amsterdam. In 1900, the Jesuit monks inhabited the building and after that the students came. It functioned as a boarding school for many years. There were already Dominican brother in the neighborhood, but that did not interfere with the Jesuits. In the beginning of the 1950s the ideas around schooling started to change and later, The Netherlands became more secular. The groups became smaller and the building lost its intended purpose. It got the status of archeological monument. At another place in the neighborhood the girl's school was situated. This became the Canisius high school as I know it. At the former sports field of the Canisius college, excavations were done for over seven years. Many Roman artefacts were found. The primary school Buut started out as a school of the Jesuit, but it later became an open school (Raeven & Janssen, 1992). Other schools came to the area after another development. Klokkenberg was founded in 1894 as a school for mixed religions, the boarding school was at the Sterreschans building that was for long the Skipper boarding school. Klokkenberg School plans to rebuild a certain building in Roman style (Brouwer, 2013). Furthermore the academy for teachers was at the Kopse Hof. There is also a youth prison in the neighborhood. This was built intentionally on a higher point. One respondent called this part of the neighborhood 'the lazy corner' because a prison and a hospital were there when he was younger (man in his 70s).

Respondents report often that Roman heritage and education are connected. The knowledge about Roman heritage and the feeling about it (shame that they should know) also depends on how they have experienced their education (about Roman history or Latin). The notion exists, that the older people get, the more interested they get in the history.

Respondents have knowledge about Roman times depending on their level of education. A respondent is referring to the Roman camp:

It was a desert with an arena where people fought each other with leaves on their heads. Houses were built from mud. Oh, and the new architectural styles with bows, I learned that in school! A very nice style with bows, Roman style it is called.

Education perpetuates the importance of Roman remains. Because of classical education archeologists collect specifically Roman remains. Nowadays we see Roman heritage reflected in language of Latin and Greek (learned at gymnasium), museum classical collections, sections of Mediterranean Roman education (van Rooijen & Leene, 2013). Marketing makes heritage something for the higher class. Marketing of the museum goes mainly to these higher educated visitors because other groups demand too much energy and means. The museum attempts to reach a wider public by attracting schools through the whole country. There are always people who are attracted to the phenomenon of Romans (Brouwer, 2013). According to Merriman, 2003 (cited in Watson, 2011) people of the working class are more interested in heritage than those of the middle and affluent classes. This group only consumes heritage in a way that is less seen by heritage presentational data. Working class people value heritage in more intangible ways in their daily lives; amongst family, the home and the locality. Middle class people are more literate and can structure their leisure more as they like. They derive their cultural capital from museum visits, pursuing culture for enjoyment. People from lower classes, who get paid worse and have lower educations, may not have the time, energy and tendency to look for cultural activities that are outside of their normal experience (Watson, 2011). Residents often say that Roman heritage is not core to the neighborhood, however it does give a touch of something to the neighborhood. I think they mean a bit of class, a little style. Bourdieu would describe this as social capital (1984). A young woman likes it that the Romans of the neighborhood were 'cool' Romans. "They had big buildings and fights. I have always thought that the Romans that lived on this hill had something to say, and cool soldiers". From the following quotations it can be seen that the Roman heritage is important to residents, however they do not say so. It can also be read that these respondents associate themselves with the Roman military ranks. A women living on kops plateau notes:

While renovating the house, Roman graves were found in my street. They saw a different color in the ground, whhich they covered later. It was special. The excavation was well arranged by the municipality. I liked it. Only graves were found. A Roman wagon was found t the little farmer's place in the neighborhood where I buy my honey.

Her 'walking with' partner said:

At our place the army was located in Roman times, normal soldiers. At Sterreschans the higher soldiers were located.

These women were speaking about the place they live connected to the Roman heritage. They seem modest about their social class and relate this to the Roman heritage.

4.3 SIGN 'ALL PATHS'

In this paragraph, the sign (figure 11) with information about the different roads the Romans built, is linked to how information panels are perceived generally. First, expert opinion are shown, then respondents' views are given. In the subparagraph perceptions of the limes as an ancient path are examined.



Figure 11 Sign 'all paths' and location of the sign.

The museum director notes: 'Information panels are difficult to interpret for people that haven't got an archeological background. Different time eras displayed on the panel are unclear for the public' (Brouwer, 2013). It is true that respondents have difficulties with interpreting the signs; also many of them have not even seen the signs at all. The chair of the neighborhood committee explains from his discipline of social psychology that reading a map is a higher cognitive task. He also notes that it is hard for people to rotate images in their heads and that therefore the direction in which an information panel is placed is very important. The details tell the story, but are hard to explain. About Roman histories he notes: 'cast pearls before swine'. Meaning as much that Roman history is something valuable and complex and should not be simplified too much to try and reach everyone. The chair said: if you want to explain it properly you need a lot of text. "Most people who watch the information panels are pedestrians and cyclists, they do not stop to read the signs" (Hamers & Schraven, 2013).

Generally about the representations of the past it can be said from the data that Roman time is hard to imagine for many resident respondents. Multi-media are often reported as a good way of visualizing the past (by young people). Many respondents had never seen the signs before. The residents I spoke to think it is good that the governments invest in history, but the way it happens now might not be the best. A respondent said:

Signs do not correspond to imagining Roman times. What I learned in school does that more. I also like to see re-enactments and participate in dressing up.

Both residents as well as experts think that it is important to show the Roman heritage, but the way in which it happens now could be improved. Experts say that Roman heritage is hard to explain and hard to understand for common people.

4.3.1 LIMES

In this subparagraph, practices to promote the Roman limes on governmental levels are explained. After that, voices of neighborhood residents are heard perceiving the limes. These perceptions are connected to literature about paths. This literature is connected to the information panel because the limes is next to a frontier on an ancient path.

The national committee reports that they want the limes on the world heritage list, if people know it can trigger interest. (van Rooijen & Leene, 2013). A definition of the limes has been formed because part of this border in the Netherlands and Germany are being nominated for UNESCO world heritage list. Defining the heritage as 'limes' connects it to parts of the Roman border in England and Germany that are already on the world heritage list. It makes it a transnational heritage site. Limes is also used as an organizational form, to bind

together various organizations in different provinces and cities. The Roman heritage in Maastricht is not included because it would not add to the idea of limes as border, and it becomes too difficult from an organizational point of view (Heijden, 2013). The municipality supports the idea of getting the Dutch part of the limes listed on the UNESCO world heritage list (Smit, 2013). The national limes committee has the target that the term limes is widely known in the Netherlands in 2020. The actions to inform a wider public started in 2012 (van Rooijen & Leene, 2013). The term limes is also used in Germany and therefore connects the lower Germanic limes in the Netherlands to the German part. For UNESCO it is important that heritage is carried by the public, therefore it should be widely known. Xanten in Germany has a great theme park in Roman style. Between Nijmegen and Xanten there are connections like routes (on the old limes) and a collaboration in organizing a Roman festival. Also archeologists on a municipality level have contact. This way the limes still connects recent places.

‘Limes’ as a term is mostly unknown by respondents on the ‘walking with’ tour. It is often associated with the area ‘liemers’ or limos (military place in Nijmegen). Since the limes is next to a frontier, an ancient road, it is interesting to look at it in that way. Witcher notes that roads are embedded in landscapes, and everybody has a relation with their landscape. He argues that Roman roads illustrate the hegemonic identity and power of the Roman Empire. With constructing roads, Roman leaders structured human behavior. Romans were inside the empire and neighboring tribes where outside, or had a lesser status. This way, roads can be seen as a focus of ideological conflict, because they impose new perspectives of space. The case of Roman roads illustrates the relationship between hegemonic power and perceptions of space (Witcher, 1998). Witcher argues that “Roman roads served to manipulate identity and modify power relationships” (Witcher, 1998, p. 9). Also Tilley describes roads (or paths) as fundamental entities in creating relationships:

Paths... have fundamentally to do with establishing and maintaining social linkages and relations between individuals, groups and political units (Tilley, 1994, p. 30).

Some respondents know that the Ubbergseveldweg is an ancient road (not part of the limes). One of the respondents points out to me the meaning of ‘road uphill’ as the meaning of the street. A publisher well-versed in the Roman heritage of Nijmegen tells me that this road uphill was the middle road of the castellum (Heijden, 2013). A respondent said about the ubberseveldweg:

“The idea that people lived in this place for so long is cool. And that the Ubbergseveldweg was a road for many years is really interesting. “

A conclusion following from the research group ‘Tales of the Frontier’ is that of the distance to Rome should be mentioned studying the perception of Roman heritage (Tolia-Kelly, 2011). The Roman heritage in Hunnerberg is about 2000 kilometers away from Rome. It is not noticeable in buildings from that time. It is valued, but more as a familiar or personal heritage than as a world heritage.

Nowadays limes still establishes and maintains social linkages on a governmental level. For some residents the knowledge that their street might have been an ancient road brings excitement. For most of them, limes is not a familiar term and therefore does not connect their place to other places. Governmental efforts have been going on for a few years and will continue until at least 2020. This might lead to more involvement of the public and result in more social and professional linkages around the Roman heritage. Because heritage carries values, this will also shape how people view the landscape and their inhabitants (Harvey, 2001).

4.4 PANORAMIC VIEW POINT

In this paragraph the panoramic view point is described. Firstly, I explain the demarcations. Secondly, some residents responses about that spot are highlighted. Thirdly, an explanation of why the view is kept open is given. In the subparagraph the panoramic view point is associated with literature of the tourism experience.

This link is made because many respondents started to report about leisure and tourism experiences on this spot.



Figure 12 Panoramic view point and the view on the Ooy meadows.

The Panoramic view (figure 12) is demarcated by Belvoir hotel and the Keizer Karel apartment block. At the Keizer Karel flat the ancient canal is called 'Vrouwendaal'. Vrouwendaal was the division line between the Roman military camp and *Canabae* (place where women and craftsman lived in Roman times) (Heijden, 2013). From the panoramic viewpoint Hunnerberg a sightline can be drawn to Elten, reaching Kuhrhaus Kleve. There, a symmetric garden is set up by the house of the Nassau family (Hamers & Schraven, 2013).

A respondent notes at the panoramic view point:

At this higher point I imagine that I am in a foreign country, also at Kopse hof (also a higher point)

The panoramic view point is almost always associated with leisure time: scenic nature, cycling, walking, leisure, feeling as if on holiday, swimming, ice skating. A neighbor said: 'The view is beautiful, but moreover, we can hear the cows on the meadows every now and then'. I, like the respondents, associate the view with leisure as well. I also lived in the Ooy, so I also think about that. It seems that respondents sometimes take the panoramic view for granted. Respondents do not mention the beauty of the site, but are enthusiastic after I ask about it. They see the view from where they walk or cycle but they do not go to the constructed panoramic view point. The height is sometimes associated with Romans living on a hill. Some respondents associate the panoramic view point with war, the open shooting range. The height in the landscape makes it a strategic location for the Romans and others (Heijden, 2013). The place is associated with Nijmegen as oldest city of the Netherlands, or sometimes as unique part of Hunnerberg. Many respondents think the trees need to be cut, so the view stays open. There is also grassroots group in the neighborhood that protects the panoramic view.

The park next to Haskoning has not been built on because it was a point of defense. The wide view was a strategic point because it could be used as an open shooting range. Therefore, it was forbidden to build brick houses here until the "vesting wet" late 18th century. During WWII the viewpoint was of importance because the bridge could be seen from there. Many buildings were destroyed by the Nazis and Allies. After the war, this part of Nijmegen was further developed with the Barbarossastraat and Wilhelminastraat. High apartment buildings were built, known as the 'Sterrenflats'. Haskonig, a company of consultants, was built in the 70s by a German corporation 'Estell' together with 'Hoogovens' from IJmuiden. They wanted to build their office on the most beautiful spot in Nijmegen, which caused many protests. People thought that the site should be protected; therefore the building is constructed on poles. Archeological research has been done underneath the building (Hamers & Schraven, 2013).

‘The hill’, as Hunnerberg was referred to by one of the respondents, being a strategic location in Roman times, still seems to be a strategic location in modern times and is protected powerfully. People living up the hill are still those of the higher classes as it was over the many years of history.

4.4.1 TOURISM EXPERIENCE

On this route, the panoramic viewpoint is a particular touristic site on the route. Montesquieu used *tour* in both senses of the word. In French *un tour* means a tour or trip and *une tour* means a tower. At the panoramic view point, people see a place from a distance. During the walking with tour, at Panorama Hunnerberg, people often think about leisure. That is not surprising, as in many touristic places, a panoramic view point is the center of attraction from where people go on with their holiday trip. It is a specific point on the route, for example the Eiffel tower. Tourists in those places have literally a higher standing point. In the case of a panoramic viewpoint, it is a higher point looking over the meadows like from a tower. The tourist is the one looking for the right distance (Welten, 2013, p. 33).

By doing a ‘walking with interview’ I have put respondents in a different position regarding their own neighborhood. By leading them through their neighborhood the experience of the neighborhood transforms. They start to report about leisure and holiday experiences and call places exotic that they normally pass on their way to work. Normally, respondents cycle in their area, whereas at the time of the interview they walked it. This unusual experience of being on holiday in the own neighborhood can be described as an existential authentic experience. People have an authentically good time, feel emotions and share them (Wang, 1999). Many respondents do not go to a tourist office in their own town, but do so on holiday. One respondent says:

“In another city, I look at images and in my own city I don’t know why but I just don’t do it, not that I know everything. There are so many surprising things here!”

Leading respondents through the neighborhood, I as a researcher could be viewed as a tourism guide and the respondents as tourists. It could also be that I was the tourist and they were the tour guides as they explained to me their experiences and knowledge. In any case, the ‘walking with’ interview method worked as well as a guided tour. As in the research of Filene, I experienced that, by involving residents, they often start to see themselves differently in the dynamic of time and space. They start to view themselves as not only watchers of history but also as actors in history. Asked for their personal stories, residents become meaning makers and started to feel part of the continual act of construction of heritage (Filene, 2012). This meaning making often happened after the tour, when respondents start to talk about the tour to family and friends. Even two years after the ‘walking with tour’ I hear stories of respondents involving their friends and family in the Roman heritage they obtained after participating in the ‘walking with tour’.

The walking with interview was experienced also as touristic tour by many respondents. Respondents experience the tour in an existential authentic way (Wang, 1999). They also start to see themselves as meaning makers by inviting friends and family on tour (Filene, 2012).

4.5 TIME GATES (VIDEO PANEL)

In this paragraph, perceptions of the time gates or video panels (figure 13) in the neighborhood are given. Time gates are metal boxes one man high with a TV screen in it. They have a red button underneath the screen that one can press. Videos about Roman times are shown after the current situation is filmed. Three of these time gates are available in the neighborhood. In the subparagraphs, the time gates are associated with literature on representations of Roman times and images of Roman times. Here, first the perception that resident respondents have are given, then considerations of experts are shown.



Figure 13 Video panel (time gate) and screen shot of video panel

According to many respondents the videos give a good view of Roman times. Some have pressed the button. But many pass by, walking or cycling. Seeing the movies, respondents make connections with their own house. Respondents report that they do think the pillars are ugly. At the end of the interview series, all of the time gates were broken. This was already foreseen by the maker of the signals of 'Tijdpad' (van Ginkel, 2013). Respondents note that remembering the past is important, but this is not the right way. Video pillars (time gates) are too vulnerable and new technologies are available. About the time gates, residents reported:

It is good to invest in the awareness of Roman times, but I don't know if this way is effective.

While I am running I stop to look at the signals about the aqueduct. I literally stop for it, because I am relaxing. But when I am on my way to work for example I pass by the signals and time gates, I am focused on other things.

People think the sustainability is important when it comes to the representation. Time gates (video panels) were broken by passing vandals, and respondents think that is a shame. People would like to see more promotion.

The director of the museum translates the Latin in the videos: 'Romanum ite Donum' (Romans go home) and 'In vino veritas' (wine holds the truth) (Brouwer, 2013). No reference to a website on panels and time gate is seen (Brouwer, 2013). English information is given on the time gates but not on the information panels. The chair of the neighborhood committee said that Latin words are often misunderstood. Like the difference between castra, legion, oppidum.

According to the policy member of the municipality, the person living closest to a time gate was informed about the development of it, and the permit was arranged, but still this man was angry. He did not understand what the municipality came to place in front of his house and he foresaw problems with parking his car. He even threatened to drive over the time gate with his car. The municipality started the debate and placed the time gate in such a way that people are not looking inside his house, but more towards the street. By changing the location a bit, the parking space is still the same size. However, the time gate has been placed on the root of the tree, which made another neighbor angry. Smit explained to the women that it was the only possibility. The neighbor with the time gate in front of his house is now involved with the municipality. He informs them when it is broken (Smit, 2013).

Residents I spoke to think mostly that the time gates are not a good way of representing Roman times because they are too vulnerable and too big. Generally they think that it is good to represent Roman times. The museum director thinks the video panels are hard to understand because of the latin words in it. The municipality (mandator of the project) has tried to involve residents in the project and succeeded in the

example. Target groups become unclear because English information is provided here on the time gates but not on the information panels.

4.5.1 REPRESENTATION

In this subparagraph expert views on how to do representations of heritage are described. Also I give my view on how I see Roman times.

According to the national limes coordinator, presentation is very important. A movie on locations can trigger attention for example. On a national level, the limes coordinator is working with different levels of engagement of the public: to know it, to understand, to value and to embrace. The national limes association is working towards a level on what people create and preserve a place together. She is very much aware of the emotional attachment of people and co-creation of heritage. The authorities put effort in that different parties collaborate towards a higher degree of knowledge of people on Roman heritage. Hadrian's wall is visible in a desolated area, different from the Netherlands with no ruins to see and highly populated areas. At fortresses of other eras, attention of visitors is drawn by physical infrastructure. In the Netherlands, Roman history does not have these visible remains, so attention needs to be drawn by more activities (van Rooijen & Leene, 2013).

There needs to be governmental enthusiasm locally according to the Gelderland policy worker. The invisibility of the limes makes the process difficult. In decades, there should be a group of enthusiastic people about the world heritage, instead of angry farmers. People that live on limes locations should be proud of the heritage, according to the provincial heritage policy worker. People can distinguish themselves with Roman heritage. The heritage is interesting because of limes. Limes are about civilization and an exchange of cultures. Limes is also a border between civilization and barbarians. Strangers were in a way welcome then and lived and traded peacefully (de Jong, 2013).

According to Smit (municipality Nijmegen), the municipality has been very active in projects to visualize Roman history. Smit wonders if the panels, time gates and replicas are taken for granted, or if it is a common part of the neighborhood. 'Do people like it?' she asks herself. No specific evaluations about the route 'Tijdpad' and representations in Hannerberg have been done. There are general evaluations done about the city (Smit, 2013). The museum director regrets that everything is done in different styles, all separate initiatives (Brouwer, 2013).

Members of the neighborhood committees think that what to visualize is always a dilemma. The importance of archeological remains changes. In the past, the archeological remains of Middle ages were destroyed by researchers. Only the Roman legacy was valued. Nowadays a much more layered history is seen as important. The chair of the Hengstdal committee thinks it would be interesting to visualize Roman times on Ubbergseveldweg in a digital image. It would be interesting to make use of the line of sight and to see the parts of the Roman military camp on the exact positions as a layer. He said: The concept of Roman times is difficult. In this neighborhood three different camps existed over a period of four centuries. Often people see Roman times as one single period. Our sense of time is totally wrong (Hamers & Schraven, 2013). Personally I also tend to view Roman times as one single period. Now I know that it is stretched out over centuries, I still imagine it as one period of time. Schraven and Hamers of the neighborhood committees liked the turntable flat screen that layer the current ruins in Pompeii with images of Roman times very much. With this instrument, the view point can be managed (Hamers & Schraven, 2013).

For those who represent heritage it is hard to choose what to visualize and how to do so. By the national limes coordinator it is mentioned, that the how the public perceives representations is important. She also encourages the public to involve.

4.5.2 IMAGES OF ROMAN TIMES

In this subparagraph, images of Roman heritage is described. At first the image of experts is given. Then the ideas and picture residents have in their heads are described.

To start with, the view of a historic publicist van Ginkel is given. According to him, images of Roman times are those of a military, advanced civilization. Men dominate in those images preserving female roles only in the portraying of pleasure. Often Romans are portrayed in violent combat with shiny uniforms, or in lavish feasts. Examples of representations of Roman times are those educated in schools (see also <http://www.entoen.nu/romeinselimes>). Furthermore, Romans are subjects of amusement like in the comic books of Asterix and movies like Gladiator. Publications on archeological grounds in the Netherlands are, amongst others, 'Limes atlas' by Colebrander, publications of Hazenberg archeology and the book chapter 13 of 'Onder onze voeten' by van Ginkel (van Ginkel, 2012). Recently, a TV-show about Roman life called 'Welkom bij de Romeinen' aired. The series was showing fragments of Roman daily-life, shaped as a personal drama. This show was a big success and many children and adults watched it. People liked it because of the humor in it. Clearly, many representations of Roman heritage can be seen on local sites and museums as collected in the booklet: "Zien, doen, beleven. Langs de grens van het Romeinse rijk" (Nagtegaal, 2012).

According to the national limes coordinator Leene, already in Egyptian heydays, technological developments improved. Political developments were more from antiquity. Democracy, reason and philosophy stem from antiquity, those are our core values. Romans copied many Greek items. Romans had qualified Greek slaves to teach them civilization. Romans had military and organizational knowledge, Greeks were more philosophically developed (van Rooijen & Leene, 2013).

Smit's image of Romans, from her archeological discipline specialized in Middle Ages, are firstly the Roman festival and re-enactors. She thinks it is very imaginable for people, children and adults. She thinks about the spectacle of cavaliers. Further images that come up are those of legionnaires, civilians, smiths and archers with bare and hairy legs (re-enactment). The image that is communicated by the municipality is the image of the variety of military Romans and of course, civilian lives. At Nijmegen's current location, the earliest Roman city in the Netherlands was located. Excavations have been done about how the houses were formed. Besides re-enactment, the archeological service wants to communicate how the houses looked, the colors, and the daily lives of people. Roman history is not only about dressed-up men (re-enactment), it is a way to transmit that message; there is much more. Smit thinks the re-enactment soldiers are used too much. They give a childish image of the Roman period. The voluntary re-enactors are very enthusiastic in promoting heritage. This is not always in line with what the municipality want to carry out. It is becoming stereotypical for Roman times and doesn't say too much about it. The task of municipality is to give a rich diverse image of Roman times (Smit, 2013). The image Kruk (regional tourist office RBTKAN) has of Roman times is that of the Roman limes, northern frontier, from soldiers on horses and legionnaires with their shields held up. Ten years ago he thought about Roman times more or less the same as he thought about the middle ages. There is a clear distinction between Roman history and history of the middle ages and history of WWII (liberation route). In general, Kruk notes that public knowledge of history is not very good, especially that of younger people. In his project about the Romans they are trying to explain that 2000 years ago there were many developments that we take for granted nowadays like roads and waterworks. The image that they try to set out is that Romans brought civilization. Furthermore, they try to bring out the "magical", like a fort with masses of soldiers somewhere in the field (Kruk, 2012). The national limes coordinator sees the Romans as an image of military character of Roman times derived from Asterix. The national heritage coordinator said that limes is a military and trade story. Because organizational and military centers were located in the current Netherlands, Romans brought many developments (Brouwer, 2013).

Respondents give a big variation of images of Roman times. 'The Roman history is also interesting for me because we are walking on it.', a respondent noticed. This idea was not true for everybody. From the interviews I have observed that there is a wide variety of images of Roman times. Generally one might say that Roman times are hard to imagine. Some respondent's images are: that it is the cradle of society, technology, they brought civilization, emperor, architecture, sewage system, excavations, daily life eating habits, development of Europe, army walking, tents, white and brown cloths, sand. Often the height of Roman buildings in the neighborhood is unknown. A respondent thought of Roman times as: 'a mobile military place, with tents, not like the big markets and columns.' Often people are interested in the daily lives of historic figures:

I thought it was very interesting that they (archeologists) had found a hole with food of the Romans. They ate about 20 to 30 different singing birds! That is what I like, the ordinary things, like eating habits.

An image of Roman times is that of the army walking through rural areas from Italy, years away from home. Also respondents refer to representations in the neighborhood:

Soldiers made a water system, which was to have labor for the soldiers; the water was coming from the north, from the current village 'Berg en Dal'. It was a special project and it was portrayed here.

On national governmental level the notion exists that many people think that Roman (and Greek) history is the cradle of society. Answers from respondents support this.

Roman civilization came after the Greek basis infrastructure, our society is based on Romans, and Romans conquered a big part of Europe. Now we can profit of infrastructure.

Roman time is the cradle of society.

Greek and Roman time is one whole.

Philosophy and religion are important developments from antiquity until today.

A very diverse image of Roman heritage can be seen, as well as what respondents reported as what Roman times experts report. That Roman times is the cradle of society and the military character of the Romans is often repeated by experts. Also heard from both respondents as experts is; that the personal life of Romans is something interesting to present because that is easy to relate to. Furthermore, the periodization of Roman times is often unclear for respondents.

4.6 CASTLE HOUSES

In this paragraph how castle houses (figure 14) are viewed is discussed. With castle houses I am referring to private houses build in the nineties at the Ubberseveldweg. The houses have a tower and are therefore seen as references to Roman times by some. The operator that built the houses included the reference to the historic past of the neighborhood. Also other houses in the neighborhood have references to Roman times, but were not taken in the route. Firstly, in this paragraph I describe the opinion of residents connected to literature, then voices of the members of the neighborhood committee are heard.



Figure 14 Castle houses

The rebuilding of Roman artifacts is often viewed as kitsch for example the houses in the Ubbergseveldweg that look a bit like castles. A respondent notes: 'Castle houses are wannabe modern or wannabe historic'. People think the houses are not integrated with the rest of the neighborhood. Many respondents associate the towers of the houses with toilet rolls. Some refer to other houses with Roman elements in the neighborhood. Traditionally the authentic was to be found in Rome or Pompeii, where youngsters went on their grand tour during the 16th century. This objective form of authenticity seems to still exist in the minds of respondents (Wang, 1999). The replicas in the neighborhood are experienced as kitsch and inauthentic. This is also controllable because respondents know the situation and are able to check facts. What is at home is ordinary (Welten, 2013). A respondent explains "I was in the museum of London, but the Roman collection I did not look at because I have it at home".

Members of the neighborhood committees are critical of the way history is generally represented. Schraven is against the simplified way in which the landscape is decorated. Hamers notes that often information does not speak to the audience (Hamers & Schraven, 2013).

Castle houses are seen as kitsch. Representations of heritage have to be connected closer to the real, according to residents and neighborhood committee member. The objective authenticity of artifacts is still of importance (Wang, 1999).

4.7 PORTA ROMANA

In front of the apartment block Porta Romana (figure 15) replicas of Roman ruins are placed by the operator who built the apartment. The replica has to represent the basement of a Roman arch. Involvements and perceptions of residents are described here. Also expert opinions are given.



Figuur 15 Porta Romana and detail of Porta Romana

Many respondents have never seen the rebuilt ruins of the apartment block of Porta Romana before. Often it is viewed as kitsch and ugly and many respondents find it hard to figure out what they are seeing. The time that archeological investigation takes is mentioned by one respondent (7 years). Some respondents report that they are enthusiastic about the representation of heritage but rather not have the (fake) ruins in their garden. There has been a lot of attention for the Roman water system from the village up the hill to Porta Romana. The routes are called from source to tap ('van bron tot kraan'). The 'water tap' was at Porta Romana, in the form of a well. At the village 'Berg en Dal', the water came from the source. For the route following this track there is a paper guide, a website where the QR codes are explained (ViaNatura, 2015) and a guided tour (GildeNijmegen, 2015). The multi media tour is developed by 'Via Natura' which is a cooperation of regional municipalities surrounding Nijmegen. The guided tour is developed by Gilde Nijmegen, a group of enthusiastic volunteers regarding the history of Nijmegen. To me, the place Porta Romana has a very different meaning. My father was a teacher at the university that was located at that place. Many refer to the water system.

One respondent is very much involved with the own rebuilding of the mosaic 'cave canem' in front of Porta Romana. For him, it is a project in which he is very much involved with his neighbors and house in building. The project gives a bit of allure and distinguishes him from his brother. The Roman heritage has thus a very personal meaning to him. For another respondent the mosaic reminds her of mosaics in Pompeii from women in bikini. She was surprised that women back then could wear bikinis while in times of her mother it was not common. These personal heritages link and overlap with a broader national and European heritage in the same way the personal heritages signal the bigger heritage picture (Timothy, 1997).

The rebuilding of the remains of Porta Romana was a private initiative by the one who built the apartment block helped by the municipality (Smit, 2013). The gate was a very high building at this point. Romans could look out very far and see who was coming up the way next to the gate. The municipality was late with involving the investor, otherwise he would have included the Roman elements in the architectural plans (Heijden, 2013).

Residents sometimes get involved in a very personal way, like the development of the mosaic. The municipality seems to not be aware of the willingness of the operator and residents to build representations of Roman times.



Figure 16 Involvements in Roman representations

In figure 16, involvements are portrayed. On the first picture, excavations in the street are shown that a respondent sent me. On the next picture Roman puppets are seen during carnival 2015. On the third picture, a collage is seen about Roman artifacts made by a group of residents that are active in studying Roman times. It was hanging on the fence during a demonstration to keep a certain building that was scheduled to be torn down by the municipality.

4.8 EMPEROR COLUMN ROOIE DORP

The emperor column (figure 17) is placed in the 'Rooie dorp', part of the neighborhood of Hengstdal. Geographically it forms part of the square of the neighborhood of Hunnerberg. Rooie dorp is viewed as outside or apart of the neighborhood by many respondents. The emperor column is placed in the middle of a square in Rooie dorp. It is as high as the houses and painted in various colors at the top. The column itself is white. In this paragraph the perceptions of the emperors column by Hunnerberg residents is described, followed by considerations of the municipality. Then, in the subparagraph, a bottom-up initiative in Hengstdal is described where more than 200 people voted for a representation of Roman times.



Figure 17 Emperors column

In the Rooie dorp, the column is not seen by many of the resident respondents. After reading and watching the signs, most respondents can imagine the market place that was at the square in Roman times. After knowing the height of the architecture, a respondent gets a feeling of status and respect for history. One respondent said: 'I see the Disney figure Mulan shooting the arrow, because she has a pillar of the warriors too!' Often the pillar is viewed as kitsch and incomplete. As a matter of fact, the column was made at the Filipins and is missing a statue of a Roman emperor (Smit, 2013)

When the column in 'Het Rooie dorp' was built, people of this area were informed by letters and information meetings. People liked the colors very much (original Roman colors). Before the opening with the city council member, the column was stained with markers. People from the neighborhood thought that was a shame, Smit explains. Residents also would have liked that the statue of the emperor was on top, but there was no money for that and the development plan of that location should change (because of the height). At the opening with Roman food (summer 2011) a handful of people were there. Later, other people came to watch. (Smit, 2013) 'Het Rooie dorp' was rebuilt at once. When the people came back, there were a few demarcations in the road. The column (Roman replica) was placed later (Hamers & Schraven, 2013). It seems neighbors value the Roman pillar.

The emperor column seems to be valued by inhabitants of Rooie dorp. Residents of Hunnerberg however, seem to pass by without noticing. It is just outside the living area of the respondents and therefore they seem to pass by easily. The column is helpful in imagining how the historic Roman market place looked.

4.8.1 COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT ROMAN HERITAGE IN HENGSTDAL

During my research in Hunnerberg noticeable activities took place regarding the representation of Roman heritage in neighbouring areas.



Figure 18 Roundabout with art work inspired of Roman times and presentation at the voting

In the neighbourhood of Hengstdal neighbouring Hunnerberg, residents initiated and carried out a project in cooperation with the municipality to visualize the Roman aqueduct (figure 18) that supposedly had crossed the neighbourhood in Roman times. Residents organized in the neighbourhood committee established the possibility to develop an artwork on the roundabout located on the Broerweg/Hengstdalseweg. On April 8th of 2013, a meeting was planned where residents of (the broad) Nijmegen-Oost could vote for one of three separate artworks or no visualization. Residents from the neighbouring streets were invited by door-to-door mail and an advertisement was placed in the neighbourhood paper. A researcher was present at the meeting to collect data. As a resident of Nijmegen-Oost, I voted for the art work I liked the most. 201 people voted in total and 82 voted for the artwork that had been placed about two years later. Only 18 people voted for an open roundabout without representation. During the meeting somebody noted that the archaeological evidence about the existence of the aqueduct was not 100% solid. This resulted in angry reactions of the public. It seemed people really wanted the Roman representation. Especially interesting about these activities was the bottom-up approach initiated by residents of Hengstdal themselves. A reason to be so interested in the aqueduct was that through Hengstdal the route by the water system trace 'van bron tot kraan' goes from up the hill in Berg en Dal to Porta Romana in Hunnerberg.

Residents from Hengstdal seem to be very enthusiastic in representing Roman heritage. Top down and bottom-up initiatives are carried out successfully with big enthusiasm of the neighbourhood residents.

4.9 'KOPSE HOF' SIGN

'Kopse hof' is how this place is often called, while it is officially called 'kops plateau' (figure 19). This place is a higher field or park of the neighborhood. Horses are grazing on the field and a lane of trees can be walked. It is owned by a foundation, formerly the owners were the Margraff family. To me, this place means walking with my mother. As a child I did not go there often, because I felt it was outside my playing area. Older guys were hanging around at night, and I was afraid of them. In this paragraph, I explain about the Roman festival (figure 19) that is held on kops plateau with references to perceptions of neighborhood residents. In the subparagraphs I describe the spatial identities of residents connected to the Roman heritage. These spatial identities are connected to Kops plateau because of the international character of the festival. Many Roman lovers from all over Europe come to visit the festival.



Figure 19 Information panel at kops plateau and picture of Roman festival

Once every two years, a Roman festival is held on Kops plateau. It is organized by a foundation consisting of volunteers that are very enthusiastic about the Roman heritage. The goal of this foundation is to promote the Roman legacy. These group of enthusiastic people could be viewed as the “outsider history-makers” Filene talks about (2012). The members of the foundation have a lot of knowledge about Roman times and the foundation has a large network of re-enactors. These re-enactors are fanatic hobbyists that play out Roman times including clothes, arts crafts etc. At the festival many of these re-enactors show their knowhow and attributes, mostly very precisely replicated from certain centuries. The festival speaks to people on a personal level, how Romans ate, fought, lived. Many children like the Roman battles and other representational plays. The Roman festival foundation has been the initiative taker of promoting Roman heritage. They are seen by the National limes association. They adapted the activities of the Roman festival foundation in the national program. It changed its name in RomeinenNu, meaning ‘Romans now’. The bottom-up approach of these Roman time lovers is supported in means from the national position. Also, funding is coming from the province, municipality and a voluntary organization for archeology. The RomeinenNu foundation organized a Roman week that is now a national event supported by the several organizations regarding Roman heritage.

I have been there once during my internship. Roman re-enactors were there to show their art. I can remember a fight with soldiers and horses and a fight between gladiators. It made my image of Roman times much more alive. I was surprised by the technologies they had. Like the metal helmets. I also liked that the Roman food was very much a like the food we eat now: bread and olive oil. With respondents I stopped at a sign ‘kops plateau’. The sign is hard to read for many. After knowing that the higher ranks in Roman times were at kops plateau, residents living near that place report that at their particular street, normal Roman soldiers were stationed. This signals the way Dutch people talk about wealth and class. Although living a wealthy life, people do not mention it (Human, 2013). Many respondents would have liked more images of Roman times to see. None of the respondents have visited the Roman festival, but most think it is a nice initiative. From the festival organization I heard it was difficult to keep the festival terrain closed for residents walking their dog because they had the feeling kops plateau was part of their habitual route, and so they could enter the field. At the foot of kops plateau a Roman harbor was recently found (Gelderlander, 2013). Many respondents refer to that during the walk. Presently, there is no water at the location where the Roman harbor was found because the river changed its direction. In another place in Nijmegen, the public was invited to dig for archeological remains (GemeenteNijmegen, 2014).

In the time I did the interviews with experts, there was an idea of the owners of Kops plateau to build a Roman amusement park, but due to shortage lack of funds, this plan will probably not develop in the near future (Brouwer, 2013). According to the members of the neighborhood committees, the park would be a bad remake of the park in Xanten (Hamers & Schraven, 2013). Nowadays, an active group is doing an educational project on kops plateau in cooperation with the Margraff foundation. They aim to develop a representation of Roman

times at Kops plateau. Currently they are looking for schools and universities to participate (StichtingKopsPlateau, 2015).

Respondents from Hunnerberg do not go to the Roman festival. They often find the grown-ups dressed as Romans something for children. On the other hand, a very fanatic core of Roman lovers especially is organizing and visiting this festival. Outsider history makers are very fanatic in organizing the festival and doing the educational project on kops plateau (Filene, 2012).

4.9.1 SPATIAL IDENTITY

From both interviews as well as literature, I can conclude that a spatial identity is a flexible and often intangible definition. And, both heritage and identity link to place and territory (Graham & Howard, 2008). I have asked respondents to draw their neighborhood on a map. During the drawing it was hard for people to define their neighborhood. In some cases respondents reported that their spatial identity depends on how the question is asked, where they are and what they are talking about. It seemed that it also depends on the relation with the other respondents and maybe with the researcher. A respondent notes: 'I am either a resident of Nijmegen-Oost or "the hill", (...); it depends on the point of view.'

In this subparagraph, the identity feeling of the city of Nijmegen, Gelderland, The Netherlands and Europe are described as reported by residents of Hunnerberg in the sample group. I also describe my own positionality in this. Residents perceptions are confronted by governmental identity claims.

NIJMEGEN IDENTITY

Only a few respondents from the questionnaire feel the Nijmegen identity very much. Personally, I feel very much part of Nijmegen. More than my national identity and more than feeling European. I do not feel strongly about Gelderland at all (neither did most respondents). I love my city and I am proud on it. I love the meadows and the woods and the hills: 'The hills are typical Nijmegen' (through the eyes of Frisian respondent), surrounding the town. I love the old city center and the neighborhoods. I especially love the eastern part of Nijmegen, where I live. I know that for many that grew up in the city, Nijmegen is very much alive as an identity.

Archeologically speaking, the Roman city (oppidum) was destroyed in 69 during the revolt of the Batavi. Later, Romans made a city in Nijmegen West, comparable but smaller than the city in Xanten. This is known because the writer Tacitus wrote it down. Battles happened on the Valkhof (city centre Nijmegen). The municipality policy maker said: 'People have lived here before! Romans have, like us, experienced this place. That is very special' (Smit, 2013). 'Nijmegen still is situated in a strategic position connected by the rivers', a respondent notes. Another respondent thinks: 'It is nice that Nijmegen was the most important city of the Netherlands in Roman times.' According to the museum director of the Valkhof museum the archeological heritage is special. Nijmegen is the only Roman legionary camp in the current Netherlands. The camp was a military capital seated in the current Nijmegen. Xanten was a big Roman city close by. There was a smaller legion camp in Beerten (Brouwer, 2013)

The claim of Nijmegen as the oldest city of the Netherlands is very much alive. The bridge is also a very much valued symbol for Nijmegen city. Bikkel is the mascot of the Nijmegen soccer team. It is a puppet shaped like a Roman soldier. In this, the notion of Nijmegen as the oldest city is taken into account because Romans first built the city.

Representations of history like time gates and 'Tijdpad' are important for the people of Nijmegen because the (Roman) history forms part of the identity of the city. If people know the history of

Nijmegen it can add to feelings of pride towards the city. The Roman history is very important for Nijmegen; it can even be seen in the name that Nijmegen is derived from: Ulpia Noviomagus. If you know about it, you see much of Roman history in the way Nijmegen has developed until the present. Like the strategic point to build a city on, a higher ground close to a river, where one can watch over the lower meadows (Betuwe) Limes was a border, a river, a road and fortresses it was the Northern Frontier of the empire. Nijmegen was the military and governmental center of the area. We should not be over-focused on the Limes, it is just a border. The land behind it continues (...and that's what it's about) (Smit, 2013).

Furthermore from the interviews, people relate their birth place to history more than the place they live in. A respondent refers to her birth place in relation to the Roman heritage: "Heerlen is an awful city. While growing up there I could say that it was a beautiful city in Roman times." She connected Heerlen to Nijmegen because both cities have Roman heritage.

Nijmegen is seen by respondents as the eldest city of The Netherlands. This is also an identity claim that lies upon the city. The position of Nijmegen as strategic is mentioned by residents , as well as by experts.

GELDERLAND IDENTITY

Gelderland does not speak to many respondents as an identity. It seems to me that people view heritage very much nation wise or city wise.

Also the policy maker of the province explains that a broader culture and heritage (and identity) in Gelderland is hard to find. Culture and heritage is connected to different, more local identities. Gelderland has different identities: "Achterhoek", "De Veluwe" and "Rivierenland" geographical identities, 10 different smaller identities. Gelderland is a melting pot, like Europe is a melting pot. These cultures are reflected in the story about limes. Limes is about exchange of cultures. Often it follows natural borders like rivers. An example of a still existing border in the landscape is the Danube in Hungary. It forms a border with Slovakia; this was also the border in times of limes. The province has the role to protect heritage like the limes in the landscape. The farmer who grows his trees too deeply into the ground destroys the world heritage.,The province needs to make policy (de Jong, 2013).

Both residents and experts do not see Gelderland as a strong identity.

NATIONAL IDENTITY

Often respondents associate WWII with the history of the Netherlands. Also the golden age and waterworks are mentioned as important historic events/periods. Only a few times the Romans are mentioned as a historic event. I would also mention WWII as important for the development of the Netherlands, Willem van Oranje, and the other royalties. I also think about the golden age and colonialism. The Romans do not come to mind as a national heritage to me. Roman times is part of the Dutch history according to the national heritage coordinator and employer of the province. Roman heritage is part of world heritage as well as national heritage (van Rooijen & Leene, 2013).

The coordinator of the national limes association sees different values of Roman heritage: 'The image of limes is very military', she explains, 'but it is also a story about exchange of cultures. To become an UNESCO heritage site this story has to be promoted' (van Rooijen & Leene, 2013). The image from heritage representations connected to the national identity seems that of military, white middle age male.

Residents of Hunnerberg mainly see WWII as a national heritage, but not Roman heritage. The national limes coordinator and the account holder of limes of the national heritage agency do think Roman heritage is national heritage.

EUROPEAN IDENTITY

The heritage of WWII is referred to by respondents as a European identity. Also the unification of Europe is mentioned. The Roman heritage is mentioned only a few times. Big differences in how people perceive their European identity exist among respondents.

Many people are uneasy about scaling territory to a European unity. This is because people rely on securities gained from the past. Therefore people get back to local traditions. This is in fact very European, to have affinity with those familiar cultural expressions. The desire of citizens for public orderliness and individual freedom stem from the French revolution. Combining the two values make Europe as a project a challenging exercise (Human, 2013). The one who stays behind is often bullied by the rest. The same way this happened on a national level now happens on a European level. Economically speaking, Greece and Ireland are staying behind (Human, 2013). Greece holds the basis for European society. 'Greece is the cradle of society and therefore it should be part of Europe', I see European countries as provinces of the whole Europe' a respondent notes.

On why Roman times are prioritized as an European heritage, the national limes coordinator suggests that it is because it is known by buildings over Europe, but also by Asterix, and other movies. 'It is a more recognizable era than for example the stone age. Roman times sells. It is varied and lot of it is known' (van Rooijen & Leene, 2013). Roman era also reflects where we are in Europe. Many years of war, while in Roman times, Europe was one. That is the political message that is told by Roman times, connecting history. 'I feel European, apart from the Roman Empire, we are living in Europe. There is a cultural difference with southern Europe. I feel more Germanic than Roman.' a respondent said. Romans are archeologically extraordinary and have economic potential. She also explains about the European collaboration. Countries like the Netherlands, UK, Germany, Austria, and Hungary work together. There is a touristic action plan and a web portal (romanfrontiers, 2013). It is hard to communicate between different partners in Europe because of the different backgrounds (van Rooijen & Leene, 2013). A respondent recognized this message somehow. He said: "Romans have connected Europe and now we are going towards a connected Europe. Stories about WWII can be sensitive. Romans are dead, and therefore it is a good story to tell."

Respondents note that the Euro is important for the feeling of being European. The Euro bills have Roman aqueducts on it. Respondents refer often to the aqueduct like this man in his early thirties: "It is funny that the Romans had a water system and a sewage system that had to be re-invented many years later."

The layered past is opposing the American identity, which predominantly is told after conquest by the Europeans. A respondent comes up with this picture by saying: 'American history starts with Indians but there is a big gap between then and now. We are not murdered like the Indians, that's the difference'

Governments are trying to promote Roman heritage on a European level, but residents of Hunnerberg do not see it that way (yet). Because Roman times are long ago, conflicts are not related with the Roman times anymore. The national limes coordinator is aware of that. The reason that Roman heritage is not seen in a conflicting way is possibly because it has been promoted as benign white imperial power for years (Tolia-Kelly, 2011)

5 CONCLUSION

This is the journal, written after the tour. This tour took us on discovery of the diverse meanings attached to heritage in a particular community. By hearing the different voices in the debate and analyzing them, meanings of what individuals perceive, understand, feel and think about heritage is provided. This information, when added to the debate experts have about (Roman) heritage, gives a layered overview of how identity structures are built up around Roman heritage in the neighborhood of Hunnerberg, Nijmegen. The research shows that what the meaning of heritage is, is very dependent on which lens is chosen. This study focuses on the personal attachments with heritage of a local community, combined with the views of heritage experts.

In the results section (chapter 4), findings from the research and literature are combined. In this chapter, these results are discussed and conclusions are drawn. Also, recommendations for further research are given as well as practical applications. The first paragraph of this chapter discusses the research objective, namely 'the specific objective of this study is to provide explorative knowledge about people's experiences living in a place known for its Roman heritage relating their multiple identities.' In this paragraph it becomes clear how personal community members of Hunnerberg area are perceiving, valuing and practicing Roman heritage and representations, confronted by expert practices, meanings and identity claims of Roman heritage on different spatial levels. The research questions are answered in this paragraph, sectioned per subparagraph. The second paragraph sheds light on the research objective: 'to provide explorative information on methods and general themes to research perceptions on heritage in communities.' In this paragraph, discussion and evaluations about the chosen method are made. In the third paragraph, proposals for future research will be done as well as suggestions for practical applications of the research.

5.1 EXPERIENCES OF A HERITAGE COMMUNITY RELATING THEIR MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

This research is about personal experiences with heritage. As often stated in the literature, personal connections to heritage are not often researched (Ashworth, Graham, & Tunbridge, 2007; Harvey, 2001; Herbert, 2001; Lowenthal, 1996; Waterton, 2005). This paragraph answers the research question 'What are perceptions of residents of Hunnerberg concerning Roman heritage in relation to their multiple identities?'. Per subparagraph a research question is answered. The first question 'To what extent are inhabitants of Hunnerberg emotionally involved with Roman heritage in their Neighborhood?' relates to the personal and local heritage experience that is studied in this research. The second question 'What do residents experience/practice in their daily lives of Roman heritage?' discusses the community participation practices in heritage and roman heritage relating social class. The third question 'How does this experience relate with their multiple identities (national, local, European)?' the way how Roman heritage reinforces and undermines the value given to it on different levels is explored. The fourth question 'How do inhabitants perceive representations of Roman heritage around them?' gives a summary of residents' perceptions on the Roman heritage and explains the working of performativity in the Roman heritage case. The fifth question 'How is this perception shaped by local/national/European/worldwide identity claims?' is explained in this subparagraph, namely that Roman heritage is chosen to promote because it can be seen as used a transnational heritage site. Furthermore what stands out is that Roman heritage is hardly associated with conflict.

5.1.1 EMOTIONAL INVOLVEMENT WITH ROMAN HERITAGE OF HUNNERBERG NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS

In this subparagraph the emotional involvement of residents with the roman heritage in Hunnerberg is described.

Emotional involvement of residents with the Roman heritage can be seen in the personal attachment residents of the 'walking with' tour have with the representations. Often they relate to their own house or personal connections to the heritage. The personal heritage experience overlaps sometimes with the national and transnational heritage experience (Timothy, 1997). For example, residents of Hunnerberg are connecting the Roman heritage to their own house. However, heritage is more often studied as national or world heritage (Ashworth et al., 2007). For residents of Hunnerberg, this experience sometimes overlaps. The same heritage can have a different meaning for different persons. In front of Porta Romana a mosaic is located. A resident that helped build the heritage has a personal experience with it. He also notes the European heritage link. The personal heritages signal the bigger heritage picture (Timothy, 1997). Residents have the feeling that the findings in their garden belong to them, they do not report them but keep them secretly in private collections. The individual heritage experience is not often studied. Experts seem to follow their own 'objective' and scientific way of planning. Only from the 80s onward, it has become more common that community voices were included. Possibly this is because heritage is still viewed in an objective, authentic way. It seems for heritage planners as a sacred obligation to promote the past (Lowenthal, 1996). While they promote heritage they transmit values (consciously or not). This way, the power stays with them choosing, planning and promoting the heritage.

5.1.2 RESIDENTS EXPERIENCES AND PRACTICES OF ROMAN HERITAGE IN DAILY LIFE

Heritage creation is a process of meaning-making (Graham & Howard, 2008; Harvey, 2001; Lowenthal, 2000; Waterton, 2005). This creation process happened top down and bottom up. Policy makers see the participation of the public in the environmental planning process more and more as something of value (Bulken, Minca, & Muzaini, 2014). In heritage however, not many studies are seen where community participation is common use (Chirikure et al., 2010). The creation process of heritage is however, a process of inheritance, and therefore the public cannot be overlooked (Harvey, 2001). Heritage is built up by the meaning of the actors, therefore heritage carries values. Those values can be part of building social class. In this paragraph the practices of residents of Hunnerberg as community participation and the building of social class concerning Roman heritage are described.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND CO-CREATION OF OUTSIDERS

Top-down approaches can only be carried out with the support of the public. Accordingly, the creation of heritage is a complex process concerning social circumstances in which its creation and response are taking place. The community practices make the inhabitants of Hunnerberg strong in the heritage debate. They have a say in what is represented and what is not. They also develop bottom-up initiatives and therefore have a stake in the creation of heritage and with that the wider political agenda (Chirikure et al., 2010; Kuzmanović & Mihajlović, 2014).

'Outsider' history makers, like volunteers and respondents themselves, are explaining heritage in an accessible way (Filene, 2012). However, this way is seen by many as childish and too extreme by respondents. Representations in the buildings from project makers are seen as kitsch. The notion that heritage presented in more accessible and personal ways is viewed as kitsch, is an objective way of viewing heritage authenticity. This way of seeing heritage representations is a conservative way of seeing authenticity practiced by parties that represent heritage like museums (Wang, 1999). Aside from the (semiprofessional) outsider history makers, respondents themselves became heritage makers as seen in the literature: Asked for their personal stories, residents become meaning makers and start to feel part of the continual act of construction of heritage (Filene, 2012). Many respondents told friends and family of the walk or even led a walk with neighbors or other interested people (I heard about this afterwards because I know many of the respondents well). As described above, a new practice in policy making is to include the public in policy making in the co-creation of (heritage)

landscapes. The national limes co-coordinator is very well aware of this co-creation and makes use of the initiatives to further enhance the lay practices. The RomeinenNu foundation organized a Roman week that is now a national event supported by several organizations regarding Roman heritage.

ROMAN HERITAGE AND SOCIAL CLASS

Roman heritage gives a touch of something extra to the neighborhood. People feel shame if they do not know much about the Roman times. Also the notion exists, that the older people get, the more interest they get in history. Also from expert levels and the neighborhood committee, voices are heard that Roman heritage is not for ordinary people. Only people of higher education can understand what is really meant regarding this period. With the already obtained habitus during upbringing, people have a key in gaining the cultural capital consolidating their social class (Bourdieu, 1984). Forming heritage is a process closely linked to education (Harvey, 2001). The conceptual component of perception is formed during our upbringing. Later in our life we 'recognize' Roman heritage as something valuable. This is the non-conceptual, sensational side of perception (Larsen, 2007).

The heights in the landscape and roads have been used as power structures in Roman times. Still, Hunnerberg is inhabited by powerful people. Many inhabitants are wealthy and have jobs with a higher status like medical specialists or higher political positions. People in Hunnerberg form many committees to protect the beloved places in their neighborhood. The higher status of the inhabitants makes the committees strong. This form of community participation is a high form of community empowerment (Chirikure et al., 2010)

5.1.3 THE ROMAN HERITAGE EXPERIENCING OF HUNNERBERG RESIDENTS RELATING THEIR MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

In this subparagraph, the conclusions for the research question 'How does the experience of Roman heritage experience relate with their multiple identities (national, local, European)' are described.

Heritage as both a national, global and a European symbol could undermine or reinforce the strength of the values transmitted through the heritage asset as shown in figure 20 (Ashworth & Graham, 1997). Experience with heritage related to multiple identities can be seen in the reinforcement and undermining of heritage values on different levels.

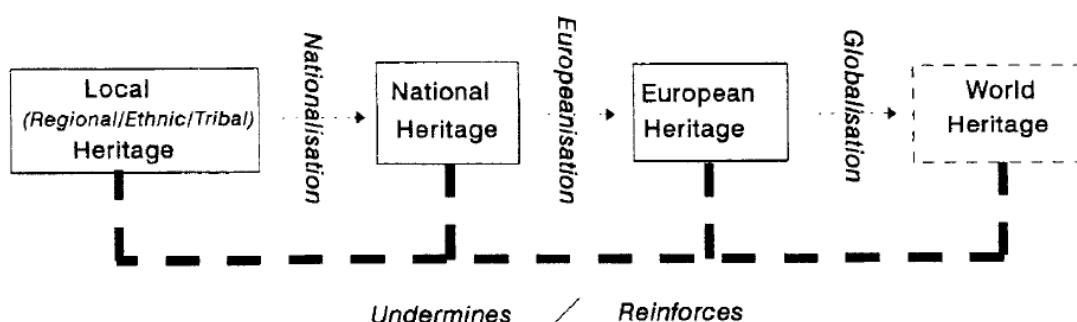


Fig. 1. Interaction of heritage at different spatial scales.

Figure 20 Interaction of heritage at different spatial scales (Ashworth & Graham, 1997).

The Roman heritage is not very much known as a national heritage and therefore more local activities are used to reinforce the European limes picture. Nijmegen is chosen as one of the key points in management by the national limes committee. The Roman heritage in this city has been promoted for many years by professionals and lay presentations. 'Nijmegen oldest city' as identity claim of the municipality is very much alive among the respondents. The national governments take the initiatives of the RomeinenNu foundation as an example and reinforce the city heritage with it. The local is reinforcing the bigger picture with a conscious strategy. Less consciously, the route Tijkpad with the panels placed in the Neighborhood of Hunnerberg, is a reinforcement of the bigger transnational heritage. The other way around, the transnational heritage is used to scale up the heritage in the neighborhood. With the knowledge on the panels, participants can imagine the bigger whole of the parts and view the archeological monument as more important. The kitsch representations in the neighborhood are hardly linked with European Roman heritages. They undermine the bigger heritage picture, known by the many architectural buildings and artifacts. Parts of the limes are placed on the world heritage list of UNESCO which can make it world heritage. However, limes is drawing imaginary borders within Europe and Europe with the rest of the world and is in my view more European heritage.

5.1.4 HUNNERBERG RESIDENTS PERCEPTIONS OF ROMAN HERITAGE REPRESENTATIONS

In this subparagraph, an answer on the research question on residents perceptions of roman heritage representations is described. In this section, the performative character of heritage is highlighted.

Representations of Roman heritage are valued by respondents, supposedly, because of the social status is gives to the neighborhood. Roman heritage is seen in many different ways by residents. With the knowledge on the panels, people can imagine the bigger whole of the parts and view the archeological monument as more important. Respondents' knowledge about Roman times is very diverse, but many people see Roman times as one single period, as oopsed to a time-period spanning four centuries. The word limes is often unknown. Residents value representations and are upset when they are broken. They like sustainable forms of representations and digital representations. Representations are hard for authorities to make because they need to prove historic correctness as well as being appealing to the public. With the knowledge on the panels, people can imagine the bigger whole of the parts and view the archeological monument as more important. Many respondents like that the Roman heritage is represented but would like to see it more promoted. Also the younger respondents think representation could be better in a digital form. People think the sustainability is important of the representation. The invisibility of the limes makes it difficult to represent. However, seeing as the limes are a transnational monument, there is an important motive for governments to represent it.

THE PERFORMATIVITY OF HERITAGE REPRESENTATIONS

Socially shared representations of history conditions nations and peoples (Liu & László, 2007). Therefore, representations of history could be seen as performative materiality. Implicit and explicit definitions of how to behave 'normally' in public space are embedded in many instruments, objects, places and spaces. In other words; people's behavior is governed or disciplined by means of material configurations that enable and constrain (L Winner, 1980). The image that people have of Roman times varies very much. But, for example the image that Roman times would be the cradle of society is promoted by governments and picked up on by many respondents. It is saying something about the value we attach to Roman times. This idea becomes set in our minds and we attach the idea to the city or to for example Europe. We associate the images of Roman times with it. We associate the Roman times with certain images like combat or the multiple tribes that lived in the Roman empire. This could be described as a 'unity in diversity'. These images are used by authorities to be attached to identities like for example the European (Human, 2013). This performativity of heritage objects shows the visually constructed ideas that become common sense.

Nowadays, limes still establishes and maintains social linkages (on a governmental level). For some residents, the knowledge that their street might have been an ancient road brings excitement. For most of them, limes is not a familiar term and therefore does not connect their place to other places. Governmental efforts have been going on for a few years and will continue until at least 2020. This might lead to more involvement of the public and result in more social and professional linkages around the Roman heritage. Because heritage carries values, this will also shape how people view the landscape and their inhabitants (Harvey, 2001).

5.1.5 HERITAGE EXPERIENCE AND SPATIAL IDENTITY CLAIMS

(National) heritage seems innately given (Park, 2010). But this is not true. On the contrary, heritage is consciously constructed. Different scales of heritage are influencing the heritage experience. (European) identities are intentionally created by social and political forces (top down process). Heritage is a process of meaning making and the representations of heritage are value-laden (Harvey, 2001). Heritage promotion is used in the creation of identities (Walters, 2004). Roman heritage is used in the creation of heritage because it is long ago and therefore is not a convergent history like, for example WWII. However, the mobile, technological and hegemonic values of the Roman heritage, for example can be transmitted.

In Hunnerberg the representations of Roman times are experienced by respondents. Many layers of history can be found in Hunnerberg, but the Roman heritage is particularly highlighted. The conscious choice of representing the Roman limes makes that respondents experience a lot of Roman heritage and a little of other histories, taken into account the values that are transmitted.

As a national identity, Romans do not come to mind to me and many respondents. The Romans are very much experienced on a local level. 'Nijmegen oldest city' as identity claim of the municipality is very much alive among respondents. Roman heritage makes links between cities, mainly on governmental levels. In Europe, countries like the Netherlands, UK, Germany, Austria, and Hungary work together. On why Roman times are prioritized as a European heritage, the national limes coordinator suggest that it is because it is known by buildings all over Europe; Roman times sells. It is varied and a lot of it is known: "Romans have connected Europe and now we are going towards a connected Europe. Stories about WWII can be sensitive. Romans are dead, and therefore it is a good story to tell." (van Rooijen & Leene, 2013). Resident respondents did not mention the heavy combat engagements the Romans had with outsider tribes. However, these engagements were communicated by the brochure and information panels of Tjddpad. Roman time was full of conflict, but residents did not mention that. Possibly, they prefer to think about the positive developments Romans brought because it is connected to their neighborhood and social status. Connecting the different Roman heritage sites through Europe makes limes a translocal heritage site. Limes shaped power inside and outside the Roman Empire. Roman society was a particular military system where men dominated and a strong hierarchy existed in the acceptance of outsiders. Tribes like the Batavi and Cananefates were incorporated in the Roman Empire and this way the empire could expand and expand. In the Europe of today, residents have roots in countries from all over the world and their identities are increasingly diasporic, transnational and translocal (Amin, 2004). It would be arrogant to believe in the superiority or universalism of the kind of thinking that underlies the Idea of Europe practices by white males (Latour, 2002 in Amin, 2004).

Many layers of history can be found in Hunnerberg, but the Roman heritage is particularly highlighted. Limes is chosen to represent because of its transnational character. Heritage is consciously chosen to represent certain values on different scales (Lowenthal, 1996).

5.2 THE USE OF METHODS

In my research proposal I have noted that inhabitants of both the neighborhoods 'Hunnerberg' and 'Rooie dorp' (part of Hengstdal) are subjects of the case study. However, aside from the situational nearness there is

no homogeneity between the groups of possible respondents. There even exists a significant difference in social factors. As this research is not a comparative study but an exploratory one, there was no reason to include this part of Hengstal in the research concerning the perception of inhabitants.

In order to connect the spoken word to place I initially proposed to use GPS. Where this was technically more complicated to use than it seemed, it did not serve the goal as it did in the research of Evans and Jones (2011). In addition I tagged places by speaking out loud where I was with the respondents at the time. These spoken place tags were very helpful in analyzing the data and describing the findings place-wise. Often video records are used to track place. However, videoing while walking can distract both participant and researcher from the interview and results probably in unsteady filming (Evans & Jones, 2011). The spoken place-tags were a simple and practical solution that did not disturb the going-on of the interview. It even structured the walked interview for both respondent and the researcher. The information derived from the interviews was connected to a map to be seen in the introduction of the results section (chapter 4). This allows for the analysis of the data spatially rather than temporally. Mapping walked interviews produces a narrative that unfolds through place. Maps simultaneously increase the potential damage that can be caused by misinterpretation and oversimplification of qualitative analyses (Evans & Jones, 2011). The combined data from residents and experts indeed provides a diverse image of the findings and makes it possible to see the different voices about one place combined.

The area under study is the neighborhood of Hunnerberg, the place where I grew up. The personal attachment could make me biased in choosing this area. However, clear arguments (e.g. the many representations, Roman settlements) are put forward in choosing this area as well as description of my positionality. Selection of participants: I have selected participants using my own network. To find participants in accordance with the spread of certain characteristics in the neighborhood, I set up criteria (spread, age, man/women, time lived in the neighborhood). These criteria helped me generate a sample size in accordance to the composition of the neighborhood.

In this research, a predefined route is used, leaving aside the possibility for the participant to set a route. This choice is made because data is needed about specific paths and objects in the area. Predetermining routes might be expected to lessen the empowerment felt by interviewees choosing their own route, which may in turn detract from the informality of the encounter (Evans & Jones, 2011). Working with a pre-defined route served well to capture the representation in the neighborhood. In some cases, I had to be strict to keep the set route because respondents wanted to see other parts of the neighborhood. The comparison between respondents and the combination with experts in the results section worked very well.

As described in the methods section, walking with people as a research method involves engagement with people's worldviews and can reveal emotional attachments, activity patterns and lifestyles (Büscher & Urry, 2009). This emotional attachment is hard to measure. Activity patterns and lifestyles are seen only in the moment. However, the 'walking with' method was experienced as a good way of capturing the data. Also mentioned in the methods section is that interviewing while in motion should give a different bodily experience for the researcher as well as for the participant. According to Middleton (2009), this can result in an immediacy as well as provoking a kinesthetic rhythm in the conversation (in Evans & Jones, 2011). The immediacy could be experienced as well as the comfort of no-talking while walking. What also helped the interview ease was the walking with two persons that know each other (Kusenbach, 2003). It created an open atmosphere and I noticed that participants felt at ease together with me. What also happened was that people competed with each other about their level of knowledge. However, while I did not measure the level of knowledge of people, I could notice that knowing a lot about Roman times was important for many.

What influenced this research most was the choice of a different method per sample group. Experts were questioned using a sedentary interview method and residents were interviewed while walking. Two exceptions

in the expert group were made. The museum director Brouwer and the publicist and member of RomeinenNu van der Heijden have been on a walking with tour with me. I noticed sedentary interviews provoke more general statements and walking with tours more specific knowledge. Also personal evaluations of the representations were done by my walking with 'partners'. The emotional attachment to the place became clear with experts as well as with residents while doing the walking with interview. With the museum director, I noticed that it added value to walk through the neighborhood as I noticed she was not aware of the representations. I have invited all experts on a walking with interview through the neighborhood, but most of them asked me to come to their offices. It would have been interesting to see the other expert reactions.

5.3 PROPOSALS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In this paragraph, practical applications of the research and proposals for future studies are given.

There are practical applications of this research for different groups. For the municipality and other policy makers it can be a call, that the public sphere cannot be overlooked in democracy (Castells, 2007). In this public sphere, also many small and larger initiatives are taken to promote the Roman heritage. These personal practices could be part of heritage promotion or the marketing of a region. Furthermore, to take into account for policy makers, is the ways in which heritage is experienced.

The predominant way of presenting heritage by heritage policy makers as a museum-linked truth is conflicting the way heritage is experienced, namely in a more personal and emotional way. The detailed personal experiences can make a basis for further research or developing heritage representations of Roman times or other periods.

For neighborhood members and committees it can help to get insight in the use of heritage in identity making. With this knowledge these groups and individuals can empower themselves.

A proposal for future research is to take another community of another social class where Roman remains are found and represented and make a comparison with this study. A specific idea from the policy maker of the municipality concerning archeology was to do a study like this in the western part of the city where a Roman city was located. Hunnerberg was a Roman place of high (military) ranks and is now inhabited by people from a higher social class. Nijmegen west is seen as a place of a more working class and was a place of craftsmen in Roman times. It would be interesting to see what perceptions are of those living in the place now and what values are transmitted to them. Recommended is to again make use of qualitative (walking with) methods, because these methods reveal personal emotional attachments that tell something about the meaning of the heritage (landscape) of the public.

The studying of this topic is easily extensible to other cities in the Netherlands and other parts of Europe where the limes is promoted. For example, in the neighborhood of Leiden Roomburg the Roman fortress Matilo was found and visualized in a park. In Utrecht Leidse Rijn, there are a lot of representations of the castellum that has been found there. It would be interesting to know how heritage values play out in those other communities. This information would add to the knowledge and abilities of heritage planning of governments as well as the empowerment of local communities.

This thesis shows that how history is viewed depends very much on through which lens one looks. This lens differs from person to person, but also from time to time. A more or less new political form is the European Union. Every political form has its story. Most of the time, this story is derived from history. A recommendation therefore is to review a European heritage over the past centuries. The investigation could show the development of heritage meaning over time in relation to the development of the European Union. Including different views of experts and of the public where possible gives a layered structure of how values and power changes over time.

Limes seems to be used in the construction of imaginary borders within Europe. It would be interesting to further investigate this use of Roman heritage as a geostrategic tool. The work of Henk van Houtum and colleagues could be useful in this journey (Van Houtum & Strüver, 2002).

In this thesis, a heritage community in a neighbourhood in the Netherlands has been voiced concerning their relations to heritage. few studies have investigated community perceptions of heritage. Because meaning making is part of heritage and heritage planners often overlook the practices of the public, more research with different heritage and different communities is recommended. In this case study, a non-repressed community is researched instead of the more frequently researched oppressed communities. Also, these western communities need to be voiced to entangle heritage meanings.

The walking with method is generally recommended to used to reveal emotional attachment to heritage as it worked well in this study.

A practical recommendation for those who use the walking with method is to use spoken place tags. This is a simple way of marking a location in an interview and overcomes complicated and sensitive technological applications. Per place where a question is asked, the name of the place is mentioned. We are now at '...'. This simple way of connecting place and space can help in the making of a map later to show the results spatially rather than temporally.

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7 APPENDICES

Enquête bij het onderzoek: Geschiedenis in Nijmegen-Oost

Dit onderzoek gaat over hoe de geschiedenis van Hunnerberg en het Rooie dorp door u als inwoner wordt ervaren. Daarom zou ik graag kort kennis met u willen maken via deze vragenlijst. Samen met de ervaringen die naar voren komen tijdens de wandeling, geeft deze enquête mij inzicht in de verschillende manieren waarop inwoners de geschiedenis van de wijken beleven.

De enquête bestaat uit drie delen:

1. vragen over uw relatie met de wijken Hunnerberg en/of het Rooie dorp,
2. vragen over geografische identiteit (in hoeverre voelt u zich bijvoorbeeld Europeaan?) en,
3. een aantal algemene vragen over onder andere opleiding, leeftijd en inkomen.

Het invullen van de enquête duurt ongeveer 10 minuten. Voor u begint is het belangrijk om te weten dat:

- ✓ **Uw persoonlijke gegevens komen niet terug in de scriptie of andere publicaties.**
- ✓ **Inge vulde en opgenomen data wordt vernietigd na het onderzoek.**

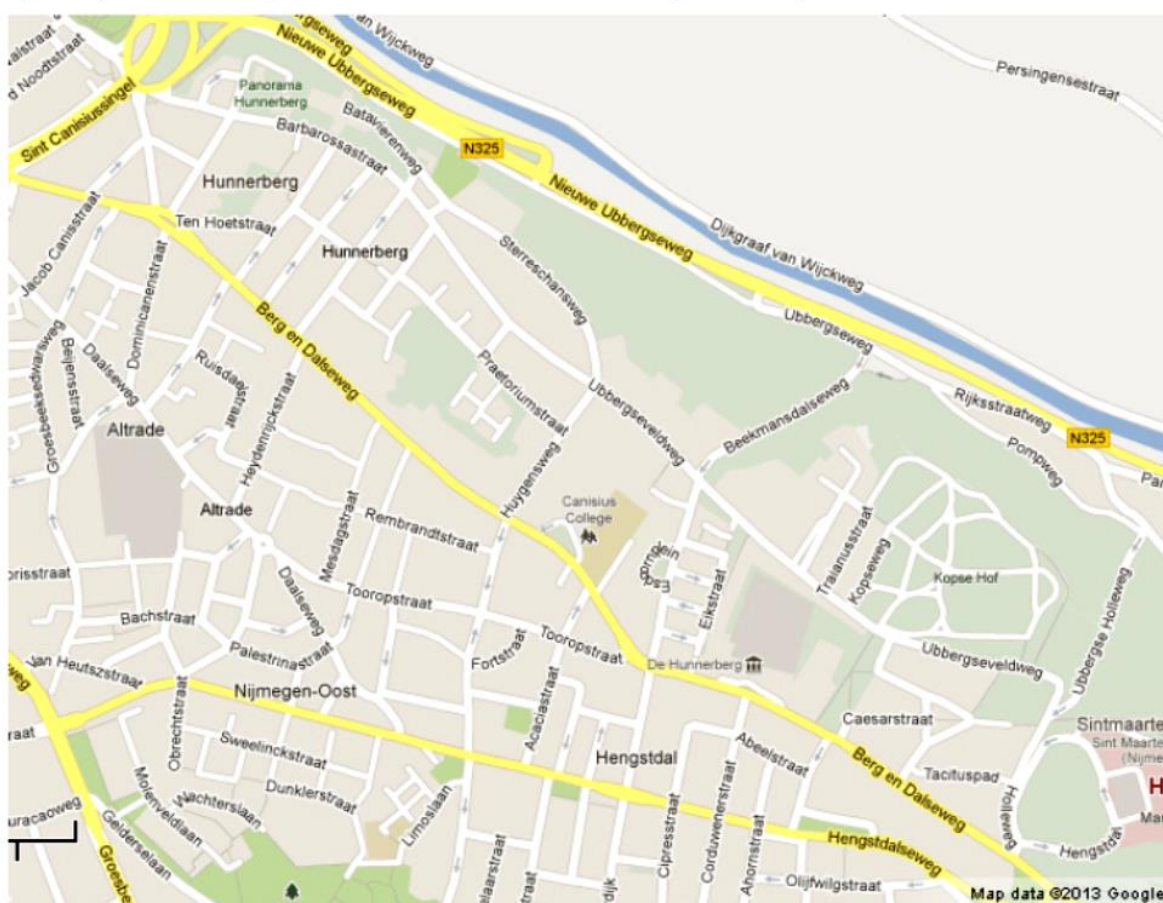
Mocht u vragen hebben, stelt ze gerust.
Alvast hartelijk dank voor de medewerking!

Roos Nagtegaal
Master student 'Leisure Tourism and Environment'
Wageningen Universiteit
Docent: Drs. Meghann Ormond, cultural geography group

Deel 1: Vragen over uw buurt

Het onderzoek vindt plaats in de wijken die op de kaart te zien zijn (Hunnerberg en het Rooie dorp). Hieronder staan een paar vragen die betrekking hebben op uw betrokkenheid bij uw buurt.

- 1) Kunt u aangeven hoe lang u al in Hunnerberg of het Rooie dorp woont?jaar.
- 2) Kunt u op de kaart aangeven waar u woont? *Graag een kruisje zetten de plaats waar u woont.*
- 3) Kun op de kaart aangeven wat u ziet als uw buurt? *Graag een lijn trekken rond uw buurt.*



- 4) In welke straat woont u? *Graag de straatnaam invullen.*

.....

5) Hoe zou u uw eigen buurt (die u getekend heeft) noemen? *Maximaal één vakje aankruisen.*

- ☐ Hunnerberg
- ☐ Rooie dorp
- ☐ De Kopse Hof/Kops plateau
- ☐ Kam-buurt
- ☐ Nijmegen-Oost
- ☐ Anders, namelijk:.....

.....

6) Kunt u aangegeven op een schaal van 0-4 in hoeverre u zich een deel van uw buurt voelt? *Graag het cijfer omcirkelen wat van toepassing is.*

Ik voel me in geen enkel opzicht deel van mijn buurt	Ik voel me in sommige opzichten deel van de buurt	Ik voel me in de meeste opzichten deel van mijn buurt	Ik voel me in alle opzichten deel van mijn buurt	Ik voel me een typische inwoner van mijn buurt
0	1	2	3	4

7) Welke historische gebeurtenissen komen bij u op als u denkt aan uw buurt?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

Deel 2: Hoe ziet u zichzelf? Nederlander, Gelderlander, Nijmegenaar of Europeaan?

De volgende vragen gaan over in welke geografische identiteiten u zich meer of minder kunt vinden. Ook stel ik een aantal vragen met betrekking tot historische gebeurtenissen.

8) Kunt u aangegeven op een schaal van 0-4 in hoeverre u zich een Nederlander voelt? Graag het cijfer aankruisen wat van toepassing is.

Ik voel me in geen enkel opzicht Nederlander	Ik voel me Nederlander in sommige opzichten	Ik voel me Nederlander in de meeste opzichten	Ik voel me Nederlander in alle opzichten	Ik voel me een typische Nederlander
0	1	2	3	4

9) Welke historische gebeurtenissen komen bij u op als u denkt aan Nederland?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

10) Kunt u aangegeven op een schaal van 0-4 in hoeverre u zich een Europeaan voelt? Graag het cijfer aankruisen wat van toepassing is.

Ik voel me in geen enkel opzicht Europeaan	Ik voel me Europeaan in sommige opzichten	Ik voel me Europeaan in de meeste opzichten	Ik voel me Europeaan in alle opzichten	Ik voel me een typische Europeaan
0	1	2	3	4

11) Welke historische gebeurtenissen komen bij u op als u denkt aan Europa?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

12) Kunt u aangegeven op een schaal van 0-4 in hoeverre u zich een Gelderlander voelt? Graag het cijfer aankruisen wat van toepassing is.

Ik voel me in geen enkel opzicht Gelderlander	Ik voel me Gelderlander in sommige opzichten	Ik voel me Gelderlander in de meeste opzichten	Ik voel me Gelderlander in alle opzichten	Ik voel me een typische Gelderlander
0	1	2	3	4

13) Welke historische gebeurtenissen komen bij u op als u denkt aan Gelderland?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

14) Kunt u aangegeven op een schaal van 0-4 in hoeverre u zich een Nijmegenaar voelt? Graag het cijfer aankruisen wat van toepassing is.

Ik voel me in geen enkel opzicht Nijmegenaar	Ik voel me Nijmegenaar in sommige opzichten	Ik voel me Nijmegenaar in de meeste opzichten	Ik voel me Nijmegenaar in alle opzichten	Ik voel me een typische Nijmegenaar
0	1	2	3	4

15) Welke historische gebeurtenissen komen bij u op als u denkt aan Nijmegen?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

Deel 3: Leeftijd, opleiding, gezinssituatie etc.

Zoals meestal in onderzoeken hier een aantal vragen over uw demografische gegevens. Graag wil ik u er aan herinneren dat alles wat u invult vertrouwelijk wordt behandeld.

16) Bent u een man of een vrouw? *Graag aanvinken wat van toepassing is.*

- ☐ Vrouw
- ☐ Man

17) In welke leeftijdscategorie valt u? *Graag aanvinken wat van toepassing is.*

- ☐ 15 t/m 24
- ☐ 25 t/m 34
- ☐ 35 t/m 44
- ☐ 45 t/m 64
- ☐ 65 t/m 80
- ☐ 80 jaar en ouder

18) Wat is uw hoogste afgeronde opleiding? *Graag aanvinken wat van toepassing is.*

- ☐ Lagere school
- ☐ Middelbare school
- ☐ Beroepsopleiding
- ☐ Hoger onderwijs
- ☐ Wetenschappelijk onderwijs
- ☐ Een andere dan de bovengenoemde opleidingen
- ☐ Geen opleiding

19) In welke inkomensschaal valt u? *Graag aanvinken wat van toepassing is*

- ☐ van € 0 tot €20.000 bruto per jaar
- ☐ van €20.001 tot €35.000 bruto per jaar
- ☐ van €35.001 tot €55.000 bruto per jaar
- ☐ vanaf €55.001 bruto per jaar

20) Wat is de samenstelling van uw gezin? *Graag aanvinken wat van toepassing is.*

- ☐ Alleenstaand
- ☐ Alleenstaand met kinderen
- ☐ Alleenstaand met uitwonende kinderen
- ☐ Alleenstaand met uitwonende kinderen en kleinkinderen
- ☐ Met partner
- ☐ Met partner en kinderen
- ☐ Met partner met uitwonende kinderen
- ☐ Met partner met uitwonende kinderen en kleinkinderen
- ☐ Overig

21) Waar bent u geboren? *Graag aanvinken wat van toepassing is.*

- ☐ Nederland
- ☐ Ander namelijk:....

22) Waar zijn uw ouders geboren? *Graag aanvinken wat van toepassing is.*

- ☐ Nederland
- ☐ Ander namelijk:....

23) Wilt u op de hoogte gehouden worden van het onderzoek? *laat dan hier uw e-mailadres achter.*

E-mail.....

Hartelijk dank voor het invullen van de vragenlijst!

Dan is het nu tijd voor een wandeling.