THE OTHER PAST

A CROSS-CULTURAL EXPLORATION OF VARIOUS CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF HERITAGE

Karim van Knippenberg

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by

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Contents

Preface

This summer I was on vacation in the former Yugoslavia. I cycled through countries like Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo. In those countries, it became clear for me, that heritage, in its many forms, has always been used in an active political manner, to advance various causes. Invading armies, for example, often appropriated the cultural property of conquered peoples as part of a process of suppression. In the countries I visited, heritage sites have been targeted as part of a policy of ethnic cleansing by opposing factions. The impact of the Yugoslav Wars, on the heritage of those countries was huge as several hundred cultural monuments were damaged or destroyed. The scars of this war are still very visible nowadays.

This example illustrates that heritage is not just about adorable castles, cosy monumental cities, or other buildings that render a kind of social consensus and promote a uniform idea of identity and nation. Instead, heritage is multi-faceted, dissonant, and moreover it is intrinsically bound up with power. Casting an anxious eye across The Netherlands at present time, one can still perceive various debates about heritage and identity in relation to issues of power. For example, in the discussions preceding the recent Dutch elections, political parties across the whole political spectrum used several styles of national(ist) rhetoric and myriad national identity narratives, to underpin their ideas of 'Dutch' identity. And what about the fierce debates about institutionalised heritage practice such as the celebration of the feast of Saint Nicholas. More recently, discussions arose about street names, buildings and statues which refer to so-called heroes from the Golden Age.

Traditional heritage ideas are nowadays more and more challenged as we live in a time of movement, diaspora, cultural displacement, and the creation of new cultural forms. Against this backdrop I think it is more relevant than ever to go beyond the familiar and to explore different cultures. This research project provided me a unique opportunity to explore a, for me, unfamiliar and unknown world, namely the Ahmadiyya Muslim community. The motto of their mosque is: "love for all, hatred for none", a motto which made me really feel at ease. Indeed, they provided me with a great hospitality, which really made doing this research a great pleasure. This research, and especially this interesting case, provided me an opportunity to reflect on issues like who owns heritage? Who uses it? And which power relations are tight up to heritage? For me, these are certainly some of the more interesting questions within the field of heritage studies. This master´s thesis was an interesting step in my journey through the field of heritage. For me personal, the biggest takeaway from this thesis is that it is really enlightening to learn about different cultures. So, I would advise not to be afraid of different cultures, instead embrace cultural diversity and learn from it.

Abstract

Many scholars in the field of heritage studies have explored issues of heritage and identity in relation to questions of cultural differences. It is often argued that a more inclusive and participatory heritage management approach neutralises differences and that this approach aims at a more plural, contemporary, democratic and inclusive notion of heritage. The aim of this study is to add a new dimension to issues of heritage and cultural differences, by addressing the needs and aspirations of those being excluded from heritage making. This study explores more nuanced, personal issues regarding the dilemmas of heritage and social inclusion/exclusion in order to understand how subdominant conceptualizations of heritage relate to dominant conceptualizations of heritage. Based on a case study analysis of the Mobarak mosque in The Hague, this thesis highlights three challenges for heritage planning practices. These challenges are that we need to find space for nuances of subdominant conceptualizations, and search for a model in which multiple understandings of heritage can be effectively represented. Besides, we need to understand the complexity of issues of social inclusion/exclusion. This thesis also emphasis the necessity of considering the question of who and whose heritage should be involved in the first place in heritage planning practices.

Key words: heritage | heritage planning practices | minority groups | authorized heritage discourse (AHD) | social inclusion/exclusion

1. Introduction

This chapter provides the reader with a general overview of the problematic relation between heritage and issues of social inclusion and exclusion. A short introduction into the idea of heritage is given and the political and societal context is outlined. A literature review leads the reader to the problem statement which describes that there is a lack of understanding about the perspective of those being excluded from the heritage making process. Finally, research possibilities are mentioned by introducing the research questions.

1.1 Research context

'*The Dutch identity does not exist'.* This conclusion was drawn in 2007 by Princess Maxima to illustrate that she had not found a particular Dutch identity since she had arrived in the Netherlands. Her statements like: *'The Netherlands are too many-sided, to be captured in one cliché'* and *'The Dutchman does not exist'* were heavily criticised by many people (for an overview of this debate see Verkuyten, 2013). As a result, the Princess' statements led to a re-opening of an ongoing debate about national identity, which had become central concerns in the Netherlands and in Dutch politics since 2001.

This debate about 'Dutch' identity and 'Dutchness' is still relevant. Conventional views on, for instance identity, are nowadays challenged while Dutch society has become more multicultural over the past decades. Currently, almost 22% of the Dutch population has a migration background (CBS, 2017) and the number of migrants is set to increase further (see for example CBS, 2014). Consequently, Dutch society is increasingly becoming a multicultural society and in this context new sensitivities have arisen about questions of 'different' identities. Within the present-day debates about identity and belonging, questions of heritage, and ownership of past and present are important elements, especially those related to immigration policy (Buciek et al., 2006). It is thus not surprisingly that fierce debates about certain heritage narratives have arisen in the Netherlands over the past few years. One of the most illustrative example of an institutionalised heritage practice which has become subject to nation-wide contestation is the celebration of the feast of Saint Nicholas. At the core of the controversy is the figure of Black Pete (*Zwarte Piet*), Saint Nicholas' black-faced companion. Some groups within Dutch society perceive this figure as highly menacing and insulting. To the majority of the population, however, Zwarte Piet is an essential part of its heritage and identity (Rodenberg & Wagenaar, 2016).

In a nutshell, the example of the celebration of the feast of Saint Nicholas highlights a dilemma that is attached to heritage in general: What is heritage and for whom?

1.2 Heritage

Any account of heritage and social inclusion/exclusion needs firstly to present a clear definition of what heritage is. This thesis adopts the cultural model of heritage as a process, which recognises that heritage is a discursive construction, i.e. meaning of heritage is constructed in the presence in social interaction within groups of professionals, politicians, minorities and others. Consequently, multiple and potentially competing representations of heritage can exist at the same time, while: "all heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's" (Graham et al., 2000, p. 21). Heritage is thus part of the process of social inclusion and – by extension - social exclusion (Graham et al., 2000). To address this issue, many scholars in the field of heritage studies are concerned with issues of power relations. In the majority of those studies, references are made to the critical work already undertaken by Smith (2006) in which she has observed that heritage professionals ascribe value to the historic built environment through an authorised heritage discourse (AHD). This is a particular way of seeing heritage that privileges the cultural symbols of the White, middle-/upper-classes, and excludes a range of alternative ways of understanding heritage (Waterton, 2009).

In this study, analysing multiple and competing representations of heritage is grounded in discourse and system theory. A discourse is seen as a framework of ideas that structures how (heritage) objects are valued (Felder et al., 2015). Discourses are self-referential, in the sense that they construct the world by means of references to their own elements, and in the sense that new structures are always grounded in prior ones (Van Assche et al., 2014). System theory is useful for this research while this theory aims at understanding boundaries and interactions of discourses. This theory is used as a mean to gain understanding about how some notions of signification and value can become institutionalised heritage practices whereas others are neglected.

1.3 Political and societal context

At the international level, as well as at the national level, there has been a notable growth in the interest of more participatory heritage approaches. Recent international heritage conventions, such as the so called Faro Convention, have a particular emphasis on local participation in decision-making processes related to heritage (Ludwig, 2016). In the Dutch context, Janssen, Luiten, Renes, and Rouwendal (2014) note a similar growth in interest and input from non-experts in determining what qualifies as heritage and how it should be dealt with. Moreover, at the national level, it should be noted that – as a result of liberal-democratic governments – more and more government responsibilities in areas like heritage, nature protection and spatial planning have been devolved to lower levels of government, like provinces and municipalities (Janssen, Luiten, Renes, & Rouwendal, 2014).

The call for a wider participation in heritage management in combination with the reality of an increasingly multi-cultural society, challenges politicians, heritage practitioners and spatial planners to take subdominant conceptualizations of heritage, culture and identity into account. It has often been argued that the multifaceted nature of heritage appears not yet to be adequately acknowledged or problematized by conservation planning professionals (Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2005; Waterton & Smith, 2008; Waterton & Watson, 2013). Though, generally speaking, heritage scholars are seeking for a more participatory approach, aiming to embrace social inclusion (Pendlebury et al., 2004). In fact, there is currently a strong impetus to demonstrate the socially progressive potential of heritage (Pendlebury et al., 2004) and this endorses the quest for a more participatory heritage approach, one which is open to diverse interpretations of heritage. This has also be recognized by the Dutch bodies charged with identifying and protecting heritage, as they recently named a more integrated and inclusive heritage practice as one of the major challenges for the coming years (Janssen, Luiten, Renes, Rouwendal, et al., 2014; Ministerie van Onderwijs Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2017a). This was stated as follow in a recent policy document: "It is important to consider the changing population structure, when choices are made regarding what heritage we want to pass on to future generations" (Ministerie van Onderwijs Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2017a, p. 109).

1.4 Academic context

Heritage is part of the processes of social inclusion/exclusion (Graham et al., 2000). This has also been widely acknowledged within heritage studies literature (Waterton & Watson, 2015). Hence, many scholars in the field of heritage studies are studying issues of power relations, and processes of democratization.

Various international academic scholars in the field of heritage studies (e.g. Coeterier, 2002; Ludwig, 2016; Muzaini, 2015; Robertson, 2012; Waterton, 2005; Waterton & Smith, 2009; Waterton & Watson, 2013) have focused on a new approach to cultural heritage; one that is participatory, bottom-up and fundamentally grounded in local concerns and interests (Harvey, 2001; Parkinson et al., 2016; Waterton & Smith, 2010). Mydland and Grahn (2012) have for example investigated how local understanding of heritage relates to its official understanding in a Norwegian context. They found that value assessments, as defined by heritage authorities, appear to meet limited resonance in local communities. Parkinson et al. (2016) have taken a 'bottom-up' perspective, exploring the role of lay discourses of heritage in conservation planning in the context of small towns in Ireland. It is argued that lay discourses of heritage can emphasise a broader range of meanings, thereby challenging the notion that the primary purpose of conservation should be the maintenance of a tangible cultural patronage. Parkinson et al. (2016) conclude by stating that lay discourses of heritage hold the potential to shape social renewal and change. The central point to be made here is that professional and lay heritage discourses often compete (although they sometimes overlap) with each other and therefore are a potential cause of discord.

Next to this, academics are putting more emphasis on opening up heritage to wider participation, hereby seeking to embrace social inclusion (e.g. Newman & McLean, 1998; Pendlebury et al., 2004; Smith, 2006). This desire for more social inclusiveness has arisen as a consequence of "the agitation by excluded groups for greater inclusion and consideration of their own needs, aspirations and values" (Smith, 2006, p. 35).

Although, Waterton (2010b) notes that there is only limited research available on social inclusion/exclusion and heritage management practices, some attempts have been made to address the needs and aspirations of ethnic minority groups and to include their opinion in practices regarding the designation and protection of heritage sites. Tomalin and Starkey (2017) have for example, examined the ways in which Buddhist heritage is beginning to be incorporated into the state-funded 'heritage industry' in England as well as how Buddhist communities in England construct heritage through these buildings. Gard'ner (2004) has identified sites valued by the Bangladeshi community of east London, and compared this with the buildings

and areas that are currently recognised by those bodies charged with identifying and protecting England's built heritage. He concludes that those bodies have not addressed the needs and aspirations of ethnic minority groups, thus marginalising their cultural identity (Gard'ner, 2004). Buciek et al. (2006) found similar results after studying the capacity of heritage to incorporate immigrant place narratives. In this Danish research, it is analysed how place narratives of Yugoslav immigrants are represented in the heritage of a city. It is concluded that the perspective of immigrant groups is often overlooked (Buciek et al., 2006). Ludwig (2016) also focused on the discrepancy between heritage interpretations by minority groups and lay people, and the expert interpretations of heritage. Based on his analysis of four case studies, he found that there is a need to come to a more plural and subjective contemporary representation of heritage. The focus of his article is on the (English) planning system. He argues that conservational planners are unable to adapt appropriately to wider societal transformations and needs, such as a more local community-led listing system, while they are constrained by a complex variety of contextual factors (Ludwig, 2016). These findings are in line with the research conducted by Pendlebury (2013) who argues that a distinct conservation-planning entity has developed in the English planning system. And that the values and validated practices of conservation-planning are constructed as an authorized heritage discourse (Pendlebury, 2013).

The central point to be made here is that there are some cases (not necessarily addressing the Dutch context) where the relation between heritage and social inclusion/exclusion is explored. The extent to which social inclusion is embraced and the ways of addressing minorities' heritage narratives, varies however among the different cases.

1.5 Problem description

These aforementioned approaches have been used to explore issues of heritage and identity in relation to questions of cultural differences. A relatively large number of these studies almost uniformly suggest that there is a growing desire among local community groups and minority groups to be involved in heritage management practices and to engage influentially in heritage conservation matters (e.g. Hall, 1999; Littler & Naidoo, 2005; Smith, 2006; Waterton & Smith, 2008). It is argued that a more inclusive and participatory heritage management approach neutralises differences and that this approach aims at a more plural, contemporary, democratic and inclusive notion of heritage. However, most of the studies discussed before, are in a way contributing to the establishment of a conceptual framework whereby the heritage sector "must simply add the excluded and assimilate them into the fold rather than challenge underlying preconceptions" (Smith, 2006, p. 37).

Besides, it appears that the current debates over 'whose heritage' are driven less by pragmatic concerns over the requirements of the populace, and more by political considerations over diversity mainstreaming (Ludwig, 2013; Pendlebury et al., 2004). Hereby aiming at a redefinition of power relations in heritage management processes to neutralise differences. Yet, the counter-argument is that social inclusion is not achieved by simply suggesting a more inclusive and participatory heritage management approach. In fact, "merely enabling more people to enjoy heritage, or extending how it is defined to recognize the diversity of society, does not in itself challenge power relations and control over the process by which heritage is defined and managed" (Pendlebury et al., 2004, p. 23).

Additionally, it is argued that the process through which a person becomes included, has never been studied in detail and as a result, articles about heritage and social inclusion are often based on assumptions about this process (Ludwig, 2013).

What thus remains to be explored in more detail is the perspective of those being excluded from heritage making. In this research, the aim is to go beyond the more familiar heritage critique in terms of selectivity, elitism and politics, and instead to focus on those being excluded from the process of assessing what heritages are worthwhile to remember, protect and share. This research takes a look at the more nuanced, personal issues regarding the dilemmas of heritage and social inclusion/exclusion. Hereby focusing on the question whether minority groups themselves want to be included in the heritage making process.

There are some articles which particularly address the Dutch context (e.g. Coeterier, 2002; Duineveld, 2006). However, the author could not find much literature about heritage management practices and issues of social inclusion and exclusion that particularity focuses on the Dutch context. There is thus still a field of study to explore that particularly focusses on the Dutch context.

Based on the above mentioned, the problem addressed in this research is:

- Societal: because of contemporary societal changes, heritage practitioners are looking for a more participatory heritage approach, one which includes plural and more subdominant contemporary conceptualizations of heritage i.e. conceptualizations that take the perspective of minority groups, such as migrants, into account.
- Scientific: there are many scientific articles that focus on a new approach to cultural heritage, one that is more participatory. It is often assumed that such an approach will achieve more social inclusiveness. Yet, the needs and aspirations of ethnic minority groups themselves are less addressed in this kind of research. And only very little research has focused on the question whether minority groups themselves want to be involved in assessing what heritages are worthwhile to remember, protect and share.

1.6 Research objective and questions

The above problem description logically leads to the following overarching research objective:

The purpose of this research work is to address the needs and aspirations of minority groups. This research will critically explore whether minority groups themselves want to be involved in assessing what heritages are worthwhile to remember, protect and share. By doing so this research provides a cross-cultural reflection on political dominance and heritage management practices in order to gain understandings about why some conceptualizations of heritage receive legitimisation in this heritage making process whereas others (e.g. those of minority groups) do not.

To address this research aim, a three-step research objective framework is set up:

1. To explore subdominant conceptualizations of heritage;
2. To explore whether there is a societal need to include subdominant conceptualizations of heritage legitimisation in the Dutch heritage management process;
3. To critically analyse why some conceptualizations of heritage receive legitimisation in this heritage making process whereas others do not.

In line with the research purpose and the three-step research objective framework, I formulated the following main question and three sub-questions:

How do subdominant conceptualizations of heritage relate to dominant conceptualizations of heritage?

- Which aspects are important for the construction of subdominant conceptualizations (for example those of minority groups) of heritage?
- (How) do minority groups themselves want to be involved in assessing what heritages are worthwhile to remember, protect and share?
- To what extent is social inclusion considered in the Dutch heritage making process and why do particular conceptualizations of heritage receive legitimisation in the Dutch heritage making process, whereas others do not?

1.7 Reading guide

This introductory chapter has provided the reader with a general overview of the problematic relation between heritage and issues of social inclusion and exclusion. Chapter two introduces the theoretical foundation of this research, explaining heritage as a discursive construction, bound up with power. Next to this, the working of heritage is introduced, by linking heritage to the theoretical perspective, called system theory. The method used in this research will be further explained in chapter three. In chapter four, I will provide a contextual introduction of the selected case. The empirical analytic part of this thesis will begin in chapter five, starting with presenting the data generated. Chapter six will analyse various conceptualizations of heritage, the use of heritage, and the needs and aspirations of a minority group regarding the engagement in the process of assessing what heritages are worthwhile to remember, protect and share. In chapter seven, the findings of this research are discussed, and related to the theoretical framework. Besides, this chapter provides the general conclusion, and an answer to the main research question. Each chapter in this report opens with a short outline of its content.

2. Theoretical framework

Any account of heritage and social inclusion/exclusion needs firstly to present a clear definition of what heritage is. This theoretical framework thus starts with an outline of what heritage is and how it can be understood. Heritage in this thesis is understood as a discursive construction, bound up with power. Therefore, the section presenting the history of ideas about heritage, is followed by an explanation of the working of heritage, hereby focusing on power constructions which construct (the meaning of) heritage. Another theoretical perspective, called system theory, does underline and further elaborate on the working of heritage. Luhmann's theory of social systems is introduced in order to gain more understandings about why some conceptualizations of heritage receive legitimisation in the heritage making process whereas others do not. Finally, this chapter is completed with a conceptual framework and assumptions which further guide this research.

2.1 Discourses of heritage; what is heritage?

Over the past few decades, heritage has occupied a prominent position on public, academic and policy agendas (Waterton, 2010b). The topic heritage is thus nothing new and there are various heritage narratives that are discussed in a diverse range of academic works, contributing to different notions of the role and value of heritage. This section explores the various alternative ways of theorising it. Besides, it traces how heritage came to be understood and conceptualised in contemporary heritage literature. There are obviously multiple ways of theorising heritage and it is not intended to give a comprehensive overview here. Instead, this section only discusses three theoretical perspectives on heritage: realism, constructivism and poststructuralism. These perspectives represent opposite ideas and illustrate some major different ideas about seeing the world.

2.1.1 Realism and heritage

Until only a few decades ago, the word heritage was used to describe an inheritance, such as properties, heirlooms, legacies and values which are handed on from parents to their children (Davison, 2008; Harrison, 2010). Heritage in this view, is conceived of as an object, already assumed valuable. This realist and artefact-centred view on heritage, relates to the philosophical tradition of claiming the existence and recognisability of an independent world outside, the existence of things in themselves (Riegler et al., 1999, p. 9).

Heritage in this view, is seen as 'the things we keep' (Davison, 2008), while they are defined as valuable features of the environment that are worth preserving from decay or development. In this definition, heritage is preserved for posterity; heritage belongs as much to the generations yet unborn, as to the past. This sense of inheritance promotes the idea that the present has a particular 'duty' to the past and its monuments. This philosophy is still a guiding principle for a community of heritage practitioners and conservationists. As an example, international organisations on the protection and management of heritage site use definitions that illustrate this position towards heritage: "heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations" (UNESCO, 2006).

2.1.2 Constructivism and heritage

Opposite to this realist view on the world, is the theoretical position that the structure of things is constructed rather than discovered. The central tenet of constructivism can be defined in terms of the proposition that an object does not exist independently of the one who encounters and values the object. According to Riegler et al. (1999) the world is the domain of our experiences. Heritage, like objects, truths, facts, realities, do not pre-exist observations: they are constituted and delineated differently in different discourses (Duineveld et al., 2013). This means, in other words, that an object is only an object if it is seen and recognized as an object. An ongoing process of practices and continuous interaction, shape and reshape objects. This process is done by people, but also in combination of people, techniques, texts, laws, regulations and other phenomena (Felder et al., 2015). This means that the idea of heritage not only comes into being by the use of the concept, but also by institutions, practices and legislations that contribute to its construction.

Heritage in this theoretical perspective does, unlike physical resources of the past, not exist in or of itself, but because of values people attach to it (Graham et al., 2000). Heritage has to be experienced for it to be heritage. Smith (2006, p. 44) states this as follow: "heritage is not a 'thing', it is not a 'site', building or other material object. Rather, heritage is what goes on at these sites". Taking a constructivist perspective on heritage means that heritage can be seen as something vital and alive, instead of something frozen in a material form (Smith, 2006, p. 83).

In recent decades, there has been a fundamental shift in the social sciences away from positivist epistemological theories towards a greater emphasis on broader cultural meanings (Kramsch, 1997). This shift is also recognizable within the field of heritage studies and this shift has led to a reconsideration of the traditional professional understanding of heritage (Parkinson et al., 2016). The essence of this shift is that it decentres the intrinsic valuable object, and focuses on the modern-day socio-political and cultural process that transforms elements of the past into heritage (Ashworth, 1992; Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Graham et al., 2000; Smith, 2006; Waterton & Watson, 2013).

This cultural model of heritage as a process dominates contemporary heritage discourses. In this approach, heritage is seen as a process, hereby focusing on practice; the use of the past in the present. Waterton and Watson (2013) describe this approach as "a historically informed and culturally significant commentary that moved thinking about heritage away from its objects towards its social and cultural context and significance" (p. 550). At the basis of this approach is the notion that there is a distinction between heritage and history. Various scholars have claimed that heritage is what we inherit from the past and use in present days (Ashworth, 1992; Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Graham et al., 2000; Harvey, 2001; Lowenthal, 1998; Robertson, 2012; Smith, 2006; Waterton & Watson, 2013). Thus, heritage has less to do with the past than with the present. History becomes heritage when it is used for contemporary purposes. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996, p. 6) state this as follow: "the present selects an inheritance from an imagined past for current use and decides what should be passed on to an imagined future" (as cited in Wu & Hou, 2015, p. 39). The essence of this practitioners' view on heritage, is that heritage is not simply the past but the modern-day socio-political and cultural use of elements of the past. This approach thus convincingly decentres the object and focuses on the actual processes that transform things, places, acts and experiences into heritage (Watson & Waterton, 2010). In summary, the central point is that heritage, unlike physical resources of the past, exists not in or of itself, but because of values people attach to it (Graham et al., 2000).

However, since heritage means different things, to different people, at different times, and in different contexts (Ludwig, 2013), multiple and potentially competing representations of heritage can exist at the same time. Or as Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996) describe this: "all heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's" (p. 23). Obviously, this makes heritage a source for tension and conflict.

2.1.3 Poststructuralism and heritage

To address this issue and to understand the intrinsic political nature of heritage, a poststructuralist perspective on heritage is helpful. Until now we have seen a shift from a thing existing in itself (i.e. a realist perspective) towards the processes that construct the object (i.e. a constructivist approach). In the first perspective an object is an object and the way it is understood is not challenged. A constructivist approach offers more perspectives, and an object can be seen from a broad range of different perspectives. Though these are only alternative options for one and the same question (Van Assche, 2004). A poststructuralist perspective offers more different perspectives useful for different types for questions and objects (Van Assche, 2004). Thus, this theoretical perspective does not just focus on the object, nor on the various ways objects are constructed. Rather it focuses on how various constructions create various world views and subsequently various 'ideas' about objects.

The core argument of this ontological perspective is that it is necessary to study both the object itself and the systems of knowledge and power that produced the object, in order to understand an object (e.g. a heritage object). This perspective on heritage is in line with the work of, for example, Michel Foucault. He was engaged with the question how our knowledge about social, individual and communal meanings are produced through time. For Foucault, power defines what gets to count as knowledge. However, for Foucault, power is not a negative force to be executed by somebody who possesses it onto another who is subdued, but first and foremost a productive relation that produces powerful effects of subjectification (Schramm, 2015). Foucault argued that a discourse can be defined as a structured series of concepts that provide access to a certain part or aspect of reality, while at the same time other aspects or parts are veiled (Foucault, 1972; Howarth, 2000). Or in other words, discourses are practices that "systematically form the objects about which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). The central tenet of an Foucauldian approach is that objects, such as heritage, are the result of a process of discursive construction (see also Felder et al., 2015). Heritage in this view is a framework of ideas and practices, which are intrinsically embedded with power. Such a framework structures how objects and practices are valued.

2.2 Heritage and power

This research adopts a poststructuralist view on heritage, which recognises that heritage is a discourse. In this view on heritage, it is crucial to acknowledge that heritage is a result of constant power contestations, and that heritage is intrinsically embedded within power relations. This study has an anti-essentialist ontology; it assumes the existence of multiple, socially constructed, competing understandings of heritage instead of a single reality. In order to address these various understandings, this research has to put emphasis on the communication through which knowledge is exchanged and the analysis of meaning.

2.2.1   Heritage and Michel Foucault

Heritage has been increasingly recognized as being intertwined with discourse and discursive practices (Felder et al., 2015; Wu & Hou, 2015). Understanding heritage as a discursive practice, means we have to focus on theoretical explorations of the discursive nature of heritage. Therefore, first the concept of discourse needs to be clarified. Discourse is used in a range of meaning and it remains a loosely defined and ambiguous concept. Foucault argued that a discourse can be defined as a structured series of concepts that provide access to a certain part or aspect of reality, while at the same time other aspects or parts are veiled (Foucault, 1972; Howarth, 2000). In other words, discourses are practices that "systematically form the objects about which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Discourse is in this research defined, in line with Hajer and Versteeg (2005), as "an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices" (p. 175). Characteristically, the approach takes a critical stance towards truth and puts emphasis on the communications through which knowledge is exchanged (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005).

In Foucauldian theorizations of discourse, two processes are crucial, namely, a process of meaning-making, and a process of power/knowledge (Wu & Hou, 2015). A process of meaning-making means that objects, such as heritage, are the result of a process of discursive construction (see also Felder et al., 2015). Regarding the process of power/knowledge, Foucault (1978, pp. 100-101) argues that a discourse "transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it". Discourses are thus inevitably related to power, and so is heritage. What counts as heritage and whose heritage is valued is thus a result of constant power contestation. In addressing the issue of 'whose heritage?' certain motifs of power relationships may appear to dominate (Graham et al., 2000). Consequently, heritage is about understanding which presents are served by the pasts in circulation in the contemporary moments (Naidoo, 2016). Graham et al. (2000) note that "heritage helps define the meaning of culture and power and that heritage is a political resource; it thus possesses a crucial socio-political function" (p. 17). In other words, heritage objects are involved in issues of legitimatization of certain power structures. Heritage is valued and understood in different ways by different peoples, groups or communities through time and space. This process of signification is intrinsically embedded within power and the rise and fall of heritage discourses is thus defined by power relations. However, if one accepts that heritage is bound up with power, then, crucially, one has to acknowledge that heritage is always contested.

This contestation of heritage and its repercussions is conceptualized by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), they term this: dissonance. The term dissonance is used to illustrate that heritage is a political capital, that is used to legitimize and promote certain ideas, while suppressing others. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) describe this by arguing that heritage can be adopted by political extremism when it is used to disguise ethnic or racial exclusivism. These excluding, political effects of heritage is also recognized by Smith (2006) as she argues that heritage is valued and understood in different ways and how heritage is understood validates or not a sense of place. This, Smith (2006) points out, can be "disabling for those whose sense of history and place exist outside of the dominant heritage message or discourse, though it can be enabling for those whose sense of past either sits within or finds synergy with authorised views" (p. 80). Furthermore, Hall (1999) 's statement that heritage is constructed, such that "those who cannot see themselves reflected in its mirror cannot properly 'belong'" (p. 14) is particularly acute when placed within the context of contemporary calls for social inclusion and multiculturalism (Waterton, 2010a). This intrinsic dissonance of heritage, accentuated by a contemporary call for social inclusion and multiculturalism, is thus a source for possible contestation. Therefore, "heritage cannot be examined without addressing the implied questions – who decides what heritage is, and whose heritage is it?" (Graham et al., 2000, p. 24). Against this backdrop, Smith (2006) has undertaken a critical reflection on the ways heritage is commonly understood within the heritage sector, the next section will elaborate on this.

2.2.2 Authorized Heritage Discourse

The question of who defines and controls heritage has been at the heart of the work of Laurajane Smith. Smith (2006) has considered how particular values are sustained and privileged and used to regulate heritage practices and norms in terms of discourse. Using Critical Discourse Analysis she posits an Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) that she applies to multiple forms of material cultural heritage protection and management, including archaeology and architectural conservation (Pendlebury, 2013).

Smith (2006) effectively relocates heritage away from its crude delineations of object orientation, inherent value and reification, replacing this with the idea of heritage as an essentially cultural process (Watson & Waterton, 2010). She has identified a rather hegemonic discourse about heritage and observed that heritage professionals ascribe value to the historic built environment through an authorized heritage discourse. The AHD is defined as a particular way of seeing heritage that privileges the cultural symbols of the White, middle-/upper-classes, and excludes a range of alternative ways of understanding heritage (Waterton, 2009). The AHD, Smith (2006, p. 11) argues, is a "self-referential", "immutable" discourse that "privileges monumentality and grand scale, innate, artefact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgement, social consensus and nation building". She argues that it privileges, "the innate aesthetic and scientific value and physicality of heritage and masks the real cultural and political work that the heritage process does" (Smith, 2006, p. 87). Smith argues that this discourse has been naturalised to such a degree that it remains unquestioned (Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2009). The AHD can thus seek to control fundamental questions about why some heritage objects are considered valuable and extend this to what should be protected (Pendlebury, 2013). According to Smith, heritage is actively framed to exclude ethnic minorities and the working class (Smith, 2006, p. 2) as she argues that "the AHD, and the social inclusion concerns that it frames, cannot engage with subaltern definitions of heritage as to do so destabilises the existing cultural and social power structures" (Smith, 2009, p. 9).

The AHD is a useful concept. It emphasises the significance of discourse in heritage management practices. Besides the distinction between the AHD and other heritage possibilities is useful to highlight the AHD as a way of controlling the definition of heritage that receives official sanction and its management (Pendlebury, 2013). Consequently, this theory reveals a binary hierarchical distinction between the AHD and other heritage discourses, and it reveals that the AHD is the dominant discourse that closes down alternative versions of heritage (Ludwig, 2013; Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010b). The AHD is thus highly exclusionary. Indeed, "some understandings of heritage are legitimised, while other nuances are discredited" (Waterton & Smith, 2010, p. 9). Simultaneously, it, "excludes all dissonant, conflicted or non-core accounts of heritage" (Smith, 2006, p. 11; Waterton et al., 2006).

To summarize, heritage is a discursive construction, i.e. meaning of heritage is constructed in the presence in social interaction within groups of professionals, politicians, minorities and others. This however means, that multiple and potentially competing representations of heritage value can exist at the same time. Identifying an object as heritage implies specific signification, which is produced by a discourse. This process of signification is intrinsically embedded within power and the rise and fall of heritage discourses is thus defined by power relations. Next to these power relations, a self-referential process of meaning construction also influences discourses. To address this issue, the theoretical position of system theory is used. This theory will be described in the next paragraph.

2.3 Social system theory

As said before, a complex set of discursive relationships construct and reconstruct the meaning of heritage. In order to analyse these discursive constructions of heritage, system theory is used as a theoretical concept. System theory is useful for this research while this theory aims at understanding boundaries and interactions of discourses. This theory arose in the domain of spatial planning, since the mid- to late 1960s (Allmendinger, 2009). In relation to heritage, system theory is further conceptualized and applied by various scientists (e.g. During, 2010; Van Assche & Duineveld, 2013). During (2010) for example, used system theory to study discursive practices on cultural heritage, and heritage discourses between planners, institutions and projects. System theory offers useful insights in the complex relations between heritage, discourses and the outside world as will be shown below.

2.3.1   Self-referential process

System theory in general elaborates the idea of the world as a complex set of connected parts, which are in constant flux (Allmendinger, 2009). Within this constantly changing pattern of complex societal, cultural and political relationships, new and different products constantly occur. According to Luhmann (1989), social systems are nothing else than on-going processes of interpretation and reinterpretation of internal and external environments. In social systems, neither actions nor people are the crucial element of a system, but communications are (Luhmann, 1989). Key concept in system theory is the autopoiesis, which means that systems are both the producer and the product. Autopoiesis in Luhmann's social system theory is referred to as communications, which in itself produces new communications as well.

Luhmann sees society as consisting of a multitude of social systems, with function-systems, organisations and interactions (conversations) as central conceptual categories (Van Assche & Duineveld, 2013). A function system reproduces itself by applying distinct codes, thereby maintaining a boundary vis-à-vis other function systems (Van Assche et al., 2014). This means that all systems are self-referential. A social system is self-referential when it structures elements and programmes are produced in and by the structures, elements and programmes of the system (Van Assche & Duineveld, 2013). Each social system reproduces itself by means of internal elements, by means of and in reference to earlier concepts, distinctions, and procedures (Van Assche et al., 2014). This means that new information and practices from outside are interpreted on the basis of the previous and usual used communication within a system.

Luhmann (1995) adds to this that environmental influences on a social system are limited, and only possible when the environment has only indirect influence on the system. This is because, adaptation to new environmental input can only take place in a self-referential and autopoietic way, while a system is limited by its operational closure i.e. only the elements and structures of an existing system can be used. During (2010, p. 36) describes this as follow: "the elements of social systems, communications, change because social systems are autopoietic, which means that they continuously reproduce themselves, exclusively using predefined elements and structures". Changes in the environment are thus always reconstructed within the system, according to the codes, semantics and structures of the system (Luhmann, 1989). Several scholars have argued that this process of self-referential interpretation of new information in a system can be seen as a form of framing (for an overview of studies about this topic, see During, 2010). Frames are thus based on previous and usual used communication frameworks within a system and frames influence the way new input is interpreted within the system. Analysing these communication processes will reveal that everything is interpretation, constant reinterpretation (Van Assche et al., 2014). Therewith social systems theory offers a theoretical framework to analyse the communicative processes that shape historically contingent social practices of discourse (social systems) that produce the criteria for their own transformation (Luhmann, 1989, 1995; Van Assche et al., 2014).

Discourses are thus self-referential, in the sense that they construct the world by means of references to their own elements, and in the sense that new structures are always grounded in prior ones (Van Assche et al., 2014). Discourses thus transform in the on-going processes by which they recursively reproduce themselves, but this transformation is governed by its self-referentiality (Van Assche et al., 2014). If we acknowledge that a complex set of discursive relationships construct and reconstruct the meaning of heritage, than discourse theory and social system theory can be combined in order to understand how the meaning of heritage is constructed in a world that is in constant movement.

2.3.2   System theory and heritage

Social systems produce what we accept as knowledge, as truth, while simultaneously structuring society (Luhmann, 1995). Observations can thus only be understood as the result of the operations in the network that constitute the object (Felder et al., 2015). This poststructuralist thinking has similarities compared to the working of discourses as described by Foucault. Therefore, social system theory and especially the working of frames in social systems can be linked to the previous mentioned discussions about heritage discourses and the construction of identity.

Smith (2006) for example argues that particular values are sustained and privileged when it comes to heritage practices. She argues that there is a self-referential immutable set of values that are used in the 'system' of heritage practitioners. Heritage practitioners operate within a limited and specific perspective and by using a specific set of elements, programmes, structures and codes to understand the world. In other words, they operate in a certain way because of a specific autopoiesis, grounded in self-reference (Van Assche & Duineveld, 2013). Although it has not been described as such, the AHD can be seen as a self-referential and autopoietic system. The AHD can be seen as a system, not only because of the self-referential way of ascribing values, moreover because of the way the AHD in heritage practices deals with new input in the system. The system of the AHD "cannot engage with subaltern definitions of heritage as to do so destabilises the existing cultural and social power structures" (Smith, 2006, p. 9). New, dissonant, nuanced, conflicted or non-core understandings of heritage cannot really compete with dominant understandings of heritage, while they do not fit to the communication used within the existing system.

The same goes for the dynamic link between heritage and identity. Bourdieu (2014) argues that established modes of practical/perceived understanding – called 'habitus' –, define the mechanisms through which meaning (including memory and identity) is created. The habitus can, in a way, be seen as a self-referential social system, while, as Bourdieu has argued, unconscious classification systems are used to make choices and to create distinction of meaning and identity (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984).

As Fuchs argues (as cited in Van Assche & Duineveld, 2013), social systems theory shows that every system constructs reality in a self-referential way. In this way, heritage valuation can be understood as a product of autopoiesis; a thought about an (heritage) object is vocalised and exchanged in discourse and then institutionalised as a result of autopoiesis (During, 2010). A system thus produces what we accept to be an object or the truth. This however means that, objects can be observed as real, as the truth in one system, and not observed in all other systems and vice versa (Felder et al., 2015). Social system theory is thus useful for this research while it enables to analyse different systems and to distinguish between various systems. It is thus a tool to understand why one conceptualization of heritage is recognized within one group, and not recognized or even neglected in another group. The theoretical perspective of social systems is furthermore useful for analysing heritage projects as it helps to account for the complexity in the environment of these projects. It is useful to represent projects as systems of communication, through which complex situations can be interpreted on the basis of shared views on meaning, produced in previous communications (During, 2010). And by doing so, it can help to gain understanding about how various notions of signification and various notions of value can become institutionalised heritage practices. System theory is furthermore useful, while it can gain insights about which organisations, function systems, discourses or disciplines are allowed and which not.

To conclude this section, understandings about heritage are constructed in social interaction within groups of people (such as minority groups) heritage professionals and political bodies. Within and between such entities certain conversations and discussion on various understandings of cultural heritage are constructed. These conversations are based on a system of communication that is always influenced by a self-referential process. This means that new information and new understandings of heritage, are reformulated by means of the vocabulary and understandings that have been established in previous conversations. For this research, social system theory and the working of the autopoiesis are thus useful theoretical concepts to understand how various understandings of heritage are (re-)constructed. In this research, system theory is used as a mean to gain understanding about how some notions of signification and value can become institutionalised heritage practices whereas others are not.

2.4 Heritage and identity

Heritage is also deeply implicated in the construction and legitimation of collective constructs of identity (Graham et al., 2000). The relation between heritage and identify is well established in the literature and it is often argued that identity plays a prominent role in (lay) discourses of heritage and, in particular, the construction of local identity (Harrison, 2010; Massey, 1995; Parkinson et al., 2016). This research takes a look at the more nuanced, personal issues regarding the dilemmas of heritage and social inclusion/exclusion. Since heritage is also linked to constructions of identity (Graham et al., 2000), identity is seen as a relevant concept. Therefore, this section explores the various ways of thinking about identity, next to this the relation between identity and heritage is addressed, finally this is linked back to issues of social inclusion and exclusion.

One way of thinking about identity, is based on phenomenology. Identity is seen as the collective interpretation or perception of environmental and societal features. Heritage, in this view, provides physical representations and reality to the concept of identity, hereby providing meaning to human existence (see for example, Graham et al., 2000; Lowenthal, 1985; Smith, 2006). Lowenthal (1985, 1998), for example, notes four traits of heritage that makes it beneficial to people. First, Lowenthal (1998) argues that its antiquity conveys the respect and status of antecedence and underpins the ideas of continuity and social development. Second, heritage is a way to connect the present to the past in an unbroken trajectory. Third, heritage provides a sense of termination, while finally, it offers a sequence, allowing to locate present in a continuity of events. In this view heritage is seen as "providing meaning to human existence by conveying the ideas of timeless values and unbroken lineages that underpin identity" (Graham et al., 2000, p. 41). Heritage fulfils the function of validating and legitimating a people's present sense of sameness and identity (Graham et al., 2000). In this phenomenology based discourse of identity, identity is a limited concept, i.e. identity is based on shared norms and values, and has a relation to a social and physical environment (During, 2010). This is illustrated by Lowenthal (1998) who argues that heritage and other environmental features are needed in order to create an identity.

In contrast, there are geographers (e.g. Massey, 1995; Massey, 2004) who argue that identities do not only exist in the past, but are also actively built in the present. In this social constructivist discourse of identity, identities are unlimited and relational. Identities "are constituted in and through engagements, through practice of interaction" (Massey, 2004, p. 5) and therefore identities are "not rooted or static, but mutable ongoing productions" (Hall, 1996; Massey, 2004, p. 5). In this, postmodern, open narrative model, individuals are choosing haphazardly from among those elements in their past experiences and their environment that they consider to be important in their lives, often with no apparent logical connection (During, 2010). This however means, that there are no fixed ideas about the role of heritage in relation to an identity. Bourdieu (1984, 2014) proposed that, established modes of practical/perceived understanding – called 'habitus' –, define the mechanisms through which meaning (including memory and identity) is created. The habitus, i.e. the unconscious disposition and classification systems used to make choices, has thus a crucial influence on the construction and distinction of meaning and identity (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984). Ross (2007) adds to this by arguing that identities become materialised in all kinds of everyday cultural expressions. Accordingly, cultural expressions "can stand for much more than simply themselves; they can be vital to the identity of one group, but at the same time very threatening to another group" (Ross, 2007, p. 87). The central point to be made here is that identities are, alike heritage, dynamic, and constructed and reconstructed across time and space. Next to this, they are based on chosen (hi)stories of object and traditions (Harrison, 2010). Consequently, material heritage objects can become a symbol of certain identities and values. Crouch and Parker (2003, p. 405) show that "heritage is used as a legitimizing discourse in constructing and maintaining a range of identities".

This research adopts a postmodern and flexible concept of identity, which recognises that identities can be the result of strategic considerations in discursive practices and therefore it is necessary to acknowledge that identities, alike heritage (as has been mentioned), can potentially have social consequences in terms of inclusion and exclusion. This view is particularly relevant for this study, while "the construction of diverse multicultural societies, and the concomitant fragmentation of belonging" points to a world "in which identities are never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions" (Hall, 1996, p. 4).

2.5 Summary and conceptual framework

In contemporary heritage literature, the cultural model of heritage of heritage appears to be dominant. This conception of heritage is rooted in ontologies of constructivism and poststructuralism. To summarise this perspective, a few bullet points are included here:

- Heritage is multi-faceted (Waterton, 2005);
- Heritage is experienced in the present (Graham et al., 2000);
- Heritage is socially constructed (Smith, 2006);
- Heritage is the result of discursive constructions (Felder et al., 2015);
- Heritage is dissonant (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1996);
- Heritage is thus inevitably bound up with power (Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2005).

This research adopts a poststructuralist view on heritage, which recognises that heritage is a discourse, i.e. a framework of ideas that structures how (heritage) objects are valued and interacted with. In this view on heritage, it is crucial to acknowledge that heritage is a result of constant power contestations, and that heritage is intrinsically embedded within power relations. Seeing heritage as a discourse, bound up with power, also means that various understandings of heritage exist and that some of them dominate alternative understandings of heritage. A poststructuralist view on heritage, fits this research because it enables this research to gain insights about the framework of ideas that construct plural understandings of heritage. Moreover, understandings about power relations, can help to analyse why only some conceptualizations of heritage receive legitimation.

In this study, analysing multiple and competing representations of heritage is grounded in discourse and system theory. A discourse is seen as a framework of ideas that structures how (heritage) objects are valued. Analysing a discourse can reveal power relations and help to gain insights about why certain understandings can dominate alternative understandings of heritage. System theory shows that every discourse constructs reality in a narrowly focussed and self-referential way. This theory is used as a mean to gain understanding about how some notions of signification and value can become institutionalised heritage practices whereas others are neglected.

Figure 1 represents a conceptual framework in which two ideas about heritage are presented; a dominant conceptualization of heritage and a subdominant one. Both conceptualizations consist of their own discourse of heritage which constitutes a particular understanding of heritage, based on the autopoiesis which influences the way heritage is understood. The conceptual framework represents some of the main ideas (as discussed before in the theoretical framework); it shows that there is a normalised, common sense, dominant conceptualization of heritage operating in practice (see number 1 in Figure 1), it shows that that the subdominant conceptualization is excluded (see number 2 in Figure 1), and it shows a binary hierarchical distinction between a dominant and subdominant conceptualization (see number 3 in Figure 1).
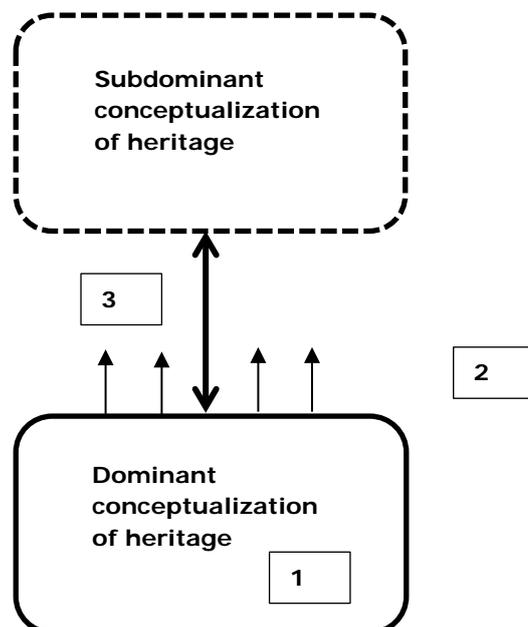

Figure 1: conceptual framework

2.6 Assumptions

Based on the theoretical overview and the conceptual framework, three assumptions can be formulated. These assumptions are in line with the research objective and are included here to further guide this research. A short elaboration on each assumption will be given below.

> **There is a normalised, common sense, dominant conceptualization of heritage operating in practice and this dominant conceptualization of heritage is inflexible**
> (See number 1 in Figure 1)

This dominant conceptualization of heritage (or AHD as Smith has labelled it) is characterized by an understanding of heritage that is physical and tangible, based around notions of power and privilege, monumentality, rarity, age and aesthetics, social consensus and nation building. This particular conceptualization of heritage remains unquestioned (Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2009) and as a result, a common-sense idea about heritage is generally accepted.

Understandings about heritage are constructed in social interaction within various groups. Within and between such groups various understandings of cultural heritage are constructed. Conversations and discussions within a group are based on a system of communication that is influenced by a specific autopoiesis, grounded in self-reference. This means that new information and subdominant conceptualizations of heritage, are reformulated by means of the vocabulary and understandings that have been established in previous conversations. Changes in the environment are thus always reconstructed within the existing system, according to the already existing codes, semantics and structures of the system (Luhmann, 1989) resulting in a rather inflexible conceptualization of heritage.

> **The dominant conceptualization of heritage diminishes and excludes subdominant ones**
> (See number 2 in Figure 1)

Various authors (Ludwig, 2013; Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010b; Waterton et al., 2006) have argued that there is a hierarchical distinction between dominant heritage conceptualizations and subdominant ones. It is argued that dominant conceptualization cannot engage with subdominant ones while this should "destabilise the existing cultural and social power structures" (Smith, 2009, p. 9). Consequently, "some understandings of heritage are legitimised, while other nuances are discredited" (Waterton & Smith, 2010, p. 9). Indeed, the dominant conceptualization of heritage is actively framed to exclude ethnic minorities and the working class (Smith, 2006, p. 2).

> **Subdominant conceptualizations of heritage want to be included**
> (See number 3 in Figure 1)

As stated in the problem description, there is a relatively large body of studies that almost uniformly suggest that there is a growing desire among local community groups and minority groups to be involved in heritage management practices and to engage influentially in heritage conservation matters (e.g. Hall, 1999; Littler & Naidoo, 2005; Smith, 2006; Waterton & Smith, 2008). Hall (1999, p. 14) for example states that heritage is constructed, such that "those who cannot see themselves reflected in its mirror [heritage] cannot properly 'belong'". This, Smith (2006) points out, can be "disabling for those whose sense of history and place exist outside of the dominant heritage message or discourse" (p. 80). Heritage is seen as a source of providing meaning, identity, purpose and value (Graham et al., 2000; Lowenthal, 1998). If subdominant conceptualizations of heritage are not included, a source of providing meaning and identity, and a legitimation of people's present sense of identity, is missing. It is therefore often argued that a more inclusive and participatory heritage management approach neutralises differences and that this approach aims at a more plural, contemporary, democratic and accessible notion of heritage.

3. Research methodology

This methodology chapter describes the methods used during this research. First, an explanation of the chosen perspective from which the execution of the study is approached will be given. Next, the way in which data is collected will be described, followed by information about the analysis of the data.

3.1 Methodological considerations

This research is concerned with exploring the process of attaching meaning to phenomena, and with processes of social construction of heritage. These are qualitative issues relating to 'how' and 'why' values and meaning are constructed regarding heritage, opposed to more quantifiable concerns over 'how much'. In other words, this research is more concerned with meaning rather than 'fact-gathering' about artefacts. Constructing values and meaning are social activities, and, as such, they vary together with other social variables (Fuchs, 2001b). This can be observed by means of second-order observations (Fuchs, 2001a). Objects can be observed to be present/absent in one system and non-existent in all other systems. An object that is delineated and observed as real, as present, in system A could be unknown in system B and C. It could also be slightly or largely differently delineated in system B and C, but it can never be the same in different systems (Felder et al., 2015; Fuchs, 2001a). The focus of this research is to critically explore whether minority groups themselves want to be involved in assessing what heritages are worthwhile to remember, protect and share. Qualitative research is a useful tool for exploring and understanding how individuals or groups ascribe values (Creswell, 2009, p. 8) and to inductively explore social phenomena in order to find empirical patterns that can function to generate theory (Boeije, 2010, p. 5). This is why a qualitative methodological approach is particularly suitable for this research and subsequently chosen.

A Qualitative approach is furthermore chosen while it is in line with the overall research paradigm of this research, which can best be described as social constructivism. The social-constructivist point of view believes that individuals seek understanding of the world they live in and that each individual develops their own meaning, leading to a complexity of views (Creswell, 2009). Creswell (2009) explains that social constructivism is not only about individual opinions or ideas, but also about the complex processes of constructing meanings and values through social interaction with groups, within certain cultural constrains or routines. The process of qualitative research is therefore largely inductive, while the inquirer generates meaning from the data collected in the field (Creswell, 2009).

This study has an explorative character, since there is only very little research that has focused on the subdominant conceptualizations of heritage and the needs and aspirations of minority groups, especially with a particular emphasis on the Dutch context. For explorative research, qualitative methods are very useful as they are flexible so that data collection can be adjusted to the findings which emerge (Boeije, 2010; Creswell, 2009).

3.2 Research design

Empirical testing involved using an in-depth spatially based case study via qualitative techniques and procedures. Case-study research is chosen since it enables the inquirer to intensively study and explore subdominant conceptualizations of heritage. Kumar (2014) argues that case study research provides the opportunity to explore an area where little is known or where you want to have a holistic understanding of the situation, process or phenomenon. A case study furthermore offers an ideal vehicle for exploratory and explanatory research, rather than confirming and quantifying (Kumar, 2014; Yin, 2003). Heritage, especially in relation to minorities, is a complex phenomenon where relatively little is known about. Therefore, the research design of a case study is chosen since it enables the researcher to intensively study and explore the working of heritage within a real life setting and specific socio-cultural and political context. Case study research is characterized by a flexible and open-ended technique of data collection and analysis (Kumar, 2014) and theory development can occur through the systematic piecing together of detailed evidence to generate theories of broader interest.

In this thesis, one spatially based case study is studied in depth by using qualitative techniques and procedures. It is often argued that you cannot generalize from a single case. Indeed, a single case study is only a detailed examination of just one situation, yet this case can still provide reliable information about the broader class. Flyvbjerg (2006) for example argues that formal generalization is considerably overrated as the main source of scientific progress. He argues that phenomenological case study without any attempt to generalize can certainly be of value. Besides, Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that "One can often generalize on the basis of a single case, and the case study may be central to scientific development via generalization

as supplement or alternative to other methods" (p. 12). Especially when the research is about understanding how power and rationality shape each other and form the environments in which we live (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Besides, in the case of the study of a single case, evidence may more easily be proved the more a case 'speaks on his own'. Predictions and conclusions drawn from a small sample size are especially cogent whenever a case has some undeniable extraordinary aspect. Flyvbjerg (2006) describes this as follow: "when the objective is to achieve the greatest possible amount of information on a given problem or phenomenon, a representative case or a random sample may not be the most appropriate strategy" (p. 13). Instead he argues, that an atypical or extreme case, often reveals more information. Siggelkow (2007) adds to this by drawing on the metaphor of a speaking pig; no reviewer could then comment: "interesting, but that's just one pig. Show me a few more and then I might believe you" (Siggelkow, 2007, p. 20). Both Yin (2003) and Kumar (2014) further underline this by arguing that a single case study can indeed best be used when the case represents an extreme or a unique case or when the case focuses on a subject that is either very representative or extremely atypical.

However, to take the extraordinariness of the case as the single indicator for the quality of a case study falls too short. Other reasons to choose only one case were the large amount of variable aspects among different cases; no two sites are wholly comparable in terms of their heritage credentials or socio-cultural profile. Indeed, the socio-cultural differences between (minority) groups are multiple and it is not the scope of this research to focus on socio-cultural differences. Along with the thesis's aim and objectives, this validates the use of a single case study, providing depth rather than breadth to information gathering, data production and analysis in a context-based qualitative investigation. This small scale 'thick description' approach better suits the research than would a comparative study. Besides, case study research can still reveal certain mechanism, and it can falsify certain theoretical propositions. By doing so it can help to develop new theories about certain mechanism that can be applicable not only for one particular case, but also in a broader context (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Selection of the research setting reflects its suitability to the objectives of the research. Since the initial aim of this thesis is to address the needs and aspirations of minority groups, I first needed to decide on what would count as a 'minority group'. In this thesis, the term 'minority group' is foremost used as the opposite of a dominant, similar to the term 'marginalized', which is more often used in the literature. It is thus used to illustrate a hierarchical distinction between dominant and subdominant/marginalized. From the theoretical framework it can be derived that the minority group is seen as the subdominant group. However, in order to show how the case was selected, the selection criteria need to be made clear. Therefore, a specific definition of a minority groups according to the Oxford English Dictionary (2007), is included here: "A small group of people within a community or country, differing from the main population in race, religion, language, or political persuasion". A second specification is provided by looking at the aim of this thesis i.e. to take a look at conceptualizations of heritage that do not automatically receive legitimisation in the Dutch heritage making process. Legitimation in the Dutch heritage making process is in this thesis linked with two aspects. Either the expert judgements for the indication of tangible cultural heritage as is done by the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (abbreviated in Dutch as RCE; for the Dutch heritage law and regulations see Ministry of Education Culture and Science, 2016), who lists and monitors cultural heritage in the Netherlands, or the expert judgements for the indication of tangible cultural heritage as is done by the heritage department of the municipality (see Gemeente Den Haag, 2011). Thus, sites, objects, things, or 'heritage sites', which have not been officially recognized, were particularly interesting for this research. A third reason is that this thesis' aim is to reflect on why some conceptualizations of heritage receive legitimisation in this heritage making process whereas others do not. Therefore, the selected cases had to represent non-core (or even slightly conflictual) conceptualization of heritage, thereby thus not focusing on cultural symbols of the White, middle-/upper classes or particular dominant conceptualizations that focus on monumentality, grand scale, social consensus and nation building (Smith, 2006). As a final reason, selection also takes into account resource availability and the need for originality within research.

The Mobarak mosque in The Hague, which is used by the Ahmadiyya Muslim community in the Netherlands, is chosen as the case for this study. The Mobarak mosque is the first purpose-built mosque in the Netherlands. The mosque is built by the Ahmadiyya Muslim community and located, approximately 3 km outside the city centre at the Oostduinlaan in The Hague (see Figure 3). A full contextual overview of the selected case will be provided in the following chapter.

3.3 Data generation

Having established a geographical basis for the research, the case study was subjected to multiple methods of data collection. Qualitative researchers usually use multiple sources of data collection, such as interviews, observations and document analysis instead of depending on one single source of data. In this thesis, three different types of data collection are used, in random order these are: qualitative semi-structured interviews, document, website and policy study, and on site participant observations. It should however be noted, that as a result of the explorative character of this research, there has been a constant alternation between data generation and data analysis. For reasons of clarity, this section only elaborates on the various data sources and the methods of data collection whereas the next section provides information about the analysis of the data.

After some explorative fieldwork and some first observations, data collection started in May 2017. In order to gain more information and focused insights into the needs and aspirations of individuals belonging to a minority group, qualitative semi-structured interviews are used as a method of data generation. The interviews were conducted in a face-to-face setting and most of the interviews were audio-recorded and supported by hand written notes. The interviews were structured along a topic list. Some of the interviews were transcribed, shortly after the interview was conducted. The interviews were held on separate dates.

The first interview was held on the 29th of May 2017. Both spokesman of the Ahmadiyya community as well as random members of the community were interviewed. It was for this research not necessary to select specific persons to speak with in advance of the data collection. Shortly after the first interviews, I did a first, superficial analysis and found that a lot of paradoxical information was provided. Besides, the first impression I got from the interviews did not match with what I found in the literature. These two reasons made me decide to modify the questions and topics to be addressed during the interviews, this modification happened afterwards, or in some cases even during the interview. Later on, it turned out that information from governmental organisations (such as the municipality) was needed as well in order to fully understand the political context of the case. I was able to get in contact with these organisation via the email addresses provided on their websites. In these cases it was necessary to select the people to speak to in advance of the interview. I did six in-depth interviews (for an overview see the bibliography). Each interview took approximately an hour. Next to this, I did nine informal, conversational interviews during my participant observations. These interviews took approximately 10-15 minutes. Furthermore, later in the process, I conducted two phone interviews to check the information and the analysis. During the interviews, all kinds of other potential information sources, such as historic photographs or videos, newspaper articles and information leaflets about the mosque, were shown.

These information sources, are, alike the information gathered from (policy) documents, articles, websites, newspapers and so on, seen as the second source of data collection. This kind of data, mostly provided by secondary sources (for an overview see the bibliography of secondary sources used), is used to extract descriptive and narrative information, such as information from historical accounts, description of a situation and description of the site (Kumar, 2014). These information sources included a book on the Islam (Valentine, 2008), and two books on the history of the Mobarak mosque (e.g. Roose, 2009). Besides, one of the interviewees provided me an archive folder about the mosque containing about 50 historic news articles, 5 news videos about the mosque, some longer in-depth articles about the mosque, and many (more than 50) historic images of the mosque. The interviewees provided me four information leaflets about the mosque containing some general information about the Ahmadiyya and the Mobarak mosque. A basic search on internet provided me about 20 news articles and some other articles about the Islam in the Netherlands and the architectural representation of the Islam in the Netherlands (for an overview see the bibliography). I found about 5 national policy documents on heritage and minority groups and some municipal policy documents (e.g. Ministerie van Onderwijs Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2017a; Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2017; for an overview see the bibliography).

The third major source of data collection are participant observations. Kumar (2014) describes participant observations as a strategy for gathering information about a social interaction by developing a close interactions with members of a group or 'living' in the situation which is being studied. In addition to the observation itself, other methods can be used (Kumar, 2014), In this research, informal, conversational interviews, oral histories and group discussions were part of the data collection. In total, I did three participant observations: there was one hour of participant observations before an interview, I did three hours of participant observations when I participated in an Ifthar, i.e. the evening meal when Muslims end

their daily Ramadan fast at sunset, and I did two hours of observation while attending the Şalãt al-jum'ah, i.e. the weekly 'Friday prayer' and the community meeting afterwards.

Usually, in qualitative research, data is collected to a point where you are not getting new information or it is negligible - the data saturation point (Kumar, 2014). As Kumar (2014) notes, it is up to the researcher to decide when the saturation point in your data collection is attained. In this research the saturation point was attained quit soon. This is partly explicable as the case addressed in this research is not very diverse. Kumar (2014) states that the greater the diversity, the greater the number of people from whom you need to collect the information to reach the saturation point. In this research, after four interviews, I already noticed that no new information emerged. However, I continued to collect data in order to further verify the data. Besides, triangulation of sources is used: data collected from one source is linked to data collected from other sources in order to check the data provided. By doing so, information provided during the interviews, for example, could be checked by reviewing newspapers, documents, articles or websites. Next to this, the use of multiple sources provided an in-depth picture of the case (Creswell, 2009).

An overview of the sources used to collect data is provided in the bibliography. The interviews and observation are referred to throughout the thesis by their code.

3.4 Data analysis

In this research, discourse is in line with Hajer and Versteeg (2005) defined as an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices. Hajer and Versteeg (2005) argue that the object of analysis in a discourse analysis is the 'discussion'. This means that the focus is on tracing a particular linguistic regularity to illuminate a particular discursive structure, that might not be immediately obvious to the people that contribute to the debate (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005). Discourse analysis, then, is the study of language-in-use (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005). A discourse analysis will be used as a tool to analyse the data, this allows this research to put emphasis on the communications through which knowledge is exchanged and to study the ways in which society makes sense of a phenomenon, such as heritage. The analysis of meaning thus becomes central.

Discourse analysis is useful for this research for a number of reasons. According to Hajer and Versteeg (2005) discourse analysis is particularly useful to understand "the specific situational logic; what is the historical, cultural and political context in which a particular account of 'truth' arises" (p. 176). It is therefore an ideal vehicle to do a context-based in-depth data analysis. Furthermore, Hajer and Versteeg (2005) note that discourse analysis has three particular strengths; the capacity to reveal the role of language in politics, to reveal the embeddedness of language in practice and to illuminate mechanisms and answer 'how questions'. Especially the last strength mentioned here is particularly in line with this research's objective, while this research aims at exploring how values and meaning are constructed regarding heritage. Furthermore, discourse analysis fits this research while it fits within a social constructivist tradition, i.e. an anti-essentialist ontology, which is in line with the overall theoretical position adopted in this research. As a final reason, the analysis of discourse is useful to illuminate why certain definitions do or do not catch on at a particular place and time and to explain the mechanisms by which a policy does or does not come about. It should however be noted that there is only limited attention to the method of how to conduct a Foucauldian discourse analyse. In fact, to prescribe a methodology would be un-Foucauldian, this means there are multiple ways of doing a discourse analysis.

The analysis of discourse falls within the social constructivist and interpretative tradition of the social sciences (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005). Analysing a discourse can therefore best be seen as an iterative process. Hence, data analysis in this thesis will make use of coding i.e. all available data is categorized according to certain themes by making use of coding (Creswell, 2009). First, the collected data was organized, i.e. transcription of audio tapes and the further specification of notes. Secondly, all data was read in order to gain a general impression. Thirdly, the data was classified, according to the information emerging from the data, and specific themes are identified. This thesis made use of a thematic discourse analysis to identify common topics in the narratives. The themes identified represent the major findings in the research, which should display multiple perspectives from individuals and be supported by diverse quotations and specific evidence (Creswell, 2009). These themes are linked to each other and represented in a narrative, which is interpreted by the researcher.

3.5 Limitations

In this section, certain criteria are considered to increase the credibility of this research.

3.5.1 Validity and reliability

When applying qualitative research methods, questions are raised concerning validity and reliability of the research. Validity refers to the ability of research instruments to measure what it is designed to measure (Kumar, 2014). Reliability refers to the consistency and stability of the outcome when a research is repeated multiple times. In qualitative research however, one does not necessarily apply standardised and structured methods, rather different methods are used to collect and analyse data. While qualitative research advocates flexibility and freedom, it is difficult to establish validity and reliability. In this research, it is tried to realize validity and reliability by extensively describing the research process, so it can be adopted by others to follow and replicate.

Next to this, various strategies (see Creswell, 2009) to increase the validity of this research are used. This is for example done by using triangulation of sources. Data collected from the interviews is linked to, for example, the findings from policy documents, so that various data sources within the same method are utilized. The second strategy is member-checking. After the in-depth interviews, the interviewees have the opportunity to review the transcript of the collected data and the way data is used in the research. Visiting the case study more often and spending a sufficient amount of time at the location (for example during participant observations) is a third strategy to increase the validity of the research. As a fourth strategy, it should be noted that all kind of information is used, even negative or discrepant information, so that all views are included in the research. Finally, my own position within the research (see next section) is provided in order to clarify the researcher's bias.

3.5.2 Position of the researcher

In discourse analysis it has been mentioned that the difficulty of such a research is to investigate discourse analysis from the 'outside' whereas we often already think within a certain discourse (Hewitt, 2009). In qualitative research in general, the researcher's position and personal views influence the outcome of the research (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Therefore, as author of this thesis, I consider it important to be aware of my own influence on the results. In my role as researcher, my own worldview can influence the method, production of knowledge and interpretation of the data. Even if researchers intent not to influence the research process, my own vision on the world might explain why I take certain steps in my work. Therefore, it is important to shortly describe my position. Explaining my worldview is used as a validity-strategy in this research (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

I would consider myself a social constructivist. A social constructivist believes that "individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences - meanings directed towards certain objects or things, these meanings are varied and multiple" (Creswell, 2009, p. 8). Throughout my years of study, I became familiar with the various approaches to heritage. I developed a rather critical attitude towards heritage, as I am always questioning why only a few people decide about what is seen as heritage and why only some conceptualizations of heritage are seen as heritage. Personally, I see heritage as a construct which is very much influenced by power relations and therefore think that we need to critically reflect on the uses of heritage. I have now explained my thoughts about heritage, in order to be aware of my own opinion.

3.5.3 Constrains and limitations

During this research, I had to tackle some constrains. First of all, I consider myself being an outsider and not related to the community studied in this research. Consequently it was sometimes difficult to understand and interpreted the information provided during the interviews. Besides, the interviews could have been a mean for the interviewees to portray the situation as more extreme (better or worse). The way of collecting data can be seen as a second limitation as the case study is limited to one case and this case itself has a very specific socio-political context. The same goes for observations, as they are very much dependent on the course of the day and the circumstances under which the participant observations were executed varied from day to day. Another limitation is the Anglicisation of Dutch terms. This thesis is written in English though the interviews were conducted in Dutch. Sometimes if a Dutch word is translated into English it does not always cover the concept. So this research was a constant weighing of the usage of terms, covering the terms as much as possible. A fourth limitation is the objectification of social groups within this research as it is a way of generalising groups of people. Identifying certain groups and their ideas about heritage can in some sense contribute to the creation and upholding of discourses.

4. Context

The context of this research will be addressed in this chapter. This chapter will briefly address the Dutch (heritage) planning practices and simultaneously a short elaboration on the concept of heritage in relation to questions of cultural differences will be given. This chapter ends with a contextual introduction of the selected case.

4.1 Spatial planning and heritage management

As said before, heritage practitioners are seeking for more dynamic concepts of heritage (Janssen, Luiten, Renes, & Rouwendal, 2014). The widening of the scale, scope and ambition of heritage conservation reflects international trends in heritage definition, herby seeking a more holistic idea of heritage, which also depicts immaterial aspects, and from expert-led authoritarian procedures towards more inclusive and participative community-led practices (Janssen et al., 2017; Ludwig, 2013; Vecco, 2010). In the Dutch context, Janssen, Luiten, Renes, and Rouwendal (2014) note a similar growth in interest and input from non-experts in determining what qualifies as heritage and how it should be dealt with. Moreover, at the national level, it should be noted that – as a result of liberal-democratic governments – more and more government responsibilities in areas like heritage and nature protection and spatial planning have been devolved to lower levels of government (Janssen, Luiten, Renes, & Rouwendal, 2014).

Generally speaking, alongside this paradigm-shift towards more participatory heritage discourses, there is a growing recognition that the historic environment is an integral part of our cities and landscapes, rather than a world set apart (Fairclough, 2008). In this context, in the Netherlands there is a growing demand to link heritage management processes more proactively with spatial planning processes (Janssen et al., 2017), consequently there has been a repositioning of heritage within spatial planning: from a focus on (isolated) preservation to (integrated) conservation and, finally, a broader notion of heritage planning (Ashworth, 2011; Bosma, 2010; Janssen, Luiten, Renes, & Rouwendal, 2014). These shifts in conceptualizations 'in theory', conventions, and non-statutory government publications have been reflected in conservation efforts in planning practice through a process of institutionalization. New ideas slowly but gradually became codified in (national) policy documents, laws and treaties (Janssen et al., 2017). Yet, listing and conservation of heritage is still very much influenced by already existing legalisation and practices (for an overview of the Dutch heritage law and regulations see Ministry of Education Culture and Science, 2016). Governmental organisations, such as municipalities use this kind of guidance when decisions about heritage are made. A conservation officer (iMB6), who works at the heritage department of the municipality of The Hague for example explains that: "heritage is an object with certain cultural-historic values, which we identify as valuable and want to preserve for the future". Indeed, this selection process is based on criteria "we check whether a building meets certain criteria, such as architectonic-value, context-information, completeness and recognisability, authenticity, scarcity and cultural-historic values" (iMB6).

At the same time, the officer highlights the importance of other ways of valuing heritage, for example based on narratives: "Recently, we did an inventory of the Indian heritage in the city of The Hague, this resulted in a list of objects. In this case, it happened that certain buildings, which were not identified as heritage, were now belatedly identified as a heritage object because of the Indian narrative attached to it" (iMB6). Next to this, the municipality is according to her (iMB6) already actively engaged in identifying and listing of a broad range of heritage objects as well heritage of minority groups: "we are now engaged in a network which aims to identify heritage objects valued by migrants" and "recently, we did a project aimed at identifying the heritage of the Freemasonry and the Rosicrucian's in The Hague, this resulted in a cultural-historical value assessment of their temple hall". Likewise, the multicultural composition of The Hague's population, stresses the importance to take various representations of heritage into account, as she (iMB6) notes: "we know about the existence of temples, mosques, synagogues and other buildings, we will make inventories and cultural-historical value assessment on these buildings as well if necessary".

In summary, in line with international developments to seek a more holistic idea of heritage, the diversity in valuing heritage and various ways of seeing an object as heritage is recognized by the Dutch government as well as the municipality.

4.2 Description of the case

The Mobarak mosque in The Hague is selected as the case for this research. The Mobarak mosque is the first purpose-built mosque in the Netherlands i.e. previous Islamic communities had mosques, though these mosques were housed in already existing buildings. This is the first building built as a mosque, besides, this mosque as such was recognized by the municipality.

The mosque is built by the Ahmadiyya Muslim community. The Ahmadiyya Muslim community is an Islamic, religious movement founded in Punjab, British India, near the end of the 19th century (Rosenberg, 2015; Valentine, 2008). The Ahmadiyya Muslim community is one of the different branches and schools in Islam. As they say themselves, they proclaim a pure and peaceful message of the Islam (Heijmans, 2015). Most community members have a Pakistani background, though the community is open for all people. The first activities where held in the twenties as a result of the sending of missionaries to the Netherlands for lectures and discussions on Islam. The first official recognition came in 1947, when the community organized itself and a stationary missionary post was established in The Hague (Roose, 2009). Since then, the community started to think about building a mosque, though there were some financial matters and besides they had to decide in which city and on which location they wanted to build the mosque (iMB3).

The first plans to build a mosque in the Netherlands, were already announced in 1950, only 3 years after the arrival of the Netherland's first Ahmadiyya missionary (Kool, 2013). This announcement attracted a lot of public interest and various newspapers wrote articles about this. In 1954 the first sketches for the mosque were presented. Yet, eventually the mosque was not built according to these sketches, the sketches were namely disapproved by the municipality while the exterior of the building looked too much as a mosque (iMB3; Haagsche Courant, 2005; NOS, 2015; Valentine, 2008). The municipal zoning plan stated that the area was only to be built on by half-open housing, in essence, expensive, free-standing constructions or villas (Roose, 2009). In addition, all kinds of strict, detailed construction rules applied, like the non-allowance of certain symbols. Though eventually, some symbols were allowed, such as the star and crescent symbol. The municipality demanded that the building would be less recognizable as a mosque, it was for example not allowed to build a minaret (iMB3). Although the building should be as less recognizable as a mosque as possible, the mosque was purposefully built as a mosque and recognized as such by the municipality. The Mobarak mosque (see Figure 2) is located, approximately 3 km outside the city centre at the Oostduinlaan in The Hague (see Figure 3), in an area that is characterized by some office buildings, parks and villa's.
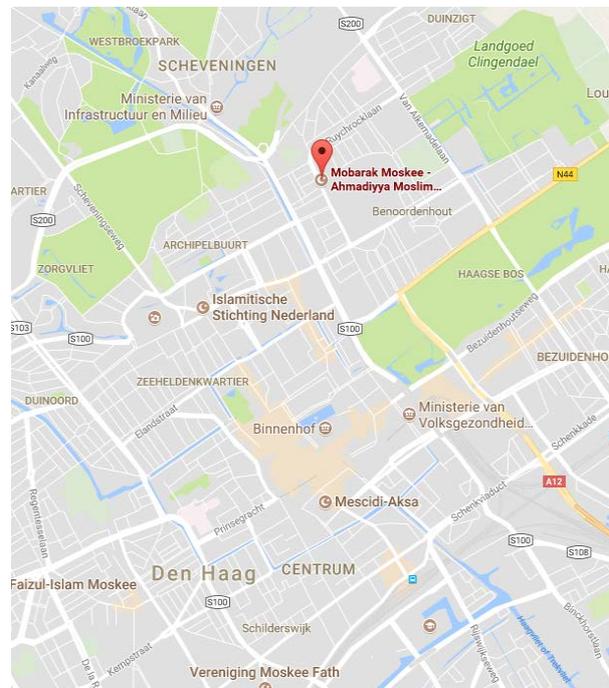

Figure 2: the Mobarak mosque

Figure 3: location of the Mobarak mosque in The Hague

The announcement to build a mosque in the Netherlands, and the building process itself, led to some heavy public debates. On the one hand, people argued for the freedom of religion, whereas others opposed against the mosque. Though, at the day of the opening, the public debate had changed and instead of opposing against the mosque, most people were now very excited about the opening of a new and, in some sense, exotic, building. One interviewee (iMB5) tells that at the day of the ground-breaking, hundreds of people and dignities participated in this event.

The mosque as it can be seen today is based on a design made by Frits Beck. The Mosque was opened by Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan on the 9th of December 1955. Since then, various adjustments to the building's interior and exterior have been made (for a complete overview of the building's history and its developments see Roose, 2009). The mosque was partly burned due to a fire, which was probably an arson (Trouw, 1998). After the fire, the mosque was renovated and expanded, and the capacity of the mosque was further increased by this expansion. The exterior remained largely intact, yet, the interior changed completely. In 2005, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary, the minaret was belatedly be built (AD/Haagsche Courant, 2005; de Volkskrant, 2005). One person (iMB5) explains that it was never the intention to use the minaret for the calling for prayers, though, once again, there was fierce opposition by the neighbours as they feared noise pollution. In June 2006, Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands visited the Mobarak mosque to commemorate the building's 50th anniversary (AD/Haagsche Courant, 2006, 2015b; de Telegraaf, 2006; Kester, 2006; Weezel, 2006).

The Mobarak mosque is nowadays well known as the first purpose-built mosque in the Netherlands. Various interviewees (e.g. iMB4 and iMB5) substantiate this by referring to various scientific documents that indeed confirm that the mosque is the first one in the Netherlands. And as (iMB4) explains: "If you search on google for 'mosque in The Hague' or 'mosque in the Netherlands', you will almost always, automatically encounter information about the Mobarak mosque, consequently often journalists and researchers visit the mosque to gain information". Next to this, the mosque has also an educational function and according to one interviewee (iMB4): "the community of the mosque sees informing people as one of their responsibilities in serving the public". For this reason, information leaflets are distributed and various lectures and activities are organized for Muslims, non-Muslims, neighbours and the public in general (AD/Haagsche Courant, 2015b, 2015c; de Stentor/Zwolse Courant, 2014). In fact, the mosque is purposefully built as an educational centre, "our community came here to inform the public about the Islam and to do missionary work" (iMB5). These lectures and activities are organized quite often, as the Mobarak mosque is the headquarter of the local Ahmadiyya community (AD/Haagsche Courant, 2015a, 2015c; Heijmans, 2015; Smithuijsen, 2015). While it is the headquarter, the mosque houses a library and various office spaces. The mosque is thus more than just a prayer room, it is a social meeting place, which has an important function for society in general and for the Ahmadiyya community in particular (iMB4).

The mosque is currently not listed as a heritage site, not by the municipality nor by the national government. Though, the mosque has received attention from governmental organisations over the past years as one of the interviewees (iMB1) explains: "municipal officers came to the mosque only a few years ago; they took pictures and they measured everything. As far as I know, they were planning to list the mosque as a municipal heritage site". Next to this, he (iMB1) points out that information about the mosque and pictures are printed in various information leaflets about monuments in The Hague. These leaflets are printed and distributed by the municipality. Opposite to this, another interviewee told me that a request for a sign, indicating the first mosque, was not allowed by the municipality (iMB5).

5. Case study: the Mobarak mosque

Heritage is not an objective entity waiting to be discovered or identified, rather, it is a discursive construction, i.e. the meaning of heritage is constructed in social interaction within groups (Wu & Hou, 2015). In this chapter, the meaning of heritage as constructed by the Ahmadiyya Muslim community in the Netherlands is presented. Besides, this chapter presents the findings about the needs and aspirations of a minority group regarding the engagement in the process of assessing what heritages are worthwhile to remember, protect and share. The results in this chapter are structured and presented according to the three-step research objective framework as presented in chapter 1.

5.1 Important?

In the previous chapter the Mobarak mosque in The Hague has already been introduced as a well-known mosque while it is the first purpose-built mosque in the Netherlands. During the interviews, most of the people I spoke to, immediately started to talk about the importance of the mosque, even without specifically asking about this. Next to this, various interviewees (e.g. iMB5) started to show me all kind of historic photographs and videos, newspaper articles, and information leaflets about the mosque, to illustrate the importance of the mosque nowadays and in the past. The fact that the Mobarak mosque is the first mosque was immediately highlighted: "it is indeed a very special mosque, it's the first mosque of the Netherlands" (iMB2) and "it is historically speaking, a very unique situation to be the first mosque" (iMB5). This historical significance is further underlined by one of the interviewees, as he notes that the Mobarak mosque is the first physical, visible manifestation of the Islam in the Netherlands. Another interviewee highlights the importance of the mosque as follow:

> "It is the first mosque of the Netherlands, first there were no mosques in the Netherlands, then a mosque was built. This is a significant turning point in history, from that moment onwards, there were mosques in the Netherlands" (iMB3).

The significance of the mosque can furthermore be derived from the high number of dignitaries, heads of state and other elite people who visited the mosque. Four of the five Caliphs of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, for example, visited the mosque. Though, not only spiritual leaders, like the Caliphs visited the mosque, but also dignitaries such as ministers, presidents and ambassadors. Queen Beatrix visited the mosque to commemorate the building's 50th anniversary (AD/Haagsche Courant, 2006, 2015b; Kester, 2006; Roose, 2009; Weezel, 2006).

Although the majority of the interviewees referred to the building's history as a special feature, other aspects are mentioned as well. For example, the importance of having a mosque as a community (oMB2, oMB3). Not every Ahmadiyya community throughout the Netherlands has its own mosque and some communities have to meet in small rooms to pray. Therefore, it is seen as a blessing to have an own mosque in the city, especially while the Mobarak mosque is more than just a prayer room. As I noticed during my participant observations (oMB2, oMB3), the mosque plays a particular strong social role as a meeting place where all kind of activities are organized (Nederlands Dagblad, 2017). According to one interviewee (iMB4) this is a result of being the first mosque. "To be the first mosque is like having an exemplary role, which means that you have certain responsibilities to inform the public" and besides "we simply receive much more attention from the public". He thus explains that these are two sides of the same coin: "on the one hand we see the mosque as a blessing and we are very proud of having a mosque, on the other hand we are well aware of the responsibilities which come along with being the first mosque" (iMB4). Having responsibilities is also closely linked to explaining the Islam and the function of a mosque to the public. It is seen as a duty to inform the neighbours and the city about the mosque and the Islam. Therefore, the Ahmadiyya community actively engages in public debates (De Posthoorn, 2016; Heijmans, 2015; Hoekstra, 2017; Smithuijsen, 2015). Having a mosque makes this easier, while you are not just an organisation, but your physical presences as a mosque, makes it interesting for neighbours and citizens (iMB4, iMB5; Nederlands Dagblad, 2017). During my participant observations, I noticed that they are very happy to have a mosque while it is easier for them to engage in public debates, to do missionary work, and to inform the public about the Islam. As illustrated by this quote:

> "The building itself is a quite simple structure and certainly not a great work of architecture, yet the building's rich history give the building its particular significance: The history of the mosque, its benefits given to society, the fact that it is our headquarter, and the people who visited the mosque, that are all features which give this mosque its significance an make it very special for me" (iMB5).

Another finding is that there is a clear distinction between the importance of the building and the importance of the function of the building; this is seen as two separate things. The mosque is important because it is the first mosque of the Netherlands, but foremost while it is a place to worship God. Indeed, as I noticed during my interviews and observations (oMB2) most people visit the mosque to pray there, not for sightseeing or related activities. When one is praying, the building it is not important, it's all about the message the mosque conveys:

> *"One visits a mosque for religious reasons. And during a prayer one focuses on praying, the surroundings do not matter at that moment, those two are separate things" (iMB5).*

Another interviewee elaborates about his feelings about the mosque and the function of the mosque: "it's not necessarily a feeling of proud to have a mosque or to be the first mosque of the Netherlands, it has nothing to do with self-congratulation. Rather, it is more like an honour to have a building and to serve this building and the God who is worshipped in this building" (iMB4). However, as he explained to me, essentially, all mosques are equally important, while the main reason to go to a mosque is to worship God, not to visit a building. In this regard, the building as such has not that much value. The importance of a building derives its value from its function as mosque; it is a place to worship God, that is the most important (iMB3, iMB4, iMB5). This is further illustrated by the following quote:

> *"The building as such is nothing more than a pile of stones, it derives its value from what happens within the building namely the worshiping of God, that is the most important. If this building would not any longer be used as a place of worship, it will lose its value. In that case the building would be as valuable as a random pile of stones" (iMB4).*

This special relationship with God makes the building special (iMB4). He herby refers to the Black Stone which is set into the Kaaba in Mecca. As he explains: "similar to our mosque, the Black Stone itself has no value, yet because prophet Muhammad set it into the Kaaba's wall's himself, it has become an important holy Islamic relic". According to the rules of the Islam, a Muslim should not worship places, buildings or objects, though in some cases, a special relation between on the one hand an object, building or place, and on the other hand God, adds an additional layer of value. If this bond with God does not any longer exist, because the mosque loses its function, the mosque as an object or building is not valuable anymore:

> *"If we stop worshiping God in the Mobarak mosque, the building is not special anymore, it would just be an address in The Hague" (iMB4).*

When it comes to the building in relation to the religious function, it seems that the building itself is interchangeable with other buildings, as is argued by various interviewees (e.g. iMB5). Yet, as mentioned above, the same interviewees previously argued that the building is very important and very special to them. This duality made me curious. For the interviewees however, this separation between building and function was so obvious that they even got a little bit frustrated by my follow-up questions about this separation.

It might be for the very same reason that the building is not seen as an important aspect related to identity. For most of the people I spoke to, identity is not related to a building in general, or the Mobarak mosque in particular. One of the interviewees (iMB5) for example, explains to me: "we as a community -contrary to other Islamic or religious communities- derive our identity from the Quran and the words and inspiration of our Prophet Muhammed". He explains that the mosque is not important for their identity as they derive their identity from the messages the Islam conveys. He furthermore elaborates on this point by noting that the community already existed before the mosque was even build and that the community had nevertheless an identity:

> *"Identity is much more than just a building and the building is the least important to derive identity from, the building is more like a little extra feature" (iMB5).*

Once again, it is argued that those two things are separate thing as the mosque has nothing to do with who the Ahmadiyya community is as a community, and the message they proclaim. "Our messages, our community already existed before the mosque was even build, and our identity as a community exists independent of any kind of building" (iMB5).

5.2 Monumental?

In the previous section (5.1) an impression was given about why the mosque is seen as important and significant. Now, this needs to be linked to ideas about heritage in order to understand how heritage is produced, understood, and used by the Ahmadiyya community in relation to the Mobarak mosque.

Generally speaking, heritage management and the process of listing and protection, is seen as a good thing as is mentioned as follow: "I do think it is good to protect special or significant buildings for future generations" (iMB1). For most of the interviewees, the narrative of the first mosque would justify a status as listed heritage site. Yet, it remains a bit unclear what their definition of heritage is, and what such a status as recognized heritage site, if anything, would mean for them. Therefore, I first asked the interviewees for their ideas about heritage.

Some of the them referred to more objective aspects, such as the building's age, whereas other mentioned more personal aspects. Furthermore, references were made to the building's history. It seems that the unique characterization as the first purpose-built mosque is something that makes it a very special mosque. And therefore, according to one interviewee this would justify a status as a listed monument as he defines a monument as:

> "A monument is a building where significant historic events took place or a building which has a unique history. For instance, this mosque. It will forever and ever, be the first official, purpose built mosque of the Netherlands, this unique characterization cannot be taken away" (iMB4).

Though, at the same time, various interviewees are less unequivocal when it comes to the status of listed heritage. For instance, one person argues that the fact that it is the first mosque does not give this mosque special significance or make it more important (iMB1).

As the quote above illustrates, a personal definition of heritage, would include buildings where significant historic events took place or a building which has a unique history. Some of the interviewees referred to even more personal aspects. One interviewee argues that he feels a personal connection with certain buildings, and he would consider such buildings monumental. He explains that the fact that he grew up with this mosque and the fact that he has a special bond with this mosque, give the mosque a particular special significance to him. A quote by this interviewee is inserted, he hereby refers to the mosque ('It').

> "It is very important to me, without a mosque, I just feel like something is missing" (iMB4).

Next to this, the definition of a heritage object according to the law is mentioned as well. Various interviewees (e.g. iMB4, iMB5) for example noted that: "the mosque is currently not listed as a monument according to the law". The law and related regulations were often the first thing they referred to, even if they did not know the exact definition of a heritage object according to the law.

For one of the interviewees it was clear that the law decides which objects are listed as a monument. Another person argues that a heritage status is merely symbolism. Some think a status would be nice for societal purposes (i.e. additional attention and extra care) whereas others think a heritage status is also a political tool, as they argue that a status as listed monument can be used to make a "clear statement". For some, an official status means more responsibilities, whereas others think that an official document stating the heritage status probably ends up as just a piece of paper.

To illustrate these findings, some references to the interviews are included here. One person expresses his doubts about the importance of a status as listed monument, as he refers to the responsibilities coming along with a status as listed monument: "I am not sure whether it is a positive thing to be listed as an official heritage site, if this mosque would be a listed monument, it would for sure be more difficult to make changes to the building's architecture or exterior" (iMB4). This opinion is underlined by another interviewee (iMB1) who argues that there will be strict building and construction regulations operating in practice, and that the users of the mosque will be limited in their freedom to changes the building's interior and exterior. Another interviewee argues that there is no need to be listed: "the fact that it is the first mosque makes it obviously a very important building with a particular importance for the Netherlands in general and Dutch history in particular, therefore there is no need to be listed" (iMB5).

Finally it should be noted that for some interviewees, a heritage status means recognition as their history would then be included within Dutch history. A status, for example as a listed heritage building would be

a suitable label to distinguish from the other mosques. Though the Ahmadiyya community will never demand a status as listed monument while they are already happy and grateful for being allowed to build mosques in the Netherlands, and for the fact that there is freedom of religion in the Netherlands. These aspects are seen more important than a recognition as an official heritage site. In this context, it should be noted that there are other aspect from which recognition is derived, such as the Queen's visit: "we were very honoured when Queen Beatrix visited the mosque, for us it felt like an act of recognition, especially while it is the only mosque in the Netherlands ever visited by the queen" (iMB5).

As has been explained in the theoretical framework, a lack of recognition can be felt if the heritage of a group is not represented (e.g. Hall, 1999; Smith, 2006). This point of view is not verified by the interviewees at all. Therefore, I decided to ask follow-up questions about the lack of recognition. At second glance, it turned out that this issue is maybe more complicated as initially described. Various interviewees became a bit frustrated, consequently they hesitated before answering my questions and there were moments of silence when answering my questions. Though, in the end, their answers were more or less the same, only they were put forward with more determination:

> "We are certainly not concerned about being excluded, being underprivileged or about a lack of recognition. It's just no issue for us".

And later on he says:

> "We never felt being excluded, in fact we are well settled within Dutch society" (iMB5).

Though, other interviewees are less unequivocal when it comes to the status of listed heritage site and the lack of recognition. This is further illustrated by on interviewee who argues that he thinks it is strange that the mosque has not been listed and he is wondering why the mosque is not recognized as such:

> "If you want to represent Dutch history and Dutch culture, for example on a list of national heritage sites, I would argue a mosque is part of this history and it needs to be part of what we think is important in the Netherlands, especially when it concerns the first mosque of the Netherlands" (iMB3).

What's furthermore interesting in this context is the story about Madurodam, which was told by various interviewees. Madurodam is a touristic attraction showing models, which are exact replicas of special buildings and objects in the Netherlands. One interviewee (iMB3) told me that such a model of the mosque exists and the community has expressed a request to locate this miniature model in the park. This request was however rejected, while it was believed that the miniature mosque would scare away potential visitors (iMB3). After that, no new attempts were undertaken to locate the miniature (iMB5). During my conversation with one interviewee, I noticed that this was a very delicate issue for him:

> "If it is Madurodam's aim to represent all the important, historic buildings of the Netherlands (such as windmills, churches and houses), then the Mobarak mosque certainly deserves to be represented in the park, while it is part of Dutch history" (iMB3).

Later on, he elaborates by stating that "first there were no mosques, no Islam in the Netherlands. Then a mosque was built, from that moment onwards, the Islam as well as mosques were a visual part of the landscape of the Netherlands, This is thus a significant turning point in history. Since then, mosques are part of Dutch history, they are part of the culture of the Netherlands". To him it seems incomprehensible why such a significant turning point in history is not represented in the story about Dutch history and Dutch identity. Likewise, one interviewee told me that a request for a sign, indicating the first mosque, was not allowed by the municipality (iMB5). A further elaboration about the miniature model is provided as it is elaborated that they've tried to locate a miniature of the Mobarak mosque in Madurodam, although they made quit some progress, the attempt however unfortunately failed. Later on he said:

> "Nowadays, I think, it would be inconceivable that the miniature would be located in Madurodam, because of societal polarisation and the rather negative public sphere about the Islam" (iMB5).

He expects a lot of public resistance if the mosque would be located in Madurodam, and he even thinks that Madurodam is afraid of a decrease in visitor numbers. According to this person it is rather strange that the mosque is not located in Madurodam and that a request for location was denied, despite it is a

historic significant building: "Madurodam's aim is to show historic significant buildings, so it is strange that the Mosque is not located in the park" (iMB5).

The Madurodam example is furthermore used to illustrate that there is selection in the heritage making process in general. One of the interviewees, for example, openly expresses his doubts and displeasure about this selection and wonders why only some stories are historicized whereas other stories are seen as a less important part of Dutch history. To further illustrate this point he refers to the missionary work of Saint Boniface in Frisia and Germany. Saint Boniface came - alike the Ahmadiyya Muslim community - to the Netherlands to do missionary work, and to introduce a new religion and a new culture. Saint Boniface's work in Frisia and the conversion of the Frisians are nowadays seen as an important part of Dutch history and as a key narrative to explain Dutch culture. This story has been kept throughout history and is now historicized and has become part of Dutch history. This makes him wonder why the story of the Ahmadiyya community and their Mobarak mosque, which shows so many similarities with the missionary work of Saint Boniface, has not been historicized and is not seen as an essential part of Dutch history. "These stories show many similarities, you would expect that the story of the Mobarak mosque would also be historicized and be recognized as part of Dutch history" (iMB3).

5.3 Heritage?

We've now got an impression about why the mosque is seen as important (paragraph 5.1), and about the way heritage is understood in relation to the Mobarak mosque (paragraph 5.2). The conceptualizations of heritage by the Ahmadiyya community, as presented in the previous section, will now be linked to alternative understandings of heritage to provide insights about the interaction between various conceptualizations of heritage.

As said above, various interviewees justify a status as a listed monument because of the mosque's historic significance and other reasons. Though, for some of the interviewees, a status as a listed heritage site has pros and cons, and accordingly it seems as if they are a bit doubtful about a status as listed heritage object. For example if we take a look at one interviewee (iMB4) who previously argued that the unique characterization as the first purpose-built would justify a status as a listed heritage object. Nonetheless, he now argues that the lack of a status as listed monument is not something to bother about. One of the main reasons to take this stance is that the status as a heritage site is not related to the function of the building and the act of worshiping God. "The Mobarak mosque derives its value from the fact that it is a place to worship God, this 'spiritual' value won't increase if the building is listed as an official heritage site" and:

> "Seen from a spiritual perspective, nothing will change if the mosque will be listed: our prayers won't be more sacred if we say our prayers in a mosque which has a status as listed monument" (iMB4).

A status as an official listed heritage object is only of interest for societal purposes. This is furthermore underlined by another interviewee who argues that the religious function of the mosque is the most important and a (potential) heritage status is merely a side issue. See for example the following quote:

> "Life is impermanent, the world is impermanent, so tell me why should I care about a side issue like a status as listed monument? An official document stating the heritage status probably ends up as just a piece of paper, and does thus not add any value. Besides, it won't change history, it won't change the mosque's history. A heritage status is merely symbolism, it does not really change anything" (iMB5).

Besides, there are various 'practical' arguments put forward which can be seen as an explanation for the fact that the Mobarak mosque has not been listed yet. For example, a lack of necessity to list the mosque. The building is very well known as the first purposeful-built mosque in The Netherlands and consequently receives a lot of attention, there is thus no need for additional attention or extra care. A lack of clarity and knowledge about the process of recognition and listing as a heritage site, is put forward as a second argument. One of the interviewees refers to the municipality and indicates that he thinks that it is the municipality's task to take the initiative while the municipality is the one who decides in the end. His comments illustrate a lack of knowledge about the listing process:

> "Should we take the initiative by submitting an application? Or does the municipality take the initiative and designates monuments? I don't know" (iMB3).

Partly, but not solely, due to this lack of clarity, no attempts have been made to ask for further information about the listing process or to start a procedure for inscription on the heritage list. Besides, as community, we are too modest to start the process of recognition and listing as a heritage site (iMB3). The most unequivocal argument is however put forward by one person (iMB5) who states that it is certainly not an objective to be listed as a heritage site. Another interviewee tells me that there have been discussions within the community to apply for a heritage status: "only some years ago, we had discussions about the official heritage status and we balanced the pros and cons of such a status". The outcome was that "at the moment, we just do not want such a status" (iMB1).

The fact that the Mobarak mosque is currently not listed does however not mean that a lack of recognition or a lack of inclusion is felt. "We consciously choose not to be listed, while we just do not want a heritage status. Because it is our own decision, we do not feel a lack of recognition" (iMB1). Accordingly, the community is not looking for recognition as such, but more for a way to distinguish the Mobarak mosque from all (approximately 450) other mosques in the Netherlands:

> "This is not just a random mosque, it is the first mosque of the Netherlands, this special fact needs to be recognized somehow" (iMB3).

It might be for this reason, that various people call it a good thing if the government would indeed decide to list the mosque someday in the future, as (iMB4) explains: "this would add a second special feature to this mosque, the mosque would not only be the first purpose-built mosque, but also the first mosque listed as a heritage site". And further on he argues:

> "It is to be hoped that the Dutch government, or the Dutch bodies charged with the protection and listing of heritage, will make up their mind someday in the future and list this mosque as a monument".

This interviewee is however well aware of the fact that it is not up to him, or the Ahmadiyya community, to decide about a status as listed monument as he argues: "from our perspective, we will balance the pros and cons of such a status, it is however up to 'the commission' – as he calls the Cultural Heritage Agency (RCE) of the Netherlands - to designate buildings as heritage objects". His idea about the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency is that they make objective decisions based on a set of criteria to judge about monuments: "'the commission' [RCE] uses a set of criteria to judge about monuments, this is after all the most objective way of making such kind of decisions. Besides, the Dutch government proclaims separation of state and religion, thus the (religious) function of a building should not play a role if decisions are made about for example listing" (iMB4).

Though, at the same time, (iMB4) notices that the public debate about the Islam is rather negative at the moment. He thinks this could be of influence on the decision process about the mosque:

> "There is a rather negative idea about the Islam, this could be a reason why the mosque is not listed yet and why 'the commission' [RCE] has not paid any attention to the mosque nor started a procedure to list the mosque".

He (iMB4) for once indicates the political uses of heritage as he expresses his thought that the religious function of the mosque is of influence for a heritage status. Besides, he thinks that certain ideas about the Islam exist and that these ideas have a negative influence, even within governmental organisations such as the RCE. He however expects that the public opinion about the Islam will change in the future, and as a result he expects that that the mosque will someday be listed as a heritage site while it is seen as a part of Dutch history. "Indeed, I think the mosque will be listed someday, maybe in the near future as a clear statement, or otherwise within a number of years". Another interviewee (iMB5) adds to this by arguing that mosques in general, and the Mobarak mosque in particular, are not interesting for policy makers and governmental organisation. He argues: "although there are already 450 mosques in the Netherlands, and about 1 million Muslims in the Netherlands, we, as Muslim community are still a minority group. Consequently, I can imagine that we are not that interesting to take into account for politicians or policy-makers".

Generally speaking, it seems that it is not very likely that the people of the Ahmadiyya community will complain about issues such as recognition or an official status as listed monument. Though, as described above, during the interviews, and after asking some follow-up questions, some interviewees indicated that

they somewhat assume a political use of heritage in relation to the Mobarak mosque. Together with the information from the literature, this assumption of political use of heritage needed to be verified by governmental heritage organisations. The heritage conservation officer (iMB6) who works at the heritage department of the municipality of The Hague immediately refutes this claim:

> *"I think it is an important building, we as municipality do pay a lot of attention to mosques in general and the Mobarak mosque in particular".*

This interviewee (iMB6) strongly emphasises that it is not the case that the Mobarak mosque is not listed yet, because the municipality purposely full neglects the building:

> *"I cannot confirm your assumptions about the political use of heritage; we are not neglecting the Mobarak mosque at all and certainly not intentionally".*

She notes that the municipality pays a lot of attention to mosques and monitors Islamic religious buildings in the city as she explains: "we did an inventory on post-war heritage in the city of The Hague and actually the Mobarak mosque should have been part of this inventory. However, for an unknown reason, the Mobarak mosque was not part of this inventory. It could be that the people from the mosque told us that they do not want a status as listed monument, or it could be while the building is not endangered i.e. there is no need to list this building while it is still in use and the community will take care of it. Next to this it is slightly more difficult to list religious buildings, such as mosques for two reasons. First, a lack of specific knowledge about the various Islamic schools and branches. And secondly, the municipality does want to protect the freedom to practice their belief in the mosque and not to disturb the Ahmadiyya community" (iMB6).

At the same time, this interviewee (iMB6) admits that it is strange that the mosque is not listed as a heritage site yet. She explains that in the case of the Mobarak mosque, there are several elements which give this building its significance: the setting, the cultural-historic value of the building, and the historic narrative attached to the building. However, the municipality of The Hague cannot protect everything and the municipality has no intention to protect everything (iMB6). Selection of new heritage objects is thus based on the already existing collection of heritage objects and proposals are critically checked before listing. Besides, the municipality is very reluctant when it comes to nominating new heritage objects. This is while they need to be held to a higher standard and while this is brought about by policy choices. To conclude, it is according to the conservation officer (iMB6) not to be expected that the Mobarak mosque will be listed in the near future, especially not since the municipality does not propose single buildings for a heritage status.

6. Various conceptualizations of heritage?

The previous chapter (chapter 5), provided insights about the importance of the Mobarak mosque and the ways heritage is understood. Besides, an impression was given about the needs and aspirations of a minority group regarding the engagement in the process of assessing what heritages are worthwhile to remember, protect and share. The results, presented in the previous chapter, can roughly be divided into three main topics:

- *Narrative or materiality?;*
- *More complex definition of heritage;*
- *Authorized Heritage Discourse nuances.*

In this chapter, the results will be analysed by providing a theoretical reflection. This chapter is structured around the three main topics. Accordingly, the discussion of each topic will address one sub-question.

6.1 Narrative or materiality?

The first sub question to be addressed is: 'Which aspects are important for the construction of subdominant conceptualizations of heritage (for example those of minority groups)?'. During the interviews, most of the people I spoke to, immediately started to talk about the importance of the mosque as the first mosque, even without specifically asking about this. In advance, I knew that the Mobarak mosque is recognized as the first mosque in the Netherlands and, of course, it was foreseeable that this topic would be addressed during the interviews. However, the fact that the interviewees started to talk about this topic right away, even without asking them to talk about this, made me peculiar. Another peculiarity is that their stories were more or less similar to each other, as if they prepared this story in advance. A third particularity was that those stories were told with much enthusiasm and I even sensed a sense of pride. This was strange, because the people I spoke to argued later on that it is not necessarily a feeling of proud to be the first mosque of the Netherlands. These particularities are analysed more closely below.

To find an explanation for these findings, we first need to return to the theoretical framework in which the ideas of constructivism and post structuralism have already been explained. In a constructivist view on the world, an object does not exist independently of the one who encounters and values the object (Riegler et al., 1999). Objects are seen as heritage, because of values people attach to it, rather than the physical resources of the past in or of itself (Graham et al., 2000). In the previous paragraph (5.1), many of the quotes illustrate that objects (such as the Mobarak mosque, but also the Black Stone which is set into the Kaaba in Mecca) exist without any intrinsic value. One of the interviewees literally states that an object is inherently nothing expect its materiality: "the building as such is nothing more than a pile of stones, it derives its value from what happens within the building namely the worshiping of God" (iMB4). This quote, as well as other insights from the interviews indicate that it is not so much the material object itself that is valued, instead the stories and practices related to the mosque are seen as important.

The interviewees' definition appear to portray an object as more complex, multi-sensual experience (Waterton, 2010b) instead of something tied up to the physical appearance of a building. Scholars who previously did research on this topic came to similar conclusions, Ludwig (2016) for example highlighted the importance of social history. This case is not unlike many others. This perspective on cultural heritage and community seems to correspond with for example Smith's argument that heritage is a cultural process (2006). The articulation of ideas of heritage, lies in social processes that surround places and artefacts, and not in the artefacts themselves (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). This idea of heritage, as an "act of passing on and receiving memories" or "as an act of communication and meaning making" is however a form of heritage which is difficult to read together with other understandings of heritage (e.g. expert view on heritage which focusses on physicality of heritage) (Smith, 2006, p. 2).

In the case of the Mobarak mosque, it is clearly the oral narrative of being the first purpose-full built mosque that is of importance for the interviewees. At the same time, this is not the only narrative attached to the building. An object (in this case the Mobarak mosque) can thus be seen from a broad range of different perspectives. To understand how various constructions create various world views and subsequently various ideas about object, a poststructuralist perspective is helpful. The poststructuralist thinker Michel Foucault argued that in order to understand how social, individual and communal meaning is produced through time, power relations and systems of knowledge need to be studied as well. It are discursive constructions, i.e. the stories or process of meaning-making, that provide insights into how object are valued.

A clear example of this discursive construction of an object is the story of the first purpose-built mosque which is seen as an essential part of the history of Ahmadiyya community in The Hague. A story which is well-known among the members of the community and which is seen as an important historic narrative. This shared view on an important narrative is constructed in current and previous interaction within the Ahmadiyya community. This construction is however, as Hall (1999, p. 5) already noted, also highly selective; it highlights and foregrounds certain narratives, whereas it equally foreshortens, forgets and disavows many other stories, which - from another perspective - could be the start of a different narrative (Hall, 1999). Throughout the history of the Ahmadiyya community, a certain discourse became central. A discourse that constructs the value of the Mobarak mosque, which is to a large extent based on practices and communal narratives attached to the mosque. Indeed, when asking the respondents to explain the importance of the mosque for them personally, they referred to the narratives attached to the building, such as either the societal narrative, i.e. a social meeting place where all kind of activities are organized, or they referred to the religious narrative. Yet, at the same time, they mentioned that the mosque as such is not an essential element for fulfilling these roles; meetings and social activities can for example be organized in small meeting rooms, as is done by other communities. And, as said before, for religious reasons, the surroundings or the building itself does not matter. The overall impression I got is that the mosque is not seen as a vital and essential part, but more seen as a bonus compared to other communities. Some interviewees even argued that the mosque is interchangeable with other buildings or said that "the building is more like a little extra feature" (iMB5).

It might be for this reason that none of the people I spoke to saw the mosque as an important aspect related to identity. One of the interviewees (iMB5) for example told me that "identity is much more than just a building". The Mobarak mosque is not seen as a mean to provide physical representation and reality to the concept of identity, hereby providing meaning to human existence, as is argued by Graham et al. (2000). It is often argued (e.g. Graham et al., 2000; Lowenthal, 1998) that identity is linked to physical environmental objects, such as buildings. In this case, however, the interviewees argued that identity is not related to a building in general, or the Mobarak mosque in particular: "our identity as a community exists independent of any kind of building" (iMB5). The previous shown quote by (iMB4) illustrates that the building itself is not that important: "if we stop worshiping God in the Mobarak mosque, the building is not special anymore, it would just be an address in The Hague". This quote also illustrates that it are the (religious) activities that are an important aspect in relation to identity. The identity of the Ahmadiyya community is thus constituted in and through engagements within the community. Besides, they derive their identity from other elements that are important in their lives, such as the words written down in the Quran. This idea of identity is more in line with a social-constructivist view on identity (see for example Massey, 2004), in which identities are not rooted or dependent on a physical environment. The identity of the Ahmadiyya community becomes alive through all kind of everyday cultural expressions rather than being dependent on a fixed physical environmental object. For the Ahmadiyya's identity, the Mobarak mosque is merely 'a little extra feature' and there is no essential link between the building (its history) and their identity.

To sum-up, the first interesting finding based on the case of the Mobarak mosque is that certain narratives are of significant importance for the construction of subdominant conceptualizations of heritage (in this case those of the Ahmadiyya). One of the most prominent narratives, is the unique characterization as the first purpose-built mosque, this is seen as something that makes the Mobarak mosque a very special mosque. In general, the interviewees' definition appear to portray an object as more complex, multi-sensual experience (Waterton, 2010b) instead of something tied up to the physical appearance of a building. There is thus a clear distinction between building and function. The building itself is not seen as a vital and essential part, but more seen as a bonus compared to other communities. It are the stories attached to the building, which give the building its particular significance.

6.2 More complex definition of heritage

The second sub question is: '(How) do minority groups themselves want to be involved in assessing what heritages are worthwhile to remember, protect and share?'. In order to formulate an answer to this question, I first had to ask the respondents to give their opinion about - or their definition of - a heritage object. The answers I got, rather varied amongst the respondents, and no uniform, unambiguous definition came to the foreground. Some of the interviewees referred to more objective aspects, as they clearly point at the building itself when they are talking about heritage. Opposite to this realist and artefact-centred view on heritage, other interviewees conceptualized heritage based on the narratives attached to the building or their personal relation with the mosque. These interviewees identify the contemporary use of

the Mobarak mosque as the main reason for naming the building heritage. This, so called, cultural model of heritage (as discussed before), acknowledges that heritage is mostly about the actual, contemporary processes that transform things, places, acts and experiences into heritage (Watson & Waterton, 2010). This is in line with several academics, like for example Smith (2006, p. 44) who argue that: "heritage is not a 'thing', it is not a 'site', building or other material object. Rather, heritage is what goes on at these sites".

The overall impression, however, is that the interviewee's definition of heritage is a more complex one, a definition which emphasises a broader range of meanings. Scientific articles on local understandings of heritage (as have been discussed in the first chapter (see paragraph 1.4)), showed that lay heritage discourse do often include a broader definition of heritage. Parkinson et al. (2016) for example found that lay discourses of heritage emphasise a broader range of meanings, thereby challenging the notion that heritage is mainly about the conservation of tangible cultural patronage. In a recent study on community engagement and the relationship between local and official authorities' understanding of heritage, Mydland and Grahn (2012) showed that a local community wants to preserve certain buildings in a small Norwegian town not so much to preserve an 'antiquarian' building for the future, but rather to keep the building as a part of a contemporary social processes.

With regard to the Ahmadiyya's idea of heritage, the case of the Mobarak mosque shows several, more or less similar findings, compared to the articles discussed above. In the case of the Mobarak mosque, it is clearly that the unique characterization as the first purpose-built mosque is very important to them. The Ahmadiyya's understanding of heritage focusses only slightly on objects that are assumed to be valuable, in fact this understanding is more focused on encompassing social and cultural context and significance (Waterton & Watson, 2013, p. 550). Heritage is mostly seen as "an act of passing on and receiving memories and knowledge" (Smith, 2006, p. 2).

When it comes to the respondent's reaction concerning issues of recognition, the general impression I got was that the respondents were rather relaxed when it came to questions of belonging in relation to heritage. As the literature indicated that this might be a delicate issue, I did not expect this nuanced way of discussing this issue. Simultaneously, however, I noted that some questions were difficult to answer as I noted some hesitation and moments of silence before answering my questions. With regard to the content of their responses, two main opposing findings are discussed here. One the one hand, some interviewees indicate that they are not concerned about being excluded. One interviewee for example stated that: "we are certainly not concerned about being excluded, being underprivileged or about a lack of recognition. It's just no issue for us" (iMB5). As he, and several other interviewees, explained, they never felt being excluded while the lack of recognition as an official heritage site is compensated by other acts of recognition (e.g. the Queens' visit). On the other hand, other interviewees argued that it is strange that the mosque has not been listed and they feel a lack of recognition of the importance of being the first mosque. Compared to the literature, the interviewees showed a more nuanced perspective on issues of recognition and exclusion.

Though, the example of the miniature model of the Mobarak mosque in Madurodam is an example of some displeasure related to issues of representation, recognition and, to some extent, exclusion. The Madurodam miniature park, is in this case, seen as a form of 'official' recognition, alike a heritage status. For some interviewees, representation of the mosque in the park, seemed to be even more valuable than a heritage status. According to the interviewees, there are two delicate issues regarding the miniature model in Madurodam: selectivity in history and political use of heritage. The selectivity in history is illustrated by the interviewees by arguing that a significant turning point in history is not represented in the story about Dutch history and Dutch identity. The request to locate to miniature model has been rejected, and by doing so, the story attached to the model has also been rejected. Foucault (1972) argued that discourses work so that access is provided to certain parts of reality, while at the same time other aspects or parts are veiled. In this case, the Madurodam discourse is insufficiently flexible to incorporate the Mobarak narrative.

That some stories exist outside the dominant discourse is according to Smith (2006) "disabling for those whose sense of history and place exist outside of the dominant heritage message or discourse, though it can be enabling for those whose sense of past either sits within or finds synergy with authorised views" (p. 80). Indeed, the interviewees feel displeasure about the selection process in heritage, as they for example wonder why only some stories are historicized whereas other stories are seen as a less important part of Dutch history (for more information see paragraph 5.2). In fact, the interviewees feel disabled by

this selection process and moreover while their request to locate the miniature model is rejected: "if it is Madurodam's aim to represent all the important, historic buildings of the Netherlands (such as windmills, churches and houses), then the Mobarak mosque certainly deserves to be represented in the park, while it is part of Dutch history" (iMB5). The second delicate issue regarding the miniature model is the political use of heritage. Various scholars, such as Harrison (2015) argue that heritage is intrinsically political. The Ahmadiyya's reflection on the Mobarak mosque complies with this Harrison's notion of heritage as intrinsically political. They argue that an attempt to locate a miniature model of the mosque in Madurodam, would be rejected due to political and societal issues, such as the rather negative sphere about the Islam (iMB5). As it is described by the interviewees, it is not so much the building which is rejected, rather it is the use of the building, which does not fit within Madurodam's idea of the miniature park.

To sum-up, we've now got an impression about why the mosque is seen as important, and about the way heritage is understood in relation to the Mobarak mosque. The second interesting finding based on the case of the Mobarak mosque is that the interviewee's definition of heritage appears to be a more complex one; a definition which emphasises a broader range of meaning. Besides, the Ahmadiyya's understanding of heritage focusses only slightly on objects that are assumed to be valuable, in fact this understanding is more focused on encompassing social and cultural context and significance. It might be for this reason that the respondents showed a more nuanced perspective on issues of recognition and exclusion. For the Ahmadiyya, being part of the process of assessing what heritages are worthwhile to remember, protect and share, is not really an issue while their definition of heritage differs and while issues of recognition and exclusion are not particularly urgent for them.

6.3 Authorized Heritage Discourse nuances

The third sub question is: 'To what extent is social inclusion considered in the Dutch heritage making process and why do particular conceptualizations of heritage receive legitimisation in the Dutch heritage making process, whereas others do not?'. In order to answer this question, the Ahmadiyya's conceptualization of heritage (see paragraph 5.2) needs to be linked to alternative understandings of heritage (see paragraph 5.3) in order to provide insights about the interaction between various conceptualizations of heritage. Interaction between various conceptualizations of heritage is a topic that has been at the heart of the work of several scholars, such as Smith (2006) who has undertaken a critical reflection on the ways heritage is commonly understood within the heritage sector.

Smith (2006) identifies an authorized heritage discourse (AHD) which, according to her, explains why some understandings of heritage are legitimised, while other nuances are discredited (Waterton & Smith, 2010). The AHD is defined as a particular way of seeing heritage that privileges the cultural symbols of the White, middle-/upper-classes, and excludes a range of alternative ways of understanding heritage (Waterton, 2009). It is argued that the AHD is a highly exclusionary discourse and it excludes all dissonant, conflicted or subdominant understandings of heritage (Smith, 2006). It are exactly those two underpinning ideas of the AHD (particular way of seeing and issues of exclusion) that raise questions. In response to such questions, various authors, particularly Pendlebury (2013), argue that the AHD is changing and becoming more flexible.

The Ahmadiyya's conceptualizations of the heritage values of the Mobarak mosque, challenges the conceptualization of heritage according to the AHD, while they are not just focusing on aspects such as age, tangibility or aesthetic, rather they include a broad range of meaning and values attached to the mosque. These conceptualizations are compared to the insights provided by a senior conservation officer working at the municipality of The Hague. This officer (iMB6) states that other ways of valuing heritage, for example based on narratives, are becoming more important, and are actually already applied to some extent. Besides, it is argued that ideas about heritage change over time, and different values are seen important nowadays. Similar trends can be identified when taking the Dutch heritage management context into account, as, in the Dutch heritage sector, a paradigm-shift can be identified towards more participatory heritage discourses, seeking for a more holistic idea of heritage (Janssen et al., 2017). Indeed, the decision-making panels assessing nominations for inclusion in the local or national heritage list, now consider temples, mosques and all types of buildings to be legitimate examples of heritage, as the conservation officer (iMB6) explains. Next to this, these buildings are mostly considered as heritage because of the value of the narrative attached to such a building, rather than physical aspects.

Yet, it is also noted that existing guidelines and certain cultural-historical criteria, are still taken into account (iMB6). In other words, the AHD is still present, for example in the form of official prompts,

accordingly heritage continues to be a powerful resource within a political arena (Harvey, 2015; Janssen et al., 2017). A gap can be observed between trends towards new ideas about heritage, and their adoption in planning frameworks and heritage management practices. A key barrier is that diverse layers of heritage cannot be fully legitimised within the current legal apparatus and mind-set of traditional rational planning (Ludwig, 2013). This is an interesting paradox. Whereas the work of heritage professionals and planners is infused by current ideas on heritage, they at the same time have to conform to the policies and regulations that are in force (Kalman in Janssen et al., 2017). As an example, Ludwig (2013) notes that "the planning system at present has no wholly satisfactory (justifiable/defensible) means of safeguarding a building, structure, landscape (or any other aspect of the built and natural environment) unless it has some visible, physical quality (tangible heritage) and aligns with material-focussed expert interpretations of heritage" (p. 824).

The Mobarak case and the arguments put forward by the conservation officer, illustrate that there is a subtle recasting of the AHD going on: in addition to the special architectural and historic significance, age, rarity and monumentality upheld by the AHD, other contemporary conceptualizations of heritage find more and more synergy with the expert view of heritage. In line with the findings of Pendlebury (2013), the first nuance to the AHD is that the AHD is becoming more flexible, and other conceptualizations of heritage becoming increasingly relevant.

Another issue to be addressed here is that it is argued that the AHD is a highly exclusionary discourse and it excludes all dissonant, conflicted or subdominant understandings of heritage (Smith, 2006). In this view, there is a clear distinction between the AHD as excluding factor, and subdominant understandings of heritage as the excluded factor. However, the Mobarak case, here shows a second nuance.

Firstly, because this is rejected by the conservation officer as this interviewee argues that the municipality is not purposely full neglecting certain types of buildings: "I cannot confirm your assumptions about the political use of heritage; we are not neglecting the Mobarak mosque at all and certainly not intentionally". This interviewee (iMB6) strongly emphasises that it is not the municipalities aim to purposely full exclude certain understandings of heritage. Later on, when we discussed the excluding effect of heritage and the role of governmental heritage protection and management organisations, this interviewee, even more strongly emphasised that the municipality is certainly not excluding people as a result of their policy. Once the interview was over, and I was about to leave, the interviewee once more told me that she could not confirm my assumptions about the excluding effects of heritage management or about the working of an AHD: "you know, you are looking for something that is not there" (iMB6).

Secondly, because the assumed excluding effects can be explained from a whole different perspective, namely the perspective of the Ahmadiyya. Above all, the Ahmadiyya do not feel excluded, as has been described above. Next to this, there are several practical arguments named, which can be seen an explanation for the fact that the Mobarak mosque has not been listed yet. For example, a lack of knowledge about the process of listing and a misunderstandings about what a heritage status means. But moreover, and even more interesting to notice here, is that the Ahmadiyya themselves (or at least some of them) do not want a status as listed heritage site. There are thus various other reasons that can be seen as an explanation for the fact that the Mobarak mosque is currently not listed. We've seen that the binary hierarchical distinction between the AHD and subdominant understandings of heritage is not particularly accurate for this case. This case shows that the process of exclusion is a two-way process, it is not only the AHD that excludes, exclusion also depends on other factors, related to the one who is excluded.

To summarize this section, the third interesting finding based on the case of the Mobarak mosque is that there are some nuances regarding the AHD. The first nuance is that other conceptualizations of heritage becoming increasingly relevant and are now seen as an established conservation cause. Secondly, this case illustrates that exclusion depends on various reasons, not just the excluding effects of the AHD. These nuances are in line with (inter-)national trends in heritage management, as there is a paradigm-shift towards a more broader range of understandings of heritage, including subdominant conceptualizations of heritage. Given this context, and arguments that heritage should be "an expression of the changing population structure", and that heritage should be "more integrated and inclusive" (Ministerie van Onderwijs Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2017a, p. 109), there is one key consequence for current conservation planning: a need to better understand, and effectively take account of alternative (subdominant) conceptualizations of heritage.

7. Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter the general conclusion from the research are presented and recommendations are made for future research. First this research will be discussed by comparing the assumptions with the empirical data generated in this research.

7.1 Discussion

The theoretical framework ended with three assumptions on the relationship between subdominant and dominant conceptualizations of heritage (see paragraph 2.6). These assumptions were deducted from both discourse and system theory, with a special emphasis on the AHD theory. In this discussion section I will compare the results of this research with the deducted assumptions.

> ➢ **There is a normalised, common sense, dominant conceptualization of heritage operating in practice and this dominant conceptualization of heritage is inflexible**

As conceptualized by Smith (2006), there is a dominant conceptualization of heritage, based on notions of monumentality and tangibility, which remains unquestioned (Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2009). Luhmann (1989) notion of social systems complies with this as he argues that changes in the environment are always reconstructed within the existing system, according to the already existing codes, semantics and structures of the system, resulting in a rather inflexible conceptualization of heritage. Based on the generated empirical data in this research, it is not really possible to check this assumption.

On the one hand, it seems that there is indeed a kind of dominant conceptualization of heritage which has a strong hold within heritage management practices. As the conservation officer, I spoke to, for example explains, she has to comply with policies and regulations that are in force. These regulations are, as the officer explained to me, indeed mostly focusing on visible, physical quality of buildings. This is in line with a material-focussed expert interpretation of heritage as Smith (2006) and others (e.g. Ludwig, 2013) have noticed. On the other hand nobody, and especially not a conservation officer, will admit that there is such an inflexible, dominant conceptualization of heritage which remains unquestioned. As said before, the municipal conservation officer strongly emphasised that their understanding of heritage is not inflexible, as she told me that she could not confirm my assumptions about a dominant conceptualization of heritage. Instead she showed me all kinds of example in which she especially emphasised and highlighted the importance of other ways of valuing heritage, for example based on narratives which are seen as important to local communities. It seems that the work of conservation officers is more and more infused by new ideas on heritage (see also Janssen et al., 2017). The question however is to what extent existing planning frameworks and heritage management practices really adapt to new ideas on heritage. If it appears that the current planning frameworks and heritage management practices are not truly able to adapt to new ideas on heritage, then I would argue that the dominant conceptualization of heritage is indeed inflexible. However, based on the case of the Mobarak mosque, no conclusions about this assumptions can be made.

> ➢ **Subdominant conceptualizations of heritage want to be included**

This assumption was based on a large body of scholars that uniformly suggest that there is a growing desire among local community groups and minority groups to be involved in heritage management practices and to engage influentially in heritage conservation matters (e.g. Hall, 1999; Littler & Naidoo, 2005; Smith, 2006; Waterton & Smith, 2008). The generated empirical data however shows that this relation between subdominant and dominant conceptualizations of heritage is not that straightforward.

For the Ahmadiyya, being part of the process of assessing what heritages are worthwhile to remember, protect and share, is not really an issue. Next to this, the Ahmadiyya showed a more nuanced perspective on issues of recognition and exclusion, as they for example think that recognition is not tied up with an official heritage status. It turned out that issues of recognition and exclusion are not particularly urgent for them. Besides, a rather 'passive' attitude can be observed when discussing issues of recognition and exclusion with the Ahmadiyya's. This is partly explicable because there is a lack of knowledge about the process of recognition and listing as a heritage site. Moreover however, a passive attitude is shown by the interviewees as they state: "it's just no issue for us" (iMB5), "as a community, we are too modest to start the process of recognition and listing as a heritage site" (iMB3), and "we just do not want such a heritage status" (iMB1). What this illustrates is that there is not really a need to be included. Based on the empirical data found in this research, statements like "those who cannot see themselves reflected in the mirror

cannot properly 'belong'" (Hall, 1999, p. 14) need some nuances, because this lack of recognition is not necessarily felt by those being excluded.

These are obviously case-specific findings. Other (Muslim) communities in the Netherlands, however, might see recognition as an important issue. Though, the overall lesson learned from this example is that social inclusion is not simply an issue of "adding the excluded and assimilate them into the fold" (Smith, 2006, p. 37). Instead, understanding various conceptualizations of heritage, and exploring the perspective of those being excluded, is a crucial step in achieving social inclusion. Simply naming a process to be inclusive, without exploring the perspective of those being excluded, does not in itself lead to a more inclusive heritage management approach. By doing so, the issue of exclusion/inclusion remains to be foremost a theoretical issue. Social exclusion is now firmly on the political agenda, not only in The Netherlands, but throughout Europe. The political will is in place. Yet, social inclusion can only be achieved if we truly understand the needs and aspirations of those being 'excluded'.

> **The dominant conceptualization of heritage diminishes and excludes subdominant ones**

Various authors (Ludwig, 2013; Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010b; Waterton et al., 2006) have argued that there is a hierarchical distinction between dominant heritage conceptualizations and subdominant ones. It is argued that dominant conceptualization cannot engage with subdominant ones while this should "destabilise the existing cultural and social power structures" (Smith, 2009, p. 9). The empirical data generated in this thesis does, once more show that the relation between subdominant and dominant conceptualizations of heritage is not as straightforward as assumed in this assumption.

First of all, we've seen that the municipal conservation officer strongly rejects this as she strongly emphasises that it is not the municipalities aim to purposely full exclude certain understandings of heritage. Smith's argument about the excluding role of governmental organisation, is clearly not confirmed by the municipal conservation officer. Moreover, this case has shown some nuance to the AHD and the working of a dominant conceptualization of heritage. Pendlebury (2013) has noted that the dominant conceptualizations of heritage (such as the AHD) are becoming more flexible and other forms of heritage are now also an established conservation cause. The findings of the Mobarak mosque are in line with this. Firstly, we see that the AHD is becoming more flexible, and other conceptualizations of heritage becoming increasingly relevant. Secondly, we see that the process of exclusion is a two-way process, it is not only the AHD that excludes, exclusion also depends on other factors, related to the one who is excluded. As said before, we can for example identify a rather 'passive' attitude when discussing issues of exclusion with the Ahmadiyya's. Moreover, the Ahmadiyya do not feel excluded at all. This case shows that there is not really a binary hierarchical distinction in which a dominant conceptualization of heritage, diminishes and excludes subdominant ones. In line with the discussion of the previous assumption, it appears that there is no clear link between the dominant conceptualization and subdominant ones. And this is relation is certainly not as tense as is argued in the last two assumptions.

Now we've discussed these three assumptions, I briefly want to return to the conceptual framework (as was shown in paragraph 2.5). Based on the discussion of the assumptions, this framework needs to be adjusted. We still recognize two ideas of heritage (a dominant conceptualization and one subdominant), however some other elements are adjusted. It for example, appears that new ideas on heritage are gaining more ground, it seems as if the dominant conceptualization is opening up more (see 1 in Figure 3). Next to this, it is not only the AHD that excludes, exclusion also depends on other factors, related to the one who is excluded (see 2 in Figure 3). The discussion also showed that there is no clear link between the two conceptualizations (see number 3 in Figure 3).
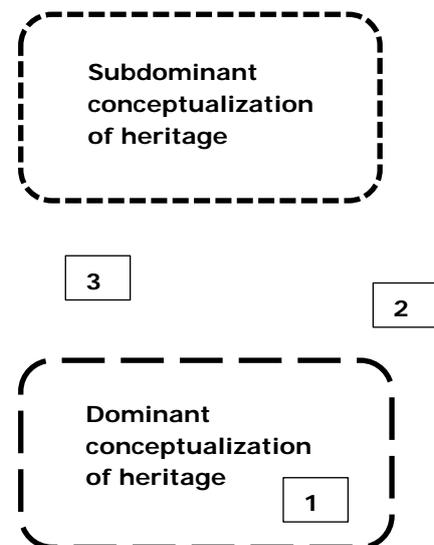
Figure 4: adjusted conceptual framework

7.2 Conclusion

We started this thesis with describing the Dutch context, we saw that Dutch society is increasingly becoming a multicultural society as the number of migrants is set to increase (CBS, 2014). Against this backdrop, more and more questions about heritage are now being asked, questions like 'whose heritage?' and 'who owns the past?'. Consequently, there is a growing urge to understand various conceptualizations of heritage.

This thesis aimed at understanding various conceptualizations of heritage. In this research project, the focus is on those being excluded from, or subjected by, dominant conceptualizations of heritage. By doing so, their understandings of heritage becomes central, not marginal, resulting in a range of insights about the perspective of those 'outside' the authorised realm of heritage planning practices. Besides, this provided several insights about the relation between subdominant and dominant conceptualizations of heritage. It became for example clear that local narratives are especially important in the construction of subdominant conceptualizations, and that these conceptualization will challenge dominating systems and discourses of power that constitute heritage. Next to this, it became clear that there are some nuances regarding the AHD and that the AHD is becoming more flexible. Finally, it became clear that different understandings about issues of heritage in relation to recognition and exclusion exist. This brings an interesting paradox to the foreground: simply naming a process to be inclusive, without truly exploring the needs and aspirations of those being 'excluded', does not in itself lead to a more inclusive heritage management approach. Instead, it contributes to the upholding of a framework that is holding us back from actually achieving social inclusion.

We can now formulate an answer to the main question: 'how do subdominant conceptualizations of heritage relate to dominant heritage conceptualizations?'. Dominant conceptualizations of heritage are challenged, and will more and more be challenged, by subdominant, 'new' conceptualizations of heritage. Therefore, in order to move forward, and truly achieve social inclusion we need to find space for the nuances of subdominant conceptualizations, and search for a model in which multiple understandings of heritage can be effectively represented. Besides, we need to understand the complexity of issues of social inclusion/exclusion, and to be aware of the needs and aspirations of those being 'excluded', instead of simply assuming that those being 'excluded' want to be included.

This research has been a first attempt to explore subdominant conceptualizations of heritage by addressing the perspective of the Ahmadiyya. We gained a range of insights about what a community values within their environment. Besides, we learned about a minority group that had not received much (academic) attention yet. This thesis responded to the societal need to understand various conceptualizations of heritage. This thesis responded to an academic need to understand how the past is 'heritagised' through a dynamic process of valuation deployed by different social groups. This kind of knowledge is necessary in order to address issues of heritage in relation to cultural differences.

7.3 Recommendations

In line with the conclusion of this research, recommendations and ideas for further research are outlined. This research has addressed the perspective of the Ahmadiyya. It would be very interesting to conduct the same research but then for a different community. Special focus should be paid to understanding the construction of local, socially constructed narratives, by using community consultation techniques that can produce a more definitive picture of the buildings, areas and sites of importance to a local community. This would certainly help to understand how subdominant conceptualizations of heritage are constructed. In line with this, I would recommend to do more research on what community's value, and how communities think about issues of heritage in relation to recognition and inclusion/exclusion. These kind of issues can only be addressed if one truly understands various understandings of heritage. As Harrison (2013) notes, we must open the canonical status of heritage registers and lists to further debate in the hope that we will promote a more informed and democratic engagement with the production of heritage in the future in which not only experts and politicians but also laypersons have a role.

Next to this, as said, we should think about a way to effectively take multiple understandings of heritage into account. This is a key barrier that needs further research, to understand how the diverse layers of heritage can be emplaced and fully legitimised in planning settings. Here a role for the planner can be identified, as he/she can contribute to the selection of actors, the inclusion of various conceptualizations, and the drafting of heritage plans that are truly site specific. This entails that different understandings of heritage should be taken into account, and various understandings of heritage should be valued equally.

8. Epilogue

In the introduction the celebration of the feast of Saint Nicholas was used to illustrate some of the dilemmas attached to heritage in relation to questions of identity. This thesis could be seen as an attempt to address this kind of dilemmas and to address the, more general, question *what is heritage and for whom?* It is now time to reflect on what this research has brought that might be of help in finding answers to this kind of questions.

This research has been an attempt to explore how the past is 'heritagised' through a dynamic process of valuation deployed by different social groups. By doing so, this thesis provides a critical reflection on current understandings of heritage. However, alongside a critical reflection on current understandings of heritage it is also necessary to think about some more fundamental questions regarding heritage. Throughout the process of writing this thesis, certain questions popped-up in my mind over and over again: which groups unite around cultural heritage? And does the emphasis on cultural heritage split 'us' and 'others'? Questions that need a thorough reflection. Yet, even if it would be possible to find an answer to these questions, new questions will pop-up: who and whose heritage should be involved in the first place in heritage planning practices? Can we even unite around heritage from a different past? And does cultural heritage exist without ideology?

If we take a constructivist standpoint and if we accept that an object (e.g. heritage) does not exist independently of the one who encounters and values the object, one could even argue that there is no single reality, no single definition of heritage. This means that potentially anything could be considered as heritage. Consequently, this means that anything could be included in heritage registers. But then what? Should we get rid of 'official' heritage registers, should we instead think about a heritage register by popular demand: a kind of google-drive heritage register allowing everyone to add his or her idea about heritage?

Of course, heritage is dynamic. And in that regard it is understandable that the meaning of heritage will change throughout time. Yet, a kind of google-drive heritage register is not the solution I guess. We simply cannot incorporate all understandings of heritage and we simply cannot keep adapting to new opinions and debates over and over again. This would also not be very democratic since the central idea of democracy is rule of the majority. However, this does not mean that we should ignore subdominant, 'different' understandings of heritage. The question thus remains how to deal with various understandings of heritage? : how to deal with 'the other past'?.

Karim van Knippenberg, October 2017.

38

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