

# **Municipal strategies for protecting the social practices in the historic urban landscape**

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Case study: Amsterdam



**Poupak Pourbahador**

Land Use Planning - MSc Thesis



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Course name: MSc Thesis Land Use Planning

Course Code: LUP-80436 (36 ECTS)

Study Programme: Urban Environmental Management MSc

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**March 2020**

## **Acknowledgement**

During this research, several interviews were conducted with experts. I would like to thank all the interviewees for their time, their insights and their contribution to this research. This research would not have been possible without the supervising and valuable guidance of Dr. Thomas Hartmann, so, I would like to express my gratitude to him. Moreover, I would like to thank the teachers in LUP group that I used their knowledge in this master programme.

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## **Abstract**

The interaction of culture and nature has shaped the urban settlements over time. Urban areas are changing continuously; not only the physical urban environment but also the social aspects of the urban areas are changing. Social practices, as a set of practices people do on a daily bases, which shape their narrative of self-identity, are influenced by the environment. So, unmanaged changes in the urban environment would change social practices and consequently, the self-identity of the people. The recent problems such as over-tourism or new developments in historic areas have led to changes in the sense of place and emotional connection between people and place. Disconnection of people from their living area makes them irresponsible regarding their city. In this research, managing the changes has been considered in the broader context of the historic urban landscape. For managing the changes, municipal strategies have been investigated to realise which strategies can effectively protect social practices that are happening in the city in continuity with changes. For this reason, the inner city of Amsterdam was selected as a case study. The policy analysis technique was used to analyse and compare the current strategies in Amsterdam city centre regarding social practices with related principles mentioned in the international conventions. Data were collected through document analysis and interviews with experts to be coded and analysed. The results were categorised according to the principles mentioned in the related documents, the current related strategies and restrictions in Amsterdam, and alternative options. The results indicated four topics that should be considered for formulating an effective strategy regarding social practice to manage the changes.

Keywords: Social practice- Intangible heritage- HUL- Municipal strategy- Instrument- Amsterdam

## Summary

The theoretical framework of this thesis is based on the historic urban landscape approach (UNESCO, 2011), which considers the interaction between people and their urban environment as the living urban heritage. In this concept, heritage is live and is in continuous changes. Therefore, the focus is on change management instead of pure conservation. Concerning this theory, heritage is not only tangible but also includes intangible aspects such as social practices that are in connection with the physical environment and also socio-economic structure of the urban area. Social practices are part of the living heritage as routine practices that shape the lifestyle and sense of place in the historic areas. Unmanaged changes in social practices cause dissatisfaction among the residents, and people lose their emotional connection to the place. This thesis aims to investigate the effective strategies at the municipal level that control the changes and protect the identity and sense of place for the citizens. For an in-depth analysis to find the answer, Amsterdam was selected as a case study. In the Amsterdam inner city, which is a historic area, due to over-tourism and following changes in the function of buildings and shops into activities that serve tourists, the social practices are changing from permanent to temporary practices. As a result, the residents are not satisfied with the situation.

The policy analysis technique was used to answer the main question about finding which municipal strategies effectively protect social practices in the historic urban landscape. According to this technique and operationalization of the topic, the international principles related to the protection of social practices as a living heritage were studied and analysed based on open coding to find out the policy aims. Following that, eight interviews were conducted with experts with different perspectives chosen through expert sampling. The interviews were coded and analysed to realise the current strategies and policy options, in addition to restrictions in the implementation of the strategies as a performance assessment in the current situation of Amsterdam. Discussion was shaped based on the comparison between the results of the interviews and the policy aims of the international conventions. The final result indicates four topics that are necessary for formulating effective strategies to manage the changes and make the balance in the city. The first topic suggests having a soft approach towards the problems by using instruments such as capacity building, raising awareness in addition to empowering the residents to participate and make decisions about the future of their living heritage. The second and third suggestions are about having a multidisciplinary approach towards the problems and monitoring the outcomes. The last suggestion is to consider the new multidisciplinary and fluid definition of heritage instead of the solid and fragmented definition.

## **Chapter 1- Introduction**

### **1.1. Pressure on historic areas**

The dynamic character of the cities along with rapid population growth has increased the pressure on historic city centres and raised the idea of densification to promote sustainable development (Boverket, 2017), in addition to economic productivity (Nabielek, 2011). Considering the dynamic character of the city, Mironowicz (2014) mentioned two ways of urban transformation: First, urban growth and change in the size of cities; secondly, constant internal change of urban structures. However, she mentioned that full control of the change is impossible. The other pressure on the historic areas is due to globalization. Jokilehto (2010) recognised the globalization as a threat to cultural heritage as it hurts the authenticity and diversity of cities. He considered two kinds of globalization. While globalization from above has negative influences on urban conservation, the globalization from below enhances the awareness of local culture and has positive impacts (Jokilehto, 2010). In this aspect, globalization and social transformation create a condition for renewing the “dialogue among communities” (UNESCO, 2003). Cities consist of tangible and intangible aspects (ICOMOS, 2011) and these pressures aimed both physical and social components of the cities.

### **1.2. Tangible and intangible values**

Branding the cities and changing them to tourist attractions can cause the exclusion of a certain population group from public spaces through the gentrification process (Kurzweg, 2013). In this situation, although the tangible heritage might be preserved, the intangible heritage related to people who live there will disappear. Mironowicz (2014) argued that change is not only physical; it also happens in social expectations. Besides historical and artistic values, there are social values associated with protecting heritage which can be more important than physical aspects. These values and meanings associated with urban forms and structures link the heritage to now and present society. In this way, protection of heritage is seen as an opportunity for future development, not as a limitation (Mironowicz, 2014). English Heritage (2008), defines the conservation as “the process of managing change [...] to sustain its heritage values” (p:9). In this document, the value is “an aspect of worth or importance, attached by people to qualities of places” (English Heritage, 2008, p:74). The value categorisation recognised by English Heritage (2008), classified heritage values into four categories of evidential, historical, aesthetic and communal values. Values related to the meaning of a place which shape the collective memories are recognised as communal values (English heritage, 2008).

Tangible and intangible aspects form the significance of the place. Consideration of them through management strategies is needed to preserve the relationship of the place and people in the future (Mitchell, 2008). Urban vitality is related to traditions, people and culture that have been shaped over time and exist in an urban area. These intangible aspects create the unique spirit of the place (O'Donnell & Turner, 2012). However, the lack of consideration of intangible aspects in planning legislations has been seen (Franssen, 2019). The most of legislations are adapted for the protection of tangible aspects of the urban heritage, while protection of intangible aspects has the same importance or even more in the preservation of historic areas and the identity and memories of the residents. Ignoring intangible aspects in the legislation might result in a situation that for example, in 50 years, people would not recognise their homeland (Franssen, 2019).

### **1.3. Change management in the dynamic cities**

Over recent decades the definition of cultural heritage has been broadened and includes entire built environment and its tangible and intangible dimensions. The idea of “city as a living heritage” has been introduced regarding the change in the meaning of cultural heritage. This idea considers the preservation of values in different layers of the city, including social, economic, physical, and environmental dimensions (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). Considering the city as a living heritage emphasises the dynamic character of the city. In the *Valletta Principles* (ICOMOS, 2011) city is regarded as a living organism which encounters a continuous change in tangible and intangible aspects. It is mentioned there “Change when appropriately managed [on the basis of their historical characteristics], can be an opportunity to improve the quality of historic urban areas” (ICOMOS, 2011, Article 2, p:4).

Hall (1997) argued that people change during the time; therefore, meaning and values also change according to them. People distinguish values, and as it is stated in Falamaki (2006), the values exist as long as people believe in those values. In Faro convention, human values have been recognised as the core of cultural heritage concept (Council of Europe, 2005). Heritage consists of intangible and tangible values (Mitchell, 2008). Mitchell et al. (2009) recognised the intangible heritage as a living heritage which is created continuously, and it is essential for cultural diversity and continuity of creativity. Change in the intangible values of heritage leads to the change in identity and spirit of the place. Therefore, the interventions should also respect the intangible values in historic urban areas (ICOMOS, 2011). *The Valletta Principles* (ICOMOS, 2011) highlighted the importance of preserving the values and integrating the social, economic and cultural aspects. The understanding of the cultural values and respecting them in any change will result in preserving the integrity of the cultural heritage (Council of Europe, 2005, Article9). The continuity of a culture is the result of the situation in which people enjoy

recreating of the culture (Van Zanten, 2004). As mentioned in *Turin roundtable*, people's perception shapes the notion of heritage and people's acts sustain it (UNESCO, 2001).

#### **1.4. Provision of integrated strategies**

Encouraging the provision of integrated strategies to promote “sustainable development, cultural diversity and contemporary creativity” through the protection of cultural heritage has been mentioned in article 5 of the Faro Convention (Council of Europe, 2005). The significant role of intangible heritage in promoting cultural identity and diversity has been discussed in Turin round table (UNESCO, 2001). In the *Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage* (UNESCO, 2003), intangible heritage is considered as the main factor in cultural diversity and sustainable development. Based on this convention, the social transformation regarding globalization can lead to deterioration of intangible heritage. The negative influence of the “rapid and uncontrolled development” of globalization on community values has also been considered in *Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape* (UNESCO, 2011). Formulating policies and strategies for preservation of intangible heritage has been emphasised to protect cultural diversity which is recognised as a necessity for humans, the same as biodiversity for nature (UNESCO, 2002).

#### **1.5. Finding the balance between continuity and change**

UNESCO (2011) emphasised on sustainable development as an essential condition of management and protection of urban heritage. Moreover, this recommendation stated that urban heritage leads to improvement in the liveability, economic development and social cohesion of the urban areas. Conservation of these tangible and intangible resources causes “a balance between urban growth and quality of life on a sustainable basis” (UNESCO, 2011, Article 3, p:2). Regarding that, Mitchell (2008) mentioned that finding the balance between continuity and change is the requirement for the preservation of authentic values. Also, Bandarin and Van Oers (2012) stated that keeping the balance between conservation and development can happen through a redefinition of the global values of urban heritage.

To recognize the boundary between conservation and development, and to protect tangible and intangible values along with considering the continuity and change, the historic urban landscape (HUL) approach has been introduced to cultural heritage terminology (O'Donnell & Turner, 2012). However, regarding O'Donnell and Turner (2012), the historic urban landscape is similar to the urban cultural landscape in terms of terminology. Urban landscape is a live organism that responds to market and society demand and changes over time (Jukilehto, 2010). HUL broadened the vision of cultural heritage to tangible and intangible aspects and different layers of the city, e.g. physical, social, cultural, and economic (O'Donnell

& Turner, 2012). HUL approach aims to reinforce the local communities and “build capacity to increase development potentials through the wise use of available urban heritage resources” (Van Oers, 2013, p:12). HUL approach aims to preserve the tangible and intangible values by balancing between urban continuity and change (O’Donnell & Turner, 2012, p:15).

## **1.6. Municipal strategies**

A strategy consists of a combination of policy instruments. Policymakers use instruments to steer their tasks. Certain instruments are predicted to respond to specific types of problems (Elmore, 1987). According to the strategy of the actors, instruments are selected, adopted and mobilised (Gerber et al., 2018). The public policy relates to public law and explains the common problem, which needs a solution. How the problems can be solved is defined by means of public policy instruments (Gerber et al., 2018). Public policy instruments are a set of techniques that structure collective actions to address public problems (Salamon, 2000). Knoepfel et al. (2007) defined instrument as “the detailed forms of intervention or measures planned to fulfil the objectives of public policy” (pp. 156-157, as cited in Gerber et al., 2018, p. 34).

Instruments have certain common defining features. Different classifications are possible regarding different characteristics of instruments (Salamon, 2000). Sorting the policy instruments helps to understand the complexity of government interventions and the right selection of the instruments for reaching the aim (Gerber et al., 2018). Elmore (1987) recognised four types of policy instruments, including mandates, inducements, capacity-building, and system-changing (p. 175). More detailed classification based on the behaviour was introduced later by Schneider and Ingram, namely authority instruments, incentive instruments, capacity instruments, symbolic instruments, and learning instruments. Evert Vedung sorted the instruments, according to the extent of force, into three types of carrots, sticks and sermons (Salamon, 2000). Lastly, Lascoumes and Le Galès (2007) classified the instruments into command and control, fiscal and economic instruments based on legal bases, govern and contract and incentive-based instruments, communication and information-based instruments (Gerber et al., 2018). Salamon (2000) considers this diversity in classification as strength which creates the opportunity to compare and contrast instruments based on their multiple characteristics. According to Salamon (2000), each instrument is a package that consists of different elements, including the type of activity, delivery vehicle, delivery system, and set of rules.

Classification is essential to know the operation and consequences of strategies based on, which outcomes are essential, and which instrument dimensions affect them (Salamon, 2000). In this study, the aim is to

find effective strategies that protect social practices as an intangible cultural heritage for the city. Effective strategy means a strategy that produces the expected outcome. Based on Sundqvist et al. (2014), effective means that the process output satisfies the requirements. In this thesis, policy analysis is used to evaluate the effect of instruments and public interventions (Salamon, 2000) to find which instruments satisfy the protection of social practices.

### **1.7. Objective and research questions**

This research aims to explore the municipal strategies which protect social practices as one of the forms of intangible cultural heritage in the historic urban landscape to help cities to preserve their diversity and identity through the continuity of their intangible cultural heritage.

Based on the discussions mentioned above, the main research question has been formed:

#### **Which municipal strategies effectively protect social practices in the historic urban landscape?**

In order to operationalize the main research question, the sub-questions have been formulated.

- What are the principles regarding the protection of social practices in the historic urban landscape? (policy aim or expected outcomes)
- What are the strategies currently used, which can affect social practices in the historic urban landscape? Consequently, what are the possible alternatives to protect social practices? (policy options)
- What are the restrictions regarding the implementation of the strategies to protect social practices in the historic urban landscape? (performance assessment)

## Chapter 2- Theoretical framework

### 2.1. Historic Urban Landscape

Based on the dynamic character of urban areas, the historic urban landscape (HUL) term was introduced in Vienna memorandum (UNESCO, 2005). HUL turned into urban conservation and heritage management approach, by UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape in 2011. HUL considers a “broader urban context and its geographical setting” as the interaction of culture and nature (UNESCO, 2011, Article 8). This approach integrates intangible and tangible values and defines a broader meaning for the heritage that includes social, economic, cultural and environmental aspects of the urban area (UNESCO, 2011). HUL approach highlighted the importance of change management to preserve the continuity of values through multidisciplinary studies considering all layers of the city. So, HUL gives a broader context to analyse the problems rather than the historic areas. In this thesis, social practices have been considered in the context of HUL.

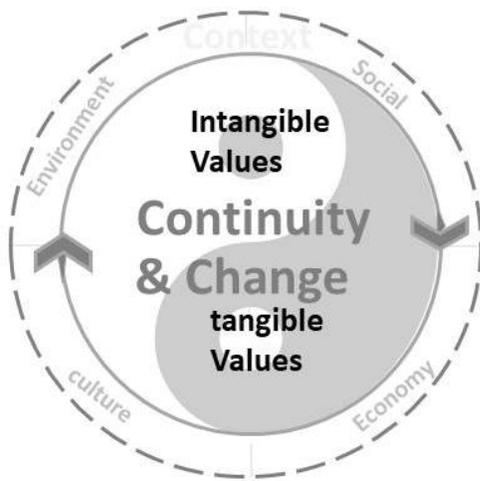


Figure 1- A model for historic urban landscape approach based on UNESCO 2011 recommendation

### 2.2. Intangible cultural heritage

Cultural heritage divided into intangible and tangible heritage. Based on the *Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention*, UNESCO (2003), Intangible heritage includes five domains:

- *Oral traditions and expressions*
- *Performing arts*

- *Social practices, ritual and festive events*
- *Knowledge and practices*
- *Traditional craftsmanship* (UNESCO, 2003, Article 2)

Based on the definition, intangible heritage includes practices, expressions, representations and knowledge and skills which are alive among a community (UNESCO, 2003). The continuity is one of the vital aspects of intangible heritage. It is essential to consider creative changes to prevent freezing the intangible heritage while ensuring the preservation of social practices without any damage (Van Zanten, 2004). In *Turin Round Table, 2001*, safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage has been defined based on human right, mutual respect, equity and sustainability (UNESCO, 2001) to create a democratic and peaceful society (Council of Europe, 2005). Intangible cultural heritage enhances the understanding and exchanges among cultures; moreover, it brings people closer together (UNESCO, 2003). Van Zanten (2004) identified the intangible heritage as a living culture that people practice it. UNESCO (2003) indicated characteristics of intangible heritage as below:

- Part of the cultural heritage
- Recreated continuously in response to the environment
- Provides a sense of identity and continuity
- Compatible with human rights' instruments (emphasize on mutual respect and sustainable development with respect for cultural diversity and human creativity) (UNESCO, 2003).

There is a deep interdependency between intangible cultural heritage and tangible environment (UNESCO, 2003). Therefore, it is vital to consider intangible aspects and the effect of physical change on the preservation of the intangible heritage in spatial planning acts. As mentioned in UNESCO (2001), the focus of landscape and land property legislations is on physical aspects. In UNESCO (2001) emphasized that developing a new legal instrument is essential to protect the creative process of intangible heritage and to enhance social cooperation and social cohesion which is possible through the transmission of skills and supporting the products by institutional mechanisms.

Due to the broad domain of intangible heritage (UNESCO 2003; UNESCO, 2001) and the purpose of this study to focus on the link between tangible and intangible aspects; the scope of intangible cultural heritage selected for this study is social practices and the context of creation and transmission of social practices in the historic urban landscape. Social practices among society are recognised as one of the intangible heritage which should be preserved (UNESCO, 2003; UNESCO, 2001). Social practices, based on UNESCO definition, are “habitual activities that structure the lives of communities [...] relevant to

many of their members” and shape the identity of people who practice them (UNESCO, Dec. 2019). Social practices have a strong relationship with context and spatial area that produce them.

### **2.3. Continuity and creativity**

Cultural heritage protection is about managing the change to sustain the continuity of the [intangible and tangible] values (English heritage, 2008). Continuity in intangible heritage enhances creativity and diversity (Cominelli & Greffe, 2012). Based on UNESCO (2005), cultural diversity is an essential part of sustainable development.

Cominelli and Greffe (2012) explained the role of intangible cultural heritage in knowledge exchange as a knowledge carrier in both technical and social dimensions. They emphasised that the evolving practices of intangible heritage expand the capacity of problem-solving regarding new issues and contribute to finding creative solutions.

### **2.4. Social practices**

Based on UNESCO (2005), one of the fundamental factors to enhance the quality of life is to consider the *sense of place*. In this document, the sense of place is the emotional connection between human beings and their environment (UNESCO, 2005). In an urban area, the sense of place is related to a set of practices people do on a routine base which are called social practices. Social practices structure the lives of communities and considered as a part of intangible heritage (UNESCO, 2003; UNESCO, Dec. 2019)

Based on the theory of Spaargaren and Van Vliet (2000), the social practices have two dimensions, i.e. discursive and practical consciousness that shape the lifestyle; in addition to rules and resources that create a system of provision (Figure 2). Discursive and practical consciousness is related to people who do social practices. Social practices are shaped in time and space by people, and they are shared in society. Lifestyle, as the result of discursive and practical consciousness, consists of a set of social practices that a person does routinely to form the narrative of self-identity (Giddens, 1991; Spaargaren, 2003).

The other dimension of the Spaargaren and Van Vliet (2000) theory is related to the systems provided by rules and resources. *Systems of provision* are similar to *material* and *competencies*, which are two elements in the Shove and Pantzar (2005) theory. The third element in Shove and Pantzar (2005) is *meaning*. Meaning is similar to what Spaargaren and Van Vliet (2000) considered as *discursive consciousness*. In the case of social practices in the historic urban landscape, *meanings* are narratives of

residents, and the value they give to cultural heritage; *materials* are the urban areas, and *competencies* are rules and regulations.

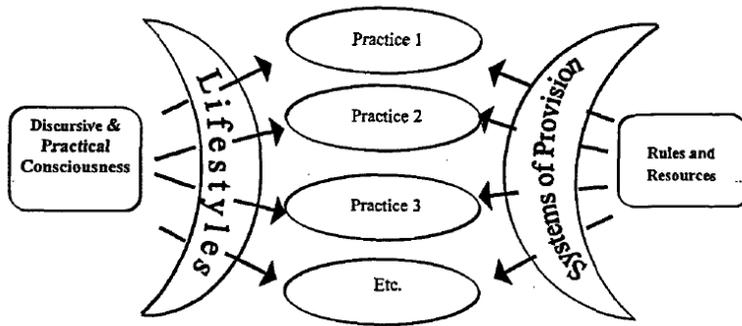


Figure 2- The social practices model (Spaargaren & Van Vliet, 2000)

## **2.5. Legitimacy and public involvement**

Along with protecting values, creating opportunities for development is needed. Therefore, the decisions regarding them need to be legitimised for society (Mironowicz, 2014). Giving priority to the residents in decision making, and involving the residents and all the local interest groups are the vital factors to have effective heritage conservation programmes (ICOMOS, 2011, Article 4j). The involvement right of society in the defining and managing process of cultural heritage has also been emphasised in the Faro Convention (Council of Europe, 2005). In the Florence Declaration (ICOMOS, 2014), sustainable conservation through building awareness and increasing knowledge of the local community regarding the importance of preservation of their intangible cultural heritage has been highlighted. It raises the idea of participatory heritage management. Pereira Roders (2013) believed that community-led conservation is the most successful protection (p. 40). Furthermore, English heritage (2008) encourages providing the ability for all people to participate in the protection of the historic areas. ICOMOS (2011) argued that keeping the physical and social balances in historic areas “requires actions that allow the urban structure to retain the original residents and to welcome new arrivals”, the appropriate management to keep the balance happens through the support of residents (Article 3e, p. 9).

## **Chapter 3- Methodology**

### **3.1. Research design**

Following the theoretical framework (Chapter 2), in this section, the methodology of this research is explained. Research methodology as a plan to conduct the research consists of philosophical assumptions, research design and specific methods which are interconnected and make the approach practical (Creswell, 2014). In this study, the aim is to explain which municipal strategies are effective concerning the protection of social practices as intangible aspects of the dynamic, historic urban areas. Therefore, the research question is explanatory. Public policy analysis is used to analyse the effectiveness of municipal strategies in the protection of social practices. It is a pragmatic study, and some areas may change by finding new data during the research process. This situation is one of the characteristics of qualitative design which Creswell (2014) mentioned as “emergent design”. Moreover, it shows the complexity of the research question, which involves multiple perspectives regarding the trade-offs of policy options to protect social practices in historic areas.

This study requires an in-depth investigation that is possible through qualitative research, including case study as a research design (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Finding effective municipal strategies to protect social practices in historic urban areas through a policy analysis requires an in-depth analysis in a real situation to monitor the policy outcomes. Case study design makes it possible to elaborate on a real case and collect detailed information. Moreover, focusing on a case study provides precise information by interviewing people who have experience in this topic and experienced the issues. The case study is to contextualise the phenomenon in a detailed direct view based on single or multiple examples (Du Toit, 2015; Flyvbjerg, 2006) to study a contemporary phenomenon (Yin, 2014).

#### **3.1.1. Case selection**

Flyvbjerg (2006) indicated that the strategic selection of cases enhances the generalizability of case studies. Based on the research question, the case selection for this study is “Information-oriented selection”. It means the case study will be chosen based on its information content (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In this study, the case has been selected based on the issues in protecting social practices in a historic urban area, and the governance system.

The Netherlands is the second-most densely populated and one of the most prosperous countries in Europe (Tisma and Meijer, 2018) with the rapid transformation of urban areas (Claassens et al., 2017). In

addition to physical pressure on historic areas, this situation causes social transformation, which can lead to loss of intangible heritage in the future. Moreover, the Netherlands is the most suitable case due to the time limit and feasibility of the research. In the Netherlands, each municipality has its approach toward a policy based on its land policy agenda (Hartmann & Spit, 2018; Van Oosten et al., 2018). Spatial Planning Act of 2008 built more capacity for municipalities due to less central control and fewer rules (Van Oosten et al., 2018) which will be continued by the new Environment and Planning Act of 2019 (Omgevingswet). However, the planning acts are focused on tangible aspects of urban areas, while cities consist of tangible and intangible aspects.

### **Case study: Amsterdam**

Based on the research question and the objective of this research, Amsterdam is a suitable case to be analysed deeply. This case has been selected due to the tangible and associated intangible characteristics, and its current approaches towards heritage protection.

Amsterdam is the capital city of the Netherlands, located in Randstad, which is the most densely populated and fast-growing part of the Netherlands (Nabielek et al., 2016). While the potentials for new developments in Amsterdam city centre are scarce, short-term rental to tourists is affecting the residential quality of the city centre, and people are relocating to the surrounding areas due to economic and social reasons (Hekwolter et al., 2017). In *Valletta Principles* the risk of over-tourism on the authenticity of intangible and tangible values of urban areas has been highlighted and mentioned the change in the function of the city from a residential area to a mono-functional tourist attraction will lead to identity loss of urban area and its residents in the future (ICOMOS, 2011).

### **Strategies regarding the historic area of Amsterdam**

The model used for preservation of Amsterdam historic centre is related to a restoration company called “*Stadsherstel Amsterdam NV*”. Stadsherstel buys properties which need restoration. Properties are rehabilitated and prepared for adaptive reuse. The rental revenue and profit of the properties are reinvested in maintaining, acquisition and restoration of a new property. Large Dutch banks, insurance companies, and the city of Amsterdam are the shareholders. The projects are financed by the company’s capital and 30% government subsidies. The company has done 500 projects since 1956 and owned 921 residential buildings. This model copied in many historic cities in the Netherlands (Eggenkamp, 2004; Bandarin & Van Oers, 2015). The canal ring area of Amsterdam was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage list in 2010 (Swart et al., 2012). The assessment of functional changes in Amsterdam canal

district houses from 1958 to 2011 indicates that there is a shift from mixed-function to mono-functional places (Swart et al., 2012).

Land-lease system is an instrument used to reduce inequality by providing more control over the housing business. Land ownership in Amsterdam outside the canal, inside the A10 ring road, is mostly leasehold which can be annual or prepaid (Jansen, 2017). An essential factor in the economic effect of leasing is the means of payment of the lease (Van Bavel, 2008). More than 80% of the municipal area is publicly owned. Based on Janssen-Jansen (2011) in the core of Amsterdam, 50% of houses were social housing stocks. Long term lease such as life rents and perpetual rents provides long-term credit at relatively low interests for a large group of people (Van Bavel, 2008).

The shift in Dutch policy-making has led to a shift in the urban development model of municipalities from public-led and supply-led to flexible, demand-led and community-led models to engage citizens as direct investors in housing investments. However, Amsterdam still combines public spending and direct public control on land prices (Savini, 2017). Sometimes, citizen investments as a municipal instrument might affect the intangible aspects of a neighbourhood through accelerating the gentrification process. For example, “*Klushuizen*” concept which is implemented in Rotterdam and also in the other cities such as Amsterdam, is a market-based instrument of non-financial compensation, according to Spaans et al. (2011). This concept approaches areas with low socioeconomic status. The aim is to offer the houses at a very low price but made the buyer refurbish the whole block or spend money for the renovation of the building. As a result, the gentrification process starts in the neighbourhood, and the owners will benefit from the increase in the price (Spaans et al., 2011). Neuts et al. (2014) highlighted that the interconnection of city branding, gentrification, and social exclusion would not provide the aim of improving the socio-economic and quality of life of the residents. Also, it would hurt the intangible heritage of the residents.

The city is a whole, and the situation is happening in the city centre of Amsterdam should be considered in the broader context that includes different layers of the city. Therefore the instruments are also considered in the broader context.

### **3.2. Research methods**

Research method includes the proposed data collection methods, analysis, and interpretation (Creswell, 2014). Based on the research questions and the research characteristics, the most suitable methods for data collection have been selected (Table 1). This research structured based on policy analysis. Policy analysis consists of five steps, including structuring policy problems, forecasting expected policy

outcomes by problem framing and considering the policy goals, prescribing policy alternatives, and evaluating the policy performance (Dunn, 2016; Weimer & Vining, 2017). Therefore, in this research, at first, the problem has been recognised, then the research question has been developed based on the problem (Chapter 1). The next step regarding policy analysis and based on the operationalization of the research question is about analysing the related documents to identify the policy aims and principles which has performed through coding the documents and analysing them based on the codes (Chapter 4). Following that the current strategies in Amsterdam (case study) have been analysed, for this reason, interviews were conducted. The interviews transcriptions were coded to be analysed (Chapter 5). Based on the comparison between policy aims and current strategies, policy alternatives have been recognised (Chapter 7). The last section of policy analysis is the performance assessment. Therefore, restrictions in the implementation of the strategy have been identified through the interview with experts, coding the transcripts, and comparing with literature (Chapter 6 and 8).

Table 1- Research questions and related methods to find the answers

Research questions	Methods to find the answers
<b>Which municipal strategies effectively protect social practices in the historic urban landscape?</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Documents and Literature review</li> <li>• Semi-structured interview</li> <li>• Data analysis</li> </ul>
- What are the principles regarding the protection of social practices in the historic urban landscape? (policy aim or expected outcomes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Document review of international recommendations and charters (e.g. ICOMOS and UNESCO)</li> <li>• Data analysis</li> </ul>
- What are the strategies currently used, which can affect social practices in the historic urban landscape? Consequently, what are the possible alternatives to protect social practices? (policy options)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Semi-structured interview</li> <li>• Literature review</li> <li>• Data analysis</li> </ul>
- What are the restrictions regarding the implementation of the strategies to protect social practices in the historic urban landscape? (performance assessment)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Semi-structured interview</li> <li>• Literature review</li> <li>• Data analysis</li> </ul>

### **3.2.1. Literature review**

Reviewing and critical analysis of relevant literature is the basis of this study and shapes the theoretical framework of the research. Based on operationalizing the research question, a theoretical and systematic literature review has been conducted. Relevant literature to this study is classified into five categories:

- Urban planning
- land use policy
- Urban conservation and heritage management
- relevant international and national charters, conventions and planning acts:
- Documents related to the case study:

Reviewing and analysing the documents, articles, newspapers, websites or meetings' minutes related to the case study. The potential bias and inaccuracy of the information on websites have been taken into account.

### **3.2.2. Semi-structured interview**

In qualitative research for triangulation of methods and to gain in-depth knowledge about the key stakeholders and their perception about the issue, semi-structured interviews through open-ended predetermined questions are recognised as a vital tool (Silverman, 2015). The stakeholders in the current study are residents, municipality, and heritage agency. Based on the research questions, the selection of participants happened purposefully based on their roles and their knowledge about the topic to provide the best information regarding the objective of the research (Kumar, 2014; Silverman, 2015). To identify the participants, the technique of “expert sampling” has been used. In this technique, respondents must be experts on the topic. The Number of interviews depends on the data saturation point (Kumar, 2014; Creswell, 2014). Therefore, selected interviewees are experts who are involved and have experienced the situation of the inner city of Amsterdam. The selection is based on different fields of work and experience of interviewees to include diversity in the views. Face to face interviews with the representatives, listed in Table 2, have been conducted.

Table 2- the list for interviews

<b>Representative of</b>	<b>Interview ref. number<sup>1</sup></b>
Municipality of Amsterdam ( Central bureau and spatial planning department)	#6
Municipality of Amsterdam (Monument and Archaeology/ World heritage department)	#4
Heritage Agency (RCE)	#1
Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage	#2
Living heritage institution (neighbourhood scale)	#7
Tourism expert	#3
Urban and regional planning expert	#5
Expert in heritage participatory approach	#8

Interviewees can provide practical information which they gained during their experience on the topic. Semi-structured interview with open-ended questions gives the researcher the control of interview to achieve the best information. Limitations such as misunderstandings and bias of interviewee and interviewer, need to be considered (Creswell, 2014). The interviews have been recorded and transcribed and coded to be analysed.

### **3.2.3. Data analysis**

The analysis of collected data is a continuous process during the qualitative research (Silverman, 2015). In this study, the techniques such as coding and sorting the data, also, diagramming to visualize the relationships between factors (codes) have been applied. Moreover, flexible thinking as another important technique which includes the repetitive examination of data (Silverman, 2015) has been considered during this research.

The process of coding in this research started with open coding of the related documents. After that, these codes have been used in structuring the interviews questions. After collecting the raw data, the process was followed by the transcribing the recorded interviews, and reading the data, and adding the codes to

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<sup>1</sup> The reference numbers refers to interviews transcripts in Appendix 3.

the text which have been done by coding software: ATLAS.ti. The next steps were continued by organising coded data and sorting them to be analysed. The last step was to interpret the meaning and present the results. Codes overview has been presented in Appendix 1.

#### **3.2.4. Validity**

The accuracy and credibility of the findings verify the validity of the research (Creswell, 2014). Triangulation of sources increases the accuracy of data. For this reason, the interviews in addition to document analysis have been conducted. However, due to the language barrier in some cases, interviews have been replaced the document analysis. For gaining more accurate data, in this research, interviewees were selected from different backgrounds. The interviews have been recorded, and all the conversations have been transcribed to increase credibility (Appendix 3). Moreover, a transparent methodology and clear procedures add to the validity of the study and increase the generalizability of the research (Creswell, 2014).

## Chapter 4- Policy Aims and principles

To exploring the highlighted principles in the international conventions which affect the protection of social practices, five documents have been selected to be coded and analysed. The selection of documents is based on three criteria. The operationalization of the first sub research question shows the importance of investigating the policy aims through analysis of documents related to the protection of social practices as a living heritage. Therefore, firstly, the documents have been selected concerning related conventions of three organisations that develop guidelines and principles regarding the topic of the research, i.e. UNESCO, ICOMOS, and Council of Europe. The second criterion is the topic of the document. Based on the research question and theoretical framework (Chapter 2), selected conventions include topics of intangible heritage, the value of cultural heritage for society, community participation, historic urban landscape, world heritage, and historic cities and urban areas. The third criterion is the time of publication because the definition of heritage has been developed and broadened over the past decades from individual monuments to living urban heritage. So, most recent policy documents on the mentioned topics have been selected for analysis.

The analysis of each document is developed based on four elements of “Von Savigny” method; i.e. literal content, institutional positioning, historical context, and teleological meaning, to give a coherent framework for recognising the intention of legislator and finding the policy aim (Hartmann et al., 2018).

### **4.1. Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003)**

The UNESCO (2003) convention has been selected to analyse, because of its importance on intangible cultural heritage protection. Social practices in this study have been considered as a part of intangible cultural heritage.

#### **4.1.1. Literal content**

*Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, which is published in 2003, considers the significant role of intangible heritage in the protection of cultural diversity as a human right while recognising the globalisation process. This convention focuses on the safeguarding of intangible heritage as the main topic.

The convention has been imposed by UNESCO based on its 32<sup>nd</sup> meeting session in Paris, to provide principles and guidelines for the states that become a party to this convention which are called State Parties. Providing international cooperation to protect intangible cultural heritage, respect cultural

diversity, and raise awareness regarding the intangible heritage and their importance at the local, national and international level, is the aim of UNESCO (2003) convention. In this convention, the protection of intangible cultural heritage has been considered along with cultural diversity. Moreover, Intangible cultural heritage is considered as a guarantee of sustainable human development (UNESCO, 2003).

One of the most critical aspects, which relates this convention to the current study, is the consideration of linkage and deep interdependence of intangible and tangible cultural heritage. Interdependency between tangible and intangible elements led to the emphasis of UNESCO (2003) on the educational programmes for protecting the “places of memory” which are related to expressing the intangible cultural heritage. UNESCO (2003) mentioned that there is a need to adopt general policies to integrate the intangible heritage safeguarding into planning programmes and promote their function in society

UNESCO (2003) convention is more focused on soft interventions, e.g., raising awareness through education and training, especially for young generations and establishing institutions for this aim. Also, the necessity of conducting researches regarding the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage has been emphasised. The idea of participation of communities, groups, and NGOs in the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage has been emphasised when it is mentioned that “each State Party shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management” (UNESCO, 2003, Article 15).

Other principles that mentioned in the convention are documentation and establishing institutions for documenting intangible cultural heritage to enhance access to them. Moreover, the significant role of monitoring to promote the implementation of the objectives of the conventions, including the safeguarding of intangible heritage, has been taken into account. Although the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) was referred to in the introduction part of the UNESCO (2003) convention, there is not any guideline and consideration of economic aspects.

#### **4.1.2. Institutional positioning**

UNESCO, as the UN agency, has a vast network of people, institutes and partners. Considering the protection and management of cultural heritage is one of the focuses of UNESCO through maintaining a dialogue between society and governmental authorities at the national level. Some institutes are an integral part of UNESCO, and some others only contribute to the implementation of UNESCO’s programmes through formal agreements (UNESCO, Dec.2019b)

Based on UNESCO (2003), for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, an intergovernmental committee is established within the UNESCO. This committee, which consists of representatives of 18 states, contributes to the implementation of the convention. In the seventh session of UNESCO General Assembly of State Parties for the safeguarding of intangible heritage in 2018, it is mentioned that the Netherlands is one of the State Parties in the intergovernmental committee for four years (UNESCO, 2018).

#### **4.1.3. Historical context**

In the general conference of the 20<sup>th</sup> plenary meeting of UNESCO (2001), due to the significant role of UNESCO as the only organisation which considers the safeguarding of intangible aspect of the cultural heritage in its commands, the urgent need and necessity of protection of intangible heritage has been proposed. *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* is the result of the 32<sup>nd</sup> session of UNESCO meeting (UNESCO, 2003).

The main aim of this convention is the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage. This recommendation has been created to update the UNESCO recommendation on intangible heritage (1989) and to raise the awareness on the combination of intangible heritage with cultural diversity and sustainable human development which have been mentioned in UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (2001), and the *Istanbul Declaration* (UNESCO, 2002) as well. Moreover, the convention (UNESCO, 2003) referred to the *Universal Declaration on Human Rights* (1948), the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (1966), and the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (1966).

#### **4.1.4. Teleological meaning**

Safeguarding of intangible values contributes to preserving cultural diversity. Preserving and enhancement of cultural diversity is a vital aspect of human development, and it is considered as a human right (UNESCO, 2003). In this convention, the protection of intangible cultural heritage has been considered as a factor that brings people closer together through better understanding and exchange of culture among them. It is the same vision which recognises the cultural heritage as a heritage for the whole world, as a universal value that people creates in interaction with their environment, and it should be preserved to enhance our future progress.

### **4.2. Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Council of Europe, 2005)**

Intangible cultural heritage consists of intangible values which directly interact with people and their perception of values. Therefore, the second important convention is Faro, Council of Europe convention of 2005. The reason for the selection of Faro convention, first of all, is its consideration of cultural heritage values related to people and their participation in heritage management. Moreover, this convention is at the EU level, and there is a debate in the Netherlands to ratify the agreement.

#### **4.2.1. Literal content**

The main objective of the Faro convention is to encourage the role of communities and their participation in heritage governance. The way to do this is through ensuring the commitment of national authorities to implement the Faro convention principles and creating long-term cooperation among stakeholders. (Council of Europe, Dec. 2019).

By considering the continuous change in society, this convention emphasised the role of cultural heritage value as a resource for improving the quality of life and sustainable development. Faro convention by considering the *United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) and the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (1966), recognised the right of every person to participate in cultural life and engaged with the cultural heritage while the right and freedoms of others are respected (Council of Europe, 2005).

Considering human rights and strengthening social cohesion through the sense of shared responsibility regarding cultural heritage and their living area are the other highlights of the convention. Sustainable development, by means of the conservation of cultural heritage, and promoting cultural diversity, indicate the role of cultural heritage in creating a peaceful and democratic society. For this reason, Faro convention seeks for developing a shared source of understanding of the common heritage of Europe, including all forms of cultural heritage among the state parties.

Access to cultural heritage, especially for the young generation to raise their awareness of values attributed to the heritage is one of the principles considered in Faro convention. It emphasised on the role of digital technology to improve cultural heritage access by using a shared information system which is available to the public (Council of Europe, 2005). Moreover, education and vocational training related to cultural heritage have been considered in the convention.

Considering the interest and integrity of cultural heritage in devising economic policies is the main focus of article 10 in Faro convention while indicating the importance of awareness-raising and utilising the economic potential of the cultural heritage. An integrated and interdisciplinary approach to achieve balance has been encouraged in this convention.

A monitoring system also considered in the convention by specifying a committee regarding the application of the convention and developing trans-sectoral cooperation. Informing the public about the principles of the convention and its implementation is part of the monitoring strategy mentioned in Faro convention. The collaborative approach through the cooperation of state parties pursues the aims and principles of the convention and encourages the recognition of Europe's common heritage.

#### **4.2.2. Institutional positioning**

Council of Europe consists of 47 states member countries. It promotes values such as human rights, democracy and the rule of law (Council of Europe, 2019). One of the aims of the Council of Europe mentioned in Faro convention is to gain a greater unity among its state members (Council of Europe, 2005). Council of Europe has the power to enforce the agreements on states that ratify those (Lobey, 2005).

#### **4.2.3. Historical context**

Faro convention (2005), shaped based on Article 27 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights regarding the right of participation in the cultural life of the community, to create a framework in the field of cultural heritage social values.

#### **4.2.4. Teleological meaning**

Concerning the values of Council of Europe, the purpose of the convention is to foster the principles which are established based on human rights, democracy and the rule of law, as the common heritage (Council of Europe, 2005). Faro convention is to promote the right to participation in cultural life. It considers the importance of cultural heritage in shaping a peaceful society and in sustainable development and cultural diversity (Council of Europe, 2005).

### **4.3. Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (UNESCO, 2011)**

This recommendation is one of the frameworks of this study. Its comprehensive and integrated approach has made this recommendation significant concerning the management of historic cities.

#### **4.3.1. Literal content**

Based on *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (UNESCO, 2011), the integrated policy provides a mechanism for creating a balance between conservation and sustainable development. Therefore, a new generation of public policies is needed, which target a comprehensive approach which includes the recognition and protection of the historical layering of the urban environment and balance the

cultural and natural values. The HUL recommendation emphasises the integration of historic urban area conservation into local development and planning strategies to maintain the urban identity. Participation of all sectors of society such as youth and under-represented groups and active collaboration of primary stakeholders in the implementation of the recommendation have been highlighted and mentioned as an effective capacity building principle in UNESCO (2011) which increases the understanding of HUL approach. Moreover, interdisciplinary research on complex layers of urban settlements by universities and research institutions to improve protection procedures and managerial skills has been considered in UNESCO (2011).

Promoting social and human development and enhancing the quality of life happens through economic processes combined with innovative and sustainable planning. In HUL approach economic initiatives such as tourism that contributes to the well-being of communities and conservation of cultural heritage consider in a way that the economic and social diversity and residential function remain intact through proper management. Otherwise, it leads to an unsustainable and unviable city with irreplaceable losses for future generations (UNESCO, 2011). HUL recommendation considers that tangible and intangible urban heritage is the crucial resource which results in urban liveability, economic development and social cohesion.

Heritage conservation is a strategy for effective management of resources to create a “balance between urban growth and quality of life on a sustainable basis” (UNESCO, 2011, p. 2). In HUL recommendation, the Regional context of cultural heritage is taken into consideration to manage the physical and social transformations. Moreover, cultural diversity and creativity as the key factors of social and economic development are considered in change management of HUL approach. The management plan needs different instruments to be implemented. Based on HUL approach, the range of instruments from traditional to innovative should be adapted to the local context. The instruments mentioned in UNESCO (2011) to implement the HUL approach are divided into four categories of knowledge and planning instruments, civic engagement instruments, financial instruments, and regulatory system.

#### **4.3.2. Institutional positioning**

The emphasis of UNESCO (2011) is to encourage member states to integrate the heritage conservation strategies into national development policies according to HUL approach and values associated with the heritage in a broader context.

#### **4.3.3. Historical context**

Due to the shift in the definition of cultural heritage from a monument to including the social, cultural and economic processes, a new framework was needed to adapt this comprehensive vision to existing policies to keep the balance between conservation and development. Moreover, the question about the limit of conservation and development was raised when the visual integrity of historic centre of Vienna was endangered by Wien-Mitte development project in 2002 including the construction of four 100 meter towers close to the world heritage property and the landscape of 18<sup>th</sup>-century city centre (UNESCO, 2005). This situation resulted in Vienna memorandum (UNESCO, 2005), which brought up the concept of HUL. UNESCO in 2011 published the HUL recommendation as a framework for HUL approach.

#### **4.3.4. Teleological meaning**

Continuous changes and structural interventions in the historic urban landscape, including economic development, social and political context, and physical environment require a vision that considers the city as a whole. UNESCO (2011) emphasises on an integrated approach in management which integrates the conservation planning and management strategies into development and urban planning to preserve shared values and enhance the quality of the human environment.

#### **4.4. Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns, and Urban Areas (ICOMOS, 2011)**

The Valletta principle (2011) is the latest principle regarding the management of historic cities. Due to the topic of this study, it is essential to be analysed.

##### **4.4.1. Literal content**

Valletta principles highlighted the changes happening in the cities, which should be controlled by the management plan, including conservation and continuous monitoring plans based on a multidisciplinary study to avoid identity loss in society. The main aim of this document is to protect tangible and intangible elements in historic cities. Based on the Valletta principles, intangible elements in cities are activities, symbolic and historical functions, cultural practices, traditions, memories, and cultural references. The intangible elements are an inseparable part of the natural or human-made context (ICOMOS, 2011).

Change in the function of a city leads to a change in the way of life and has possible adverse effects on the historic towns (ICOMOS, 2011). One of the adverse effects is the disappearance of cultural practices that would lead to identity and authenticity loss. It may also result in the transformation of the historic area into a mono-functional area that is not suitable for living (ICOMOS, 2011). In this document “time”

also has been considered when it is mentioning the high speed of changes can affect cultural heritage adversely.

Based on Valletta principles, maintaining traditional practices and controlling the process of gentrification should be considered. Maintaining the original residents as well as new arrivals, preserving the values as well as development, are the fundamental principles in this ICOMOS document of 2011. In Valletta principles, respecting social fabric and cultural diversity, in addition to creating social, cultural and economic balances have been highlighted. According to Valletta principles, good governance includes the participation of residents. ICOMOS (2011) mentioned that participation is facilitated through training, information giving, and raising awareness.

#### **4.4.2. Institutional positioning**

*The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)* as an international non-governmental organisation promotes the application of theory and scientific techniques for the conservation and protection of the world's cultural heritage, monuments and sites. ICOMOS has established the Scientific International Committees on different themes related to cultural heritage preservation (ICOMOS, Dec.2019). In 1982, the *International Committee on Historic Towns and Villages (CIVVIH)* was established by ICOMOS to answer the questions related to management and planning of historic towns (CIVVIH, Dec. 2019).

#### **4.4.3. Historical context**

Attempts to adopt policies for the protection of historic towns go back to the creation of CIVVIH in 1982 and the adoption of Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns in 1987 by the General Assembly of ICOMOS in Washington which continued the objectives of the *Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* of UNESCO in 1976 (Kolonias, 2012). The need to update Washington Charter (ICOMOS, 1987) resulted in CIVVIH proposal in 2010 to adopt a document on principles for protection of historic towns. It adopted by 17<sup>th</sup> international meeting of ICOMOS in 2011 with the title of *Valletta principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns, and Urban Areas* (Kolonias, 2012).

#### **4.4.4. Teleological meaning**

The Valletta principles (2011) provides principles and strategies for the interventions in historic areas to protect intangible and tangible values of historic towns and their setting. It also integrates values of historic cities into the social, cultural and economic life of the current time.

#### **4.5. Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 2019)**

The historic centre of Amsterdam (17<sup>th</sup>-century canal ring area) has been listed as a world heritage in UNESCO. Therefore, the operational guideline for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention (2019) is essential to be considered and analysed.

##### **4.5.1. Literal content**

This document (UNESCO, 2019) includes guidelines regarding promoting educational and capacity building programmes which are beneficial to heritage and society. As mentioned in the guidelines, the programmes might consist of opportunities for public and private investment to gain economic benefits for local communities from innovative local entrepreneurship at medium/small/micro-scale levels in sustainable development projects to foster local culture and protect associated intangible heritage (UNESCO, 2019). Moreover, international cooperation in research for effective implementation of the Conventions has been encouraged.

In the guidelines, the necessity of a cycle of planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and feedback has been highlighted. Monitoring and management are established on available resources and a shared understanding of values and context. Therefore, making resources available for research is vital for monitoring and management (UNESCO, 2019). Effective management requires a change assessment in different layers, such as social, economic, and environment. Therefore, UNESCO (2019) emphasised on conducting environmental and heritage impact assessment as a pre-requisite for development projects and interventions which affect historic areas to ensure the long-term safeguarding of cultural heritage. Moreover, periodic reporting has been mentioned as a monitoring instrument to ensuring the effective long-term conservation

The other aspect of effective management of world heritage which is mentioned in UNESCO (2019) is to encourage dialogue concerning cultural diversity as an irreplaceable source in the world for humankind which leads to capacity building. For this, multidisciplinary collaboration to use expertise and knowledge, identifying attributed values, documentation the authentic nature of the heritage for future monitoring and treatment, updating the authenticity assessment considering the changes in values and circumstances are highlighted as the guidelines in UNESCO (2019). Effective and Sustainable world heritage protection and management also require inclusive and equitable participation of stakeholders (UNESCO, 2019).

##### **4.5.2. Institutional positioning**

This document is the latest operational guidelines for implementing the world heritage convention. Operational Guidelines are to reflect the decisions of the World Heritage Committee and are periodically revised (UNESCO, 2019). The users of these operational guidelines are the State Parties and *the Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage of Outstanding Universal Value* (world heritage committee), advisory bodies to the world heritage committee, and the UNESCO World Heritage Centre as the Secretariat, in addition to site managers, and stakeholders (UNESCO, 2019).

#### **4.5.3. Historical context**

World Heritage Convention was adopted in 1972. Along with that, the World Heritage Committee and the World Heritage Fund were established in 1976. The convention aims to recognise, protect, present, and transmit the cultural and natural heritage of Outstanding Universal Value to future generations. The criteria for inscription the properties and guidelines for the state parties to preserve and manage the world heritage properties have been periodically revised (UNESCO, 2019).

#### **4.5.4. Teleological meaning**

Since the adaptation of the World Heritage Convention in 1972, the concept of sustainable development has been embraced by conservation of the natural and cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2019). World Heritage Convention contributes to the protection of cultural and natural heritage around the world and to promote cooperation among nations (Australian Government, Dec.2019).

Table 3- policy aims and principles of international conventions regarding the protection of social practices.

International conventions on cultural heritage	Institution	Year	Aims	Principles							
				Raising awareness	participation	Change management	Sustainable development	Cultural diversity	Economic viability	Social vitality	Monitoring
Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage	UNESCO	2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- protect intangible cultural heritage</li> <li>- respect cultural diversity</li> <li>- raise awareness about the importance of intangible cultural heritage</li> </ul>	*	*		*	*		*	*
Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society	Council of Europe	2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- recognise the right of participation in cultural life and responsibility toward cultural heritage</li> <li>- encourage people to participate in heritage governance</li> </ul>	*	*		*	*	*	*	*
Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape	UNESCO	2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- integration of urban conservation and development plan</li> <li>- preserve shared values</li> <li>- enhance the quality of the human environment and urban life by creating a comprehensive and integrated approach</li> </ul>	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

International conventions on cultural heritage	Institution	Year	Aims	Principles							
				Raising awareness	participation	Change management	Sustainable development	Cultural diversity	Economic viability	Social vitality	Monitoring
Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns, and Urban Areas	ICOMOS	2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- principle and strategies for safeguarding the intangible and tangible values of historic towns and their setting</li> <li>- integrate the values into the social, cultural and economic life of the current time</li> </ul>	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention	UNESCO	2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- facilitate the implementation of the World Heritage Convention</li> <li>- facilitate the protection of cultural and natural world heritage sites (listed heritage)</li> </ul>	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

## **Chapter 5- Current strategies**

In this chapter, an overview of the results regarding the current municipal strategies in Amsterdam to protect social practices has been presented. The results are based on the coding and data analysis of the interviews. The transcripts of the interviews are available in Appendix 3. This chapter aims to, firstly, give a brief overview of the current situation of Amsterdam due to interviewees' perception. Secondly, answer the question regarding which instruments are currently used in the city centre of Amsterdam to develop the strategies to create a balance in the city.

### **5.1. Current situation of Amsterdam**

#### **5.1.1. Economy and social perspective**

From the economic perspective, Amsterdam, especially the city centre, is booming. Interviewee #5<sup>2</sup>, as an expert in urban and regional planning, considered the current situation of Amsterdam as a golden age again and the best time ever for entrepreneurs. However, interviewee #2, as an intangible heritage expert, considered the sky-high prices of flats in Amsterdam as an obstacle for living there which has made people dissatisfied, and it is turning the city to a place where people cannot live as an ordinary person. From the social perspective, interviewee #5 also believes that there are more worries, especially about the inhabitant of the city centre because people are not satisfied with the situation.

#### **5.1.2. Tourism and Intangible heritage**

Interviewee #2 recognised two challenges for Amsterdam. The first one is the same as Rotterdam and The Hague related to super-diversity and changes in the population and therefore in the intangible heritage, but the second one is a more significant challenge which is the similar challenge as Venice and Barcelona. This challenge is over-tourism which turns cities into open-air museums, with people who are organisers of this museum instead of inhabitants. Interviewee #2 mentioned the attacks on tourists in Barcelona as the possible outcome of over-tourism that should be considered and controlled before happening. He also mentioned that the house prices and economic reasons push people to leave the city. “These people who are living in Amsterdam do not want to be an open-air museum, or forced to go outside of Amsterdam because they cannot afford the house prices. So, this is a real challenge for Amsterdam” (Interview #2). Interviewee #4, as the representative of Amsterdam municipality, recognised the pressure of over-tourism

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<sup>2</sup> The numbers are based on Appendix 3

as the main constraint in Amsterdam. She emphasised that everybody should have the possibility to enjoy the city, so it should be liveable for the residents to enjoy. Keeping the city as it is, needs people who take care of it because people who live in the city maintain its character (Interview #4).

Interviewee #7, as a heritage expert and the representative of Imagine IC<sup>3</sup>, defined the heritage in a broad sense. Based on her definition, heritage can be a practice or an object; it can also be the sound. She highlighted that, heritage is not consistent; it is dynamic, and it is in a constant making process. People do this process together by valuating the heritage constantly. So, people make heritage based on their connection to it. Interviewee #2 also defined intangible cultural heritage as something that is continuously recreated.

Heritage is an ongoing process. Social practices shape the intangible heritage and are influenced by it. Although in the convention on the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2003) social practices are recognised as a part of intangible heritage, this convention does not give a fluid definition of heritage, and it is a solid translation of heritage that divided into material and immaterial categories. In contrast, interviewee #7 does not consider tangible and intangible heritage separately. Moreover, interviewee #7 pointed out that the way heritage has been defined and illustrated in museums does not work; it should turn around and ask the audience what is significant for them. Based on the broad and fluid definition of heritage, four related challenges, namely the less usage of the language, the change in the functions, and the change in the practices, in addition to gentrification are explained here.

### **5.1.3. Language as an intangible heritage**

Language is part of intangible heritage (UNESCO, 2003). Moreover, language creates social practices such as conversations with neighbours. However, in a touristic city like Amsterdam, the language is mostly heard and seen is English. The sign of the shops has been changed to English names. As interviewee #6 mentioned, there are only a few shops that still have a Dutch name; everything is in English. It is hard to find a cheese shop with a sign that is written *Kaas* instead of *Cheese*. He continued that, the staffs working in shops are native English speakers, and in the streets, all is heard is mainly English. Interviewee #6 mentioned that nowadays, people from other countries who work in Amsterdam do not need to learn Dutch, but their contact will be limited. He mentioned that language has a significant

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<sup>3</sup> Imagine IC is a heritage institution based on the concept of heritage democracy which provides an open floor for the public to participate and negotiate about the composition of Amsterdam's collective memory.

effect on interactions. The social interaction with neighbours who do not speak Dutch is different from Dutch-speaking neighbours.

However, interviewee #7 believes that the political sense of integration is about everyone should learn Dutch and obey the rules and traditions; but every people have their own traditions and should be space for that. Because we have to construct living together and we need to create a space for everyone and create understanding for everybody. She mentioned that each person has multiple identities, and all these identities are constructed, where the person comes from, where lives, sexual and gender identity, all are different identities that are constructed. So, understanding and respecting the differences are prerequisite for creating a sense of place and belonging.

#### **5.1.4. The change in the functions: the challenge of Airbnb**

The other significant challenge in the inner city of Amsterdam is related to the number of Airbnbs, and the changes happened in the inner city due to their presence. Airbnb is a relatively new phenomenon which is related to the internet economy. Airbnb has made a very fast progress, and in two or three years has turned into an industry. So, the governments are not prepared for that, and the current instruments maybe are not adapted for this new situation (Interview #1). Interviewee #3, as a tourism expert, indicated that Airbnb is an interesting idea in principle, but its volume destroys the cohesion of the area. He emphasised that the problem is the key companies that rent houses for people. They changed the original idea of Airbnb, which was about spending time with local people and be familiar with their culture. However, now it is all about money and economic benefit instead of the experience. Tourists are also not looking for experiences; they are driven by consumption and status.

#### **5.1.5. The change in the practices: internet economy**

In addition to Airbnb, which is the result of the new internet economy, local markets and shopping practices are influenced by the internet economy. Local markets and practices happening in the markets are part of intangible heritage, but heritage is fluid and changing all the time, so, already the new internet economy caused changes in the market practices. For example, interview #6 mentioned that today because people sell their stuff online, flea markets have been less significant in our life. Markets are physical public places that create specific social practices which happen there. Therefore, this change in the related practices to market can result in changes in urban design.

#### **5.1.6. Gentrification**

Change in the functions and practices might accelerate the process of gentrification. Amsterdam is an exciting and historic city where people wish to live. However, there is also the process of gentrification. Interviewee #1, as a senior policy advisor at RCE, considered gentrification as a strange paradox. Protection of monuments, regulations, and inject money to the building for good causes such as maintaining them, and making the city beautiful and liveable at the same time might accelerate the process of gentrification. The poor neighbourhoods turn to classy neighbourhoods by gentrification. It is off-spin of heritage policies. The interviewee added that there was a strong social housing market in Amsterdam and preservation of heritage always was in harmony with good social housing policy. However, now, the social housing policy became weaker and social housing are being sold, so, it is going to be another economic turn.

Interviewee #7, based on a recent article, explained that the word gentry in gentrification is about bringing the high and middle class, which comes from a class system which is not strictly in the Netherlands. Regarding the current situation of Amsterdam, in interview #7, it is mentioned that Amstel 3 as a business area with empty offices, is to turn it into a residential area. For now, lots of artistic organisations are located there to create a vibe for that neighbourhood. Moreover, a couple of years ago, many student houses have been located there to bring a different dynamic to the place. Nevertheless, now the prices of the houses are going up and become out of the budget. So, local entrepreneurs and artistic organisations are not able to pay the rents anymore; and they will be pushed out. There are protests in the neighbourhood about this mechanism (Interview #7).

Interviewee #1, as a senior policy advisor, said that the topic of gentrification and diversity is complicated because of many aspects inside it. It is about politics and economy, and the question of money and power. Interviewee #3 considered gentrification as a double-edged sword that there is almost no way to stop it. In the free economy, gentrification happens as a continuous circle. Interviewee #3 believes that we need different kinds of area in the city from very wealthy to the fringe area. That is what makes the city centre of Amsterdam very exceptional area where people work, live, play, and all happen in the same area, not a business district that be dead at night. Amsterdam city centre was a better mix in the 70s and 80s. The mixed-uses at that time made the city outstanding. Although in recent decades, areas such as Zuidas (South Axis) turned to a monofunctional business district, the municipality is trying to bring more housing and recreation there to improve it.

After explaining the challenges that interviewees recognised regarding the current situation of Amsterdam city centre, the next section is about strategies that municipality are using to deal with problems in the current situation of Amsterdam.

## **5.2. Municipal strategy**

In the recent decade, the strategy of Amsterdam municipality regarding the city centre has been changed from increasing the number of tourists to controlling the number of tourists. This change is to make the balance in the historic city centre of Amsterdam (Interview #6). Interviewee #6, as the representative of Amsterdam municipality, said that the current strategy of the municipality is to avoid promoting the tourists actively.

## **5.3. Instruments**

Specific instruments are used to steer the tasks and develop the strategy. Each instrument responds to a particular type of problem. For the aim of this research, to find municipal strategies that protect social practices, and based on the theoretical framework of this research, considering instruments that protect heritage in addition to the instruments that control the tourist is necessary.

### **5.3.1. Legislation**

For the built heritage, there is a national heritage act. This act gives the possibility to appoint a state list of monuments, and the possibility to preserve town and village scape. This instrument is going from the heritage act to the new environment and planning act (Omgevingswet) because it is more about the physical domain. Also, there are provincial and municipal jurisdiction and autonomy to list their municipal or provincial monuments (Interview #1).

Based on the interview with representatives of Amsterdam municipality, the municipality has imposed regulations to control the growing enormous number of tourists who come to Amsterdam. Interviewee #6, as a land-use planner in the Amsterdam municipality, mentioned that from a couple of years ago, there is municipal legislation to put a stop on new hotels. They added that still few hotels open up, because the planning for these hotels had already started before this new legislation about avoiding new hotels. After the ban for new hotels in the inner city, the number of Airbnb locations has exploded in this area. Recently, the new regulations regarding bed and breakfast have been established after a court case in Amsterdam. Based on the new regulations, people are allowed to do bed and breakfast or Airbnb, but they have to report that to the municipality. It means, now, official permit for Airbnb is needed. So, the house owner has to pay tax. Also, there are strict regulations, including the limitation of a maximum of four people to accommodate, and the host has to live in the building. For example, it is not possible to rent an apartment on Airbnb and live somewhere else. Moreover, the City has just introduced stricter regulations in the sense that the people can only do Airbnb for a maximum of 30 days which used to be 60 days.

These are in the legislation side. Also, when there is a communion of ownership of a building block, then this cooperation has to permit the neighbours to do bed and breakfast, and if the communion denies giving the permission, then it is not possible even though the city allows it. So, getting permission for Airbnb will be more difficult due to this new system of permits which is starting right now (Interview #6). However, interviewee #3, as a tourism expert assumed that based on the new European rule that makes Airbnb an information platform instead of an economic platform, local laws do not apply to Airbnb; and that means unlimited growth potential for Airbnb.

Interviewee #4, as the representative of monument and archaeology bureau of Amsterdam municipality, indicated that the municipality cannot change all the rules about Airbnb and tourists because some of the rules are in the national level. However, some changes can be done at the municipal level through instruments such as land-use plan (Bestemmingsplan); for instance, not to let companies buy the houses in the red-light district and change them to commercial uses, or to prevent that all shops change to the same kind of tourist shops which results in the disappearance of grocery shops. Promoting the diversity of shops needs rules and regulation instrument in addition to the land-use plan. For example, the opening of four cheese shops close to each other is not possible only by using the land-use plan, so, the help of rules and regulations as another instrument is needed. Small scale plans cost time and workforce to be specific and correct lawfully, thereby not always as fast as residents desire.

### **5.3.2. Land-use plan (Bestemmingsplan)**

The land-use plan is going to transfer to the new environment plan (Omgevingsplan). In interview #6, indicated that the Omgevingsplan will be the old Bestemmingsplan; however, it will take a couple of years. Municipalities have to take into account cultural heritage in their land-use plan. Interviewee #1, as a senior policy advisor at RCE, highlighted that it means municipalities have to inventory the cultural heritage, analyse and value them. For example, the building that seems valuable has to be considered in the land-use plan to take measures and preserve it. Interviewee #4 mentioned that the land-use plan, designed every five or six years, as an instrument to protect the structure of the inner city. She also mentioned that in the broader plan, for the whole city of Amsterdam there is *structure plan* (Structuurvisie) which was written more than ten years ago and now the new one is already in development concerning the coming laws.

Interviewee #6, as the representative of Amsterdam municipality, recognised the land-use plan as an effective instrument the municipality has for controlling and making a balance in the city. Although the land-use plan has no direct effect on decreasing the number of tourists, it can maintain diversity. In

Amsterdam inner city, preserving diversity in functions has been the goal considered in land-use plans over the last 25 years. The new land-use plans initially restrict functions that affect the welfare and living condition of locals. Initial measures were to put a stop on specific functions, but the latest measures changed to put a stop on functions that focus on tourists as a target group. The aim is to preserve the diversity of functions. Interviewee #6 said that the number of tourists is growing, and all we can do is to control some functions through the land use plan and make sure that these functions do not increase, to make the city liveable, not only for residents and people who work and live there but even for tourists.

Interview #6 pointed out the changes in the function of shops in Amsterdam city centre from diverse functions into businesses that are mainly focused on tourists, such as ice-cream, waffles, cheese, and sex-related shops which have nothing for locals' need. It creates a sort of atmosphere in the street which does not belong to locals anymore, and it is just for tourists. They explained that this change is a slow process, but it has a very disruptive effect on the street, and it has accelerated over the past few years. For example, when the shopkeeper, who sells something that locals need, observes the other shops which are selling touristic goods and earn a considerable sum of money, and the local shop's client is not coming here anymore. So, the shopkeeper decides to change his local store to a touristic shop. The high price of rent is also a reason why stores prefer to change their function to activities related to tourists. Therefore, they sell their shops or change the activity. Interviewee #6 mentioned that the municipality realised if they do not do anything, it would disrupt the city and then like Venice and part of Barcelona, the city will only be of interest of tourists. Therefore, the municipality put a stop on certain functions to prevent this mono-functionality. However, it does not affect existing stores; they can continue their businesses. It only prevents the situation from getting worse. He, as the representative of the central bureau of Amsterdam municipality added that "we had stopped souvenir shops, grow shops, massage salons, also the prostitution; as an effect, we saw an increase within a year from five to fifteen of where you get massage" (Interview #6). So, it shows entrepreneurs find a way for their economic benefits. Preserving the diversity of functions is not possible only by land-use plans or regulations, and needs to be environmentally motivated.

### **5.3.3. Inscribing in the World Heritage List**

In addition to regulations and land-use plan, there is a specific instrument which protects the physical structure of the historic area of Amsterdam. The historic area of Amsterdam, including the 17<sup>th</sup>-century canals area, is inscribed in the world heritage list. Interviewee #4, as the representative of monument and archaeology bureau of Amsterdam municipality, mentioned that the inscribing Amsterdam historic ring of canals as a world heritage site is an instrument that resulted in defining boundaries of the buffer zone and

core zone for protecting this area. Inscribing as world heritage site forces the city to consider international conventions about world heritage protection. Tangible and intangible aspects of a city are connected, so, protecting tangible aspects of the city is the prerequisite of the protection of intangible aspects.

#### **5.3.4. Financial (subsidies and tax)**

Subsidies and tax are also instruments that are used in cultural heritage protection and tourism control, respectively. Here, these two instruments have been categorised as the financial instruments.

Subsidies are used as an instrument to encourage the preservation of historic cities. Owners of state list monuments can get subsidy for restoration or for the maintenance of their monuments. For example, there is a national restoration fund which is the mortgage to renovate houses (Interview #1). Although it is more about monuments and it is object-oriented, the protection of physical symbols is needed for intangible heritage safeguarding.

Tourist tax is also an instrument that is used to increase travelling costs and control the number of tourists by discouraging them from travelling to these areas. In addition to the tourist tax based on the hotel bed, cruise ships have to pay a tax per passenger per day. Based on interview #6, this new policy made cruise companies decide to go to Rotterdam instead of Amsterdam. Nevertheless, it has limited effect on the number of tourists come to Amsterdam because tours bring the passengers from Rotterdam to Amsterdam to visit the city, and at the end of the day, they go back to the cruise ship.

#### **5.3.5. Stop promoting the city as a tourist destination**

To not promote tourism in Amsterdam, the Amsterdam tourism board or Amsterdam city marketing has already stopped advertising the city as a tourist destination. So, hand out any flyers to encourage tourists to come, and promotion for tourists have been stopped (Interview #6).

#### **5.3.6. Communication**

Based on the representative of Amsterdam municipality (Interview #4), the new mayor of Amsterdam has decided, as one of her targets, to organise different discussion groups with inhabitants and people who work or have a business in the red-light district, for furthering the project 1012 in this area. Based on the discussions, she found different points of views. These discussions are going on now, and after that, she will make a new plan. The interviewee #4 mentioned that the municipality used laws as an instrument to clean up the area. Nowadays, they use also the idea of hearing the inhabitants in addition to law.

## **Chapter 6- Restrictions**

This chapter aims to investigate the restrictions exist regarding the implementation of the instruments mentioned in Chapter 5. To find the restrictions that affect the effectiveness of strategies, the interviews with experts who have different perspectives on the subject, have been conducted. The results are based on the coding and analysis of interviews.

### **6.1. Strong sense of denial**

Interviewee #3, as a tourism expert, discussed that there is a strong sense of denial in the city about the actual problems that over-tourism makes; while recognition of the problem is the first step to solve a problem. The example mentioned in interview #6 about the renaming of the neighbourhood from “Stadion buurt” to “Olympic” recognised as a political decision because of neighbourhood marketing to attract more tourists. It illustrates the sense of denial regarding over-tourism among decision-makers. Also, it is in the opposite direction of the municipal strategy about not promoting tourism.

### **6.2. Wicked problem**

Interviewee #5, as the expert who envisioned the future plan of Amsterdam inner city, believes that Amsterdam situation is a wicked problem. He stated that Amsterdam city centre is the most complex part of the Netherlands. It is fundamental to stop trying to find a solution because there is no solution to this complexity. When someone starts solving a wicked problem, the problem will be changed by the solution; and many other problems will find behind it. For example, in the case of Amsterdam city centre, tourism, drugs, crime, shopping; all are problems in themselves, and all are interwoven.

Interviewee #3 also explained the situation very complex which involves on the one hand national, provincial and municipal government, on the other hand, tourist industry including airlines, airports, cruise companies, hotels, museums, souvenir shops, transportation, tour companies, etc. So, there is not one industry, and it is called *many-headed monster* in interviewee #3. Existence of multiple parties with conflicting values and interests is recognised as an indication of a wicked problem by Head and Alford (2008).

### **6.3. Over-regulation**

The programmes developed for city centre such as “city in balance” are all about regulating tourism and crowds. Based on interview #5, regulations will not solve the real problems because this over-regulation makes people more tricky and inventive, especially entrepreneurs, but also tourists. All the campaigns in

the city centre are about forbidding. The interviewee believes that it makes the atmosphere more negative and pessimistic. Regulating needs enforcement and interviewee #4 indicated that there are not enough inspectors to enforce the rules. Interviewee #5 recognised lack of money, capacity and practical knowledge as the reason for lack of enforcement. Interviewee #6 indicated that there are different education campaigns such as “enjoy and respect” which its banners are hanging and inform the people, for example, about the fine for public urination or drink in public. The problem is that the audience are drunk people who are in Amsterdam for a short time. Interviewee #3 also agreed that this campaign is not effective. He stated that it is not the language resonate with young people. Interview #2, as the representative of the Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage, indicates that although regulations might help to make the traditions more sustainable for the future, UNESCO has a bottom-up approach regarding communities who are involved. So, it is not about telling the communities how things should be, but it is about asking them to react.

#### **6.4. Lack of communication and resistance to change**

Interviewee #8, as a cultural heritage expert, recognised lack of communication as the first obstacle. He highlighted that it is hard for people to accept the new concepts and new social arrangements because they have a tendency to the old and familiar arrangements, and try to frame everything by familiar concepts. For example, classical heritage professionals partly resist taking the knowledge that is threatening their own beliefs, such as the new fluid definition of heritage. The interviewee indicated that there is a resistance to expert-led development, and small expertise in specific fields are underestimated. What he mentioned indicates the importance of considering different perspectives and multidisciplinary views.

Interviewee #3 also recognised the same problem of resistant to change, but this time not only experts but also among people. He believes that the main restriction in the implementation phase is about getting much resistance because people do not like the change in the way they used to do things. Moreover, the interviewee mentioned that the effects are long-term, so, people do not feel the urgency and the need for change. For example, imposing a tax on flights makes the flights more expensive, and creates dissatisfaction. The point people cannot see is the urgency and to consider that by doing nothing, the planet will be destroyed.

Despite the lack of communication and participation among experts, there is a high political interest in participatory processes to engage citizens. Interviewee #8 explained his doubt about the feasibility of participation in the city and provincial levels because he believes the administration and bureaucracy system is not yet ready to handle and work with such a high level of uncertainty. Moreover, the idea of

participation is bottom-up, and there is a paradox in promoting participation through legislation which has top-down character. Participatory practices cannot be forced. Interview #2, due to the new environment and planning act, mentioned that the tough part for municipalities to consider intangible heritage would be about involving all these different stakeholders and recognising all the different values attached to heritage by the communities, consequently, how to come up with a permanent solution because it is always an ongoing process.

### **6.5. Fragmented view**

Interview #3 discussed that in the situation of Amsterdam, the collaboration between different levels, for example, provincial organiser, the municipality and the ministry of economy is needed; but there is no meeting of these minds. The lack of collaboration at the government level also mentioned in interview #5. The interviewee recognised this lack of collaboration as a complicated situation. For example, in the municipality based on the project, only one department is responsible for the project, and when many departments are responsible, it seems not going to work; so, the municipality asks the project manager to do the project. Interviewee #5 mentioned this situation as what happened in the red-light district (1012 project) and was not practical because by having a project manager, the neighbourhood turned into a project. It is not possible to consider a neighbourhood as a project and manage the complexity.

Based on the interviews, the lack of collaboration exists inside the organisations. Literally, inside the organisations, everything is divided and fragmented. Interviewee #1, as a senior policy advisor at RCE, mentioned that the whole way of dealing with heritage in the Netherlands is not holistic, and it is divided along the disciplines, such as built heritage, mobile heritage, archaeology. In RCE the archaeology, landscape, and the built heritage have been integrated, but the intangible and mobile heritage is still outside the field. Also, on a local level, it is challenging to integrate intangible heritage into the built heritage (tangible aspects). The law and regulations focus on tangible aspects, such as preserving the building and subsidising the maintenance but not on what is happening inside the buildings and social practices. The interviewee recognised the social practices as a local culture in the city, which are the result of people interactions. He mentioned that social practices are not considered as a heritage in the Netherlands.

Interviewee #1 also mentioned that the fragmented view regarding heritage sometimes causes policy off-spins. For example, restoration of the buildings as the built heritage to maintain the material aspects lead to an increase in the price. Therefore, more power is given to the process of gentrification, which is not the policy aim. Accordingly, interviewee #7 also mentioned in the Netherlands, topics are divided, and experts tend to work on a specific topic, while all of these topics are interconnecting.

The new environment and planning act combines different areas of practices. However, interviewee #1 regarding the impact of Omgevingswet on reducing the off-spin of policies indicated that it is the question of money and power and depends on the political choice of how to use the instruments. Interviewee #6 provided an example of disagreement between different parts in the municipality such as economic department and central bureau about topics like opening shops and offices in the city centre, to show the way policy areas are interfering. Interviewee #4 said that in the Amsterdam municipality, a couple of years ago, reshuffling happened and everything has been divided. However, now, the collaboration between parts is getting better. For example, the sustainability department is making a project team in which people from different departments work together, which is a new excellent way of thinking and working. The interviewee complained about the fragmented education system that does not have enough space for a broad and multidisciplinary view. For example, there is no space for heritage in education programmes of other disciplines.

#### **6.6. Intangible heritage safeguarding challenges**

In addition to restriction and challenges that are mentioned above, there are more specific challenges for intangible cultural heritage safeguarding. Interviewee #2, as an intangible heritage expert, mentioned that these challenges are migration and urbanisation, super-diversity, climate change, and tourism management, but all of them can be seen as an opportunity for intangible heritage as well. For example, avoiding being monoculture by preserving the diversity, and sharing the practices will increase the sense of relatedness and connectivity to the place among the people; or preserving intangible heritage as a sustainable way of producing goods with less ecological footprints will contribute to a more sustainable future.

Interviewee #3 mentioned that Amsterdam is very successful in maintaining tangible heritage, but intangible heritage is much more difficult for people to identify; especially for the upcoming generation. The intangible heritage is very local, but the new generation is more internationally oriented and less locally oriented. While interviewee #3, as a tourism expert, believes that neither tourists nor residents get motivated by the intangible heritage; interviewee #2, as intangible heritage expert, believes that the intangible heritage is a good motivation to bring more tourists to the city. He mentioned the example of *Hollandsche manege* in Amsterdam which is the oldest horse riding school in the Netherlands. In the reuse plan of this building, the intangible aspects are kept for attracting more tourists. Accordingly, the research shows that the return visits for the tourists interested in intangible aspects of a city are significantly higher than tourists who come for visiting tangible heritage (Neuts et al., 2014; Romão et al., 2012). Moreover, Van Leeuwen et al. (2013) indicated that the research on the preferences of Amsterdam

residents showed that younger locals were more interested in intangible aspects including cultural events, traditions, local customs and knowledge, than older people.

### **6.6.1. Not giving Priority to intangible heritage**

Interview #4, as representative of monuments and archaeology bureau of Amsterdam municipality, said they are protecting tangible heritage but for intangible heritage is more difficult to have the district rules and regulations because it is sometimes fluid. She mentioned people in the Netherlands, care about heritage, but it should not be too much of a bother. At the national level, heritage consideration is quite good. However, in the plan-making process, for example in the municipality, sometimes plan makers with cultural background try to put more regulation according to cultural heritage, but sometimes they think it might cost more money, and in the new plans, it is hard to consider heritage. The interviewee added that, usually, no one thinks about heritage at the beginning of planning. The plan-making process starts with spatial planning bureau. They normally ask colleagues to advise them, but hardly colleagues from monument and archaeology office are there, in the early stage of planning. Only almost the end of the process monument bureau read the whole, while it would be better to start in the early stage of the project. In other words, heritage is not a priority. Interviewee #1, as a heritage policy advisor at RCE, is optimistic about the situation of cultural heritage in the new environment and planning act and mentioned that heritage is integrated everywhere in different parts of the law and sub-orders.

Interviewee #2 explained that based on the new environment and planning act and integration of Bestemmingsplan into Omgevingsplan if the municipality is dealing with urban development, it has to adapt itself to specific rules. One of these rules is to take into account heritage aspects. In the old days, these rules were just taking care of the monumental buildings, but now also municipalities have to relate to other forms of intangible heritage that might be of interest to the communities involved. So, the Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage is now preparing a brochure for municipalities to tell them they should also take into account intangible heritage. The interviewee, as the representative of the Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage, also indicated that the power of the centre to negotiate is limited because it cannot solve every social problem in society. However, what this centre can do as a starting point is to empower the communities to make them stronger, which is the main purpose of the centre. He emphasised that the municipalities do not know what the intangible heritage is. They want to have a city where people could live in, where there is social cohesion, and also economic development. Municipalities do not know that they sometimes use intangible heritage for these purposes.

Table 4 shows the current strategies of Amsterdam municipality, which influence social practices, in addition to instruments that are used to implement the strategies, and restrictions that exist in implementing them.

Table 4- Current strategies, instruments, and restrictions based on the interviews.

Strategies with influence on social practices	Instruments are currently used to implement the strategies	Restriction in implementation of strategies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Controlling the number of tourists</li> <li>- Making a balance between liveability and tourist attraction</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Legislation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Over-regulation</li> <li>- Strong sense of denial</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Land use plan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Fragmented view</li> <li>- Over-regulation/ Lack of flexibility</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tax</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Lack of communication and satisfaction</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Avoiding tourism promotion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Lack of collaboration</li> <li>- Fragmented view</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Preserving the cultural heritage</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Inscribing in the national and world heritage list</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Not giving priority to heritage, especially intangible heritage</li> <li>- Fragmented view regarding heritage</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Subsidies for restoration and renovation</li> </ul>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Considering national and international guidelines related to world heritage preservation</li> </ul>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Establishing organisations such as Imagine IC</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Increase the responsibility and satisfaction of the residents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Communication and participation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Fake participation</li> </ul>

## **Chapter 7- Alternative solutions**

This chapter is about policy options. Based on the current strategies and the restrictions in their implementation (Chapter 5 and 6); also based on the solutions that the experts mentioned in the interviews, and comparing them with related literature, the alternative policy options have been recognised. Coding and sorting the transcripts of the interviews have been performed based on the theoretical framework (Chapter 2).

### **7.1 Accepting there is a problem (sense of urgency)**

The prerequisite for solving a problem, based on what mentioned in interview #3, is to realise there is a problem and then define what the problem is and how significant it is. The interviewee as a tourism expert mentioned that the problem which causes a massive change needs massive measurements to be solved; for example, the waterworks and dykes are massive measurements which cost billions of Euros to save the life of people as a massive purpose. The interviewee also indicated it is essential to realise the sense of urgency around the subject and express it in a clear way to the people who are involved. He mentioned the instruments that are used to transmit the sense of urgency, like publication, interviews and meeting with journalists or radio and TV, talking to everyone who wants to hear, also doing research and sharing the knowledge in addition to trying to find factual and logical reasons about the necessity of change. All are the instruments that can help the subject to become urgent. On the other hand, the interviewee also emphasised that making the problem too complicated to be solved would create a feeling in people that they cannot do anything for solving the problem. Therefore, it is essential to make the problem urgent and solvable for people to understand its importance.

Interviewee #3 pointed out that 90 thousand people living in the city centre and around it and they have a problem with tourists, while 700 thousand people are living in Amsterdam and they do not have a problem with tourists. Therefore, a fearless politician is needed to solve the problem of tourists in Amsterdam. Despite what the interviewee mentioned, a crowded city centre with an unpleasant atmosphere would decrease the quality of life for all the citizens. Although other people who live outside the inner city would not feel the urgency, the lack of connection with the city centre affects their feeling and perception about the city. So, it is a problem for all citizens in the whole city. The example of this situation is illustrated in the personal feeling of interviewee #7 about Amsterdam. She mentioned 25 years ago when she came to Amsterdam to study recognised the whole of Amsterdam as her home. However, these days she feels that her definition of the city is limited to the neighbourhood. She avoids going to the

city centre because she does not feel comfortable there anymore. So, the city is decreased to a neighbourhood for her.

## **7.2. Long term strategy**

After accepting there is a problem, based on interview #3, a long term strategy like a Delta plan is needed to control over-tourism. It should be an integrated plan for the whole country, not only the city of Amsterdam but also for the entire municipality's metropolitan region around Amsterdam. Considering the situation of Amsterdam as a wicked problem, a long-term plan is vital. The Australian Public Service Commission (APSC), 2007, also indicates the long-term focus as a necessity for dealing with wicked problems. APSC highlighted that governors should understand there is no quick fix for wicked problems. Moreover, according to Head and Alford (2008), long term-plan requires more monitoring of the outcomes and adjustment.

## **7.3. Law and regulation**

Current laws in the Netherlands and also in Europe are not able to deal with over-tourism issues such as Airbnb, as interviewee #3 declared that. He emphasised on the necessity of new laws to regulate the situation, for example, regulating the growth of Airbnb, or limiting the number of flights and cruise and consequently limiting the number of people and accommodation. Moreover, regulating the use of housing as an economic force would be effective because housing usually is a need, but now it is a tool for wealthy people to become wealthier and to exploit. So, regulations are needed to force people to live in the houses that they buy, or impose a limitation for subletting on Airbnb for a maximum of 30 days, which based on interview #6 has been started recently. The point of view of interviewee #3 about the necessity of regulations is the opposite of the idea of interviewee #5, who believes that the regulations do not work in the complicated situation of Amsterdam.

Interviewee #6 indicated that imposing certain limits on Airbnb permission based on the location, as it is happening, creates a system that gives permission concerning in which part of the city the Airbnb is located. Therefore, there is an option for the municipality to do not permit more bed and breakfast in the city centre. He also indicated that not giving permission to new hotels or Airbnb in the inner city or even outside the city centre will not be very effective because Amsterdam is relatively small in comparison to London or Paris. If people stay in Haarlem or Utrecht or Rotterdam, they easily reach Amsterdam in less than one hour by train, which is the time is needed to travel to a part of Paris or London. Moreover, the interviewee, as a representative of Amsterdam municipality, mentioned that the regulations could be effective, but there is a shortage of time and people as inspectors.

### **7.3.1. Encouraging package**

The existing regulations to put a stop on opening new shops with certain activities related to tourists in the inner city are related to the shops that are going to open and not the existing ones. Would be more effective if, in addition to the regulations, the municipality provides financial motivators such as encouraging packages including financial aids or less tax for shops with local activities and puts more tax for tourist shops. Encouraging policies are effective because according to Murphy (2008), reducing the feeling of resentment and increasing satisfaction is necessary to motivate people and encourage effective compliance behaviour. Moreover, based on Lange (2002), regulations are not just the law but also the management of emotions and feelings. She discussed that the analysis of the emotional process caused by regulation should be considered as a critical factor in regulatory laws.

### **7.3.2. Managing the volume**

Interview #3 emphasised that the average growth of the number of tourists in Amsterdam is 10 per cent per year while the number of inhabitants is increasing less than one per cent per year. The interviewee, as a tourism expert, considered that the only way to solve the over-tourism is to manage the volume, and it has to be in the whole city and the metropolitan region. Volume can be controlled through managing the access, such as cruise terminal, the number of flights, and the number of people who have a flight to Schiphol airport; also managing all kinds of accommodations, i.e. Airbnb, hotels, camping. It is needed to define a maximum and put a limit for it to decrease the rate of increase in the number of tourists. Interview #4 remarked that the people who come by a cruise, leave the city in the evening to go back to the ship. They are not the people who come for party and make trouble for residents. She mentioned that if cheap flights become limited, it will be more effective. However, it is the responsibility and choice of Schiphol airport; so, the municipality needs to lobby more.

### **7.3.3. How to deal with a wicked problem**

In contrast to remarks by interviewee #3 about the necessity of new law and regulations in the current situation of Amsterdam, interviewee #5 believes that the situation of Amsterdam is a wicked problem, and it is not possible to solve that by regulating. Interviewee #5 explained that there are a few things that should be done to improve the situation. One of them is to observe; to go to the streets, listen, look, and speak to people but mostly listen and observe what the reality is. Because of the complex and uncertain situation, it might be not what it seems. So, it is vital to stop judging and just listen with an open mind. Secondly, in the case of intervention, it should be done in a very light way, kind of nudging. The soft approach is the best. The third step is imagination about what could happen and making scenarios. It is a

complex and uncertain situation. Everything is interwoven and very dynamic, so, working with imagination and scenarios is very powerful. Based on APSC guidelines tolerating levels of uncertainty around the solutions is a vital factor that should be considered in dealing with wicked problems (APSC, 2007). The new environment and planning act (Omgevingswet) proposes more flexibility and fewer legal restrictions to create a balance between flexibility and legal certainty (Van den Hoek et al., 2020).

#### **7.4. Capacity building**

Interviewee #3 mentioned that we talk about tourists as the others, but all of us are tourists, and it is crucial to start from thinking and to change our behaviours not to destroy the planet. To change the behaviour, interviewee #7 emphasised the importance of teaching children in the early-stage to listen to each other and be aware of having a voice. She also mentioned everything they do in Imagine IC is about talking, listening, sharing, and creating awareness. Moreover, She believes that the solution at municipal or higher level would be in training the people who work for the government to work differently. They can learn about how to listen to people and about the participation process by working with organisations which consider bottom-up approaches. For example, cooperation between RCE and Imagine IC can be effective in training people to think differently.

##### **7.4.1. Skill training**

Interviewee #4, as a representative of Amsterdam municipality, indicated the lack of specific educational programme at the municipal level and mentioned that the programmes are more about giving information. Interviewee #2 highlighted that encouraging youngsters to be trained on the techniques related to intangible heritage will help to have a future for the traditions. Tangible and intangible heritage are interwoven. He explained it by the example of the *Craft of the miller* as the first international nomination of the Netherlands, which inscribed in the intangible heritage UNESCO list. Both the craft of the miller and the mill are needed to have a working mill. Therefore, in addition to the preservation of the building or place, education and training about the techniques are essential to safeguard intangible heritage.

##### **7.4.2. Academic research**

Regarding the effect of academic research, interviewee #5 indicated that research on the wicked problems takes time, and by the time a researcher delivers the results, the problem has already changed. So, he believes the best is to experiment and to do learning by doing. On the other hand, interview #3 emphasised on the role of research and sharing the knowledge to make people aware of the urgent situation.

## **7.5. Participation**

Interviewee #7, as the representative of Imagine IC, mentioned that the visitor study that they did last year, showed the role of the networking person who talked with people and listened to them was significant for visitors. The visitors felt that they were heard because he was a good listener. People also felt that they were represented in the stories. People realised that they have a story to tell and their lives and what they think is important. All these things create a sense of belonging, sense of home for them. It can happen by creating a safe space for people to participate and also addressing topics that are important for the neighbourhood.

In the interview #8, the interviewee mentioned the *Caravan affection* in Bangkok, the project in which teachers in various places in rural areas teach how people can organise local produce, in terms of making their coffee instead of buying espresso because it is 40 times more value when they make it themselves. It is the example of turning the table and trying to look at the world not from organisational hierarchies, but from the point of view that the power and the people coming together and taking responsibility for the whole situation. The interviewee added that if the municipality gives trust to people, this situation can happen in Amsterdam. However, the participatory practices in order to be successful and gain the trust need time-frame of at least ten years, but the local governments are just for a short time (4 years) and then changed, so, people in the street did not trust them. Based on interviewee #8, one of the instruments that create trust is the *trust mirror* which should be hanged in front of administration officials, and they ask themselves, are they here in the next ten years, and can people put their trust on them? He added, Local government should give people the power to create their own public space and take care of it, because they can do it in a more valuable way and give more value to it. Local governments should pay attention to be prepared for a more just and equal future for all.

Interviewee #8, as an expert in the heritage participatory approach, emphasised that participation in the wrong way will have destructive effects. It will be a fake democracy. If people have the idea that they have a say in their future, and in the end, they realise that it was just a manipulation to strengthen the agenda of politicians, would be the worst thing that can happen. Therefore, working in the participatory field is like playing with fire. He added one of the key points to be sure about the effective way of participation is always to keep the situations open and be aware of the necessity to accommodate new players all the time. Participation is a long-term process and not a project, so, it has to be open. The second key point is to keep the participatory process as diverse as possible. The nightmare would be when the participation turns into an echo-chamber in which everything says the same thing, and all are going to disappear. So, the diversity of voices is vital. Being patient to listen to people and try to find temporary

compromises are the necessities for having an effective participation. Moreover, the interviewee emphasised that repeating is a part of the participatory process. If it does not come to a conclusion, repeat it again and again.

### **7.5.1. Heritage and participation**

Participation in heritage management is a necessity, not only communication but also give residents the power to decide. Giving the power of decision-making to people requires a bottom-up model at a local scale to be effective. Interviewee #7, as the representative of Imagine IC, explained a concept called *emotion networking*. They developed this concept a few years ago. Emotion networking is about putting a topic such as a tradition or an object on the table and bringing people around it, asking them about the significance and emotions they have for the object. The emotions are likely different for everybody. This concept avoids extremes because keep talking in extremes prevents people from coming together. Emotion networking aims to show the people that the differences are in the nuance; and to make visible that the people have different connections to the place for different reasons, also to teach people to listen to each other. It is not a debate because in a debate the goal is to convince the other person, but here is about understanding each other to make them closer. In this way, people decide about what is valuable for them to be preserved. Interviewee #8 also remarked that people are not aware and do not care about heritage, but let people talk, they bring themselves what they value.

### **7.5.2. Participation in spatial planning**

Giving the residents the power to decide and control the public spaces is a critical factor that results in the sense of belonging and responsibility toward the place. In the interview #7, the interviewee illustrated an example of designing a street soccer place in a neighbourhood. She explained that if urban designers decide about the place of this playground, young people will reject the created playground because they were not involved in the process. They want to pick and create their own spaces. They know what type of material should be used to hear the sound of the ball. They know the social structure of the neighbourhood. So, they reject the playground because it does not belong to them. It is not something that they concurred and made their own. So, it is important to consider that youth also have a voice, and they are part of the heritage making process as much as adults are.

Regarding the connection between spatial planning and intangible aspects such as the sense of place, UNESCO (2011) emphasised that the unmanaged changes in the cities affect the sense of place. According to that, interviewee #7 mentioned a story of a girl who was born and raised in Bijlmer. The girl found changes in the neighbourhood quite disturbing that a lot of things iconic to her youth are not there

anymore. So, she felt disconnected from the neighbourhood and her history, although she has always lived there. It shows that the constant change in the urban environment results in creating a group of people disconnected from the neighbourhood. Participation can bring back the sense of belonging to the place and connectivity. The interviewee #7 also mentioned the participation that government and district officers do, is not effective participation because participation is not organising gatherings to people ventilate why they are unhappy and say what they want. Participation is about organising gatherings in a way to create something together, but usually, there is no time and money for that. Not making time and money for real participation causes failure for the projects and therefore costs more time and money to redo it. Based on interview #7, the heart of participation is to listen to the needs of others, not to enforce or justify the aim of being there.

### **7.6. Multidisciplinary approach**

Interviewee #3 considered that the current situation of Amsterdam has an economic source which has caused the social problem of lack of connectivity and responsibility in the city. As a tourism expert, he believes that in the Amsterdam city centre, the dominant population now is tourists, and people are becoming more and more like extras in a film in their city where they live. People are the soul of the city, so, disconnecting from the city results in losing the soul. Tourists stay short in the city, and they are not responsible, so, if the citizens become irresponsible, the city will turn into a dirty and crowded jungle. Interviewee #1 believes that nowadays we are dealing with the new global internet economy as a new phenomenon. It has caused people to buy historic houses near the canal, and instead of living there rent it out to tourist, or in other words, the internet economy makes this situation more footloose, so, people do not feel responsible anymore for the place and the social fabric. He also believes it is difficult to deal with this topic from planning practice or heritage policy. The interviewee, as a policy advisor, added it is a local issue and municipalities are the first problem owner. Tourists bring money but also the problem of Airbnb and lack of responsibility to the city; municipalities should decide about it. It is difficult for the municipalities, especially Amsterdam, to handle the tourism topic because it is a very complicated mix of why people come there, and how the city wants to represent itself.

Interviewee #7 agreed that in the Netherlands, topics are fragmented, and experts consider only specific topics, while they are interwoven. For example, intangible and tangible heritage are considered as separated topics. The interviewee #7, as a heritage expert, mentioned that, society is changing and according to the change in the demand of society, the approach to supply the demand should also be changed. According to interviewee #3, as a tourism expert, the current situation is an incredible complexity, and the only way to solve this problem is the way to look at it from the planet, people and

profit perspective. Those three should be in balance: what is happening to the planet, environment and climate; what is happening to people living in the city; and who is making a profit and what is an acceptable profit. Usually, the whole focus is on profit, and no focus is on the planet and people while making a balance between these aspects is vital. Therefore, a multidisciplinary approach is needed to create balance.

## **Chapter 8- Discussion**

This chapter aims to explore the link between results which are related to the current situation of Amsterdam (Chapters 5, 6, and 7) and principles mentioned in the international conventions investigated in Chapter 4. The discussions have been categorised under the four titles and for each title related literature has been reviewed.

### **8.1. Soft versus hard approach**

Based on the analysis of the international conventions in Chapter 4, most of the recommended instruments are soft instruments (Table 3). This section is a comparison between the principles mentioned in the recommendations and the current instruments used in Amsterdam.

#### **8.1.1. Hard interventions**

Quilley (2000) named two different kinds of redevelopment in the inner city. The first one is called “hard city” which is related to property-led regeneration, and the second one is “soft city” which is related to culture-led regeneration. Interviewee #5, as an urban planning expert, believes that the soft approach is the best and most effective way in complex situations. He mentioned: “If you want to intervene, do it in a very light way, kind of nudging” (Interview #5). He added that in the Netherlands, soft approaches are not considered. The government and the municipality prefer hard interventions. They always focus on problems to fight them, while soft approaches can be more effective.

The intervention that happened in the red-light district (Plan 1012) is an example of hard interventions. Regarding Neuts et al. (2014) Plan 1012, in addition to a branding strategy that aims the creation of new city image, is a hard urban design and public-private investment that causes gentrification and exclusion of marginalised social groups. Although the municipality justified Plan 1012 as a crime-fighting to protect the marginalised group, the project can endanger the sex-workers’ health and put more pressure on them because the project has led to a decrease in the number of windows while the demand is still the same (Neuts et al., 2014). Interviewee #5 believes that the red-light district project was not effective. It took ten years from 2007 to 2018 and cost millions of euros while in the end, windows were reduced only by a quarter. So, the cost-benefit was very low. He added, starting with prostitution and put pressure on this vulnerable group to solve the problem was the easiest but not the logical way.

Interviewee #5 mentioned that the red-light project in the later phases turned into crime-fighting and working with real-estates. So, the neighbourhood became criminalised, and everybody in the neighbourhood became suspicious or suspect, full of distrust. Moreover, the project caused gentrification,

for example, buying the real-estate around the *Oude Kerk* and introducing elegant restaurants as a symbolic thing that happened at the beginning of the project and did not work. The restaurants are now changed into fast foods. The interviewee emphasised that not only the crime situation did not change but also became worse because it is a wicked problem; but, there is no desire to evaluate this project to learn from it. Interviewee #3, as a tourism expert, also indicated that the red-light project has not been successful.

In contrast, interview #4, as the representative of the monument bureau of Amsterdam municipality, considered the red-light project as a positive project; because, in recent years, there were more illegality and consequently more concerns in the area. She mentioned, on the one hand, the Netherlands is a free country, and too much regulation will change this character. On the other hand, it is the most crowded, beautiful, and the oldest area of the city. So, there is no compromise; for instance, some say windows should stay, and others say give them another area. It is hard to know which decision is the best. The historic buildings in the district are not in good condition. The project is to make the houses much more sustainable and good looking to this part of the city. Now, there is more possibility to regain the building values and also retrofit them to be more sustainable. So, now the area is called the *green-light* district. In general, it should be an excellent solution to give people of that area space to breathe again. It reduces the tourists in this area and makes it more liveable. However, from the social point of view, there are lots of discussions. The interviewee also mentioned the new mayor of Amsterdam has decided to organise discussion sessions with inhabitants and people who work in the red-light district to further the project. Organising discussion sessions is one step towards soft approach in dealing with problems and can be effective if the discussion sessions provide a situation for people to listen to each other and decide together.

## **8.1.2. Soft interventions**

### **8.1.2.1. Raising awareness**

In the recommendations (Chapter 4), more focus is on soft approaches to protect cultural heritage in a sustainable way. Among the soft approaches, the emphasis is on instruments that increase awareness. UNESCO (2003) highlighted the importance of raising awareness about the intangible heritage at the local level, especially among the younger generation. Instruments mentioned in UNESCO (2003, and 2019) are educational programmes to show the necessity of promoting the preservation of the intangible cultural heritage, information giving programmes and activities aiming general public, and special education programmes and activities for youths. UNESCO (2011) emphasised on involving all main

stakeholders such as communities, decision-makers, experts and managers in the capacity building process to adapt the implementation of the UNESCO recommendations on the regional context.

Interviewee #4, as the representative of monument bureau of Amsterdam municipality, mentioned that there is not any particular educational programme to raise awareness among the young generation in the municipality of Amsterdam. Amsterdam municipality has campaigns such as “*enjoy and respect*” but it is about regulations and restrictions rather than education programmes. Interviewee #5 and interviewee #3) considered this kind of campaigns not effective because the audience concerned in the *enjoy and respect* campaign is tourists come to the city for drugs and party; the way of giving information is not proper for target audiences (Interview #3; Interview #6). Moreover, it caused a negative vibe in the city instead of encouraging the people, and it is over-regulation. It does not work in the complex situation of Amsterdam (Interview #5). Therefore, programmes with the aim of awareness-raising and capacity building should be provisioned.

#### **8.1.2.2. Study and research**

Faro Convention (Council of Europe, 2005) highlighted the importance of raising awareness by doing study and research to identify, interpret and present the cultural heritage values. Besides, the Faro Convention emphasised on improving the access of people to know more about cultural heritage. UNESCO (2011) highlighted the importance of the universities and educational centres to develop scientific research to promote the preservation of tangible and intangible aspects of historic urban areas. Moreover, in UNESCO (2003), teaching traditional skills to young people has been considered.

Interviewee #1 mentioned that the motivation of the young generation to learn the skills related to preservation is very dependant on the economic perspective. It is about top jobs and the question of education and payment. So, it is difficult to involve enough young people. What the interviewee mentioned shows the need for programmes that motivate youth and also children in the early-stage to involve in cultural heritage. Interviewee #2 highlighted the necessity of including youngsters in intangible heritage programmes because they do things in connection with identity and cultural practices. However, these youths do not interpret it as intangible heritage, while in-depth, they do cultural practices. Creating a future for intangible cultural heritage depends on involving youths. So, it is necessary to find new techniques to involve them.

#### **8.1.2.3. Participation**

Concerning the importance of participation, UNESCO (2003) stated that “each State Party shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate,

individuals that create, maintain and transmit intangible heritage, and to involve them actively in its management” (Article 15). Faro Convention also encouraged everyone to participate and mentioned the need of all society involvement in cultural heritage defining and managing process (Council of Europe, 2005).

Amsterdam 17<sup>th</sup> century canal ring area, which includes part of the inner city, is inscribed as a world heritage site. UNESCO (2019), as a world heritage guideline, indicates that world heritage sites should have a management system about how they are preserved by participatory means to increase the effective participation of locals on heritage protection. Moreover, UNESCO (2011) emphasised on the contribution of all levels of government on evaluation and implementation of urban heritage conservation policies based on a participatory approach by all stakeholders. It should involve very diverse stakeholders to identify the key values and develop the vision.

According to Arnstein (1969), there are different levels of participation based on the extent of influence that the citizens have in the process. The low level of participation is a manipulation which is considered as non-participation. In the middle level, the voice of citizens is heard, but they do not have any power. It is more a symbolic effort or tokenism. In the high level, citizens have the voice and power to influence the decision-making process. The highest level in the Arnstein ladder of participation is named *Citizen Control*. In this level, all the decision-making is done by the citizens. Interviewee #7 emphasised the necessity of giving the residents the power to decide and control the new development in their neighbourhoods. She recognised that when people decide about the urban places, they feel more responsible and connected to the place. They feel their ideas are important.

Hartmann et al. (2018) discussed that despite the potential positive effects of citizen participation such as increasing the support for the planning process or enhancing the quality of planning outcome, the unclear definition of participation by legislators causes indefinite and contradictory purposes in policy documents. Moreover, there is a difference between participation in theory and practice. Vague motives of participation and role of citizens can turn the participation to a window dressing and fake participation in reality. Interviewee #8 believes that fake participation or symbolic effort to have participation misuses the trust and has destructive effects. To avoid that, openness and transparency of the process and diversity of voices are vital.

Diversity of voices shows the diversity of rationalities in a society which in Hartmann (2012) is a reason to consider public participation as a wicked problem. Hartmann (2012) mentioned the importance of finding a method of participation that suits these different rationalities behind the arguments. Different

rationalities have different motivations for participation, and they are divided into four types, i.e. egalitarianism, individualism, hierarchism, and fatalism based on Cultural Theory. Based on Hartmann (2012) wicked problem is pluralistic and Cultural Theory might reduce the pluralism of expectations in public participation.

In conclusion, participation in protecting social practices means listening to people and giving people the power to decide about what they want to preserve for the future. It is a heritage democracy. In this process, the first requirement is to give the people voice and be a good listener; then, monitor if they feel they are heard; and give them the power to decide. There are different rationalities and different ideas in each neighbourhood. Moreover, the economic benefits and social structure have a strong influence on citizens and government decisions, so, all should be considered. In the end, citizens should decide about their neighbourhoods. It is the place they are living there, and if the citizens become satisfied, they will remain there. However, it requires teaching them to listen to each other and understanding each other; then deciding together concerning the plurality and diversity of the ideas. It will give people a sense of inclusion in society. Moreover, it should be taken into account that participation is bottom-up in nature, and it is not possible to be enforced through regulation.

## **8.2. Multidisciplinary versus fragmented view**

The charters and recommendations consider multidisciplinary studies when their topic is about dealing with urban areas. Washington charter (ICOMOS, 1987) stated that “Planning for the conservation of historic towns and urban areas should be preceded by multidisciplinary studies” (article 5). UNESCO (2019) recognised the necessity of “high level of skills and multidisciplinary approach for the protection, conservation, and presentation” of the cultural heritage (Article 213). Also, in Valletta principles, ICOMOS (2011) mentioned that safeguarding and management of urban heritage values must be based on “preliminary multidisciplinary studies” and “profound knowledge of the site and its setting” (p. 32). Moreover, UNESCO (2005) emphasised that “the development and implementation of a management plan for historic urban landscapes require the participation of an interdisciplinary team of experts and professionals, as well as timely initiation of comprehensive public consultation” (Article 28). However, based on the interviews regarding the current situation of Amsterdam, lack of collaboration between different levels of government (Interview #3) and also inside each sector is observed (Interview #1, #4, #6, #7). In the Netherlands, the tendency is to divide the sectors based on specialities which results in a fragmented view.

Based on UNESCO (2011), multidisciplinary perspective is needed because urban heritage is a social, cultural and economic asset for humanity. UNESCO (2011) recognised urban heritage as something that

is created and affected by socio-economic drivers and changes. Therefore, considering social, cultural and economic processes in the conservation of urban values is very important, and new instruments should be developed to adapt this multidisciplinary vision to existing policies (Article 4). Moreover, in the historic urban landscape recommendation, the importance of environment on urban conservation is emphasised. It is mentioned that human settlements have been changed and adapted to the climate and environmental changes. Therefore, sustainable development is part of natural and cultural heritage. Also, heritage is a resource for sustainable development (UNESCO, 2011, Article 19). It shows that UNESCO (2011) recognises an interdisciplinary context for the historic urban landscape including social, cultural, economic and environmental aspects.

In Campbell (2013), the significance of adding social justice to sustainability efforts has been mentioned to make a bilateral policy of environmental and social aspects for achieving a better outcome. However, he also mentioned the complexity of this matter because two topics of environment and society have separate origins and core values. The other important aspect that should be added is economic development due to its relation to social justice and its role in sustainable built environment designs. By adding economic development, the model of the *Planner's Triangle* (Figure 3) has been developed (Campbell, 2013).

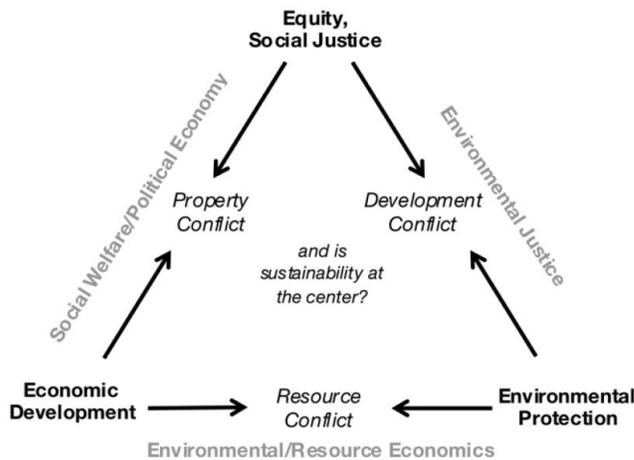


Figure 3- The Planner's Triangle (Campbell, 2013)

The topic of creating a balance in Amsterdam inner city is a broad topic that needs a multidisciplinary approach to consider the city from different perspectives. Therefore, to have an effective strategy, considering environmental, economic, social, and cultural aspects together is essential. Interview #3 and interview #1 highlighted the economic aspects of the current situation in Amsterdam and their social

consequences. The interviews also indicate that it is difficult to deal with this complexity from one perspective, such as planning practice or heritage policy. Interviewee #3 recognised that the only way to deal with the complexity in the current situation of Amsterdam is to consider the balance between planet, people and profit. In this view “planet” is the environment and “people” is the social aspects of living in the city, and “profit” is economic aspects. In other words, as a tourism expert, he finds the solution in creating a balance between environmental, social and economic aspects.

### **8.2.1. Wicked problem**

Interviewee #5 believes that the multidisciplinary approach does not work in the current fragmented situation of the Amsterdam municipality. He considered the situation of Amsterdam city centre very complicated and as an example of a wicked problem. So, he emphasized on accepting the complexity and uncertainty of the situation and do not search for definite solutions because it makes the situation worse.

Considering a planning problem as a wicked problem is related to the theory of Rittle and Webber (1973). They considered classical paradigms not applicable to dealing with open societal system problems which are different from scientific problems in nature. Rittle and Webber (1973) mentioned “social problems are never solved. At best they are only resolved over and over again” (p:136) because wicked problems are dealing with uncertainty and complexity. There is no precise formulation or a correct-false solution for them. It is essential to consider that every solution to a wicked problem happens once, and there is no chance to learn from it because it changes after each operation, so, it is “one-shot operation”. Every wicked problem is unique and can be a symptom of another problem (Rittle and Webber, 1973).

One of the examples of complexity in Amsterdam is about the subsidies for renovation and retrofitting the houses to maintain the historic houses and make them environmentally sustainable. It would lead to an increase in the price of houses and consequently cause gentrification. Regarding interviewee #1 explanation, it is the off-spin of the real goal of the project and shows the complexity and uncertainty of the solutions. Interview #7 considered gentrification as a difficult topic because on the one hand, there is a need for housing and there is a pressure on Amsterdam for that, on the other hand, Amsterdam is not accessible for people with lower income, and there is a lack of balance between social and commercial housing. The interviewee stated that the situation is capitalism, and it is much worse than can be solved by participation. It is a difficult balance because the city also needs money, so they need investors to develop. She added that the only way is to think at the local level how it is possible to include more people in the developments. However, keeping the price low to make it possible for people to stay is not only the choice of government but also the housing corporations that have to make money. It is all the mechanism of the market.

### **8.3. Monitoring system**

Wicked problems change after each measurement, thereby monitoring the outcomes and adjusting the measures to the new situation are required. According to ICOMOS (2011), effective safeguarding of an urban area is through continuous monitoring and maintenance. UNESCO (2011) emphasised the necessity of developing the knowledge and planning instruments for monitoring and management of the changes. These instruments would include documentation and mapping cultural and natural characteristics; also, heritage, social and environmental impact assessments to facilitate decision-making processes (Article 24).

For the aim of keeping diversity of stores in Amsterdam city centre, a monitoring system is needed to monitor the changes and keep the diversity of functions. Also, a monitoring system is essential to control the number of Airbnbs. Interviewee #1 mentioned that in the new environment and planning act, there is no consideration about a monitoring system to monitor the changes in the function of the buildings. Interview #6 and Interview #4, both as the representatives of Amsterdam municipality emphasised on the insufficient number of inspectors to monitor the enforcement of regulations in Amsterdam city centre. It should be considered that monitoring is a vital aspect of an effective implementation of strategies.

The monitoring system should be part of the change management plan. Everything is changing, and what is needed more than regulation is change management. There is a tendency to resist the change among people as it is also mentioned in interview #3 and interview #8. Therefore, unmanaged changes can lead to dissatisfaction among the residents. Resistance to accepting the change is the result of the lack of communication and participation. So, it shows the importance of raising awareness through considering communication and participation in the change management plan.

### **8.4. Consideration of international conventions**

To realise how much the related international conventions and recommendations (Chapter 4) are considered in the Netherlands regulatory system, firstly, the new environment and planning act (Omgevingswet) has been investigated. Then, the investigation has been categorised based on the conventions individually.

#### **8.4.1. The new environment and planning act (Omgevingswet)**

Interviewee #1, as a policy advisor at RCE, mentioned that the bottom line of the new environment and planning act (Omgevingswet) is the main international conventions on heritage; i.e. convention of Granada on architecture, convention of Valletta on archaeology, and convention of Florence on

landscape, and the world heritage convention for world heritage sites. Omgevingswet is the main legal framework, and under the act, there are executive orders which include regulations (Regeling) which are the lowest level and more detailed. Directives from international conventions are worked out in all these three layers of the legal construction. For example, there are regulations when the municipalities make their new environment plan (Omgevingsplan) based on the act, they have to take into account cultural heritage, and they have to consider the outstanding universal values of world heritage sites if they have in their municipality area.

Based on interview #1, the new environment and planning act must be obliged to EU rules, and then it would be complying with international treaties. However, all these recommendations are not formally integrated into this new act. For example, the historic urban landscape approach (HUL recommendation) is not an international treaty and has not considered in Omgevingswet. Nevertheless, in one of the executive orders in the explanation, there is a note in which there is a hint to the historic urban landscape approach as a possible instrument. Also, there is a hint to the intangible heritage convention. The hint is about the possibility of the municipal environment plan to think about how to integrate intangible aspects of heritage in the local policy. However, it is only a hint, and it is not a directive (Interview #1).

The conventions considered in Omgevingswet are related to physical aspects of heritage. There is no consideration about conventions and charters about historic town and cities, such as Valletta principles (ICOMOS, 2011) and Washington charter (ICOMOS, 1987); or about conventions and recommendations which consider intangible aspects of urban areas such as UNESCO (2003) and UNESCO (2011). Moreover, the definition of heritage has changed and broadened over recent years. However, the conventions considered as the bottom line of Omgevingswet are based on the earlier version of heritage definition and give a solid definition of it. They do not consider heritage as a living fluid thing with multidisciplinary aspects as the new definition mentioned in more recent documents such as UNESCO (2011).

The following parts in this Chapter are about the conventions and recommendations, which in the thesis (Chapter 4) have been recognised as essential guidelines to protect social practices in the historic cities. The aim of the following parts is to recognise the impacts of these documents on the municipal regulations in the Netherlands.

#### **8.4.2. UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL recommendation)**

As it is mentioned above, HUL recommendation has not been considered in Omgevingswet, while “adapting the implementation of historic urban landscape (HUL) recommendation to regional contexts in order to define and refine the local strategies and objectives, action frameworks and resource mobilization schemes” has been emphasised in UNESCO (2011, Article 25).

Albers et al. (2018) in the publication of Heritage Agency (RCE) reviewed the measurements in the four world heritage sites in the Netherlands including 17th-century canal ring area of Amsterdam, based on four instruments of the historic urban landscape approach recognised in UNESCO (2011), namely knowledge and planning tools, civil engagement tools, regulatory systems and financial tools. Albers et al. (2018) mentioned the *Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA)* as an assessment instrument for heritage management in the protected area of Amsterdam (Singelgracht). HIA aims to determine the impact of a development policy or an intervention on tangible and intangible heritage values to safeguard significant urban cultural attributes (Bakker, 2013). Interviewee #4, as the representative of monuments and archaeology bureau of Amsterdam municipality, mentioned that for the UNESCO management plan of 17th-century canal ring area as a world heritage, they consider related conventions; while other parts such as spatial planning department of the municipality do not know about heritage conventions.

#### **8.4.3. Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention)**

It is mentioned in interview #1 that the Netherlands has not approved Faro convention yet, and it is still in the process of researching to be ratified or not. Interviewee #2 indicated that the larger goal of Faro convention is community participation. Based on interview #7, RCE is investigating Faro convention to be ratified, but there will be a challenge in translating Faro convention into practice as the interviewee mentioned. The problem is different mindsets, because RCE is a regulating and top-down organisation, and now they have the assignment to work with something that is completely bottom-up.

#### **8.4.4. UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage**

The Netherlands, in 2012, ratified the treaty of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention, and consequently, the Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage established as the official party in the Netherlands regarding the tasks within the international agreement (Interview #7, Interview #2). Interviewee #2, as the representative of this centre, highlighted that participation is a significant part of this convention; when it considers how to organise things in a bottom-up way that people feel they are involved. It is in line with the current focus of the Netherlands’ government on the importance of the participatory approach (Interview #2).

#### **8.4.5. UNESCO World Heritage Convention**

Interviewee #6, as the representative of the central bureau of Amsterdam municipality, mentioned Amsterdam inner city (17<sup>th</sup>-century ring of canal) are protected area of UNESCO world heritage sites, so the rules and regulations for that area are appropriate to the guidelines of UNESCO World Heritage Convention. However, it should be considered that UNESCO makes no rules. The rules connected to the monumental site, the inner city of Amsterdam, are based on a national law that is forbidden to demolish or to wreck monumental places; but that is nothing to do with functions or living. The rules are purely based on preserving structures and buildings. The municipality decides the way of preservation of Amsterdam inner city structures and buildings through the Bestemmingsplan (interview #6).

#### **8.4.6. Lack of consideration**

Interviewee #5 explained two reasons for the lack of consideration about international recommendation such as HUL. Firstly, there is no political attention for international heritage conventions. Secondly, the heritage department is very small, only has one alderman. It causes lack of attention to these recent conventions. Moreover, the municipalities systematically underestimate soft approaches. The strategies are more focused on finding tough problems, and then intervene to solve it. Based on interview #5, the soft approach has no place in current strategies, whereas it can be very effective. Interviewee #3 also mentioned the lack of attention to international conventions and recommendations. He explained that Amsterdam is rather introvert. It prefers to look at the problem and try to find a solution and does not tend to look at other places to see what they are doing and learn from it.

Table 5 illustrates the conclusion of this Chapter by comparing the international recommendations with the current approach of Amsterdam.

Table 5- Comparison between recommended principles and current municipality approaches

<b>International recommendations</b>		<b>Current municipality approaches</b>	
Using soft instruments	Education	Using hard instruments	Regulations
	Raising awareness		Land use plan
	Participation in decision making		Participation as having a voice
Multidisciplinary approach towards heritage		Fragmented approach toward heritage	
Monitoring system as a part of the change management plan		Insufficient people to monitor the implementation of regulations	
Integrating international conventions into law		Just a few conventions have been integrated	

## Chapter 9- Conclusion

Following the discussion section (Chapter 8), this section concludes the thesis. The outline of the conclusion chapter is based on answering the research questions. It starts from sub-questions to find the answer to the main research question. After that, the academic and societal contribution of the research in addition to limitations and recommendations will be discussed.

### **9.1. Answering the sub research questions**

#### **9.1.1. Sub research question 1**

- *What are the principles regarding the protection of social practices in the historic urban landscape? (Policy aim or expected outcomes)*

In this research, policy analysis has been used to evaluate the documents and find the answers. The first step in policy analysis, after recognition of the problem, is about exploring policy aims and expecting outcomes. In the thesis, it has been done by investigating related policy documents regarding the protection of social practices to find what principles have been mentioned. In this research, social practices considered as a part of living heritage, thereby recent international conventions related to heritage management have been selected to be analysed through open coding process to explore principles related to the safeguarding of social practices. The definition of heritage has been broadened through the time from individual monuments to the urban landscape and living heritage in UNESCO and ICOMOS conventions. Therefore, choosing recent documents is the first criteria in documents selection. Secondly, by the operationalization of the research question, from each topic, the recent related convention has been chosen. The documents have been coded and analysed. The analysis of documents have been classified based on *Von Savigny* method, including analysis of literal content, institutional positioning, historical context, and teleological meaning of documents. The results indicate that eight principles are highlighted in most of the investigated documents (table 3).

The first principle mentioned significantly is capacity building and raising awareness through education and training, especially for the young generation. Therefore, establishing institutions is encouraged. Access to cultural heritage physically or virtually is highlighted as a right which increases the awareness. Capacity building as a principle should be considered in national and regional levels in addition to the municipal level. The second most important principle is participation. Participation is a word that can be misused in different situations. In the documents, the emphasis is on the participation of communities in heritage management to create social value and also equal participation of stakeholders. In these

documents, participation in cultural life is recognised as a right for people. Moreover, facilitating participation through training, giving information and raising awareness has been highlighted. As the third principle, although the change management is not mentioned directly in all of the documents, the importance of considering continuous changes and monitoring them is mentioned in all. Sustainable development, cultural diversity, social vitality and economic viability are highlighted in all the documents as other vital principles. It shows that the protection of cultural heritage needs a multidisciplinary approach that considers all together.

### **9.1.2. Sub research question 2**

- *What are the strategies currently used, which can affect social practices in the historic urban landscape?*

Following the recognition of the policy principles, the next step of policy analysis is about analysing the current strategies that affect social practices and find the policy options. To answer this question, Amsterdam was selected as the case study due to the changes happening in the social practices of the inner city. Interviews with experts have been conducted (Appendix 2, 3), also related municipal documents such as inner-city land-use plan and *city in balance* programme reviewed to be included in the interviews. The results have been explained in Chapter 5, 6 and 7 based on policy analysis steps.

As mentioned in the Chapter 1, strategies are shaped by a combination of policy instruments. The results of the interviews indicate that the Amsterdam municipality has changed its strategy regarding the inner city in recent ten years from marketing strategies concerning increase the tourists into controlling the number of tourists. Over-tourism in Amsterdam city centre has changed the social practices from permanent residential practices to temporary touristic activities. It would lead to dissatisfaction of the residents and a decrease in the number of residents. The recent municipal strategy regarding controlling the number of tourists aims to create balance in the inner city to keep the area residential. The instruments that are currently used by Amsterdam municipality to make the balance in the inner city include land-use planning (Bestemmingsplan) which is going to merge into the new environment plan (Omgevingsplan); legislation such as new regulations regarding Airbnb; financial instruments like subsidies and tax; and avoiding promoting the city as a tourist destination. Moreover, based on the new environment and planning act (Omgevingswet), the municipality is going to consider communication and participation as another instrument to further its strategy.

In addition to intangible aspects, physical aspects affect the sense of place and narratives of social practices. Therefore, in the historic city centre of Amsterdam, the preservation of historic structure is also

significant on the safeguarding of social practices. The instruments that the municipality is using to further cultural heritage preservation, are the inscription of the national and world heritage sites, considering national and international guidelines related to world heritage preservation, and giving subsidies for the restoration of monumental houses.

- *what are the possible alternatives to protect social practices? (policy options)*

Interviews and literature have been investigated to find alternative solutions to answer the second part of the question regarding the policy options. Based on the results, a long-term strategy like Delta plan regarding tourism is needed. This Delta plan should be integrated into the national and regional level for the whole country. Moreover, giving information regarding the urgency of the actions, education and training on the subject are vital principles that should be considered more in the policies. The multidisciplinary approach regarding the problems is also useful and effective in dealing with the urban area because it consists of different layers of economy, social, environment, etc. Maintaining the balance between them and monitoring this balance is essential.

Studies show that the feeling of satisfaction will result in more compliance behaviour. Therefore, encouraging packages instead of preventive regulations would be an alternative instrument to create mix land uses and more diverse activities in the inner city. Moreover, focusing on raising awareness and capacity building instead of over-regulation will lead to better results. Over-regulation causes a negative atmosphere in the city, also, requires money, time and work-force to be implemented effectively. On the other hand, education and capacity building require long-term plans.

Participation with a transparent aim and clear process which give the citizens the power of decision-making will result in an increase in the responsibility of people to their city and sense of importance and belonging. People create values and give meaning to the place. Therefore, they should decide which social practices are important for them to be preserved and how they want to change them. This participation should be in the neighbourhood scale through establishing institutions for empowering the neighbourhood. Something similar to Imagine IC in Bijlmer, that gives people a voice and the chance to decide about the future of their living heritage and encourage them to listen to each other.

### **9.1.3. Sub research question 3**

*What are the restrictions regarding the implementation of the strategies to protect social practices in the historic urban landscape? (Performance assessment)*

Evaluating policy performance is the last step in policy analysis. So, the third sub-question is related to performance assessment. Interviews, in addition to literature and documents, have been coded and analysed to answer the question.

The first restriction in implementation is a strong sense of denial among stakeholders regarding the problem of over-tourism and consequent changes in the social practices. Moreover, less priority is given to heritage. The representative of the Amsterdam municipality mentioned that “No one thinks about heritage at the beginning of plans” (Interview #4). New approaches regarding heritage and change management have not been integrated into the laws and regulations in the Netherlands. In the regulations, heritage has been considered in a classic solid definition while the definition has been developed over the past decades. Moreover, as mentioned in international heritage conventions, heritage management needs a multidisciplinary approach. However, the fragmented view and lack of collaboration between sectors are observed regarding heritage in the Netherlands, and it is another restriction in the protection of social practices as living heritage.

Over-regulation without a proper monitoring system in the city centre creates dissatisfaction which based on Murphy (2008), will result in disobedience to law and regulations. City is complex and multi-layered in its nature, so, problems of the city are wicked problems. Therefore, there is no definite or good or bad solution for them. They are unique and one-shot operation, so, after each intervention, the problem will be changed.

## **9.2. Answering the main research question**

### ***- Which municipal strategies effectively protect social practices in the historic urban landscape?***

A comparison between international principles, the current strategies and the restrictions, in addition to considering the situation as a wicked problem, indicate effective protection of social practices requires strategies that include fewer interventions and more awareness raising instruments. Participation is a powerful instrument that can be effective or destructive. Effective participation gives equal power to stakeholders, including citizens, to decide and control. Also, participation can turn into a destructive instrument if people feel they are manipulated, and their trust is misused. Transparency and diversity of voices are needed for effective participation. It should be considered that the participation is bottom-up in nature, and it is not possible to enforce it through regulation. A monitoring system, including impact assessment before interventions and monitoring the impacts during and after the intervention is an instrument that should be included in strategies. To have an effective strategy, considering a multidisciplinary view regarding the problem and during the monitoring is essential.

Nothing is permanent and social practices the same as other things are in continuous changes. Therefore, it should be taken into account that the strategies are not about preserving the social practices and turning the city into a museum, but they are about managing the changes and controlling them in a way that contributes to protecting the identity and sense of place.

### **9.3. Limitations**

#### **9.3.1. Internal limitations**

In this research, the data collection focused more on interviews due to the language barrier to reading the original Dutch policy documents. In the document analysis, the translated versions of Omgevingswet and Bestemmingsplan have been used instead of original documents. According to being qualitative research and the limited time frame, the interviewees selected based on expertise by purposive sampling. Therefore, some related experts might be not included in the research.

#### **9.3.2. External limitations**

Regarding the generalizability of Amsterdam case study in this research, it should be considered that there are similarities between cities, especially in Europe about the problem of over-tourism and creating the balance. However, each place has unique characteristics and distinctive governance system. Moreover, the problems related to social aspects of urban areas are complicated cases. The case of this research has recognised as a wicked problem. Every wicked problem, based on Rittle and Webber (1973), should be considered as a unique problem due to uncertainty and complexity. In wicked problems, every solution leaves an irreversible trace. Therefore, more attention to the context is essential in the generalisation of the findings.

### **9.4. Recommendations**

#### **9.4.1. Recommendation for future researches**

Social practices have two dimensions; i.e. discursive and practical consciousness; rules and resources (Spaargaren & Van Vliet, 2000). Discursive and practical consciousness is related to lifestyle and narratives of residents while rules and resources are related to providing structure for social practices. Although two aspects are interwoven, in this research, the focus is on provision aspect because the effect of municipal strategies on social practices has been investigated. In other words, based on the theory of Shove and Pantzar (2005), this thesis considered the effect of material and competencies on the protection of meaning. Therefore, for future studies, research on protecting social practices with more focus on

discursive and practical consciousness or the meaning is recommended. Investigating social practices in the historic urban landscape from the perspective of different rationalities and choices, or from the residents' narratives and stories, are other aspects of the topic which have not been considered in this thesis.

#### **9.4.2. Scientific contribution**

This research brings attention to the new multidisciplinary definition of living heritage and the connection of this concept with the physical environment. The lack of attention to social practices in heritage management of historic cities indicates the importance of academic studies on this topic. Furthermore, in the Netherlands, the new environment and planning act (Omgevingswet) gives the municipalities the responsibility to consider all kinds of heritage. Therefore, this research indicates how heritage is integrated into our daily life and can be considered and managed through municipal strategies.

The thesis shows the recent problems in historic cities such as over-tourism or new developments necessitate multidisciplinary studies in urban heritage management to create a balance in the city. In this research, the historic urban landscape has been considered to depict the problems in a broader and multidisciplinary context. In some cases, dealing with these problems requires consideration and cooperation at the regional and national level. In some other cases, for example, in the case of participation, it is appropriate to be implemented at the local scale through a bottom-up process.

#### **9.4.3. Societal contribution**

The same as other aspects of the city, social practices are also in continuous changes. If changes in the social and physical aspects of the city are not managed, the sense of place will be changed, and consequently, people will be disconnected from their environment. The lack of connection to the city, make residents irresponsible to their living place. The societal aim of this research is to help the city to keep the balance between residential and tourist attraction while considering preservation and new developments through change management. In this research, municipal strategies have been explored that help the historic city to continue social practices as a part of the city identity to give people satisfaction and sense of place. It should always be considered, the soul of the city is its residents who live the heritage, so, they should decide about their cities and the future of their living heritage.

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## Appendix 1

### Codes overview

**Table A 1.1- Documents coding**

Documents coding		
Group codes	Codes name	Related ideas
1. Capacity building	1.1. Raising awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Importance of ICH</li> <li>- Educational programmes</li> <li>- Training</li> <li>- communication</li> </ul>
	1.2. Access	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Access to knowledge</li> <li>- Access to CH<sup>4</sup></li> <li>- Access and visibility of ICH<sup>5</sup></li> </ul>
	1.3. Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Inside the sectors</li> <li>- In the national and international level</li> <li>- Multidisciplinary studies</li> </ul>
2. Create a balance in the city	2.1. Conservation	- Change
	2.2. Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Continuity</li> <li>- Promoting creativity</li> <li>- Maintaining diversity</li> </ul>
	2.3. Tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Over-tourism</li> <li>- Authenticity</li> <li>- Sense of place</li> <li>- Social cohesion</li> <li>- economic benefits</li> </ul>
	2.4. Regulations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Legitimacy</li> <li>- Integrated policy</li> <li>-Enforcement</li> </ul>

<sup>4</sup> Cultural heritage

<sup>5</sup> Intangible cultural heritage

<p>3. Change management</p>	<p>3.1. Social changes  3.2. Economic changes  3.3. Environmental change  3.4. Monitoring</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Socio-economic aspects of the city</li> <li>- Promoting creativity</li> <li>- Maintaining diversity</li> <li>- Climate change</li> <li>- Continuity</li> <li>- Change</li> </ul>
<p>4. Contribution of CH to society</p>	<p>4.1. Human right</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cultural diversity</li> <li>- Respect</li> <li>- Responsibility</li> <li>- Public interest</li> <li>- Participation</li> </ul>
	<p>4.2. Sustainability  4.3. Enhancing the quality of life</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Environmental contribution</li> <li>- Economic viability</li> <li>- Social vitality</li> </ul>

**Table A 1.2- Interviews coding**

<b>Interviews coding</b>		
<b>Group codes</b>	<b>Codes name</b>	<b>Related ideas</b>
1. Strategy	1.1. Creating a balance in the city centre	-Maintaining functional diversity - Balancing liveability and tourist attraction
	1.2. Controlling the number of tourists	- Giving information through campaigns: Enjoy and respect - City in balance programme - Disperse tourists - Controlling the volume - Controlling access - Not promoting the city
	1.3. Cultural heritage preservation	- World heritage list - national and regional list - restoration and reuse - Law and legislation - Integration of heritage acts in Omgevingswet
	1.4. Increase residents responsibility	- Communication - Participation
2. Instruments	2.1. Land-use plan	- Bestemmingsplan - Functional diversity
	2.2. legislation	- Omgevingswet - Omgevingsplan - New rules regarding Airbnb and tourist accommodation - Enforcement - Legitimacy
	2.3. Participation	- Effective participation - Fake participation - Communication - Level of participation

	2.4. Tax	- Tourist tax
	2.5. Subsidies	- subsidies for restoration and renovation
	2.6. Avoiding tourism promotion	- Stop promotion flyers - Stop advertising of the city
	2.7. Inscription in the national and world heritage list	- world heritage list (tangible and intangible heritage) - National heritage list - Regional and municipal heritage list
3. Restrictions	3.1. Gentrification	- Market mechanism - Policy off-spin - Economic benefits - Social consequences - City branding
	3.2. Over-regulation	- Wicked problem - Lack of flexibility - Negative feeling in society - Economy crisis - Not enough investigator for law enforcement
	3.3. Strong sense of denial	- Tourism industry as a many-headed monster - Economic benefits - Lack of attention - Lack of awareness (information)
	3.4. Fragmented view	- Fragmented sectors - Lack of collaboration
	3.5. Hard interventions	- Law Enforcement - Housing companies - Red-light project - Gentrification - Not effective interventions - Short-term considering

	3.6. Not liveable city	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Over-tourism</li> <li>- Functions changed from residential to tourist accommodations</li> <li>- Internet economy</li> <li>- Socio-economic consequences of changes</li> <li>- Language change in shops and street names</li> </ul>
	3.7. Not giving priority to heritage in urban planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Lack of enough consideration to ICH</li> <li>- Not giving priority to heritage in urban planning</li> <li>- Social practices not considered as a part of ICH</li> <li>- lack of integration of the international heritage recommendations</li> </ul>
4. Solutions	4.1. Accepting there is a problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sense of urgency</li> <li>- Long term plans</li> <li>- Delta plan</li> </ul>
	4.2. New law and regulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Airbnb</li> <li>- Controlling the volume</li> <li>- Controlling the access</li> <li>- Promote mixed-use</li> <li>- Over-regulation</li> <li>- Wicked problem</li> </ul>
	4.2. Soft interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Educational programmes</li> <li>- Training</li> <li>- Participation</li> <li>- Young generation</li> </ul>
	4.3. Participatory approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Communication</li> <li>- Having a voice</li> <li>- Having the Power of decision-</li> </ul>

		<p>making</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Emotion networking</li> <li>- Sense of place</li> <li>- Identity</li> <li>- Heritage democracy</li> <li>- Transparency</li> <li>- Diversity of voices</li> </ul>
	4.4. Multidisciplinary approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Instead of a fragmented view</li> <li>- The broad definition of heritage</li> <li>- Interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary studies</li> <li>- Monitoring</li> </ul>
	4.5. International recommendations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Integration of the new international heritage conventions and recommendations into rules and regulations</li> <li>- The new definition of heritage</li> <li>- Including ICH in cultural heritage definition</li> <li>- Heritage democracy</li> </ul>

## Appendix 2

### Interview guide

#### Introduction

- Introduce my-self
- give a brief introduction about the thesis and aim of this research
- ask their permission to record the interview

#### Main questions <sup>6</sup>

	<b>Main topics</b>	<b>Sub-topics</b>
Theme 1	Ask for a brief description of the <b>interviewee</b> or the <b>activities</b> of the <b>organisation</b> the interviewee represents.	- Position - Activities
Theme 2	How the interviewee see the <b>current situation</b> of <b>Amsterdam</b> with a focus on the <b>inner-city</b>	- Socio-economic aspects - Current changes in the city centre
Theme 3	-Ask about the <b>strategies</b> the city has right now, and the <b>instruments</b> are using -Ask about the instruments related to <b>principles of the international conventions</b> (Chapter 4)	- Instruments - Educational and capacity building programmes - Participation - Monitoring
	- <b>Level</b> of strategies and who is <b>responsible</b> for implementing them	- Organisational hierarchy
	-The interviewees' <b>perception</b> of the <b>instruments</b> based on their <b>expertise</b>	- Effectiveness

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<sup>6</sup> The questions have been modified based on the field of expertise of the interviewee. The order of questions have been changed based on the flow of the conversation.

Theme 4	-The idea of interviewee about the <b>effectiveness</b> of <b>programmes</b> the <b>municipality</b> is doing right now	- Effectiveness - City in balance programme - Enjoy and respect campaign - <i>I Amsterdam</i> programmes Red-light district project
Theme 5	- Ask about the new environment and planning act ( <b>Omgevingswet</b> )	-Legislations and law enforcement
Theme 6	- <b>Restrictions</b> in implementation of <b>instruments</b> (performance assessment)	- Instruments' limitations - Enforcement
Theme 7	- Ask about potential <b>solutions</b> to <b>protect social practices</b> (policy options)	- Residents satisfaction - Intangible aspects
Theme 8	- How much <b>priority</b> is given to <b>cultural heritage</b> in the Netherlands - How much <b>intangible</b> aspects such as <b>social practices</b> considered in <b>legislations</b>	- Integration of heritage policies into new laws - Intangible heritage in legislations - Social practices as a heritage
	- Ask about consideration of the <b>international conventions</b> and recommendations in theory and practice - Ask about the consideration of international conventions and recommendations in the new environment and planning act	- HUL recommendation - ICH Convention - Faro convention - Valletta principles
Theme 9	- How is the state of <b>collaboration</b> between the <b>sectors</b>	- Multidisciplinary view - Participation
Theme 10	- How the <b>future</b> of Amsterdam would be	- Future development

#### Final remarks

- Ask if the interviewee would like to add any remark
- Ask for recommending other related experts
- Showing gratitude and being thankful for their time and insight

## *Appendix 3*

### **Interviews transcript**

Please see the accompanying document