

# Participatory Repurposing of Cultural Heritage by Private Developers in The Netherlands: A Multiple Case Study



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## Colophon

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## Summary

In recent years, policy developments around citizen participation and heritage management have been intertwining increasingly. Consequently, it has become increasingly important for initiators, particularly private developers, to implement a participation process in their spatial projects. This thesis aims to investigate how private developers can enhance participatory repurposing of cultural heritage in The Netherlands, as challenges persist in this endeavour. Theoretical literature indicates scarcity of research on privately organized participation compared to governmental perspectives.

Considering the problem statement, the following research goal is formulated as a basis for this thesis: to gain insight in participatory approaches organised by private developers for repurposing built cultural heritage in The Netherlands and how they could improve their participatory processes. Based on this research goal, the central question is as follows: *'How does the application of citizen participation by private developers facilitate participatory repurposing in The Netherlands?'* In addition to this central question, a couple of sub-questions have been formulated.

1. What participatory approaches are currently evident in the repurposing of cultural heritage by private developers?
2. How does citizen participation align the interests of the private developer?
3. What obstacles exist in participatory repurposing of cultural heritage by private developers?
4. What factors can enhance the quality of a participation process during the repurposing of cultural heritage?

The central premise of this research centres on the perspective of the private developer integrating citizen participation into their projects. For that reason, an interpretivist philosophical stance is chosen as the methodological approach. Acknowledging that there are multiple perspectives on reality. As a result, from this interpretative approach, a qualitative method with a multiple case study was chosen for empirical data collection.

The theoretical context which serves a basis for the empirical data collection encompasses a literature review and a theoretical framework. The multiple case study is analysed through this theoretical framework and data are acquired through document study and semi-structured interviews. The analysis has shown different participatory levels, particularly forms of informing and requesting input were recognised. Alongside, various challenges and opportunities were identified. These specifically refer to the resources (e.g., capital, knowledge, support) of actors and the rules of the game (means of communication). This research has revealed that participatory approaches for repurposing cultural heritage by private developers can be enhanced, particularly through improved communication methods, increased transparency in the participation process, and its timing.

## Preface

This master's thesis represents the culmination of my master's degree in Spatial Planning, with a specialization in Planning, Land, and Real Estate Development at Radboud University Nijmegen. The thesis was written under the guidance of my internship at BOEi, a non-profit organisation that focuses on restoring and repurposing cultural heritage. BOEi approaches this mission from three distinct perspectives: as an investor, a developer, and as an advisor.

This year has been profoundly educational, both personally and professionally. I am enthusiastic about continuing my learning journey within the fields of spatial planning and cultural heritage. My passion for these subjects was sparked during my high school years when I embarked on city trips and explored new (historic) places. This interest was further nurtured during my bachelor's program in Human Geography and Spatial Planning at Utrecht University. Consequently, the past six months have been particularly enriching, and I thoroughly enjoyed researching and writing my master's thesis on this specific topic.

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Kevin Raaphorst, for affording me the opportunity to explore a topic of personal interest in my thesis. His feedback, input, and guidance were instrumental in making this thesis possible. I would also like to extend my appreciation to my internship supervisor, Jethro van der Pijll, and coordinator Menje Almekinders for their time and support. Their constructive feedback, guidance, and input have been valuable and greatly appreciated. Additionally, I would like to thank the respondents for their participation in this research. Lastly, I am grateful to my family and friends for their unwavering support.

I hope you enjoy reading this thesis.

Djoeke Dalinghaus  
Utrecht, December 2023

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# 1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the phenomenon of repurposing cultural heritage by private developers in relation to citizen participation. This is followed by a description of the research objective, the research question, and sub-questions. Lastly, the scientific and social relevance will be discussed.

## 1.1 Introduction to the research

In recent years, social and economic developments have led to an increasing number of vacant monumental buildings in The Netherlands (RCE<sup>1</sup>, n.d.). Vacancy within heritage has been a challenge for Dutch municipalities for years (APPM, 2018). The value of areas and associated objects will decline as a result. Repurposing cultural heritage has become a new method to preserve the buildings. This method is also known as preservation through transformation (Vermeesch, 2017, p. 3). The definition of repurposing in this thesis, is the reuse of an existing building by giving it a new function. This means that the building will not stay empty which can prevent dilapidation and ultimately, demolition. Through changing its original function, the buildings will be re-used. It will get a second life. Three types of heritage are specifically dealing with this issue and therefore also with repurposing: religious heritage (such as churches, parsonages, and monasteries), industrial heritage (for example factories) and agricultural heritage (historic farms in particular) (RCE<sup>1</sup>, n.d.). In the Netherlands, the number of private developers repurposing cultural heritage is growing (Cüsters, 2015, p 17). In general, private parties are starting to play an increasingly vital role in urban developments (Andersson & Moroni, 2014, p. 1-16; Baarveld, Smit & Hoogerbrugge, 2014, p 20). Governments conduct less (active), and risky land policy and the development of urban areas and real estate are offering investment opportunities for diverse types of market parties. The future perspective of this trend is also aimed at giving more space to citizens and business, also in dealing with cultural heritage (RCE, 2011).

Alongside these developments, the democratisation of heritage in general is becoming more important. Participation has become an essential issue in heritage management (Li, Krishnamurthy, Roders, van Wesemael, 2019). Participation processes surrounding cultural heritage by society are seen as crucial for a while now (Chen, 2022, p. 554). The Faro Convention positions cultural heritage as means to achieve societal goals (Council of Europe, n.d.). In The Netherlands, the implementation phase of the Faro program officially started in March 2023. In three years, they are planning to sign the convention. This means that for three years, the broad heritage field and its adjacent domains (such as the spatial domain) will work in a Faro-oriented way, so that a Faro practice is created. The Faro Convention recognises the need to put people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage (Council of Europe, 2005). They guarantee the right to freely participate and engage with the cultural heritage of their choice. In the Netherlands, the treaty ties in well with developments in heritage care related to co-creation, citizens' initiatives, and citizens' expertise.

Outside the heritage field, citizen participation is gaining more attention in The Netherlands too. On Tuesday, March 14th, The Senate (Eerste Kamer) passed the Dutch Environment and Planning Act (*Omgevingswet*) which will come into force on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2024 (Eerste Kamer, 2023). With this new act, the government wants to simplify and merge the rules for spatial development. This should make it easier to start building projects in the future. A key component of the *Omgevingswet* is citizen participation (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2021). The Dutch government wants to create more room for initiatives and local customization (van Rooy, 2018). The government's definition of participation is as follows: 'Involving stakeholders (citizens, business, civil society organisations and other governments) at an early stage in the process of decision making about a project or activity.' There is no comprehensive manual on how this should be organised as each initiative varies. Participation requires a tailor-made approach, depending on varied factors like the project's scale, its location and the number of stakeholders involved. This creates an interesting relationship between private organisations and the government. The government created a participation framework, which encourages private organisations to engage with.

When a private developer wants to repurpose heritage, they often must apply for a permit (*omgevingsvergunning*). If a change in a destination-plan (*bestemmingsplan*) or a renovation or rebuild is required, this necessitates an *omgevingsvergunning*. When the *omgevingsvergunning* is needed for an extra-plan environmental plan activity (BOPA, *Buitenplanse omgevingsplanactiviteit*) citizen participation can be made mandatory by the competent municipality for the initiator of the project plans. In all other situations, the municipality simply encourages participation. In the *Omgevingswet* the following is stated about participation for initiators when submitting an *omgevingsvergunning*: 'The initiator must specify whether and how he has engaged in participation and provide the results. The competent authority incorporates this in the integral consideration of interests (IPL0, n.d.; van Rooy, 2018). Insufficient participation efforts that are required based on municipal policy, may even serve as grounds for refusal administrative cooperation. In these cases, private developers will have to take on participation and report on it. It is important to mention that, as demonstrated above, participation is not always mandatory. In most cases even, it is merely encouraged. Nevertheless, organising participation as an initiator, for example private developers, is gaining a stronger position in real estate project development.

The Faro convention and the *Omgevingswet* therefore intertwine and, influence the approach to repurposing built cultural heritage. Heritage serves to foster a sense of belonging and ensures people's connection to the past of their local environment. Two domains coexist side by side: The environment as an object of professional planning and policy and the environment as an object of identifying information by its citizens. In the next paragraph the research problem statement is formed based on these recent developments concerning participation and repurposing cultural heritage in The Netherlands by private developers.

## 1.2 Research problem statement

A substantial body of research and literature on participation in spatial developments, particularly in relation to governmental involvement, has been conducted (Oliveira & Campolargo, 2015; Uittenbroek, Mees, Hegger & Driessen, 2019; Boonstra & Boelens, 2011; Geurtz & van de Wijdeven, 2010). Participation presents challenges and opportunities (Abdul Malek, Lim & Tahir, 2019). In her article on citizen participation, Callahan (2007, p. 1179) states that 'there appears to be universal agreement that the involvement of citizens in the decision-making process of government is a good idea', but also 'that there is little agreement as to the best way to achieve meaningful involvement.' Rider & Pahl-Wostl (2005, p. 190) express a similar sentiment, they conclude that in European cities: 'It is no longer a question to carry out participation, but how to carry it out.' Even today, there remains limited information on the customization of methods, tools, and timings, which should be used to promote participation (Correia, Feio, Marques & Teixeira, 2023). These same authors, Correia, Marques & Teixeira (2020 & 2022) discuss the ongoing struggle to translate participation frameworks into practice and encourage public engagement. Verheul, Heurkens & Hobma (2021) emphasise difficulties of citizen participation, as do Beitske & Boonstra (2011). They have noted that participatory spatial planning has produced disappointing results in The Netherlands. Furthermore, there specifically has been limited research on privately organised participation processes (Verheul et al., 2021, p. 11). Additionally, concrete tools for privately organised participation processes are scarce, despite their increasing importance in Dutch spatial planning. Especially, since on January first, 2024, as the new *Omgevingswet* will come into force. As mentioned in the introduction, the question of what heritage is, and its role in the world, is receiving more attention through the Faro Convention. This has led to an expanded role for individuals and communities in participating within the field of heritage.

## 1.3 Research aim and research questions

The aim of this research is to gain insight in participatory approaches organised by private developers for repurposing built cultural heritage in The Netherlands, and how these approaches could be improved. The research aim has emerged from the conditions to be improved, as outlined in the research problem. This research will specifically concentrate on private developers that develop with a societal motive and not (solely) commercial. Their goal is to enhance a project's quality aimed at repurposing built heritage, respecting its surroundings while at the same time developing with a viable business case. This demarcation is made due to the expectation that private developers that operate with a commercial goal may have distinct objectives, ethical considerations, and perspectives. In the context of this research, built cultural heritage refers to historic buildings, often monuments.

The main research question that stems from the research objective is: *'How does the application of citizen participation by private developers facilitate participatory repurposing in The Netherlands?'*

The following sub-questions will contribute to answering the main research question:

1. What participatory approaches are currently evident in the repurposing of cultural heritage by private developers?
2. How does citizen participation align the interests of the private developer?
3. What obstacles exist in participatory repurposing of cultural heritage by private developers?
4. What factors can enhance the quality of a participation process during the repurposing of cultural heritage?

## 1.4 Scientific and societal relevance to the research

This study contributes to the academic discourse surrounding citizen participation in the context of repurposing cultural heritage. As indicated in the problem statement, this subject has yet to receive sufficient attention within academia (Chen, 2022, p 1; Correia, Feio, Marques & Teixeira, 2023; Beitske & Boonstra, 2011). The number of private-led projects involving the transformation of heritage sites is on the rise, yet a gap exists between the theoretical discussions on public involvement in cultural heritage processes, the existing literature, and practical implementation. Where considerable efforts have been invested in developing methods for participatory planning, this has not been the case for (private-led) repurposing of cultural heritage (Thorpe, 2017; Verheul et al., 2021). Given the introduction of the Omgevingswet and FARO, it is scientifically important to deepen our understanding of participatory repurposing of cultural heritage.

There also is a societal relevance in investigating participatory repurposing of built cultural heritage. Studies highlight the positive economic, environmental, cultural, and social effects that repurposing cultural heritage brings to its surroundings (Elseragy & Elnokay, 2018; Knippsschild & Zöllter, 2021; Tweed & Southerland, 2007; Hampton, 2005; Plevoets & Sowińska-Heim, 2018). The involvement of stakeholders provides a way of exchanging knowledge and information to improve the spatial planning process and its outcomes (Hassan, Hefnawi & Refaie, 2011, p. 204). Opposition from the community initiatives lead to stagnation in the process of repurposing cultural heritage sites (Chen, 2022). Furthermore, participation promotes democracy, increases transparency and accountability, and encourages community engagements. Participation can help create consensus among these stakeholders and lead to a better outcome of the plans (Hassan, Hefnawi, Refaie, 2011). The new Environmental and Planning Act (*Omgevingswet*) underlines the importance even further. Not only for the government, but for everyone with spatial plans. Also, the underlying assumption exists that if citizens become actively involved as

participants in their democracy, the governance that emerges from this process will be more democratic and more effective (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004, p. 55).

## 1.5 Thesis outline

The remainder of this thesis is organised into five chapters. Following the introduction, Chapter Two outlines the theoretical framework and establishes the operationalisation upon which this research is founded. The chapter ends by presenting the focus of this thesis through a visualization of the interrelatedness of the main concepts displayed in a conceptual scheme. Chapter Three explains and justifies the methodological underpinnings of this research, offering insights into the quality of this research and its limitations. In Chapter Four, the research results are discussed through an analysis based on the Policy Arrangement Approach. Finally, Chapter Five concludes with a synthesis of the main findings, an answer to the central question, a discussion, and recommendations for further research and practical applications.

## 2. Theoretical context

This chapter starts with a critical review of academic literature and of the policy context. Then, an introduction to relevant theoretical framework will be given, and why this framework is helpful in answering the research questions. This chapter ends with an operationalisation of the theoretical concepts.

### 2.1 Literature review

In the literature review, the used definitions of concepts in this thesis will be clarified. It presents the research topic's central debates.

#### 2.1.1 Cultural heritage

Heritage is a concept that is constantly evolving and whose content and meaning is continuously being redefined by society (Janssen, Luiten, Renes & Stegmeijer, 2017, p. 1654). First, the definition of heritage will be discussed and what definition this research takes in its approach. According to Smith & Akawaga (2009), heritage can be defined by placing it within a particular set of cultural or social values given by people and organisation. The definition of cultural heritage as stated in the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society - Faro Convention (2005, p. 2):

*Cultural heritage is a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge, and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time.*

Ashworth (1997) also refers to heritage as the contemporary use of relics from the past. These remains are a combination of recorded history, made up of memories and surviving relics. Lowenthal (2012) even states that everything can become heritage. What is important is the perspective of individuals regarding what constitutes heritage and what holds significance. The concept of heritage is created by a community, but is the individuals who value certain objects, languages, lifestyles, historical sites, and monumental buildings. From this dynamic standpoint, it is inevitable that innovative approaches and practices have developed to manage heritage in the context of planned development (Janssen et al., 2017). The meaning associated with the concept of cultural heritage has broadened over time and now encompasses an increasing number of aspects and elements that express its universal value (Riganti & Nijkamp, 2006). Stamping something as heritage today represents a value judgement that distinguishes a specific object from the rest and adds meaning to it.

Heritage can be classified in diverse ways. One of the ways to classify heritage, is based on its original purpose. The three commonly repurposed types of heritage in The Netherlands are

industrial, religious, and agricultural built heritage. Alongside, also former schools and offices are being repurposed (RCE<sup>1</sup>, n.d.). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) also published a classification of heritage, as seen in table 1, that was adapted from the article Digital Preservation of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2018). In this thesis, the concept of cultural heritage only refers to the category of immovable heritage, specifically (historic) buildings, which involves spatial elements and structures. This is also defined as ‘tangible heritage.’

*Table 1 Heritage classification (UNESCO, 2003, Wan Isa, 2018)*

<b>Heritage</b>		
<b>Tangible heritage</b>		<b>Intangible heritage</b>
<b>Movable heritage</b>	<b>Immovable heritage</b>	
Paintings; Sculptures; Furniture; Wall paintings.	Historic buildings; Monuments; Archaeological sites.	Oral traditions & expressions; Social habits, rituals & festival; Traditional skills.

### 2.1.2 Citizen participation

The term participation and what people understand as participation is getting a wider and broader definition. Creighton’s (2005, p. 7) definition of citizen participation, which is used in this thesis, reads: ‘The process by which public concerns, needs and values are incorporated into governmental and corporate decision making. It is a two - way communication and interaction, with the overall goal of better decisions that are supported by the public.’

Numerous scholars, including Arnstein (1969), Pretty (1995), White (1996), and Tosun (2000) have various interpretations and levels of participation to enhance better understanding on how to involve the public in the decision-making process. There has been a significant growth in publications on this subject (Petts & Leach, 2000; Maier, 2001; Creighton, 2005; Fagotto & Fung, 2006). Citizen participation is an important, but complex component of spatial planning. There are both critics and supporters on this topic: On one hand it is demonstrated that participation ensures more support and improved decision-making for spatial plans. For instance, it serves as a tool for identifying and prioritising citizens’ needs and shaping city systems of rules and relationships (Pintossi, 2021). On the other hand, critics argue that participation is complex, time consuming, that it costs money and not always achieving its intended purpose, from the perspective of both the participating and initiating party (Hassan et al., 2011). Alongside this, organizational efforts are necessary as well as communication and clear commitment.

The objective of participation, as referred to in this thesis, is to obtain better project plans, which are widely accepted (Fiskaa, 2005). Early discussions on citizen participation were about establishing better communication between authorities and residents. Today, where private developers or enterprises provide the vast majority of project plans, and take great responsibility for infrastructure and services, developers must also be seen as important actors too (Fiskaa, 2005, p. 162).

From the 1960s, a movement emerged across western European cities, driven by a desire for democratisation, anti-traditionalism, and resistance to authority, originating from youth cultures (Ank & Michels, 2006). This movement marked the beginning of citizen participation in Dutch planning, a trend that has increased over the years. The Netherlands, in particular, has witnessed a growing emphasis on citizen involvement within planning systems (Stapper, Van der Veen, Janssen-Jansen, 2020). From the 1980s onward, a notable transformation has occurred in the planning and execution of urban development projects, shifting towards a more collaborative, public-private approach (Stapper, et al., 2020). These developments have seen market actors assume roles that were traditionally within the domain of the public sector. Responsibilities such as designing, planning urban development initiatives, and facilitating participation processes have increasingly been contributed to by the market sector. However, practice shows that participation processes can still lead to conflicts, doubts, and disappointments (Verheul et al., 2021, p. 12). Participation can be divided into two groups. The first group being 'bottom-up' participation. Bottom-up participation represents initiatives from the citizens themselves. The second group is top-down, which is when participation is initiated and facilitated by an administrative body (Halme, Mustonen, Thomas & Weij, 2018, p. 7).

### 2.1.3 Participation in heritage management

Participation of society is an ongoing process of change. Currently, the role and position of experts are under reevaluation. Government policies are now emphasizing the need to return ownership of heritage management to society (Netwerk Erfgoed & Ruimte, 2014). In doing so, citizens and communities should be actively engaging in these processes as equal partners to experts (Halme et al., 2018). Halim & Ishak (2017, p. 15) refer to community as 'members of the entire society, including local individuals, government agencies, private sectors, and NGO's, engaging in heritage conservation based on their participation related to...' This study follows the same definition, but in relation to repurposing cultural heritage. To analyse data and gain insights into the types and levels of participation that are present in repurposing built heritage, a participation ladder inspired by Arnstein (1969) has been used. This study used a participation ladder adapted from the heritage participation ladder from Vlaams Steunpunt voor Cultureel Erfgoed (2018) that is inspired by Arnstein (1969). Participation is a layered concept that contains various levels. The Heritage Participation Ladder distinguishes five steps, specifically focused on cultural heritage. Level five represents the highest level, which means the organizer outsources decision-making the most. Level one outsources decision-making the least.

Important to note is that the ideal that the amount of input determines the quality of participation, as often assumed with the Arnstein Participation Ladder, and the one used in this study, is not entirely true. Not all participants want or can participate as expected of them in the highest step/level. Also, lower steps are also great and necessary in certain situations. These lower steps are not less important (RCE, 2022). The framework can be found in appendix 1. The following five levels, with the aligned indicators have been distinguished in table 2.

*Table 2 Participation levels heritage ladder*

<b>Participation Level</b>	<b>Indicators</b>
1. Sharing information	Organisation informs, explaining actions and choices.
2. Request for input	The organisation asks for feedback or concrete contribution; asking for specific information.
3. Ask for advice	Participants formulating advice, critically questioning operation, and results.
4. Co-creation/Partnership	Developing together, implementing together, co-decision, co-thinking, co-action, partnership between organisation and participants.
5. Citizen power	Self-government, self-determination, the organisation outsources, supports, and facilitates.

#### 2.1.4 Stakeholders

Spatial developments related to Dutch heritage, involve various stakeholders with an interest in the repurposing of built heritage. As the definition of heritage has evolved and expanded over recent decades, more stakeholders have become involved (Havinga, Colenbrander & Schellen, 2020). To clarify who are involved, alongside the developers, this paragraph illustrates the different stakeholders found in literature.

Governmental actors vary from the central government, to provincials, and municipalities. At the municipal level, three key components come into play: the civil servants, the municipal executive (*College van B&W*), and the municipal council (Havinga et al., 2020). They participate through the issuance of permits, subsidies, or other governmental duties. In some cases, they may also be the owner of cultural heritage buildings. In addition to governmental actors, heritage organisations are involved as well. These organisations are for example, National Cultural Heritage Agency (RCE), the Monumental Commission, and Monument Care.

This category can extend to other heritage related groups, such as hobbyists and experts. Current and former owners of a heritage building can be involved too (Arfa, Zijlstra, Lubelli & Quist, 2022).

In the case of industrial heritage, former users of the location can also be involved. Another stakeholder can be the potential/future user of the space that is being repurposed, such as, future residents, tenants, or visitors. The surrounding neighbourhood also holds stake, these can involve residents, resident groups, and local businesses (Arfa et al., 2022; Havinga et al., 2020).

Alongside these stakeholders there are also financial actors involved when repurposing cultural heritage, such as banks, investors, and accountants but also the National Restoration Funds. A group of volunteers can also be involved. For example, a foundation or individual volunteers. Also, academia, media and other organisations can be involved as a stakeholder. And lastly, the (private) developer/restoration organisation that is repurposing the object.

### 2.1.5 Project developers and development within the heritage field

Literature shows that projects of real estate development can be split into four of five phases. The exact distribution of phases varies per article, but the main dividing exists of the initiating phase, the design phase, the realisation phase and the lastly, the close out phase (Chou & Yang, 2012; Ratcliffe, Stubbs & Keeping, 2009). Ratcliffe et al., (2009) illustrate these five phases of real estate development as seen in table 3. Transforming and repurposing built heritage contain differences in the process when compared the development of new built real estate projects. However, the five phases apply to both types of project developments. The main differences are due to the involvement of heritage analyses, dealing with heritage resources in the area that must be preserved and heritage conservation rules, organisations, and targets, as well as maintenance of the building.

*Table 3 Project development phases (Ratcliffe et al., 2009)*

<b>Phase 1</b>	<b>Phase 2</b>	<b>Phase 3</b>	<b>Phase 4</b>	<b>Phase 5</b>
Initiation	Planning	Design	Execution/ Construction	Close Out (operation and maintenance)

The development of urban areas and real estate offers investment opportunities for various kinds of market parties. Both project developers and developing investors, but also multinational or philanthropic companies that do not have real estate as their core task. Within project developers there is a range of types (Heurkens, 2020).

Berg (2017, p. 304) states in his article how adaptive reuse of cultural heritage for the last decades has resulted in an interplay between heritage value and real estate value. Different stakeholders and actors are increasingly playing a role in safeguarding, developing, and co-managing abandoned heritage resources (Saleh, 2022). These stakeholders and actors can be individuals, non-profit organisations, city makers, social and cultural entrepreneurs, impact private business, civil society organisations, neighbourhood committees, social innovators, research institutions,

etc. Saleh (2022, p. 14) states in his article that it is still quite unique that a real estate developer focuses on cultural heritage and embraces a positive impact business model.

The creative utilisation of historical elements has not only fuelled the advancement of historic properties but has also instigated a commodification process that alters heritage from a mere resource into a product too. Berg (2017, p. 305) states how this commodification has engaged property developers in identifying cultural heritage as development resources and realising this resource as real estate value with the result that two different value systems appear to overlap.

Over the past two decades, there has been a notable shift where the use and integration of historical elements have gained ground. Changes within the developer profession and the heritage sector, coupled with a growing emphasis on culture-based urban planning, are influencing how these actors adapt to the current market. The changing context, the emergence of new actors, and introduction of novel commodities such as soft factors, are reinforcing the relationship between cultural and economic values (Berg, 2017). Soft factors are the human elements including, management, ability to change as well as more emotional aspects. Hard factors are quantitative qualities often supported with financial data. In this perspective heritage can contribute to property value as well as producing a regional benefit.

Interest are recognised in literature that motivate to organise participation as a nongovernmental actor. Fiskaa (2005) says how the goal of participation is to obtain better plans, meaning that they are accepted by the most, and therefore also easier to conduct. This is for example done by a project developer, or entrepreneur, owner or social (network) organisation when they ask the environment to think about a certain project or area transformation. This participation process is in line with the impetus provided by the *Omgevingswet* too. In addition, participation can provide more local knowledge about the area and can lead to cost reduction and process acceleration (Verheul et al., 2021).

## 2.2 Theoretical Framework

This research focuses on citizen participation in relation to repurposing cultural heritage by private developers. Literature of these subjects has been reviewed in the preceding paragraphs. It has become clear that two policy areas are intertwining: the policy area of citizen participation in spatial planning and the policy area of heritage care in The Netherlands. In this paragraph, the theoretical framework of the Policy Arrangement Approach (PAA) will be introduced. The PAA will serve as the theoretical framework that guides the methodology for the analysis of the data in this thesis. This approach functions as an approach for analysing and understanding change and stability in the policy process and has its roots in the field of environmental policy (Leroy & Arts, 2006). According to the authors, the framework is also suitable to be applied to other policy domains, inside and outside The Netherlands (Arts, Leroy & van Tatenhove, 2006, p. 94).

As introduced in Chapter One, developments are taking place in both policy areas. The PAA was developed by van Tatenhove et al. (2000) to understand shifts in governance. Alongside this, it can also be used to gain a deeper understanding of power relationships, which is also the reason for choosing this framework for the analysis. After this brief introduction to the PAA and an explanation of why this approach was chosen, this chapter will continue with a more detailed description of the PAA.

### 2.2.1 Policy Arrangement Approach

The Policy Arrangement Approach is an approach within policy science that focuses on the complex and often dynamic interactions between different actors, rules, resources, and discourse involved in shaping and implementing policy. The PAA is both contextual and problem oriented, grounded in the premise that policy decisions and the processes of policy making within policy arrangement – defined by the organisation of actors, resources, rules of the games, and discourses – are shaped by the interplay of contextual factors, such as structural political and social changes (political modernisation), and the ongoing, problem-focused renewal of policy making carried out by actors in their day-to-day practices (policy innovations) (Arts & van Tatenhove, 2005). The approach underscores the significance of institutional structures and power dynamics, offering a new perspective on governance, controllability, and the evolving relationships, including power dynamics, among the state, market, and civil society (Arts, Leroy & van Tatenhove, 2006).

The essence of the policy arrangements approach is that policy making, and implementation are no longer seen as linear processes, but rather as dynamic systems in which different actors and elements come together and are constantly changing. This approach helps policymakers and researchers to better understand how policies function in practice and how they can be adapted to changing circumstances. The policy arrangements approach emphasises institutional structures and power relations. Specifically, these power relations are relevant to this particular research as the responsibility to implement participation is shifting from governmental actors to private actors too. The PAA provides new perspectives on the understanding of recent changes in (environmental) policy and proves to be helpful in improving these policies (Arts, Leroy et al., 2006, p. 93). First, two main concepts will be discussed and thereafter, the four dimensions, which will be used for the analysis.

#### Policy Arrangement

A policy arrangement is defined by Tatenhove et al. (2000) as the (temporary) stabilisation of the content and organisation of a policy domain, at a specific level of policy implementation, and in a certain period. Arts, Leroy et al., (2006, p. 96) also refer to a policy arrangement as to the substance and the organisation of policy domains in terms of policy discourses, coalitions, rules of the game and resources. Another relevant definition is given by Driessen et al. (2014, p. 2). They define a policy arrangement as the way that a particular domain of policy is shaped and organised. It results from the interplay between actor and actor coalitions, the power plays and

the resources, the rules of the game (which can be formal and informal), and the discourses. These four domains will be further illustrated in the next paragraphs. The focus of the analysis is stability and change of the arrangements and the driving forces behind them. Policy arrangements are created and developed on various levels and are mutually influential.

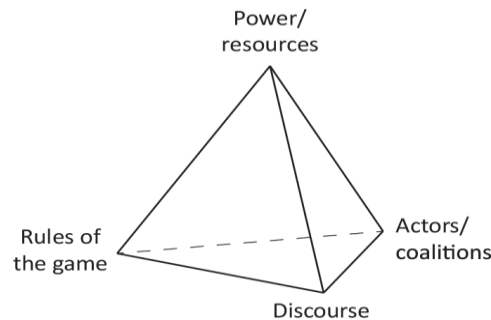
### Political Modernisation

Alongside the concept of a policy arrangement, the concept of political modernisation is used. This concept refers to the process of change in the political domain of societies. One can think of processes such as internalisation, Europeanization, decentralisation, deregulation, and privatisation. These processes influence the nature of the policy arrangements (Van Wijk, Engelen, Blom, 2001). Arts, Leroy et al., (2006, p. 97) state the following on political modernisation: 'Political modernisation refers to structural processes of changing interrelations between state, market and civil society, and to new conceptions and practices of governance.' As a result of political modernisation, changes in the four dimensions evolve.

### Dimensions

The Policy Arrangement Approach consists out of four contextual dimensions, as depicted in the tetrahedron in figure 1. The four dimensions are interconnected. Discourse, as one dimension focuses on the content of a policy area, while the other three dimensions concentrate on the organisation of a policy area.

*Figure 1 Tetrahedron as a symbol for the connections between the dimensions of a policy arrangement (Arts, Leroy & Tatenhove, 2006, p. 99)*



According to Arts, Leroy, and van Tatenhove (2006), changes to a policy arrangement can result from alterations in any of these dimensions. When a policy changes substantively, the coalitions within the domain also shift. When coalitions change, policies often also change as well. For example, the government seeks new partners. Behind these four dimensions, theoretical concepts will be further elucidated in this chapter.

As depicted in Figure 1, the introduction of new actors or alterations in coalitions signifies a necessary reconfiguration of power dynamics. However, this dimension itself can serve as a catalyst for dynamic change. For example, it may manifest through the mobilisation of external or

internal means to exercise power or allocate resources, such as money, knowledge, and skills, or by reshaping perceived power relationships. Adjustments in the rules of the game can instigate innovation within policy arrangements. Policy innovation may also be triggered by the introduction of novel policy concepts, revised problem definitions, or the presentation of innovative approaches to solutions (2006).

The dimension of discourse represents the substance of the policy domain and the way actors attribute meaning to that substance. Three distinct forms of discourses can be identified: ontological, normative, and strategic (Arts & Wiering, 2006). In the current policy discourses and programs, the concept of discourse pertains to the viewpoint and narratives of the involved actors, in terms of norms and values, definitions of problems, and approach to solutions. The concept of a program, on the other hand, refers to the specific content of policy documents and measures. Questions relevant to this dimension include: What are the primary policy concepts? What principles underlie policy? Which interpretations of the policy concept and principles are employed by the various stakeholders in the field? What are the core concepts and fundamental assumptions, and how do the stakeholders interpret concepts and basic assumptions?

#### Actors

A policy arrangement is characterised by several actors and coalitions. Actors are individuals or entities active within a specific policy domain, while coalitions often represent clusters of actors who align themselves around a particular position or vision within that domain. These coalitions pool resources and share perspectives related to a specific policy discourse, all within the confines of applicable rules. This results in some parties being committed the prevailing political discourse, while others resist it (Arts & van Tatenhove, 2014). Actor coalitions share common views in terms of discourse and rules, and they collaborate using their resources to achieve policy objectives (Van Tatenhove et al., 2002).

In this study, actors are defined as all individuals, institutions, or organizations involved in or having interests in citizen participation when repurposing cultural heritage. Examples of actors can be categorized as market, state, and civil society actors (source). Civil society can be further subdivided into communities (families, households, and residents) and the third sector (voluntary organizations, foundations, NGOs, and unions). The introduction of new actors, changes in coalition composition, or the expansion or dissolution of existing coalitions often mark moments of dynamic change within a policy arrangement. An example of this could be the entry of a new market party. In this study, a coalition is conceptualised as a stable partnership formed by different actors pursuing a specific goal. Public administration experts also refer to such a coalition as a policy arrangement.

#### Rules of the game

Wieringa & Arts (2006) explain that the organisational dimension pertains to the procedures governing how political participation and decision-making processes are structured, as defined

by ‘the rules of the game.’ These rules encompass formal and informal agreements and interaction protocols among actors, which play a crucial role in shaping policy outcomes. Within this dimension, three key questions emerge: Who establishes the agenda? Who takes part in the policy process? Who gets excluded, and who holds the decision-making authority (Arts, Leroy & van Tatenhove, 2006).

### Resources

The division of power and influence among these actors is integral to understanding how power, defines as the mobilisation, allocation, and utilisation of resources, shapes policy outcomes and the decision-making process. Resources can encompass financial assets and expertise. Actors or coalitions can leverage these resources to exert influence or power. For instance, financial resources, the potential for coercion, knowledge, or the capacity to mobilize supporters all represent forms of resources. Control over specific resources, such as land, finance, knowledge, skill, or labour power, establishes power dynamics within relational interactions. Table 4 provides an overview of the perceived meanings of each dimension within this thesis. The application of the PAA to this thesis will be further elucidated in the methodology chapter.

*Table 4 Overview of the four dimensions within the PAA*

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
Actors	The participants in this context, as well as other involved stakeholders like municipalities, provinces, neighbourhoods, developers, as so forth, are of particular importance. Understanding the roles, they fulfil is essential.
Resources	The allocation of resources, including time, money, knowledge, workforce, and resulting power and influence among actors.
Rules	The organisation structure; encompassing norms, values, culture, frameworks, formalisation, interactions, meetings, internal agreements, and their interactions with other actors when addressing issues.
Discourse	Shared or divergent perceptions of a problem or situations.

## 2.3 Operationalisation and conceptual model

### 2.3.1 Operationalisation

This is the translation from theory to empirical research (Van Thiel, 2014). The theoretical concepts are translated into entities that can be observed or measured in the real world. It shows exactly what will be studied or measured. First, a definition of the theoretical concepts will be given. The next step consists of determining diverse ways in which the theoretical constructs can

express themselves in the real world: variables. In the last step each variable shows which values it can assume. The Heritage Participation Ladder will be used to define various levels of participation present in the multiple case study. Alongside the participation ladder, the Policy Arrangement Approach is also operationalised to be used for the analysis. The operationalisations are presented in tables 5 and 6. This paragraph ends with the visualisation of the conceptual model.

*Table 5 Operationalisation table of PAA (Liefferink, 2006; Weiring & Arts, 2006)*

<b>Concept</b>	<b>Aspects</b>	<b>Dimensions</b>	<b>Variables</b>	<b>Indicators</b>
Policy Arrangement	Organisation	Actors & Coalitions	1. Actor constellations 2. Interaction patterns 3. Coalitions and oppositions	1. Key actors 2. How actors interact among themselves 3. Cooperation levels/oppositions
		Rules of the game	1. Formal 2. Informal	1. Laws, legislation, policy procedures 2. Informal procedures: organisational, political culture, routines of action, interactions/communication
		Resources/ Power	1. Financial resources 2. Knowledge resources 3. Land or legitimacy resources	1. Budgets, subsidies 2. Skills and capabilities of actors 3. The size of membership of an organisation/authoritative power
	Substance	Discourses	Shared ideas or visions on policy	Main concepts, basic assumptions, and interpretations

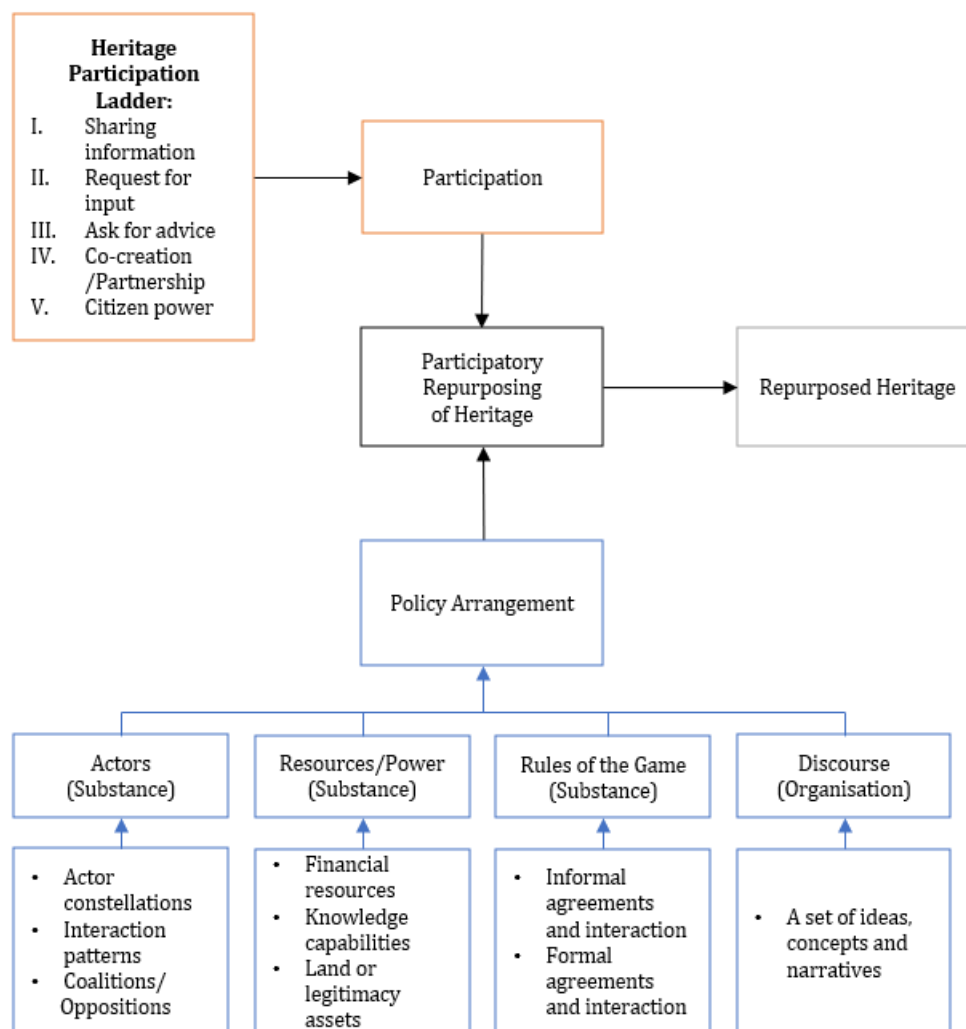
Table 6 Operationalization concepts literature review

Concept	Sub-concepts (variables)	Indicators (values)
Heritage Participation Ladder	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sharing information</li> <li>2. Request for input</li> <li>3. Ask for advice</li> <li>4. Co-creation/ partnership</li> <li>5. Citizen power</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Informing, explaining actions and choices</li> <li>2. Asking for feedback, or specific information</li> <li>3. Formulating advice, critically questioning operation, and results</li> <li>4. Developing, implementing, together. Co-decision, partnerships</li> <li>5. Self-government/determination.</li> </ol>
Citizen Participation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Stakeholders/actors</li> <li>2. Challenges &amp; opportunities</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Governmental actors; Inhabitants and visitors; Developers/ transformers; Academia, Organisations, Municipality/ other governmental institutions; Groups of heritage; Neighbours; Owner of building and/or land; Former residents and/or employees; Potential future users; Media.</li> <li>2. Time, money, communication.</li> </ol>
Project development	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Phases of project development</li> <li>2. Repurposing built heritage</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Initiating phase (1); Planning phase (2); Design phase (3); Construction phase (4); Close out phase (5)</li> <li>2. Existing (historic) buildings that lost their old function, that now have a new function</li> </ol>
Interests of developer	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Financial support</li> <li>2. Societal support</li> <li>3. Opportunities for development</li> <li>4. Better project plans</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Grants, funds, donors.</li> <li>2. Citizen support.</li> <li>3. Broadening market, more publicly attractive, revealing opportunities.</li> <li>4. Broader representation of wished from the surroundings, more (local) knowledge</li> </ol>

### 2.3.1 Conceptual model

The conceptual scheme depicts the interplay among the key concepts and their dimensions, thereby presenting the research focus, as seen in figure 2. Participatory repurposing of cultural heritage is at the centre of this study, defined by the concept of participation and its different forms – levels – as well as the four dimensions that belong to the policy arrangement. The level of participation shapes the process of repurposing cultural heritage as a private developer. As explained in the theoretical framework, the policy arrangement involves the four dimensions. These four concepts together also influence the process of participatory repurposing. The process of participatory repurposing results in the repurposed heritage building. The conceptual model guides the research and analysis.

Figure 2 Conceptual model (source: author)



## 3. Research method

The methodological chapter serves as a link between the theoretical and the empirical part of this research. The choices made in the research will be theoretically substantiated. This chapter describes the research, research strategy, and methods that were used in this thesis. Furthermore, the chapter describes the means of the data collection, data analysis and the reliability and validity.

### 3.1 Research Philosophy

Before diving into the research strategy, the research paradigm of this research will be discussed. The system of beliefs and assumptions guiding the development of knowledge is referred to as the research paradigm (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Given the diverse ways of thinking and explaining phenomena in the world, there are various philosophical paradigms (Adom, Yeboah & Ankrah, 2016). Guba & Lincoln (1994, p. 107) define a research paradigm as follows:

*'A paradigm may be viewed as a set of basic beliefs (or metaphysics) that deals with ultimate or first principles. It represents a worldview that defines, for its holder, the nature of the "world," the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts, as, for example, cosmologies and theologies do.'*

Two primary theories, positivism and interpretivism, have given rise to other philosophical paradigms, such as constructivism. These paradigms are rooted in traditional philosophical approaches. It is crucial to elaborate on this topic because it underpins the structure of this research and explains the worldview from which this research is conducted. It shapes how the research questions are understood, methods are chosen, and findings are interpreted.

A positivist paradigm adheres to the belief that only 'factual' knowledge obtained through observations (the senses), including measurement, is dependable. Since this thesis primarily focuses on perceptions, it does not align with a positivist paradigm. Instead, this research aligns with an interpretivist paradigm of philosophy. Van Thiel (2014, p. 34) offers the following insight into the interpretative paradigms and its relevance to this research:

*'Researchers who take an interpretative approach to science assume that there is not just one empirical world, but everyone (individuals or groups of people) has their own perspective or personal view of reality.'*

Interpretivist researchers aim to attain a deeper understanding, which, for this thesis, translates into gaining a better understanding of participatory approaches for repurposing built heritage. This research seeks to provide insights into the process of participation when repurposing cultural heritage as a private developer, and the perceptions related to it. This positions this research within the interpretative paradigm. This perspective on viewpoints and interpretations

offers an initial overview of participation within private-led heritage projects. Case studies are a suitable qualitative methodology for a study with an interpretative stance (Scotland, 2012). To ensure scientific rigor, the research will include critical reflections and reflexivity throughout the research process, and all methodological choices are substantiated in this chapter. As well as clearly documenting the data collection and analytical decisions. Table 7 provides a summary of the relevant characteristics of the interpretative philosophy of science adopted in this research.

*Table 7 Interpretative philosophy of science (Thiel van, 2014)*

<b>Philosophy of science</b>	Interpretative
<b>Ontology</b>	All reality is subjective, or a matter of perspective.
<b>Epistemology</b>	All knowledge is interpretation.
<b>Model of man</b>	Voluntaristic: free will.
<b>Natural science of ideal</b>	No.
<b>Typical characteristics of research</b>	Identification with a unique subject of study (understanding). Meaning and relations (holistic): description and understanding (usually induction). Qualitative data.

### 3.2 Research strategy and methods

The research strategy provides the overall direction of the research including the process by which research is conducted. Following an interpretative paradigm, this research applied a qualitative method with an exploratory multiple case study design. This research has an exploratory nature because citizen participation organised by private parties for repurposing cultural heritage has not previously been studied, as illustrated in the introduction of this thesis. The multiple case study entails semi-structured interviews with the concerned project developers of the repurposed buildings and a document analysis of local findings in relation to broader developments around participation and heritage in The Netherlands. Additionally, an expert-interview with someone in the field of heritage and citizen participation, was conducted to complement the gathered data. Qualitative research, as an approach, is appropriate to use when an in-depth and detailed understanding of a complex issue is required, especially when the context of the study's subject is crucial to understand the processes at hand (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Van Thiel, 2014, p. 59). This applies to this thesis since the intent is to comprehend the way in which participation is considered by its developers for repurposing cultural heritage. The choice of a multiple case study design is because the research problem involves the study of cases within a real life-time contemporary context (Yin, 2014). Studying cases is a helpful methodology for researching and understanding complex issues in real world settings (Harrison, Birks, Franklin & Mills, 2017).

Chapter Two involved the collection of pertinent information on the research topic from existing literature. These findings will serve as the basis for the second phase of this research, which is the empirical study. To address the main research question, four sub-questions have been formulated. These sub-questions will be addressed by analysing the data obtained from semi-structured interviews, the literature review, and the document analysis.

### 3.3 Data collection

To gain insight in participatory approaches within repurposing cultural heritage, multiple methods of data collection were chosen in this thesis. Three forms of data collection were used: literature study (desk study); semi-structured interviews; and document analysis.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to gain a deeper understanding of the intentions and approaches of private developers regarding participation in the repurposing of built cultural heritage. The semi-structured format allowed for flexible questioning, facilitating in-depth interviews. A document analysis was chosen to complement the data obtained from the interviews.

#### 3.3.1 Case study selection

The cases have been chosen based on specific selection criteria. It is important to elucidate these criteria because they have substantial influence on the outcome of the empirical part of this research. Therefore, the selection criteria must be clear, specific, and free from ambiguity. In this study, five cases were analysed. Since the goal of qualitative research is not to generalise, but rather to delve into specifics, typically no more than four or five cases are selected, as stated in Creswell & Poth (2018).

Each case was selected based on both significant criteria, and well-reasoned grounds. The following list outlines the used criteria, followed by explanations for their selection:

- I. The categorization of the building should align with the definition of repurposed cultural heritage that was outlined in Chapter Two. This research specifically focuses on buildings, which are often municipal or national monuments;
- II. The repurposed building should have been developed by a private developer with both a societal goal and viable business case;
- III. The repurposed building should be located in The Netherlands, within an urbanised area or near a small village;
- IV. The project should have been completed before 2023;
- V. The building should be a single object, rather than part of a larger ensemble of buildings.

The five criteria will now be briefly substantiated. The first criterion provides clarification regarding the type of heritage upon which this thesis focuses. When selecting the repurposed buildings, the three most frequently repurposed heritage typologies were chosen, namely agricultural, industrial, and religious heritage. The second criterion was established to differentiate between (commercial) project developers whose primary focus point is profit and those who operate with a societal goal, while still maintaining a viable business case to make the project financially sustainable. This distinction was made because it is anticipated that these two developer types may hold different views on citizen participation, although it is also expected that each (societal) developer may have their unique perspective on this topic. The third criterion was used to delineate the geographical scope of this thesis, as it is anticipated that heritage in less urbanised areas typically involves fewer stakeholders available for participation. The fourth criterion is intended to ensure that the project had been completed by the time the semi-structured interviews were conducted. It was chosen to focus on one single object per case, as stated in criterium five. This is because size of a project matters for organising participation, so this criterion tries to prevent widely divergent projects in the multiple case study.

*Table 8 Selected cases*

<b>Case</b>	<b>Project</b>	<b>Heritage typology</b>	<b>Private developer</b>	<b>Old function</b>	<b>New function(s)</b>
1.	Oud Nico, Amsterdam	Industrial	Stadsherstel Amsterdam	Fire station	Apartments, offices, creative spaces
2.	De Hoef, Utrecht	Agricultural	BOEi	Farm	Several societal functions (e.g., church, funeral home, childcare)
3.	Laurentius kerk, Weesp	Religious	CTJ van Vliet	Church	Brewery with café, offices, apartments, hotel room
4.	Onze Lieve Vrouwe, Voorburg	Religious	Steenvlinder	Church hall and parsonage	Housing
5.	Erve IJzerman, Wapenveld	Agricultural	BOEi + Foundation Erve IJzerman	Farm	Museum

### 3.3.2 Selection of respondents

The semi-structured interviews were conducted with the involved developers of the repurposed buildings. This was done to gain a deeper understanding of the participation processes organised by private developers when repurposing cultural heritage. The selection of respondents was based on the case selection criteria, and their details are presented in Table 9. Further information about the respondents and conducted interviews can be found in the appendices.

A topic list was compiled to encompass the key concepts from the theoretical framework. The interviews were semi-structured, allowing for systemic analysis while also leaving room for the exploration of new questions when necessary to gain fresh insights. One of the respondents was affiliated with the internship organisation. However, a deliberate decision was made to also select cases, and interview developers from other repurposing organisation, to ensure a broader representation of developers in The Netherlands. Additionally, an expert interview was conducted with Machteld Linssen, a program manager at RCE and the Faro program. This interview was conducted to gain a more profound understanding of citizen participation in the context of the heritage field. The choice of the expert interviewee was based on their experience related to the research topic.

*Table 9 Respondents*

<b>Case</b>	<b>Respondent</b>
Oud Nico	Alex Blommestijn
Oud Nico	Paul Morel
De Hoef	Han Wartna
Laurentiuskerk	Cees van Vliet
Onze Lieve	Marnix Norder
Erve IJzerman	Jan Nitrauw

### 3.4 Data analysis

A thematic analysis approach was applied, combining inductive and deductive coding. This approach allowed a more comprehensive understanding of the data and the identification of both anticipated and unexpected findings. Before starting the coding process, all conducted interviews were transcribed into text documents. These transcripts were then analysed using ATLAS.ti software to identify and explore themes emerging from the raw data. ATLAS.ti is a qualitative data analysis workbench, providing a range of tools to effectively manage unstructured data – data that cannot be meaningfully analysed using formal statistical approaches (ATLAS.ti, n.d.). It helps in exploring complex phenomena hidden within the data.

The analysis incorporated both deductive and inductive elements. Deductive analysis is implemented by translating the operationalisation into a code book, serving as a guide for analysing the transcriptions. Inductive analysis, on the other hand, involves continuous reflection

on the deductive codebook to interpret any outlying codes (and categories) for potential new insights.

The analysis started with a prepared code set based on the literature review but expands as additional codes are introduced during the analysis. Inductive means that themes will be formed through the gathered information, while deductive entails that the data that were found before conducting the interviews and is expected to be found in the gathered data. The study has an exploratory nature, and through combining the inductive and deductive analysis it allowed new concepts to emerge, partly done through open coding, identifying various categories of dimensions that emerged from the interviews. In the final phase of data analysis, the research question, theoretical framework, and operationalisation are used to determine how the codes fit into the existing literature.

Alongside analysing the interviews, a document analysis was incorporated into the research to enhance the quality of the multiple case study. In Chapter Three the framework has been explained and operationalised. The intention of the document analysis is to try to link the local findings (based on the perspectives of the developers) to the broader developments in environmental policy, in this thesis around citizen participation and heritage (management). The five cases were analysed through the Policy Arrangement Approach, to find out which forms of participation were employed. The subsequent paragraph outlines the four steps of this analysis based on the Policy Arrangement Approach. First, relevant players and their coalitions, based on policy documents and interviews, will be mapped out. The second step involves power measurement. This will be done by identifying the most important resources in the policy fields of heritage and participation and related to specific actors/coalitions. The information about resource distributions provides insight into the mutual power relationships. The following step consists of reconstructing the rules of the game. And the fourth and last step is to map out the policy discourse.

An actor perspective was chosen because, as per Liefferink (2006), it offers the most tangible means of gaining an overview of the policy arrangement surrounding a given issue and aligns with how policy actors themselves perceive their own situation. Through the involved actors, the other analytical categories, resources/power, rules, and discourses, are materialised (Liefferink, 2006). Liefferink (2006) mentioned how the objective of the Policy Arrangement Approach is to analytically link changes in everyday policy practices to broader, structural changes in contemporary society. Additionally, the PAA analysis elucidates power relations and the interaction of rules, providing deeper insight into the relationship between private developers and participatory repurposing of cultural heritage.

### 3.5 Validity & Reliability

The validity of a study refers to the extent to which a study measures what it is intended to measure (Thiel van, 2014). Validity can be categorized into internal and external validity. Internal validity is achieved when the research method used, allows for correct conclusions to be drawn. The operationalisation of theories and the Policy Arrangement Approach discussed in Chapter Two contributes to internal validity, as it translates abstract concepts into measurable indicators (Scheepers, Tobi & Boeije, 2016). Requirements and characteristics are described in paragraph 3.3, clarifying the basis for their selection. Properly documenting collected data can enhance internal validity. For the interviews that were conducted, this also means recording and transcribing them. All used documents will be properly referenced.

External validity refers to the generalizability of the research results and conclusions (Thiel van, 2014). The aim of the research is not to make statements for the entire population, but rather to use an extensive analysis to search for deeper-lying processes that are relevant for participatory repurposing of heritage by private developers. The external validity is relatively low. In this case, the benefits of the in-depth case studies outweigh the limitations of external validity since the primary goal is to gain a deeper understanding of perspectives, not to generalise results. Therefore, a relatively low external validity is accepted in this research.

Reliability depends on the consistency of the research (Scheepers et al., 2016). Research is considered dependable when it has the same outcome when repeated under similar circumstances. Since this study is a multiple case study, repetition is possible although it differs significantly from quantitative research replication. Additionally, it is important for the reliability of qualitative research that the context in which the research takes place is clear. Everything will be recorded and documented clearly so that repetition is possible but, this is more difficult for qualitative research than quantitative research. Qualitative research is also typically repeated less often (Scheepers et al., 2016).

### 3.6 Introduction of cases

As outlined in this methodological chapter, this research comprises an exploratory multiple case study featuring five carefully selected cases. These cases serve as a means to delve into the participation processes present when repurposing cultural heritage by private developers. The insights gained from these developers are contributory in comprehending the present landscape of participatory repurposing of cultural heritage in The Netherlands. In this paragraph, the five cases will be introduced to provide the necessary context for understanding choices and what developments were taking place. In Chapter Four, the results of the multiple case study will be discussed. The cases are located in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Weesp, Voorburg and Wapenveld.

### 3.6.1 Oud Nico



*Picture 1 Oud Nico (Source: Casa Architecten)*

The monumental, former fire station in Amsterdam was bought by Stadsherstel in 2006 from the Municipality of Amsterdam. Other developers had not succeeded in renovating and restoring the monument (Stadsherstel, 2011). At the time of acquisition, the building was already no longer used as a fire station. Instead, it was used for living and atelier spaces with an extra sport climbing facility. The organisation restored and repurposed the building in 2011 and made sure most of the original residents could still live there after the transformation (Stadsherstel<sup>1</sup>, n.d.). This area of Amsterdam looked completely different at that time, than it does today. When Stadsherstel bought Oud Nico the municipality had plans for the development of two hundred thousand square metres of offices, homes, and facilities on this location. Eighty thousand square metres were designated for office space (Parool, 2007).

*Table 10 Information Oud Nico*

<b>Building date</b>	1890
<b>Original architect</b>	W. Springer
<b>Heritage type</b>	Industrial
<b>Old function</b>	Fire station
<b>Current function</b>	Art studios, living and office spaces
<b>Former owner</b>	Municipality of Amsterdam
<b>Current owner</b>	Stadsherstel Amsterdam
<b>Location</b>	Ruijterkade 149, Amsterdam
<b>Monument status</b>	National monument
<b>Transformation Architect</b>	CASA architecten
<b>Transformation year</b>	2011

### 3.6.2 De Hoef



*Picture 2 De Hoef (Source: Monumentaal, 2017)*

De Hoef is a former farm located in Leidsche Rijn in Utrecht. Here, major developments took place between 2005-2020. Leidsche Rijn is now a big city district of Utrecht. BOEi bought the farm in 2016 from the municipality and in 2019 restoration took place (BOEi, 2023, p. 166).

*Table 11 Information De Hoef*

<b>Building date</b>	1900
<b>Original architect</b>	Presumably, G. van Weerden
<b>Heritage type</b>	Agricultural
<b>Old function</b>	Farm
<b>Current function</b>	Church, funeral home, spaces for community activities
<b>Former owner</b>	Utrecht Municipality
<b>Current owner</b>	BOEi
<b>Location</b>	Hogewijde 6, Utrecht
<b>Monument status</b>	National monument
<b>Transformation year</b>	2018

### 3.6.3 Laurentiuskerk



*Picture 3 Laurentiuskerk (Source: MOOI Noord-Holland)*

In July 2012, parishioners were informed that the church had to be closed due to poor foundations. The declining number of churchgoers was unable to meet the repair costs for the foundation and superstructure. Due to vacancy of the church, the building was threatened with demolition. The parish and municipality started looking for future options to save (parts of) the church. In 2016, the church was bought by project developer CTJ van Vliet. In the beginning the plan was to only save parts of the church. After a while, the developer decided to repurpose the whole church. Today, there are several functions in the church. The repurposed church opened in 2020 (Verheul, 2020).

*Table 12 Information Laurentiuskerk*

<b>Building date</b>	1875
<b>Original architect</b>	T. Asseler
<b>Heritage type</b>	Religious
<b>Old function</b>	Church
<b>Current function</b>	Brewery, yoga studio, living space, hotel room
<b>Former owner</b>	Parish
<b>Current owner</b>	CJT van Vliet
<b>Address</b>	Herengracht 16, Weesp
<b>Monument status</b>	Municipal monument
<b>Transformation Architect</b>	Stork & Albrecht
<b>Transformation year</b>	2020

### 3.6.4 Onze Lieve



Picture 4 Onze Lieve Vrouwe church and parsonage (Source: Steenvlinder)

The former church and parsonage were bought by Steenvlinder in 2020, after twelve years of vacancy. The participation project started that same year in February 2020. First the parsonage was transformed into self-build homes, thereafter, the church was transformed into self-build homes as well. The apartments went for sale in April (Het Krantje, 2020).

Table 13 Information Parsonage & Church

<b>Building date</b>	1924-1925
<b>Architect</b>	P.G. Buskens
<b>Heritage type</b>	Religious heritage
<b>Old function</b>	Church
<b>Current function</b>	Self-building homes
<b>Former owner</b>	Church
<b>Current owner</b>	Steevlinder
<b>Address</b>	Voorburg
<b>Monument Status</b>	Municipal Monument Nr. 524460
<b>Transformation year</b>	2022

### 3.6.5 Erve IJzerman



*Picture 5 Erve IJzerman (Source: R. Ploeg, 2018)*

The farm was built at the end of the 19th century by the Hogeboom family. The family owned the farm for over thirty years. Due to disappointing business results and the onset of the economic crisis in the 1930s, the last living Hogeboom was forced to sell the farm. In 1930, the IJzerman family bought the farm at a local auction. In 2010, the last resident Dina IJzerman died, and the farm became empty. A local foundation that supported recreation produced plans to repurpose the building to save the farm and create recreation possibilities in the area (BOEi, 2021). The idea to start a national dairy museum was born. The local initiators found a partner in buying and exploiting the farm: Boerderij & Landschap (subsidiary of BOEi).

*Table 14 Information Erve IJzerman*

<b>Building date</b>	1898
<b>Architect</b>	Hogeboom
<b>Heritage type</b>	Agricultural heritage
<b>Old function</b>	Farm
<b>Current function</b>	Museum
<b>Former owner</b>	IJzerman
<b>Current owner</b>	Boerderij & Landschap (BOEi)
<b>Project initiator</b>	Stichting Recreatie Wapenveld
<b>Address</b>	Kanaaldijk 63
<b>Monument Status</b>	National monument since 2002
<b>Transformation year</b>	2012

## 4. Results

In this chapter the results of the multiple case study will be discussed. As explained in the methodological chapter this chapter exists of a multiple case study where the data (documents and interviews) were analysed through a thematic analysis based on the policy arrangement approach and the heritage participation ladder. The first two paragraphs will discuss the context and background of the two policy domains of heritage and citizen participation in The Netherlands through desk study. In the next paragraphs the multiple case study is discussed per case. New insights and interpretations were attempted to be made through interests, obstacles, and success factors for organising participation as a private developer when repurposing cultural heritage, in relation to the four dimensions of the PAA. Also, in each case the form of participation that was recognized is discussed.

### 4.1 Broader developments of heritage and citizen participation policies

The first paragraph includes an overview of broader developments around heritage and citizen participation policies in The Netherlands. The desk study provides the necessary context and background of the policy domains for the analysis of the multiple case study based on the Policy Arrangement Approach.

#### 4.1.1 Heritage

Over the years, three approaches on heritage have emerged; the sectoral approach, the factorial approach, and the vectorial approach (Janssen & Stegmeijer, 2015; Janssen et al., 2017). The sectoral approach originated from the beginning of the 20th century. The introduction of the Monuments Act (Monumentenwet) in 1961 confirms this approach. The factorial approach became visible from the 1980s and the last category, the vectorial approach, is the most recent approach. This approach has existed since the 21st century. Changing policy arrangements are evident in momentary stabilisations of the organisational and substantive aspects of heritage management at various levels, either national or state.

In the sectoral approach monuments and protected city and village views are conceived as a collection of artefacts. In this approach, buildings and sites thrive best if they are isolated from the spatial transformation by being placed on a monument list. The factor approach was developed in the Knowledge Agenda from Netwerk & Ruimte (2014). This approach recognizes that heritage is subject to the influence of spatial negotiation processes, where preservation or degradation of heritage is part of market-driven developments. Heritage as a vector offers inspiration and gives direction to spatial developments, is not limited to physical objects but can just as easily draw on intangible history and personal stories. Currently, the three approaches coexist, without hierarchy in terms of desirability or superiority (Janssen & Stegmeijer, 2015).

Governmental actors have played a significant role in safeguarding a substantial portion of cultural heritage since the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Nevertheless, the early efforts to conserve heritage was spearheaded by the intellectual elite within society (Boer, 2006). The preservation of heritage is now becoming more closely intertwined with the policy domains of land use planning and urban renewal in The Netherlands. Additionally, in several Western countries, there is a growing involvement of NGO's, (historic) property owners, and private developers in formulating and executing preservation policies (Boer, 2006).

The perspectives on heritage approaches are evolving. Especially the role of experts, as a stakeholder, is changing. This stems from a broader and new view (discourse) in the heritage field where the civil society actor is playing a more key role. This Faro Approach takes its name from the Treaty of Faro that the council of Europe adopted in 2005. The Convention was adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 2005, and opened for signatures to member States in Faro, Portugal. On June 1<sup>st</sup>, 2011, the Faro convention entered into force. The treaty draws attention to the value that heritage has for society and to the question of who has control over what heritage is (Battaglini, 2020). It emphasises a perspective on heritage that places people and their relationship with heritage at the centre. The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and the RCE want to give the Faro approach a place in the heritage sector. The Netherlands is going to sign the Faro treaty. The Netherlands hereby commits itself to the principles of the Faro Treaty and its impact on Dutch heritage policy (RCE<sup>2</sup>, n.d.). So far, twenty-four states have signed the Faro treaty, so far. Alongside these governmental actors, market and society actors support these views as well. Within the policy discourse, it is advocated that Dutch cultural heritage should be seamlessly incorporated into all land use planning procedures, serving as a wellspring of inspiration for innovative land use developments that blend preservation and redevelopment.

Actors that are responsible for repurposing cultural heritage are (national, provincial, and local governments), non-governmental organisations, project developers, and property owners of historical places and buildings (Boer, 2006). The actors in this policy domain are the RCE (National Cultural Heritage Agency), citizens (neighbourhood, foundations, and other associations), municipalities, provincials, (local) entrepreneurs, developers, and other monumental and/or social organisations. RCE, is a governmental actor that is part of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and works under the direct responsibility of the minister and implements legislation, regulations, and heritage policy that the ministry and the service draw up together (RCE<sup>3</sup>, n.d.). They also develop practically applicable knowledge and provide advice on national monuments. Municipalities are responsible, among other things, for licensing, supervision, and enforcement of national monuments. Provinces are, among other things, responsible for restoration subsidies and supervision of municipal monument tasks. The central government also supports owners of heritage with subsidies and loans. There is an increasing number of cultural heritage projects in which private parties, such as project developers, actively participate. It shows the trend of more public-private partnerships in cultural heritage management/preservation (De Boer, 2006).

### 4.1.2 Citizen participation

Citizen participation has become more relevant in spatial planning in The Netherlands. Municipalities are required to actively involve citizens in policy and decision-making about the physical environment. But the new Environmental and Planning Act also stimulates initiators to organise citizen participation, which is a relatively new phenomenon. Changes have occurred in this policy domain because the governmental actors have rethought the operative policy: new formal rules have been imposed (Rijksoverheid, 2023). One of the government's ways to formally conduct these beliefs is through the new Environment and Planning Act (rules of the game) that will come into force on January first, 2024.

Several developments have led to the creation of this new law. New legislations has been introduced in recent years to modernise sub-areas of the Dutch environmental laws and policies. However, these initiatives have not yet led to an insightful, coherent, and future-proof system of environmental law (Ministry of Infrastructure and the Environment, 2011). The two main problems include a complex and fragmented regulation and an imbalance between certainty and dynamics (for example, dormant procedures). Since the current legislation is no longer in line with future and current developments, and the laws have become fragmented and cluttered, there is a desire for a new environmental law (Ministry of Infrastructure and the Environment, 2016).

The new Environment and Planning Act concerns the integration of laws, but also the expansion and amendment of them, in such a way that it should lead to simplification (Rijksoverheid, 2023). The Environmental Act has four main improvement objectives, of which one concerns accelerated decision-making. This is also where the subject of participation comes into play, an important part of the law. Participation should also contribute to this goal of accelerated decision-making (Boeve & Groothuijse, 2019). Besides, the central government holds the idea that active involvement of citizens at an early stage will be desired in the future. On top of this, participation is mentioned in the Explanatory Memorandum as the basis for restoring trust in the government (Tweede Kamer, 2014).

Organising participation for an environmental permit is intended to encourage the initiator to arrive at a deliberately balanced approach to participation without prescribing it legally. The changes regarding participation may be a new subject for some initiators. The Human Environment Information Point (IPLO) states that by participating as an initiator, the person initiating the project gets an idea of what the environment thinks of the project. For example, he can adapt his project so that it gets more support, and the plans can be improved. It depends on the project whether participation makes sense. Participation is sensible, especially for larger projects.

The government envisions a threefold goal with participation. The aim of promoting the early involvement of citizens in the development of the physical living environment is to: increase the quality and speed of decision-making and create more support for the final decisions to be taken

(Boeve & Groothuijse, 2019). The central government aimed to place different emphasis in legislation and regulations for the living environment and the government thus exercises power through this. In addition, the other actors, the initiators of project plans need to act accordingly to this new law. The municipal actor holds the responsibility to establish formal rules on when participation is needed/mandatory per municipality. It can differ per municipality when participation is made mandatory. Citizens (stakeholders) can participate.

These developments in the policy domain of heritage and participation show that there is a bigger desire for the society to voice their feelings and opinions on their environment. This idea surpasses specific policy issues or sectors as there is a general wish for more citizen power. This general idea resulted in changing ideas on both policy areas. It says something about the preferred means of governance too, and thus the relationship between state market, and civil society. This overarching concept of societal organisation pertains to the discourse dimension. The general context of the heritage management and citizen participation domains have now been elaborated on, and this chapter will continue discussing the results of the multiple case study.

## 4.2 Multiple Case Study

In this section the results from the multiple case study will be presented. The data from the five cases (interviews and documents) have been analysed based on the Policy Arrangement Approach (Arts & Wiering, 2006; Liefferink, 2006; Tatenhove, van & Arts; 2004). Also, the described participation process in each case will be categorised through to the Heritage Participation Ladder, as presented in Chapter Two, in order to structure this data. The data from the interviews with the developers resulted in several identified interests, obstacles, and success factors for organising participation when repurposing cultural heritage. The criteria on which basis the cases are selected is explained in Chapter Three. Matters that correspond with each other will be discussed in the conclusion.

### Case 1 Oud Nico

Two interviews were conducted in this case, one with the project leader and one with his assistant (at the time of development). This section presents insights based on the developer's perspective, derived from the analysis of the two interviews and relevant documents.

#### **Actors**

In this subsection, the roles of the involved stakeholders and their coalitions or collaborations are explained. Several actors, in addition to the developer, engage in this case. The Municipality of Amsterdam, a governmental actor, engages in multiple ways. Firstly, the municipality was the former owner of Oud Nico, but sold the building to the developing organisation in 2006. Secondly, the municipality holds the legislative power, granting permits for adjustments to the monument that the developer intends to conduct. The developing organisation manages Oud Nico, and their

relationship with the municipality is viewed as a collaboration driven by their shared goal of preserving the building. The residents of Oud Nico also share this goal, and the wish to stay in the building, indicating a good relationship. Alongside the municipality, the RCE is involved because the building has held national monument status since 2002.

Apart from the developer (market actor) and governmental actors (municipality and RCE), civil society actors are involved. These include the residents of the building, whom are artists with ateliers in the building, residents (often former firefighters or family members of firefighters), and a resident from Waternet Amsterdam. There used to be a climbing sports facility in the building, which had to vacate due to safety regulations. The neighbourhood is another civil society actor in this case, but plays a small role, as this part of Amsterdam was undergoing significant developments right after the monument was sold to the organisation. Prior to these developments, less neighbours were present in the area (interview Oud Nico 1; Oud Nico 2; Parool, 2007). The final actor that comes into play are potential future tenants, as the developer created office spaces for rent to enhance financial resources, which was crucial for the project's financial feasibility.

Within the actor dimension, some obstacles and factors that may enhance the participation process have been identified. One obstacle arises when two actors that share different beliefs are faced against each other in the participation process. He mentioned how in every project often the same actors are facing each other:

*'What I was just saying about that system, what can be difficult about it, is that you always have the same faces sitting opposite each other.'* (Old Nico, 2)

Both interviewees also mentioned a factor that can positively mitigate this obstacle. They explain how involving an additional actor, such as an independent expert in communication, can enhance the quality of the participation process. This is especially valuable when this actor possesses specific knowledge of communication matters or presents an independent character. The developer and the assistant expressed the following:

*'There should be a separate manager there, or a communications advisor who directs all that. Put someone in there who is versed in this and has knowledge of it. Knowledge about how best to approach this.'* (Oud Nico, 1)

*'Participation does not work well for everyone. That is normal. What I sometimes do now is involve more people from the organisation. Then a company or city must have more faces. And not just seeing mine. ... So, I think another important comment is that we as a developer or as a restorative institution must show multiple faces.'* (Oud Nico, 2)

In Case Erve IJzerman (Case 5), this opportunity for success was also emphasised. However, it is important that the developer itself should not change during the project. The developer explains

how it can become unworkable if every three or four months a new project developer arises because the prior developer has left (Interview Oud Nico, 2). The focus should be on bringing in more actors, not changing them. This case also highlights the importance of understanding the stakeholders' goals and interests. The assistant mentioned that some specific locations are more complicated for organising citizen participation compared to others due to the actors involved:

*It is extremely difficult to have neighbourhood participation there because in the city centre of Amsterdam you never know for sure who the property owner really is. Certainly not in the red-light district. (Oud Nico, 1)*

### **Resources and Power**

This section explains the dimension of resources and power. Liefferink (2006) states how the division of resources, between actors, can lead to differences in power and influence. Examples of resources include financial means, knowledge capabilities, authoritative instruments, and land ownership. Assuming the interconnectedness of the four dimensions, it is expected that changes in this dimension affect other relationships in this case too. Regarding financial means, both interviewees emphasise the developer's interest in organising citizen participation to increase support. Particularly financial support. The assistant developer mentioned how participation can serve to gain support:

*'An added value of participation is to get everyone on board with the project plans. This is also because NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) plays an influential role in the Netherlands and, in addition, the permit process in the Netherlands is very treacly and difficult.'* (Oud Nico, 1)

Organising participation as a private developer can (financially) benefit the project. It can lead to subsidies, funds, donors, and donations (interview Oud Nico, 2). This increases more financial resources available for the developing organisation, also increasing its power position and influence in relation to other actors. This interest also reveals the developer's dependence on subsidies or funds from governmental or other actors, which influences their financial capacity as a resource of power. The developer stated the following on financial means:

*'Participation is not only a societal interest, but it also really feeds an institution. ... There's substantial help coming out of that, and financially. Participation can also provide substantial economic financial benefits. Public accessibility also means grants, access to funds and public accessibility also means that you have the opportunity, that the moment you involve people in things, the moment you let people see your work, to receive donors and donations.'* (Oud Nico, 2)

Subsidies are granted by the state, province or even at local level (municipality) and are often necessary to make a project financially feasible for a private developer. Other forms of income can also come from monumental organisations. The municipality sold the building to the developing organisation as they did not have the financial and knowledge capabilities to preserve

the building, although they did share the wish to do so. This demonstrates a mutual dependency between the developer and the municipality.

In addition to financial support, political support is also recognised as an interest in this case. When project developers reveal their participation process to the local council or the municipality and involve them, it creates a possibility to be more assured about the further developments and trust between the developer and the local council. Hence, the quality of a participation process can increase the chances of political support:

*'Towards politics, participation is also very important.'* (Oud Nico, 2)

This emphasises the authoritative power the governmental actors hold. As was previously mentioned in the subsections of actors, the municipality has legislative resources to make decisions regarding permits. A third form of support mentioned in this case is societal support:

*'The support from the immediate environment is especially important. It gives the project support when individuals or businesses see something in it.'* (Oud Nico, 2)

Besides increasing support, financially, politically, and socially, there is another interest recognised in this case to increase resources and power as a developer. This interest aligns with the concept of knowledge capabilities within the PAA. Sharing knowledge can contribute to more local knowledge, improve skills and capabilities, and increase resources and power for the developer. Stead and Meijers (2009) explain that it is important to have coalitions through collaboration between various interest groups and that collaboration and knowledge sharing has been a condition to knowledge development. This interest of sharing knowledge reflects the generation of knowledge capacity and development as a resource:

*'We think it is important to open up and share knowledge, we also do not keep knowledge to ourselves.'* (Oud Nico, 2)

## **Discourse**

As explained in Chapter Two, the discourse represents the policy vision, giving meaning to citizen participation in repurposing heritage and outlining how this should be achieved. The developers' goal is to restore, repurpose and rent monuments and iconic buildings in and around the area of Amsterdam (Stadsherstel Amsterdam<sup>2</sup>, n.d.). A discerned discourse departs from this idea to preserve, restore, and repurpose heritage. This goal is also supported by the municipality and the residents of the building in the case of Oud Nico. The municipality of Amsterdam states how development, design and construction increasingly consists of redeveloping and redesigning existing buildings and sites (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.)

The developers have emphasised the importance of organising citizen participation when repurposing cultural heritage and share these perceptions with the municipality as well (interview Oud Nico 1; Oud Nico 2; Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.). However, the developer

(interview 2) also states in the interview that organising participation should not be underestimated and that some neighbourhood groups are no longer interested in participation. The developer mentioned how some residents have become fed up with participation meetings in general. He says that there are residents' groups in New West Amsterdam that say: *'Figure it out yourself'* (Oud Nico, 2). The expert that has been interviewed also supported this struggle. She mentioned the difficulties on (re)building trust between the participating stakeholders/actors and the developer:

*'I think the most difficult thing about participation is building a bond of trust and the relationship with the people who have an interest in that property or who have an emotional bond with it and make them understand that not everything is possible.'* (Expert interview)

The municipality of Amsterdam has not yet published a policy document for organising participation as an initiator (private developer). The developer mentioned how their developing organisation does have a vision document on participation.

### **Rules of the game**

Based on the interviews with the developer and assistant developer, it is evident that participation mainly occurred through informal means of communication. For instance, the developer visited the building and engaged in conversation with residents to inform about the plans (Interview 1 & 2). This falls under level one, informing, on the heritage participation ladder. The interaction between the developer and stakeholders was generally informal and accessible. The developing organisation was also located near to the monument so residents could even visit them. The developer emphasised the importance of maintaining a prominent level of transparency and communication to improve the quality of the participation process:

*'You must be terribly transparent. Being clear is a great lesson.'* (Oud Nico, 2)

In further cases, a low level of transparency and communication is recognised as an obstacle for a successful participation process. The same developer also emphasises how as a project developer you should not underestimate the complexities of a project and, in his words, should not be *'too optimistic'* about a project when initiating participation:

*We all think, we have a good plan, we are a great club. We are a societal organisation and we do not demand the utmost from the market. That is easy to do, but that is not always the case.* (Oud Nico, 2)

### **Case 2 De Hoef**

The involved developer was interviewed regarding the repurposing of the former farm situated in Leidsche Rijn, Utrecht. The data from the interviews and document have been analysed using the Policy Arrangement Approach, and the results of this analysis are now presented.

## **Actors**

Several actors and their roles are recognised in this case. Similar to the Oud Nico Case, the Municipality of Utrecht sold the farm to the developing organisation. The municipality had bought the farm from the previous owner, but after a few years, they no longer wished to manage the farm. The municipality shared its plans to sell the farm with its current tenants. Another similarity with the Oud Nico Case is that the building was already used for new purposes before it was sold to the developing organisation. The tenants of De Hoef are the third identified actor and belong to the group of civil society actors. Currently, the same tenants are still in the farm, but now renting from the developer instead of the municipality.

The civil society actors share more similarities with the Oud Nico Case, as this neighbourhood also underwent major developments. Leidsche Rijn was about to become a completely new urbanised neighbourhood when the farm was sold. This also had an influence on the way participation was organised. Leidsche Rijn is one of the largest *Vinex* districts in the Netherlands (BOEi, 2023). Because of these major plans, the possibility of demolishing the farm was discussed by the municipality when they were still the owners. At that time, the farm did not have a monumental status yet (BOEi<sup>1</sup>, n.d.).

## **Resources/Power**

Similar to the Oud Nico Case, creating support was also viewed as an interest for organising participation:

*'If you participate early on, and you have a clear framework and you know what you want with your project, much of the public will be reassured and informed. That is an advantage.'*  
(De Hoef)

In addition to creating support, another interest was found. Improving the project plans is recognised as an interest for organising participation. Initiators, such as project developers, can choose to organise participation to adjust their original plans, if necessary, in response to the participants' feedback. It can enrich the project plans and align them with local wishes. Ensuring the quality of the project can be established as one of the main goals of a developer. This interest suggests that a participation process can result in gaining more local knowledge and better aligning with the community's wishes, potentially creating more support for the project. This also allows the developer to enhance the project plans:

*'When you know about the opposition in advance, you can take it into account in your project plans.'* *'You can think you have a good project plan, but it may just happen that the plan is not as good as you thought so after all.'* (De Hoef)

There also was a success factor analysed, representing a factor that can have a positive influence on the quality of the participation process:

*You must map out in advance where you think the sensitivities lie, etc. Good preparation is particularly important to get far with participation. (De Hoef)*

The importance of mapping sensitivities is also emphasised by the interviewed expert:

*I think getting to know each other's worlds is an important one. (Expert)*

In addition to these recognised interests and success factors, there is a power position of the developer in this case. The developing organisation has the financial resources and knowledge capabilities to restore and repurpose the farm compared to the municipality that no longer wanted to manage the building. The emphasis of the developer for organising participation lies in getting to know the stakeholders and their sensitivities and views about the project. This also relates to the discourse.

### **Rules of the game**

The project developer held conversations and meetings with the tenants of the former farm. *'There was room for the tenants to give substance to the plans.'* (Interview De Hoef). This can be categorised as 'request for input,' which is level two of the heritage participation ladder. The project manager explains that this can be seen as a form of participation, but also, a standard procedure within a project development process. There also was a participation process specifically for the playground that was going to be created, but since this was not part of the developer's tasks, it will not be included in the case. This process of creating the playground was done with volunteers from the neighbourhood, which can be categorized as level four, co-creation. Participation with other stakeholders was minimal according to the project manager, mostly because Leidsche Rijn, a new city neighbourhood of Utrecht, had just started to develop. There were few neighbours around still. Moreover, the general opinions on the project plans were positive and the farm was already functioning with different purposes for some years. No distinct participation process identified in this project, which took place between 2016 and 2019. In January 2016, the developer opened the building to the public to experience the organisations, and companies that were present and would become active in the future, which can also be seen as a form of participation that does not necessarily fit into one level of the heritage participation ladder.

Mutual contact between the developer and neighbourhood was informal (sometimes future residents of the area simply stepped by at the site). Contact between current users and developers was accessible. The data from the interview revealed some obstacles and success factors that are related to the rules of the game. An experienced obstacle that can arise due to poor communication is creating the wrong expectations. Expectations on both sides are not always

properly discussed in advance and are often contradictory. The developer points out this obstacle:

*The pitfall is that you ask things too questioningly. Suppose you want to involve people in the project. People always want to have an influence on this, and they always have something to say about it. But you must already have established your framework and know on which points you can and cannot give in. 'But you shouldn't let those people complete the project themselves.' ... In a project where I am indirectly involved, that is terrible. So those people want something there, but it has not been filled in yet. And if you fill it in too much, they say, yes, we are not heard. So, you are always doing it wrong.'* (De Hoef)

The developer also mentioned a success factor related to communication. He emphasises how having a sharp vision/goal or clear framework/project plans will help the participation process:

*Set clear frameworks for yourself, so be clear: what do I want, what do I not want, where can I give in, what do I want to achieve.* (De Hoef)

However, a contradiction exists concerning this success factor when looking at the Erve IJzerman Case. Both the interviewed initiator and the expert emphasise the importance of not filling in a project too much in advance but staying open. The expert does acknowledge that this is not always possible for a developer due to financial feasibility in project development.

### **Discourse**

A discourse has been identified. The developer aimed to restore and repurpose the farm. The developer also supports the Faro approach, and through this, forms a partner with RCE in the Faro Program (BOEi<sup>2</sup>, n.d.). The Municipality of Utrecht aims to support local initiatives and initiators of projects (Gemeente Utrecht, n.d.). They are currently working on a programme to help choose the right form of participation for each situation. Furthermore, the municipality also endorses the Faro approach which they stated in the document of their action agenda on heritage in Utrecht (Gemeente Utrecht, 2022). Both market and government actors are working towards the same goal but are operating independently.

An obstacle has been identified that shows that even though the general discourse for restoring and repurposing heritage is recognised by most actors, but most objections for repurposing a building come from the specific type of use that the developer wants to create in the building. The interviewed expert emphasises this too:

*BOEi (organisation that repurposes cultural heritage) indeed does do beautiful things, maintaining beautiful buildings, but in the end, it is always about the repurposing itself (the new function of the building). And if they do not like the repurposing, then you have a problem.'* (De Hoef)

*'I think where participation in repurposing cultural heritage goes wrong is when there are different ideas about the future programming of a building between local residents and the developer.'* (Expert interview)

### Case 3 Laurentiuskerk

The church was closed in 2014 due to a combination of factors. First, the number of church goers had been declining and, secondly, the church had poor foundations that needed restorations. In this case, the new owner who purchased the church and repurposed the church was interviewed. The data from the conducted interview and the documents were analysed using the Policy Arrangement Approach, and this analysis is presented in this paragraph.

#### **Actors**

The board of the church and the diocese were searching for a new purpose for the church, which proved to be a challenging task (Verheul, 2020). After conversations with the Municipality of Weesp, now part of the Municipality of Amsterdam, the board and diocese of the church decided to sell the church to the developer. At that time, preserving the entire church seemed impossible, and both the church and the municipality accepted this when selling the church to the new owner. The new owner stated that he would try his utmost to preserve the tower of the church. During the entire process, the involved owner and developer, re-evaluated his plans to restore the church, which became possible.

Other involved actors include the neighbourhood and residents of Weesp, the RCE and the Welfare and Monuments Committee (Welstands- en Monumentencommissie). The Welfare and Monuments Committee assess designs of building plans through an aesthetic test. This test is part of the procedure for an application for a permit and leads to a recommendation to the municipal executive. After the initial consultation between the developer, architect and the committee, the committee was dissatisfied with the initial designs. A collaboration between a governmental and market actor evolved in this process. Specifically, the project leader, at the time, of the Municipality of Weesp played part in this collaboration. She held conversations internally at the city hall, and when advising the council, with residents and, also at the meetings with the committee.

#### **Resources/Power**

It became evident that both the church and the municipality did not have sufficient resources to restore and maintain the church, even though they both shared the wish to do so. Actors have their own specific knowledge and competencies, but they are not always suitable for every purpose. In the case of repurposing cultural heritage, the municipality and the church did not have the necessary resources (financially and knowledge or capability). Selling the church became their best option. Initially, four developers showed interest, whereafter the involved was chosen.

The RCE and the municipality retain authorial power, particularly regarding permits and adjustments to the church. This is also the case for the committee. The developer held a different power position due to his financial and capability resources. Even though all stakeholders desired to preserve the church, there still existed many critics on how this plan would be executed. The final functions that were developed within the church emerged through an organic process of the developer searching for suitable purposes and establishing relationships with local stakeholders. Similar as in Case De Hoef, the developer considers participation as means to improve project plans:

*'Improving the project plans, absolutely.'* (Laurentiuskerk)

### **Rules of the games**

Developers focus on relations and cooperation with other actors when participating. There exists a mutual dependency between the actors in participation processes. When participants are dissatisfied, they can take legal action against a project which slows down, or even stops the project of the developer. The data from the interview show that the informal communication between stakeholders creates space where decisions are made via consensus. When speaking of communications, an obstacle comes into play. This communication within the rules of the game goes both ways. When there is a lack of transparency and communication, the participation process is negatively affected.

*'Everything hinges on communication. Even if you do not know what to do anymore you still have to communicate. That is the only way. If you do not communicate you will only get further away from each other.'* (Laurentiuskerk)

*'Some people thought we were too close to the municipality.'* (Laurentiuskerk)

The neighbourhood initially had many criticisms of the project plans (Interview Laurentiuskerk; Verheul, 2020). Their attitude towards the developer improved after he announced that he would repurpose the entire church, but there still existed some mistrust towards him. This obstacle is also emphasised by the developer in Case Onze Lieve, as well as by the expert. She says the following about mistrust:

*I think the most demanding thing about participation is building a bond of trust and the relationship with the people who have an interest in that property or who have an emotional bond with it and make them understand that not everything is possible.* (Expert)

Wrong expectations were experienced as an obstacle for the participation process by the developer in case De Hoef, as well as by the developer in this case:

*"With participation, you must manage expectations. The moment you tell people we are going to participate; people should not have the idea that they also determine what will happen." ... "The more people you bring into the process, the more they will think it is really*

*theirs. You must make a good decision about that. If you give a finger, you must be careful that they do not bite your whole hand off.' ... 'Disappointments come from the wrong expectations.'* (Laurentiuskerk)

However, a higher level of transparency and communication can improve the participation process which is also recognized by the involved developer: *'Everything depends on communication.'* (Laurentiuskerk)

Time in general is seen as a valuable factor within project development, as well as for the participation process by the developer. He states the following:

*Time to participate, but also time to just be able to think. 'This is very important for the quality of a project.'* (Laurentiuskerk)

During the process of the project, in the initial phase, the municipality organised formal meetings with the church and stakeholders to investigate future possibilities to preserve the church. When the church was sold to the developer in collaboration with the municipality conversations were held on the future of the church. Later, in the process less participation took place. Participation then continued mostly informally. From the data in this case, it is deduced that the developer does support participation and recognized the importance. But due to mistrust and wrong expectations the developer is cautious with facilitating participation.

### **Discourse**

Before the church was sold, the municipality and the church held meetings to discuss future opportunities for the church. The involved developer supports organising citizen participation but emphasised the pitfalls that come with it. The church and municipality held conversations on what to do with the church (because of the bad state of the church). It was decided to sell the church to the concerned project developer because of his plans to preserve (parts of) the church. The project developer participated with local governments, municipality, province, monumental organisations, and neighbourhood. Participation with the neighbourhood is categorised as level one, informing, as the developer explains the difficulties he experiences when involving them too much in the project. The Municipality of Weesp became a so-called 'city area' within the Municipality of Amsterdam on March 24, 2022 and is now led by a management committee of eleven directly elected members. The Municipality supports the broader view of the environment that is reflected in the new *Omgevingswet*. This is also reflected in their 'Omgevingsvisie Amsterdam 2050.' The vision describes the desired development of the city and forms the framework for spatial developments. The Municipality is working on a participation guide for initiators but has not yet released this document as they will do when the new law really starts. This makes it less clear on what to do with participation currently, as an initiator. The problem definitions between the developer and the municipality seem to be a little bit at consensus, in that addressing and implementing participation is not their main priority.

## Case 4 Onze Lieve Vrouwe

This case shows a similarity with the church from Case Laurentiuskerk. The church has been vacant since 2008 due to the declining number of churchgoers. Since 2008, the parish started looking for new purposes for the church without instant success. In 2020 the parish put up the church and parsonage for sale.

### **Actors**

The actors involved, alongside the parish as the former owner, is the developer that bought the church in 2020. The search and finding of a new owner is partly due to the efforts of a governmental actor: the province of South Holland. In 2018, the province appointed three people, with the task to help owners of national monuments to give their buildings a new purpose (Omroep West, 2020). Besides the church, the developer, and the province, more actors have been involved in this process. These are the Municipality of Leidschendam-Voorburg, and the RCE. One of their tasks was too legislatively approve plans of the developer that transformed the church into apartments and office spaces. Also, the former church goers, the neighbourhood and potential future users engaged in the process, as well as within the participation process that was organised by the developer.

### **Resources/Power**

The church did not have the (financial) resources to give a new function to the church, which the developer did have. They have the knowledge capabilities and the financial resources to do so. However, the municipality and the RCE also have a form of power in this actor coalition since they hold the legislative power to approve the project plans.

In case Oud Nico the interest of creating financial support for organising participation was introduced. In relation to creating financial benefits for the project this case gives another reason for organising participation as a developer. Organising participation also has the possibility of reducing costs through accelerating the project process. For example, because there will be less lawsuits filed from the neighbourhood, or other fewer lengthy, delaying procedures. On gaining financial resources through the possibility of accelerating the project process the following was said in the interview:

*'The moment you do great participatory project development, it is very interesting, also commercially, because your pace is much faster.'* (Onze Lieve)

Another distinction of support is recognised in this case, as well as in case Oud Nico. Creating political support can positively benefit the project and thus forms an interest for organising participation as a developer. The developer states the following:

*'When you manage to get the persons involved in such a way that they all think 'nice, it's all right this way' about the plans, then you really get that back from politics as well. Meaning*

*that city councillors and council members will talk positively about it and so officials start looking at it positively also.’ (Onze Lieve)*

Alongside this financial and political interest, a third interest was analysed. The developer mentioned how organising participation can also be interesting for marketing reasons, as his participation process involves potential future users of the space:

*‘It is also interesting from a marketing-oriented side, to keep the group that is interested and, also the group involved, close together.’ (Onze Lieve)*

Alongside marketing reasons, the resilience of an organisation also plays a role:

*If you do your work well as a social developer, and do it, then that will be seen. From a commercial point of view, you may not have the maximum possible profit, but this gives you a right to exist. (Onze Lieve)*

### **Rules of the game**

The developer announced from the start that they were organising a participation process for the repurposing of the church and the parsonage. They developed the project in consultation with the stakeholders. This process started in February 2020, until April 2020. It took place mostly online due to COVID-19 (Anna Vastgoed en Cultuur, 2020). The participation process partly consisted of questionnaires for the stakeholders to fill in. They were also enabled to give suggestions for the future church through a website. Based on these ideas the developer further developed the plans. This form of participation can be categorised as level two, ‘request for input.’ The developer did mention how in phase three of the project (design phase) they were less involved with the participants. They did send a newsletter now and then, but it can only be categorised as level one, ‘informing.’ In the end phase of the project the developer increased the level of participation again by increasing communication between the developer and the involved actors.

Two distinct elements of the dimension of rules of the game can be analysed. The first one is the formal legislation that is induced in the project process where the municipality and the RCE must agree on the plans for the developer to receive a permit. Secondly, for the participation process an informal way of communication happens between the stakeholders and the developer through organised (online) meetings and questionnaires. The developer is also familiar with the neighbourhood (its office is in the same area) which makes communication more accessible.

The developer also mentioned a phenomenon that participants (the public) experience which can create an obstacle in a participation process. Over the years mistrust has led to frustrations amongst participants. He explains how a participation meeting often starts with mistrust of the public against the developer because they have experienced that their consulted information is rarely used:

*'And collect what people think, then write it down in a report and throw it away in a drawer, yes that is what usually happens. That is why people do not trust them anymore. So, an evening like that always starts with mistrust.'* (Onze Lieve)

It reveals a bigger underlying issue where participants have felt neglected within project plans by developers. In the prior case, Laurentiuskerk, the expert also emphasised the difficulty to build a bond of trust between the participants and the developer. Alongside the mistrust, the lack of transparency forms an obstacle according to the developer (similar obstacle as in case Laurentiuskerk). This was not the issue within this specific case, but he mentioned this as a problem in general. He stated the following:

*The residents were told: We are busy thinking... when the time comes, the plans will be drawn up, but they are never consulted during that time. In the meantime, the irritation among those people is growing step by step and the feeling is also growing that you are talking about my house without me. When you finally produce a plan, it is logical that people are critical.* (Onze Lieve)

Alongside these obstacles, the developer mainly focused on success factors for organising participation. One of them is a prominent level of transparency which has also been discussed in case Oud Nico. He mentioned the importance of keep communicating with the public even when plans are changing. Another success factor that has already been mentioned is time and timing. The developer emphasises the importance of starting early with the participation process. This creates possibilities to improve the quality of the participation process. This is also emphasised in the expert interview, as well as the developer in the last case.

*When do you involve someone? When are you going to ask for your input? In my experience, you cannot start early enough with this.* (Onze Lieve)

*'The time to get acquainted. I think that is the most important thing. And as a developer you do not always have that.'* (Expert)

Lastly, mapping sensitivities, as discussed in case De Hoef, is seen as a success factor as well:

*The moment you go outside and still have little on paper, you immediately hear what the sensitivities are, and you can take that into account in what you do next. Then share the intermediate steps with them and become inspired for the future based on that.* (Onze Lieve)

*I think getting to know each other's worlds is an important one.* (Expert)

Starting too late with the participation process is recognised as an obstacle. Whereas, starting participation early on, creates possibilities to improve the quality of the participation process. This is both emphasised with the developer from case four and five, as well as in the expert interview.

## **Discourse**

The developer and municipality share the same views on organising participation to receive valuable input. The developer states the following on participation: "We find the input we receive incredibly valuable. Even though we also have to look carefully at the wishes of the Cultural Heritage Agency (RCE) and the municipality, it seems as if we can develop a plan that we can make most people happy with." (Het Krantje, 2020). Alongside this, the developer emphasises their cheerful outlook towards participation in the conducted interview. The municipality of Leidschendam-Voorburg is actively conducting their participation policy (Gemeente Leidschendam-Voorburg, 2022). The municipality encourages initiators to announce an initiative to the municipality at an early stage. Depending on the initiative, the municipality has two processes. The municipality asks initiators of light initiatives to include proceeds from participation in the initiative and to bring it to the initiative table. The bigger initiatives have a different process. During this process, the municipality asks the initiator to participate and to incorporate this into the initiative. At the end of both processes, the initiator can apply for a permit and indicate whether and, if so, how the initiator has participated (Gemeente Leidschendam-Voorburg, 2022). These views are also in line with the national views on participation for initiators. A shared belief system can be distinguished.

## **Case 5 Erve IJzerman**

The plans to repurpose the farm into a dairy museum originated from the local foundation called: Recreatie Wapenveld. The objective of this foundation is to promote recreation and tourism in the village of Wapenveld. This resulted in a new local foundation 'Erve IJzerman' which specifically had the objective to maintain and exploit the Erve IJzerman farm. The secretary of the foundation, at the time, was interviewed for the research. He worked closely together with the developing organisation.

## **Actors**

The involved actors in the redevelopment of the farm are state, market and civil society actors. The local foundation exists of volunteers from the neighbourhood and represent the civil society actors. The foundation started looking for actors that had financial resources to buy the farm, that also shared the same goal as them: to repurpose and preserve the historic farm with a public function. This resulted in a collaboration between the foundation and a private developer. The developer bought the farm in 2012 with the support of another local association and foundation, a contractor, and a guarantee from the Municipality of Heerde. Since then, the developer, the foundations, the municipality of Heerde and the province Gelderland worked together on transforming The Farm in into the National Dairy Museum.

Besides these actors, the neighbourhood was involved as well. Next to the farm is a church. After the participation process this also resulted into a collaboration where the museum is allowed make use of their parking spaces. In return, the museum is closed on Sundays. The farm has been

a national monument since 2002 which means other involved actors are the RCE and other monumental organisations.

Like case Oud Nico (number one) the interviewed initiator expressed how involving an extra actor into the participation process can positively influence the participation process. Especially when this actor has an independent role or is to be trusted by all involved actors. The initiator stated the following in the interview (Interview Erve IJzerman):

*It is tailor-made. Make sure you have a good feeling with the environment. If it is not there, make sure you get it. For example, you say to such a developer: 'Why don't you collaborate with a confidential counsellor and just sit at the kitchen table with the people.'* (Erve IJzerman)

### **Resources/Power**

Even though the actors are working together, their interaction reveals a clear power relationship where the local foundation did not have the financial and capability resources to repurpose the farm themselves. The coalition of actors formed show a general shortage of financial resources in this case. By collaborating, they established interdependent relationships with each other. The local foundation did not have the financial resources to transform the farm. This is why they partnered with the developer. The local foundation gathered subsidies for the project by participating with the province and municipality as well. Also, the developing actor has a strong power relationship because he has the knowledge capacity to repurpose the heritage, something that the other actors do not have special knowledge about. The local foundation did create much broad support for the project that also led to more financial support. This emphasises their dependent relationship.

Seeking broad support, as well as political support forms an interest for the initiator for organising participation. This motivation for organising participation has also been expressed in the cases of Oud Nico and Onze Lieve Vrouwe. Sharing plans through a participation process with civil society actors and governmental actors can have a positive influence on the project process.

*'In a meeting, we laid out the plans and looked for support. And there was support.'* (Erve IJzerman)

*'We explained the plans in the meetings and looked for support, ... This way, you can also get the governments on board. Not money right away, but you do get full cooperation. An official (civil servant) was appointed and we found that very pleasant. The civil servant really put much effort into the project, and because of that, which is particularly important, he also got room to manoeuvre in 'het college van B&W'.'* (Erve IJzerman)

Alongside increasing political support, financial support was also mentioned: *'We had found a contractor who believed in us and therefore gave a ton interest-free to us.'* (Erve IJzerman). Through participation they obtained financial support from the contractor. Next to increasing support (socially, financially, and politically) sharing knowledge is another interest that was recognised for organising participation:

*'Knowledge has certainly been acquired. That has been used, both towards the association, historical associations, regional archives, and so on. ... But certainly, things like that, for example: and old Wapenvelder has also been brought back from Hoogeveen, who worked at the Rabobank all those years. He knew everything about agriculture, also in those years of Wapenveld. So yes, we also retrieved information that way.'* (Erve IJzerman)

Mutual trust in knowledge sharing can benefit the project. When actors collaborate and share knowledge, it can lead to innovation.

### **Rules of the game**

To reach the objective of repurposing the farm, the initiating party in the beginning of the process started presenting their plans to increase support. The partnership that came from this had mutual ways of communication. Since the initiating party is a local foundation, communication between them and the neighbourhood was informal and accessible. The initiator emphasizes the importance of timing, and communication within means of communication: *'Communicating and involving people at an early stage'* (Erve IJzerman). This case shows us how an initiator is not always a developer, and a developer is not always the initiator.

The form of participation that was recognised in this case was categorised as level four, co-creation/partnership. The private developer and the initiating foundation were working together on this project. The local foundation also participated with provincials, neighbourhood, and other stakeholders to create more support for the plans (socially, politically, and financially).

### **Discourse**

The main discourse on citizen participation is supported by all actors. The municipality has emphasised the importance of 'talking to the people who will notice something about certain plans.' They mention that through doing so, the plan will be better, and have less chances of complaints or objection afterwards (Gemeente Heerde, n.d.). They also published a document with guidelines. The central government expects citizens to become increasingly involved. In this case specifically, citizens formed voluntary foundations to reach the goal of the first discourse and while doing so they actively participated. The importance of participation was shared by both the developer as the initiating party.

## Summary results

Chapter Four has presented the recognised interests, obstacles, and success factors for organising participation as a private developer, in relation to the four dimensions of the policy arrangement approach. In table 14 an overview of these interests, obstacles and success factors is illustrated.

*Table 14 Overview interests, obstacles & success factors*

<b>Motivations/Interests</b>	<b>Obstacles</b>	<b>Factors for 'success'</b>
1. Support: - Politically - Socially - Financially	1. Mistrust	1. Mapping sensitivities
2. Improving project plans	2. Non-transparency & communication	2. Transparency & communication
3. Sharing knowledge	3. Same actors facing each other	3. Adding independent, third, actor with knowledge on communication
4. Resilience of organisation	4. Starting participation too late	4. Starting participation as early as possible
5. Marketing reasons	5. Wrong expectations	5. Expectation management
6. Reducing costs through process acceleration	6. New function	6. 'Enough' time during project
	7. Location/Environment	7. Staying 'open' versus clear framework

The analysis has revealed specific conspicuousness. First, three experienced obstacles were also experienced as their opposite success factors for improving the participation process. For example, a low level of transparency and communication between actors was experienced as an obstacle whereas a prominent level of transparency and communication between actors was experienced as a factor that positively influences the participation process. This also holds for starting participation too late, versus starting the participation process early on (in the initiating phase of a project even). Lastly, wrong expectations were experienced as an obstacle whereas expectation management was seen to be helpful when facilitating participation.

Secondly, two specific relationships stood out. One of these relationships exists between the dimension of resources and power and increasing support as a motivation for organising citizen participation. Four out of five cases emphasised the motivation for organising participation to increase financial, political, and societal support (Case Oud Nico; De Hoef; Onze Lieve Vrouwe; and Erve IJzerman) which relates to the increase of resources and power of a certain actor. The second relationship exists between means of communication and the rules of the game. Several

obstacles and success factors that describe these means of communication – transparency, communication, expectations – belong within this dimension.

It also has become clear that private developers provide more financial resources and knowledge capabilities than their former owners. In all five cases these were the main reasons for selling the buildings to the developers. Alongside, the democratisation in repurposing cultural heritage has become more vivid too. This can be described as the involvement of local people in heritage policy. The new *Omgevingswet* is a strategy to reach goals which have been set by the national government, on increasing participation. Within the municipalities these rules will also be established, although many municipalities still must work on the execution of these new formal rules.

Lastly, informal communication between developer and stakeholders proved to be especially important within organising participation for repurposing cultural heritage. This form of communication took place in every case. Even though actors often share the same goals, preserving and repurposing cultural heritage, there still existed differences on how it is done best. Methods of communication formed the primary relationship with the dimension of the rules of the game. Similar to how increasing support was strongly connected to the dimension of resources/power.

## 5. Conclusion

In this chapter the conclusion of the research will be represented, including the discussion, limitations, and recommendations. The conclusion also represents a synthesis of the main research findings and answers.

### 5.1 Synthesis of main research findings and answers

First, the four sub-questions will be answered. Afterwards, the main research question will be answered. This research aimed to give insights into participatory repurposing of cultural heritage by private developers in The Netherlands. This thesis identified factors that play a role in participatory repurposing in relation to the four dimensions of the Policy Arrangement Approach. The PAA focuses on the frequently dynamic interactions between different actors, rules, resources, and discourses involved in shaping and implementing policy.

The first sub-question in this study is: *'What participatory approaches are currently evident in the repurposing of cultural heritage by private developers?'* The qualitative data showed a variety of levels and forms of participation. In each case, the participation process was analysed using the Heritage Participation Ladder as introduced in Chapter Two. This analysis of participatory approaches when repurposing cultural heritage as a private developer has shown that level one (informing) and level two (request for input) were most present in this study. More specifically in case Oud Nico and De Hoef, only level one (informing) was recognised. Case Laurentiuskerk and Onze Lieve Vrouwe showed level two (request for input). Case five, Erve IJzerman shows an exception since level four (co-creation/partnership) was recognised.

There are explanations found for these results. During the interviews in case Oud Nico and De Hoef it became clear that the area around the building was about to undergo major developments at that time, so the general opinion on repurposing and preserving the heritage was positive and the neighbourhood was still a small actor. Thus, most participation only took place with its current users. In Case Laurentiuskerk, level two was recognised although this was facilitated and organised by the municipality prior to the church being sold. Afterwards, the new owner of the church (also the developer) did not organise another participation process besides informing his environment (level one). In Case Onze Lieve Vrouwe level two was recognised. The developer was particularly more outspoken about the importance and positive benefits of organising participation as a private developer compared to other respondents.

An explanation for level four (co-creation/partnership) that was recognised in Case Erve IJzerman is due to the fact that the project was initiated by a local foundation that partnered with a private developer to exploit the project plans. Through these collaborations, local wishes can be better integrated into the project plans. Partnerships also enables sharing knowledge, which also positively influences the decision-making process for repurposing heritage. Although, level four

was recognised in case Erve IJzerman, it still shows relatively low levels in the other four cases, which could mean that participatory repurposing still allows for further developments for improving these processes. However, as explained in Chapter Two, a low level of participation does not necessarily mean that the participation process has failed. In some cases, an elevated level of participation may not be necessary, which could be the case when looking at the broader context of the projects in Case Oud Nico and De Hoef.

The second sub-question in this study is: *'How does citizen participation align the interests of the private developer?'* The qualitative data provided a deeper understanding of the interests of private developers for organising participation when repurposing cultural heritage, reflecting real-world experiences. Six motivations have been identified in total. The main driver behind these interests is the dimension of resources and power. Developers can use participation to increase financial resources and enhance knowledge capabilities, including sharing knowledge. Additionally, increasing societal and political support was mentioned, which enhances the developer's power position. Increasing financial resources can be achieved in two ways. First, receiving financial resources through sources such as funds, grants, subsidies, and donations. Second, reducing costs through accelerating the project process. Subsidies from governmental actors provide income for repurposing cultural heritage, but financing through private funding and revenues from their own sources is necessary when it comes to repurposing cultural heritage. Alongside the three motivations in relation to the dimension of resources, three other identified interests have been recognized. These include improving the project plans, marketing reasons, and creating resilience as a developing organisation.

The third sub-question: *'What are obstacles in participatory repurposing of cultural heritage by private developers?'* provided qualitative data on the obstacles that developers experienced when facilitating participation during the repurposing of cultural heritage. In contrast to the first sub-question, where a clear relationship with the dimension of resources was visible, the second sub-question has a relationship with the dimension of the rules of the game. Four obstacles were identified, representing forms of communication or insufficient communication between actors. So, alongside the rules of the game, the actor dimension also plays a role here. Three other obstacles were recognised too that have a more practical foundation (the function, location, and timing). The answer to sub-question two is intricately connected to sub-question three: *'What factors can enhance the quality of a participation process during the repurposing of cultural heritage?'* as contrasting topics were discussed. Specific examples that stood out were a prominent level of communication (as a success factor) and not enough communication (as an obstacle). The developers emphasized the importance of transparency, which also links to the importance of creating a bond of 'trust' between participating actors. However, a notable contradiction was observed. Two developers from the De Hoef and Oud Nico cases explained that in a participation process, a developer needs to have a clear set of boundaries and frameworks to guide the process; otherwise, it can become too chaotic. In contrast, the interviewed expert, the local initiator from the Erve IJzerman Case, and the developer from the Onze Lieve Vrouwe Case

emphasized the importance of staying as open as possible. This difference may stem from the varying perspectives on citizen participation of these interviewees: the expert and local initiator hold different relationships with the public and interests than the project developers do.

Based on the answered sub-questions, the main research question of this study can now be answered: *'How does the application of citizen participation by private developers facilitate participatory repurposing in The Netherlands?* The Policy Arrangement Approach has shown the interrelationships between the developer and other actors, as well as how the four dimensions are related to each other. The findings showed that a lack of financial resources leads to a change of actors. In many cases, the developer is the actor that has the most financial and knowledge capabilities for repurposing cultural heritage. All actors had their own specific knowledge, resources, and competencies but, not all actors have the suitable knowledge, resources, and competencies for a specific goal. If certain actors (municipalities or heritage owners) do not have the capability and/or wish to repurpose heritage, more private actors are contributing to preserving heritage. So, in some cases the municipality seeks to explore collaboration between developers. The goal of this cooperation is to preserve and repurpose heritage that the municipality no longer wants to manage. Change in one dimension leads to changes in other dimensions too. The cases have revealed resource dependencies of different stakeholders in the process. Thus, alongside actor coalitions, there are also resource coalitions. Actors involved in a particular policy matter exhibit varying degrees of interdependence, relying on each other for resources.

To improve participatory repurposing of cultural heritage in The Netherlands by private developers a four core issues are distinguished that need focus. First, within the actor dimension, several interviewees (Oud Nico, both interviewees; Erve IJzerman, and the interviewed expert) have expressed the importance of involving an extra actor within the participation process, or independent actor, specifically an actor with knowledge on communication, or some with an independent character so they can be 'trusted' by all stakeholders. Within the rules of the game dimension, more attention needs to go to means of communication to improve the participation process. Often, informal ways of communication take place within repurposing cultural heritage. Transparency is an essential element of this communication. Looking at the discourse dimension, there is a broad support visible for repurposing cultural heritage, from all actors. Even though participation in the new *Omgevingswet* will be more important for private developers, not all municipalities have published specific tools or frameworks for facilitating participation as an initiator. Lastly, from the resource's perspective, project plans can be improved due to increasing financial, political, and social support as well as sharing knowledge.

## 5.2 Discussion

### 5.2.1 Scientific and societal implications of the research findings

This study contributed to the existing knowledge in the field by examining the intersection of citizen participation and the repurposing of heritage buildings, particularly from the perspective of private developers with societal goals within the two different policy domains. The research went beyond the common governmental viewpoint often found in the literature on citizen participation. Additionally, this study aimed to distinguish the different concepts that impact the process of participatory repurposing through the underlying dimensions of the Policy Arrangement Approach. The implementation of participation when repurposing cultural heritage by private developers has not previously been analysed using the theoretical framework of the PAA employed in this study. As this link has not been previously made, the outcome of this study fills a gap in the current scientific field. The findings of this thesis provided insights into the four dimensions of the Policy Arrangement Approach concerning the implementation of citizen participation. Relations were revealed between interests of the developers and the dimension of resources, as well as experienced obstacles and success factors in relation to the dimension of the rules of the game and actors.

Taken together, this dissertation extends on the existing scientific knowledge by establishing a connection between interests, obstacles, and success factors with the four dimensions. In the introduction, a demarcation was made to deliberately focus on private developers that develop with a societal motive and not solely for commercial purposes. This was done due to the expectation that private developers that do, or do not, operate with a commercial goal may have distinct objectives, ethical considerations, and perspectives. In the context of this study, the general views on the importance of citizen participation were positive. However, in practice, these distinct objectives and perspectives also exist within this specific group of private developers. It is socially desired to organise participation, which the private developers acknowledges. However, it also appeared that some developers remain hesitant involving the public intensively.

Apart from the scientific implications of this study, the practical implications of the research findings on society are substantial, as they highlight those developers still faces several challenges in effectively translating participation policies into the practical implementation of participatory repurposing. These will be further discussed in paragraph 5.3.

### 5.2.2 Limitations of the research

Alongside the attempt of filling the scientific gap there four limitations were distinguished to this research. As for the use of the theoretical framework, the following limitations have been recognised. One of them is the use of the heritage participation ladder. Although it was used for a theoretical analysis to structure the qualitative data, two forms of participation that were

recognised were difficult to place into one of the levels of this ladder. This was the case when one of the interviewees (Case De Hoef) explained that the organisation was also organising walks at one of their projects, with the old and the new users of the space, together. Another interviewee mentioned how they opened buildings to the public to experience a specific location, and its history and potential future (Case Oud Nico). On top of this, the participation process was analysed through the gathered data from the interviews. Sometimes it was difficult to retrieve all the specific details of these processes as they were not fully documented at the time, and some took place already a few years prior. Alongside the Heritage Participation Ladder, the Policy Arrangement Approach also revealed limitations in relations to this research. By trying to identify all four dimensions within the five cases, the results of the five cases might not be in-depth enough. It may be more beneficial to concentrate either on one policy domain and less case studies to dive deeper into the dimensions and interrelationships. As this research made use of a pre-existing framework, it influenced how the obtained data was interpreted and analysed, as this framework provided a lens through which the coding scheme were created, and the data was subsequently evaluated.

The qualitative exploratory multiple case study design that guided this research proved useful in understanding the different dimensions of the research question, thereby gaining a comprehensive understanding of the research topic. The research was qualitative to understand perspectives and experiences of private developers. The interpretative stance allowed to provide a comprehensive understanding of private developers' realities. However, this research also encountered methodological limitations. One of the main challenges of incorporating an interpretivist approach includes the potential of data overload, unintended biases, and the context-specific nature of findings. To minimize these challenges, no more than five case were selected to make a considerate balance between in-depth and breadth of the analysis. Unintended biases were minimized by using quotes to support interpretations, although some nuances may have been lost in translation from Dutch to English. To minimize context-specific nature of findings, the context of each case has been explained and considered in the conclusions.

### 5.3 Suggestions for future research

This research has brought light to unanswered questions. Based on these, and the limitations, some suggestions for future research have emerged. The first recommendation stems from the limitation due to the focus on the developer's perspective. For further research it can be valuable to broaden the focus to more stakeholders as participation is a 'two-way street.' Even though an expert interview and an interview with a local initiator was conducted to enrich the developer's perspective, a more in-depth focus on other stakeholders' perspectives is needed too. This should not be done to allow insights into generalisability of participation processes, but rather to provide a further understanding of the dynamic interactions that allow or constrain participation in a specific context. This could provide a broader contextual framework for understanding actors' perspectives on participation in spatial plans. A method for researching this could be focus

groups, for example on the public perception and attitudes. Secondly, further research could delve deeper into the policy context instead of stakeholders' perspectives. This could involve an analysis of policy documents and policy instruments on participation in The Netherlands, as not on municipal level. This also brings up a third unanswered question which is: what is the responsibility of the government, and what is the responsibility of the private sector concerning facilitating participation? Lastly, another relevant study could focus on assessing current practices, as one of the key issues lies within the implementation from theory to practice.

### 5.3 Recommendations for policy & practice

Apart from the scientific implications as discussed in 5.2.1, the practical implications of the research findings on society are substantial. They highlighted the challenges that private developers still face in effectively organising citizen participation when repurposing cultural heritage in The Netherlands. The research findings also underscore the significance of securing resources to adequately repurpose cultural heritage.

However, all interviewees have emphasized the importance of organising citizen participation as a private developer when repurposing cultural heritage in The Netherlands. Alongside, citizen participation continues to play a significant role in the new *Omgevingswet*. Municipalities want to encourage private developers, the organise participation when submitting new project plans. Based on the findings in this thesis, this paragraph presents recommendations for adjusting and improving policies and practices for improving privately organised citizen participation.

- 1) Investigate practical tools, work modes, and methods for facilitating participation as a private developer: This should be done by both the private sector as by the (municipal) government. It is recognised by all actors that participation requires a tailor-made approach. However, it is relevant to investigate more specific forms of participation that are useful in certain situations, as well as what a participation process could look like. These will help private developers to organise successful participation. Also, more practical elements should be investigated such as, when to start (timing) and who should be involved. The identified obstacles and success factors that were identified may form a basis for these practical investigations.
- 2) Strengthen collaboration between developer and municipality: For effective realisation of a participation process, the municipality should also provide capacity to guide participation. For example, trainings and knowledge sharing platforms to equip with necessary skills to implement effective participation methods. If the municipality wants to stimulate private organised participation, they should provide useful instruments available that private developers can make use of.

- 3) Clear communication and transparency: The facilitator of the participation process should ensure that the participation process are clearly communicated to all stakeholders. A way to do this is using accessible language and various communication channels. Also maintaining transparency throughout the process by providing access to information, documents, and decision-making processes. This helps build trust among stakeholders. Alongside this, involving an independent actor to guide the participation process was emphasised in this research. Not all organisations may have the resources to arrange this, but even involving more 'faces' within the developing organisation could be useful.
- 4) Early engagement: Initiate participation early in the project process to allow for meaningful contributions and to build a sense of ownership among the stakeholders.
- 5) Exploring digital possibilities: Digital technologies can make information more accessible for participants and improve participation. An example was seen in Case Onze Lieve Vrouwe, where they used online questionnaires. Digital forms of participation can promote transparency, for example through providing an online platform for the public. Also, more participants could be reached and join in the process, as not all citizens want or are able to attend physical participation meetings. It can also be useful for gathering, analysing, and structuring local wishes and needs.

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# Appendixes

## Appendix 1: Heritage Participation Ladder

Participation level	Description	Role organisation	Approach
<b>5. Having them do, think &amp; decide: citizen power</b>	Self-government, self-determination; The organisation outsources, supports, and facilitates	A coach: Advice; Create conditions; Practical (and logistical) support	The decision here rests with the participants. You can help them by using frameworks and instruments, such as checklists, to reach out. It is important to set the tasks and tasks in advance, clear and allocate responsibilities.
<b>4. Do, think &amp; decide together: co-creation/partnership</b>	Develop together, implement together; there is co-decision, co-thinking, and co-action; There is an equal partnership between organisation and participants	A partner: Ask questions; Searching for common ground and consensus; Respect the input of others; Clearly articulate the heritage organisation's own point of view	Here the decision is made together and so there are meeting techniques and/or voting procedures.
<b>3. Ask for advice</b>	Participants formulate advice to the heritage organisation; Participants critically question operation and results	A moderator: Do not judge, but ask questions; Let everyone speak; List arguments pro and con; Make conflicts negotiable	These types of participation often start from a proposal by the organisation and take place in the field of policy: a design of a policy plan, objectives, etc. A group can also make a SWOT analysis at this level. The group issues formal advice, but the final decision remains with the heritage organisation.
<b>2. Request for input</b>	The organisation asks for feedback or a concrete contribution; The heritage organisation asks for specific information about a certain type of heritage; Participants formulate non-binding proposals about possible actions and policies	A researcher: Listening, summarising, probing; Not judging; Inspire and stimulate; Support and create conditions	Methods that you can use here have a brainstorm-like character. Consider, for example, a world café, where people share experiences, ideas, and information in small groups. This step also includes projects where participants contribute information (e.g., tagging), or take on part of a heritage task...
<b>1. Sharing information</b>	The organisation informs about the activities and/or the policy; The organisation explains why these activities take place and why certain choices are made	A teacher: To enlighten; To define; Enable recognition; Stimulate curiosity	In addition to presentations, mainly didactic working methods are involved. Ways to give people a taste of heritage work, for example by demonstrating things, giving a look behind the scenes, or by having colleagues talk about their work.

## Appendix 2: List of respondents

<b>Interview Number</b>	<b>Case</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Function</b>	<b>Date</b>
Interview 1	Oud Nico	Alex Blommestijn	Assistant project leader (at time of project development)	09/06/2023
Interview 2	Oud Nico	Paul Morel	Project leader	13/06/2023
Interview 3	De Hoef	Han Wartna	Development manager	24/05/2023
Interview 4	Laurentiuskerk	Cees van Vliet	Owner church and project developer	13/07/2023
Interview 5	Onze Lieve	Marnix Norder	Initiator project developer	17/07/2023
Interview 6	Erve IJzerman	Jan Nitrauw	Secretary local foundation, initiating actor, at the time of project development.	27/07/2023
Interview 7	Expert interview	Machteld Linssen	Currently: Program manager at RCE, and program manager FARO	20/06/2023

## Appendix 3: Interview guide project developers

Thema	Sub thema	Interview vragen	Deelvragen
Introductie		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Zou je wat meer willen vertellen over je functie bij <i>naam organisatie</i>?</li> </ul>	
Participatie	Participatieve benaderingen  Burger participatie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Met welke vormen van participatie ben je bekend?</li> <li>Hoe heeft er participatie plaatsgevonden bij de herbestemming van <i>naam object</i>?               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hoe zag deze participatie eruit/hoe was deze georganiseerd?</li> </ul> </li> <li>Kunt u een voorbeeld geven van een succesvol participatieproject voor de herbestemming van cultureel erfgoed, en uitleggen waarom u denkt dat het succesvol was? En waarom u het succesvol vond?</li> <li>Bent u problemen tegengekomen met participatie bij de herbestemming van cultureel erfgoed? Zo ja, kunt u deze obstakels beschrijven en hoe deze problemen vervolgens werden aangepakt?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Voor- &amp; nadelen?</li> <li>Kunt u mij in detail vertellen hoe het was georganiseerd?               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wanneer vond participatie plaats? Welke momenten, en waarom op die momenten?</li> <li>Wie waren erbij betrokken? Welke stakeholders?</li> <li>Hoe werden ze uitgenodigd? En waarom die betreffende groepen?</li> <li>Waar heeft het plaatsgevonden?</li> <li>Hoe vaak enz.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Herbestemming van cultureel erfgoed	Ingebedde waarden  Lokale gemeenschappen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wat is uw kijk op de waarde(creatie) van herbestemming van erfgoed? Wat is de meerwaarde van herbestemmingen van erfgoed (b.v. sociaal, economisch, cultureel en/of maatschappelijk)?</li> <li>Hoe zie je de rol van lokale gemeenschappen in participatieprojecten voor de herbestemming van cultureel erfgoed?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Waarom dit type vastgoed her-ontwikkelen in plaats van bijvoorbeeld commercieel vastgoed? (Zoek naar fundamentele redenen.)</li> </ul>
Belangen van project-Ontwikkelaar	Belangen  Draagvlakcreatie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hoe past het faciliteren van participatie bij de belangen van de particuliere ontwikkelaar volgens jou?</li> <li>Op welke manier heeft participatie bijgedragen aan draagvlakcreatie?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>B.v. betere kwaliteit van de uiteindelijke plannen voor de omgeving? (Betere kwaliteit van ontwikkelingen als je de gebruikers betreft bij het planningsproces, faro is ook op dit idee gebouwd)</li> </ul>
Conclusie		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wat is er volgens jou nodig om privaat georganiseerde participatie te kunnen verbeteren?</li> <li>Wat zijn (de grootste) obstakels?</li> </ul>	

## Appendix 4: Interview guide expert interview

Thema	Sub thema	Interview vragen	Deelvragen (i.v.t.) en kenmerken participatie
Introductie		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Zou je wat willen vertellen over je huidige functie (in relatie tot participatie)?</li> </ul>	
Participatie	<p>Burger participatie</p> <p>Participatieve benaderingen</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kunt u een voorbeeld geven van een succesvol participatieproject voor de herbestemming van cultureel erfgoed, en uitleggen waarom u denkt dat het succesvol was? En waarom u het succesvol vond?</li> <li>Bent u problemen tegengekomen met participatie bij de herbestemming van cultureel erfgoed? Zo ja, kunt u deze obstakels beschrijven en hoe deze problemen vervolgens werden aangepakt?</li> <li>Met welke vormen van participatie ben je bekend?</li> <li>Wat zie je als hun voordelen?</li> <li>Wat zie je als hun nadelen?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wat waren de belangrijkste kenmerken van deze deelname?</li> <li>Kunt u mij in detail vertellen hoe het was georganiseerd? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wanneer, wie, hoe vaak, waar, hoe etc.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Herbestemming van cultureel erfgoed	<p>Ingebedde waarden</p> <p>Lokale gemeenschappen</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wat is uw kijk op de waarde(creatie) van herbestemming van erfgoed? Wat is de meerwaarde van herbestemmingen van erfgoed (b.v. sociaal, economisch, cultureel en/of maatschappelijk)?</li> <li>Hoe zie je de rol van lokale gemeenschappen voor de herbestemming van cultureel erfgoed?</li> <li>Wat is er voor hen van belang tijdens participatie?</li> <li>Wat zijn obstakels voor hen?</li> <li>Hoe kunnen private ontwikkelaars deze obstakels tegemoetkomen?</li> <li>Welke problemen zie jij in de praktijk die door private ontwikkelaars worden gecreëerd?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Is er een hiërarchie in de verschillende waarden die u zojuist noemde, of zijn ze allemaal even belangrijk? En wie bepaalt dat?</li> </ul>
Private ontwikkelaar	Omgang meerstemmigheid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hoe kan er intern voor meer overeenstemming worden gezorgd binnen organisatie over participatief herbestemmen?</li> </ul>	