Conserving conservation areas in the Achterhoek

A case-study research into the active roles of the conservation areas in the Achterhoek in a time of decreasing population

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Masters thesis in Economic Geography at Radboud University Nijmegen

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Ill. front cover: Shore of IJssel river at Bronkhorst. Own image.

Greyscale: 'Entrance' of Achterhoek sign edited. Own image.

Preface and acknowledgements

This is the preface of my thesis on Dutch conservation areas. Ahead of you is a thesis I have been happy to work on as hard as I did, and of course a product I hope will be enjoyable to the reader. This thesis marks the end of my Masters in Economic Geography in Nijmegen. When I started some time ago, I already knew I wanted to put as much effort into the research as possible. After all, this was the ideal time to pick a subject and work on the qualitative research I enjoy doing so much.

The subject of 'conservation areas' was picked based on the idea *"what do I know a little bit about that I could learn more about and write about"*. This has been central to every time I needed to pick a subject, so it also starts with a lot of literature study beforehand. My goal was to make sure anybody who picks up this thesis would learn what a conservation area is. After that, there is also a research goal and a practical relevancy too, of course. All my other projects have also been about concepts that may cause some confusion to others, clearing that up will always feel like an accomplishment by itself. In this case, the confusion might have been that conservation areas *freeze* a city (they don't) or that they are just 'protected' and nothing else happens (there's more). If you read this thesis, you'll be sure to understand this facet of Dutch heritage planning a bit more.

Getting to pick a subject and taking the time to write a good thesis is something I need to thank my internship organisation, Gelders Genootschap, a lot for. One of their main goals is to promote the debate around spatial quality, so they were happy to help me in connecting two things that had not been connected yet: population decline and conservation areas. In the four months I was there, I could write the basis of this thesis, hold interviews and learn a lot about ways to look at public space. The high standards they held themselves to, pushed me to give my fullest every moment.

First, I need to thank are the many people who made the interviews possible. The people at the local organisations who sent me the right way, the municipalities and the local businesses that were happy to help and tell about their experiences have been amazing. Arie Vries in particular has often helped me to think about the more practical side of finding and interviewing locals.

There have been so many people that allowed me to write this thesis. The courses by Hans Renes, Christoph Augustynowicz, Tonny Nijmeijer, Gert-Jan Hospers and Peter Ache are the first five I recall that helped me to develop a clear view of how to deal with every theoretical and practical challenge that came up during this thesis. At Gelders Genootschap I met many people who were key to my thesis, such as Gerard Derks for helping me see conservation areas in a better way, dr. Elyze Storms-Smeets for helping me out with maps, and dr. Simon van den Bergh for guiding me through the entire process. There have also been many friends that helped me put my mind elsewhere when I needed to start a chapter with a fresh viewpoint, such as Max de Blank, Isabelle Reinders, Maxim Reinders, Lindsay Kempen, and many more. Finally my parents Rieks and Ineke Reitsema were always there for me. Without all these people, this thesis would not have been the product it is right now.

I hope reading this thesis will be as much an enjoyable and educative experience for any reader as it was for me. I hope that it helps municipalities understand even more about conservation areas and they keep approaching it as more than just old bricks by thinking about roles.

Jelle Reitsema

Brummen, August 2019

Summary of the thesis

Conservation areas are in Dutch 'protected cityscapes and townscapes'. All types of spatial features determine the atmosphere of a place, that may become heritage. Their listing takes spatial planning into account to ensure identified qualities are not lost when towns develop over time. This process of listing was introduced when the Dutch economy grew, and the cities and towns did as well. The cause for this research was that there are now CA's in regions that have begun to lose population and municipal funds might decline. There is little development to protect against now. To turn the issue around, this research took the approach that since meaningful places can have an effect on people, its agency might make the conservation area listing useful instead of a costly commitment.

A recent research where heritage and population decline overlap provided the way to approach this thesis: it can have four active roles that align with goals of depopulating regions. How it can attract or connect people and how it focuses on a socio-economic or symbolic function determines their role for the region and how they can be dealt with. Because this structure had not been applied yet on CA's, this thesis would be the first to look at such officially recognised areas.

ROLES OF HERITAGE	HERITAGE ATTRACTS (EXT. ORIENTATION)	HERITAGE CONNECTS (INT. ORIENTATION)
FOCUS ON SOCIOECONOMIC FUNCTION	SEEDBED	MEETING PLACE
FOCUS ON SYMBOL FUNCTION	BILLBOARD	TOTEM POLE

To do this, theory on heritage, spatial planning and rural development had to be connected to find the best way to perform this research. This turned out to be the use of an embedded case study and to look at as many conservation areas as possible in a single region. In the Achterhoek, they had somewhat comparable circumstances and more importantly, the possibility of regional cooperation. The research incorporated several steps in terms of scale. Some policy was analysed regionally, the situation concerning protection was assessed at each of the seven CA's, and an in-depth data collection took place at three of these conservation areas.

First, the context and history of CA's was elaborated on, followed by more explanation about population decline. Then, depopulation policy in the region was put on a timeline, which showed four time periods where heritage had a specific role in policy. In the first period depopulation was not even on the agenda, but this changed quickly when expectations were 'beaten'. Now actions have been taken, the policy actions are more decentralised again, and heritage policy is as well.

After that, the analyses of all listings and land-use plans could help to see the state of these areas, by also visiting the seven CA's. They were visited to see the scale of the place and the atmosphere that had been described. It turned out that the listed qualities were still preserved to this date, and development was still possible. The visits were key for finding the most useful conservation areas to analyse more in-depth. Bronkhorst, Bredevoort, and the Mallumse Molen were chosen for this.

For these three places, there have been reviews of policy documents and interviews with policy workers at the part of municipal expectations, and interviews with local actors such as interest committees and business owners to understand more about the roles they might have had. It turned out that the municipalities had some plans that could fit with the roles of heritage, but the local actors still showed even more, while confirming that there was room for all four roles. In some cases, their projects were mainly to connect locals to each other, but they kept in mind that it would attract new visitors as well. People from outside would be involved also, drawn in by the atmosphere.

This finding also lead to the main conclusion of the research, namely that the recognition of the conservation areas can be effective when targeting negative effects of population decline when they are considered as a collection of policy instruments that acknowledge its symbolic value to the group that is targeted. These groups are most often inhabitants and even local businesses. This was the answer to the main research question.

At the closing part of this thesis, there were recommendations for the municipalities. These were based on implications for businesses and civic actors and how the local government should take that into account. Providing a clear view of the possibilities in a conservation area, taking note of the totem pole role by approaching active locals as a starting point and finding ways to make sure the symbolic value stays were the three main recommendations. These were based on making it easier to cooperate, more important to cooperate and making sure people stay active.

The research recommendations were based on what could still be possible to find out. During the process of the research, it became clear that the framework worked very well for descriptions, but would become difficult to quantify. The research questions are based around ways to better define and quantify the active roles of heritage, other factors that might influence what happens in a conservation area and methods to finally conclude what makes a conservation area unique.

The biggest challenge for validity in this research was judging when to decide not to include something in the research. Because this research has been so extensive, it might seem as if every idea to add something was acted upon. In reality, the parts are the result of long judgement based on the value to the main research question and to the legibility of the thesis. While the conclusions and recommendations are generalised in the sense, they represent the common aspects of the visited CA's, they will always be more valid for the Achterhoek than other regions.

Interlude – Short poem in dialect by Willemien Bosch-Wentink, 1961

In 't veurgaonde he'j können leazen	In the above you could have read
Dat Bronckhorst niet mor zo iets bouwen kan	That Bronckhorst can't just build something
zonder vergunning van die Haagse heren	Without permission from The Hague's gentlemen
Is daor beslist geen sprake van	It is by no means the case
't is mien bedoelin niets te verklappen	I don't mean to tattle-tale
wat heel angstvallig stil gehollen wöd	of what's anxiously hushed up
ik zag d'r wat zonder vergunning bouwen	I saw some build without a permit
en 'k wed dat daor gin mens wat tegen död.	and I bet no man will shut it up.
'k zag ze matrialen sjouwen	I saw them holler materials for it
met mekaar een huusken bouwen	building a home, they conspired
zonder teek'ning of bestek	without drawings or blueprints
't ging zo vlug en zo eendrachtig	It went so quick and so harmonious
Jao et was in één woord prachtig:	Yes, it was in one word marvellous:
een veugeltjen bouwt nog lang niet gek	a bird builds far from bad

Contents

1. Introduction and context

From the 11th until the 18th century, the area between the IJssel river and what is now the German border belonged to the County of Zutphen (Bergh, van Bleek, Derks, Weijkamp & Winden, 2013). Relatively small towns were given city rights, and while they may not be urban in the modern sense, many look and feel like condensed medieval cities. These towns developed such that old structures are often still intact. The idea about the 'feel' is also reflected in tourism information. On their tourist website, it is called a "theatre with different scenes" (Stichting Achterhoek Toerisme, 2018). The atmosphere is an important way to profile the region. The area has over 800 nationally listed buildings, but an atmosphere is also dependent on the spatial structures. This is protected by listing a larger area as a "Conservation Area". While they have been useful protecting places against *growth*, this thesis is about assessing their position now this region needs to deal with *population decline.*
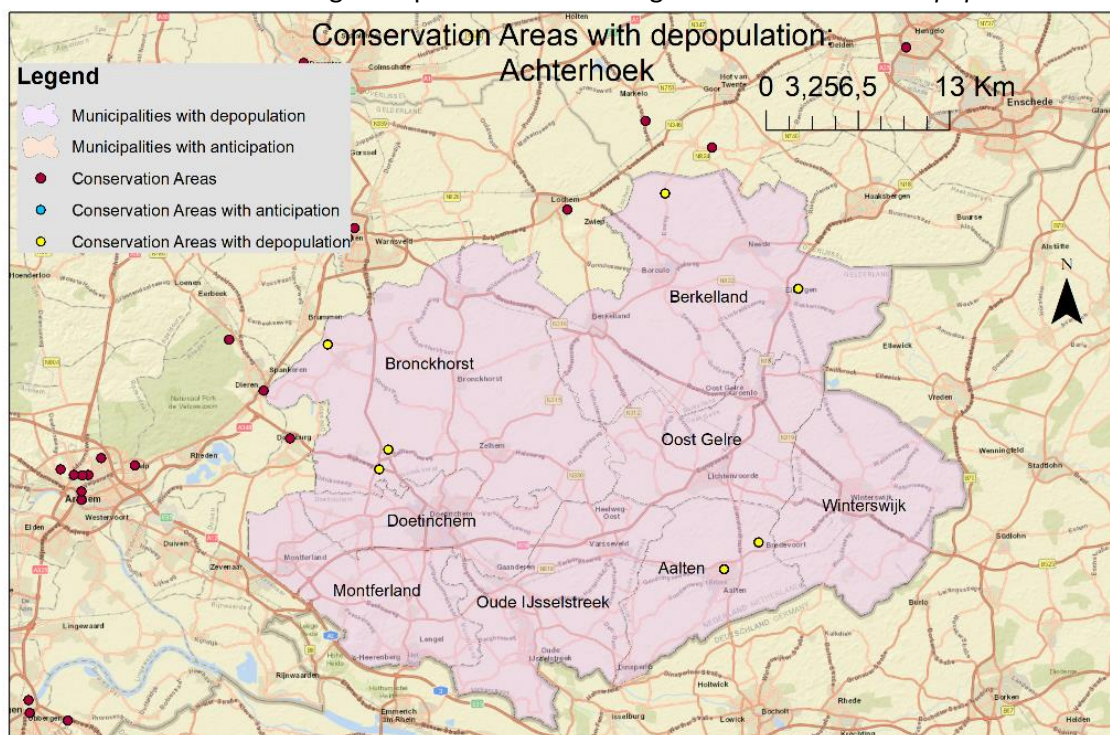
Figure 1.1: conservation areas in only the depopulating Achterhoek region, by municipality.
Data: Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2018. Background map: Openstreetmaps

1.1 Conservation areas

As said, sometimes spatial structures, empty fields and large squares may need to be protected as well to ensure a constant 'townscape'. In 1961 the Dutch *Monumentenwet* provided the means with 'Conservation Areas'. Separate from listed buildings, the features that form 'the image' would be included in land-use plans via rules. The historic spatial structures of these places were secured because professionals assessed the impact on valuable spatial qualities for each subsequent plan (Niemeijer, 2012). This was naturally an *instrument* to protect against hasty developments. Here, some believed it to be in the way of development, while others saw it as recognition. It does conserve an area, but it seemed to be inseparable from development until populations started to decline. One can wonder what conservation areas protect if other places don't develop either.

1.2 The Achterhoek and conservation areas

Firstly, depopulation does not equal a standstill. People still renovate their homes and some businesses still settle, but more importantly, vacant buildings can degrade if not cared for properly (Janssen, Lammerts & Petit, 1999). In this decline, municipalities have less funds to spend on proper care. The commitment of listing something would be an expensive burden for shrinking municipalities if they just 'preserved for future generations'. Heritage needs to become useful in some way. It can become a reason to keep or improve it even (de Graaf & Hospers, 2014). This is where the Achterhoek is an interesting area to look at.
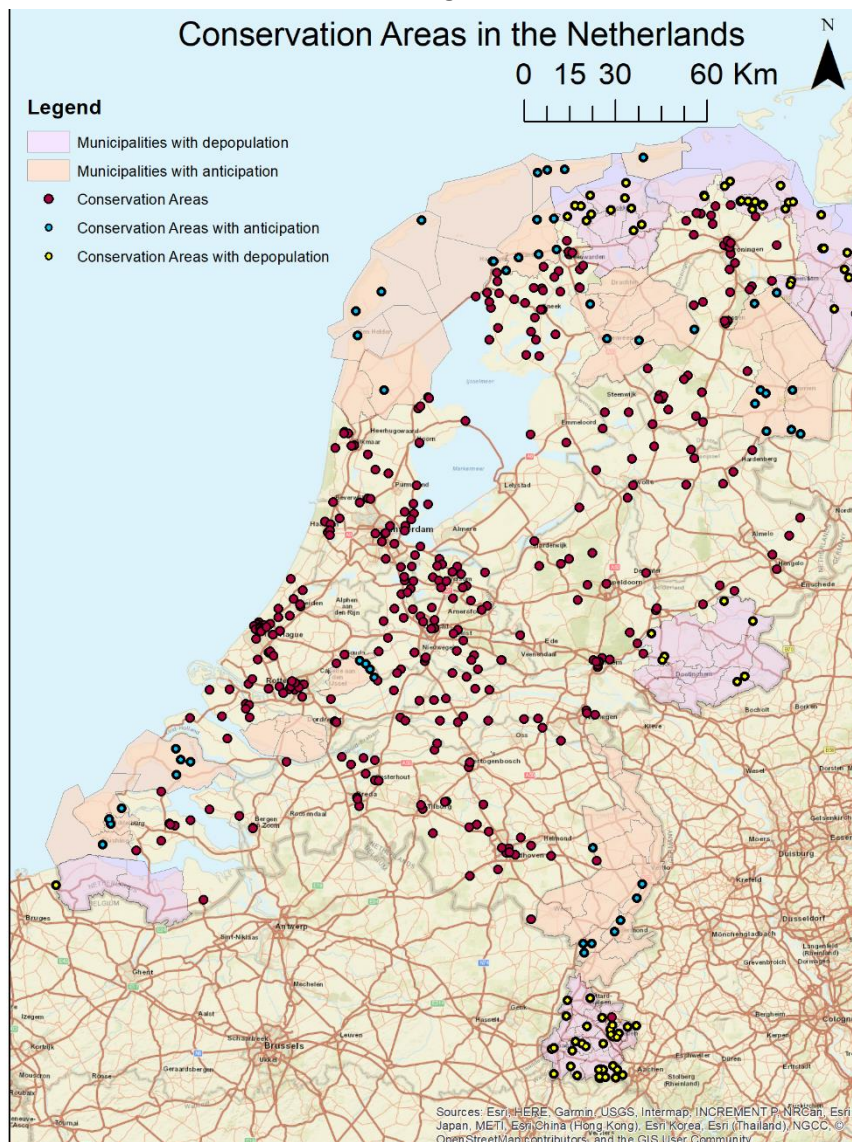
Figure 1.2: Conservation Areas in the Netherlands, by level of depopulation.

Data: Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2018

Background: Openstreetmaps

1.3 Depopulation in the Achterhoek

The Achterhoek has many historically interesting places, including twelve medieval 'cities' and other towns with monumental structures and castles. The full region has just eleven conservation areas in six of the eleven municipalities. With eight depopulating municipalities, there are seven concentrated in three of these. The eight depopulating municipalities are a 'region' of interest by themselves because of their unique issues caused by people leaving the area, especially on a socio-economic level. Municipalities have taken long to accept that decline itself cannot be stopped. Since then, they have been looking for solutions to the resulting issues (van de Wijdeven, 2012).

The municipalities without conservation areas notice what happens to historic structures, like Groenlo. This old city has over 75 listed buildings, but still risks losing *cohesion* (Tubantia, 2015). Other municipalities have had similar experiences (Aalten, Oost Gelre & Winterswijk, 2016). Figure 1.2 shows that the Achterhoek has a much lower density (number of dots) than other rural areas; there is still a lot 'left' to conserve. Soon, rules and regulations may change because of the interplay between the Erfgoedwet and the Omgevingswet. While the extent of this change is not clear yet, it does bring an opportunity to re-assess an instrument that is over half a century old.

Heritage was once mainly protected based on 'intrinsic' historical value, but that has changed (Renes 2011a). The social value and potential profit are often included when talking about heritage. This way, heritage can be valuable to depopulating municipalities. In that context, researchers have developed a framework that combines functions heritage may have with the 'target group' (de Graaf, Hospers, Péro, Renes & Stegmeijer, 2015). This framework is integral to the research because it connects practice and theory.

TABLE 1.1: ROLES OF HERITAGE	HERITAGE ATTRACTS (EXT. ORIENTATION)	HERITAGE CONNECTS (INT. ORIENTATION)
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The different functions are divided into *a symbolic function*, which comes down to making people care and do things because of that, and *a socio-economic function*, which means it allows for social and economic activities (de Graaf, Hospers, Péro, Renes & Stegmeijer, 2014). The orientations, both an important factor in depopulation policy, are either *external*, bringing in visitors or new (creative) inhabitants, or *internal,* keeping existing inhabitants and 'activating' them. All combinations of these dimensions create a different role with different results, requiring different action. Combinations of roles also appear, for example when something is a landmark and introduces ways to develop economically because of that pull-factor. How all this works for conservation areas, which are uniquely protected heritage sites, has not been investigated yet.

1.4 Reason
All context features described above together make the reason for committing to a research into conservation areas in the Achterhoek. First, the unique qualities of the region make the research feasible and useful. It Conservation areas are interesting by themselves because of the age of the instrument, the position of heritage in population decline is interesting. It is of further interest to see what conservation areas mean for depopulating areas and to which extent they require a different approach than conservation areas somewhere else. The situation of built cultural heritage across depopulating areas is complex because it is so multi-faceted and diverse. The conservation areas are part of the built cultural heritage that shapes our image of the local environment and scenery. Because of this, new insights will not only be useful for heritage policy, but also other spatial policy, or that meant to retain or improve liveability in depopulating areas.

1.5 Research goal
The goal of this research is to provide more footing for municipalities with depopulation issues, specifically in the Achterhoek, for improving and retaining liveability by use of their heritage policy in (public) space by showing where conservation areas fit as policy instruments. This research goal will be met by getting a better insight in the intended and active roles of conservation areas through a primary qualitative assessment of the conservation areas on a regional level and a further analysis on a case level. All conservation areas are looked at and are some selected to analyse further.

1.6 Research question:

How can conservation areas be used as an effective way to counter population decline or its effects in the Achterhoek region, taking account of the possible active roles of heritage?

There are several sub questions to answer the main question in a structured way:

1. *How can the current policies in the Achterhoek to deal with population decline or its effects be characterised and in which way can these be linked to the presence of spatial heritage and conservation areas?*
   This question can be seen as two parts, to give more structure to answering it. With this, an overview of the different policies made in the light of depopulation is made and then the aspects where heritage is mentioned are highlighted. The question concerns *current* policies, but a chronological aspect can show the origin of certain policies or influences. There is a regional scope.

2. *What is the current situation regarding protection and preservation of CA's in the Achterhoek?*

   A CA listing leaves many results open. Depending on the listed qualities, adoption in land-use plans and monitoring, they may be protected and preserved differently. On top of that, people can interact differently with their surroundings. To get a clear view of protection and the resulting situation, all seven townscapes are assessed. The rules that apply, a historical inquiry and site visits are the tools to use here. This question in itself acts as a filter for places to analyse in further questions.

   3A. *To which extent are the CA's expected to have an internal or external focus?*

   3B. *To which extent are the CA's expected to have a symbolic or socio-economic function?*

   Both questions represent the different dimensions of active roles of heritage as seen in *table 1.1.* They will be answered by analysing local and regional plans and interviewing those involved with the heritage policy. It is expected that in some cases, there are very few expectations. As it concerns the extent, this is a valid answer as well.

   4A. *To which extent does the expected focus of conservation areas match the actual focus?*

   4B. *To which extent does the expected function of conservation areas match the actual function?*

   In these questions, '*actual*' means the situation as it is found during empirical research. That empirical research consists of site visits and interviews with local actors such as residents, business owners and civic groups. The methods chapter will explain how only three conservation areas are selected. These are all different from each other and are located in different municipalities by design. The question will be answered when the actual situation is found and contrasted with the intended.

   In the conclusion, the main research question can be answered with these sub questions. This way, it becomes clear in which ways a 'conservation area' listing is a policy instrument in the municipal toolbox and *what use they have*.

   It is important to note that these questions make it possible to look at several types of actors and their position in the network. The 'actual focus' has a wide meaning, and shows how municipalities, civic, and private actors have reached the current situation from research question 2. In the recommendation chapter, there will be extra attention to protection and use by these three groups.

1.7: Societal relevancy

The societal value of this research is based on heritage possibly being useful for areas facing decline. Protecting heritage can be quite costly, but an exploration of 'exploiting' heritage and the apparent roles it can have brings more legitimacy to plans concerning heritage. It can have many *uses* (Hospers, 2002). It has been proven to be valuable for regional identities, and the economic value of placemaking is stronger when you work with existing qualities (Hospers, 2014). This is the same for regional marketing. Further, meaningful places are shown to be attractive creative environments for young people (Renes & Stegmeijer, 2014). More than a 'quick fix', population decline requires creative case-specific solutions so it might be a useful factor in this. Heritage vacancy can be put on the agenda more easily, people care and there is more urgency. People would rather find a new use than demolish it, then it would be lost forever. An effective policy for heritage sites can have interesting results because of its overlap between place identity and development decisions.

Conservation areas are particularly interesting here, because they are explicitly noted to provide a sense of pride to communities, but no research prior to this has connected it with the sense of urgency that makes community participation work (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2014). In an economic and planning sense, townscapes make the heritage policy interesting. Unlike listed buildings, there is room for development built in, within the confines of acknowledged historic value. Theoretically, conservation areas should be able to provide a unique atmosphere that is consistent over the years. The planning aspect of a land-use plan makes that what happens in a conservation area is relevant for many fields of policy that must interact, just like with depopulation policy.

Stakeholders will need to see which course of action fits best, as spatial policy affects many sectors. Heritage may have an active and useful role without being stated as such in depopulation policy. The way policy and the role of conservation areas line up is at the core of this research. The basic framework set up by de Graaf et al (2014) will be a good starting point for this exploration. It can show municipalities that it is useful to add such projects to their constantly growing toolbox regarding depopulation issues.

The results of this research will be mainly relevant for the Achterhoek region. The region seems to be different from other depopulating areas as they have less CA's but more listed buildings. There are relatively little conservation areas, and the results of this research might help create a stronger case for appointing a new area or deciding to keep the current situation.

Outside of this context, it is also useful to re-evaluate conservation areas as a tool for integrating heritage with spatial planning. Conservation areas as an instrument are over 50 years old, and the instrument will soon change with new laws. It can add perspective to discussion over the status of built cultural heritage. Finally, this research can help make people that work with heritage more conscious of the direction they take and the aims of their projects.

1.8 Scientific relevancy

There has been relatively little research into the differences between built cultural heritage in depopulating areas and outside of these areas. This makes it interesting to look at depopulation as an important context. For instance, Renes (2011a) explained how depopulation would create an entirely new context and a different way of looking at heritage compared to before. It is also interesting that the entire framework of possible roles of heritage is created for depopulating areas but seems to fit just as well on places that are not declining (de Graaf et al, 2014). The relation between growth and heritage is also reflected in property values, as locations with formal protection

as heritage site develop differently from locations without (Tjaberings, 2005). Along with the existing basis, this thesis can provide ground for a new framework, looking at heritage sites on the level of protection and the amount of growth or decline. This will add to the knowledge about how heritage can have an active role instead of being product that needs care.

Deeper into the theory, this research fits in an existing debate in heritage studies and practice, on the importance of the physical material versus the use and story of a place (Janssen, Luiten, Renes & Stegmeijer, 2017; Ashworth, 2000; Smith, 2006). Practice and theory have changed from a view focused on the material side to one that saw the heritage mostly as a vector for other developments. These different views are still conflicting and not as linear as the paper by Janssen et al may have made it look like (Harrison, 2012). Those who consider material to be key, range from caring about the type of wood used, to the importance of the location, especially for social interactions (van Tusssenbroek, van Drunen & Orsel, 2012; van de Valk & Corten, 2006). Those who currently consider the story or discourses more important, look at what happens and happened at places, and the culture that defined the meaning of the place (Smith, 2006). The value of this research will be evident for both sides. In the first place, I will look if the material will not be protected too much to keep the value, and since I look at the active role of built cultural heritage and the meaning for policy as well, the other viewpoint is represented too (Graham & Howard, 2008).

Taking a middle ground in theory as well as practice will be a constant throughout this research, and the dualities that come up will be shown instead of ignored. Just like the fifty-year-old policy instrument, this research is a bridge between fields. It is a bridge between the field of spatial planning and heritage management, both of which will be observed through an economic geography lens. In the same way, this research is situated as a bridge between the stories (the history and the feeling), and the material (spatial quality and physical heritage sites). The positive effect of this decision is that it can also provide valuable insights to both heritage experts and planning specialists.

Fig 1.3: Collage of pictures taken in Bredevoort showing multiple atmospheres. Own images.
Clockwise: The area with post-war buildings; the mill; two angles of the 'fortress park'.

2. Theory

In this theory chapter, the main concepts will be outlined and connected to each other. The goal is to provide an overview of how the theory around heritage management and built cultural heritage has changed from the perspective of economic geography. There is an impressive body of work on these topics, and the application to practice and finally this research is the focus of this chapter. The ways of thinking about heritage are described first (2.1), then more specific issues such as policy and what is known about conservation areas (2.2). In 2.3, rurality and depopulation will be described. The chapter will end with an overview of the known relationships and roles of heritage in depopulating areas in 2.4. There are connections to overarching critical theories, however these fit better in the annexes (AX.1). They give more context to the different changing fields of both spatial planning and heritage work, even on a level of philosophies.

2.1 Heritage Concepts

There are several different approaches to cultural heritage. Working with heritage has turned into a sector separate from other fields such as culture studies and historiography (de Vries, 1992; van der Woud, 1993). In practice, it is also detached from fields such as archaeology (Renes, 2011a; van Tussenbroek et al, 2012). In this part, the definition of cultural heritage will be assessed through describing the changing heritage field and the sensitive concept of authenticity.

2.1.1 Heritage as a sector

The oldest professional approach to cultural heritage is heritage as a sector (van Zwet, 2015; Renes, 2011b). Organisations and groups started advocating for the protection of heritage against future developments around the late 19th century (Bond Heemschut, 2014; Janssen et al, 2017; van Zwet, 2015). Organisations such as the Bond Heemschut (1911) and the English National Trust (1895) still exist to this date (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2013). This protection was advocated on basis of the quality of the heritage itself, for instance the "therapeutic capacity at times of rapid social change" (Janssen et al, 2017, pp 1660). It was defined as an inheritance that should be passed on.

This position held the main discourse until decades after WWII. The protection of heritage had become solidified as a sector, as there was demands for all sorts of heritage work. This includes professional advice, restoration and archiving. Legal protection was object-focused, and work with heritage was nearly exclusive to this sector. The sector evolved to be less like this, but only when the next two discourses grew in relevance. The 'gem city' concept gained usage throughout Europe. This refers to cities that have more interesting features than other nearby places and tourist-related activities are promoted more because of that. Sometimes, entire 'fake' structures would be built to create a historic atmosphere.

2.1.2 Heritage as a factor

The next approach to heritage is as a factor in spatial development (Janssen et al, 2017). After the first Monuments act, there were many places listed to be conserved (van Zwet, 2015; Janssen, Luiten, Renes et al, 2014). The field became more systematic as a result and had to interact with other fields already integrated in urban development. Heritage as a factor is a major discourse shift and can be defined as the idea of many fields having to take heritage into account, prompting more mixed use. Around the 1980's, it became a factor in many partnerships and heritage was viewed differently. Heritage had values that could be used for other goals. Transformation and reuse led to creative solutions to keep the physical structure but with a new use.

Space became more significant compared to single objects (Eggenkamp, 1982). By working with this concept, cultural significance and transformations could be explained because the buildings were not the only important part. While built cultural heritage was first more relevant to cultural geographers than to urban planners, that changed as well (Eggenkamp, 2011a). The Belvedère Memorandum (1999) emphasized how only new uses and transformations could exploit the socio-economic potential of heritage (Janssen et al, 2017). It is still the main discourse in policy today (Kuipers, 2015). In this context, the relevancy of conservation areas was revisited, and it turned out to fit this discourse because it was still possible to redevelop areas. Interiors, backyards and individual elements in conservation areas are not 'frozen', people should only make sure the view retained its key characteristics.

2.1.3 Heritage as a vector

The vector approach is rooted in ideas of how heritage is affected by social structures and intangible aspects (Janssen et al, 2017). The state of heritage shows how a place has developed culturally, even before it was coded as such (Renes, 2011b). With the introduction of intangible heritage, it became possible to develop heritage without any physical aspect. Conversely, redeveloping buildings may affect the meaning of the place. Vector means that there is movement and a direction, as communities kept their history dynamic until they isolated monuments in time. This continuous role of communities should be emphasized more, heritage can be developed best when the communities are involved, instead of just isolating artefacts.

The meaning of heritage in this approach can be found by uncovering the many complex relationships around heritage (Visser, 2011). Changing discourses may affect how heritage is perceived, but a single changing relationship between actors may cause this as well. Conservation areas have not been researched from this viewpoint. The idea of looking at a character and a wider spatial sense instead of objects does fit the vector approach. They are ensembles of different objects, or unique views with a story to them and can still develop.

2.1.4 Authenticity

A very important, but sensitive concept regarding heritage is authenticity. If something feels inauthentic, or fake, it often also has less value for tourism. If historic objects are objectively fake, they have less value for historic or archaeologic research because conclusions may be unreliable. Figure 2.1 shows how many types of quantifiable authenticity there are, even in a binary sense (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000). For each of these factors, it is possible to determine if an object is still authentic. This might be useful for comparison but does not accurately cover how people (including policymakers, locals, and tourists) value something. While an excess in some factors may be noticed, tourists can only discern with sufficient background knowledge (Zhou, 2015). In addition to that, each culture has their own idea of authenticity (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000). In Europe, people would value the material and conceptual authenticity as most important (Smith, 2006).

The authenticity of ...

Creator	Material	Function	Concept	History	Ensemble	Context
'The hand of the master'	'The original material'	'The original purpose'	'The idea of the creator'	'The history of the artefact'	'The integrity of the whole'	'The integrity of the location'

Figure 2.1: Meanings of authenticity: In Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000, pp 11.

The framework in figure 2.2 also includes the perception of visitors. It allows researchers and policymakers to acknowledge when tourists *believe* an area to be authentic. While staged scenes that are seen as real are called *failure to recognise*, which would imply a negative situation it still creates an economic opportunity (Renes, 2012). When people have enough reason to believe something is authentic, the feeling of 'dissonance' can be avoided (Harrison, 2012). Even museums put copies of artefacts on display without visitors being discontent (Smith, 2006). This practice is often to preserve the original, but also allows more creative uses. For heritage sites, this relates back to the idea of dynamic heritage. Places may need to stay changing in order to stay authentic, according to some (Ashworth & Larkham, 2013). To conclude, because each culture has their own concept of authenticity, and because the impact of 'objective' authenticity can be less than the perceived authenticity, cautious use of the term is needed. Most statements in this research will be related to the perceived authenticity.

Nature of scene	Tourists' impression of scene	
	Real	Staged
Real	Authentic	Doubted authenticity
Staged	Failure to recognise	Seen as contrived

Figure 2.2: Variety of experiences of authenticity: In Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000, pp 17

2.1.5 Conclusion: The definition of heritage

To conclude on this part, it is necessary to set a definition of heritage for this thesis. As explained, the definition of heritage has been widened over the years. In the sector approach, people saw cultural heritage as merely those objects that are important enough to pass on to future generations intact (Niemeijer, 2012; Van der Woud, 1993). With the factor approach, the definition shifted to valuable objects that need to be passed on in any shape or form to future generations (Abrahamse, Baas & Rutte, 2010). With the introduction of intangible heritage, traditions and practices could be added to this definition as well (Renes, 2011). Those are not directly relevant for a research on conservation areas, except for a wider focus than just buildings. The definition of cultural heritage that is used in this thesis is "*Those (spatial) factors that are of historic meaning and significance to communities and are maintained in the present with the intent of passing on to future generations.*" Spatial heritage will be referred to when working with the spatial factors instead of general cultural factors.

2.2 Policy Instruments

When working with spatial cultural heritage, municipalities have several instruments at their disposal (Hoogerwerf & Herweijer, 2014; Messink, 2014). There are many types of instruments and can be defined and categorised in several ways. Initially, four categories of policy instruments were defined in a time of 'classic' policymaking. These were legal, economic, communicative and physical instruments. The same types of instruments still exist, but the assumption is no longer that these will directly have the intended effect. Regarding people and communities, local governments can't force them to become active for things they don't consider important. Further, even small local governments aren't a single actor, but consist of multiple people with goals that do not always align. The implications for policy are that even outside of politics, sometimes public servants can boost or obstruct a signal by themselves. As Kreeft (2008) described, the policy instruments need to fit the work on networks. The new policy instruments are called regulatory, financial, communicative and physical instruments. These last two have not changed name.

2.2.1 Regulatory instruments

Regulatory instruments, called legal instruments before, are instruments that set boundaries or allow actors to work in certain ways. While these used to be strict, in the same way as general laws, they do not always work to achieve policy goals. The creation of flexible rules and 'legible' frameworks achieves these goals. In that sense, the appointment of conservation areas is more modern than listing buildings for conservation. Listing buildings only applies to the structures and is very strict but might isolate it from its surroundings as only the structure is protected (Teters, 2014). Appointing a conservation area is much more dependent on the way spatial qualities are described but allows new developments in a way that does not take away agency of businesses. There are examples of how this can lead to issues though. In Middelburg, where the backside of some buildings was not described when listing the conservation area, advocacy groups were not able to protect against developments in that area (Teters, 2014). This shows there are specific ways to protect an area, and sometimes a 'regular' listing fits better (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2017).

In fifty years, a large body of case law has grown around the legal implications of appointing a conservation area in the Netherlands (Teters, 2014). What is and what is not allowed to appoint as a conservation area seems to be clear nowadays, but the meaning of a conservation area has gone past the actual conservation (Struiksma, 2012). Legally, conservation areas can't mean that no developments take place. The idea is that the qualities described are kept intact, but it is often understood as total conservation. Both on the side of developers and the side of advocates, this leads to misunderstandings. Developers are afraid of creating projects, and advocates may fail to use conservation areas as an argument against unwanted developments.

2.2.2 Financial instruments, communicative instruments and physical instruments.

There are three other types of policy instruments but need less detail to be described for this research.

- The financial type is generally important to heritage care as a policy instrument. The care of monuments is quite costly, which might discourage people from taking up responsibility. Subsidies help people take proper care and restore buildings when necessary. These apply to listed buildings but not to conservation areas. The only cases where money is involved is to involve advisors and when specific plans can't go through because of the appointment.
- The next policy instrument is communicative. The role of communicative instruments has changed a lot over the years (Hoogerwerf & Herweijer, 2014). While the initial role was mainly explaining policy to people, the communicative role also applies to having talks with people to make policy together. Communicative policy instruments are important on the background of heritage policy. They may be involved in cooperatively preparing the protection or sharing the plans in such a way that the appointment of a conservation area is supported by the community. Information boards on site are also communicative instruments.
- The final instrument is *physical*. These are actual visible interventions. For example, speed bumps can help bring the overall speed on a road down. A support desk for heritage management can help people find the way around the existing frameworks of laws, subsidies and people to address. In theory, placing something that adds to the monument is also a physical instrument, as it brings something new and physical to a place.

2.2.3 The conservation area instrument

To conclude, the conservation area is not by definition an area where spatial values are preserved, but a policy instrument where legal and physical means together direct which spatial values need to be preserved in a given area. This difference means that the area is not always the same as what would be called spatial cultural heritage, because it might not be necessary to use the policy instrument (Niemeijer, 2012). It also means that some qualities may even get lost in time, when an improper application of the instrument does not include every quality that needs to be protected. It is thus a combination of heritage policy and spatial policy.

While the conservation area is in theory an instrument to ensure the inclusion of listed spatial values in future spatial plan, the area is called the same in this research and it will be made clear when referring to the instrument instead of the place. In Dutch, the instrument is called "beschermd stads- en dorpsgezicht", literally protected urban and village view. In English, there are multiple possible names for the instrument, such as "protected townscapes and village sites" (Abrahamse, Baas & Rutte, 2013. pp. 97) and "conservation areas" (Tynedale Council, 2009). While there may be differences between conservation areas in the UK, and "protected townscapes and village sites", the naming of conservation areas will be used on the basis that both are designated areas for protection (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000). Actual protection in the Netherlands however needs to happen through a land-use plan, which can be more restrictive in conservation areas (Niemeijer, 2012). For example, lines of sight are easier to list in a conservation area than with a listed building (van de Kamer, 2018). This definition as a policy instrument will be revisited in the final chapter after empirical research.

2.3: Rural Development and population decline

De definition of rurality varies between countries (OECD, 2014). As the Netherlands is more dense, rural areas would quickly be called urbanised in other places. The Achterhoek region is a rural area because it has a relatively low population density, and because it experiences growth and social structures comparable to other areas that are called rural. This difference between rural and urban areas is relevant to the thesis in two ways. First, it brings a context to the issue of depopulation. Secondly, it is used to explain why towns that are called cities can still be seen as rural. That is because some conservation areas in the Achterhoek are called 'city views' when translated literally (Paul, de Pater & Renes, 2015).

2.3.1 Development theories

Several classic theories in economic geography are based on the difference between rural and urban. For example, the central place theory is based on large towns with more goods and services available than others around and dependent on it (Young, 1983). Rural areas would then be dependent on places quite far away for a significant amount of goods and services. In periods of growth, this means that there is demand for more general services in the places far from the central place. This is only the case when enough people will visit the place to afford starting a business. For rural areas, this would mean that they can only grow if the central places grow as well.

2.3.2 Growth

As rural areas have a low population density, some specialized services do not reach this threshold. Rural development in the past has been aimed at consolidating what areas already had, until a period of rapid growth happens (de Graaf et al, 2014). The conjuncture of people moving to the 'hinterland' and away has happened throughout history, but not in the way it does since the post-war growth.

The period of post-war growth was so large that rural areas grew significantly as well. People were more mobile because cars became common, and the growing supply of services made it attractive to live in the 'peaceful' rural area (Hospers, 2014; Renes, 2015). Rural development was first built around getting the most out of this growth but would soon be aimed at developing it just as cities. Based on theories of growth, large employers were incentivized to settle in rural regions, so it would attract people and other businesses.

2.3.3 Decline

Still, the issue of depopulation was already predicted before the start of the 21st century (Janssen, Lammert & Petit, 1999). Depopulation now means that most of the policies that were made over the past half century are not sustainable anymore. A policy goal of adding new houses each year would only cost money and increase the problem of vacancy (Schut, 2014). Population decline on a large scale causes the loss of services and jobs, which hurt the livability of the area. A basic presumption is that population decline also means that some houses stay vacant. Even with smaller families, and less people per house, it indeed often happens that houses can't be sold when moving, unless the price is very low. People would rather not risk losing value on a house so might still refrain from buying (Tjaberings, 2010). Regarding the development theories, the perspective has changed from a strictly hierarchical view to growth, to more relational (Heley & Jones, 2012). Researchers and policymakers look at what factors enable growth. For example, a rich heritage can be such a factor (Nemes, 2005). Growth and decline also changed meaning. In some cases, growth of livability and social capital has become a goal instead of economic growth (Steenbekkers & Vermeij, 2013).

In chapter 4.2 the possible depopulation policies will be discussed as well, but it is important to note that there are a total of 4 general policies regarding population decline (Hospers, 2010). The initial response after *ignoring the issue* is to *play the issue down*. In this case people might feel comfortable, but there is no feeling of urgency to act in the community. Then, a response is *combating decline*, which comes down to wanting to revert the decline, mainly on the level of statistics. When actors realize this is not very effective, they will try to either *guide depopulation* or work to *utilize it*. By guiding, the policy is based around making sure the effects are less significant, and with utilizing it is based on seeing which new opportunities exist because of population decline.

2.3.4 Cities in rural areas

Especially in the Dutch understanding, there is a semantic distinction between conservation areas in cities and villages. This distinction is not related to rural and urban, because places that once received city rights, are still called cities (Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, 1982). Bredevoort is a tenth the size of Aalten, but only the first would be called a *cityscape* (CBS, 2018)[1]. For this research, both such places will be noted as rural towns as per the definition by Steenbekkers and Vermeij (2013), namely that areas with a density below 1000 addresses/km2 can be called towns or villages. While there are some spatial and historic differences that set old cities and villages apart, such as defense walls, they share dynamics that set them apart from highly urbanized areas.

2.4 Relations

There is little known research about the mutual relationship between population decline and heritage (de Graaf et al, 2014). As depopulation affects many fields, the useful information is quite general and very little is focused on heritage. Only in 2014, the Dutch Institute for Cultural Heritage

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[1] CBS population statistics used: "Wijk 02 Bredevoort": 1.875 / 'Wijk 03 Aalten Kern": 12.805

(RCE) connected the two by using examples from practice and other research. In their publication, they described the following relations with heritage and depopulation: How depopulation affects heritage and how people respond to that, how heritage is connected to the quality of life, and how heritage is connected to either revitalisation or solutions for the negative effects. These relations are central to the research and will be discussed here as well.

2.4.1 The classic view: population decline for heritage

The mutual relationship between heritage and society is often seen as a mostly one-sided relationship where something *affects heritage* (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). This is no different with population decline. The negative results for heritage would fall under the spatial effects of population decline, such as vacancy, as described earlier. Vacancy can eventually lead to losing the actual structures as their quality goes down (Hospers, 2014). *Here, heritage has a passive role.*

Many fields of policy made plan with a now 'falsified' growth assumption (Roelofsen, in de Graaf et al, 2014). Future growth would justify investments, but this is now unreliable. Since cultural heritage often has specialised plans and is not always a core part of general plans, it is affected differently by population decline than the general built environment. This separation between spatial planning and heritage planning might mean that there is a delayed policy response, changing decade-old plans when it might already be too late. One recent example is the set of municipal monumental buildings in Groenlo, which were degraded because they were vacant for too long and there were no municipal funds to restore (Wortel, 2015).

When seen as an opportunity, depopulation means less pressure on future building developments, lower environmental pressure, lower traffic and space to experiment development of nature (Renes, 2012). These positive opportunities of depopulation still hardly weigh up to the reasons people leave the area and the shrinking capacity of local government to act.

Heritage has a different position than 'regular' real estate (Benneworth & Hospers, 2007). The influences from the professional and civic fields change how these places are affected by depopulation. The professional field around heritage management is well developed, and repurpose is substantial in this field. Repurpose is more developed in the field of heritage than elsewhere, as demolition and replacement are often no option. Experts need to be creative to find ways that allow new use and keep the historic qualities. Heritage professionals assist those who want to use historic buildings in a different way, or owners who search for new users. The historic storefront in old cities rarely matches the actual use, which is an obvious example of regular repurpose.

As a factor, the experience with repurpose might help guide communities that have issues with vacancy by finding solutions (Corten & van der Valk, 2006). This depends on how much attention policymakers reserve for heritage, help does not happen by itself. Experts generally work on a request or assignment basis, so they need to receive a signal and have funds available. In ANT-terms, bringing an expert in the network of a historic building happens through gatekeepers. The field has become more accessible for non-governmental actors, as private parties can also request such services now.

The *civic field* has become important for depopulating areas. Here, the situation of cultural heritage is different from other buildings because it sooner induces a feeling of urgency. This is an essential factor for people to collectively set up or support an initiative to work on their environment (van de Wijdeven, 2012). Even in depopulating areas, there is nothing that suggests civic initiatives have less

capacity to reach the goals they set. The main factor seemed to be that smaller towns need to be more careful of losing volunteers as their pool of possible volunteers is smaller (Reitsema, 2017). New initiatives attempt creative solutions, and the local community is willing to work at a lower operating cost than usual. The main goal is often to keep something important for the community instead of making profit. Research has shown that initiatives that also include a profit model have more longevity, even in these cases the operating costs and thresholds for success are lower.

For either type of civic initiative, it is important to see how and where they are bound by regulations or able to make policy. Many 'ladders' of civic participation have been developed, with the steps quite different from each other (Pröpper, 2012). Most of these range from zero communication with civic society to the ability to create and work on their own plans. Their position on this ladder positively influences how effective they can be. In the case of initiatives working with heritage, there is a large base of regulations, set up for owners and users. Working with these regulations can be so tedious that it is hard work independent of local policymakers.

In the most extreme case, the entire meaning of cultural heritage can change because of depopulation. In the Netherlands, there are no examples of this, but old industrial places in the US do show signs of this change (de Graaf et al, 2014). Not every industrial area in the 'rustbelt' of the United States has the same cultural significance as the industrial heritage in the German Ruhr area has. The combination of people leaving so stories can't be passed on, and the narrative of this area being desolated changed the entire meaning.

2.4.2 Heritage as active part of networks

The influence heritage has on the quality of life and the local environment has been researched in many different contexts. Quality of life and the local environment is a very fuzzy idea, and there are several ways of conceptualising this. *Here, heritage has an active role.*

The term *liveability* is often used to quantify the feeling of how much people like the area they live in. It is the extent to which the environment fits the demands and wishes people have" (Leidelmeijer & van Kamp, 2003). While it is possible to find out how liveable an area is by simply asking the people, it is not realistic to expect such data to cover large areas in a detailed level. An average of scores from five dimensions quantifies the liveability based on data that is available on multiple scale levels. The amount of nearby nationally listed monuments is a significant factor for increasing the score of the 'physical environment' dimension. This way, it has already been shown how built heritage in general positively affects liveability. It, however, does not show if areas with listed buildings are different from conservation areas.

Other publications have also described how areas with heritage by working with property values. Also, the positive effects of protection and designation of conservation areas can be based on relative value (Tjaberings, 2010). While 'freezing sites in time' by itself may even be a negative factor for property values (Asabere et al, 1994), the value tends to be higher when the structural and spatial qualities are ensured together (Tjaberings, 2010). 'Listed' historic buildings, compared to non-listed buildings are shown to bring a value surplus around 12%, between 4,9% and 20,1% (Leichenko, Coulson & Listokin, 2001; Deodhar, 2004).

While these general findings do not directly apply to conservation areas, which have not yet been researched using hedonic pricing methods, heritage experts note that the property market in conservation areas is often more stabilised (van der Valk & Corten, 2006). On top of the quality

assurance of protected buildings that was proven to be a positive for the property market, people are assured the surroundings will not change drastically (Meurs, 2011). This could make it more attractive for risk-averse people. The main difference between an area with protected buildings and conservation areas is that the way an area looks like is secured as well (Eggenkamp, 2011). The effect of a conservation area can help explain why the values of listed and non-listed property in Utrecht do not develop too far from each other (van Zwet, 2014). The entire historic area in this research is somewhat protected as a conservation area, so even non-listed property is protected to an extent.

2.4.3 Creative approaches to heritage and the influence on regions

The final important relationship is the influence of creative approaches to heritage. These approaches can give heritage an active *role*. As described, when professional fields came together, it also meant heritage could be used in different ways. In many cities, industrial heritage is given new life because (young) creatives use the space for their ideas, which is interesting for economic development. Heritage can bring more creative people to a place, who can help a region grow (Florida, 2014). His theories have been criticised for being broad, making it less valuable. However, the line of thought that 'new ideas need old buildings' has been said my many researchers, such as Jacobs (1961). At its core, a creative approach to heritage can set change in motion, and heritage can allow many creative approaches. Heritage is an indirect factor in economic development, it can allow other processes to happen that are more direct factors, by inspiring or motivating (Cerisola, 2018).

These are also reflected in the active roles of heritage. In the context of the population decline across Europe, an international research into the workings of shrinkage and heritage was published in 2014 (de Graaf, et al, 2014). This report, which uses multiple case studies of regions that use the heritage all in their own ways gave a good overview of four possible active roles of heritage in declining areas. The overlap between either of the two different orientations, namely external and internal, with one the two different functions, symbolic or socioeconomic, brings these four roles. It is best to describe each role individually based on their characteristics, what they add to a place and how that should be handled. The similarities and which roles are made up from an overlap are seen in figure 2.3.

FIGURE 2.3: ROLES OF HERITAGE	HERITAGE ATTRACTS (EXT. ORIENTATION)	HERITAGE CONNECTS (INTERNAL ORIENTATION)
FOCUS ON SOCIOECONOMIC FUNCTION	SEEDBED	MEETING PLACE
FOCUS ON SYMBOL FUNCTION	BILLBOARD	TOTEM POLE

- *Billboards*: The *billboard* role is a very common role for heritage, and is often seen in areas that are already successful. The name billboard is fitting, the heritage takes centre stage in the marketing of the place. The appeal of the heritage will make an advertising campaign more effective (Urry, 1990). It shows that this comes from an overlap between a symbolic function and an external orientation, which means it brings in new people. People experience old as appealing, and will mostly know that they can expect old buildings when they visit a heritage site. The appeal of UNESCO-site Amsterdam is heavily based on its historic canals, which allows a creative and international atmosphere. Many small regions have heritage tourism as their main source of income as well. This is often used in policy that combats depopulation, which helps very well if there is top-down support.
- *Seedbeds:* The *seedbed* role shows how heritage might indirectly be useful for declining areas by providing space for new people with fresh ideas. A few new people in an old building might not be noticeable in statistics, but these people can be inspired by the atmosphere it

brings. If they can set up new businesses or initiatives, they might bring something to a region that attracts other new people or just makes life for the locals more interesting. This is indirectly useful because it can provide a new economic base or set a shift in mentality in motion (Lazrak, Nijkamp, Rietveld & Rouwendal, 2011). In some cases, this creative seedbed can even be used as a factor in marketing. Depending on the approach, it fits well with many depopulation policies, such as combating, guiding and utilising depopulation.

- *Meeting places*: A strong factor in depopulation issues is that people lose community areas (Verwest & van Dam, 2010). If this happens too fast, people this can hurt the social capital of the place, but in other cases local initiatives or municipalities give places a 'second chance', and it actually increases the social capital because people learn during the process (van de Wijdeven, 2012). It becomes a *meeting place*. The vacant places are used by those who know of the historic significance and a new use keeps the buildings relevant. The place has a functional purpose for the community, whether it's civic or commercial. This works well for guiding and utilising depopulation because it helps relieve some negative effects without only 'treating the symptoms'. Obviously, a role like this needs support and even action from the local community.

- *Totem poles*: The role of *totem pole* is similar to the billboard function in that the symbolic value is very significant. Here, the meaning is high for the local community, who might see it as a personal 'gem' as opposed to commercially useful or even old and useless. When a local community becomes proud of their heritage, it subverts negative atmospheres in a region. Less people might leave, or the ones left behind might care more for the place. The Ruhr area is a good example of this process. Further, if the upkeep of heritage sites becomes unsustainable, even the inactive residents will be motivated to act quickly because there is a high feeling of *urgency* (van de Wijdeven, 2012).

2.5 Concepts and relationships
Figure 2.4 shows the different concepts and relationships that have a role in this research. In the end, there are four themes in the research, which are also reflected in the research questions: the heritage situation with object factors and local policy, regional depopulation policy, the roles of heritage and the implications.

Depopulation issues
The variables will be discussed from right to left. The first variable on the bottom right is '*depopulation issues'.* Depopulation issues will not be measured in detail, but will serve as context and important background. From the theory chapter it has become clear that there are several types of depopulation issues. The ones that will be referred to when relevant are declining social capital, and under liveability, vacancy and distances to goods and services. Distances to goods and services will essentially mean that local businesses have left.

Depopulation issues and policy
On the top right, depopulation issues have a (negative) feedback loop with '*depopulation policy'*. That is because in case a certain depopulation issue becomes more pressing, the policy needs to change. When a certain policy works to relieve (decrease) some issues, it is expected to be used more often. If the reality is different from these expectations, it will be noted. Depopulation policy is part of the research question and will analysed in high detail.

Depopulation policy

In addition to summarising the contents, it '*depopulation policy*' can be characterised along the division (1) *Ignoring depopulation, (2) playing it down, (3) fighting depopulation, (4) guiding depopulation, and (5) utilising depopulation.* This division is used also by authors involved in de Graaf et al (2014) and are quite loaded terms. Publications from many different years keep saying it is nearly impossible to entirely stop depopulation, while municipalities keep attempting to fight depopulation. Because of this controversial and uncertain situation, the decision is made to not include depopulation itself in the framework. Obviously, it is closely related to policy and the issues, but statements concerning causal relationships further than 'depopulation causes certain issues' are bound to be unreliable.

Value for depopulation policy

Moving left, the '*value for depopulation policy*' fits where it is influenced by depopulation policy and influences the depopulation issues. This value for depopulation policy is not a purely theoretical concept, but signifies where the role of conservation areas fits in depopulation policy. It is the conclusion after comparing the contents of depopulation to the implications of certain active conservation area roles. The value for depopulation policy can also be described as such.

Depopulation policy and application of conservation areas

After this point, there is a long arrow between the *depopulation policy* and the *application of the conservation area instrument*. This arrow and the box are meant to show that since this policy is made in the same organisation, they will always be somewhat connected already. They are part of policy in general.

Active roles of conservation area

Then, the active roles of conservation areas are the next variable. The active role of a conservation area actually consists of two parts, namely the function and the focus. This means it is necessary to determine if a conservation area has a socio-economic function or a symbolic function, and to determine if the area is internally focused or externally focused. *Figure 2.5 'zooms in' on this part.*

Active role of conservation area: Functions

From the theory, it turns out that determining the function is more than just looking at the purpose, while that is definitely a factor in the function. *Purpose* is partly the designated function as listed in the land-use plan, and partly how people actually use it. Accessibility is also a factor, because socio-economic places consider accessibility for the useful parts, whereas places with a high symbolic function generally provide access to those symbolic places unless it damages something. Here, the context behind the accessibility is more important than a factor of how accessible it is. Further, the *importance of meaning* is a third factor for the function. Places that are considered heritage but where the meaning is not very important, lean more towards socio-economic functions. Finally, the signs for a *tourist gaze* can help determine the function. Places that put emphasis on how photogenic they are more inclined to have a symbolic value.

Active role of conservation area: Focus

There are four important indictors within the *Focus* aspect. Logically, *more explanation* and different languages on site means that the 'audience' knows less about the place and is from further away. *The local affection and use* show if people from the area feel a connection to the place and how it is used. *The origin of users* shows more directly if it has an internal or external focus. If people from outside the region visit or use the place more than locals, it points even more to the external focus. This can be deduced by asking experienced actors in the area. Finally, *the focus of marketing c*an also

show a lot. For example, if the region is advertised first it is generally meant for outsiders and flyers are often more local.

The extent

The point '*Determines extent'* brings three other factors together. This is between the active role, because these three points have been discussed in the theory as influencing the extent to which heritage can have an active role. This point is a key component for answering the main research question, and summarises the three following factors.

Influence of local actors

The influence of local actors is included in the model because it does put limits to the roles a conservation area can have. When locals do not want a socio-economic function that focuses on tourists, it will be an issue if they have blocking power. This is partly based on the idea that many actors in a network are important for the roles of other parts (the conservation area), and partly on already developed theory on power in networks. The types of power actors can have in this research are limited to *blockade power, production power* and *diffused power* positions.

Object factors

Object factors, or the qualities of the conservation area determine the extent to which a conservation area can have a certain role because they provide the bottom line. It is possible to go very in-depth with these object factors, describing every quality of a heritage site. However, this would quickly mean the seven areas in the Achterhoek are incomparable. The more interesting aspects, however, are the perceived coherence and authenticity. Since they are perceived instead of based on detailed research, a focus can be on the negative variations of this or the absence of feeling of inauthenticity or incoherence.

Policy on conservation areas

Finally, in the top left, the factor of policy on conservation areas is an important determinant. This is in the first place because restrictive land-use plans allow less functions and different roles because of that. Advertising campaigns included as policy might allow the conservation area to develop an external role even further. Heritage policy and spatial policy come together and will be the basis of exploring this factor. This will happen mostly by looking at which policy instruments are applied from spatial and heritage policy that affect the CA. This includes the land-use plan, the aesthetics plan, and other policy that shows to be relevant to the listed qualities of the conservation area.
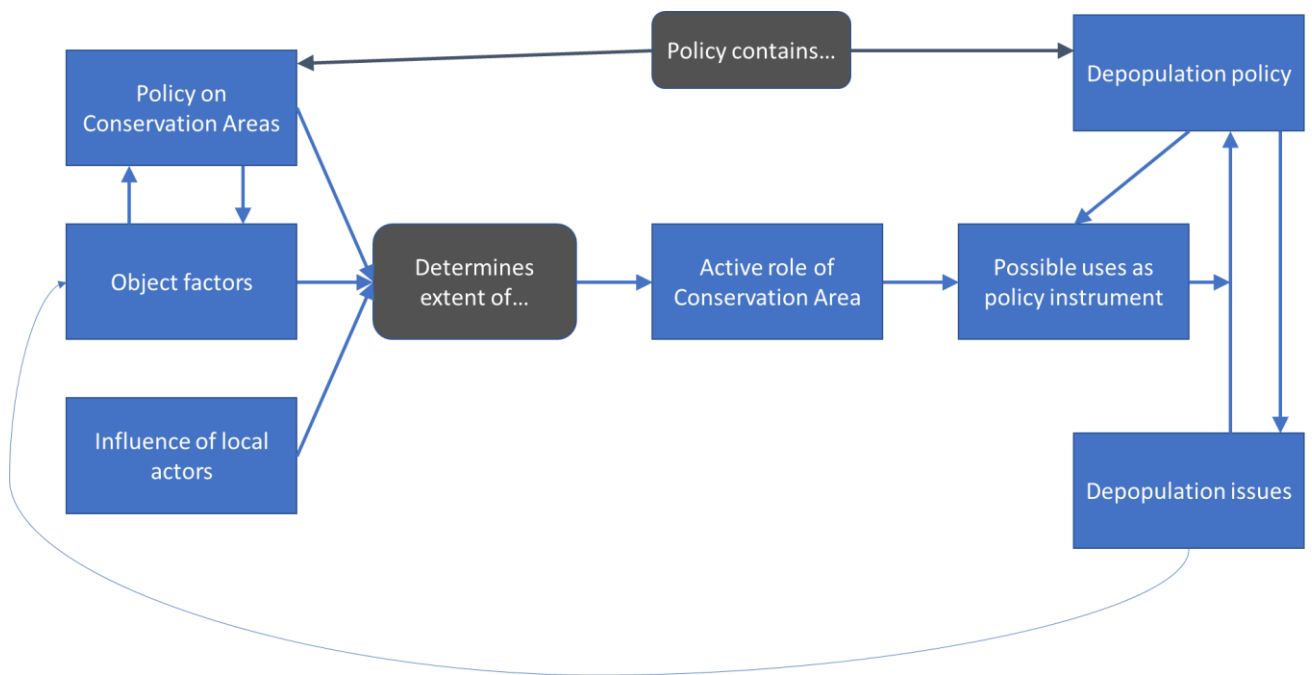
Figure 2.4: Concepts and relations

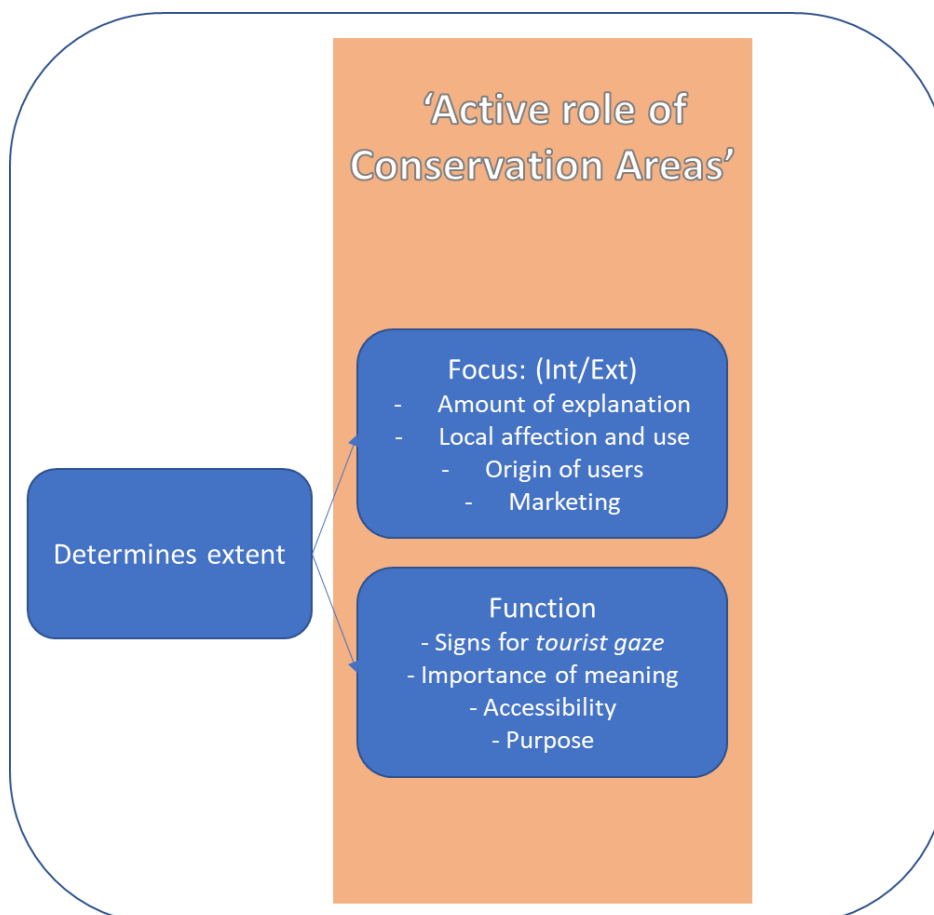*Figure 2.5: Zoomed in on 'Determines extent" and "Active role of conservation areas"*

Figure 2.6

Collage of pictures taken at conservation are *De Mallumse Molen.* Showing several functions in a small area.

Top to bottom:
A scenic view, chairs on the front lawn and a music festival held in the 'back yard' of the millers house.

Own images, 2018.

3. Methods and material:

In earlier chapters, the research questions and the theory leading up to the conceptual framework have been described. Here, the main goal is describing the research methods. After starting with research philosophies in 3.1, the chosen research structure will be explained and argued for in 3.2. Then, the general method and the reasoning for this will be discussed in 3.3. In 3.4 the selected data sources, materials and forms of analysis will be accounted for. After then describing the case and population selection in 3.5, the chapter will end with how this lines up with the way each research question will be answered in 3.6. Validity and reliability issues, such as triangulation, will be represented throughout the chapter.

3.1. Research philosophies

This research is grounded in an understanding of both positivist and rationalist theories and their core characteristics have determined its shape. Positivist attitudes towards science accept that empirical findings are a valid way of describing reality. That trust is shared in this research. Even the social world is part of the empirical world and can provide useful knowledge. There are research questions instead of hypotheses and a confidence in using qualitative methods for this goal. Annex X.1 shows how networks are seen as part of the empirical world and which role time may have.

Rationalists are sceptical of the reliability of their own senses and therefore the validity of empirical findings. They would rather rely on deduction and falsification. Their constant questioning was key for the development of science and is central in this research as well. A single finding will not be accepted as a general fact, and a single statement may be a personal experience that can be falsified by someone else. Especially the senses of the researcher are not trusted blindly. Consequently, the word 'actual' is specified in chapter 1, all conservation areas in the region are visited, and sources with possible contradicting information are selected on purpose.

3.2 Research structure

The main goal makes this research practice-oriented and mainly explorative. This explorative nature is reflected in the research questions, as they are aimed at exploring the situation in different ways as opposed to proving a causal relationship. Through this research, more insights into the issue of depopulation, the state of conservation and the active roles of the conservation areas in a specific region can be generated.

This explorative, practice-oriented research is based on qualitative research methods (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative research is a useful way of acquiring in-depth knowledge of a situation, but is known for being time-consuming. The reason for this is that a certain rigour is required in order to provide both reliable and internally valid results. The added value of qualitative research is that a researcher can include inductive elements in their research, and respect how context-dependent a situation may be (Doorewaard & Verschuren, 2015). The connection between conservation areas, their active roles and depopulation has many aspects to explore in-depth, which fits well with a research structure based on qualitative inquiry.

Further, this research works with the concept of heritage, which has been difficult to quantify and depends on context as a factor of its appeal (Renes, 2012; Niemeijer, 2012). Qualitative research becomes stronger when including such context (Yin, 2003). This means it is relevant to include context, and possible to do so effectively through qualitative research. This makes qualitative research the better fit for this research goal.

Heritage is too multi-faceted to analyse its full position in the depopulation debate. Conservation areas can be included as a core part of the research structure to bring needed focus. Their listing implies a high socio-economic and/or a historic significance and can be experienced as a whole by definition. This makes it a research on meaningful and 'defined' places, which is typical in geography.

From this, an embedded case study research method fits best. This allows to look at the Achterhoek as a whole in the context of depopulation and consider the CA's to be embedded units. Each chapter in this research reflects a new level of analysis with its own data collection techniques (Yin, 2003). The plan is to understand and represent as much about the region as possible within the confines of the research. It will follow a logical structure of spatial scale.

3.3 Research method and implications

This topic will be explored via an embedded case study design (Yin 2003). In this design, units and parts of the research will collectively add to the body of knowledge or be used to contrast with one another if necessary. For each unit, a cohesive method is important and if the goal is to compare the same data needs to be collected everywhere to accurately show how similar or contrasting they are. In the first place, internal validity is a high concern here because the data must be useful to understand the case. There are many ways to ensure this in qualitative research

This topic will be explored via an embedded case study design (Yin, 2003). In this design, unites and parts of the research will collectively add to the body of knowledge. A contrast between places can also become part of this as an instance. Each separate time, a cohesive method is important. When the goal is to compare, similar data needs to be collected everywhere to accurately show their differences. Internal validity is a high concern here because the data must be useful to understand the case. There are many ways to ensure this in qualitative research (Creswell, 2013).

The main way to ensure external validity in this type of research is a well-argued choice of cases. The Achterhoek as a case can be argued here. It is historically interesting, with many small historic towns that have been kept intact due to slow spatial development (Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, 1982). It is unique because it has a low density of conservation areas and a high amount of listed buildings compared to other depopulating regions. Thus, the few CA's there are particularly interesting to see if the region still cares for them. They are the units of interest, of which three are analysed in-depth. The choice of *these* three and the implication is argued for later in this chapter.

Because the research has many individual steps that are associated with the research questions and embedded parts, the many research questions need individual approaches. The methods and implications of this will be discussed at the beginning of each chapter.

Internal validity in this research is ensured at each step of the process. Triangulation of sources and methods is often used for this, as it brings different perspectives that can validate findings (Yin, 2003). If an interview gives information an online source provides as well, this is not redundant but instead makes the argument for using that information stronger. In this research, triangulation is used for each different research question. Site observations, policy documents and news articles can help answer the first research question, whereas interviews can help with the other research questions as there are fewer cases than with the first question. Next to using multiple types of data collection, it is also possible to always search for multiple sources in the same type of data. For example, by interviewing multiple stakeholders on the same subject or collecting different news articles, a bias can be detected.

The reliability of this research is also ensured in several ways. In a general sense, the entire process of documenting the steps taken in the research make it easier to replicate the research. As reliability is also important concerning individual ways of collecting data, this will be a recurring subject here.

3.4 Data collection and analysis

As explained, this research uses multiple methods at different steps of the research. These methods include, but are not limited to, site visits, semi-structured interviews and document analyses. All of these have a different approach and will be described. However, this research is layered into several important parts. At the end of this chapter, there is a table 3.3. Except for the site visits, the selection of these will be explained in *3.4.2: Population selection*

3.4.1 Site visits

In the first stage of this research, site visits are very important. This is because each place is visited to get an idea of how to approach the analysis. There are many advantages to visiting and assessing a place before setting it as a case for further research. Considering time limitations and necessary focus in case studies, collecting and analysing a satisfactory amount of data in any place may take several months (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2013). Researchers can set quantitative and qualitative criteria for narrowing down the cases to collect data at (Yin, 2003). A researcher selecting multiple cases, needs to select them so that they show either contrasting or similar data, at least for predictable reasons. As explained, the Achterhoek region is unique based on the demographic decline, and the ratio between protected buildings and conservation areas. This narrowed the selection of conservation areas down to seven out of over 450 Dutch conservation areas.

For a case study, even seven areas may take a lot of time. The cases for further research are not selected based on size, but on the qualities that make these areas special, and how pronounced their active roles are. These qualities are also found in the descriptions made for the initial proposal, all available in the archives of the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency. With fieldwork, I can assess the validity and significance of these described qualities. The visual aspects of conservation areas are important, and the spatial distribution makes it easy to visit the places in the span of a few days. These visits are intended to collect data and to get a personal sense of place of the conservation areas. Rather than pretending this subjective factor, sense of place, has no role in the research, it is documented through notes and pictures. When a decision cannot be made on the collected data alone, the choice can at least be accounted for by showing something compares to other conservation areas.

When using site visits as a method in research, this type of fieldwork needs to happen according to observation guides. Otherwise the results can vary between places in unintended ways. In this case, an observation guide is used with three topics. These three topics are the level of authenticity, the public-ness of the space and the function on first impression. In quick observations, all three of these speak for themselves. The level of authenticity is based on the perceived authenticity as described in 2.3. This is a quick way to see if visitors accept that it is presented as authentic or reject it. Some caution is required because a prepared researcher might perceive authenticity differently than a regular visitor. How this is done, can be found in Annex X.2 with the observation guide. The public-ness of the space depends on if the space is public, private or commercial. Finally, the function is as described in the theory chapter, if its functions are symbolic or socio-economic. Further, the observation guide is based on desk research, as will be explained in 3.3.2.

In total, there have been site visits to each of the seven conservation areas as seen in table 3.x. This table shows which places have been visited together and for which reason. This reason had to be additional to 'the same municipality', as that is only secondary to the region in this research. These are *Site visits A.* Any further observations took place in the areas selected after these visits.

Aalten and Bredevoort	They are close together
Laag-Keppel, Hummelo and Bronkhorst	Long distance, but follows a culturally significant north-south connection.
Mallumse Molen (Eibergen)	Observed as only area that day because of an event taking place at the location.
Gelselaar	Observed by itself because of its size.

The reliability of this type of data collection is ensured by taking and storing notes that may be requested. In the case of voice notes, they have been transcribed. Afterwards, the experience is documented digitally. Together with the many pictures that may be requested, they stay available for others to verify reasonings. All this becomes part of the case study database (Yin, 2003).

3.4.2 Desk Research, document analyses

Another major part of this research is the collection of data via desk research, namely both collecting and analysing several types of publications. For example, for the primary observations and the answer to the first research question is based on the collection of data on each conservation area through desk research, for instance by finding proposal documents, news articles and tourist publications. Each of these brings a different perspective on the conservation areas. The proposal documents are written to fully describe why an area needs this protection. These factors described are another part of the observation guides. When relevant, the differences between the situation and the proposal documents will be noted.

For answering other questions of this research, such as the policy situation, the collected documents can be analysed based on relevant factors. It can be possible that one document is analysed or at least read multiple times to answer different questions. A full list of used documents will be included in the list of sources and analysed documents will be stored to provide them when necessary. In both cases, systematic analysis based on relevant concepts is evident (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2016). In the end, looking at several groups of policy documents, and including variation within the group achieves triangulation throughout the research.

Archiving web pages

Another important point to ensure a reliability as high as possible, is the archiving of used web pages. This means there is 'proof' the used web page had the information at the time of access. As the Internet constantly changes, pages can change or go offline for any reason, but through archiving they stay available. Archiving is either done through dedicated services, or through locally storing the full information of the page. Others only include the date and exact link if pages are subject to change, but every page may change eventually. This extra step ensures future readers can reliably and directly access the information. Since all essential data is at least stored locally, they may also be requested if needed.

3.4.3 Interviews

Interviews are the third data source. They will be taken with several main actors in conservation areas. This is useful for learning more about experiences and opinions of people, when they can't be gathered elsewhere (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2016). The level of structure here determines if responses are comparable because of exact prepared questions, or if there is room for a dynamic and less predictable answers. Here, the goal is to compare and explore, so a combination of structured and semi-structured elements is used. The important questions have been prepared in detail, while the conversation also left room for follow-up questions around central themes. This fits with the explorative nature of the research (Creswell, 2013). Interview styles have affected results of research on conservation areas before (van der Drift & Derksen, 1985). A researcher that is too compassionate may get 'socially acceptable' answers about monuments, while a formal researcher might get answers that are inconclusive. It is important to stay in between the two. The interview guides have been based on theory and specific context; the main framework of the different interviews is included in the annexes.

Conducting and analysis

These interviews are conducted and analysed by the following steps. First, the interview guide would be fit specifically to the actors involved with the interview. This allows to ask about specific projects and experiences particular to the respondent. Then, as the preference for face-to-face interviews has been stated to the respondent, a suitable and preferably quiet location is found. For the interview itself, each interview has been recorded with given consent and stored securely. Any notes taken during the interview have been saved as soon as possible afterwards. This is useful in case there is some time between conducting and analysis (Creswell, 2013). In all cases, the interviews have been transcribed verbatim. The initial plan was to transcribe them only partially, but it turned out to be difficult to reliably choose aspects to transcribe. The reason was that it would add many hours of transcription to the research. Beforehand, there were some other possible safeguards for reliability, because the full interview would be transcribed anyway and notes would be taken during the interview (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017). From this expected work, a researcher could be deterred from going deeper into subject matter or show nonverbal signs that influence the conversation (Loubere, 2017). In the case of this research, those issues during the interview have been prevented because of *the prospect* of a partial transcript, while the reliability of the research is higher because of the final verbatim transcripts. Finally, this data is analysed together using Atlas.ti, which allows easy coding of different data types. First, the exact answers to the comparative questions are collected and coded, and then the further interview reports are used for analysis, based on the operationalised concepts. Through axial coding, a further analysis of the interview transcript that notes other notable issues, the interviews can be used to their fullest and a complete description of affairs is possible.

The added value of axial coding to the validity of the research is high, because it allows to take the most from the available interview data. Taking conclusions from this might affect the reliability, because it is researcher-dependent which statements and answers 'stand out' enough to code outside of the operationalised concepts.

Reliability and ethics

The most important safeguard to ensure reliability is the storage of recorded interviews (Loubere, 2017). As these will stay available, statements and conclusions can still be verified via recordings. Validity is ensured by reporting translations and some conclusions back to respondents, having them judge if it correctly conveys the meaning (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2016). Triangulation during the

interview can also help internal validity, by taking more notes of various things of importance such as attitudes of respondents and the environment (Loubere, 2017). Reflection shortly after attempts to achieve a "rigour of trustworthiness" (Chambers & Loubere, 2017, p. 39). Another aspect of triangulation is achieved by speaking with multiple different actors in an area to compare the answers of respondents.

On the level of research ethics, this is important as well. On one occasion, a personal invitation to a committee meeting could add a participant observation to the research, but as informed consent was not given, this would be a highly deceptive practice to include it anyhow. Further, the risk of harm is minimised by reviewing the interview and identifying statements that could be interpreted as harmful to a relationship between parties. To provide a reasonable level of anonymity, their roles have been referred to instead of the names. They are unique actors, so their role is relevant.

3.5 Selection of data sources

In case study research, the objects of interest can be selected on several scale levels. As a part of the iterative nature of this research, the *process* of selecting the CA's and the time it took to do this is also highlighted. They were selected after visiting every place.

3.5.1 The region and the conservation areas

As noted earlier, this research takes place in the Achterhoek region. While this choice is argued based on demographics, history and the amount of conservation areas, there is also easy access to the region. Nondigital information about local history is often very localised, as the own region has the biggest interest with keeping books and reports about the monuments available. Further, it was because of the geographic distance to this region that the way conservation areas are chosen is even possible. It is realistic to visit the conservation areas multiple times, if needed.

In total, three conservation areas are chosen as cases. These are selected based on two main factors, namely how pronounced their active roles are and the qualities that make the places special. How pronounced their active roles are translates to the selection of at least one conservation area that aligns with one of the four roles on initial observation. The further case study research is meant to see to which extent they have that role. The point of qualities that make the place special means that when one conservation area is chosen over another with the same role, this choice can be constructively argued for.

These conservation areas are '**De Mallumse Molen**' near Eibergen, **the city Bredevoort** and the **city Bronkhorst**. Each of them is situated in a different municipality. This way, all 'corners' of the Achterhoek can be represented. Each had an own main reason, that will be described in detail in later chapters. There is a large amount of variance between all these conservation areas. Mallumse Molen is a small conservation area that was selected because it looked like it had a locally oriented socio-economic role, Bredevoort is a small city that was selected because the place seemed to have a socio-economic role oriented more externally, and Bronkhorst was selected because many signs pointed towards an externally oriented symbolic role. While a solely symbolic internally oriented place has been left out of the research, it was expected after observations that all chosen conservation areas will have this role to some extent.

This method also has significant implications. Using a method where it is not initially clear where data will be gathered and who to speak to will mean the research takes more time than otherwise. Respondents can only be contacted when it is sure that they are relevant for one of the four conservation areas. In the case of policymakers, this is possible to do beforehand, as there are only

three municipalities with conservation areas. The chance is substantial that all these municipalities have a role in the research.

3.5.2 Selection and recruitment of respondents

In this research, there are three main groups of (human) actors. These are municipal, private and civic actors. They are significant in the research questions and are also the basis for selecting people to interview. People may be active in multiple groups. To ensure valid results, this was identified beforehand and there was a lot of attention to make clear which position their experiences applied to. Visitors are not included; it would not help answer the research question. They may also have limited experience with the site and be unrepresentative on their own.

Within every group, a profile was used to find the right respondents. They were used to contact directly and to inquire for fitting people via a snowball effect. This snowball effect was only used as a last resort, because otherwise it might mean you limit the search to a single network of likeminded people.

Experts on the municipal level were the starting point in each of the three municipalities with conservation areas. These had to be active in the fields of heritage and spatial planning, but also be able to share experiences with civic participation and depopulate, on policy.

- In each of the three municipalities with conservation areas, *at least one policy worker active in the fields of heritage and spatial planning* has been contacted personally. After explaining that the interview would also cover *experiences with depopulation policy and civic participation*, a second policy worker was included in the interview in Aalten. Selection took place before choosing conservation areas, data collection happened after.

Selection for local private and civic actors happened after choosing conservation areas. These people helped find the 'actual' roles for question 4. All of them were supposed to be able to talk about the roles of the place and about other actors around.

- The profile for private actors was to find the main owners and users who operate their business in this place and have built up experience over time. They work in the towns, but with a clear economic incentive. Selection concluded in three businesses in the hospitality sector.
- To provide a balance for their view, owners or groups with a more social or cultural incentive were also contacted. This group varied from a mill foundation to owners of art galleries. These were generally 'in between' the private and civic field.
- Thirdly, actual civic actors that could explain the view of residents were included. They were supposed to explain more about the interests of locals and how people use and care for the conservation area in their day-to-day life. Interest committees would fit, but hobby or sport clubs would represent the focus on locals also. All actors found represented a larger area, with the townscape as a major part of it.

There have also been several sets of policy documents that were needed for specific research questions. In the rest of the research, the bold words are used to refer to these groups.

- The first group of documents helped *to visualise the **regional** aspect* of heritage plans, depopulation policy and other structural plans. These are mainly important for chapter 5. They were found by identifying regional collaborations, provincial plans and overviews of policy situations included in spatial plans.
- The second group of documents is related to the ***listing** of conservation areas.* These are the official listing, the detailed explanation and the included maps. These were central to chapter 6 and answering research question 1.
    - Documents such as the local land-use plan and aesthetics plans are also used for this goal but cover a bigger area. These are mentioned by name when relevant. The questions used to analyse them are included in annex X.4.
- The third group is the set of ***general policy plans***, ranging through several sectors, to see whether the selected conservation areas are supposed to have a certain role. This helped answer research question 3A and 3B. Because of the diversity of plans that could be analysed, a detailed method is included in **annex x.3**.

3.6 Structure of data presentation

The research structure after this chapter may seem quite convoluted, because the scale levels change. This happens via a *funnel* method, where the most general information is described first, and the findings get more detailed later on in the research. To properly answer the research questions, there needs to be more context to the history of conservation areas and depopulation. This happens in ***chapter 4.*** Then, the depopulation policy and inclusion of heritage (*research question 2)* is the most general and needs to be described on a regional level in ***chapter 5.*** Then, all conservation areas of the region are described on a municipal and case level in ***chapter 6*** to answer the first research question. After this, ***chapter 7*** has the main 'results' and concerns both the intended roles (*question 3*) and the roles as found (*question 4)* in just three selected conservation areas. Then, after a short summary in ***chapter 8*** where the final question will also be reflected on, all that is left is a conclusion and reflections chapter.

Whenever there are parts of the method that are unique to one chapter, they will be reiterated in the introduction for that chapter.

Chapter 4: Context of conservation areas and depopulation

In this chapter, the basis of the research will be put into context. The background of appointing conservation areas and the background of depopulation in rural areas will be described here. After this, the research moves on to characterisation of depopulation policy in the Achterhoek over the years, which is one of the main research questions. By first describing these two phenomena in their context, the analysis will also become more understandable, as this research thesis may be the introduction to conservation areas to some readers.

4.1 Conservation areas: A history of central protection of cities and landscapes

The definition of cultural heritage has already been discussed in the theory chapter, as well as the changing perspectives on heritage. The theory chapter covered practice as far as it was related to theorised relationships. It touched upon the concept of spatial heritage, but less on what a conservation area is. This will be described with several examples. The chapter will start off with the years before the Monuments Act of 1961, when they were first included in Dutch law.

4.1.1 Before a law

Concerning heritage movements in the Netherlands, the Second World War was a large turning point for legal protection. When many historic buildings and neighbourhoods were destroyed to the point they either needed to be restored or replaced, it became clearer that there had to be national policy for how to deal with such questions (Kuipers & Polano, 1995). Reconstruction acts made during and after the war, as well as a temporary Monuments Act of 1950 would mostly give guidelines on how to deal with listed buildings (art 1 Tijdelijke Wet Monumentenzorg 1950). Listing refers to the process in the early 20th century where buildings of special note would be put on a municipal or provincial list by experts in the architectural field (Polano, 1997). While it was attempted to link this to the Housing Act (Woningwet) of that same time period, protection of buildings only happened on a local or even private level (Meurs, 2000; Renes, 2011a). Aesthetics committees working with new projects only had soft power and were not always involved (Commissie Welstand en Monumenten Gemeente Utrecht, 1993).

4.1.2 Monuments act

The early movements to work with urban heritage on a private level were based on a valued sense of character in the place (Wang, 2011; Janssen et al, 2017). There were only limited tools to keep this character against influences such as new architecture used for reconstruction or new housing, even replacing old neighbourhoods. As a response, the government introduced a new law that was meant to protect ensembles without completely blocking new developments.

The Monuments Act (Monumentenwet) of 1961 was the first instance conservation areas would be called as such in national law. These places were defined as *"groups of immovable objects, including trees, roads, streets, squares and bridges, canals, streams, ditches and other waters, that along with one or more connected listed buildings create an image of common interest because of its beauty or the character of the whole."* . Seen as an ensemble, they would fill a gap that could not be filled by listing buildings by themselves. Through this law, municipalities had to set up a protective land-use plan. Any new building activity would need a permit, and the secretary of cultural affairs would have

a final say. This final say was then consulted by a national monuments' council. The concept of conservation areas already existed, but this introduced a new form of centralised work (Prins, Habets & Timmer, 2014). The process the way listed buildings were protected, as the important qualities were supposed to be listed so municipalities could work with that decision. Permits had to be approved by the secretaries of cultural affairs and not denied haphazardly. This way, the place would not be frozen. In the years after that act, the conservation area instrument would be criticised as focusing too much on aesthetics instead of the structure, and freezing places in time. It turned out that the first batch of appointed towns and cities even reconstructed long lost features, which prompted 'museum'-critique (Luiten, 2011).

4.1.3 Monumentenwet 1988

The next law, and actually the law still in place is Monuments Act of 1988. The spatial aspects in this law are supposed to be replaced by the Omgevingswet, but until then the chapters on conservation areas are still in place (Eggenkamp, 2011a). The Monument Act of 1988 marks two major shifts in the thinking about listed buildings and protection (Prins, Habets & Timmer, 2014). In the first place, municipalities would receive more responsibilities, in particular the ability to grant permits concerning listed buildings. The national government would still list buildings and appoint conservation areas. The second major shift was a push towards appointing conservation areas based on the structural coherence. The aesthetic view had been too dominant, and a new definition would help shift the perspective. Instead of specific items such as bridges they were more general with immovable objects, and instead of character, the law referred to "*beauty, spatial or structural coherence, or scientific or cultural-historical value*". This actually fits the theorised shift of heritage as a factor in 2.1.2.

The Monument Inventory Project and the Monuments Selection Project are important as well (De Heer Koots-de Korte & de Vries, 2012). These two projects were initiated to get an overview of valuable places that from after 1850 and until 1940. Architecture and urban development from that period was 'old enough' to be valued in a historic sense and listed on a national scale, while still decentralised (Krabbe, 1997). In table 4.1. the peak in the early 1990s is high because of both the new law and these large-scale projects. Even during the project, people involved would reiterate that the visual and structural coherence, along with the recognisability of the development process were the major criteria for selecting new conservation areas (Feddes & Caspers, 1999). This shows that over the years, development processes would also become relevant for conservation area. The second project was meant to systematically select the places worth protecting. This was finished around 2005 and is also visible in table 4.1. A second reason could also be that from 2004 until 2007, the secretary of cultural affairs and education announced that they would not appoint new listed buildings (Tijdelijke beleidsregel aanwijzing beschermde monumenten 2006). A conservation area procedure could have been a plan B for protection.
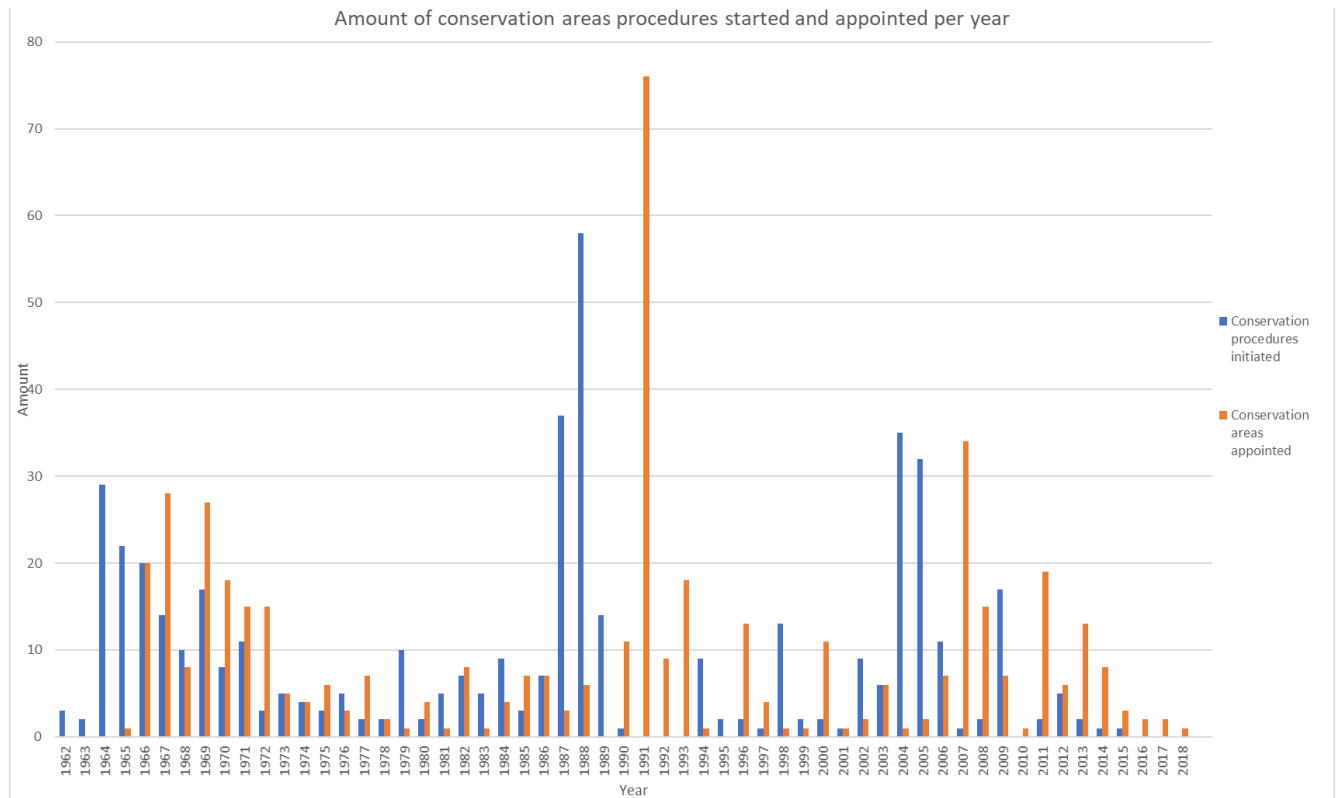
Figure 4.1. Source: Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2019.

The conservation area appointment procedures have all had a similar structure. The national institutions such as the ministries or department of cultural heritage are convinced of the value of a place, start a procedure drawing boundaries and list the boundaries, when a municipality has to include those values in the land-use plan (Meurs, 2011). Because of this, each appointment is supported by explanatory and map material and is made final by including it in land-use plans with specific functions or values (RCE, 2017). Because of the definition, there are several different types of conservation areas (Blom, 2012). You have conservation areas that value historic city centres, small towns where you see a specific development, and even conservation areas that focus on landscapes (Beek & van der Mark, 2009). The legal possibilities and the cultural meaning can have a similar value, but the actual protection can be different. That will be discussed later on in the research.

However, from 2012 onwards, the department of cultural heritage is not supposed to start any new procedures (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2009). Rather, municipalities should take care of it themselves and always involve cultural-historical values in the land-use plan. This means that municipalities either appoint their own municipal conservation areas (subject to similar land-use plan rules) or just work without protection.

In conclusion, conservation areas are, or were, an interesting tool to outline the significance of ensembles in towns and cities, and protecting them by including it in the land-use plan. Through the years, the definition to select a conservation area on has changed, but the coherence has always been an important factor. Still, from the beginning on, the actual intent was focused on the spatial structure and allowing future developments within a framework. The spirit behind conservation areas is bound to live on, connecting historically significant spatial structural values and local planning. The conservation areas that still exist can be examples for future initiatives and be a somewhat exhaustive list of important and coherent places reported over a span of 50 years.

4.2 Depopulation and its context

In this part of the chapter, the context of depopulation will be discussed. Because the concept of depopulation is definitely more popular in news than conservation areas, this will mostly be a basis for the analysis of depopulation policy in the Achterhoek region and the occurrence of conservation areas or even just cultural heritage in those policies. This has also been discussed thoroughly in the theory chapter, as depopulation is often explained through theory on decline.

Population decline in rural and urban areas can be found throughout history. Even the city of Rome lost a large share of its population in the late antiquity, and cities such as London and New York have experienced it more recently (Twine, 1992). For rural areas, Scotland used to be more densely populated in the 1800s than in 1950. Most of these places have also developed some sort of policy on it after recognising the negative implications. All of these places have their own story behind the declining population, as well as the areas that currently face depopulation (Hospers & Reverda, 2012). According to sociologists, the main issue for current demographics in 'the west' is that a peak is near (Bontje, 2010). A constantly declining natural growth observed in many westernised places would mean that any growth only comes from people moving between places. Many declining regions lose their youth to places with more opportunities, while the surplus of elderly is unsustainable.

Already in 1991, the Dutch national government had included 'population decrease' in the VINEX plans, because they recognised that a negative spiral of decline would hurt liveability (Janssen, Lammerts & Petit, 1999). The government promoted development plans that focused on the region and cooperation instead of on individual towns. Research on those subjects could receive financial support in the case it did not fit with existing policy. After that however, these plans did not turn out to serve as a basis for policy in the late 2000s. Up until 2007, the Dutch Planning Bureau for the Living Environment, played down the effects of population decline (van Dam & van den Bosch, 2007). This same bureau would later have an active role in setting up policy. This issue was the reason for, among others, Hospers (2012) and Verwest & van Dam (2010) to promote the idea of *four* types of policy on population decline. Ignoring it was not seen as any type of policy.

- The first step was **playing the issue down**. This was even explained as harmful, because it would not create a feeling of urgency to act and would set any change in motion too late.
- The second step was **attempting to combat depopulation**. Most policy until 2009 was aimed at this, until other courses of actions were promoted. The idea was that if you only solve the effects, the source of problems would still exist. Experience and research have proven that fully stopping the source of problems, people that leave the area, was not realistically possible.
- After this, the third step was **guiding depopulation**. Municipalities and regions were motivated to work in ways that would soften the issue or have it happen in the way the municipality wanted to. For example, if all hospitals around have hard times, you'd rather have the most central one survive.
- The final possibility was **utilising depopulation**. This was not yet named in Verwest & van Dam (2010), but would in Hospers (2012). Depopulation would lead to a new situation that brings new ways of making policy that is beneficial for the region. Municipalities are more allowed to take chances, experiment and have more opportunities to do so.

Chapter 5: Depopulation policy in the Achterhoek

Four time periods in depopulation policy for the Achterhoek can be identified. These periods are the time before 2009, 2009 - 2012, 2012 - 2016, and from 2016 onwards. Each period will be shortly discussed and characterised. In the table below you can see which municipality added what to the regional growth. The reason the characterising is more than just describing the current situation is that all policy that is now effective on depopulation is based on a path-dependency of more than a decade. This is useful for understanding why heritage is the current situation.

While the goal of this research is not to identify the depopulation trends in the Achterhoek, it turned out to be beneficial to apply own calculations for looking at the situation. As you can see on this first graph, the two major growing regions since 2016 are Montferland and Doetinchem. In some months of the last few year, Montferland accounts for almost all growth in the municipalities together since 2013. This may also be a background reason for why this municipality in particular left the cooperative of depopulating areas in 2016. Since then, Montferland did not have to comply with rules regarding new building projects. The data used dates back to 2001, but most of the municipalities only exist since around 2006. By combining the data on the municipalities that made up the current ones, the interesting trend of declining growth since 2002 became visible.
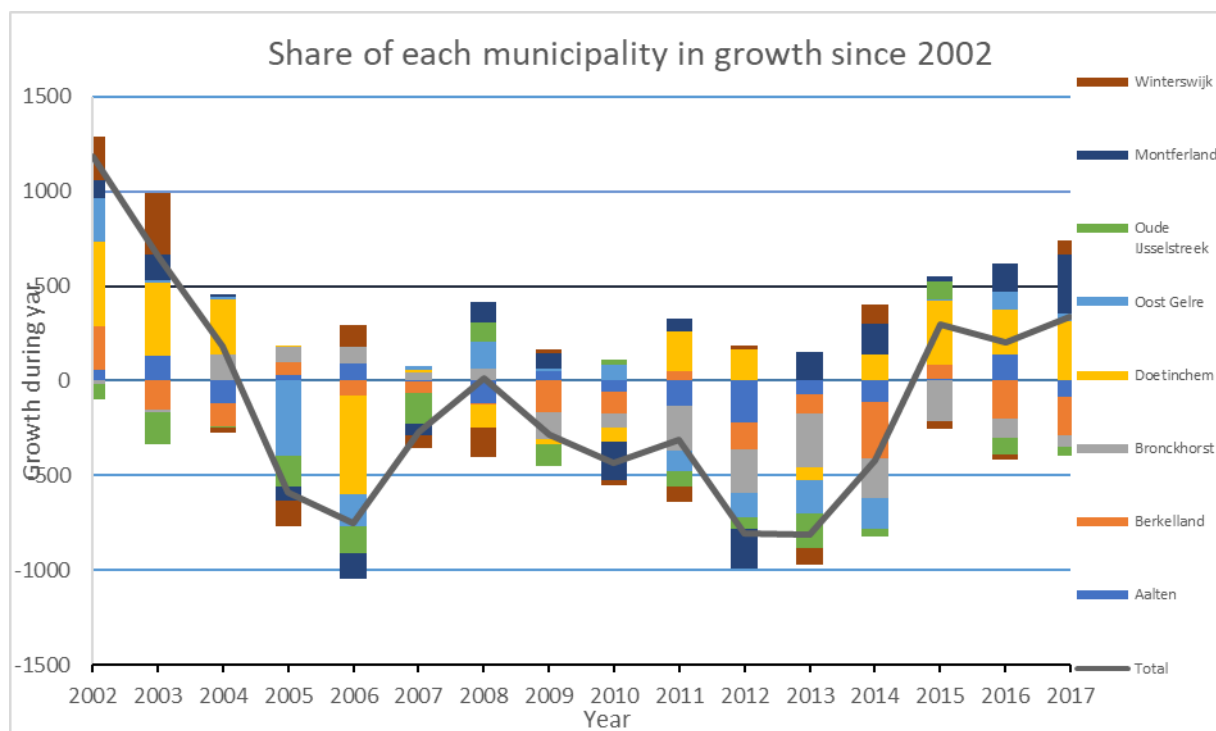
Figure 5.1. Share of each municipality in growth since 2002. Data: CBS, 2019.

5.1 Before 2009

5.1.1 Characterising the period

The time period before 2009 has a slow realisation that *growth* is declining. There was no national policy on depopulation yet, but there are some examples of regional experiments on depopulation (Verwest, Sorel & Buitelaar, 2008; BZK, 2009). Municipalities would either deny the extent of depopulation, or believe they could stop the process with simple policies (Visscher, 2013; Hospers,

2012). As it turned out, attempts to end population decline were often unsuccessful (Raad voor het Landelijk Gebied, 2009). It was difficult to accept this, and up until then, there were only few funds available to at least experiment (Verwest & van Dam, 2010). The national government was accused of neglecting the rural regions and causing this decline (van Mook, 2010). For the Achterhoek it is interesting to note that on a provincial level, Gelderland appointed large zones for new housing developments in 2005. On the local level, strategies to be 'futureproof' started to appear, also in the Achterhoek (Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2008). They would generally realise funds were declining.

5.1.2 Heritage in this period

In this period, heritage projects were mainly organised on a local level. For example, the 'Blijvend Bronckhorst plan from 2008 would list many cultural processes as opportunities to work with and help the municipality. An active role for monuments, the cultural heritage, or the conservation areas would not yet be a factor.

5.2 Between 2009 and 2012

5.2.1 Characterising the period

This period can be described shortly, as it was a period of rapid action. Because the first effects of depopulation went along with the economic recession, a cooperation between eight municipalities in the Achterhoek was set up (Regio Achterhoek, 2011a; Regio Achterhoek 2011b). After December 2009, depopulation was introduced on a national level and thus generally accepted (BZK, VNG & IPO, 2009; BZK, 2016). Apparently, a visit to a different cooperating region, Parkstad Limburg, was the catalyst for finding an effective direction (Mudde, 2011). Parkstad Limburg was generally seen as a *best example*, and many aspects are applied in the Achterhoek as well (Verwest, Sorel & Buitelaar, 2008; Verwest & van Dam, 2010; Nicis Institute, 2009). In these years, depopulation policy was just being created, and found a small, but significant way into spatial policy (Gemeente Aalten, 2011a; Atelier Rijksbouwmeester, 2012; Boers, Fokkema & van Rijswijk, 2010). The cooperating municipalities agreed to a regional housing vision, that would limit new housing plans based on prognoses from around 2010. After accepting that most policy had been made based on too positive expectations, they worked with, according to them, more realistic ones (Manshanden, 2014). This can be seen as 'supporting' the region during depopulation. They at least set limits to the extent of future damages. With less new housing, there will also be less vacancy in the future (AWLO, 2013).

5.2.2 Heritage in this period

In this period, heritage would be a point of discussion, but it would generally be listed under the list of things municipalities dial down on. Just like other services no longer supported by the municipalities, such as parks and swimming pools, the care of heritage was planned to be left to the private sector. This was mostly decided on a local, decentralised level (Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2010). If people wanted to take care of their conservation area, like in Bronkhorst or Bredevoort, they had to become active themselves (Boessenkool, Koelman, den Hengel & Snels, 2010). Municipalities were more open to new ideas.

Figure 5.2 *New houses in Gelselaar, a conservation area that had to lower development plans*

5.3. 2012 to 2016

5.3.1 Characterising the period

The third period is between 2012 and 2016. The beginning of the period is marked by the first Achterhoek 2020 plan, which added active policies and plans to the limits on new housing (Regio Achterhoek, 2012). Putting limits on new housing would achieve that goal of less future vacancy, but was received with criticism and the idea that it would hinder future growth (Haggeman, 2018; Regio Achterhoek, 2014). After a covenant was signed in late 2011, creating a regional board of municipalities, entrepreneurs and civil society with acting power, the region committed itself to finding new solutions (Regio Achterhoek, 2011). The Achterhoek board started advocating even more cooperation on large-scale plans (Regio Achterhoek, 2012, p. 4). They would structure the activities on four workplaces, as seen in the following table. The relevant actors would cooperate to create projects that fit one of the workplaces.

Innovative and durable economy (*innovatieve & duurzame economie*)	A focus on employment opportunities in innovation and green energy, by re-skilling and additional education.
Vital living environment (*Vitale leefomgeving*)	Making sure that all vital local services are accessible, including education, sport, culture, community and health.
Smart and quick connections (*Slim en snel verbinden*)	Finishing up many major infrastructural networks. This includes roads & highways, digital connections and public transportation such as bus and railroads.
Rural chances (Kansrijk platteland)	The rural chances field was based on utilising economic developments and the effects of climate change. The values had to be preserved and be attractive for living and recreation.

The interpretation of vital community services was different from place to place. For example, the municipality Bronckhorst decided to scale down on the amount of municipal pools and other amenities back from at least for to one (Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2011). The 'released' amenities had to be picked up by local initiatives or commercial ventures (Reitsema, 2017). The workplace 'Rural Chances' is particularly interesting. The workplace initiated a research on the most important developments and chances for the rural areas in the region (Bregman, Oosterbaan, Fontein & van Doorn, 2013). In that research, it was concluded that the landscape and tourism is more relevant to the Achterhoek economy and employment than agriculture. Even in the heritage nota of 2017, made by three of the cooperating municipalities, these same values are included. In the spirit of characterising depopulation policy, this fits 'depopulation as an opportunity' best, whereas other workplaces still mainly soften the effects of depopulation.

5.3.2 Heritage in this period

The description of 'rural chances' above shows that heritage found its dedicated role in projects regarding the rural values of the region. This was both a way of bringing in new visitors and of further reinforcing the local identity. Tourism as a sector had chances to grow, while farming continued to offer fewer jobs over time. For each conservation area in this research, even the ones that cover only the 'urbanised' area, there were projects and policies meant to have people 'experience' some rurality. Annex X.6 shows that during this period and the years after, rurality had become a part of new projects, or at least in the planning phase. The examples of rurality are juxtaposed with non-rural aspects of the same or other major projects. This allows the reader to assess the situation for themselves. The most interesting examples are those with 'rural land' inside the conservation area, because projects here might utilise multiple aspects.

Also relevant to heritage and depopulation in this period is how Gelselaar became a conservation area in 2013 (RCE, 2013). The extents of the plan will be discussed in a later chapter, but depopulation policy seemed to have had no strong effect on the plan. Only when they noted that the town wasn't expected to develop spatially or economically, this could have been related to depopulation processes. The rural identity did become a major aspect in development as a conservation area towards visitors. According to an interview with a policymaker in this municipality, multifunctional use of the heritage that was left was an important plan of the new town visions.

5.4 After 2016

5.4.1 Characterising the period

The final period is after 2016, when the *Uitvoeringsagenda 2.0* was published. This new agenda would keep the idea that many different projects were ineffective, but turn it into many projects in a single theme. This structure would allow a more goal-oriented approach and still allow nearly fifty projects to fit under this umbrella (Regio Achterhoek, 2018). The specific focus was on smart industries and used the three themes working, living and accessibility (Regio Achterhoek, 2016a). That focus meant that the whole theme of rural chances had disappeared from the programme. The focus on smart industries was chosen because regional development is supposed to work better with an economic cluster (Visser & Linnenbank, 2017). All theories on economic development and clusters apply here. These have not been a key part of the research, but background information is that clusters can shape when there are lots of businesses that need each other. Forming clusters is a way to get a 'positive spiral' instead of only decline, but top-down policy for making clusters is controversial. The reasoning from the regional board was that because the economic score was not

as high as the cultural score, the first one would be the instrument to help the region grow (Regio Achterhoek, 2016c).

Among several responses, Oude IJsselstreek noted that landscape was missing in perspective with tourism (Regio Achterhoek, 2016d). The region board explicitly explained that while attention to these qualities is important to the region, it would have no role in their policy, they rather focused on new forms of recreation. Since data collection on this time period started, the character of the regional actor has changed significantly. The group that used to work with making policy that brought decisions to a cooperation between municipalities is now more a lobbying party (Achterhoek Board, 2018). Still, the agreements made between municipalities have led to a common view on population decline, and the municipalities are probably still facing the same issues. If you see it as attempting completely new directions because 'the time is ripe', this might be utilising population decline. However, with the premise of a cluster that can change the economic and demographic issues the region is facing, the current regional approach seems to be back to playing it down.

5.4.2 Heritage in this period

In this period, municipalities are interested in assessing the qualities of their heritage, and work together with owners of heritage sites (Gemeente Berkelland, 2017a). Even while the depopulation policy might have lost the single aspect that connected it to heritage (except for available housing), it still happens on a decentralised scale. For example, all of the municipalities that have conservation areas have invested time and efforts into making the places look better. The idea that it would only be left to the local communities has been adjusted. Dependent on the municipality, they are even specifically looking at uses that can help the conservation area in particular be more durable.

The interviews have made clear that for many heritage workers, depopulation is still only significant in the light of housing stops (MunicipalBronckhorst, personal communication 29 October 2018). They get approached when people want to redevelop an old barn into a living accommodation, but can't allow it on the premise of the agreement made in 2010. In this respect, the municipalities are more cooperative with looking for any other ways to prevent demolition. This attitude includes funding new and creative plans, as long as they do not include housing. Other researchers have had similar findings, where the biggest issue seemed to be little experience with limits to new housing projects.

Depopulation issues have also been mentioned in the heritage policies of Aalten (Aalten, 2017). They even referred to the possible roles of heritage, but left the actual characterisation up to interpretation. This shows that municipalities, even on their own, have started to look at options outside of just smart technologies. Some other 'active' heritage projects are still undertaken on a regional level, the Cultuur & Erfgoedpact Achterhoek (2017) works with tourism, heritage and participation, but included innovation to fit with the goals of Achterhoek 2020.

5.5 Conclusion:

This chapter has been a concise characterisation of the depopulation policies and issues in the Achterhoek, and the ways these are connected to heritage. The goal of the chapter was to show how the developments in depopulation policy might have also featured heritage. While the findings were limited, the results will be useful in the rest of this thesis. Of course, depopulation can be a factor in other policies, and there are also moments when sudden issues such as vacancy 'pop up' and require adequate solutions. Those situations will be described in further chapters, such as when explaining the general situation regarding protection in all conservation areas, and with the results of looking at policy on functions and target groups in the conservation areas.

Chapter 6: The conservation areas of the region

6.1 Introduction and detailed methods

Here, the general situation concerning protection and conservation of the CA's in the Achterhoek will be described. Protection and conservation are separate concepts. Protection concerns the instruments used to stop whatever threatens the heritage, while conservation refers to the end result of everything together, such as changed authenticity and the amount of development since appointing it as a conservation area.

The data collection for this chapter has been described already. The structure of this chapter will be the same for each municipality. First a detailed description of the municipal situation will be used as a way to provide some context to why a town developed a certain way and can be relevant for several conservation areas. After that, the initial applications and the listed qualities will be described for each conservation area, the other forms of protection will be listed, and it will be concluded with a description of changes on the map and during site visits. Each municipal chapter will end with an overview of the provisions in the land-use plan that affect the area.

6.2 Municipality Aalten

Historically, the first municipality in the region with a conservation area is Aalten. Aalten has over fifty years of experience working with the town centre being a protected site. Because of that, this municipality is the first of three that will be discussed for the situation regarding protection and conservation of the conservation areas. This eastern municipality measures around 9.708 hectare, which is close to the average for Gelderland (CBS, 2017). Its population is below average, in 2017 the population across 10 towns was 27.073, which is down almost 500 since 2010. It is consistently below 27.600, making it currently the lowest in the region. In the 1960's, Prof. ir. Jac Thijsse expected Aalten and Winterswijk to grow together to one large urban area, fig 6.1 shows it has not happened.

The last time Aalten grew significantly as a municipality was when Aalten merged with Dinxperlo, which added nearly 40% in population. Identity-wise, the two previous municipalities are still far apart from each other. In 2018, the new major observed that it was a sensitive subject to even call people in Dinxperlo 'Aaltenaar' (Harfsterkamp, 2019). Policy-wise however, both the conservation areas have been in the same municipality Aalten since they were appointed. Relative to the size of both municipalities, Aalten also has much more listed buildings than Dinxperlo. Over 80% of municipally listed and over 75% of the nationally listed buildings and sites are in the original municipality Aalten (Gemeente Aalten, 2019, RCE, 2019). Instead of political reasons, Aalten is just bigger and Dinxperlo was heavily damaged during WWII. The implications for heritage policy could be that *Aalten* and *Bredevoort* as conservation areas can experience difficulties for totem pole functions for the municipality as a whole. This will be elaborated later in the research.

What they already had in common before merging is their shared border with Germany. From the market square in Aalten, the distance to the large German city Bocholt under 9 km. This is closer than Dutch 'central places' such as Winterswijk and Doetinchem. Understandably, the history of this region crosses borders, especially in the middle ages when Bredevoort grew as a castle city. On the level of connections, there are important roads on a north/south axis and an east/west axis, both of which eventually cross into Germany in the directions of Düsseldorf and Münster. The most significant river or stream in the municipality is the Slinge, which mostly provided tactical advantages (RDMZ, 1982) Aalten is also the second-to-last stop on the single-track train between Arnhem and Winterswijk.
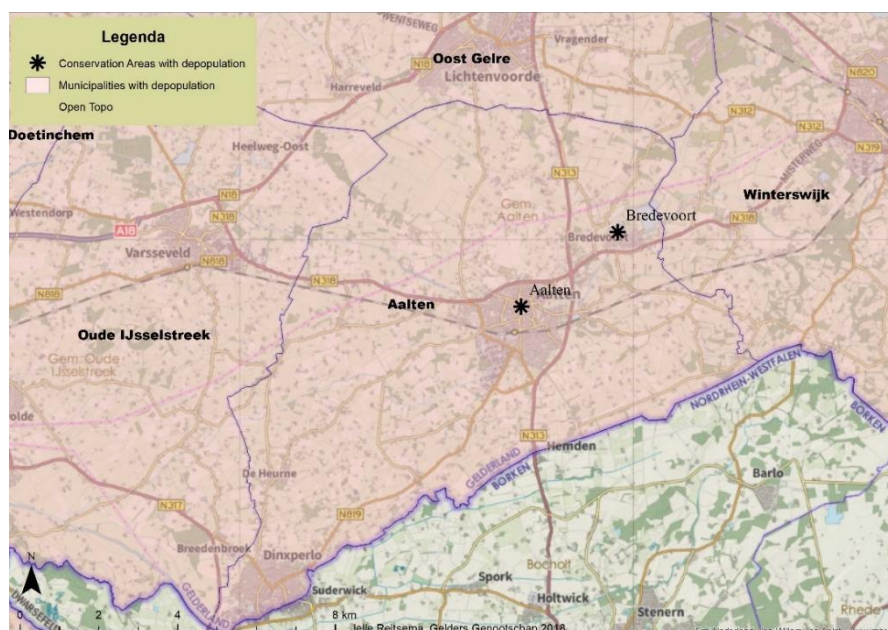
Fig 6.1: Aalten and the two CA's marked. Source: RCE & J.W. van Aalst, opentopo.nl

6.2.1 Aalten

Here, only the market square with height differences is protected. The perspective they create means you quickly notice the church is a focal point, as long as you are on the square. A multitude of functions is found here, such as restaurants, offices and museums. Everyone has their own reason to visit the square. While the place has changed over the past decades, they are made to highlight what already made the place special.

Listing

The market square of Aalten is the first conservation area appointed in the Achterhoek region in 1966 (RDMZ, 1966). The conservation area is compact and limited to the space around the square, which means that it was possible for the description to explain nearly every decision in under two pages. The reasoning for protecting only the square was that the buildings around it were 'heavily modernised'. Summarised, these are the listed qualities:

- The positioning of the square relative to the church and the streets around it
- The height differences that make the church stand out
- The authentic facades that fit well with the church

The church is a focal point in the listing, but more interesting is that even material authenticity was considered for listing what essentially is 'a view'. Also, there were clear comments on the functional authenticity in the listing, new stores would hurt the character of the area.

Other forms of protection:

Most of the buildings on this square are also listed on a national level or on a municipal level. The only group of buildings that is not protected, is the block east to the church. It is unclear why these were included in the area, but other buildings were not. A possible reason could be that the height differences are more visible here.

There is even a level of protection for the large tree on this square, which is also included in the original map but poorly visible on this overlay. The permit process for cutting down the trees here is much stricter than elsewhere. This is also included in the land-use plan.

Fig 6.2 (top): The view from the church on the square and the protected tree (own image)
Fig 6.3 (bottom): The view on four unlisted buildings in the south-east of the CA (own image)

Current situation

On a map view, almost nothing has changed except for one new building in the most north-east corner of the area. This is a part of the museum, and is not visible from the square. The market square has since been redecorated, but these redecorations 'work' in line with the described qualities. A quick look at Google Street View images from 2009 show that this redecoration changed the cobblestone on the square to different bricks, which not only accentuated the height differences, but also created a visible 'road' across the square. The only major change a visitor would not notice is that an architecturally contrasting building in the top left corner has been completely rebuilt to fit better on the square.

On the level of *functional* authenticity, there are now modern stores and tourist information on the square. This goes directly against the point of preventing modern storefronts north of the square. The comment on how it would hurt the historic aspect of the market was also how I experienced it as a visitor, the large glass façade and colourful advertising of a clothing store form a contrast with the rest. While the restaurants on the square also use modern advertising, the colours they use are less bright.

Fig 6.4: Map of Aalten, with the original map used in listing as a purple-dyed overlay (Source for aerial photograph: Open data Esri, Source for overlay: Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, 1966)

6.2.2 Bredevoort

Throughout the region, Bredevoort is promoted as a city for bookstores and antiques. The conservation area is large, but leaves out newer parts of the city. When you walk around, you might see the city as three parts: an area around the main square, the remnants of city walls to the north, and old roads. Around the square, you find the 'famous' bookstores, the city walls are a quiet area created by the local community, and the old roads are diverse but homely.

Figure 6.5: The park in Bredevoort that uses paths to accentuate the old city walls. Own image, 2018

Listing

The conservation area Bredevoort is the most populated and densely built of the region. In this short overview, not every building can be described. The initial application is very thorough and uses the historic description of the conservation area to connect it to spatial developments. With any event, they explain what this meant for how the structure of the city changed. Because of this, the growth from single castle to compact city can be followed (RMDZ, 1982). Up until the application, the spatial background of most buildings is described here, resulting in a detailed description of the qualities of the city. The basics of the application document is that the city, at the time, could be divided into three parts, which are as follows:

- The old city centre, with a typical road pattern and types of buildings. The seemingly random positioning of the buildings is also noted.
- The large city square and newer buildings that fit well with the historic architecture, that is special because there are visible traces in public space that show the size of the old castle
- The remains of the old city walls in the north west of the city.

The interesting part about this listing is that this is one of the few that do not immediately attach the inherent value of the place to authenticity. There are many reconstruction era houses in the city, but because they are architecturally connected to the existing old housing and the old road patterns were respected, there is no enclave-style conservation area with just the old buildings. In the context of the history of the area and its vicinity to the border, it makes sense that buildings had to be rebuilt after WWII. Concerning the implication of appointing a conservation area, this meant that even the newer buildings would be protected.

Other forms of protection

The amount of listed buildings is in line with the three different parts, only in the old city centre, most buildings are listed on municipal and national levels. The municipality uses a tertiary list of 'characteristic buildings', that imply a protection of the façade or at least the general look. This list is accompanied by images of these buildings. All of them have a special listing in the land-use plan.

Current situation

On the level of changes on the map and conservation since then, the situation is difficult to assess because the map that belonged to the listing was unavailable when making comparative maps. Other maps of that time do not show enough detail in order to compare the situation after several decades. Figure 6.6, the closest possibility to visualise the changes, shows not much has changed on a

structural level. The three listed areas all still have their qualities, most notably the 'random' distribution of distance to the road. This is much more uniform outside of the conservation area.

The several site visits to Bredevoort have also helped to get a 'feeling' of how Bredevoort has developed since. Just as on the map, the *ensemble authenticity* is strong. The buildings fit together in the same way they were initially described. One remark here should be that some buildings, while recognisably 'new', still fit within the whole. This might be different for other visitors, as I knew this was mentioned in the listing. The *functional authenticity*, concerning how the place is used, is largely incomparable to the 1986 situation. The interviews have made clear that the many bookstores and hotels were only developed in the early 1990's. Many buildings were remodelled inside because they were not listed. The Slingeplas, which was initially a water storage site but would be used recreationally, was also new. Finally, the fortress park in the third described area might 'reinterpret' the park function, but the dotted lines were already some sort of footpath.

Figure 6.6: Modern admin. borders on top of a 1987 map of Bredevoort.

Source: City plan 1987, Esri, 2019 ; Admin borders: Kadaster, 2019

6.2.3 Protection in land-use plans and aesthetics rules

A large part of the research for this chapter has been the analysis of the protection of listed values in the land-use plans and other related rules. This part is done separately from the rest, as the land-use plans of different towns in a single municipality are often connected, which would mean redundant efforts. In Aalten, the land-use plans for the two conservation areas are not directly connected. They have been made in the same 'renewal track' and by the same company, but there can be some differences between the two. In both land-use plans, the conservation area is just a small part of it.

The land-use plan: Aalten

In Aalten, nearly all of the listed values are also included in the land-use plan (Gemeente Aalten, 2011a) The explanation attached to the plan refers to the conservation area as a driving factor for the part of the town they refer to as the historic centre. The height differences are reinforced in this plan, the rules refer to and include detailed images for the façades at the conservation area, and the exact positioning is also ensured in the land-use plan. All buildings that are not listed as monuments, are listed as characteristic and also get a higher level of protection. The buildings are both protected on the highest possible archaeological level as well as having an individual rules concerning location, shape of the roof, and the size. The limits of where a building can expand in the area nearly follow the direct shape of the existing building.

The aesthetics rules: Aalten

The historic centre of Aalten has a dedicated aesthetics plan, which refers back to the land-use plan and made by the same company (Gemeente Aalten, 2011a). In essence, these rules say that new projects can have their own 'identity', but will be assessed on an individual level. In this case, since they refer back to the land-use plan and the land-use plan is very detailed on what can possibly be done on the square, the level of conservation will probably be very high.

The land-use plan: Bredevoort

The land-use situation for Bredevoort is interesting (Gemeente Aalten, 2013a). On top of the listed values that apply for the entire conservation area, the land-use plan also introduces some functions and values that only occur in the conservation area. Any building listed as a characteristic building has a special designation that makes sure people with plans are first referred to the nota. It seems to be common for this conservation area that plans in public space have very detailed rules. This makes sure that the proposed plan for the fortress park would be seen as the new 'status quo' and any changes would need a permit as well. This is what most of the land-use plan of Bredevoort comes down to: in terms of the view, the status quo is maintained. In terms of functions, a lot is possible. Even in buildings with the housing function, people can set up a small shop. These rules on the functions are 'nudging' people towards a cultural theme, but whether they would stop a different shop is not sure. A significant difference between Bredevoort and Aalten is that in Bredevoort, the original document used for the listing is included as an annex there, making them more connected.

The aesthetics rules: Bredevoort

It is not necessary to say what has already been said for Aalten (Gemeente Aalten, 2010a). The only difference between the two is that for Bredevoort, the historic and spatial description is not just a reference to the land-use plan, but lists specific values as well as referring to the conservation area listing. This is because the land-use plan is made much later than the aesthetics rules, so the main difference is the timeline. When the land-use plan is taken into account as well, the rules are just as tailor-made as for Aalten.

6.3 Municipality Bronckhorst

In Bronckhorst, three conservation areas can be found. At around 28.643 hectare it is considered one of the largest municipalities of the Netherlands and the largest in the region. The municipality has around 44 towns, which have a cumulative population of 36.347 in 2017. Each of these towns has their own development history, community and a reason to identify as a separate town. There are no other rural municipalities with as much villages as Bronckhorst. As the conservation areas are found in small towns as well, this point is relevant to the research as well. When dividing their attention across many villages, the conservation areas stand out because of the legal implications of the protection. This will become clear through the analysis of the current situation regarding protection and conservation in Bronckhorst.

The municipality itself is quite young. In 2005, the municipalities Hummelo & Keppel'. 'Vorden', 'Steenderen', 'Hengelo', and 'Zelhem' merged, which meant there were many incongruent policies in the first few years. The expertise on working with *Bronkhorst* might have been different from the expertise on working with *Hummelo*. The municipalities all developed in different ways, and had their own public facilities such as pools and town halls. Some municipalities had growing industries, others had large estates and influential land-owners. To understand the context of the initial listing, this is very important. In some cases, this is also important for understanding why conservation areas are protected differently.

In the Achterhoek, Bronckhorst is the westernmost depopulating municipality. The IJssel river is a natural western border, and borders eight different municipalities at the other sides. The Oude IJssel (Old IJssel) is an important waterway for the historic development of many towns. This river allowed industry to develop and offered tactical advantages on an east-west axis. From north to south, the most significant connection is the road from Zutphen to Emmerich am Rhein. This road has a part in the development story of all three conservation areas. Finally, there is one northern railway station on the line between Zutphen and Winterswijk near Germany, but stations in other municipalities are often much closer. Between the conservation areas, the connections are poor, it is faster to cycle from Bronkhorst to Hummelo than to take public transportation.
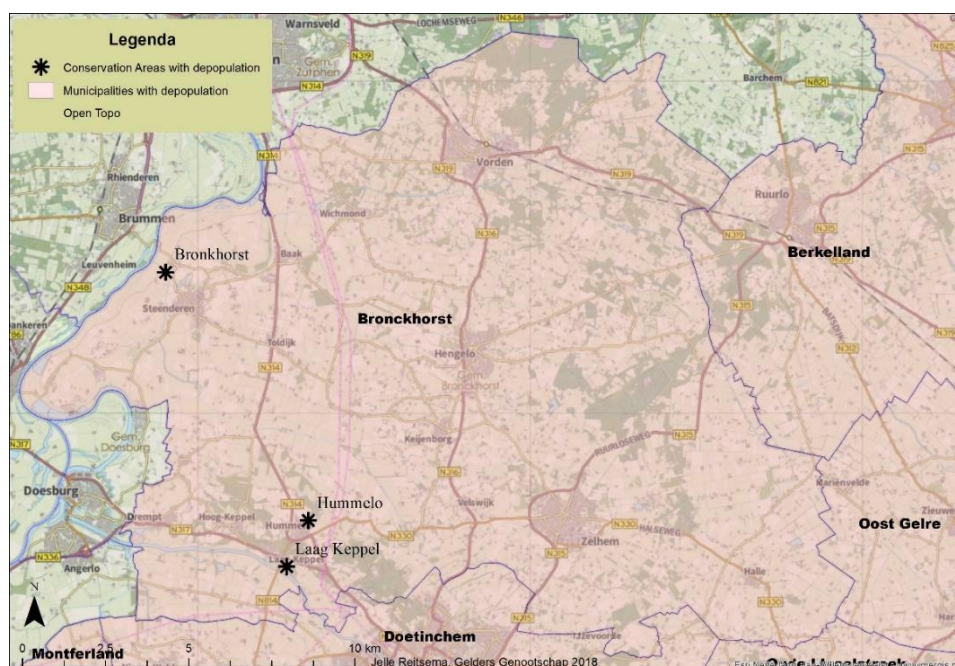

Figure 6.7: Map of Bronckhorst with Hummelo, Bronkhorst, and Laag-Keppel marked.

Source: RCE & J.W. van Aalst, www.opentopo.nl

6.3.1 Bronkhorst

Bronkhorst is a very small city between Arnhem and Zutphen on the IJssel river. From almost any spot in the city, a visitor is able to see the wide grazing fields, which are also included within the limits of the conservation area. The city is known as 'the smallest city in the Netherlands' and is also the largest conservation area of the region. The exact size is 179,3 ha, but only 9,1 ha of this is the city itself. The core point in the development history is the elevated castle of the lords of Bronckhorst, on a strategic point near the IJssel river. The town that grew around it received city rights in the 15th century, but did not grow much afterwards and is also marked by several destructive events that mean many old structures have been rebuilt out of necessity. The fact that many current businesses have only recently settled, shows that development still happens.

Listing

Logically, after the buildings were listed, rebuilding changed to restoring. One notable period of restoring was in the 1960s, which lead up to the appointment as a conservation area in 1971 (RDMZ, 1971). Initially, publications noted that many buildings in Bronkhorst, while protected and old, were also poorly cared for (Algemeen Handelsblad, 1961). In that same article, the author went on to predict correctly that this would be the most renovated town in a decade. Bosch (1961) explained how most of these renovations were to increase basic living comfort, including plumbing, isolation and electricity. This shows that while it had an inherent value, the town was only listed after a period of reappreciation and restoration. During the interviews and in private conversations with people in the town, it became clear that people felt that on the outside, only minor things had changed since (Erfgoedinspectie / Monumenten, 2009).

The listing included two categories of qualities

- Urban qualities
  - The types of buildings and their shapes, façades and materials that tell a story
  - The structure of the roads that follow the historic patterns
  - The plants in the city and how you can easily recognise that this is a 'rural' city.
- Rural qualities
  - The open, picturesque view with an 'untarnished background'
  - The old mill far from the town

Exactly those rural qualities would determine the size of the conservation area, because this was the only way to conserve it. Figure 6.7 already shows how Steenderen developed almost up to the borders of the conservation area Bronkhorst.

Other forms of protection

Whenever it is relevant, the other forms of protection are discussed separately. For Bronkhorst it is interesting that almost all of the nationally listed buildings were listed in the same year, 1966. Possibly, they were listed before, but only included in the register at that time. This is because Bosch (1961) already points out that the buildings were protected in The Hague. Currently, nearly all buildings that are not nationally listed are listed on a municipal level.

Current situation

Inside the town, as already noted when discussing how people felt about the city during interviews, not much seems to have changed. The map does show that many smaller lots have been combined into single agricultural fields. These property lines would have been visible in the landscape and are not anymore. Interestingly, the pumping station that was noted as a dissonant has been conserved and is now listed on a municipal level.

Reading the listing was not necessary to learn about the listed qualities of the town, since all of them are described on site or obviously visible. There are many spots between the houses where you can see the surroundings very well and notice the elevated position. Only the castle hill and even the 'dissonant' (as described in the original listing) pumping station are somewhat 'hidden' then you visit the town from the east, as opposed to how it was described in the listing. From the IJssel river however, these two aspects are the first you notice. The pumping station is now a café with tourist information and the castle hill has a scale model with information about the castle. Everything in this town feels authentic and looks well-maintained. Only the visible interior from 'De Gouden Leeuw' looks recent, but this does not feel out of place.
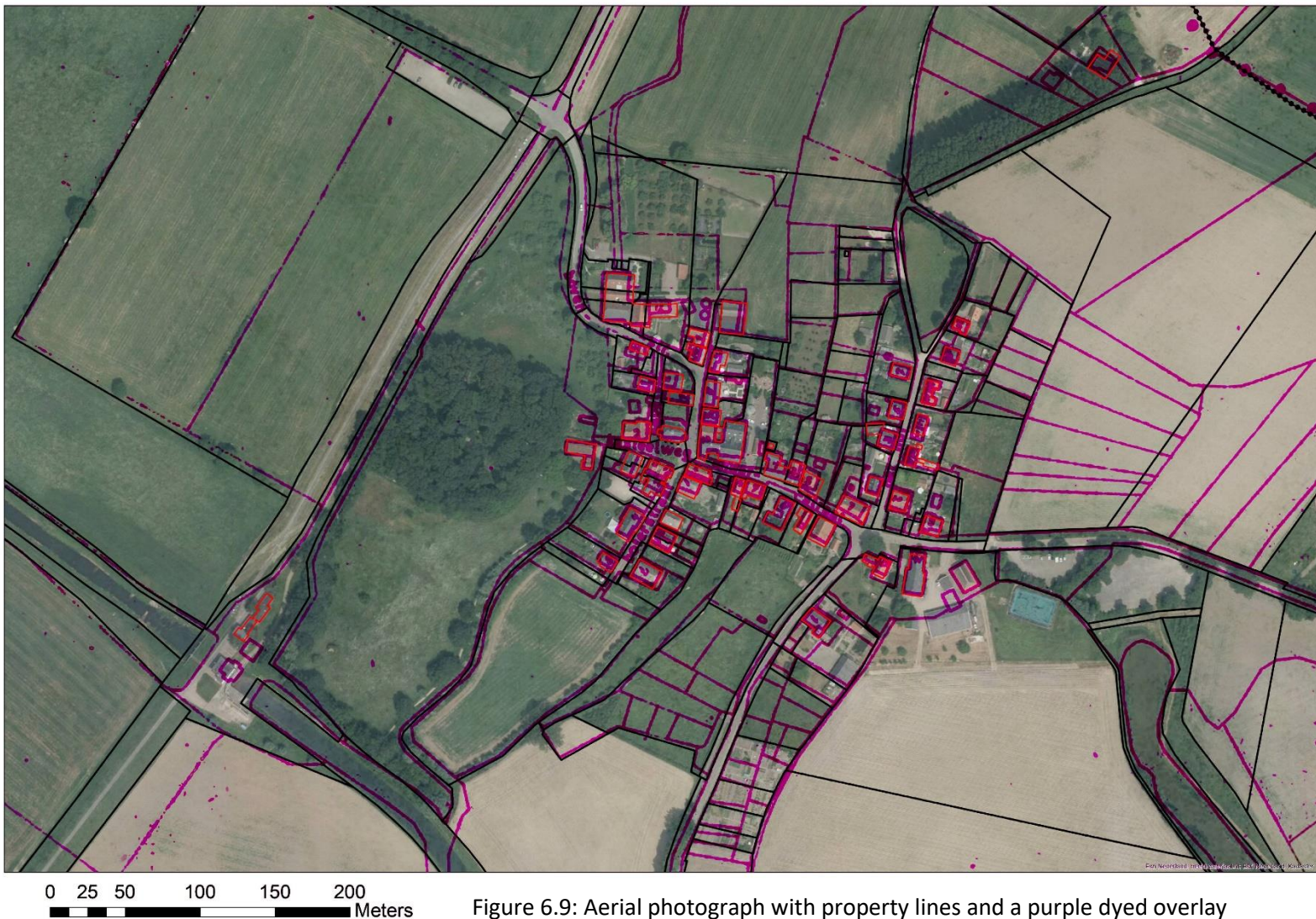

Figure 6.9: Aerial photograph with property lines and a purple dyed overlay of original map. Sources: Esri, 2018; Kadaster, 2019 & Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, 1971

6.3.2 Hummelo

Hummelo is a small village, where the conservation area is mainly limited to the town street and spans into the fields that belong to local farmers who still live on this town street. The conservation area can be divided into a part with brick streets and a part without. In the first part, the old buildings are accentuated by the modern designed pavement, with sufficient room for a new community centre and a supermarket. The second part has newer buildings, but their architectural features are similar to the rest of the conservation area. There are two cafes, one of which has a more 'local' feeling than the other. Regarding local history, the town important for famous festivals and rock bands that are connected to and promote the region. That connection is reinforced by the first statue of a full band.

Figure 6.10: Current view of street (own image) compared tot 1961 (RCE Beeldbank, 1961)

Listing

As a conservation area, Hummelo was appointed in 1992, after a process of nearly 5 years (RDMZ, 1987a). The appointment happened when it was still the municipality 'Hummel en Keppel'. The documents used for appointing Hummelo are the description and the map material. The two-page description includes historic maps to illustrate why certain buildings and streets are historically valuable. While more detailed, the qualities can be summarised as follows:

- The distance to the road and between each other of the buildings on the southern side of the Dorpsstraat, because in number 2 to 8, there is a lot of space and after that almost none. Curbs are narrow or completely missing.
- The closed atmosphere created by the church, the restaurant and the curvature of the road. Paraphrased, this creates a square-like visual and would be where the conservation area ended.
- The uniformity of roof and window colours and shapes created a cohesive situation.

Remarkably, the conservation area now is almost twice as big as described or proposed on the initial map in 1988. The map published in 1992 is the bigger one and also includes fields and buildings west of the church. There is no explanation for this change other than the remarks on the gradual change into fields (Derks, 2017). According to Derks, the missing description of those values implies that there is no reference for the protection and therefore only a general level of land-use protection.

Other forms of protection

Aside from the buildings south of the junction and three other houses, nearly all buildings are listed either municipally or nationally (Erfgoedinspectie / Monumenten, 2009). This implies extra safeguards for the material authenticity. The building in the top right of 6.11, along with its fields is

protected as a country estate. This way, the extent of the fields is recognised on an architectural level, so that even trees cannot be cut down without following proper procedures.

Current situation

A top-down comparison with the maps only shows that the curvature of the road has changed, but apart from that every building is still positioned in the same way. There is one rebuilt house south of the church, but this one was still subject to strict rules, according to the person who lived there.

If the observations had been 5 years earlier, the findings about perceived authenticity would be a lot different. During the visits, the place looked 'old' with the cobblestone roads, but these roads were not like this when appointed. Only around 2016 the asphalt was replaced by these cobblestone roads and in some cases, the curbs were made wider. Figure 6.10 shows the asphalt road, while the buildings remained the same except for a chimney pipe and modernised windows in the roof. The water pump in the right was already moved to the church in 1992.

As a final point, the functional authenticity of Hummelo is remarkable. When comparing old images to the current situation, only a snack bar is missing, and the bus stop was removed with the redecoration project. The tank station, the two cafés, the hairdresser and even the general store are still on the same spot as before. These businesses do use modern advertising and logos.

Figure 6.11: Map with purple-dyed overlay of original map (Sources: PDOK, 2018; Kadaster, 2019; RMZ, 1992)

6.3.3 Laag Keppel

The conservation area in Laag-Keppel is situated entirely on an 'island' in the Old IJssel river, along the town street. All of the buildings you see are historic, and the street leaves little room for pedestrians that nearly share the same space as passing cars. The most unique part of this town street is that one of the buildings, hidden behind view, is the Castle of Keppel. Even today, most of the grounds around the castle and far away, belong to the castle. Only the town street is publicly accessible, the park and estate are private areas. Many houses on the street are property of the lords as well, and their influence can even be seen a few towns over.

6.12 Laag-Keppel manor entrance road. (Own image)

Hummelo and Laag-Keppel were listed in the same year, both with a process of almost five years (RDMZ, 1987b). In five years, a map and a situation concerning protection can change drastically. Just as in Hummelo the size of the conservation area increased without explanation, the map for Laag-Keppel raises questions about its accuracy. The distance between the mill and the canal has never been this big, not even when the map was drawn. The listing itself uses multiple historic maps to first explain how the town developed. This way, the document has attention for the architecture of the manor as well as for the town street. They conclude that the historic character of the town is determined by both. The listed qualities are, summarised:

- The specific view on the castle that can only be seen from specific angles, otherwise almost hidden by trees.
- The contrast with the open landscape south of the IJssel canal
- The almost constant height of the buildings and their distance to the road
- The authenticity of many buildings, where the old function is still 'legible'.

That first point, the specific view on the castle, explains why the fields north of the 'island' are included as well. That way, the specific viewing angle could be protected. It is also interesting that the only spots that would look 'inauthentic' (the dormer windows and traffic cones) are already mentioned in the listing as such.

Other forms of protection

Laag-Keppel is protected in two other ways. First, most of the buildings on the street are either municipally listed or nationally listed buildings. The castle is protected in both these ways, as well as also being a listed 'country estate' (buitenplaats). The country estate protection is, just like conservation areas, aimed at conserving a larger area than just a single building. This area is in some places larger than the conservation area, and includes the land that belongs to the castle. Also, the houses with the dormer windows are not listed in any way (Derks, 2017).

Current situation

As noted already, the original map makes little sense from a geographical standpoint, considering the location of the canal in the south. While it seems as if the rest of the buildings and general structure has stayed the same, the road heading west in the middle of the image did not appear on the original

map, as well as the (listed) water pump. Archive footage of maps during that time show that the road was there, but is missing on this map. Also, the middle river hasn't existed since 1960.

During the observations, the trip to Keppel made clear that since the listing, not much has changed on a visual level. The buildings are all interesting on their own, and create a cohesive situation together. Nonetheless, the heavy traffic here creates a busy atmosphere and pushes people to move along, as there is almost no space on the sidewalk. On a functional level, there is not much to remark, as the only functions that could have been kept are the castle (having influence) and the mill. Both these functions still exist. Other than some art galleries, there seem to be no main street functions left.

6.13: Map with purple-dyed overlay of original map. Source, RMDZ, 1993. Kadaster, 2019, Esri, 2019.

6.3.4 Land-use and aesthetics

There are only two land-use plans for the entire municipality, one for the towns and one for the rural areas. Welstand also works the same for all three conservation areas, considering they fall in the same category that is not exclusive to conservation areas. The single line 'unless otherwise noted in the land-use plan' implies that since the land use plan refers to the appointment documents, those come first and then Welstand might add a bit. This is unlikely as the appointment document is more detailed. For any plans, or reaching the municipality, it is interesting to note that Bronckhorst is divided into districts that roughly follow the original borders of old municipalities. People can always contact the town hall in Hengelo, but there are people called *gebiedsambtenaar* that know more about some districts and can pass sentiments on to the central town hall. First, the individual characteristics and application of the town land-use plans will happen for each conservation area, then the protection of the more rural parts will be described for the three together.

Land use plan: Bronkhorst

The land use plan, when taking all rules into account, deals with Bronkhorst on an individual level. Bronkhorst is described in more detail, especially relative to its size. The designation as a 'city conservation area' is used to apply specific rules to businesses, gardens, roads, and homes. These specific rules are formatted differently from rules that apply to similar functions elsewhere. The use of the similar spaces is also different in effect, as an office in this town may only be on the ground floor, but there are no rules for this in other towns. Places designated with a social function, have less options as well, especially concerning tourist-economic uses. This does not only limit how this will affect the way the place looks, but also the functional authenticity. The conservation area aspect adds the function of protecting and preserving the heritage to everything in the area.

Regarding the authenticity of the outside, every aspect listed before has been included in this plan. The different buildings with specific functions that only apply to the city conservation area have their possible shapes, colours and situation set in a document, along with the rule that it can't be different from that document. Anything different would need complicated permits. This way, the spatial structures in the conservation area seem to be effectively frozen.

Outside of the built area, there are also specific rules in the 'rural plans'. While there are less restrictions on renovations, the rules are mainly focused on making sure elements that would obscure the view are either impossible or must be investigated beforehand. Small aspects, such as building a shed, are not allowed in the conservation areas.

Land-use plan: Hummelo and Keppel

Both areas can be described together. They are both listed as a 'village conservation area', which means (only for this municipality) that the rules are less detailed than for the cities. In Bronkhorst, doing *anything* with the soil needs a permit, in these two towns those limits are not mentioned. Both the original descriptions are included in the plan. While the shapes and sizes of the buildings in the conservation area are very detailed, Derks (2017), who revisited all the conservation areas of the municipality, noted some issues with the rules, namely that they were not specific enough. In both cases, the empty space between two houses was not protected in any way. This 'unique' way of having a gutter between the two houses would tell the story of when houses did not have gutters up high yet. Secondly, the rules concerning demolitions are also quite weak, since the land-use plan allows some loopholes.

6.4 Municipality Berkelland

The final municipality to be discussed is Berkelland. While Aalten had the oldest conservation area, and Bronckhorst had the most conservation areas, Berkelland has the youngest conservation area of the Achterhoek region. Gelselaar and a large area around it is a conservation area since 2013. The size is a strong contrast to the only other one in the municipality, the Mallumse Molen. This one is just a very small island. Berkelland is, with 28,471 hectares just less than 2 km^2 smaller than Bronckhorst. The population density in the municipality is much higher, with 44.238 people in January 2017, a difference of 8.000. The municipality has several larger towns such as Eibergen, Borculo, Neede and Ruurlo, where facilities are concentrated. Gelselaar being appointed as a conservation area could mean it will stand out from the many small towns.

As with the other municipalities in this research, Berkelland reached this size through a merging of other municipalities. Even the name is new, none of the old municipalities 'won' the name. The name refers to what all of these towns have in common, their relationship with the Berkel a historically very important river between Zutphen and Germany. With special boats on this relatively shallow water, wares could be transported. Further south, the landscape has more wetlands, and is known as a 'wet middle' of the region (Gelders Genootschap, 2012a). The wetlands were a natural barrier between influences from Münster,

This water is obviously very important for the networks and connections in the municipality, but also for the identity of the heritage. For a long time, the only conservation area was a water-powered mill, and other water-powered mills across the Berkel are held in high esteem as well. Berkelland is the only municipality of the seven depopulating to have a border with Germany as well as with a different province. North of the Berkel, people are very close to large central places such as Enschede and Hengelo. Most of the major roads in the municipality are also in the direction of Enschede. As it will turn out, this is a relevant factor for both the conservation areas.
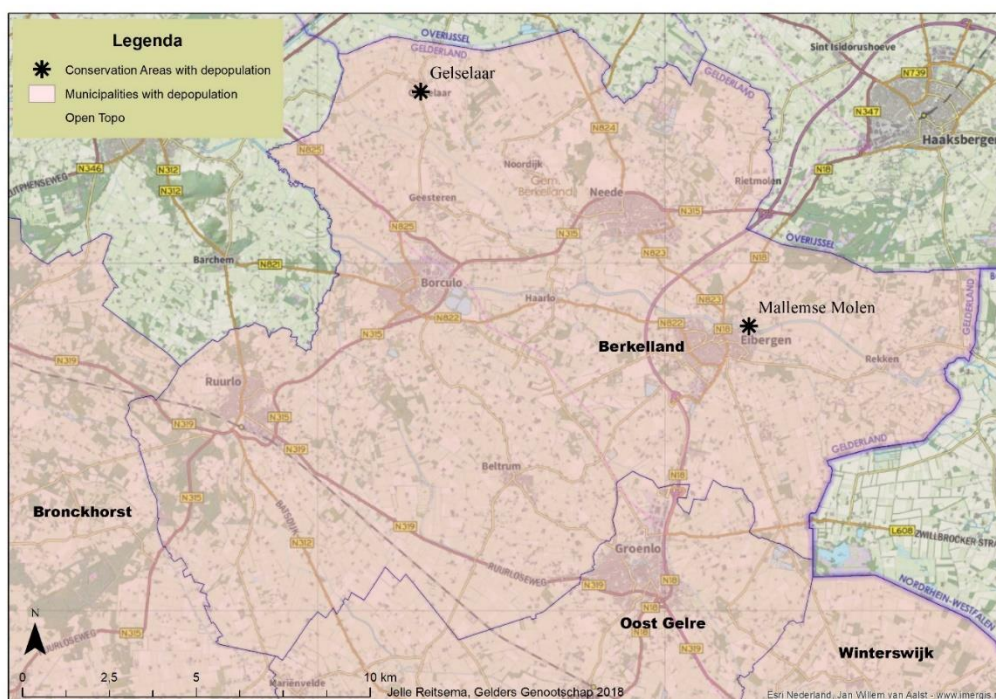

Fig 6.14: Berkelland with Mallumse Molen and Gelselaar marked.

Source map data: Conservation areas RCE, 2018 Background: Bron: J.W. van Aalst, opentopo

6.4.1 Mallumse Molen

The Mallumse Molen in Eibergen is one of the most compact conservation areas in this research. It is also the only one where no people live. There is however a restaurant, a park and a still operating mill. When the last person leaves the restaurant at night, the place is empty. All changes in the area have led to a functionally coherent place, where a relatively high number of events for both local people and other visitors are organised. With the unique surroundings near the river, this is also a popular fishing spot, so the area serves both visitors and local groups through the amenities it has.

Listing

The initial appointment for the *Mallumse Molen* happened in 1972, with a two-page document (RDMZ, 1972). The first page of the document describes the history of the place. Little under half of that page, 12 of the 27 lines, describes structures that are not there anymore. On the second page, three sentences describe the actual qualities policymakers could use to refer to for future plans.

> *"The grouping, of the Mallumse Molen, the former millers' house and the nearby barn, forms with the direct surroundings an image of special beauty. The canalisation of the Berkel southwards on this place is pitiful from a cultural-history point of view. Luckily, an inlet line, which is connected to the Berkel at the new weir, ensures that the old part, at which the mill lies, is not dry."*

This explanation notes the three basic elements of the conservation area:

- The three old structures that form a group with both their function and architecture
- The surroundings that make the grouping a beautiful image
- The functionally useful water features in the area.

The borders of the conservation area followed mostly property lines, but the eastern border seemed particularly straight. The map used for the appointment, also seen in figure 6.16, gives insight in why the border is like this, an annotation showed this was the intended track for a new bypass for the road between Groenlo and Enschede. This has been a sensitive topic until 2018, when the final road curves around Eibergen in the west. In Figure 6.16 you can still see the black property lines where that road could have been.

Figure 6.15: Combined version of two pictures, showing the same place. Left: own image 2018. Right: RCE, 1952

Other forms of protection

Next to listing the area as a conservation area, the three historic buildings are protected as nationally listed buildings. This means that only the house for the herb garden is not listed in any additional way. This makes sense, as the building had no real significance during the original listing. Outside of the conservation, the water features are the responsibility of the regional water board, and are maintained by the local community. Together, the fishermen and the 'Marke Mallum' maintain it, both to keep it accessible and to keep the way it looks. [The image on page 17] shows that over the years, a lot of new vegetation has grown on the waterside.

Current situation

Two interesting forms of authenticity can be described using the different maps and the notes from site visits, the function and material. The area has a historic atmosphere, but obviously a lot has changed in the past 40 years. On the 'island' you can see that what is now the herb garden that organises a lot of events, had no buildings on it first. The mill, the garden and the millers' house all have a significantly more touristic function than before, but there are traces of a café function dating back to before the conservation area was appointed. These functions were always subordinate to the housing and milling function, until the millers' house became a real restaurant in the early 21st century.
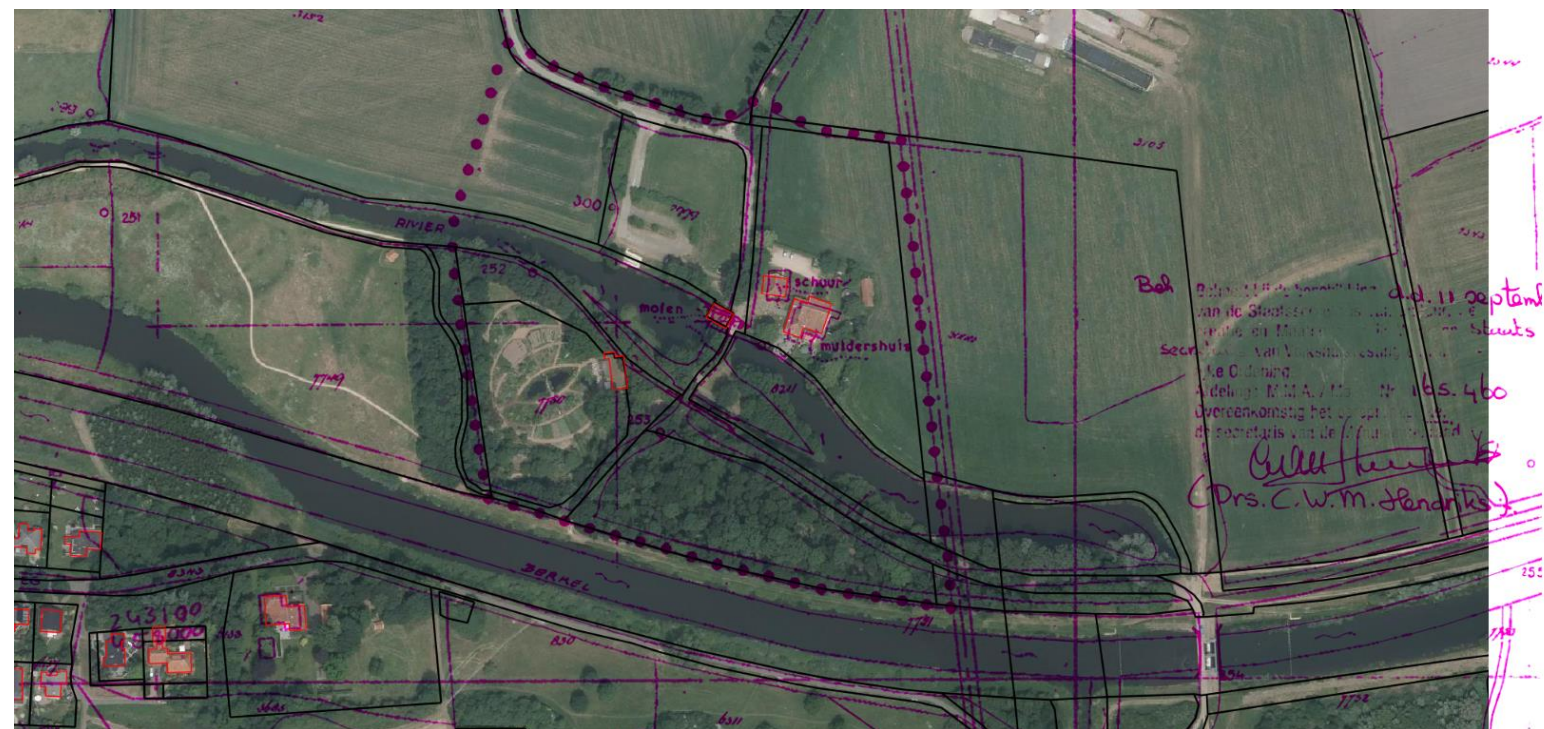

Figure 6.16: Aerial photograph with overlay of original map. Source: RCE, 1972 & PDOK, 2018)

6.4.2 Gelselaar

The town Gelselaar is the newest conservation area in the region. By using signs, visitors are quickly aware of this conservation area, that shows the gradual development of this town through the 20th century. Unlike the other areas, this place was made a conservation area because of qualities less than a hundred years old. The size of the conservation area goes far into the fields, as a way to also protect lines of sight, which stretch very far in this town.

Listing

The initial appointment of *Gelselaar* was drafted in 2009, but was made final in 2013 (RCE, 2013). The listing of Gelselaar is the result of decades experience with what is necessary to protect a conservation area. This is the most detailed listing of the seven, and does not rely on the land-use plan in order to specify it further. Compared to the other listings, it is more difficult to summarise the qualities that were to be protected in a few bullet points. This listing uses a full page with 18 bullet points, just to summarise what was explained in the report. The theme of all these points is still built around three important features:

- The ways you recognise this town as a uniquely rural place
- The ways you can recognise the architecture in the town from the 1880-1920 period.
- The modest structure of the roads and pathways that almost all come from that period as well.

The implication of this detailed list will probably be that heritage professionals and municipal planning professionals have more grounds to base their decisions on. The way everything is explained means it needs to be read carefully but does not have to be 'translated' for a municipal planner to understand what they can allow.

Other forms of protection

Inside the conservation area, just seven buildings are nationally listed and only seven municipally listed buildings. The only other form of protection is found in the aesthetics plan, where buildings that determine the view of town are listed as falling under extra scrutiny. This list is at least twice as long as the municipal and national listings together. The aesthetics plan will also be described in the context of the land-use plan further in this chapter.

Current situation

Gelselaar will be described less here than the other conservation areas, because it is not useful to describe the changes, when almost no time has passed for any changes to happen. Essentially, it still almost looks the way the conservation area looked like during the moment it was listed in 2011. The situation with depopulation may have also meant that some planned housing projects did not go through.

The only point that should be mentioned is that a lot of people have solar panels on their roofs. During the interview with a municipal policy officer, it became clear that this situation had not been resolved yet. People, who were used to just be able to place objects on back side of the roof, were legally not allowed anymore. The national law that removes many limits on building behind your house, is null in conservation areas.
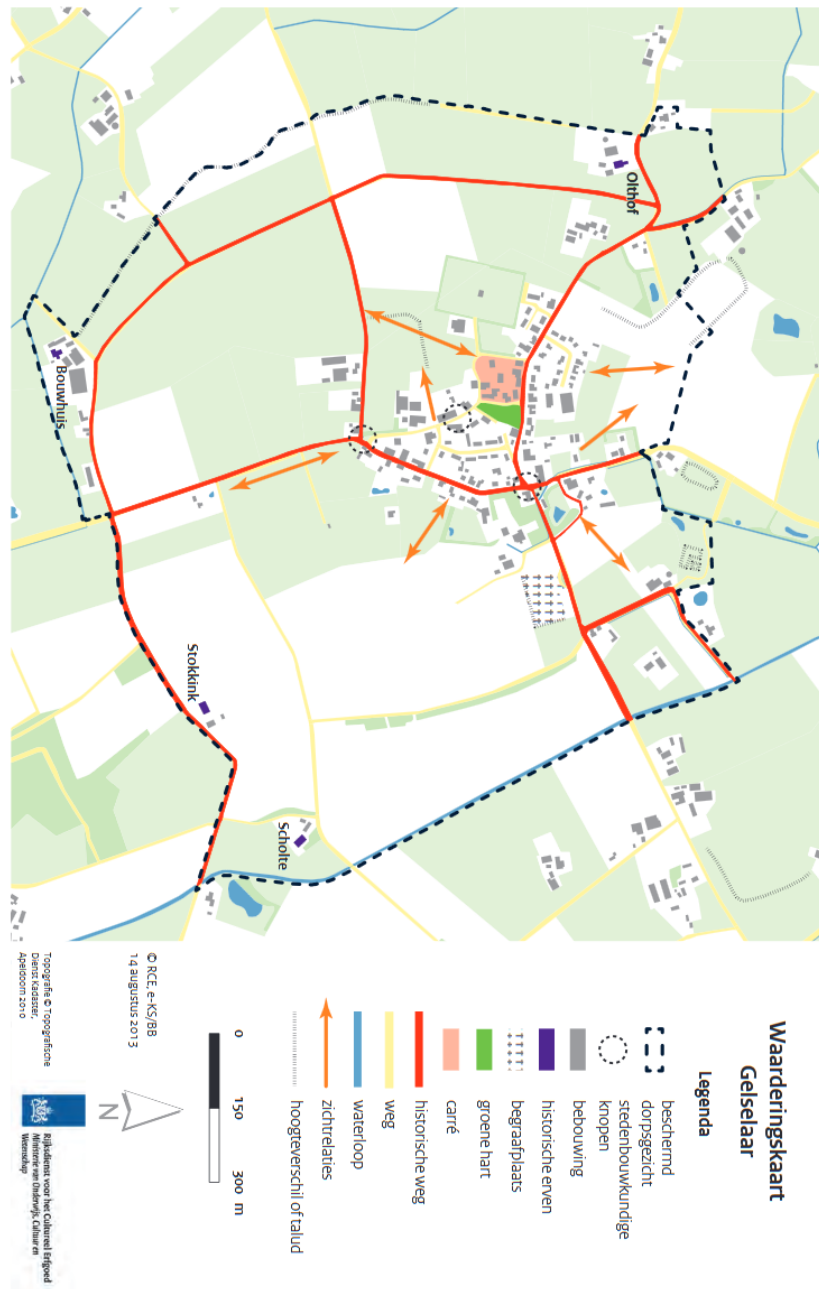
Figure 6.17: Copy of the original listing in 2011. This is the only listing map that includes such arrows and more than just the shape of buildings and the borders of the conservation area. Source: RCE, 2013, p. 28

6.4.3 Land-use and aesthetics

As noted earlier, both conservation areas have significant space outside of the 'urbanised' limits. Just like in Bronckhorst, Berkelland seemed to have a land-use plan for the entire rural areas of the municipality, namely either *Buitengebied 2012* or *Buitengebied 2016*. However, this land-use plan was annulled due to many inconsistencies and issues with the plan, and the second one did not go through either (Janssen, 2018). This means that older plans are in use again, which has given the heritage priority over development if article 3.3 of the Wabo is to be believed. This law states that until there is a land-use plan that properly protects the values of a conservation area, no new permits can be given out. The historic land-use plan at *Mallumse Molen* still notes the conservation area, but in Gelselaar it does not (Gemeente Eibergen, 1995; Gemeente Borculo, 2005) . A check of public registries confirms that as of January 2019, there have been none permitted in the rural areas of Gelselaar since the plan was annulled.

For *Gelselaar,* there might be no valid rural land-use plan, but there are two separate plans for the town itself. The land-use plans were drafted along with the initial appointment, and only one of the two, *Gelselaar, De Heuver 2011*, would allow some new developments Gemeente Berkelland, 2012; Gemeente Berkelland 2014). This only concerns the *De Heuver* neighbourhood, the plan *Dorp 2010* plan is in use everywhere else. Both plans are a definite inventory of how the town looked when it was finally 'conserved'. Every characteristic mentioned in the original listing returns in these two plans, either in the explanation or where possible in the rules as well. As described, the difference is the room for development, there is a specific procedure included in the rules for *De Heuver* so that the possibilities are clear. In *Dorp*, the starting point is instead the limits. Even on a functional level, the municipality did not seem to expect any changes. The land-use plan mentions that some sector reviews were not necessary because no change at all were expected. At time of visiting Gelselaar, some years after this plan was made, there appeared to be no major deviations from these plans.

This aesthetics plan uses the same terminology and borders as the full conservation area, and lists the qualities per type of building, of which there are seven (Gemeente Berkelland, 2011). Every building is colour-coded in the plan, to show which buildings had to be kept the same way and which only had to be 'respected'. Even in that last case, no building can be renovated or redecorated without a proper review. This aesthetics plan is referred to in the land-use plan.

For the *Mallumse Molen,* this situation means that the 1995 plan *Buitengebied Eibergen* is now still valid. There are rules on the conservation area, but these are significantly different from the current standard. The most important missing aspects are the references to the described qualities of the place. This land-use plan gives an interesting insight into ways of protection over twenty years ago. In a sense, the three factors There are no aesthetics rules for this place, but that might be redundant given that every building is listed.

7 In-depth analysis of three conservation areas

Preface

In the next two chapters, supposed and actual roles of conservation areas will be described for each place individually. The analysis is more thorough than the previous chapter which only concerned protection and conservation. To find out about intentions or roles a place might have, more document analyses, interviews and site visits have been necessary. Such inquiry is more dependent on availability of resources such as data, cooperating actors and time. Because of this, the selection has been narrowed down from seven to three conservation areas. The three places are *Bronkhorst* in the municipality Bronckhorst, *Bredevoort* in Aalten and *Mallumse Molen* in Berkelland. Before moving to the new chapters, these choices will be argued for first here.

Bronkhorst was selected because it seemed to express multiple possible roles heritage can have and there are many projects in the city the municipality is involved with. While even small cities normally grow, Bronkhorst has had the incentive to stay small and be more unique that way. The previous chapter already showed the extra attention the town gets, which means there is a lot to uncover in this research.

Bredevoort was selected because of the earlier revitalisation projects when the city was rebranded as book city, which gave a new growth impulse to the businesses there. There are people with a lot of experience with this specific 'creative solution', but now books cannot pull enough visitors it is interesting to see how people think about new directions. There will be a lot to uncover on both the intended roles and the actual roles.

Mallumse Molen was selected because it is such a small scale conservation area. The place is not well-known outside of the region, it is a bit limited from view but every square meter has a function. The relative density of functions and the different uses of the place on a quite local level can help learn more about attractive conservation areas that initially look more local than aimed at tourists.

This selection means two things that reinforce the value of these three to the research. Firstly, every part of the region is represented, which is important since every area has their own context, Bredevoort has more experience with people who cycle across the border than Bronkhorst does. Secondly, every municipality with conservation areas is represented. Because municipal policy is a very relevant context factor for local heritage management in the Netherlands and of course also for spatial planning, it will be taken into account when looking at the intended roles.

7A Supposed and intended roles

This chapter is the first part of two that are based around the roles of conservation areas using empirical data, policy documents and site visits. Here, the intended roles of the places are described. This way, the research questions for "what is the expected role of the conservation areas in the Achterhoek' will be answered. By doing this, the stated expectations can provide context to the actual roles the conservation areas appear to have. Expectation here refers to how local and regional governments want the place to be, which can be found through official policy documents and interviews with policy workers. The process of finding the correct policy documents has already been described.

For each conservation area, the two dimensions, the function and the target group will be explained. Then, there will be a reflection on the expectations for that place. While the focus is on using primary sources from the municipality, such as policy workers and documents, the interviews with local actors also provided – sometimes conflicting – ideas about municipal expectations or the difference with their own. This will also be noted in this chapter. The length of some parts may vary. This is because some municipalities have more pronounced expectations or more policy on the functions and target groups. The more heritage is factored into policy, the more there is to find and policy workers can explain.

Intended function:
The first dimension is the *intended function*. The first big step here is to look at how the purpose of the place is described. This will be placed on the boundary of socio-economic and symbolic functions with the help of other factors of this dimension such as accessibility and the tourist gaze. Since, in policy, conservation areas are part of a wide catalogue of municipal heritage sites, the detailed knowledge of the towns as described in chapter 6 will help to see how general statements apply here. For example, policy on landscapes would mean little for Bredevoort since the listing only concerns the city centre.

Intended target group
After this, the intended target groups will be described. This will happen by identifying several groups listed in policy and noted by the policy workers in interviews. Each time, the final group described will be the inhabitants. These detailed descriptions, such as the difference between German tourists and local tourists will be summarised into either a local or an external orientation. These same groups may then be reflected on in the chapter on found target groups.

7A.1 Bronkhorst

Preface:

In Bronkhorst, the expectations the municipality are sensitive, because of the dichotomy between visitors and residents. There has been an old development vision in 2007 to start a "balanced development of Bronkhorst" (Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2012X; Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2012Y). While this development vision is unavailable, it has left its mark on other policies (Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2013X). Because of its age, the plans are either implemented or no longer representative of Bronckhorst. Important however was the intent to redistribute visitors, of which the new castle hill and art gallery are a part (Personal communication, Policy Bck1, 29 October 2018; Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2013X). This dichotomy still guides decisions, as will become clear in this chapter.

7A.1.2 Socio-economic expectations and policy

Heritage attracts: Connecting heritage and economy

For Bronkhorst, the 'Structuurvisie cultuurhistorie Bronckhorst' (Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2013) is the most recent dedicated policy that concerns the socio-economic functions of heritage. This municipal structural plan dictates how cultural historical values must be incorporated within spatial plans and projects. Bronkhorst is considered to be a historical "top area", which means that for any planned development, the economic perspective needs to be taken into account as well. There are several 'top areas' in the municipality, Bronkhorst is the first of the ensembles in that list. Only top areas receive such attention. For other places, not much more than respect is expected.

The municipality introduced this economic perspective to heritage based on a study that concluded they lacked concrete connections between cultural history and economy (Gelders Genootschap, 2012b). It also noted that reducing active support for socio-economic facilities in depopulation policy could hurt the enhancing value of heritage. With reduced demand for facilities, efforts were concentrated in the largest towns, projects had to be self-sufficient (Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2010;). This policy indicated they required themselves again to think about heritage in every town. Still, accepting *new* housing is excluded from these solutions:

> "We understand depopulation is important and others are involved with it daily, but from a heritage perspective we are not as involved, except when we see a vacant building and people come with some form of conversion project. We will commit ourselves to that. But imagine people say (…) we need two new residential spaces', (…) that is not possible considering the situation [policy commitments], but when people come to convert an old barn or coach house into an office (…), people should absolutely come to us. As long as it is not an extra residential place." (MunicipalBronckhorst, personal communication 29 October 2018)

Heritage attracts: Tourists

The favoured target group to attract seems to be tourists. The land-use plan explains that the purpose of the open space and roads are meant for tourists (Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2016X). In that same text, they note it as shared, referring to liveability for inhabitants. The intended direction is to bring tourists in by treating the heritage respectfully, that tourists notice. According to the policy worker (Personal communication, 29 October 2018), the main benefit of more tourists is increased tax income. Other possible contributions or positive impact on the town is not mentioned.

Heritage attracts: Pull-factor

There is no real intention to 'pull' new people to the municipality, the depopulation policy is based on guiding and accepting that the municipal population count will go down. Especially in the context

of this research, where a externally aimed role should help bring new ideas and possibilities to a place, there is not much. Even a possible billboard-link to the name of the municipality was refuted during the interview. Since there is no intention to pull, there is also no connection to heritage.

For businesses, they welcome newcomers. They don't pull, but want that plans submitted to them the heritage and the scale. Considering the size of the town, it may be that constant growth is undesired. They do support bringing in *artists in residence* to the gallery (St. Kunstgemaal, 2017), especially because this location is inspiring. They sometimes want to 'pull' elsewhere, like to make Laag-Keppel more attractive for visitors and shops, but the busy road is vital and takes cooperation of many parties to reroute (MunicipalBronckhorst, personal communication 29 October 2018).

Heritage connects: Blocking power

The municipality expects that the locals have both a blocking power and a productive power when it concerns the quality of this place. The blocking power is more of a concern for the next chapter, but this can also be seen in a positive way. When a initiative seems attractive but might 'Disneyfy' the town, the locals are almost expected to contribute by setting the limits. "When activities happen and we need to look at that seriously, we take vulnerability of the area and the inhabitants who look critical at everything into account" (MunicipalBronckhorst, personal communication 29 October 2018).

7A.1.3 Symbolic expectations and policy

Heritage attracts: "The smallest city in the Netherlands"

The symbolic value of Bronkhorst is strongly connected to the spatial structures and their scale. It is known as the 'smallest city' (Personal communication, Policy Bck1, 2018pc), so any plan with a focus on conserving this fits with the symbolic function. The council programme (Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2018C) mentioned the value of having 'small scale' in a large municipality and the spatial plans always include ways to keep this particular town small (Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2016A; Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2017A). They have a very modest attitude towards new socio-economic projects, since new restaurants or retail locations might affect the small-scale atmosphere. Aspects that are related to the *tourist gaze* are also reinforced trough these plans, it *looks* small (Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2012X.

The most recent tourism policy, drafted by an outside group, disregards the symbolic value of Bronkhorst (Geuting & Meuleman, 2018). It notes the intent to create a *new* landmark connected to identity like Hunebedden in Drenthe instead of listing Bronkhorst. Also, while the name Bron**c**khorst was selected for the municipality in 2007 because it would be the most recognised, it was not part of a symbolic gesture to capitalise on its fame (Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2007; Municipal Bronckhorst 1, personal communication, 29 October 2018). They don't think the symbolic value attracts new inhabitants to other towns there.

Heritage attracts: The rural landscape

The care for *rural landscape* is another strong symbolic aspect in this municipality. The landscape policies come up more often than general heritage policy and landscape is often described alongside the cultural heritage. This is relevant here because the landscape is also one of the listed qualities of the conservation area. In this field, the municipality has stated a clear direction and a limit, they want to get more use of historic qualities of the landscape without turning it into an open air museum (Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2017C). This shows that according to the municipality, the symbolic value is tied to a sense of functional authenticity.

Heritage connects: Living in a unique town

The policy worker (Personal communication, 29 October 2018) believed that being the smallest city gave inhabitants a sense of connection to each other. This way, it shows how the municipality feels about the *importance of meaning* and brings a direct connection to the depopulation policy. The municipality wants communities to take initiative, while fitting in a trend of budget cuts (Gemeente Bronckhorst, 2010). An existing identity is cheaper to keep than supporting a community centre. This would be an expectation to focus on the symbolic value and increase social capital this way.

Heritage connects: Inspiration documents

Further, the municipality actively wants to inspire the inhabitants to maintain the activity and quality of Bronkhorst. In every conservation area, they are currently planning to publish an inspiration document for working in a conservation area. This inspiration document is intended to be a very accessible 'translation' of what professionals, the municipality and the locals themselves believe is possible there (MunicipalBronckhorst, personal communication 29 October 2018). The contents of that inspiration document are supposed to range from the use of materials, the people who can help with projects and even ways to appropriately have some decoration on the street. As the policy worker explains *"We can create an inspiration document ourselves as municipality, but well, because [professional organisations] feel the conservation areas have a special status, we are able to include the people a bit as well."* (MunicipalBronckhorst, personal communication 29 October 2018)

7A.1.4 Conclusion

To conclude, each of the paragraph headers are placed on table 7A.1. The municipality has several goals and expectations, it does not seem as if the municipality expects a singular role for Bronkhorst. The only weaker spots seem to be the socio-economic parts, when compared with the symbolic functions. The tourism relies on a strong symbolic value of 'being a small city' but would imply a dichotomy with liveability. In some cases, the connecting qualities of the socio-economic function are even seen as a negative, like inhabitants coming together to block certain projects.

Table 7A.1: Bronkhorst	"Heritage Attracts"	"Heritage Connects"
Socio-economic	- Connecting heritage and economy - Tourists - Pull-factor	- Effects on social structures - Blocking power
Symbolic	- The smallest city in the Netherlands - The rural landscape	- Living in a unique town - Inspiration documents
Background	- The balance between locals and visitors	

7A.2 Bredevoort

7A.2.1 Socio-economic expectations and policy

Heritage attracts: Bookshops and a new economic direction

Bredevoort has long had a focus on a book-town identity, but the municipality intends it to become more diverse. By reintroducing the term "Heerlijkheid", which officially means *lordship*, they step away from only working with the idea of a book-town. With the heraldic term the marketing can be decoupled from books. In the policy documents, the municipality often refers to "Heerlijkheid Bredevoort" (Gemeente Aalten et al, 2016). The policy workers (Personal communication, November 7, 2018) explained that it was hard to "say goodbye" to the book town idea, but they wanted to show that the city has more to offer and books have gone out of fashion. They want to promote an attitude of "developing further and see what can come as well and who can also find their spot", which is both casual and with some sense of urgency (Aalten policy worker 1, personal communication, November 7, 2018). It is still one of the qualities of the place, but there is no mandated ideal ratio of book activities.

Heritage attracts: Small-scale shops and big plans

The policy workers also feel that on a socio-economic level, the functions need to fit within the scale and atmosphere of the town (Aalten policy worker 2, personal communication, November 7, 2018). While they note that they guide businesses that have become too big for the scale in moving out of the conservation area, they have no preference for which sector can come in. Retail, hospitality and care homes are all accepted functions. Since many functions other than housing were noted, this shows the socio-economic role is important. This is also evident from the points that have been kept in the land-use plan since the very beginning: On the ground floor, you are allowed to set up a little shop or café, provided you keep it limited to a certain floor space (Gemeente Aalten, 2013b). While this might have been introduced initially to open a bookshop from home, there are now even restaurants selling books there.

Outside of the conservation area, they supported plans to develop a vacation park at the *Slingeplas*, close to the city (Leisurelands, 2016). It would bring in new customers for businesses and also provide tax income. While they supported the project for a long time, strong local opposition based on the size of this park has halted it. This shows that the municipality has different standards for scale concerning inside and outside of the conservation area. Recreation is seen as part of the 'economic motor'. The policy workers (Personal communication, November 7, 2018), explained that the audience still has specific wants and needs the city can offer. They might not search for chain stores common in traditional city centres, but such stores would also not be viable here.

Heritage connects: Supporting Bredevoorts Belang

Bredevoorts belang has a large role in the expectations of the municipality on a socio-economic level (Gemeente Aalten, 2018b). After this groups' initiative to find a new function for vacant properties in the city turned out to be a success, as was the communities involvement with finding a user for the Koppelkerk, the municipality wants to "keep things in motion" (MunicipalAalten1, Personal Communication, 7 November 2018). Just like when bookshops were invited to settle, they still want to look for entrepreneurs from everywhere instead of only local. The new owner of the Koppelkerk is from Leiden.

Considering tourists, the citizens are 'useful' because of their involvement with the tourist office and creating the fortress park. They are generally expected to come up with ideas (Gemeente Aalten, 2018a).The policy workers noted that the fortress park could become an asset for businesses near it and show visitors the city has more to offer than books. It is already accessible, but still a bit hidden. They do not think that this would interfere with the function it now has for the community.

Obviously, they also appreciate the positive impact such groups have on the sense of community. The fortress park itself and the project has brought people together and they want this to continue (Parklaan Landschapsarchitecten, 2010). It can also be one more space for connecting culture to other sectors, as the municipality aimed to do since 2018 (Aalten, 2018a). More connections and places would allow every inhabitant to participate. They note keeping inhabitants active to work with projects like the *Koppelkerk* requires a relation of mutual trust, so they also include them when working with general heritage policy for the city.

7A.2.2 Symbolic expectations and policy

Heritage attracts: The general identity and experiencing history

As explained, the municipality has shifted to promoting the name *Heerlijkheid Bredevoort* instead of book town Bredevoort. Apart from having to look for a new economic basis since book sales have declined, it also allowed a broader identity. They support this change because they feel it is a way to show that *"[Bredevoort] has so much more to offer, like a beautiful historic centre and a nice landscape"* (Aalten policy worker 1, personal communication, November 7 2018). In the shared heritage policy, Heerlijkheid Bredevoort is explicitly listed under important thematical lines (Gemeente Aalten, Oost-Gelre & Winterswijk, 2016). The book city identity is not cast aside, but seen as *"a part of the palette"* (MunicipalAalten2, Personal Communication, 7 November 2018)*.*

This meant that the municipality also put efforts into making the history of the city more visible. The core concepts in the policy documents seem to be visibility and experience (Gemeente Aalten & Lettink, 2013). Both are based on a symbolic function, for example bringing more attention to the medieval history. They are prepared to bring back features of old city walls or place statues and signs so people can see and experience how everything looked. When there are archaeological findings they *"looked for ways to do something with the results of that research"* (MunicipalAalten1, Personal Communication, 7 November 2018)*,* and ended up drawing contours of the castle on a square and placing information signs.

Heritage attracts: Functions that fit the character

The municipality also wants to connect it to existing qualities and other projects (Gemeente Aalten, 2018a). Their attitude towards maintenance and new buildings or businesses is based on experiencing history. Craftsman shops are supposedly easily set up and building plans are reviewed with care instead of directly denied (Gemeente Aalten & Snels, 2016). Many other functions are possible, but they do "*think you need to look at the scale, with that [stuff] it needs to fit within the character of Bredevoort". (*MunicipalAalten1, Personal Communication, 7 November 2018) Everything together should enhance the profile of the city, with their plan of a palette instead of a single defining quality.

Heritage connects: The beauty and care

From the interview and the policy documents, it appears as if any plans concerning symbolic function for locals is mostly based on the "pride of their centre and the beauty of it". They appreciate how much inhabitants care about the city. *"In my opinion, with the maintenance, it is a good thing that people are also prudent and proud, take good care of the place and (…) there is a lot of green"*. In the shared heritage policy, they note that knowing about cultural heritage creates a shared sense of belonging. This also fits with the planned new links with other sectors, making heritage more accessible is seen as good for identity and social life.

Concluding

To conclude, there is much to say in detail about the several plans the municipality has to get more economic return from what happens in Bredevoort. While the book-town idea was exclusive to Bredevoort, the municipality also understands that this time is now over and the city needs a new identity. The idea is that

Table 7A.2: Bredevoort	"Heritage Attracts"	"Heritage Connects"
Socio-economic	- Bookshops and a new economic direction - Small-scale shops and big plans	- Supporting Bredevoorts Belang
Symbolic	- The general identity and experiencing history - Functions that fit the character	- The beauty and care

7A.3 Mallumse Molen:

7A.3.1 Socio-economic expectations and policy

Heritage attracts: Rural economic opportunities

The conservation areas in Berkelland are explicitly part of economic policies. They are listed by name as a 'rural economic opportunity' (Gemeente Berkelland, 2018a). The municipality wants to persuade people to look for alternative models of profit in the rural areas, because farming will eventually provide less income and jobs. Tourism is noted as an example of a new form of profit. While the regional depopulation policies generally point to technological solutions for new jobs, actively including the conservation areas means the municipality expects a socio-economic role for the area (Gemeente Berkelland, 2016, Gemeente Berkelland, 2017b). The areas that provide opportunities for walkability, something important for the growing amount of elderly, are supposed to be prioritised in these policies (Westhuis & Partners, 2017).

The policy worker noted the municipality wanted to continue investing in good connections between the town, the area and other leisure locations such as nearby hotels and golf courses (Municipal Mallum1, Personal Communication, 8 November 2018). They want to be able to show that by improving connections around the place and making the area attractive, there is more money to be made. The landscape is also a factor here, along with its cultural historic values the place is seen as a 'business card' (Gemeente Berkelland, 2018b)

Heritage connects: Culture and accessibility

On the level of bringing people together, the proposal that places and heritage sites worth visiting should become more accessible can be found under disability policy, social policy and heritage policy. This makes it a socio-economic point instead of 'just' symbolic. Valuable places are supposed to become meeting places this way or function as nodes for a healthy lifestyle for locals. While the Mallumse Molen is not listed by name, its importance to locals was implied during the interview. The plan to improve connections between the town and the mill is also meant for accessibility for locals (MunicipalMallum1, Personal Communication, 8 November 2018)

The cultural policies of Berkelland have not been updated since 2009 (Gemeente Berkelland, 2009). In the current council plan, it has been proposed to renew this in 2019. They wanted to include at least the value of *cultural education* in those plans (Gemeente Berkelland, 2018a). The interview made clear that the area is viewed as one of the places this can happen, and have the children learn about the local history. This fits under socio-economic topics because they note it is a factor that can bring inhabitants together.

Heritage connects: Participation projects

Berkelland wants communities to be involved, they can take over certain costly tasks, add value and keep liveability in mind. The policy worker noted they are used to full involvement and want to utilise the initiatives to save money without abruptly shifting full responsibility (MunicipalMallum1, Personal Communication, 8 November 2018). The initiatives in various grades of maturity in this conservation area are part of an 'exciting' learning opportunity. This shows the municipality has plans for them without looking for control.

7A.3.2 Symbolic expectations and policy

Heritage attracts: A regional story

The Berkel river is a historic asset the municipality wants to highlight (Keunen, van der Veen & Saane, 2016; Gemeente Berkelland & Arcadis, 2017; Gemeente Berkelland & Westhuis en Partners, 2017). They have supported plans based around enhancing the experience value of the river, making it regionally useful (Bureau Buiten, 2016). This place is seen as one of the "ingredients for an Achterhoek storyline" because it is one of the few mills like this left. This way, the river and the mill are supposed to attract visitors based on the symbolic value of both together.

Heritage connects: Through policy

Most of the aspects noted with the socio-economic function also have a symbolic aspect. There are no real plans with a purely symbolic function here. The municipality already connected the touristic and leisure function to it in 20-year old plans, so most of it has grown alongside each other (Gemeente Berkelland, 2017a). The plans to teach local history to children are the most symbolic in this regard; it could mean the story and the place will have some meaning for every inhabitant (Gemeente Berkelland, 2018a, Gemeente Berkelland, 2018b). The policy worker does not expect inhabitants to know about the official listing, but finds it more important that people value the historical significance (MunicipalMallum1, Personal Communication, 8 November 2018). He describes improving connections to Eibergen and supporting the initiatives are valuable because of this.

7A.3.3 Conclusion

To conclude, there is not much more that can be described without repeating information or only listing some things that do not appear in policy. The municipality has many expectations for the conservation area on the socio-economic functions, but most have a common theme of connecting as many functions as fit to heritage. For the participation projects, the fact they were noted as a learning opportunity is important. It shows a new way that heritage might be useful in the long run, as long as the local actors have positive experiences as well.

Table 7A.3: Mallumse Molen	"Heritage Attracts"	"Heritage Connects"
Socio-economic	- Rural economic opportunities	-Culture and accessibility -Participation projects
Symbolic	-A regional story	- Woven through policy

7B 'Actual' Roles for the conservation areas:

In the chapter about the active roles, it was more feasible to write about the features that make up these roles on a very detailed level. All aspects noted in the conceptual model, like the signs of tourist gaze, importance of meaning, accessibility and purpose for the *Function,* and explanation, local affection and use, origin of users, and marketing for *Internal or external focus* will are the backbone of this chapter. This was the case for both the data collection, the analysis and now writing this chapter. At the end of the chapter, these parts are still supposed to be summarised. The points found during site visits have been further expanded on to the extent where they are important factors themselves or help to understand findings from the interviews. The interviews were coded using the core concepts first and then adding further codes that might be interesting. These were then categorised so they could fit with the core codes and the structure of this chapter.

7B.1 Bronkhorst

7B.1.1 Function

Visual aspects: 'Tourist gaze'

The features that 'pull' the vision in Bronkhorst tell a lot about its function. In chapter 6 it was already discussed how 'authentic' Bronkhorst looks. This authenticity, with variety of styles of buildings makes it so that there are many spots in the town that look photogenic. The conscious effort to have some authenticity is also noticeable through many details. For example, a visitor with no knowledge of the town can still notice that the letterbox and the old road signs are different from the standard PostNL and ANWB ones. In every interview, it was noted that this was a conscious effort by the people that live and work in the city.

> *"If we let everything pauperise, let the weeds grow, paint everything new and don't put the flowers outside anymore… it might be an extreme example but it would not be fun anymore for tourists. They come here also because we maintain it well, and I believe we hold each other to high standards. Not in a way where you say "Hey neighbour, when are you going to paint and repair a bit". Not that, but still it is so that everything does their best to keep things as nice and pleasant as possible and that is a bonus for the tourism and everyone"* (CivicArtBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018)

Even something 'small' as hanging baskets is actively advocated by the entire town committee (CivicArtBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018). While the heritage council disagreed with how much it would fit in the city, people pooled their own money together in order to place and maintain them. Concerning decisions like this, also with other seasonal decorations, the committee reasons from a personal standpoint as well as from the standpoint that visitors like it.

Another major project that highlights the visual aspect of a symbolic function is the castle hill project. This project has been much more controversial than maintaining old buildings, because people had different ideas about how it should have become in terms of scale. According to the interviewed people, some wanted large structures that would bring a new landmark to the city, and others felt the scale model at the top was enough (CivicArtBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018). Creating some landmark at this castle hill was apparently "nudged by the local businessowners" (HotelBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018) While it is still an ongoing discussion, the same 'new landmark' versus 'authentic and modest' arguments are heard with the art installations near the river. After noting that most of the inhabitants did not like the idea of art installations, a person from the city committee explained the following: "This is not Amsterdam, we have… One of the things from the vision plan we bring forward the most is let's keep it as authentic as possible. And I think that is the strength of Bronkhorst, the strength of the Achterhoek. People do not come here to see things they find amazing in Amsterdam"

Still on the visual level, the socio-economic functions are also visible at street level. While they do not contrast much with the historic atmosphere, you can notice the two hotels, sculpture and jewellery stores and the several art galleries just as quick as you notice the old buildings. This is important to note, since it would otherwise suggest the city is only built on symbolic values.

Meaning and story

In the previous chapter, it appeared that the municipal worker believed the identity of being the *smallest city* was a connecting factor and even a factor that could pull people to the city. According to the hotel owner, it is true that many people know the story of it being the smallest city. He explains it is more known than being a conservation area, with some nuance:

 [Visitors know it is a] …special area. Many know it is the smallest city, some say smallest village or something or oldest village, but that is just not true. So, many people have heard of Bronkhorst. The name Bronkhorst, although they might not have been there, but still a lot of people know."
(HotelBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018)

The name Bronkhorst appears to be a strong symbolic factor by itself. As opposed to what the policy worker explained, both actors here believe the choice for *BronCKhorst* was a conscious decision. *"There was a time, with the previous mayor, he wanted to turn it completely into some kind of touristic draw and for that the whole municipality was named Bronckhorst. They had an idea of 'Bronkhorst is well-known, so we can put that on the map and hope it brings something in return for the rest of the municipality" (CivicArtBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018)* . This has proven its value, according to the hotel owner. The entire municipality rides along with the fame of Bronkhorst. When he was at a holiday trade show along with others from the region, he found out "*ninety percent*" knew the city, other towns in the municipality did not receive such a reaction (HotelBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018). According to him, over half of the people who went to the municipality, also came to the city.

Fig 7B.1: A visitor looking at the scale model of the old castle. Own image, taken with permission.

One factor to note is that the new castle hill project was also built as a way to tell the story of the city in a more interactive way. As visible in image 7B.1, you are supposed to walk around the hill and

learn about its development, while you can see the landscape and old city from this vantage point. While this could also be factored under the target group aspect with explanation, this unusual way of presenting also connects it visibly to a symbolic function.

Both inhabitants and business owners know a lot about what happened in the city before they lived there (HotelBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018). During the interviews, they were able to tell stories about old farms, shops and historic city fires. On a more personal note, an inhabitant who explained the position of the city committee told how she knew very little about the city before moving there. She moved based on the atmosphere and aesthetics, but learned a lot through personal interest and day-to-day challenges such as home improvement projects(CivicArtBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018).

Another story element is the traditional marksmen festival (HotelBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018). Inhabitants as well as businessowners appreciated the festival as a part of local culture that could be carried on even though most people that live there now do not have their roots in the city. While the tradition is not aimed at tourists, it is very open to new inhabitants that have interest in keeping that part of culture alive. On top of a symbolic function, festivals like this have a social function as well through keeping the sense of community alive.

Accessibility
Before moving to the actual use of the area, the accessibility of the city and the way places are made accessible can also tell something about the extent of possible functions. In this city, an effort has been made to make special points more accessible, both for traffic and by foot. The traffic situation is controversial, because any increase in visitors also means a higher demand for parking space and more noise throughout the day (Interview A). From a business perspective, the accessibility by car means more visitors than if people had to park outside of the city, but for the people that live there, it also brings along some convenience.

> *"We had an experiment for (…) five months on Sundays, (…) inhabitants need a permit (…) they pay €30,- for, and afterwards (…) 20% was [still] in favour (…). I think (…) it costs me thousands of euros if this happens, and your opinion changes when you must pay 30"* *(HotelBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018)*

The castle hill mentioned earlier was very inaccessible and muddy before, so the change is appreciated by many. Still, some of the new unintended uses that are possible now are not appreciated. The following quote shows that even making the castle hill more accessible can bring forward unwanted usage, also as a contrast to the idea to use the hill more intensively than just placing a scale model.

> *"You can wear high heels now, but before you had to wear boots. People don't just walk, a lot rides along, I don't believe that is the intention(…) even cars ride into it. You know, […] most people think let's keep it as is, it has never been much more than this, so don't turn it into a carnival (…) and I don't think that is supposed to be for a conservation area to turn it into some huge attraction." (CivicArtBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018)*

Fig 7B.2: Rules for the castle hill path. Own image

To conclude on accessibility, outside of the castle hill, a lot seems not that different from any other city. Business owners open up their grounds when it brings in more visitors while understanding that others like some privacy. *"People need to have some respect, (…) you shouldn't peek into a home. With a shop that is fine. And in the back yards it is very calm though, if you are nicely in your back yard on a busy Sunday, you don't hear much. (…) In my case people can walk around, I'm not like 'this is my terrain', but we are of course a very open business"* (HotelBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018)

Actual purposes of the area

Before the interviews in Bronkhorst, the idea for this research was that most of the use of the place was aimed at tourists, with the restaurants, hotels and shops. There are no shops aimed at locals, people do their grocery shopping in the next town over (CivicArtBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018) The functions that were apparent were hotels, restaurants, shops that connect well with incidental visitors and art galleries. Some other functions would only be noted thanks to the interviews. These are the agricultural function and private offices. The agricultural function is perhaps not as marketable, but nonetheless essential for the way the conservation area looks. This function keeps the fields green, makes sure they have useful space during the marksman festival and also determines the lines and shapes in the landscape. It is also a very logical reason for why the fields are not 'accessible', they still have a function and are privately owned as opposed to being an accessible park. The office function might be an invisible motor for the city, because it still brings in clients and gives an incentive to keep the exterior in good condition. The fact most of this happens without signs shows they have put some thought into preventing to collectively cluttering the place up. *"It looks like there is a lot of entrepreneurship here (…) there are a lot of people who have an office or something like that at home or in their home and are pioneering from there, so for some it is not just a home but a place to work as well in the sense that they have an office there."* (CivicArtBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018). This adds a new layer on top of the symbolic nature of this city. Even though the city is small and has tourists visiting just because of that fact, the inhabitants do not all rely on this tourism.

Fig 7B.3: Enhanced text of a closing antiques shop. Own image, 2018.

7B.1.2 Target groups

Amount of explanation:

As already noted in a previous chapter, there is a lot of information available on signs for Bronkhorst. This starts on the other side of the IJssel river, on the town square of Brummen. When you head into the city from that direction, you might 'miss' a sign important to the ferry. Unless you wait at the right spot, the ferry will stay at the other side of the river, but a group of people who seem to sit at a bench there regularly quickly shout that. The boat has pictures of its history and some events, which is where the density of signs seems to start. From then on, many interesting buildings and places have a sign explaining what you are looking at. On top of this, there is a very detailed array of signs in the small town to point visitors in certain directions. Picture 7B.4 highlights this, the signage for routes goes on outside the city, but it does also show there are many different routes available that go through it. Once inside some of the restaurants, the amount of old pictures and explanation that goes with it continues.

Fig 7B.4: All signs in a crossroads in Bronkhorst. with note of what the sign is about. Own image. 2019

There is a mix of 'postcard' signs that explain something in a few sentences and several large signs that tell whole stories along with pictures. These larger signs can be found in the city itself, near the castle hill and near the main parking space, also called 'Tourist Transfer Point'. Because no public transportation heads into the city, this means the first thing all visitors see when they step out of their car is that large sign. Together, the signs leave no aspects from the initial listing as a conservation area unmentioned, in Dutch, German and English.

There is also a large amount of flyers and folders, a way the city gets 'explained' to visitors. This ranges for many subjects, such as art, food, history and sights. Given the decentralised nature of this method of sharing information, it is also interesting to see where these are available. Outside of the town, the *Kunstgemaal* has a tourist information point flag hanging (fig 7B.5), and an entire room full of magazines, booklets and flyers. Some of these cost money, others are handed out for free. According to the hotel owner however, this VVV does not add much to the town.

> *"On the one hand, it is a beautiful spot, like I'm saying, just yes, the most beautiful moment is in the afternoon at half past three when that sun goes down, but aside from that you have to work with the cyclists on the cycling path, and I think that ninety percent of the people who visit Bronkhorst don't come there, so it's nice to have a VVV, but there… It is also not complete, I think that we have just as much stuff to offer.* (HotelBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018)

Fig 7B.5: The 'Kunstgemaal', with tourist information sign hanging. Own image, 2019

Local affection and use

The many ways locals use the place has been described throughout this chapter already. Two factors are important to note however: whether they use the facilities that are available and whether there is some way for them to come together. For the first instance, it was explained that the facilities there do not match with the day-to-day needs, for example a supermarket. This supermarket is at most a ten minute bike ride away from Bronkhorst. The shop that sold candy was aimed at tourists, and the people that live there would only use the local restaurants when they bring others along.

Concerning what is available for the community, there is no community hall, but the three major places that *can* be used for gathering are used alternately (CivicArtBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018). When the city committee gathers, which amounts to fitting almost everybody who lives or works in the city in one room, they do so in either of the two restaurants and celebrate their new years together in the church. This church has not been used as such for almost a century. While this shows there are no facilities aimed at locals,

Origin of users
From the interviews and the site visits it became clear that a very varied group of people visit Bronkhorst. This is known at the municipality as well as with the businesses, information is presented in English, German and Dutch. One shift that they did feel necessary to note is the shift from mostly old people to a more varied group than that (HotelBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018). The users are drawn to Bronkhorst as a way to include *"a bit of culture and a bit of history"* in their visit to the region. In this sense, Bronkhorst is part of the highlights of the region.

Marketing
The marketing is, as already noted, done on the regional level. Interestingly, the hotel owner explained a point that was not apparent from the policy documents, namely that Bronkhorst itself is actually able to stand out from the others at marketing trade shows. As the hotel owner also explained, his own hotel is part of the marketing along with several other interesting spots in the city (HotelBronkhorst1, Personal Communication, 14 November 2018). The marketing is however not aimed at particular people. More than the municipality, he believes it is a good thing that Bronkhorst has several identities and can be marketed to several different groups at the same time.

7B.2 Bredevoort

7B.2.1 Function

Visual aspects: 'tourist gaze'

As already noted when describing the municipality Aalten, Bredevoort has more listed buildings than any other town nearby. It was already described that this is noticeable on site, but in that context it means a lot for the tourist gaze. Because the city is unlike other places around people see it as a place well worth visiting, according to an art gallery owner. Bredevoort is attractive to visitors from Germany, especially in a regional sense.

Fig 7B.6: The 'hidden' windmill. Own image, 2018

"… in this region, people see it as a gem of the municipality (…) also when they have company, I believe it is really used as "come, let's go to Bredevoort because we are proud that it's there". (…) … that absolutely has to do with the conservation area. (…) especially for German people (…). If you just go to Bocholt, you immediately understand the value of Bredevoort. You just see it by the buildings it is much more rough and plump, less atmosphere. (…) the facilities are there, but not the soul." (CivicBredevoort1, Personal Communication, 23 November 2018)

In Bredevoort, the buildings might be somewhat 'mundane', but the way everything looks when put together is impressive. Many of the architecturally impressive buildings, such as the windmill, are only visible from certain perspectives. The park is another 'hidden spot', according to the hotel owner.

There are a lot of added 'decorations' that are visual aspects and important to note. Throughout the city, there are statues related to the book city identity and to the medieval history. Going back to the interview at the municipality, they have been very involved with adding such elements in a way that you can imagine how the city might have looked like before. In the north of the city, there are huge iron structures that show the size of the old fortress walls and in the city centre, there is a scale model of the old castle. According to a hotel owner, photos of the city are found all over the internet(HotelBredevoort1, Personal Communication, 23 November 2018).

In a sense, the small book shops are also something that pulls the tourist gaze (ArtBredevoort1, Personal Communication, 23 November, 2018). The slow decline of these book shops and the general knowledge about it has chanced them from a destination by itself to an attraction. Visitors see all the references to books throughout the city, but often do not know what that is all about. *"It stays known, but not as much as before of course anymore and people that come walk around here don't even know that it is a book city. A lot of tourists ask "gee, there are all kinds of books for sale, what is that, al those book standards, is there something going on?" and I think eighty percent that comes here don't know it is book city, so the name book city is nothing anymore, it is carried by tourism people (…) just see flyers at the camping (…) and then go."* (HotelBredevoort1, Personal Communication, 23 November 2018)

Importance of meaning

While there is a lot happening in the city, it became visible that every actor that was spoken to feel a large part of the economic basis of the city is leaving with the decline of book shops. For the past 25

years, businesses and tourist agencies have built their marketing around books and art history, but that is not sustainable anymore. *"Book city is gone and what comes in return is the hospitality and tourism, they still keep everything alive. Imagine if the hospitality stops as well, I think Bredevoort is doomed then"* (HotelBredevoort1, Personal Communication, 23 November 2018)

Since the city needed a new 'pull' factor, it looks as if the importance of the meaning of cultural history and the landscape around it can grow further. Right now, people explain that the attractive factor of the city is more the way it looks on the surface than connected to a story or identity. The hotel owner explains that it is dangerous to expect people will be drawn to a place just because of how it looks. *"If you only make a pretty garden, there is just a hand full of people that goes there, not the masses a lot of people imagine".* (HotelBredevoort1, Personal communication, 23 November 2018) All the respondents in Bredevoort noted that right now, even though they are proud to tell more about the history of the town, are looking for more meaning. It seems as if in Bredevoort, a lot of value is attached to the recent projects (CivicBredevoort1, Personal Communication, 23 November 2018)

The one place where you can notice very well that it meant a lot to people and still draws a specific audience is the Lourdes cave in the fortress park. Around the cave, there is not just explanation about this specific Lourdes cave, but what caves like these meant in general. While that cave cannot be found back on old maps, it is apparently part of the story how people felt the need to erect such statues. While this is a religious reference, the Church was not a key actor in the book city initiative in any way, according to one of the people involved since the beginning. Gradually, the churches did find connections with the book identity, but the respect for this cave shows that there is something separate. *"[the park] is very valuable and for the people who live there, they are still searching a bit, and I find it very nice near the Lourdes cave, that is a bit of devotion, people still crawl into that, you still see a candle burning now and then"* (CivicBredevoort1, Personal Communication, 23 November 2018)*.*

Accessibility

One of the city-like features Bredevoort has is that most houses do not have front yards. While the back yards are logically private and somewhat hidden from view, the houses that do have front yards have a very open appearance. There are even a lot of spots where it initially looks as if they are fenced off or private side of homes but are actually still accessible. This is because there are a lot of 'honesty bookshops' in the city, book cabinets where people can walk up to, pick a book and pay through the letterbox. It allows people to look at the books but of course also to look at the architecture of the house, if they'd be interested to. There are also no paths or streets that give an unwelcome atmosphere, perhaps only when you come across a 'private' sign that shows some people before have been a nuisance.

Fig 7B.7: An 'honesty bookshop' behind a gate. Own image, 2018

According to people active at local art galleries and tourist agencies, accessibility in the sense of where visitors are accommodated is limited to where you can walk outside (ArtBredevoort1 & CivicBredevoort1, personal communication, 23 November 2018). One example is that even when events are organised, poles that limit car space are not removed. This means more effort for organisers and attendees. Issues like these were part of the reason why the regular book markets moved to the Koppelkerk, a bit outside of the conservation area. According to the city interest committee, the amount of facilities for people who don't visit the cafés is also too limited (CivicBredevoort1, personal communication, 23 November 2018). There are not enough toilets in the city people can go to, so they have to go to the tourist agency. He wants to be able to make the city more accessible for people with handicaps.

The park is private property made publicly accessible. This way, people can see the part of the city where you 'experience' the fortress walls. Some parts that might otherwise be muddy or might hurt the plants are more accessible thanks to elevated paths. It is a way to see the 'Lourdes cave', a place of religious value. According to many signs at the entrance, visitors have to follow a long list of rules and take warnings into account. Not only are bicycles not allowed, children under 12 are not allowed by themselves and people are warned the paths might not be safe to use with a wheelchair. "*This park added a lot to the revitalisation of the city because people are proud of it now, that there is such a nice little park because people can walk through it. Yes, they are sometimes naughty but we have to accept that.* (… later in the interview…) *It was actually a combination of public money and private money because we are owners. Therefore, we are also obligated to open it up*" (CivicBredevoort1, personal communication, 23 November 2018)

Actual purpose

A lot about the functions and purpose here has already been described throughout the chapter. Most notable is that the very specific function of the book stores is declining and being filled by general hospitality. In this city, there have been a lot of very creative businesses, but the gallery owner is afraid that might decline along with the declining cultural function of the city

(ArtBredevoort1, Personal Communication, 23 November 2018). With her gallery, still together with other artists in the city, she actively promotes the idea of looking for solutions in the cultural sector when buildings are vacant.

Not only is the book shop function declining, other retail functions are leaving as well. Because there was no space for growth, a regionally known furniture store had to leave the city after multiple decades in the conservation area (CivicBredevoort1, Personal Communication, 23 November 2018; MunicipalAalten2, Personal communication, 7 November 2018). Since leaving the conservation area does not mean leaving the region, and there is also a lot of work outside of the conservation area, this happens very quietly. In the end, while the cultural function of the city might be becoming less, the leisure and recreation is becoming more prominent.

On the level of the new functions fitting with the old book city function and mindset, the more experienced actors replied cautious. They see more and more tourists coming from different places. The tourist agency is used to German and Dutch visitors that want to know a lot about books, but according to him, it was still a learning situation of how to deal with Asian visitors and what to offer them (CivicBredevoort1, Personal communication, 23 November 2018). According to the hotel owner, the different audience is not useful to existing businesses. *"I don't know if they match well together, no. The people who go to horeca, to us, is a very different audience than that go to the books, they are of no use to the book guys. The cyclists and hikers go through the town, take a seat in the restaurants but not at the books."* (HotelBredevoort, personal communication, 23 November 2018)

The park itself added a special purpose, namely the purpose of bringing people together. While there was already a community centre, this park was a community effort. When it was being made, people were either involved with planning or at least making sure they knew what was going on there (CivicBredevoort1, personal communication, 23 November 2018). This park was fully initiated by the locals, and even though not all inhabitants were involved, this involvement gradually grew. Now it is another place for art, but also for learning about nature through all the information signs near trees.

7B.2.2 Target group

Amount of explanation:
There is a lot of explanation throughout the town, but in a way that it is 'open to interpretation'. Not every honesty bookshelf has a full explanation of the context next to it, but there are a lot of signs on the listed buildings about their history. There are also some signs on the street pointing people in several directions, however not in the direction of the fortress park. Inside this park, the signage adds a new layer of explanation to things, because it tells visitors about which plants are growing where. There all sorts of unique plants and trees there, and this way even locals can learn something new.

There are many 'creative' ways information is explained in the city. This happens by using statues, scale models and speaker poles. As noted, the municipality helps fund these ways. On top of this, the local tourist office offers guided tours. During the interview, the manager explained this makes the place more welcoming for German visitors (CivicBredevoort1, Personal communication, 23 November 2018). On top of this, that tourist office also offers flyers and very detailed information.

Local affection and use:

People take good care of everything in the city. This, according to the hotel owner, is noticeable but has turned more towards the private benefit than the benefit of the town. In his opinion, this has to do with the idea that the town is less unique and interesting to visitors than it was before with the books (HotelBredevoort1, personal communication, 23 November 2018). The story of the fortress park had the opposite happen. This park created a new sense of belonging and fostered creative ideas in the conservation area (CivicBredevoort1, Personal communication, 23 November 2018). With the art in the city, the creative businesses were also involved and welcome to cooperate. They understand that this is interesting to visitors as well,

Origin of users

According to the hotel owner, there are many different groups of people that visit the city. Earlier in the chapter I already referred to how the people think that the group of book buyers is leaving, they still believe most of the users and people that can keep the city alive will be tourists and people from far outside. In a regional sense, the idea of being a local gem and interesting to German visitors helps a lot. As explained, people believe Bredevoort to be a city where even a local can take their company. According to the art gallery owner, locals themselves can do their shopping in Bredevoort, the local supermarket is apparently growing at a steady pace and moving to a larger space (ArtBredevoort1, personal communication, 23 November 2018).

While the hotel owner describes most 'holiday' visitors to be incidental in the sense that the visit was not planned beforehand, this is a contrast with the group of Asian visitors already mentioned earlier. These visitors came to the city after a Korean painter shared his work and experiences in the city back home. This direct 'marketing' apparently had the effect that people made a planned visit to Bredevoort. *"They enjoy themselves and even spend their money on the oddest things, I noticed that"* (CivicBredevoort1, personal communication, 23 November, 2018)

The final point to note about where the people in this city come from, is that the owner of the art gallery, who is almost dubbed the new person to pull activities in Bredevoort, was invited back from Leiden. While she grew up in Bredevoort, she moved to Leiden and came back when she was notified of a vacant church she could do something with. She came back because the *"felt guilty"* for leaving and felt she could add something to here home region (ArtBredevoort1, Personal communication, 27 November 2018)

Marketing

According to the hotel owner, the marketing for the city went down a lot. It does not happen as a collective anymore, but it is still a large reason people might come to the city from camping's nearby. He explains he focuses on Germans as well as Dutch people, because they are such a large audience. To reach that audience, the ads are in German (HotelBredevoort1, PersonalCommunication1, 23 November 2018).

When they do marketing campaigns however, they are still initiated by local groups. They even market in the western provinces of the Netherlands, and this seems to work (CivicBredevoort1, Personal Communication, 23 November 2018). The local tourist agency has promoted via flyers in the mail, even as far as in Amsterdam. After promotions like these, they would have new visitors from all over the country. According to him, the marketing itself did go down a bit, but this is not seen as definite.

7B.3 Mallumse Molen

7B.3.1 Function

Physical aspects: tourist gaze

The conservation area is very small, but is still filled with photogenic spots. Because of its size, there is also less to describe in this chapter. There are many lines of sight here, and the place is treated with care. The new owner of the restaurant explains that when she saw the place for the first time, she already knew she wanted to leave the place in its value, even before knowing it was a conservation area. It looks very preserved, from the interviews the consensus seems to be that people would take good care of the place even if it weren't such. It being a conservation area is almost assumed. *"I knew this place was a conservation area, but have not thought about it very specifically, what it means what the consequences are. I do have the idea now, I'd think it was weird if it weren't a conservation area (…) because it is simply such a beautiful place."*(RestaurantMallum1, Personal Communication, 1 November 2018)

The physical qualities of the area are also a useful economic bonus for the restaurant at the Millers' house (CivicMallum1, Personal Communication, 1 November 2018). This place is the scene for events such as music events and weddings. The restaurant is open to initiatives that want to use it like that, but also advertise the scenic location as a place for events. Combined with the small scale they believe they are a niche location for such event. *"It has to have ambiance (…) and then you have a large barbeque and performances under the hayberg and hay bales, you know, and if you are doing that in a big theatre that's too massive already"* (RestaurantMallum1, Personal Communication, 1 November 2018)

The way the place is used by the local anglers also tells a lot about these physical qualities. The water near the mill is one of the fishing spots for the local fishing club, in particular one mostly useful for recreational use and competitions as well (AnglerMallum2, personal communication, 7 November 2018). Having such a place, where you can look around, is valuable for the club (AnglerMallum1, personal communication, 7 November 2018). It is often a favourite spot for the German members, who sometimes have to pay that membership fee just to fish on their holiday. It is also a prime location for the youth. They believe that if they didn't have access to that spot, they would have much less participants (AnglerMallum3, Personal Communication, 7 November 2018). The anglers do not just expect the place to look nice, they maintain the vegetation around the river as well.

> *"For the youth, it is a fantastically beautiful place to be, and I think it is very nice to be here too. If you want to fish for a few hours on your own, this is a very beautiful place"*
> (AnglerMallum3, Personal Communication, 7 November 2018)

Note: After this quote, all others at the table agreed and nodded.

Figure 7B.8: *Photograph of the mill from the restaurant. People in blue shirts are accommodating visitors to the mill*. Own image, 2018. Faces obscured because of lack of explicit permission.

Meaning

The meaning and the story at this place has a very high value. First of all, both the initiative to keep the mill running and the "Marke Mallum" is grounded in the idea of keeping some sense of history alive and bringing it back where possible (CivicMallum1, Personal Communication, 1 November 2018). The mill has no profitable function, but is still running for demonstrations and educative purposes. The foundation that runs the mill is able to keep it running because of donations, volunteer work and the rent the 'tenant' needs to pay for using the millers house as a restaurant. The people in the board of that foundation do it out of love for the mill and its history.

Since 2018, there is a new manager at the restaurant in the millers house (RestaurantMallum1, Personal Communication, 1 November 2018). This manager is dedicated to having restaurants in unique settings, but according to her, the story of the place was the deciding factor for managing this place. When she first visited the place, the people who then worked at the restaurant knew the story and cared about it. She noticed that while people might not care much for the events that happen, but because the area is part of the identity of people. With her as a manger, and also with the old ones, the story of the area is one of the selling points (CivicMallum1, Personal Communication, 1 November 2018). She wants to develop the inside of the house even further to create more place where people can somewhat experience how such an old building might have looked like. While it is no free museum, she does like when people come there to look around and then buy a consumption.

The story of the river is also important to the anglers. They don't just see the place as a functional place, but would like to contribute to telling the story to local school children in the same way. During the interview with three people, all from different backgrounds, they all had some personal story about the place and asserted that everybody in Eibergen cared in one way or another about the place. They note that the educative projects in particular are a reason why even young people know the place. "*With the water board back then I went with the school sometimes (…) with little nets and then that is the location, it is a very neat combination with the little boats you go via the water lock with the children going back and forth, so actually, the schools do make it so that the youth know this place. You could almost say young to old knows that spot*" (AnglerMallum3, Personal communication, 7 November 2018)

Noting back to the policy documents, it seems as if everybody involved in the conservation area cares a lot about teaching people, mainly school children, about the place. The mill, while not literally as a conservation area, is part of the primary school curriculum this way. Even during the site visits, a school class was just finished having a tour around the area.

Figure 7B.9: *Photograph of interactive tourist information. This is a still from a recorded video of the sign 'spinning' like a water mill would.* Own image, 2018

Accessibility

On the level of accessibility, this conservation area is interesting because except for a farmers field, most of the places here are owned by different clubs or foundations. All of them have their own motivations for allowing people around, but this still makes it so that you can walk through nearly every single square meter. The only part you cannot walk around for free is the herb garden. Consequently, this herb garden is also the only feature that is not historical, that location has had many different uses throughout the years and did not exist as a garden when the area was originally listed.

Even for going inside buildings and looking at them, the conservation area is very accessible. As long as the mill is in use, you can go inside. The mill is mostly in use during the weekends, and irregularly during the week. This does leave very interesting sights closed off until the weekends. People who visit the place for just one day might miss it just because they visited on the wrong day. On the website of the mill and in the interview, it became clear that this is not to limit it off but dependent on when the volunteers have time to come outside of the agreed on times in the weekends. Whenever volunteers are available, the mill is open for public.

For the local anglers, the physical access to the water was very important. As visible in the image, the watersides are maintained well and there are even some piers where people can sit on more solid wood. Keeping the place this accessible takes constant work, also because they have to work together with the actual owners of the waterside to plan when and where to mow. Because they have to cooperate with Marke Mallum, they feel some responsibility to not just mow everything but to mow it in such a way the place looks better as well.

Image 7B.10: *The waterfront behind the watermill.* Own image, 2018

Purpose

Since it is such a small area, it is easy to describe which purpose the place has, on a surface level. Most activities are built around recreation. You have the active recreation, where walking, cycling tournaments and fishing tournaments take place. For these groups, the conservation area is a definite shared space. The anglers have made arrangements with the cycling club so tournaments would not be held at the exact simultaneously and location for these two activities. The restaurant in the millers' house is first and foremost an economic activity. They provide the people who want to walk with planned tours that have the restaurant as the endpoint. There is also passive recreation, like with taking tours at the mill and walking around. Finally, the house and the herb garden both have events, where people who are interested can come (RestaurantMallum1, Personal Communication, 1 November 2018)

7B.3.2 Target group

Explanation

Relative to the amount of buildings on location, there are a lot of signs explaining the story of this conservation area. While the number you see outside can be counted on one hand, there is still a wide variety of explanation. In the town centre of Eibergen, there was no sign towards this conservation area, but it was listed once you got closer. At the location, most of the signs that tell the story of the place are found near the parking space next to the mill. There are some signs funded by the Marke Mallum, and others paid for by the regional tourism board. Both those signs look very professionally made, and offer information in both German and Dutch. An effort has been made to have this somewhat interactive as well.

The mill itself also offers information and explanation, but only in Dutch. This ranges from printed paper behind glass to a full exhibit of the history of the mill indoors. This has more of a sense of a private collection or museum than a professional exhibit. It is not unprofessional, but looks more like years of effort compared to the digitally printed signs placed by others. The millers house makes an effort to teach people about the place, although with the hope it also means more people will eat there. For example, they offer hiking tours that start and end at the house, or even tours where dinner at the house is included in the price of that tour (RestaurantMallum1, Personal Communication. 1 November 2018)

Figure7B.11 : *An exhibit with news articles and old photographs inside the mill.* Own image, credit for exhibit and collecting photos: (Stichting Eibergse Molens, 2018)

Local affection and use

There is a total of four community efforts that work separately to make the place look nice. These efforts appreciate working on a basis of mutual trust, but only approaching each other when necessary (AnglerMallum1, personal communication, 7 November 2018; CivicMallum1, personal communication, 1 November 2018). Except for Marke Mallum and the watermill, their target groups do not overlap, so each adds diversity. The events that happen, organised by locals, are attractive to locals and visitors. They do not 'scare off' locals, but there is no obligation to visit (Restaurant Mallum1, Personal communication, 1 November 2018). People who live near do come to take a look. It is important for the restaurant to retain some goodwill when working with a place people hold dearly. The mill owner explained that people from north above the Berkel care a lot about the place, but in Eibergen it is also popular for daily activities such as running and walking the dog (CivicMallum1, Personal Communication, 1 November 2018)

Origin of users

The origin of visitors is varied, but this still seems to be people that live in the region. A lot of residents come or go through the area as part of other activities. They might have had plans to go fishing, just walk around, or volunteer at one of the community efforts. As said already, locals visit the millers house, the herb garden, the mill and the events there as well. This can be for a day out, but also when others visit that can be brought to a nice place. The anglers believe that the local population would come to more events if they were specifically aimed at them (AnglerMallum2, Personal Communication, 7 November 2018). They explained this used to happen, and would be an opportunity to re-introduce.

The German visitors are also considered to be regional visitors by all parties involved (AnglerMallum1, Personal Communication, 7 November 2018). For the anglers, the area is attractive to German visitors who go fishing there. Around half the fishing club is German, ranging from those who live near the border to Dortmund, Munster and Osnabrück. They then take the Dutch members to the restaurant. Most of the recent times visit recall, they went together with German anglers. Because the hotel meant people can stay nearby the area and Marke Mallum made the area more attractive, the anglers and the restaurant owner believed that tourism of other groups of visitors would also grow (RestaurantMallum1, Personal Communication, 1 November 2018). Some of the anglers feared this would cost them space at the waterside, but others argued that drastic changes would not be permitted in a conservation area.

Marketing

Marketing is detailed to the mill and placed in a regional context. The information wheel shows regional stories under the Achterhoek 'logo'. The people working at the tourist office know a lot about the place and were willing to take the time to talk about the place. Flyers for events and hiking tours through the area can be found in such offices in other towns as well. They offered very little online information, but do feature the place in promotional pictures.

The miller and the restaurant owner made it a point to note that they even market to Belgian people on tourism trade shows. This appears to have a positive effect, as they see more people from Belgium visiting the place. While people don't travel for one historic mill, they now know the place when visiting the region.

7C. Conclusion

This chapter will be concluded by highlighting the similarities and differences between the intended roles and the extent some roles were found. For each of the three conservation areas, there were many more aspects to describe than were found in the municipal policy, albeit some factors were still in the general plans and not connected to the conservation area or heritage.

Visual aspects

The first to discuss are the expectations for visual aspects, *the tourist gaze*. Each municipality has factored the aesthetics into their plans and are all mostly similar to the situation as appeared from interviews and site visits. Especially since the site visits are based on the same method anybody can use – looking around -, this is no surprising result. The conservation areas have been protected based on how they look, so it *is* relevant to note that all actors can agree the aesthetics are important for both bringing in visitors and for liveability. Only in Bronckhorst, the community influence on how everything looks was not as explicitly described. Together, the locals invest time and money in 'hanging baskets' and Christmas trees, which they say is appreciated by visitors but a struggle to keep them when the municipality shows very little support.

Meaning and story

On the level of meaning and story, each municipality had a slightly different value to this part, which is reflected in the findings. In every municipality, the way the municipal workers described the meaning could be valuable was also found in the site visits and interviews. Only in Bredevoort, the described shifting story was not as apparent as the municipality made it seem. They described history was vital because it was the only thing left, while the municipality spoke in terms of having more to offer than books.

Accessibility

Concerning accessibility, there were differences. In most cases, the places were less accessible than policy made it seem, like in Bronkhorst and Bredevoort leaving businesses are not replaced by something 'open', but at the Mallumse Molen the place is already one of the most accessible 'spots' for fishing. When accessibility projects are initiated by locals, these are also appreciated. However, in Bronkhorst the more accessible castle hill caused unintended usage.

Purpose

The actual purpose of the area does not match expectations everywhere. In Bronkhorst, the art gallery was no attraction by itself or viable with the type of visitors the city gets and the non-touristic economic local functions were not mentioned at all in policy. In Bredevoort, the purpose did not become very diverse, since hotel owners say the town now relies on a single quality. This hospitality is developing, but still similar to many other tourist towns. At the Mallumse Molen, the local purpose it has for active recreation was rarely mentioned, even though promoting an active lifestyle is a policy goal.

Explanation

The amount of explanation was generally the same as how it was intended in municipal policy. Since they are the ones that pay signs and are supposed to control public space, their physical policy instruments are clearly used. The only part about explanation the municipalities did not include and was actually present was the explanation by locals. The places where locals are inclined to tell more themselves such as in Bredevoort and the Mallumse Molen are also the places where the tourist use is less controversial.

Local affection and use

In all three conservation areas, the municipalities explained people care enough about the town to make or keep it looking good. While this was also found during interviews, it turned out to be even more than they seemed to expect. The local inhabitants care about living in something special, but also know that outsiders believe the place to be special as well. Even in Bronkhorst, where the locals feel excessive tourism would impact their liveability, these same locals justify the expenses they pay for *'hanging baskets'* on their observation that visitors appreciate it also. It seems to be that the cases where locals direct a project they also keep track of the 'limit' of tourism. This is something that is not usual outside of conservation areas, where many local projects are mostly aimed at locals and the incidental visitor.

Origin of users

Again, the municipal expectations on the origin of users was not challenged when exploring the 'actual' roles. The people who settle or set up businesses were not mentioned explicitly in policy though, and exactly these people come from further away. Even a mostly locally valuable place like the Mallumse Molen has a hotel owner from 'the west'. While these business owners and settlers from outside are still identified as being from elsewhere years after, they are still welcomed. This is most strongly the case when they are to some extent invited by a local civic group or inhabitants.

Marketing

Interestingly, the marketing situation is much different from the interviews than from the municipal plans. In general, marketing was not really part of the actual heritage policy, instead heritage was used by the marketing departments. Still, the local actors don't see the two as separate. Civic actors and businessowners combine the two because in the cases of conservation areas, tourism is fully connected to the historic atmosphere and the listed buildings. This brings the realisation that in towns like this, the idea of economic possibilities and how to market them is different from what is common in the region.

8. Conclusions

In this chapter, the main research question and the sub questions will be answered. The main research question was *"how can conservation areas be used as an effective way to counter population decline or its effects in the Achterhoek region, taking account of the possible active roles of heritage?".* This question could be answered by answering the following sub questions:

8.1 Population decline

The first sub question was "*How can the current policies in the Achterhoek to deal with population decline or its effects be characterised and in which way can these be linked to the presence of spatial heritage and conservation areas?".* Two parts had to be answered. Depopulation policy in the Achterhoek has changed much over time. Because of this, the situation was described in four time periods. Before 2009 depopulation was indicated but largely ignored. Heritage was no concern for those who started planning for it. Then, until 2012, the economic crisis laid the issues bare and rapid action ensued. Heritage was mostly part of austerity policies. Between 2012 and 2016, depopulation would be guided with regional cooperation. A search for function of heritage ensured. After negative effects of austerity were pointed out planners invested in regional identity, landscape and tourism. After 2016, regional cooperation focused on 'smart' solutions and opportunities, and left heritage out. They had no governing function anymore and the region board shifted to lobbying and giving aid to 'smart' projects. New heritage policies a local level did account for the effects of population decline and vice versa, so the connection did not disappear. As for 2019, the direction of policy depends on how municipalities will interpret population numbers that exceed expectations. Based on theory that states municipalities want growth even after 'accepting decline', it is a possibility that decline is played down and growth-based policies will appear again (BZK et al, 2009).

8.2 General situation of conservation areas

The second research question was "*What is the current situation regarding protection and preservation of conservation areas in the Achterhoek?"* First, the history of protecting places was told so the individual listings could be put into context. Then the situation of every conservation area in the region was described by summarising the listed qualities, the forms of protection and the visible situation of those once listed qualities. The findings suggested that while the listed qualities were all still present, it was partly because there were many 'layers' of protection. Listed buildings, listed estates, strict planning and aesthetics regimes were typical in the conservation areas. In every conservation area, there was some link to history and not just to protecting a nice view with no story.

8.3 Expected roles

The third research question was *"To which extent are the conservation areas expected to have a internal or external focus, and a symbolic or socio-economic function?".* This was researched through a thorough analysis of policy documents and interviews, and happened at three selected conservation areas: *Bronkhorst, Bredevoort and the Mallumse Molen.* The intended situation was different everywhere, some focuses or functions were more pronounced or detailed, but in general every focus and function could be identified. What stood out everywhere was that the symbolic function for locals was rarely mentioned, only for a passing mention of local identity. The value for visitors was detailed, but generally just for tourists and not for those who settle or want to start a business. This fits the theory that the symbolic function fits well in traditional patterns of municipalities: they have experience with marketing (de Graaf et al, 2015). All three conservation areas were seen as a gem city, sometimes noted as synonymous with conservation area.

8.4 Found roles

After describing the roles the municipalities expected, interviews with local actors, additional site visits and other materials were used to answer the fourth research question: *"To which extent does the expected focus / expected function of conservation areas match the actual focus / actual function?".* The short answer to this question is that in all three conservation areas, the municipalities did not plan for the amount of roles as were eventually found. In all the three cases, the aspects that were not planned on a socio-economic level such as entrepreneurs from outside or the meeting place function were still present. These happened on a local initiative, and the only time it did not, it was also not supported as much. For the symbolic functions, the municipalities that actively worked on a billboard function with landmarks were reflected as such in the findings, but for locals the municipality appeared to have a weaker expectation than was present.

8.5. Answering the research question

To answer the main research question, the four roles of heritage can be taken into account. These conclusions are based on at most seven conservation areas in a single region, so generalisations may still be difficult due to the low sample size. The previous questions made clear that all three places showed signs for the possible roles, even if they were not planned for. Business owners and locals would initiate projects themselves in those cases. Especially the *totem pole* and *billboard* roles could be found because of a strong symbolic value.

At the same time, it seemed as if the denominator *possible* in the research question applied more to the socio-economic factors and which target group would be focused on. In Bronkhorst, its listing brings legal barriers towards new functions. There are examples of this in the other two conservation areas as well. The existing focus on attracting or connecting provided limits and possibilities. In Bronkhorst, the perceived focus is mostly on attracting visitors. Plans to increase this face opposition because people fear it would shift to a theme park atmosphere. Here, there is a social barrier as well. In Mallum and Bredevoort, this focus seems to be in the middle. The groups here had less reservations towards projects aimed at attracting people.

Often, there were projects spearheaded by locals. These projects are not directly motivated by decline, but do have a positive effect on the surroundings and keep people connected to each other (van de Wijdeven, 2012). In all these places, the way it attracts others is part of their plans. Even in Bronkhorst, the decorations are placed while explaining that tourists like it. In Bredevoort, the new users for vacant buildings were even found with the help of the local interest committee.

The next core element is the effective way it can help. In this research, the conservation areas have shown themselves to be valid parts of the municipal toolbox. Just like with many of the 'modern' policy instruments, this rarely happens in a direct fashion. Conservation areas started as something the municipalities had to incorporate in their rules after they were nationally appointed. In the first place, conservation areas are a regulatory instrument, because they are the physical manifestation of all the heritage rules that the people are bound to. In the face of depopulation, this is at least a way to keep the quality of the environment 'pretty'.

However, because the conservation areas have many *more* roles than protecting, they can be considered as a collection of the other policy instruments (Hoogerwerf & Herweijer, 2014). Since the fame or value is based on the way it looks, it is a physical policy instrument as well. In a more indirect sense, the conservation areas are financial instruments as well when these qualities help businesses to earn money. The conservation area also acts as a strong message of recognition, as noticed in Bredevoort and Bronkhorst.

Considering how it helps with population decline and its effects, CA's at least have the capacity to attract new people because there was little long-term vacancy. There was no indication that this would 'radiate' outside of the area. The effects are mostly then lower funds in general. The expected sense of urgency that could cause people to become active has been found in all three places, with the added factor that their activities take attracting visitors into account.

To conclude, conservation areas can be effective when targeting negative effects of population decline when considered as a collection of policy instruments that acknowledges its symbolic value to the group that is targeted.

9. Discussion and recommendations

9.1 Preface

In the introduction, the research goal was described. The chapter ended noting that the recommendations and discussion will have a special structure to achieve this goal. During the research, enough data was collected to describe what the findings mean for the perspective of civic groups and private groups. As the research goal was to provide municipalities more footing for dealing with population decline with their heritage policy, this chapter is the final step towards reaching it. First, those two groups will be discussed, after which it will be translated to the municipalities. The chapter will conclude with a critical reflection on the research and results themselves.

9.2 Implications and insights

9.2.1 Civic groups

The theory already made clear that if heritage has a totem pole role, it might motivate people to come up with ideas and even solution to new problems. It turned out that this role and its effect was present in all three conservation areas. With and without the urgency of depopulation, locals actively look for ways to keep the place attractive. In these cases, one could expect their sense of community and liveability grows. It was less expected to see they also took tourists into account. Civic groups recognised people would be attracted to the place and want to be able to accommodate them until it hurts their liveability. Even though the places were different, they had in common that the symbolic value has received recognition and protection via a conservation area.

This implies that civic groups may be vital to protection of a conservation area. These groups make it possible to keep the general spatial qualities and save the costs that were only noted as a 'maybe' in the introduction. Without them, some attractive functions would not be there. They are also willing to act as a safeguard towards harmful plans. They make sure that liveability is held up and that the symbolic value does not get lost.

9.2.2 Private groups

It is already known that heritage locations can be valuable for a business to attract customers. It turned out that they do not expect their customers to know they visited a *conservation area* even though they come because it is neatly conserved. The business owners are just as motivated as locals are to keep the place attractive. It even seems as if they took a more prudent approach to economic functions in order to keep some authenticity.

For the use or protection of the area, it shows that because locals may oppose plans, prudent strategies should work better than opportunistic ones. A new use can be interesting in order to promote economic growth, but this may be counter to functional authenticity. Seedbed roles are difficult, because it implies that the use of the area may change a bit. This is when the conservation area may be in the way of creative approaches, so it takes a lot of effort to find those who want to bring creative and 'smart' solutions that fit the area. Old businesses that grow 'too much' and need to leave the conservation area do not move far away, but still cause vacancy. This might be where a creative solution would be welcome, since the function is lost already.

9.2.3 Municipalities

Most importantly, this research should give footing towards approaching the CA's as a way to work with population decline. That goal can be reached now. This discussion has shown how the actors rely on each other to keep the place attractive, but do not always have aligned motives to do that. The conclusion of the research showed that conservation areas can be approached as a collection of policy instruments when you keep the symbolic value in mind.

A minor recommendation is to make sure the heritage policy and tourism policies are connected. It turned out that protection of heritage was handled on the municipal level, but cultural and tourist projects often happened on the regional level. This might needlessly split the policy on spatial structures and the socio-economic usage.

For the municipalities with CA's, it may be helpful to provide locals with a clear view of what the conservation area is in terms of protection and possibilities. The protection worked so far and is appreciated, but detailed rules are difficult to find and people may be discouraged beforehand or unsure of when decisions are fair. Clarity could help the development of socio-economic functions. People will also know better how the physical structures will be protected.

Municipalities should take note of the totem pole function and approach active citizens as a starting point. People can be encouraged to stay active. If municipalities are only notified in case of permits and subsidies, they miss those beneficial activities that might even fit in their depopulation policy.

Finally, even municipalities without this protection can take something from this. It seems as if the combination of acknowledging the symbolic value and ensuring it will stay that way in the future encourages people to uphold it themselves also. Listing a place does not mean municipalities carry the full 'burden' in times of population decline if businesses and locals stay active.

9.3 Research recommendations

This research has shown that the framework this research is based on *works* as a way to look at the roles of heritage (de Graaf et al, 2015). It helped show that several roles could occur at the same time. The core concepts derived from it were not explicit however and are still difficult to quantify. Further research could help to set up a strong framework to easily look at more places like this. This way, it could be quantified which factors can help to reach which specific policy goal.

During the process of this research, there were signs that the age of towns could be a factor by itself that influences the economic viability. Only in the past few decades, there have been CA's listed from 19th century towns and industrial sites. Other research could specifically look at the factor of general age an see how that affects involvement of locals with the spatial quality. Those findings could be compared with this thesis, as all three analysed conservation areas have (late) medieval origins.

A third research possibility is to look for ways that show exactly what makes conservation areas different from other places. The quantifiable aspects mentioned earlier could be used to analyse and compare many conservation areas with many unprotected historic sites. The issue is of course that there might be too few authentic town centres left that have not been listed. If a town would be willing, an experiment with a place losing the listing could show even more differences. The conservation areas are now 'fossils' with rules dating back to the 1960's. To see if it is just the 'uniqueness' or actually the ensured protection, this might be a way to try it.

9.4 Reflection

This reflection aims to look critically at the quality of the research, the validity of the results and the recommendations mentioned before. Concerning the quality of research, internal validity is a good measure. Here, it has been a difficult task to make sure every chapter and every perspective used would be useful enough. Several codes made when working with transcripts have not been used in this research because they were interesting but not useful to the research. This shows how leaving too much room to add codes and interpretations might cause the research to lose focus. The structured way of writing the results was a method used to bring this focus back. Also with the document analysis, some documents were found by accident while looking for something else. As online search results are highly personalised this might be expected, but still makes the search aspect less replicable for other researchers. A thorough search is vital to such research.

This ties into the selection of people to interview. Other researchers might not decide to interview people active on the civic side in a research like this. This decision was based on the expectation that people who are active in the community can tell more than inactive residents. There was less personal experience with selecting business owners who could speak about the economic function of the place. The rigorous process of selecting respondents, where even the people themselves were asked if there might be others more suited, was implemented to keep this validity. Even actors not identified as key actors might have had interesting experiences. This could be tested via survey research.

In this sense, additional perspectives are only useful for validity of a research when they are useful by themselves. Instead of adding chapters for the sake of it, the reason for including methods have been mentioned throughout the chapters and the methods chapter itself has been kept concise. Every chapter has been useful to make the thesis feel complete and to show as many of the steps used to come to conclusions as possible. Including some research recommendations in this thesis, such as looking at the age of buildings in a conservation area, would have made the research unstructured even if it might bring interesting findings.

Concerning the validity of the conclusions, the philosophical position described in the methods chapter also implies that a researcher should be careful with generalisations. The findings and conclusions are mostly valid for the conservation areas of the Achterhoek, where research took place. The final step towards the effectiveness for working with depopulation could have been made stronger if the vacancy outside the CA had been observed as well. In this case, it was based on the earlier findings that the municipalities lose population and the conservation areas do not have much vacancy. The conclusion after that, the effect with the symbolic value, has a much stronger basis in the findings of the research.

The validity of the recommendations does not depend on whether depopulation policy is currently the main policy goal. These questions may be more relevant in times of population decline and declining funds, but motivating local communities and recognising the symbolic value should still be useful outside of this context. Vacancy can happen in economic upswings as well and locals can still be involved with solving that. As a finishing note, just where depopulation policy works best when people have a sense of urgency, the places with high symbolic value in this research had that as well.

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Annex X.1: Critical Theories and approaches

The concept of heritage

Discourses

In the present field of heritage studies, many studies that write on place attachment or identity cite the publications by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996; 2000). Their research was important for the field of heritage studies and geography, by applying discourse theory to the essence of heritage. Heritage would be not much more than a commodity produced by identifiable groups using history as a resource. While this is not always purposefully for profit, it is meant to show the perspective on the past according to the criteria of those certain groups (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). The most famous example is Stonehenge, which is almost as famous for its many theories on the meaning as it is for the physical qualities itself. Druids, archaeologists and believers in Arthurian legend each have their own theories and their own reasons to present it as heritage (Bender & Aitken, 1998).

Discourse theory is strongly visible in theories like these. Reducing the physical objects to only the bearers of meaning, what *is* heritage depends on the leading discourse. Without their meaning, which the physical objects get from society around them, they would be effectively worthless. While this notion by itself has been critiqued, people still assert that value must be created (Hospers, 2014).

For this research, this would mean that when there is nobody left to 'value' the heritage, the objects themselves have become meaningless. With the current population decline, mainly young people leave these areas and this way the intangible cultural heritage will become difficult to pass on.

Heritage industries

It needs to be stated that Tunbridge and Ashworth were not immediately critical of heritage, they even "strove to free the term [red: heritage industry] of the negative connotations" (Frank, 2016 pp. 77). Heritage industries were mainly a result of heritage production, a part of the targeting of a specific interpretation. The *tourist gaze* (Urry, 1992) which has almost become a buzzword, is easily directed towards historical and monumental buildings (Hospers, 2014). Tunbridge and Ashworth looked at the way heritage could foster a proper business.

In the heritage production model Tunbridge and Ashworth apply a basic model of manufacturing to heritage production. This basic model, where the process is divided into resources, making a product and consumption is translated to a six-part model. At the start, conservation agencies bring their historic resources forward, which can then be selected to assemble with other resources. This continues with a process of targeting, which creates heritage products. Each heritage product can carry an industry. Some examples are the historic city centre, manor visits in the UK and castle visits in Europe. While this model simplifies the actual process, it does provide handholds. In this case, there has been much research on identifying the conservation agencies and the viability of certain heritage industries (Frank, 2016).

Dissonant heritage

Their response to the uncomfortable feeling people have with heritage, perhaps because it is no nice memory or because it feels 'fake' is the concept of dissonant heritage. This makes it slightly easier to

commercialise heritage, because it is not the commercialisation itself that draws criticism, but a poor assembly. Basically, this damages the authenticity of heritage, it is presented in such a way that it no longer fits with the ideas people have with the heritage. This means not only a poor presentation can cause dissonant heritage, but also changing ideas about heritage. For example, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, many people felt uncomfortable with the ways in which Stalin statues were everywhere (Grava, 1993).

For this research, a position like this means I should consider the extent to which an imbalance between *using* heritage as a method to divert population decline and *protecting* heritage from threats could cause a feeling of dissonance.

One step further

In 2008, Ashgate published a research companion on the topic of Heritage and Identity (Graham & Howard, 2008). Graham and Howard are two other big names in the field of heritage studies, but also follow the idea that discourse and meaning is most that matters. "… most heritage has little intrinsic worth. Rather, values are placed upon artefacts or activities by people who, when they view heritage, do so through a whole series of lenses…" (Graham & Howard, 2008 pp 2).

Like many research companions, this is mainly a reader consisting of many articles writing about their own topic and specialisation. The insights from geographers are also included, in a chapter on practices of heritage and identities. Cities and places are seen a bit as stages for heritage practice but are again mainly focused on the lenses through which we view heritage. Because of this, the physicality and spatial aspects of heritage are apparently inferior to the way we perceive it and the main discourses. Atkinson (2007; in Graham & Howard, 2008) even argued that a focus on bounded space, while the world was becoming more and more 'fluid' and globalised would obscure wider production of social memory throughout society. It would fetishize space and place. For my research it would mean that I should focus on looking at the meanings attached to the heritage or used by the heritage industry, less so at keeping the materiality preserved.

The material (and spatial) turn

My personal main criticism on the above-mentioned research companion is that it mainly writes about those theories formed through discourse perspective. People such as Smith (2008) who contributed to this reader, brought attention to a turn away from discourse theory as the main theory in heritage studies. She argued that physical objects and places were more important than the discursive turn admitted. Even though there were some counterarguments such as the growth of digital heritage, place still is relevant. According to her, heritage is "the cultural process that engages with the acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present, and the sites themselves are cultural tools that can facilitate but are not necessarily vital for this process" (Smith, 2006 pp 44). Even though her findings are still explained through discourses, her explanations of the importance of doing something at a place and being at a place would inspire other authors.

The Actor Network Theory

The material turn is deeply based in the Actor Network Theory, a theory developed first by French researchers such as Latour (2005) and Callon (1989). They in turn had the same basis as Assemblage theorists in looking at the social world as multilateral networks (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). However, the Actor Network Theory has been developed into a topic that could make researchers question the whole notion of heritage and is therefore very interesting to discuss. The Actor Network Theory (ANT) will also have a useful role in this research.

The main principle of ANT is that everything, human actors as well as non-human actors, is important in the social world and can influence the ways of others. In return, actors do not act by themselves, but are influenced by the other actors around them (Kärrholm, 2016; Latour, 2005). First, the A in ANT refers to these types of actors, by the principle of *generalised symmetry*. Usually, people associate both the act of influencing and the intent with something called an actor (Beauregard & Lieto, 2016). This would make the term actor limited to humans and stands in the way of discussion on the topic. For this, sometimes people use '*actants*' to refer to human and nonhuman actors at the same time.

ANT is often seen as a method instead of just a theory (Hult, 2016). This is because ANT generally tells the researcher how to look at a network but does not tell researchers how to draw conclusions from looking at networks. Via ANT, you cannot assume certain qualities of actors and a network before assessing it. For example, there is no inherent agency, you need to be able to *observe* that agency. ANT is therefore mainly interested in the present as opposed to the past. In ANT, the idea of a network is also influenced by this idea because *only* that which we can see working in the network or is showing the power to change the ways of others is part of the network. This is opposite to an electricity grid, where everything is connected regardless of their use of the electricity.

In an ANT-Network, forces need to be passed on to make others change their way and therefore part of the network. But when working with a diverse combination of actants, this might need some extra effort. The term used for this is *translation*, and just as with languages it allows actants to pass on the meaning as close as possible (Murdoch, 1998). A translator could tell a different story without the source even realising it. If the original meaning does get changed, that is called transformation (Latour, 1999). Many things, such as social skills or objects can help facilitate translation between diverse actants. This is divided into two groups. The first one, called *intermediaries*, does not change the initial meaning and just passes the message on. *Mediators* translate and can therefore transform, distort and modify meanings (Latour, 2005 p. 39).

Even on the point of what can be an actor, this makes the field interesting for heritage. Because ANT values being able to observe forces influence a network, looking at the role of history is. Where the discourse theorists talk about the ways people interact with the intangible parts of heritage, the first thing we can observe is generally the tangible heritage. Still, why is one old building more important for the network and seen as heritage, while another building, just as old, is not? The answer could be the black-boxing of heritage (Latour, 2005).

Black-boxing is the practice that happens when networks are so interconnected, there are moments where you cannot see every part influencing each other while you still know something is happening.

Researchers draw a black box around it and go on with the parts of the social that they can observe. These parts of the network are generally taken for granted. Viewing heritage as a black box, it is more understandable why it is so difficult to see the meaning apart from the use and the physicality (Harrison, 2012). In return, the story itself can become a non-human actor with the physical heritage serving as a mediator. It allows people to pass on the stories while needing the physicality and spatiality.

In between the two turns

It seems difficult to unite the two perspectives, but in this research an attempt will be made by working at their respective core points and shortcomings. Where the discursive turn has shortcomings when you think about preserving the spatial structures as the discourse is what matters most, ANT has shortcomings with valuing the intangible parts of heritage. The points taken from the discursive turn are that it may be necessary or possible to change the use of heritage, and the 'protected views' when the context changes as a result from shrinkage.

The points taken from ANT will be the basis of the research to an extent. In this research, the active role of heritage is a main point and would not be possible to research without ANT. By looking at the interplay between the physical cultural heritage and those around, including policy documents related to shrinkage, the black box of heritage and protected views may be unravelled a bit to pass on implications.

Annex X.2: Guide for observations and authenticity

The site visit is a way to select which conservation areas can be researched further based on their active roles. On top of that, the site visits were a part of the data collection for the first research. The observations for chapter 6 were mainly quick scans, as long as it was clear the entire conservation area had been observed and enough photographs were taken. During the site visits, the following questions would guide it:

- Which parts of the place are fully public?
- Which parts of the place are fully private?
- Which parts of the place are common or club?
- Which spots in the CA draw attention?
- To which extent are the listed qualities observable?
    - To which extent are they enhanced?
- Which functions are visible with the naked eye?
    - At which group do these seem to be aimed?
- **To which extent are there notable comments on authenticity?**

The general ideas of authenticity have been described in chapter 2.1.4. With the idea of actual (in)authenticity versus how an observer might notice it, these were the comments on the several types of authenticity during the site visits:

Creator authenticity is not included because that requires prior knowledge per building that a normal visitor does not need to know. The only extent to which I looked at it was if there were 'new' buildings and if they attempted to replicate existing styles of do something completely different.

Material authenticity has been kept on a surface level. The type of wood or brick used once versus the type we see now is only relevant when it has an effect on the ensemble. If it is noticeable enough that one could point it out (different colours all of a sudden), it is relevant.

Function authenticity is relevant to the research because the function of the conservation area is one of the main topics of the conceptual model. If the original descriptions of the conservation area note a certain function like living, and it is no longer there, it should be noted.

Concept authenticity is not included because that can't be seen with the naked eye. Only if the initial listing description gives a certain ideology, such as religious themes, they can be included and even point to a certain symbolic value.

History authenticity is only included in specific cases. The initial listing descriptions teach which developments have led to the area being listed. If those same processes are still visible, such as *not growing*, they can be noted.

Ensemble authenticity is a main subject in the research. Conservation areas are ensembles by definition, so in the observations special attention will be given to the extent everything 'fits' together.

Context authenticity meant for the observations that I looked if it was noticeable that the place is protected. That is important context on these places. Secondly, I checked if the borders of the conservation area were noticeable. That would directly show that it is a different place and also tell that story to other visitors.

Annex X.3: Method for finding policy documents:

The analysis and results of the intended roles of the conservation areas always start with an overview of the situation as visible in the original appointment. The reason for this is that according to the relevant laws, decisions should still refer to the appointment documents. The moment an appointment has become final, the description can be elaborated, but the area is often not changed. In the Achterhoek, there have been elaborations on the descriptions, but the original documents are still supposed to be used, as explained in chapter 3. They will be analysed following the dimensions of active roles of heritage: Target groups and indicators of that, and Functions and indicators.

After using the initial appointment documents as a basis, specific municipal plans have been analysed to see whether spatial heritage or the conservation area and its surroundings have any role in them. This does mean that the conclusion of some parts in this chapter can be that a specific conservation area does not have an intended role, in the sense that it has been explicitly noted in local policy. The selection criteria for the policy documents are outlined here. Most of these documents have been analysed before for this research, namely, to see the situation concerning preservation and protection of the conservation areas.

Municipalities share policy documents for all sorts of topics. In order to find relevant documents for a research into the role of conservation areas and what that would mean for depopulation policy, I designed guidelines based on theory and the way the practical field is structured. These guidelines consist of three principles and five categories that follow from those principles. Creating categories 'from scratch' has both advantages and consequences for the validity of the research. The main advantage is that this will make it easier to search for certain policy documents, but the consequence for the validity of this research is that it limits the scope of possible documents where the conservation areas are listed. Of course, there is also a safeguard in this case, namely that if a policy document connects a field with conservation areas in an unexpected way, this will be included in the research.

Principles:

The first principle that is used is that it must be *reasonable* to expect information about the roles in these documents. Many policy documents will show just by their title that heritage will have no role, but if there is even a slight hint (library policy when the libraries are housed in listed buildings), they will at least be scanned. It would be unnecessary to describe for each document why it is not included, but the process here is sufficiently rigorous.

The second principle is that it must say something about a planned or expected situation. That means that a summary of 'up until now' is less valuable than the chapter that comes after that and tells the future direction. That makes it easier to actually describe and answer the research question about intended roles for conservation areas.

The third principle is that they must say something that is relevant to the conservation areas. Detailed heritage notes that leave the CA out are edge cases because they do show the municipal attitude. An economic policy that only concerns other towns will not be included, if it is certain the conservation areas are no part of it.

Topics:

A short analysis of the municipal information shows that there is a lot available but not every municipality provides comparable information. They have a legal commitment to publish all policies online and sort them in topics. Some municipalities sort them differently and some have an own list of secondary policy documents that have a completely different method of sorting. Because of that, all these lists will be read and scanned for policy documents in the following five topics:

- General policy that has no specific topic.
  Perhaps unintuitive, but these texts always fit the three principles. Before reading these general vision documents, it is reasonable to expect information about the roles, it *might* say something about planned or expected situations, and it *might* say something about the conservation areas. General strategies and council programmes are an example.
- Economic policy and tourist policy
  This is the same as general policy, there is reason to expect something that effects the conservation areas as well.
- Spatial policy
  On top of the land-use plans, all other spatial policy might say something about planned situations, conservation areas and the possible roles.
- Cultural and heritage policy
  They can be separate policies, but generally these *will* say something about the roles of heritage and the future direction they have in the municipality.
- Depopulation policy
  It should not be ruled out by definition if these policies say anything about heritage. Sometimes, additional thought steps will be used to see if it affects heritage, for example austerity that will end a project that currently happens in the CA.

Annex X.4: Structure of Land-use plan analyses

For every land-use plan, the same questions are answered during analysis:

- Which plans are valid?
    - *Are* they actually valid (see the story about Gelselaar)?
- How are *cultural history*, *listed buildings, and the conservation area* included in the rules?
- How do those points return in the explanation, does it divert from well-known templates?
- What is mentioned about the current situation of the conservation areas?
- What stands out about the functions mentioned: how much room for development do people actually have?
- Is there any mention of specific target groups?
- Are there any aspects from the depopulation policy included in the land-use plan, like building less houses?

Annex X.5: Interview guides and list of respondents

Interview guide policy workers:

Note: *This interview guide lists the bare minimum of questions to ask about policy. The questions are in Dutch because the interviews have been in Dutch.*

Regels en beleid:

- Wat zijn de belangrijkste zaken op het gebied van regelgeving voor beschermde gezichten in deze gemeente?
- Hoe hebben jullie vastgesteld wat wel en wat niet mag
- Welke partijen zijn zoal betrokken bij de uitvoering van die regels?
- Weten betrokkenen wat ze wel en niet mogen doen in beschermde gezichten?
- Zijn er in het kader van krimp speciale regelingen met monumenten in deze gemeente?
- Hoe raken bestaande krimpmaatregelen

Vragen die meer te maken hebben met de financiële zaken

Hoe investeren jullie op dit moment in de beschermde gezichten?

- Zijn er subsidies voor mensen die in een beschermd gezicht wonen?
- Zijn er **projecten** in jullie beschermde geweest die vergoeding van de gemeente hebben gekregen?
- Kost het geld om de monumentaliteit of het specifieke van een beschermd gezicht op de kaart te zetten?

Communicatief: Wat zijn de belangrijkste manieren waarop **bewoners** van de regels te weten komen,

Wat zijn de belangrijkste manieren waarop **bewoners** van de monumentale kwaliteiten te weten komen

Zelfde vragen maar dan voor **bezoekers**

Fysieke beleidsmiddelen: Per beschermd gezicht naar voorbeelden vragen, en hoe dat tot stand is gekomen en wat het effect is geweest. Fysieke veranderingen en fysieke beleidsmiddelen.

Initiatieven: Wat zijn in de beschermde gezichten de initiatieven of groepen waar jullie soms rekening mee moeten houden? Zijn ze betrokken bij beleid?

Vragen over de functies die men tegenkomt of verwacht:

De functie zelf en de indicators die nog niet in het interview naar voren zijn gekomen

De doelgroep zelf en de indicators die nog niet naar voren zijn gekomen

De belangrijkste partijen die er waren voor die situatie?

Indien nodig: Vragen stellen uit de interviewguide voor lokale actoren om een structuur te hebben voor de 'indicators die nog niet naar voren zijn gekomen'. Duidelijk maken in het gesprek wanneer het gaat om

Local actors interview guide

Note before interview guide: This is the general interview guide for local actors. The interview guide is in Dutch, because the interviews were in Dutch. Because of the open structure to the interviews, the questions were often asked in a different way. This interview guide reflects the minimum 'beats' to have in the interviews and to check for during conversations.

Algemeen:

Wat is volgens u de aantrekking van deze plek?

Waarom bent u, en de groep waar u bij hoort betrokken bij deze plek?

Waarom bent u, en de groep waar u bij hoort (kan dus restaurant of vereniging) nog steeds betrokken bij deze plek?

Situatie:

- Ik laat u nu op de kaart het beschermde gezicht de kaart zien, wist u dat dit de contouren van het beschermde gezicht zijn?
- Verwacht u dat anderen dat wel/niet weten?
- Wat zijn in dit gebied de belangrijkste partijen, die echt bepalen wat er gebeurt of waar jullie mee moeten werken?
- Welke veranderingen heeft u in dit gebied meegemaakt sinds u hier betrokken bent geraakt?
- Zijn er in deze omgeving grote projecten opgezet die je goed kunt zien?
  - Hoe is dat verlopen, en wie was daarbij betrokken?

Functies:

- Welke functies heeft dit gebied volgens u?
  - Welke functies zijn er belangrijk hier?
  - Gebeuren er hier ook dingen die niet meteen geld verdienen als doel hebben?
  - Wat is de situatie van buurthuizen en sociale zorginstellingen in dit gebied?
  - Hebben verenigingen hier hun plek, passen die functies bij de rest van het gebied? (kunnen mensen hier prettig verzamelen?)
  - Kennen de mensen uit de omgeving de plek, hebben zij de informatieborden nodig?
  - Passen de functies in dit gebied bij elkaar?

Doelgroep:

Vooral een open gesprek houden over de antwoorden op de vragen hierboven. Doel is om duidelijk te krijgen wat de situatie is qua **toegankelijkheid, welkom, betrokkenheid** en **bijdrage aan instandhouding** van **buurt, regio en bezoekers van ver.**

Krimp:

Duidelijk krijgen wat ze verder van krimp merken.

- Specifieke vragen bedenken hoe ik dat bij die actor zou merken, ook bijv. naar vergrijzing vragen.

Beleid: Hoe is de relatie met de gemeente.

Theory to include possibly: Power (Production, blocking, etc)

Role (Position, allies, etc)

Waiting and involvement at what point

List of interviews recorded and transcribed

29 October 2018	:	Municipality Bronckhorst, 1 policy worker.
1 November 2018	:	Restaurant owner at Mallumse Molen
		Member of group managing the monuments at Mallumse Molen
7 November 2018	:	Municipality Aalten, 2 policy workers
		Anglers of Eibergen, 3 members
8 November 2018	:	Municipality Berkelland, 1 policy worker
14 November 2018	:	Hotel owner in Bronkhorst
14 November 2018	:	Representative of interest committee of Bronkhorst city
23 November 2018	:	Hotel owner in Bredevoort
23 November 2018	:	Art gallery owner in Bredevoort
23 November 2018	:	Representative of tourist office and local interest committee

Annex X.6: Projects in the conservation areas that work with rural identity

conservation area	Example and explanation of project with 'rural' identity.	Important projects not related to 'rural' identity
Bronkhorst	Two major projects, the **Castle Hill [2015]** and **Kunstgemaal [2014]** (Art at a pumping station), pull visitors out of the compact city and into wide fields and views that are recognised as part of the rural identity since the appointment procedure in 1969.	The **Castle Hill** project reinforced the *feudal/medieval* identity of the town more, with its connection to history. The **Kunstgemaal** has a similar theme as many Dutch UNESCO sites, namely *Water Management.*
Hummelo	**A statue of rock group Normaal** [2018] was revealed to the public. This band is recognised as essential to the local rural identity (van Sloten, 2015).	The **town centre was revitalised** to provide a more pleasant living experience. Except for 'small town life', there was no mention of rural identity.
Laag-Keppel	**A participatory research project** [2017], organised by the castle owner and municipality on the topic of sustainable management of the land and capitalising on opportunities revealed that the rural identity was noted as a strength.	The castle has a *feudal/medieval* history and many projects resulting from the research were connected to this identity. Another major project was based on garden architecture.
Markt (Market square) Aalten	**The Gängeskes** are promoted by the tourist agency as distinctively rural. These are old narrow paths between gardens, homes and farms, unique to Aalten.	The main theme of museums and monuments outside of the pre-19th century centre is their role in *WWII.*
Bredevoort	**Developing recreation facilities at the Slingeplas** [2015, held off since 2018]. The Slingeplas is a lake beach in the outlying areas of the city, but the rural landscape was noted part of the identity.	The new **'fortress park'** in the conservation area is more connected to the *feudal/medieval* history and experiencing garden architecture than the 'rural' aspect of identity.
Mallumse Molen (Eibergen)	As example, **Marke Mallum** [2010] and the **Muldershuis Restaurant** [2011*] both used the rural identity in their activities, arrangements and information. The entire conservation area is outside of the 'urbanised' town Eibergen.	The most recent project in the area, **Marke Mallum** has a strong connection to the *feudal/medieval* history of the area as a margrave meeting place.
Gelselaar	**The title of conservation area** [2014] was based on how the town grew as an example of 1930s rural development. The rural factors are reinforced in most information on site.	Except for programmes related to quality of life, everything is in some way connected to rurality. This is the only town where the feudal/medieval aspects are difficult to find.