22 A future for cultural history of the Dutch Wadden region

Challenges and policies in a maritime-agricultural landscape

Linde Egberts

Abstract

The Wadden Sea region has a rich and diverse cultural history and landscape that does not always find a proper place in spatial planning and policy in the region. The author investigates how the cultural-historical richness is addressed and embedded in one particular segment of the fragmented governance of the Wadden Sea area, namely the national spatial policy in the Netherlands. The changes in the ways in which cultural heritage and landscape are mentioned and framed in the course of slightly more than a decade of spatial governance are traced from a national perspective. In this period, the attitudes towards cultural heritage changed substantially: in sectoral policy, in international cooperation, and in regional and local spatial planning towards more developmental and holistic approaches. However, in the national spatial planning for the Dutch Wadden Sea area, this has not been the case. Rather, the preservation of natural values in the Wadden Sea itself has been rather successful. Cultural heritage and landscape values are integrated as a sectoral element in the 2007 Core Decision on Planning Wadden Sea but have not received much attention in its implementation. This is partly due to the narrow boundaries of the Core Decision, which strictly follows the sea dikes on the mainland and islands. By separating the sea from the land, the Core Decision fails to do justice to the complex interrelationships between the two. Strong critique led to an extensive evaluation of the policy measures and recommendations for more developmental and holistic strategies that include cultural history both in the sea and on the land. If this critique is taken to heart in the new national policy development, there will be

more room for cultural heritage to serve as a source of meaning-making in a landscape that is dynamic in essence.

Keywords: Dutch national spatial policy, heritage, Wadden Sea area

The Wadden Sea region has a rich and diverse cultural history and landscape that does not always find a proper place in spatial planning and policy in the region. The policy on landscape and cultural heritage is nationally and regionally institutionalised, resulting in a highly fragmented governance structure and thus great differences in preservation and development measures. This is perceived as a problem, as the big picture of the various approaches to cultural heritage and landscape throughout the region is lost. Moreover, it has been suggested by various authors that the dominance of nature preservation ambitions is hindering the development of integrated approaches to the landscape and planning in which interests and ambitions from various sectors are brought together. This is related to the issue of the boundaries that are chosen for the protection of the natural values of the Wadden Sea region. These include almost exclusively the Wadden Sea itself, while excluding any areas inhabited by humans in the past or the present.

In this chapter I aim to investigate how the cultural-historical richness is addressed and embedded in one particular segment of the fragmented governance of the Wadden Sea area, namely the national spatial policy in the Netherlands. This case is particularly interesting, as the Dutch national spatial policy on the Wadden Sea region is going through a process of evaluation and renewal at the time of writing (July 2017). This allows me to trace the changes in the ways in which cultural heritage and landscape are referred to and framed in the course of slightly more than a decade of spatial governance from a national perspective. The outcomes of this diachronic analysis are relevant to understanding the Dutch national government's attitude towards cultural heritage in spatial planning of the Wadden Sea area. Moreover, this chapter can be seen as a detailed study that underscores and also nuances the consensus among cultural historians and historical geographers, namely that the conceptual divide between nature and culture obstructs the development of holistic approaches to the landscape that do justice to both its unique natural as well as cultural and heritage characteristics (for this discussion, see the contributions of Döring & Ratter and Renes in this volume.)

This chapter starts with a brief description of the Wadden Sea region, after which I will introduce the conceptual framework I use for this policy

analysis. I then outline the changing role of the Dutch national government regarding heritage and spatial planning since roughly 2000. This context is important in understanding how the policy on the Dutch Wadden Sea area has since been shaped. I continue by tracing the role of cultural heritage and landscape in the current policy framework on the area, as well as the recent evaluation and revision of these measures. By doing so, I aim to draw a clearer picture of the framing of the Wadden Sea region in national policy, one that will not only be developed in lower-scale policy frameworks but will also be inscribed in the physical landscape itself.

The Wadden Sea region

The Wadden Sea region stretches from Blåvands Huk (Denmark) in the northeast to Petten (the Netherlands) in the southwest. It includes the Danish, German and Dutch Wadden islands, the shallow Wadden Sea and a substantial part of the adjacent mainland, which has historically been shaped naturally and culturally by the vicinity of the tidal wetlands, in many cases as former wetlands that have been embanked by humans over the course of centuries. Humans have influenced the geology of the Wadden Sea region for at least the last 2,500 years (Bazelmans et al. 2012), in which a landscape developed that is as much characterised by its agricultural character as its maritime features. Despite great differences, the inhabitants of the islands and mainland combined farming, fishing and trading, through which they were able to adapt and remain resilient in this coastal environment with its specific ecological and geological features (Renes 2014; Smit 1971). It is for this reason that I argue that the Wadden Sea region should be understood as a maritime-agricultural landscape, in which the cultural is strongly intertwined with the natural (Egberts 2018).

Regional identity narratives

Cultural historians, geographers and archaeologists have stressed the importance and uniqueness of the cultural heritage of the Wadden Sea region, most importantly to take a stance on improving knowledge development and preservation (Bazelmans et al. 2012; see also the other chapters in this volume), but also in order to improve the sustainable development of the mainland through tourism and to enhance the engagement of the population in the preservation and planning of the region (Krauss 2005).

These pleas for more care and attention for the cultural heritage and landscape of the area can be understood as a response to the perceived dominance of the preservation of *nature* rather than *culture*. The dichotomy emerged in the 1960s, when the values of the natural heritage of the Wadden Sea region were 'discovered' by nature activists as they started campaigning against gas drilling, land reclamation and excess. In the course of several decades, the Wadden Sea region was re-conceptualised as a natural heritage site of outstanding universal value, one that received the highest possible recognition in 2009: UNESCO World Heritage Status (see chapter 17 in this book).

The process by which this interpretation of the Wadden Sea region was shaped can be considered an *authorized heritage discourse* (Smith 2006). This concept is used to refer to the dynamic process of meaning-making in which the selection of particular parts of the past (such as artefacts, landscapes, stories and traditions) for preservation and re-use are legitimized. In the case of the Wadden Sea region, the Wadden were already perceived as a *sea* in the eighteenth century – a coherent collection of sand and mudflats covered by high tides (Engelberts 1784: 141) – but its regional heritage discourse mainly took shape under the nature conservation lobby that emerged after the Second World War. It should come as no surprise that the authorised heritage discourse was almost exclusively based on the ambition to protect the geological and ecological values of the area.

Like any other authorised heritage discourse, the one on the Wadden Sea region took shape and is continuously being renegotiated and reshaped in an arena of actors including scientists, politicians, activists, inhabitants, civil society and entrepreneurs. One of the veins in which this discourse is reflected, shaped and passed on to the future is spatial policy. I suggest framing the integration of cultural heritage in current spatial planning in the same way, namely as a practice to give the past a place in the present. Spatial policy is, of course, only one of many ways of what anthropologist Sharon Macdonald calls *past presencing* such as historical reenactments, which commodify regional products for the tourist market (Macdonald 2013).

Dutch national heritage policy: Belvedere

The place of heritage preservation in spatial planning has seen many changes in the past decades. Following the examples of surrounding countries, a reorientation of the national government took place in the Netherlands by which preservation was no longer seen as in opposition to change, planning and design. Between 1999 and 2009, the Belvedere Memorandum encouraged

Figure 22.1 Boundaries of the Core Decision on Planning Wadden Sea. The green line demarcates the Wadden Sea area, whereas the red line marks the area on which the Core Decision is applicable.

Source: VROM, 2007

an approach in which heritage was seen as an integral part of spatial planning processes. Under the slogan ‘preservation through development’, the programme funded pilot projects and policy development in which heritage was a central factor for future spatial changes. It was financed by four different ministries: the Ministry of Education, Culture & Science; the Ministry of Transport; the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning & the Environment; and the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature & Food Quality; plus the Directorate-General for Public Works and Water Management. Being successful in fueling new approaches to heritage, some of the Belvedere legacies have been integrated into the Modernisation of Heritage Management (Modernising Monumentenzorg) (Janssen et al. 2014).

The Belvedere Memorandum funded many pilot projects. The New Dutch Water Defence Line was one of them, which aimed to redevelop the defence structure that was developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to protect the cities in the west of the Netherlands from potential attacks from the east. The 85-kilometre defense line was hardly known to the public and preserved in fragmented ways. The bunkers and other built objects received more attention from preservationists than the dikes, sluices and canals that enabled the inundation of large areas to prevent invading armies from advancing. A strategy was developed to reconsider the Defence Line as a coherent structure and to make it recognisable for visitors. Many of the forts were opened up to the public or received a new function that enabled

their long-term preservation, being rebuilt as hotels, restaurants or nature reserves (Kalkman et al. 2001).

The Wadden area in existing Dutch national spatial policy

In the 1950s and 1960s, the national government developed serious plans for land reclamation in the Wadden Sea, for economic reasons as well as for coastal defense. After protests by the nature conservation movement, the Wadden Sea Committee advised against these large-scale plans and instead opted for a preservationist approach (Mazure 1974). In successive policy frameworks, the boundaries of the protected area have remained narrow, as they included only the uninhabited areas (the tidal flats and the sea) and excluded any areas where people live. In this way, the decision-makers seem to have avoided a potential conflict between nature conservation and spatial developments on land. But at the same time, it arbitrarily divided the Wadden Sea area into two different zones (Schroor 2008): one where nature should be preserved as pristine (and humans and their history should be kept more or less out of it) and one where inhabitants, entrepreneurs, farmers and visitors negotiate on land use without really taking the relationship to the Wadden Sea into consideration.

The change in attitude that the Belvedere Memorandum fuelled found its way into many spatial policy plans of national, regional and local governments, but this is not really the case for the Wadden Sea area. In 2007, the Core Decision on Planning Wadden Sea came into effect. It was the follow-up of two earlier national policy frameworks that intended to manage the Wadden Sea area as a coherent region with exceptional ecological qualities (VROM 2007). The Core Decision had an integrative approach, which meant that many different sectors were incorporated into the spatial vision of the area, which included landscape and heritage. While serving many purposes at once, the strategy aims to promote the sustainable protection and development of the Wadden Sea as a nature reserve and the preservation of its unique open landscape (VROM 2007: 11). As such, it mainly focuses on the reservation of the tidal flows (including its geomorphological processes) and the quality of water, soil and air and flora and fauna. It also strives to protect the landscape in its tranquility, vastness, open horizon and natural darkness at night. And, importantly, the Core Decision is meant to safeguard archaeological and cultural historical values (*ibid.*).

Cultural heritage, landscape and history are thus quite prominently valued in the aims of the Core Decision, albeit separately from the other

domains and sectors. Yet the boundaries of the plan are so narrow that they exclude any areas where people live, instead strictly following the sea dikes of the mainland and islands. As will become clear below, this was problematic for regulating not only human activities that influence the natural values of the Wadden Sea but also the cultural heritage value of the larger Wadden Sea area, including the embanked marshlands of the mainland. The Belvedere Memorandum had already been in force for eight years and was supported by the same ministry that developed the Core Decision: the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM). And yet due to its conservationist stance towards spatial planning, the Core Decision hardly reflects the Belvedere notions at all, which stressed more offensive and developmental strategies for safeguarding cultural heritage.

Meanwhile, the trilateral cooperation in the Wadden Sea region were leading to surveys and policy recommendations on the role of heritage in spatial planning. The projects LANCEWAD (1999-2001) and LANCEWADPLAN (2004-2007) provided solid groundwork and best practices for working with cultural heritage and history in the future development of the area (Vollmer 2001; Common Wadden Sea Secretariat 2007). Unfortunately, most of its recommendations remained outside the national spatial plans in the Netherlands.

Critical policy evaluations

Some seven years after the Core Decision went into force, the Dutch government's Human Environment and Transport Inspectorate performed an evaluatory study to assess the implementation of the policy document in the policies of sixteen municipalities and three provinces in the wider Wadden Sea area (Human Environment and Transport Inspectorate 2014). The inspectorate's conclusions were harsh: it appeared that the goals set in the Core Decision had been scarcely implemented in spatial policy at the local, provincial and national levels that addressed the coastal areas and islands bordering the Wadden Sea. Particularly the preservation of darkness and the open horizon were often not concretely translated into local decision-making, not even in areas close to the Wadden Sea. The provinces generally did not see a concrete role for themselves in implementing this national policy. They saw themselves as directors of intersectoral developments in larger areas but appeared to follow their own agendas (Human Environment and Transport Inspectorate 2014). A further investigation revealed that, although the effects on the landscape were minimal in the rural areas, the regulations on darkness and the openness of the horizon had not prevented unwanted developments

in the more industrialised and urbanised areas close to and bordering the Wadden Sea (Human Environment and Transport Inspectorate 2015).

Thus, the tensions that the Inspectorate and the evaluation reveal in the implementation of the Core Decision manifest themselves not only in the world of policy, monitoring and intergovernmental cooperation. The effects of its hard contours along the sea dike are slowly becoming inscribed in the physical appearance of the Wadden Sea landscape. In recent years, large wind parks have been planned and built on this dike by energy companies, stimulated by government funding schemes for renewable energy. At Eemshaven, for example, the wind parks on the sea dike are currently being expanded by energy company RWE. In preliminary studies, the spatial policies regarding the mainland are taken into account (Arcadis 2015), presenting the sea dike as the edge of the landscape. However, there is very little consideration for the coherence between the land and the sea – perhaps the main theme of this book – as well as the vulnerable open horizon of the Wadden Sea. The narrow borders and definitions of the Wadden Sea area have in this case led to a reference framework in which the landscape coherence between nature and culture, sea and land is a blind spot.

2015-2017: Cultural history and heritage in the new national policy on the Wadden Area

Towards the end of the ten-year term of the Core Decision on Planning Wadden Sea, the policy measure was extensively evaluated on behalf of the Ministry of Infrastructure and the Environment, in which the strong criticisms of the Human Environment and Transport Inspectorate were expressed. This evaluation by Royal Haskoning DHV (2015) recognises the limited implementation of the Core Decision in lower-scale spatial policy. Moreover, it mainly concludes that protective measures of the natural environment in the Wadden Sea itself are rather effective, but the developmental opportunities it should have offered are lagging behind.

Therefore, a concrete and intersectoral development plan for the Wadden Sea region is the main recommendation for future national policy on this area. As the evaluation strictly monitored whether the aims of the policy were met, no relevant role was attributed to cultural history or landscape apart from remarks that some stakeholders had indicated a lack of integration of cultural heritage (Royal Haskoning DHV: 31, 76) and others had pointed out the lacunae in knowledge that the Waddenacademie is tasked with addressing (*ibid.*: 136).

After this evaluation, the Ministry of Infrastructure and the Environment and the Ministry of Economic Affairs began an extensive orientation phase for new policy development in 2016. Kees van Es of Wing Consultancy recommended a broad orientation that would include the exploration of ambitions, the possibilities for intersectoral cooperation, the consequences of the decentralisation of responsibilities to lower governments that has been taking place over the past years and the development of a policy monitoring project (Van Es 2016: 7). Part of the orientation included six essays written by young scholars that shed light on current developments in various domains of the Wadden Sea area (Waddenacademie 2016). One of these was an essay on cultural heritage that argued for a more holistic approach to natural and cultural values as part of the same, unique Wadden landscape (Egberts 2016).

In the final report of the policy orientation, cultural heritage and landscape gained a more central role than before, namely as one out of seven fields of ambition that are explored (the others being climate, sustainability and economy, accessibility, recreation and tourism, the Ems-Dollard Estuary, and trilateral cooperation) (P2 et al. 2017). The authors studied a vast array of national and international, regional and local policy documents dating from 2007 onwards, observing that an increasingly important role is being assigned to cultural heritage and landscape (*ibid.*: 68). The authors advise the government to continue in the line that has been taken up in sectoral heritage policy. The Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands had already taken up several initiatives to provide expertise and vision on cultural heritage in coastal landscapes (2014). The authors of the policy orientation translated these sectoral foundations into four principles (P2 et al. 2017: 62-63) for the Wadden Sea area:

1. The characteristic alternation of dunes, dikes and dams should be taken as a point of departure when reinforcing coastal defence.
2. Characteristic access principles should be retained: large-scale access routes to the islands, fine-grained access routes to the quiet coast.
3. Military coastal defence structures from various periods (for example, the remains of the German Atlantic Wall and forts dating back to the Napoleonic periods) should be made more recognisable in their coherent clusters and their hierarchy made more visible.
4. The identity of coastal towns and islands should be taken as a starting point for development and restructuring.

From the orientation, it appears that local and regional governments have been increasingly successful in building cooperations in the field of tourism

and heritage that integrate the mainland as well as the Wadden Sea. One example is the joint vision of the three Wadden provinces *Wadden van Allure* (Provinces of Fryslân, Groningen, and Noord-Holland 2013). The policy orientation includes recommendations to integrate a similar, future-oriented approach in future national spatial policy on the area. The expected installment of the Environment and Planning Act (*Omgevingswet*) in 2019 will demand more holistic approaches to spatial developments. Moreover, the authors argue that the narrow focus on nature in the assessment framework could be broadened again in new executive policies to include landscape and cultural heritage values (Provinces of Fryslân, Groningen, and Noord-Holland 2013: 113). To conclude, the policy orientation can be understood as a plea for maintaining the conservationist character of the natural values of the Wadden Sea area while making more concrete plans for the developmental aspects of the Dutch government's ambitions in the region. These include a more integrative and developmental approach to cultural heritage that has already been concretised in regional and sectoral policy.

Conclusion

In the past decade of national spatial planning on the Dutch Wadden Sea area, the preservation of natural values in the Wadden Sea itself has been rather successful. This reflects the dominance of nature protection in the heritage discourse on the Wadden Sea area in general. Cultural heritage and landscape values were integrated as a sectoral element into the Core Decision but have not received much attention in its implementation. This is partly due to the narrow boundaries of the Core Decision, which strictly follows the sea dikes on the mainland and islands, thereby excluding all inhabited areas from its territory. By separating the sea from the land, the Core Decision fails to do justice to the complex interrelationships between the two. And it is precisely the coherence in this maritime-agricultural landscape that makes the Wadden Sea region unique, both in its natural and in its cultural heritage and landscape aspects. Moreover, the preservationist perspective of the Core Decision overwhelmed its developmental perspective, which made space for sustainable economic growth and intersectoral spatial developments. This is also true for the cultural heritage and landscape values, despite the inspiration and change in attitude set in motion by the national Belvedere Memorandum.

Since the issuance of the Core Decision in 2007, local, provincial and sectoral policy have moved in a hopeful direction for the integration of cultural heritage into holistic spatial developments in the Dutch Wadden

Sea area, providing interesting examples, knowledge and guidelines for new measures on a national level. If the critique on the current policy is taken to heart in new national policy development, there will be more room for cultural heritage to serve as a source of meaning-making in a landscape that is dynamic in essence.

References

- Arcadis (2015). *Landschappelijke beoordeling windpark 'Dankzij de dijken'*. Amsterdam: Arcadis.
- Bazelmans, J., Meier, D., Nieuwhof, A., Spek, T., & Vos, P. (2012). Understanding the cultural historical value of the wadden sea region: The co-evolution of environment and society in the Wadden Sea Area in the Holocene up until early modern times (11,700 BC-1800 AD): An outline. *Ocean & Coastal Management*, 68, 114-126.
- Common Wadden Sea Secretariat (2007). *LANCEWADPlan: The Wadden Sea Region: A living historic landscape*. Wilhelmshaven: Common Wadden Sea Secretariat.
- Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (2014). *Masterplan Kust en Erfgoed*. Amersfoort: Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands.
- Egberts, L.R. (2016). Voorbij de harde grens: Een cultuurhistorisch toekomstperspectief op het Nederlandse Waddengebied. In Waddenacademie (ed.), *Visies op de Wadden: Zes essays ten behoeve van de Beleidsverkenning Toekomstige Rol en Ambitie van het Rijk voor het Waddengebied*, pp. 30-47. Leeuwarden: Waddenacademie.
- Egberts, L.R. (2018). Moving beyond the hard boundary: The nature-culture divide in an agricultural-maritime cultural landscape, the case of the Dutch Wadden region. *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* doi: 10.1108/JCHMSD-12-2016-0067
- Engelberts, E.M. (1784). *De aloude staat en geschiedenissen der Vereenigde Nederlanden*, part 1. Amsterdam: Johannes Allart.
- Van Es, K. (2016). *Plan van aanpak beleidsverkenning Waddengebied*. Wageningen: Wing.
- Human Environment and Transport Inspectorate (2014). *Beleidsmonitoring Waddenzee*. Utrecht: Human Environment and Transport Inspectorate.
- Human Environment and Transport Inspectorate (2015). *Rapportage Onderzoek Waddengebied 2015: Nader onderzoek naar knelpunten gemeenten bij doorwerking Barro en fysieke effecten op de Waddenzee*. Utrecht: Human Environment and Transport Inspectorate.
- Janssen, J., Luiten, E., Renes, H. and Rouwendal, J. (2014). Heritage planning and spatial development in the Netherlands: Changing policies and perspectives. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20(1), 1-21.

- Kalkman, M. (2001). *Nieuwe Hollandse Waterlinie: Nationaal project*. Utrecht: Projectbureau Nationaal project Nieuwe Hollandse Waterlinie.
- Knottnerus, O.S. (2003). Sea Level Rise as a threat to cultural heritage. In Wolff, W.J., Eessink, K., Kellermann, A. and Van Leeuwe, M.A. *Challenges to the Wadden Sea Area. The 10th International Scientific Wadden Sea Symposium, Groningen, The Netherlands 31 October – 3 November 2000*, 31-38. Groningen: Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Fisheries.
- Krauss, W. (2005). The natural and cultural landscape heritage of Northern Friesland. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 11(1), 39-52.
- Macdonald, S. (2013). *Memorylands: Heritage and identity in Europe today*. London: Routledge.
- Mazure, J. and Interdepartementale Waddenzeecommissie (1974). *Rapport van de Waddenzeecommissie: Advies inzake de principiële mogelijkheden en de voor- en nadelen van inpolderingen in de Waddenzee*. The Hague: Directorate-General for Public Works and Water Management.
- P2, Rho, and ProDo (2017). Beleidsverkenning Waddengebied: Beleidsverkenning toekomstige rol en ambitie van Rijk en regio voor het Waddengebied. Deel 1: Bevindingen. Rossem: P2, Rho, and ProDo.
- Provinces of Fryslan, Groningen and Noord-Holland (2013). *Wadden van allure!* Retrieved from <http://www.investeringskaderwaddengebied.nl/download/wadden-van-allure.pdf>
- Renes, H. (2014). Islands: Isolation and pressure. *Landscapes*, 15(1), 44-58. doi: 10.1179/1466203514Z.00000000023
- Royal HaskoningDHV (2015). *Evaluatie Structuurvisie Derde Nota Waddenzee: Ontwikkelen als perspectief, beschermen als basis*. Nijmegen: Royal HaskoningDHV.
- Schroor, M. (2008). *Waddenzee Waddenland: Historische verkenningen rond de geografische identiteit en begrenzing van het internationale Waddengebied*. Leeuwarden: Raad voor de Wadden.
- Smit, G. (1971). *De agrarisch-maritieme structuur van Terschelling omstreeks het midden van de negentiende eeuw* (doctoral dissertation). Groningen: Sasland.
- Smith, L. (2006). *Uses of heritage*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Vollmer, M. (2001). *LANCEWAD: Landscape and cultural heritage in the Wadden Sea Region: Project report*. Wilhelmshaven: Common Wadden Sea Secretariat.
- VROM (2007). *Ontwikkeling van de wadden voor natuur en mens: Deel 4 van de planologische kernbeslissing derde nota waddenzee, tekst na parlementaire instemming*. The Hague: Ministerie van VROM.
- Waddenacademie (ed.) (2016). *Visies op de Wadden: Zes essays ten behoeve van de Beleidsverkenning Toekomstige Rol en Ambitie van het Rijk voor het Waddengebied*. Leeuwarden: Waddenacademie.

About the author

Dr. Linde Egberts is an assistant professor in the interdisciplinary field of heritage studies at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. She studied human geography and cultural history at Utrecht University and at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, where she defended her PhD thesis, *Chosen Legacies*, in 2015. Her research interests lie in heritage, identity, regions, landscape, and the interplay of tourism and identity. As a member of the research institute CLUE+, she currently focuses on heritage in coastal landscapes in Europe. She combines her research endeavours with lecturing and coordinating the master's programme in heritage studies at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.