



Universiteit Utrecht

In search of local connections:

Cultural policies and their effect on social cohesion within municipalities of Utrecht

Master Thesis

Master program: Social Policy & Public Health

Course: Research Internship and Thesis

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Date: July 1, 2019

Word count: 10.000

Abstract

Enhancing social cohesion adds to a decrease in mortality and crime rates, while also increasing the stability of fragile groups, the wellbeing of elderly people and economic growth. Municipal policies around culture, like cultural heritage and tourism, can be used in a way that has an increasing effect on social cohesion. Cultural policy experts of sixteen municipalities and people from two market organizations within the province of Utrecht were studied and interviewed about their strategies to enhance social cohesion through heritage locations and their touristic profile. The main question: In municipalities located in the province of Utrecht, do policies on cultural heritage and tourism have an effect on social cohesion and if so, how, according to the policymakers and other relevant civil servants? Policy experts did not know about these strategies or did not utilize them, due to capacity constraints and a lack of knowledge on the subject. However, another player seemed to be taking over the role of enhancing the cohesion of the municipal inhabitants: the library. Along with cultural centers, the libraries are modernizing and are becoming hubs for all social groups. Through volunteers and encounters of all social groups, the libraries and/or cultural centers manage to add to the social cohesion within municipalities. It is advised to keep up with this trend, while also educating policy experts on strategies to enhance social cohesion through cultural policies by bundling knowledge and collaborating with umbrella and specialized organizations. The libraries and cultural centers alone should not be responsible for the social cohesion of municipalities.

1. Introduction

1.1 Problem definition

Crowley and Hickman (2008) state that social cohesion has been ‘radically challenged’ by post-industrialism and the new dynamics of migration. One example is Kanaleneiland, a district in Utrecht (a province of the Netherlands), mentioned in the book of Van Gemert, Peterson, and Lien (2008), in which a situation is described where young Moroccan men are distanced from the “white” people and are overrepresented in criminality rates. It would be helpful for this kind of districts if these minority groups could become part of a larger kind of social cohesion within a municipality. An additional reason why social cohesion should be created and maintained is because the wellbeing of elderly people has a significant positive relation to social cohesion within their neighborhoods (Cramm, Van Dijk, & Nieboer, 2012). In Utrecht, the Netherlands, extreme loneliness among elderly people is an acknowledged problem (De Utrecht Internet Courant, 2017). Low social cohesion correlates with large gaps between rich and poor people and is proven to lead to higher mortality rates and crime rates, and lower productivity and economic growth within the society. According to Kawachi and Kennedy (1997), this is often paired with flawed policies. Policymakers and advisors that are employed by a municipality should in some way pursue unity among their citizens. Therefore there have been attempts to enhance and maintain social cohesion involving cultural policies.

1.2 Cultural policy as a tool to amplify social cohesion

According to Otte (2015), flawed cultural policies that aim to enhance social cohesion can actually ‘damage’ social cohesion. The idea that ‘art unites’ has been used too loosely for the basis of cultural policies. Even passive, or as some call it ‘receptive’ forms of art, like going to a museum or a sports match, are more likely to unite people than active forms of art, like making music together or setting up a theater project, which are forms of art that are often misused within the context of uniting social groups. While active forms of art are suggested by some policymakers to enhance social cohesion, it mainly enhances existing connections between people. Otte (2015) advises the government to especially look into ‘challenging’ forms of culture and have a clear vision before investing in culture to promote social cohesion, since making social groups more understanding of other social groups in your community demands more challenge than attending sport matches. The problem with the idea of ‘challenging art’ is that it is subjective and vague and demands theoretical expansion (Otte, 2015). Belke, Leder, and Carbon (2015) defined challenging art as art with ‘potential to offer mental growth opportunities and to tap into a basic epistemic predisposition that hints at a fluency counteracting aesthetic pleasure mechanism’. This definition leaves a lot to be desired, due to lack of further explanation or examples. Existing literature on challenging forms of art and culture is hard to come across.

Chapter 2, an overview of empirical research and theoretical framework, will incorporate culture, which in itself is a broad term, in a way that is proven to have an effect on social cohesion. Cultural policies differ from municipality to municipality in what they include. Some include the social domain, some include the library, and some do not. However, most municipalities participating in this research at least put their focus on the subjects of cultural heritage and recreation and tourism. This thesis will explain how policies on those two subjects can affect the social cohesion of a municipality. Municipalities of Utrecht and their policymakers and advisors of cultural policies are the focus population of this research.

1.3 The province of Utrecht

A Dutch province like Utrecht with areas that have high crime rates among ethnic minorities (Van Gemert, Peterson, & Lien, 2008) and many elderly people who feel ‘extremely’ lonely (De Utrecht Internet Courant, 2017) could greatly benefit from fitting cultural policies. This research will focus on the cultural policies around the themes of tourism and cultural heritage within municipalities of the province of Utrecht, as told by employees of the municipality. In chapter 3, methods are described to gather data from policymakers and advisors of cultural policies within municipalities of the province of Utrecht to analyze the effect of the municipal cultural policies on tourism and heritage on the perceived social cohesion in that municipality.

1.4 Scientific and societal relevance

The contribution this research makes to science is exploring a possible gap between theoretical strategies on tourism and cultural heritage and the methods of action of actual policymakers. This research will be among sixteen municipalities within the same province, which is up-to-date and can serve as an advisory for future issues among provinces and municipalities elsewhere. Also, the theoretical framework incorporates many evidence from literature to put different perspectives on social cohesion together.

When social cohesion can be pursued through cultural policy, effects of social cohesion include economic growth, an increase of wellbeing and a decrease of crime rates, which are fields of interest for communities all over the world. This research has potential to be of help in achieving these universal goals, since it can be relevant to use this research as a recommendation on how or not to achieve social cohesion through cultural policies within municipalities of one province, achieving societal relevance.

2. Overview of empirical research and theoretical framework

2.1 Demarcating social cohesion

Social identity is formed when someone ‘knows’ he or she belongs to a certain group (Stets & Burke, 2000). Individuals in a social group view themselves as part of the same social category, in which the same norms, attitudes and styles of speech are incorporated. In 2004, Van Vugt and Hart concluded that “social identity seems to act as social glue” and that “it provides stability in groups that would otherwise collapse”. This glue holding society together is also referred to as social cohesion by Maloutas and Malouta (2004), although they were not the first to study it. Stanley (2003) states that groups with social cohesion have a high chance of realizing goals due to the willingness of the individuals to cooperate and form partnerships.

According to Friedkin (2004), “Groups are cohesive when group-level conditions are producing positive membership attitudes and behaviors and when group members’ interpersonal interactions are operating to maintain these group-level conditions”. In other words, social cohesion exists when members of a group collectively and actively maintain attitudes and behaviors as a sign of belonging with this group, and feel like members of their groups (the in-group) are ‘us’ and members of another group (the out-group) are ‘them’ (Stets & Burke, 2000). Consequently, people will root for their in-group rather than an out-group, because the social cohesion causes them to have positive feelings towards the group they actively belong to, often going along with feelings of pride. This also shows in their interactions with other group members.

To establish tourism and cultural heritage as ways to enhance social cohesion, we will look at an article from Forrest and Kearns (2001), who offer extensive explanations and tools to break down, understand and do research on social cohesion. They divided social cohesion in five domains, as shown in table 1 (next page). As social capital, the fourth domain, is an important pillar of social cohesion, Forrest and Kearns describe eight components of social capital and appropriate local policies to support those, shown in table 2, appendix 5.

Table 1: Domains of social cohesion, adapted from Forrest and Kearns (2001)

Domain	Description
<i>Common values and a civic culture</i>	Common behavioral codes and morality; participating in politics.
<i>Social order and social control</i>	Tolerance and no general conflicts or incivility.
<i>Social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities</i>	Harmonious economic and social development; equal access to services and welfare benefits; acknowledgement of social obligations and willingness to assist others.
<i>Social networks and social capital</i>	Easy resolution of social problems and high degree of interaction within community.
<i>Place attachment and identity</i>	Strong attachment to and blending of personal and place identity.

In this theoretical framework, in order to find out how policies around tourism and cultural heritage should be able to enhance social cohesion, the domains mentioned in table 1 are explored in how tourism and cultural heritage are in relation with each of the domains. During the process of attaching the domains to either tourism or cultural heritage, four strategies can be found to enhance social cohesion using policies on tourism and cultural heritage. Table 2 is less important and is mentioned when social capital is relevant in explaining how cultural policies can help fulfill the domains of table 1. Because the domains are less important than the four found strategies, the full exploration of the domains can be found in appendix 1 and table 2 is put in appendix 5.

The first mentioned domain of social cohesion in table 1 describes a civic culture in which citizens participate in politics. Stenseke (2009) found that trust and communication are the key to successful local participation, from which trust and participation are also part of table 2, in which social capital is delimited. With participation comes a feeling of empowerment, also mentioned in table 2. These connections show that the domains of social cohesion in table 1, as well as the components of social capital in table 2 are interconnected. Trust and communication can be encouraged with enabling intergroup-interaction (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

The second domain is about social order and tolerance. Tolsma, Van der Meer, and Gesthuizen (2009) measured tolerance between neighbors in the Netherlands. Their hypothesis was based on the homophily proposition, a pattern of individuals voluntarily choosing interaction rather with people similar to them, than others (Rogers & Bhowmik, 1971). They expected that social cohesion would be negatively affected if neighborhoods or municipalities had a high degree of ethnic and economic heterogeneity (diversity). The results were that negative effects of ethnic heterogeneity among neighbors were not found, whereas negative effects of economic differences were present. A conclusion could be that neighborhoods in which ethnic minorities disturb the social cohesion of the

area this is due to income inequality, rather than ethnic heterogeneity. In neighborhoods with more economic equality, there is more tolerance between people. As a part of social cohesion, tolerance in neighborhoods should be pursued.

2.2 Tourism and cultural commodification

The second domain of social cohesion, pleading for social order and tolerance, could be helpful in managing successful tourist attraction, since tolerant citizens are more likely to be hospitable and ‘visitors-friendly’ which, according to Russo and Van der Borg (2002), are required to gain successful tourism management. They found that tourism can transform the identity of the host community and even generate a new wholesome identity. Cultural commodification, the process of cultural behaviors and heritage being transformed into products, due to tourism, can enhance community consciousness, appreciation of local traditions, identity affirmation, pride and empowerment (Smith & Robinson, 2006), which adds to domain 5: place attachment and identity. It has to be noted, however, that in some cases cultural commodification leads to increasing social inequality as a byproduct, due to economic consequences (Smith & Robinson, 2006).

Cultural policies or municipal ‘cultural visions’ often can be found online and do not shy away from mentioning tourism as a way to boost their economy. The way a municipality presents itself on its official website or pamphlet is often partly designed to attract tourism. The way they do this varies between municipalities. ‘Utrechtse Heuvelrug’, one of the participating municipalities of the province of Utrecht, for instance, has a nature green- looking website. It is likely this is done on purpose to show that the municipality wants to identify as a fitting destination for people who are interested in nature. Also, some modern-looking websites, like that of Zeist, another municipality, seems to be interested in attracting young people. This is something they admit in their official cultural vision (Gemeente Zeist, 2016). These ‘cultural visions’ often mention policies around tourism. Through cultural commodification, tourism can influence the perceived identity of the municipal inhabitants and their cohesiveness. Indicators could be examples of pride and tradition among the citizens (Smith & Robinson, 2006).

2.3 Cultural heritage and more strategies

Aside from increasing the hospitality of the citizens, one way to encourage tourism is investing in cultural heritage. In the culture note of Provincie Utrecht (2016), four themes are described that are included in the subject of cultural heritage. These are: historic country estates, military heritage, agriculture cultural landscape and archeology. Later, they added historical infrastructure as a fifth theme as well.

In 2013, Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek found that in its own way, heritage has potential to create and enhance social capital (the fourth domain of social cohesion, adapted from Forrest & Kearns, 2001, seen in table 1). In the local context, cultural heritage can provide ‘community hubs’, places of encounters and social integration, while also serving as a place of local pride and common identity (place attachment). In addition, heritage places bring together volunteers from all social groups. ‘Place attachment’, ‘encounters’ and ‘volunteers form all social groups’ can serve as three strategies to enhance social cohesion. According to a meta-analysis on the contact theory (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) intergroup interaction causes great reduction in prejudice between ethnic groups. The writers advise to include heritage in forming policies on social capital, which is supported by table 2, which mentions support from the local government to set up networks and reciprocity as a fitting policy. In addition, Phongsavan, Chey, Bauman, Brooks, and Silove (2006) concluded that especially feelings of trust and safety, also part of social capital in table 2, are positively related to mental health, which is another reason to want to pursue social cohesion through social capital.

In the province of Utrecht, municipalities try to promote and maintain cultural heritage within the area. Aside from attracting tourism, this is done to maintain a cultural profile, honor the municipal history and appeal subsidies (Provincie Utrecht, 2016). Most municipalities have one or more separate employees as a policymaker or advisor on (one of) these fields. Understanding how they embed cultural heritage in setting up place attachment and social networks through encounters and volunteers could answer the question how certain uses of cultural heritage relate to social cohesion.

Table 3: Overview of found strategies

Theme	Found strategy
Tourism	<i>Strategy 1: Cultural commodification</i>
Cultural heritage	<i>Strategy 2: Place attachment</i>
Cultural heritage	<i>Strategy 3: Encounters</i>
Cultural heritage	<i>Strategy 4: Volunteers</i>

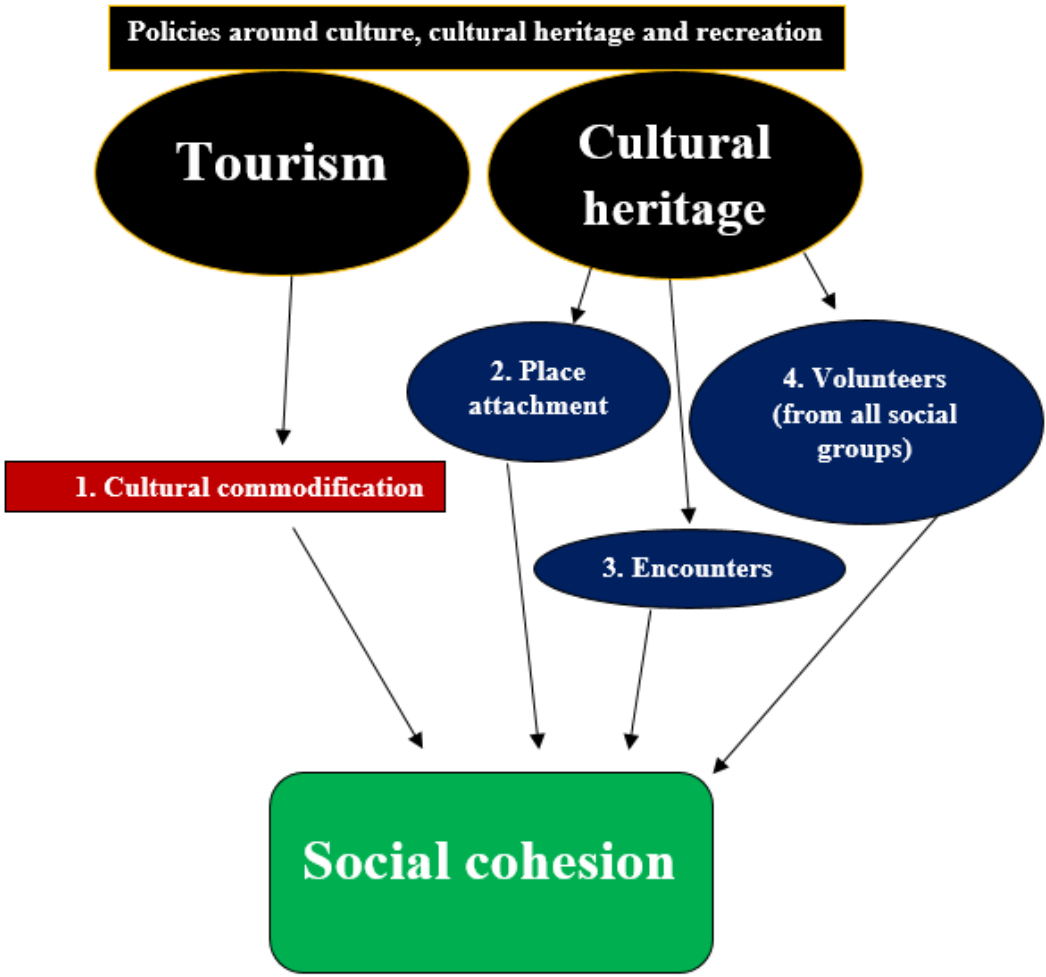
2.4 A model highlighting the essence of tourism and cultural heritage

For this research, the essence is to find out how cultural policies, involving tourism and cultural heritage can add to the social cohesion within a municipality. To visualize the connections and domains mentioned in the first part of the empirical overview, a model was made (see figure 1 in appendix 1). All domains are in some way connected to either ‘Cultural heritage’ or ‘Tourism’. While studying them, four strategies were found. Tourism could add to social cohesion through appreciation of traditions and pride, while cultural heritage could add to social cohesion through encounters between all social groups and pride of identity (place attachment), as well as by bringing together volunteers from all social groups (Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek, 2013). The two overarching themes of

tourism and cultural heritage could eventually even become one phrase, since Nuryanti (1996) claims that heritage is at the heart of cultural tourism, but for now they will be kept separate.

Figure 2 is made, based on this chapter and figure 1 (appendix 1). It shows that tourism and cultural heritage should be able to enhance social cohesion through four strategies, based on this theoretical framework.

Figure 2: Simplified model of tourism and cultural heritage and their relation to social cohesion in the form of four strategies



3. Research methods

3.1 Assignment from the province of Utrecht and research questions

To explain the methods of this research, a larger context has to be made clear. The following paragraph is about the context in which this research has taken place. At the same time I wrote this thesis, I followed an internship at Provincie Utrecht, the administrative organization behind the province of Utrecht. There, an assignment was given in which I took the opportunity to include the questions that could answer my own thesis question.

In light of the provincial assignment, the ‘Raad voor Cultuur’ is a Dutch organization, which claimed that cultural policies should incorporate more own choices of municipalities in compiling future culture notes, instead of mainly national choices (Beeckmans, 2017). Therefore, the province of Utrecht wants to have more insight in the knowledge about and experience with the impact and appreciation for cultural services and locations of heritage, and the cultural profiles of municipalities. During the same period of time this thesis was written, I composed a report for the province in which the results and recommendations for all participating municipalities is discussed, along with two other student-researchers. Within the provincial assignment I could study how cultural policies are deployed to enhance social cohesion through heritage and tourism within the municipalities. For this thesis, I wanted to know if and how the municipalities of Utrecht use tourism and heritage for achieving social cohesion, according to relevant people like policymakers, advisors and experts. The research question:

In municipalities located in the province of Utrecht, do policies on cultural heritage and tourism have an effect on social cohesion and if so, how, according to the policymakers and other relevant civil servants?

3.2 Participants and instruments

In February 2019, the province of Utrecht has sent invitations to experts on cultural policies at their municipalities to participate in the research. The two biggest municipalities, Utrecht (not the province) and Amersfoort, were left out of the research, because enough was known about them and further research would be unnecessary, according to the province. After the participating municipalities responded through e-mail, we made appointments to visit each municipality for an interview. With the two other student-researchers, who had their own specific research question for their master theses, I visited the municipalities and either one or more policymakers, civil servants, the mayor or other relevant workers were interviewed by the three of us. All of the participants were either an expert on the field of arts and culture, cultural heritage, recreation and tourism, social domain or multiple, and attached to a specific municipality including one mayor. Because inhabitants couldn’t be interviewed, despite being the core of the municipality’s social cohesion, all questions and answers are ‘according

to the policy expert'. The actual social cohesion in a municipality was never precisely measured, because it was not possible within the timeframe and goes beyond the reach of this study.

During the interviews, which were focused on cultural policies, my topics about social cohesion were included and discussed to find answers to the research question of this master thesis. Sixteen municipalities participated in this research. Also, mainly in the light of the internship assignment, two recreational marketing organizations were interviewed to learn more about the municipalities we interviewed. In some parts of these conversations, we discussed the topic of the effect of cultural heritage and tourism on social cohesion in the municipalities, so those interviews are part of the overall data set for this thesis. Municipalities 1 through 16 are mentioned with a number attached, due to their anonymity. For instance 'Municipality 1'. The marketing organizations are referred to as 'Marketing organization 1' and 'Marketing organization 2'. Specific participants (in interviews with multiple people) are referred to as Municipality 1a and Municipality 1b etc. Before the interview, a form of content analysis was conducted. Municipal information about the cultural identity and heritage as promoted and tourism attraction were gathered through both online accessible, like 'cultural visions', notes and public webpages of the municipalities, and secret documents. This information served as foreknowledge that helped get to the essence of the upcoming interviews.

In the participating municipalities, an interview was held with one to five participants, depending on the accessibility and relevance of additional participants in the municipality. The interviews held with the marketing organizations were with one person. In total, 38 participants were interviewed between March 21 and June 14, 2019. All interviews lasted between one hour and one hour and 45 minutes. Most of the time, half an hour was used to talk about this thesis subject. The research was qualitative, rather than quantitative, for qualitative research provided room for incidental and open questions when interviewing. This is necessary, because municipalities should give examples when claiming their policies influence social cohesion. The interviews were semi-structural, since some topics were mandatory, but additional questions were sometimes effective, depending on the course of the conversation. Since a minimum of two and a maximum of three researchers were present during the interviews, and all had a different thesis question, time of the interviews was spent on other questions, which were not directly related to the themes of this thesis.

3.3 Topics

According to the literature exploration, all domains of social cohesion as adapted from Forrest and Kearns (2001) are connected to either cultural heritage or tourism. In conversation with the participating municipalities, when indicating how the municipal identity is perceived by the citizens (as part of the provincial set of questions), it was followed by examples of 'pride and tradition'. The theme 'pride' was previously mentioned when describing the effects of both cultural heritage and

tourism in chapter 2 and is present among the topics, indicating the strength of social cohesion. ‘Tradition’ was mentioned in describing tourism and is among the topics as well, because specific examples help understand how citizens perceive their cultural identity. Lastly, the policy expert was asked if he considers their current policies on cultural heritage and tourism as tools to enhance social cohesion and how that would work.

The four strategies are not included in the topic list, because it was not desirable that participants (who were sent the topic list prior to the interview) would try to make it look like they were implementing all four strategies, when in reality, this is only partly the case or not at all. Instead, I waited for the topic to be discussed before asking about their strategies. Also, all strategies were not always specifically asked for, as I most wanted to hear the policy experts bring them up themselves. However, when they would not name one of the strategies, I would suggest them, but not all of them, because like what was stated before: answers that are given to give a utopian impression are not desirable.

A pilot study, which existed of one interview in ‘Municipality 1’, which was randomly chosen to have the pilot study at, determined if anything about the research methods should be changed, like topics or the division of tasks. Changes that were made on the basis of the pilot study were in light of the provincial assignment and not relevant for this thesis. The interviews were all recorded, and in between visits to municipalities, the interviews were transcribed by the three researchers and shared after. Then, the data was put into ‘NVivo11’, an application to assign codes to parts of the text, and analyzed to get coherent answers to the research questions, by sorting out themes and writing down notable observations which were used to write the results section of this thesis.

The topics that were discussed during the semi-structured interviews are based on the theoretical framework and can be found in table 4. Five topics were present in every interview. In the end, answers to these questions were able to help answer the main research question. The full topic list, also including topics based on the research questions of the two other researchers and the provincial assignment, can be found in appendix 2 and are in Dutch.

Table 4: Topic list

• Promotion cultural heritage locations
• Attraction tourism
• Perspective citizens on promoted cultural identity and heritage
• Pride and tradition
• Policies on heritage and tourism in relation to social cohesion

3.4 Analyzing the data

When the data was put into NVivo, all important quotes had to be organized. At first two nodes were made on what was said about both the overall social cohesion in a municipality and the proudness of the people, with examples. It was later decided that these two fell into a bigger category: Context of the municipality. While I did not use a lot of these quotes in this thesis, they helped me to quickly read back which municipality had which context.

Then there was a second big category: Influences of cultural policy on social cohesion. In this category, the following nodes were made, based on what was said in the interviews: Library/culture center/institution; Cultural heritage (with sub nodes: place attachment, encounters and volunteers/employees); Cultural commodification; Events outside of cultural heritage; Volunteers outside of cultural heritage; Having ... in common. These nodes were the most important part in writing down the results section, since they helped answer the question what policies are used to influence social cohesion. The node 'Having ... in common' was not used in writing the results section, because only five quotes were found on this subject and did not give off the impression to be of importance.

Lastly, there was a third big category: Reasons for no connection between the literature and data. This was made to look for answers when asking why there was a difference between chapter 2 and what was said in the interviews. Based on the data, two nodes were: No effect whatsoever; Challenges. This category was also incorporated into the results section.

The NVivo node tree can be seen in its original language in appendix 4.

3.5 Ethical accountability

Before a participant was interviewed, the essence of the interview was made clear and permission was asked to record the interview with an audio carrier. The participant was told he or she could stop the interview at any moment and was sent the transcript to see if he or she was understood well. Personal information, like names and locations are made anonymous. The participants have contact details of both the province and the researchers, so they can always keep in contact about the research and possible interferences. Every participant has signed a form of consent (except for one participant we had a phone conversation with) and have indicated permission to record on the audio recording.

4. Results

4.1 Presentation of the quotes

Since a lot of the quotes originally included information that is either not relevant or contains personal/traceable information, they have been edited. For instance, some parts were taken out, which is recognizable by: (...). Parts that initially included names or other traceable information are made anonymous and replaced by information about what is missing from the quotes, in parentheses. Some quotes will include bold words, which means special attention needs to be paid to that part of the quote. All quotes are translated to English and can be found in their original language in appendix 3.

4.2 Tourism

Municipalities in the province of Utrecht have a lot of old buildings and nature, to attract tourists to. A few of the municipalities were small in terms of finances and/or policy experts and therefore did not have a policymaker on the subject of tourism, nor were they affiliated with any city marketing organization. This topic was not applicable to those municipalities. Nonetheless, most municipalities had cultural events to some extent, to attract people from outside the municipality.

The strategy to enhance social cohesion through promotion of the municipality to tourists (*strategy 1: cultural commodification*) so that the inhabitants gain a certain feeling of common identity and proudness was acknowledged by seven of the participating municipalities. There was not one municipality who could say they were actively using the promotion of notable characteristics of the municipality to make inhabitants proud and contribute a feeling of cohesion. All of them however, spoke of this mechanism as a (possible) future plan or something that would work if they would bring the strategy into practice.

Interviewer: *Do you think that if there was more known about the things to be proud of, this proudness would be something the inhabitants would experience?*

Municipality 11b: *Yes. I think it's really necessary to write down our stories and explicitly communicate and share them. Better and more communication has to be arranged.*

Municipality 11a: *Our website could be utilized a lot more. We should involve owners of monuments. That is not happening enough now.*

The participant of 'Marketing Organization 2' thought this was interesting as well, and said the strategy would most definitely work, if only the municipalities would realize it. He said that he thinks that in some of the participating municipalities cultural commodification is in fact enhancing proudness and cohesion, without the policy experts of those municipalities being fully aware of it, which means the mechanism could work without active policymaking.

Overall, the potential of this strategy is not being reached. Sometimes municipalities have a different perspective on the function of cultural commodification. ‘Municipality 4’ admitted that its inhabitants were not fond of the current touristic identity change the municipality had made, which was even incorporated in the municipality’s name. A policy expert of that municipality said the following:

“We do have some work to do. But I think if local organizations and entrepreneurs realize it earns them money, then the name of our touristic profile doesn’t matter anymore. It’s about involving your inhabitants and how you deal with that. I think it will be fine. Everybody says: we are not going to think of something else at this point anyway. (...). Not all of (municipality 4) feels comfortable with our current name and there lies the hurt. But our goal is to attract people from outside the municipality, so can it really be that bad? If you are going to think of something else now... There has been so much hassle for this that people are thinking ‘keep it like this. At least it is something’. I think that is the overall feeling of the inhabitants” (Municipality 4a).

In the case of ‘Municipality 4’, it does not seem like the policy experts use cultural commodification to enhance social cohesion at all, but rather for pleasing organizations and entrepreneurs.

4.3 Cultural heritage

The topic of cultural heritage was broadly explored during the interviews. Municipalities came across as very enthusiastic about their various heritage locations. Then, when I would ask how it is being implemented as a tool for enhancing social cohesion, they would become much more silent.

Strategy 2: Place attachment. The first strategy of using policies on cultural heritage for enhancing social cohesion is getting the inhabitants involved in the story of the heritage and therefore often integrated in story of the municipality (place attachment). Little participating municipalities were familiar with this or used this strategy. While there were six municipalities that acknowledged the mechanism behind this strategy, not even half of them brought this into practice. For the other ones it was talked about as a future plan.

‘Municipality 7’ said in their cultural heritage vision that they planned on connecting cultural heritage with social cohesion. When asked how their plans were unfolding, ‘Municipality 7b’ said the following:

“It was indeed included in our vision and it is still seen that way, but they are still just words on paper. I hope we will manage to look back in five years and see we made good progress”
(Municipality 7b).

Some municipalities spoke about potential heritage locations, but did not know what steps to take from there. ‘Municipality 12’ spoke about places with a connection to World War II. Many traces were left, but none are being used to tell the story and make inhabitants value their municipality more. They told us why:

Municipality 12c: *We have a new residential area, a new industrial area, in which the history of World War II is close by. A German rack where a twelve meter hole is located, because the Germans exploded their leftover ammunition there. There are stories about that place, a few planes have crashed there, but we haven't really placed any monuments or memorial stones.*

Interviewer: (...). *The story is not really known among inhabitants?*

Municipality 12c: *Well, at the moment there is no focus on that, there are no clear landmarks. If there is a story, we try to document it, but **the question is: to what extent can we really do anything with it?** In the new residential area you can place a sign or some sort, but you are not going to make an extensive place of commemorating the fallen planes.*

Just like with the previous strategy, the participant of ‘Marketing Organization 2’ said he thinks some of the participating municipalities use this strategy, but probably without being fully aware due to a lack of knowledge. He mostly concluded that municipalities should focus more on using their heritage to attach both inhabitants and tourists to the municipality, and in this way making it more beloved among both groups while also making profit off of it. He said that there lies a role for his organization in promoting the strategy:

“A place where you would come and be proud of. That also gives you profile. I am under the impression, (...) that there should be more initiative to make those heritage locations be a part of the society. (...) It has to do with the level of knowledge. (...) We (the organization) have a role to play in that, since we are able to bundle that knowledge” (Marketing Organization 2).

Strategy 3: Encounters. A second way of achieving social cohesion through policies on cultural heritage is through making the heritage location a hub for encounters between various social groups. This strategy was said to be used in at least three of the participating municipalities, making it the most well-known and used strategy. Three out of sixteen is not even 20%, however. A participant who was not familiar with the strategy of encounters said:

“We do value our cultural heritage a lot, but it does not have a direct connection with social cohesion” (Municipality 10a).

Other municipalities who were familiar with the strategy experienced challenges, due to a lack of knowledge on the subject and how to implement certain policies. The following was said during the interview with ‘Municipality 4’:

Interviewer: *Are your heritage locations being used for encounters and connecting?*

Municipality 4b: *Yes, increasingly. But that’s a challenge. How are you going to connect everyone and how do you make you recreational allure more cohesive?*

Strategy 4: Volunteers. A last way of enhancing social cohesion through cultural heritage is through attracting volunteers from all social groups. In this research, many participating municipalities claimed their group of volunteers almost entirely existed of retired elderly. While one municipality reported they did attract elderly of all social groups, it could still not be a reflection of the entire municipal population. Another municipality said that they did attract a variety of groups, but no migrants. All other municipalities did not mention this mechanism at all, within the context of cultural heritage at least.

Noticeably, big events that would attract all social groups for encounters and enhancing social cohesion were often not held at or related to cultural heritage locations, but rather at alternative locations. This makes the claim that having a hub where people come together to meet other social groups in order to enhance social cohesion not untrue. The main problem is that the connection with cultural heritage is not present, thus not relevant for answering the main question of this thesis. A very noticeable ‘alternative hub’ is the library. The same thing goes for volunteer work. A lot of it is done to enhance social cohesion, but at alternative locations, such as, again, the library.

4.4 The library and cultural centers

Probably the most important finding of this research, and explanation for the findings in chapter 4.2 and 4.3 is that in more than twelve out of sixteen municipalities, the library and/or cultural center are mentioned as locations to enhance social cohesion. This could explain why the strategies of encounters and volunteers of all social groups are rarely said to be experienced in cultural heritage locations.

Whereas libraries used to be mainly about lending books, they now are transforming into modern libraries that are often utilized for purposes in the cultural and social domain. In collaboration with organizations which, for instance, arrange lectures for the highly educated, meetings for elderly or language courses for migrants, the library is becoming a place for encounters and volunteers from all social groups, thus adding to social cohesion.

“Currently, there is a movement going on in which the library is going under one roof with welfare organizations, in particular in connection with the social domain. It’s a transformation which all libraries in the Netherlands are in. That’s no different here. It’s a journey to find out what the collaboration will look like. At least we now have the main establishment of welfare organizations under one roof with the library” (Municipality 16).

“We are seeing that libraries are in a transitional phase to places of encounters. They don’t shy away from doing that in connection to welfare and care. That is why you see the attraction of volunteers changing. Behind every branch there is a different target audience. Because of that, you will get different people” (Marketing Organization 1).

‘Municipality 11’ had its library closed down due to budget cuts and had conducted its own research to see if the inhabitants of the municipality would benefit from having a new library and what reasons they would give. One of them was a need for encounters.

Municipality 11b: *The library used to be a place to read and borrow books. (...). Aside from reading, it should be a place of encounters. (...)*

Interviewer: *Is there a need for encounters?*

Municipality 11b: *Our survey made that very clear.*

The way ‘Municipality 6’ and ‘Municipality 10’ describe their library makes it sound like a real hub where all social groups could feel at home.

Interviewer: *Does your library have policy goals like diversity and inclusivity?*

Municipality 6a: *I think they do. Everyone should be able to participate. It’s about lifelong learning and self-actualization. The library is a place that is value-free, since everyone should be able to come there. We try to stretch the business hours as long as possible, so they will always have room for you. There doesn’t have to be an employee present at all hours, it just has to be open for public.*

Municipality 10c: *In our municipality, all comes together in the library: language courses, exhibitions, eating soup together...*

Municipality 10b: *Billiards...*

Municipality 10a: *Barbequing and people who would otherwise be alone.*

Alternatives for the role of a modern library are found in the presence of a modern cultural center. Nearly all participating municipalities had one or the other in some way. Some even had the library and the cultural center fused into each other.

4.5 Social cohesion

Besides the subjects of cultural heritage and tourism, there were some overall findings about social cohesion. For example, a common finding seems to be that people that are considered ‘young adults’ are harder to involve in cultural activities.

Some other municipalities had abnormal circumstances. For instance, sometimes the municipality had low social cohesion because it was considered a ‘new’ municipality. One of these, ‘Municipality 13’ had just had a fusion on January 1, 2019. Because of that, it could be stated that municipalities like this were very unlikely to have high social cohesion, since most cohesion was only present in their former municipality area or separate villages. Another example of a relatively ‘new’ municipality is ‘Municipality 3’:

Municipality 3a: What’s very interesting is that the villages are very self-centered. They will do everything for their village, but not for a village somewhat further away (which is part of the same municipality). (...).

Municipality 3c: They really want to keep their own identity. They don’t go even to the other villages and have no clue what is going on there. So very stubborn, that’s very typical.

Some inhabitants of villages within municipalities feel that they belong to their village rather than the municipality the village is officially part of, despite not being considered a ‘new’ municipality. In the case of ‘Municipality 8’, there is low social cohesion while not having abnormal circumstances like ‘Municipality 13’ has. ‘Municipality 8b’ told us:

“You must not say someone from (village A within municipality 8) lives in (Municipality 8). That person believes he has been living in (village A) all his life”.

On the other hand, it is not always desirable to merge all villages of a municipality into one identity, as some put it. ‘Municipality 8a’ followed with saying:

“As a municipality you can fantasize. But how can you change something like this? Is it even desirable? When people live their lives joyfully... Do you want to merge the identity of three villages into one or is it about the people knowing that they are welcome to drink a cup of coffee at their neighbor’s house?”

Another noteworthy finding is that small village like municipalities are more likely to have high social cohesion, due to ‘high social control’ (Municipality 5a), as well as many families living in the same area for generations. Bigger and city like municipalities were less likely to have high social cohesion,

due to higher chances of staying anonymous and being more likely to attract new inhabitants, who do not yet have a family history with the municipality. The following thing was said during the interview with ‘Municipality 15’:

Interviewer: *Does it differ per village how high the social cohesion is?*

Municipality 15a: *Yes, it does. It depends on the size. ‘Village x’ is bigger, so over there is a lot less cohesion.*

Municipality 15a: *Bigger, so less cohesion?*

Participant: *Yes, I think so. The smaller, the more.*

Or as ‘Municipality 16’ puts it: *It’s about scale. The fact you still know one another. Of course it’s going to be more anonymous in a big city.*

4.6 Causes of difficulty, according to the policy experts

A lot of times when the policy experts were asked about the connection between policies on cultural heritage/tourism and social cohesion, this would be a hard question to which many respondents had no concrete answer. This was despite them having read the topic list in advance and mentioning social cohesion in their ‘cultural visions’ and/or notes. For example, the ‘cultural heritage vision’ of one of the municipalities says:

*“Cultural heritage should be seen as an **incentive for social inclusion** and economic growth”*
(Gemeente Nieuwegein, 2019).

According to ‘Marketing organization 2’, this had to do with many municipalities being too small to have proper knowledge to arrange such complex connections. When interviewing the marketing organization about ‘Municipality 14’, a bigger municipality which seemed to be among the few municipalities with substantiated arguments on social cohesion, the marketing organization said this:

“I think that smaller municipalities usually have a certain challenge. They are less wealthy. The money is with the big municipalities, like it is everywhere. So keep that in mind. Overall the (capacity) level of policy experts isn’t that high at small municipalities because they have several additional tasks, where the biggest municipalities have entire departments on the same topic. (...). All those (small) municipalities try to do everything within their own borders. I say: why not do it together?”

For demonstration, ‘Municipality 2’, which has low perceived social cohesion, can be used. On the subject of tradition with ‘Municipality 2’, the following was said:

Interviewer: *If you look at this particular traditional event, does it attract all social groups?*

Municipality 2b: *Always. **I do think it attracts relatively less migrants.** It is really a historical thing here. Real inhabitants probably all go. They consider it quite important. I am not from here, but that stands out. (...). People really feel a part of the municipality. Families whose ancestors have been living here know all about it. This tradition is part of their lives. **Although, for new inhabitants it might be a little different.***

They later admit they do have a hard time attracting migrants, and even go on and say the inhabitants of their second village don't even feel part of the overall municipality. Noticeable is how the participant first claimed to be able to reach all social groups, but was primarily speaking of the original inhabitants of the main village in explaining inclusivity. The policy expert was not aware of what inclusivity within the municipality actually meant, which could be an example of a lack of knowledge among small municipalities 'Marketing organization 2' told us about.

Overall, when policy experts could not give a clear answer when asked about the effect of their cultural policies on social cohesion, the reason they gave was often something among the lines of this:

"I have to admit something about everything I just said: I do this one day in the week. To delve into additional things we could do, would be after I am done with my regular tasks. Up until now, that has not been the case. Unless there will be a shift (of money) towards culture and recreation, there will be no extra time to work on this" (Municipality 1).

This correlates with what 'Market Organization 2' said: that small municipalities with little policy experts just don't have the capacity and level of knowledge to delve into all strategies to make the connection between cultural policies and social cohesion.

5. End-note

5.1 Conclusion

To repeat the research question: *“In municipalities located in the province of Utrecht, do policies on cultural heritage and tourism have an effect on social cohesion and if so, how, according to the policymakers and other relevant civil servants?”*

Policy experts of municipalities within the province of Utrecht do not know about or utilize the four strategies to make cultural policies, involving cultural heritage and tourism, have an effect on social cohesion within the municipality. While many of the official ‘cultural visions’, notes and other public documents state the importance of a connection between cultural policies and social cohesion, that connection is currently absent most of the time. This is because there is too little knowledge about the subject among policy experts of municipalities. On the other hand, it looks like strategies like ‘Encounters’ and ‘Volunteers’ are somewhat taken over by the libraries and cultural centers. It could mean that libraries and cultural centers are becoming the real experts on the subject of culture and social cohesion, since nearly all participating municipalities reported their library or cultural center as a hub for social cohesion. While most municipalities collaborate fine with their libraries, the policy experts should be educated on what mechanisms they could use to enhance social cohesion with cultural policies. Municipalities should strive for social cohesion within their community and the library cannot be seen as responsible for the implementation of policies to enhance social cohesion when the municipalities are the ones with policy experts on culture and the social domain. The knowledge that is needed to educate policy experts could come from a collaboration with other municipalities and umbrella organizations like the province, a marketing organization and/or specialized external parties.

5.2 Literature discussion

The literature which was used in the theoretical exploration showed four strategies in which tourism and cultural heritage can add to social cohesion. Firstly, Russo and Van der Borg (2002) state that tourism has the ability to transform the identity of the host community and could even generate a complete new identity through cultural commodification. While this strategy sounds somewhat over the top, the results of this thesis show that although no municipality was actively using policies around tourism to provoke a feeling of pride and appreciation of local traditions, many did acknowledge the potential of this strategy. The mechanism might even be working on its own in some places, without necessarily needing active policymaking, according to a participant from the market organization.

In light of cultural heritage, there were three strategies adapted from an article by Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek (2013). The first one was making the heritage location a place of local pride. By making the

inhabitants get involved with the story of a heritage location they might generate feelings of pride and common identity (place attachment). The results show a lot of the same from the previously mentioned strategy. Little municipalities knew about it, but sometimes the mechanism would be working without the policy experts knowing or having implemented anything on the subject. The second strategy for cultural heritage was to make the heritage location a hub for encounters and social integration. This strategy was not reported a lot. However, it can be said that this strategy is quite successful. The reason for this is that in reality, heritage locations are often replaced by libraries and cultural centers. At those locations, the argument of having a hub for many encounters and social integration indeed led to interaction between all social groups, which is advantageous for the social cohesion within a municipality.

The third and last strategy for cultural heritage that was adapted from Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek (2013), and the fourth strategy overall, was the attraction of volunteers from all social groups. This was found nowhere in the results and one could question in what area Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek originally came to this conclusion. It is possible that the different results stem from the difference between the Netherlands and Poland, the latter being where Murzyn-Kupisz and Działek did their original research. It could be argued that the labor situation in Poland, including low employment rates among young and old people, regional differences and poorly designed pension policies, makes for a widely diverse group of volunteers (Boulhol, 2014). What is interesting is that in this thesis, people who are targeted by libraries, which are often all social groups, do become volunteers there, despite their age or ethnical background, which, just like the strategy of encounters, makes this strategy look quite successful from the perspective of the library.

5.3 Limitations

This research has a few limitations. Firstly, only a small area (the province of Utrecht) has been used to conduct this research. This means that the results are by no means representative of the country of the Netherlands or by that matter, the world. All results are bound to the limits of one province, which is a specific area in itself, which might have caused very different results from any other province or location. So despite that this thesis could be used as an advisory paper for other provinces, it has to be kept in mind that this research is not likely to be representative everywhere. Also, only sixteen out of twenty-six municipalities participated in this research. It could have been that there is a correlation between municipalities that did not participate and their use and/or knowledge of strategies to enhance social cohesion through cultural policies.

Another limitation is the length of the interviews. Although every interview is close to one and a half hours long, most of it was dedicated to other subjects, due to multiple assignments being fused into one topic list. The parts about social cohesion were not longer than half an hour most of the time. This

could result in the subject not being fully explored, although the policy experts made the impression that they had said all relevant things when ending the subject during the interview.

In terms of internal validity, I figured out quite late in the process of data collection that it could have been wise to specifically ask about the four strategies. During the interviews, different ways of enhancing social cohesion would always be discussed, including the four strategies, although not always and most of the time not all of them. Because I have not specifically asked for the strategies found in the theory, but have specifically mentioned them in both the theoretical framework and the results section of the thesis, the internal validity is at risk. The strategies could have been better researched, in retrospect.

I needed to speak to people who knew about both cultural policies and the social domain (and the relation between them) to answer the research question. During the interviews, there would sometimes only be one person who spoke for the entire municipality. Sometimes the one person from social domain would be absent and I had to gather information about social cohesion from someone who was purely focused on culture or heritage. Although this was not good for the internal validity, I figured it was also interesting to learn that some cultural policymakers had not a clue what was going on in the social domain. Fortunately, not many cases like this were encountered.

Lastly, while searching for literature about the topics of cultural politics and social cohesion, I found more (convincing) theories, like passive forms of culture and libraries, which have not been explored in the theoretical framework. In retrospect, it could have been helpful to incorporate the library into the theoretical framework ahead of the data collection, since the subject of libraries has been largely delved into in the results section. Due to time constraints, however, this part has been cut out of the theoretical framework in an early stage, not knowing that the strategies that did make the theoretical framework would not be reported as much as the library.

5.4 Recommendations

It is important that cultural policy experts of the municipalities in Utrecht are educated about scientifically substantiated ways to enhance social cohesion, including the four strategies that were explored in this thesis. Together with the province or other specialized organizations, municipalities could bundle their knowledge on implementing cultural policies to enhance the social cohesion in order to be fully effective, instead of mentioning social cohesion among the goals in their cultural visions or notes without having a concrete plan. On the subject there is a lot of research, but due to capacity and time constraints, policy experts are often not able to delve into empirical evidence to support their policies and implementations. That is why it is recommended that they keep investing in cultural centers and modernizing libraries, so that these organizations may take over some of the work

policy experts have on the subject of social cohesion. Libraries and cultural centers should not be responsible for the social cohesion of a municipality, since policy experts should become specialized. (Also, some municipalities, like 'Municipality 11' had their library shut down due to budget cuts). Umbrella organizations, like marketing organizations or the administrative organization behind the province of Utrecht, could be of help in bundling the knowledge, or at least facilitating between the knowledge of municipalities.

Additional research is necessary to find out how other areas deal with the need of enhancing social cohesion and how cultural policies play a role in that. Also, further research in how modern libraries and cultural centers effect social cohesion within a municipalities can show how other municipalities can arrange their library and/or cultural center and what parts of it have yet to be improved.

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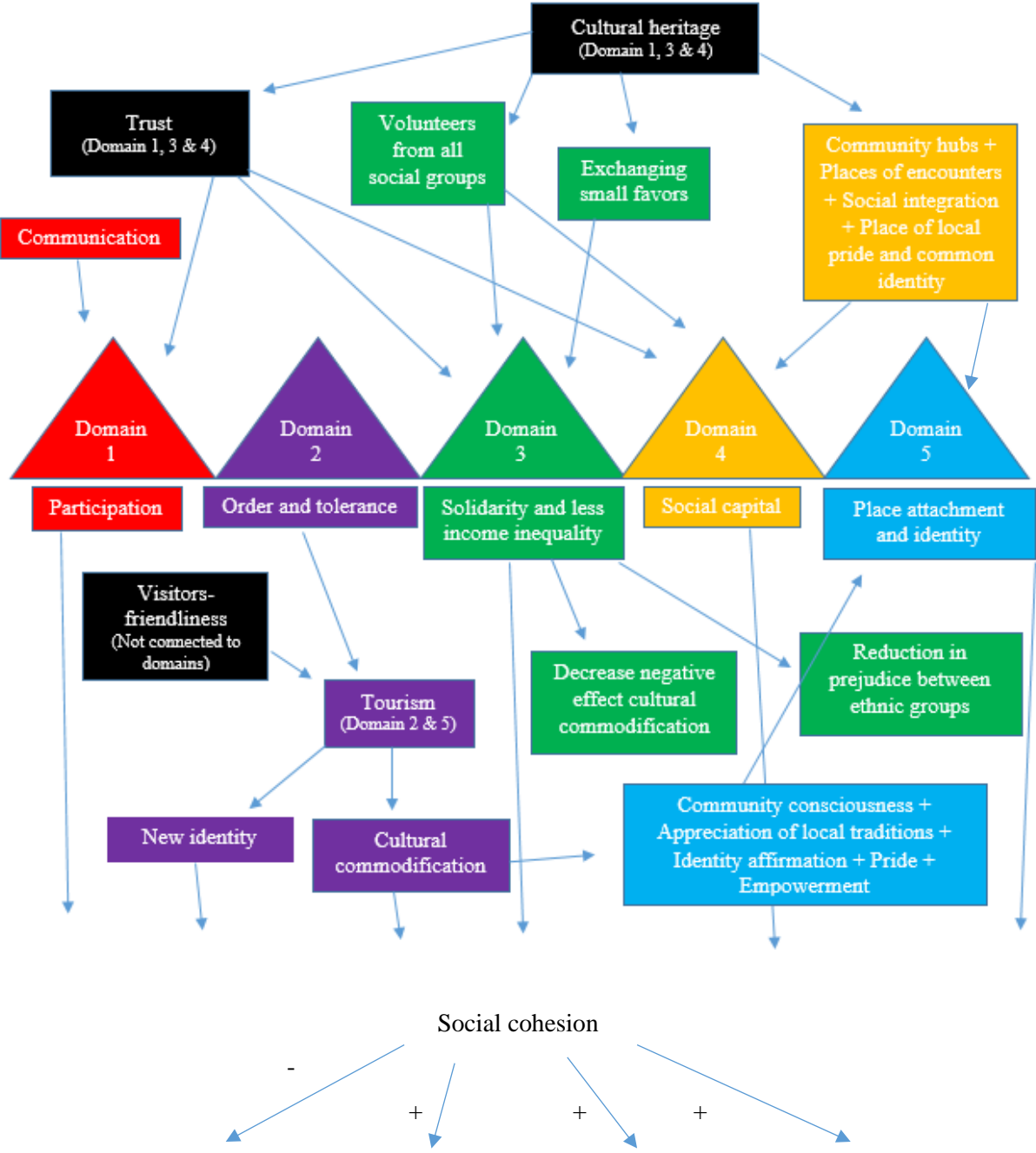
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Appendix 1: A model highlighting the essence of tourism and cultural heritage

All the domains have been given their own color to distinguish what variables are connected to it. When a variable has been given the color black, it means it does not belong to one specific domain and explanations are incorporated into the model.

Figure 1: Model of cultural policy themes incorporated into the domains of social cohesion.



Mortality/crime rates + Stability of fragile groups + Wellbeing among elderly + Economic growth

To not give the model too much complexity, only the effects of social cohesion have been given a positive or negative arrow. To keep the model relatively clear, only relevant connections that clarify the relation between the themes of tourism and cultural heritage, the domains and social cohesion are emphasized. The domains have been given slightly different names in the model than they have in table 1, since they help simplify and explain the model.

- *Domain 1: Participation*

Since having cultural heritage brings together volunteers from all groups and produces interactions between these groups, cultural heritage is carrying out a policy suggestion of 'Trust', mentioned in table 2, which is 'bringing conflicting groups together'. From the discussed literature it can be concluded that along with trust, communication helps to arrange healthy civil participation in politics. Together this makes domain 1 add to social cohesion.

- *Domain 2: Order and tolerance*

Tolerance, along with 'visitors-friendliness' are ingredients for good tourism management. Through the discussed literature it could be concluded that new identities and especially cultural commodification are effects of tourism and both add to a feeling of social cohesion.

- *Domain 3: Solidarity and less income inequality*

Since cultural heritage tends to bring people from all different groups together as volunteers and produces willingness to assist, it can also lead to people exchanging favors for each other in the context of the volunteer work. These components, along with the trust that comes with bringing conflicting groups together add to the third domain of solidarity, mainly solidarity. Income inequality, although a significant part of withholding social cohesion, has not been confirmed to be related to cultural policies and is therefore not further explained. Still, decreasing income inequality should be pursued for higher social cohesion. When solidarity and less income inequality are reached, this would mean that the negative effect of cultural commodification, which is a growing gap between rich and poor people (see limitations, chapter 5), is being counteracted. Solidarity between people and more equality between incomes is likely to decrease prejudice between ethnic groups as well, supported by the discussed literature.

- *Domain 4: Social capital*

Social capital, adapted from Forrest and Kearns (2001) is characterized by a high degree of interaction in the municipal community. Since cultural heritage provides access to community hubs of common identity and social integration, this, along with bringing volunteers from all social groups together adds to social capital. Also, trust is a component of social capital according to table 2.

- *Domain 5: Place attachment and identity*

Tourism produces cultural commodification, and this has been known to build up feelings of pride, common consciousness, identity affirmation and appreciation of local traditions. All these add to an attachment to the place one lives and the cultural identity, which is ascribed to domain 5, the last domain of social cohesion. As shown in the model, identity affirmation, which can be achieved through cultural heritage, is strongly related to place attachment, which makes domain 5 connected to both tourism and cultural heritage.

The model, while appearing quite complicated, shows that cultural heritage and tourism are key actors in accomplishing cultural policies that could enhance social cohesion, which is the main thing that should be kept in mind.

Appendix 2: Full topic list (Dutch)

Topic 1: Promotion heritage locations

Topic 2: Attracting tourism

Topics 3, 4 and 5

Inhoud

Cultuur

- Uniciteit /Karakteristiek
- Uitdagingen
- Kansen en behoeften
- Cultuureducatie (scholen, bibliotheken)

Erfgoed

- Thema's:
 - Historische buitenplaatsen
 - Militair erfgoed
 - Agrarisch cultuurlandschap
 - Archeologie
 - Historische infrastructuur (vaarwegen, spoorwegen etc.)
- Uitdagingen
- Kansen en behoeften
- Erfgoededucatie

Recreatie en toerisme

- Uniciteit /Karakteristiek
- Uitdagingen
- Kansen en behoeften
- Festivals (festijnen, markten, tradities etc.)
- Promotie **methodiek**

Sociale cohesie en diversiteit

Sociale cohesie

- Perspectief burger op culturele identiteit en erfgoed
- Trots en traditie
- Effect huidige cultuurbeleid (inclusief erfgoed en toerisme) op sociale cohesie

Diversiteit

- Moeilijk te bereiken burgers
- Beleidsdoelen en initiatieven
- Cultureel beleid en inclusie
- Beleid van/op bibliotheken

Proces

Samenwerking met organisaties op lokaal niveau

- Culturele instellingen
- Bibliotheken
- Verantwoording (proces, eisen, relatie en Kunst Centraal)

Samenwerking met andere gemeenten

Samenwerking met provincie

- Relatie met provincie
- Kansen en uitdagingen
- Aansluiting cultuurnota 'Alles is NU'
- Stedelijke regio traject

Appendix 3: Quotes in Dutch

I = Interviewer

P = Participant

‘Municipality 1’:

“Ik moet eerlijk zeggen: wat ik net heb kunnen vertellen, ik doe dit een dag in de week. Om nog te verdiepen in wat kunnen we extra doen, dat komt pas als ik klaar ben met mijn normale taken. Tot nu toe lukt dat niet. Of tot dat er een verschuiving plaatsvindt als er meer op cultuur en recreatie gericht moet worden dan komt er meer tijd vrij om daarmee bezig te gaan”.

‘Municipality 2’:

I: *Als je kijkt naar het (traditie), trekt het alle groepen?*

P: *Altijd. Ik denk dat er redelijk weinig allochtonen komen. Echt iets van historisch (gemeente). Echte (inwoners van de gemeente) zullen er waarschijnlijk allemaal naartoe gaan. Leeft sterk in (gemeente). Ik kom hier niet vandaan maar dat is me opgevallen. Beetje agrarisch ingebed. Heel veel gevoel voor hun eigen historie. Mensen voelen zich soms ook echt (inwoners van de gemeente). Families die al heel lang in soest wonen en alles weten van (gemeente). De (traditie) horen echt bij het leven. Voor nieuwe inwoners is dat denk ik wel wat anders.*

‘Municipality 3’:

P: *Ja die komen specifiek voor dat dorp. Dat is ook een interessante, als jullie dat delen, het is heel dorpsgericht, ze doen het voor het dorp en niet zes dorpen verderop, maar voor dat dorp. (...) Ze willen echt die eigen identiteit behouden. Het is zo dat ze niet in andere dorpen zelfs komen en ook niet weten wat er te doen is. Zo erg honkvast, dat is wel typerend hier.*

‘Municipality 4’:

“Ja, er is nog werk aan de winkel. Maar ik denk dat de lokale verenigingen en ondernemers inzien dat ze het iets oplevert dan maak de term niet meer uit. Dat is meer ook hoe je mensen erbij betreft en hoe je daar verder mee omgaat. Ik denk ook wel dat het goed komt. Iedereen zegt wel: we gaan nu niet weer wat anders verzinnen. (...). Niet heel (gemeente 4) voelt zich daarbij thuis en dat is de pijn. Maar het doel ervan is om mensen van buitenaf te trekken. Dus hoe erg is het dan. Als je iets anders gaat bedenken... Er is nu zoveel gedoe om geweest dat mensen nu ook zoiets hebben van: houd het maar zo. Dan hebben we in elk geval iets. Ik denk dat dat een beetje het algemene gevoel is van de inwoners” (1).

I: *Worden erfgoedlocaties ook gebruikt voor ontmoetingen en verbindingen?*

P: *Ja, steeds meer. Dat is ook nog een uitdaging. Hoe ga je alles aan elkaar verbinden en hoe zorg je dat er meer samenhang komt in je recreatieve aanbod? (2).*

‘Municipality 5’:

“Sociale controle is (hier) inderdaad wel groot”.

‘Municipality 6’:

I: *En weet u of ze dan diversiteit en inclusiviteit als beleidsdoel stellen?*

P: *Volgens mij wel. Dat iedereen mee moet kunnen doen. Gaat eigenlijk over een leven lang leren, zelfontplooiing. En dat het een bibliotheek is als plek an zich waardevrij en iedereen moet daar kunnen komen. We proberen ook dat openingstijden ook, dat is mijn insteek voornamelijk, dat gewoon echt zo lang mogelijk open kan zijn zodat je echt een plek hebt om daar te kunnen zijn. En dan hoeft het niet echt iemand van de bibliotheek aanwezig te zijn, maar dat ie gewoon wel open is.*

‘Municipality 7’:

“Het is zeker opgenomen en het wordt ook zo gezien, maar het zijn nu nog woorden met name. Hopelijk gaat het lukken om dat we over vijf jaar terugkijken en kunnen zeggen we hebben er echt goeie stappen mee kunnen zetten”.

‘Municipality 8’

“Het is gemeente (gemeente), maar het zijn drie dorpskernen die hun eigen identiteit hebben. En je moet niet zeggen iemand in (dorp in gemeente) zeggen dat hij in (gemeente) woont, die woont al in (dorp in gemeente) zijn leven lang. (...) Als gemeente heb je daar wel ideeën over. Maar hoe kan je dat doorbreken? Is dat wenselijk? Als mensen gewoon met plezier in hun eigen omgeving wonen. Wil je de sociale cohesie tussen die drie dorpskernen verbeteren of gaat het erom dat mensen in hun eigen omgeving weten dat ze terecht kunnen bij hun buurman voor een kopje koffie?”

‘Municipality 10’:

“We hechten wel veel waarde aan de gebouwen maar heeft niet direct te maken met sociale cohesie”
(1).

“Hier komt alles samen in de bibliotheek. Taalhuis, tentoonstellingen, samen soep eten. Biljarten. (...) Barbecueën en mensen die alleen staan” (2).

‘Municipality 11’:

I: *Denken dat als er meer bekend is om trots op te zijn dit meer zou gaan leven onder inwoners?*

P: *Ja, ik denk dat het echt nodig is dat we onze verhalen gaan schrijven en vooral communiceren en delen. Er moet meer communicatie opgezet worden. (...) Er kan veel meer op de website en mensen betrekken die eigenaar zijn van een monument. Dat gebeurt nu te weinig (1).*

P: *De bibliotheek is van oudsher een plek waar je boeken kunt lenen en lezen. We keken ook wel, hoe kunnen we hem toekomstproef maken, zodat we ons niet in onze eigen staart bijten straks. Dus naast het lezen van boeken, moet het een plek zijn elkaar te ontmoeten. (...)*

I: *Is er behoefte aan elkaar ontmoeten?*

P: *Dat komt heel duidelijk uit de enquête naar voren (2).*

‘Municipality 12’:

P: *Nu nieuwe woonwijk, nieuw industrieterrein, het spoor en de weilanden. Waar de Tweede Wereldoorlog ook dicht bij komt. Naast (water) waar nog een Duitse stelling heeft gelegen... waar een gat van twaalf meter aan het einde van de Tweede Wereldoorlog is ontstaan, omdat de Duitsers daar overgebleven munitie hebben laten ontploffen. Verhalen zitten er wel, aantal vliegtuigen neergestort. Maar niet echt monumenten of gedenksteden neergezet.*

I: *Er wordt dan niet echt ingezet op bezoekers die geïnteresseerd zijn in dat soort verhalen of dat het heel bekend is onder inwoners ofzo?*

P: *Eh, op dit moment wordt er nog niet op ingezet in de zin dat er duidelijk herkenningspunten zijn. Als er dan een verhaal is proberen wij dat wel te documenteren en is het de vraag in hoeverre wij daar echt iets mee kunnen. Nieuwe woonwijk kan je nog informatiebord neerzetten maar je gaat er niet een hele uitgebreide plek van maken om daar te herdenken dat daar een vliegtuig is neergestort.*

‘Municipality 15’:

I: *Verschilt het ook per dorp hoe hoog de sociale cohesie is?*

P: *Ja dat verschilt wel. Hangt ook van de grote af. (Dorp in gemeente) is groter dus daar is het een stuk minder.*

I: *Groter dus het is een stuk minder?*

P: *Ja dat denk ik wel ja. Ik denk hoe kleiner hoe meer dat is. Maar daar tegenover, (ander dorp in gemeente) heeft ook een hele grote binding met elkaar terwijl dat best wel groot is. Dus slaat dat ook niet alles.*

‘Municipality 16’:

“Komt ook door de maat en schaal. Het feit dat je elkaar nog kent. Het is natuurlijk in een grote stad anoniemer” (1).

“Er is nu ook een beweging gaande waarin de bibliotheek onder een dak gebracht wordt met welzijnsorganisaties. Zeker ook de aansluiting op het sociale domein. Dat is een transformatie waar alle bibliotheken in Nederland inzitten. Dat is hier niet anders. Dat is wel een zoektocht hoe die samenwerking vorm gaat krijgen. We hebben in ieder geval nu in de hoofdvestiging welzijnswerk en de bibliotheek onder één dak” (2).

‘Marketing Organization 1’:

“Zeker omdat je ziet dat bibliotheken in een transitie zitten. Dat zij transformeren naar ontmoetingsplekken en in de ene gemeente doen zij dat door de koppeling met welzijn en zorg. Daardoor zie je dat de aantrekkingskracht van de vrijwilligers ook verandert. Achter elke branche zit een andere doelgroep. Dus zul je daar andere mensen op krijgen”.

‘Marketing Organization 2’:

“Ik denk dat over het algemeen de uitdaging van die kleinere gemeentes is om... Ze zijn veel minder kapitaalkrchtig. Het geld zit bij de grote gemeentes, dat is overal zo. Dus daar zit wat. Ik denk dat over het algemeen het ambtelijk niveau niet zo hoog. Want de ambtenaren van die kleine gemeentes moet er allerlei dingen bijdoen, terwijl ze bij Utrecht en Amersfoort een hele afdeling hebben die hetzelfde doet. Maar die (participant van deelnemende gemeente) is een witte raaf, gaat bijna met pensioen, maar hij is daar echt in gespecialiseerd. Hij heeft verstand van zaken. Die kom je bij kleinere gemeente niet zo vaak tegen. Dus de kennis ligt bij kleine gemeentes lager dan bij grote. Daar ligt de uitdaging. Het is ook uitdagend om alles georganiseerd te krijgen. Al die gemeentes proberen altijd alles binnen hun eigen grenzen te doen. Ik denk: doe dat nou met elkaar” (1).

“Dat is een plek waar je komt, waar je trots op bent. Dat geeft ook weer je profiel mee. Ik vind eigenlijk nog wel, misschien iets wat je ergens in je verslag op kan nemen, dat je nog wel meer zou kunnen aansturen om die erfgoedlocaties een onderdeel te laten zijn van de samenleving. (...) Dat heeft ook misschien te maken met het kennisniveau. (...) Daar zie ik ook een rol voor onze organisatie. Wij kunnen die kennis wél bundelen” (2).

‘Cultural heritage vision’:

“Het pleidooi (is) dan ook om erfgoed (...) te zien als drijfveer voor sociale inclusie en economische groei”.

Appendix 4: NVivo nodes

Name	Sources	References
Context gemeente	0	0
Staat sociale cohesie	14	76
Trots inwoner op gemeente	14	36
Cultuur beïnvloedt SC via	0	0
Bieb, Cultuurhuis, Instelling	15	42
Erfgoed (!)	0	0
Betrokkenheid bij verhaal	6	8
Evenementen, ontmoeting	6	7
Personeel, vrijwilligers	2	2
Evenementen	9	20
Gemeenschappelijke ...	4	5
Toeristisch profiel (!)	9	16
Vrijwilligers	7	10
Oorzaken geen link lit. & data	0	0
Geen beïnvloeding, n.v.t.	4	4
Lastig, uitdaging	8	19

Appendix 5: Table 2

Table 2: Components of social capital (left) and appropriate neighborhood policies (right), adapted from Forrest and Kearns (2001)

<i>Empowerment</i>	Giving local people a role in policy processes.
<i>Participation</i>	Establishing and/ or supporting activities and local organizations.
<i>Associational activity and common purpose</i>	Developing and supporting networks between organizations in the area.
<i>Supporting networks and reciprocity</i>	Creating, developing and/ or supporting an ethos of co-operation between individuals and organizations which develop ideas of community support (for instance 'Good Neighbor Awards').
<i>Collective norms and values</i>	Securing harmonious social relations and promoting community interests.
<i>Trust</i>	Delivering on policy promises and bringing conflicting groups together.
<i>Safety</i>	Residential involvement in local crime prevention and providing visible evidence of security measures.
<i>Belonging</i>	Boosting the identity of a place via design, street furnishings, naming.