



Lelystad as Capital of New Nature

From city image perceptions to city marketing strategies in relation with the landscape

Master thesis

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Preface

I present to you the thesis 'Lelystad as capital of the new nature: From city image perceptions to city marketing strategies in relation with the landscape'. This thesis was written as part of my graduation from my study Spatial Planning at Utrecht University. From February 2022 to August 2022, I have been busy with my research and writing the thesis. This research is mainly relevant for decision-makers in spatial planning and communication teams, but anyone who wants to know more about the image of a city and its spatial interventions can also read this research.

I chose this subject because when I was a student, I was often asked where I came from. If I mentioned that I lived in Lelystad, I was often told things like 'you don't want to live there' or 'it's an ugly city', with judgemental expressions. So, I found out that the image of Lelystad is not so positive among non-residents. Coincidentally, I had read something about how the municipality of Lelystad was trying to promote Lelystad in a positive way by focusing on Lelystad Next Level and Lelystad as the capital of new nature. My curiosity was aroused, especially about how this intended image would be reflected in the spatial setting and how it would be communicated to the residents. Because of this, I decided to conduct research into how the municipality of Lelystad uses spatial interventions to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature and how residents see the intended image reflected in the landscape.

During the writing process, I found out that it is also possible that the results of the research are not always what you expected beforehand. This was mainly due to the status of the policy regarding Lelystad as the capital of new nature. However, this research did provide insight into how the municipality intends to promote Lelystad and how the residents perceive this intended image.

Finally, I would like to thank some people who helped me in the process of writing my thesis. First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Niki Frantzeskaki for the feedback and help she provided to ensure that my thesis was better constructed, and the narrative was consistent. Secondly, I would like to thank my fellow students, friends and family for the support and feedback I received. Lastly, I would like to thank the inhabitants of Lelystad and government officials for conducting the interviews, because without them I could not have done this research.

I hope you enjoy reading this thesis!

Marjolein van der Schaaf

Abstract

Recent developments show that a good image as a city is important. There is currently a shortage of housing in the Netherlands. Lelystad wants to help with this, but various news reports state that Lelystad is not an attractive city to live in (NOS Nieuws, 2022; Vink, 2021). There are also developments in the field of sustainability and greening that require attention of the municipality. The national government is focusing on climate adaptation to counteract the effects of climate change. The municipality of Lelystad is using this development to position Lelystad as a green city. The municipality wants to get rid of the negative image of Lelystad. This should be done through the policy programme Lelystad Next Level, where Lelystad is portrayed as the capital of new nature and with 'green urbanisation'. To be able to improve the image of a city by using greening, city marketing and the participation of residents, it is necessary to gain more knowledge about the relations between placemaking, city branding and city marketing and spatial interventions. Therefore, the research question of this study is *'How does the municipality of Lelystad use spatial interventions to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature? And how are the residents of Lelystad perceiving this?'*.

Lelystad, the capital of Flevoland, is used as a case study in this research. The focus of this research is on Lelystad because the municipality of Lelystad wants to create a new image 'Lelystad as the capital of new nature'. They want to do this by using spatial interventions that represent the new nature. During this research several methods have been applied to collect findings regarding the intended image of Lelystad. First, a document analysis was done with twenty-three policy documents that provided insight into the policy and planning context at different levels: global, European, national, regional and local. In addition, 16 persons were interviewed, including eleven residents of Lelystad and five officials at the municipality and the province. On one hand, the interviews served to gain insight in how the residents of Lelystad look at their city and to what extent they see the intended image represented in the landscape of Lelystad. On the other hand, the interviews with the government officials had the purpose to know more about the implementation of Lelystad as capital of the new nature including the spatial interventions that have been made.

The results of the research did not entirely correspond with what had been found in the literature and what had been expected on the basis of the policy documents concerning Lelystad as the capital of the new nature. No direct relation was found between the three elements: placemaking, spatial interventions and city marketing and city branding. However, there is a relation between the image of the residents of Lelystad and the way the landscape is perceived. According to the residents, Lelystad is a green city. It is currently not clear how the municipality of Lelystad uses spatial interventions to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature. The reason is that the policy has not been implemented. However, National Park Nieuw Land is used as an example of a landscape feature and spatial intervention. According to the interviewed government officials, the municipality of Lelystad is in the process of implementing climate-adaptive interventions in Lelystad's neighbourhoods. These climate adaptive interventions are also part of the policy to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature. Therefore, the residents did perceive this policy in their own surroundings. In their view, Lelystad is not the capital of new nature at the moment.

Key concepts: greenery, city branding, placemaking, spatial interventions, urban planning

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1. Introduction

"Even 'hideous' Lelystad popular due to housing craze: 'For five tonnes you can buy it now'" (Vink, 2021)

The above headline of a newspaper article in De Telegraaf shows how people look at Lelystad. The word 'hideous' has negative connotation. The inhabitants of Lelystad were not happy with this article, because the residents look different to Lelystad (Bakker, 2022). Referring to the headline of the Telegraaf newspaper article, City Marketing Lelystad together with the inhabitants of Lelystad started a city marketing campaign called "We love Lelystad" to highlight the positive side of Lelystad (Bakker, 2022). City Marketing Lelystad, an independent non-profit foundation, does this by means of billboards, bus shelters in Lelystad and other places. It also wants to advertise in national newspapers to ensure that the whole of the Netherlands hears the positive dissenting voice. This action is a form of cold city marketing, in which the target group is people from outside Lelystad (Hospers, 2011).

The headline from the article of the Telegraaf is not an exception, because Lelystad has been dealing with a negative image for a long time (Gemeente Lelystad, 2004; Rijksdienst voor IJsselmeerpolders & Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat, 1980). Most Dutch people refer to Lelystad as 'ugly' (BNNVARA, 2020). According to Mark van Wonderen, author of the guide of the ugliest cities, Lelystad is one of the most unattractive cities in the Netherlands (Redactie Hart van Nederland, 2020). There is even a separate Wikipedia page about Lelystad as an ugly city, also called '*Lelijkstad*' (Wikipedia, 2020). These examples show how media campaigns can be decisively negative for the image of a city. Kavaratzis (2008), also underlines the influence of media, highlighting that it goes beyond the role of city branding and marketing experts.

To find out more about the image of Lelystad, it is important to know its history. Lelystad is the capital of the youngest province of the Netherlands Flevoland (Gemeente Lelystad, n.d.). Lelystad is a city that was created by de-polderisation of the Zuiderzee. Also, Lelystad was built and invented by people and officials of the national government. When Lelystad was founded, they expected 100,000 people to live there and the infrastructure was designed for that purpose (Rijksdienst voor IJsselmeerpolders & Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat, 1980). Moreover, Lelystad was surrounded by nature: forests on the edges and in the neighbourhoods, flower beds and gardens, and water on the coast and in the neighbourhoods. The first part of Lelystad '*Perceel P*' was built in 1950 and the rest of Lelystad followed from 1965 onwards. From September 1967 Lelystad welcomed its first inhabitants (Gemeente Lelystad, n.d.; Rijksdienst voor IJsselmeerpolders & Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat, 1980). Lelystad had from the beginning difficulties to attract people because of the lack of infrastructure (e.g., roads and railway) in comparison to the rest of the Netherlands. In addition, Almere, a city in the vicinity of Lelystad, was growing, causing the growth of Lelystad to come to a halt (Bontje, 1998). Furthermore, Lelystad had to deal with impoverishment and vacancy of buildings (e.g., houses and retail properties), which had a negative effect on its image (Gemeente Lelystad, n.d.).

For years, the image of Lelystad has been a recurring theme and concern of urban policies (Gemeente Lelystad, 2004; Lelystad Next Level, 2021). In 1995 the policy programme '*Lelystad Tafel*' discussed the problematic issues that hindered the positive development of Lelystad (Gemeente Lelystad, 2004). One problem was the image of Lelystad in relation to the number of inhabitants. Lelystad needed to become attractive as a place for business. This is one of the reasons why city marketing started being used (Gustavsson and Elander, 2012). Lelystad had to achieve this by taking advantage of its proximity with water (Gemeente Lelystad, 2004). The focus was also on strengthening the image of "Lelystad as a city by the water and with green spaces".

At the present, Lelystad is also working on creating a new image. The policy programme "Lelystad Next Level" refers to Lelystad as the capital of new nature and 'green urbanisation' (Lelystad Next Level, 2021). This is in line with what has already been discussed in the *Lelystad Tafel* programme, which is to strengthen the identity of city by the water and green spaces (Gemeente Lelystad, 2004). Within the current city marketing strategy "Lelystad provides air", in Dutch known as '*Lelystad geeft lucht*', there is in place a slogan and campaign with the same name as the strategy. This is intended to promote the city's spatial qualities, as a city for physical and mental wellbeing (Lelystad geeft lucht, n.d.-a). In addition, nature also plays a major role in this strategy. The aim of the policy Lelystad Next Level is for Lelystad to be recognised and acknowledged as the capital of the new nature, an independent, socially resilient, sustainable, attractive, and economically strong city with 100,000 inhabitants by 2040 (Lelystad Next, 2020, p.11). Because of this aim, Lelystad could possibly be seen as a green city, a city that values its natural amenities, such as availability of green spaces, including of water resources, and the use of green place branding (Chan & Marafa, 2017). Returning to Lelystad's demand to be recognised and acknowledged as the capital of the new nature, an important research question is to understand how people living in Lelystad recognise and relate to this new image of Lelystad. After all, if the residents of Lelystad do not agree with this image and policy, it is difficult to show it to the outside world (Hospers, 2011; Urry, 1992). It is also important to look at how the current landscape fits into this image and which spatial planning interventions are being used in the planning of Lelystad to expand and value green spaces.

1.1 Problem definition

The problem is that the image of Lelystad is mainly negative among most Dutch people, whereas Lelystad's current policy is to use a positive image to attract people to the city. Not only is the image of Lelystad seen as a problem in the current policy, but also in the past. Lelystad must become an attractive city instead of an ugly city, as a place for people to live. In 2018, the residents of Lelystad gave Lelystad a 6.9 for its image (Gemeente Lelystad, 2019). This could be different now and the score from 2018 could be improved. Moreover, according to the policy programme Lelystad Next Level, people who do not live in Lelystad are also expected to move to Lelystad. Also the intended image should be reflected in the landscape, because people need to recognise it based on the information and images they already have (Urry, 1992). There is a chance that this is not the case at the moment, also not under the residents of Lelystad. In scientific literature, it is argued that landscape features and spatial interventions are important in branding strategies to attract people (Hospers, 2011; Kavaratzis, 2008; Tobias & Wahl, 2013).

The aim of this research is to create more awareness around the use of city marketing as a spatial planning instrument and changing the image of a place. Also, a part of this aim is to show that Lelystad wants to present itself in a more positive way by using spatial interventions.

1.2 Research question

The main question of this exploratory research is '*How does the municipality of Lelystad use spatial interventions to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature? And how are the residents of Lelystad perceiving this?*'

To answer this research question, it is necessary to answer some sub-questions:

- How could the image of a city be changed?
- What is the image of Lelystad according to the residents of Lelystad?
- Which spatial interventions are made to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature? And how are the residents of Lelystad experiencing this?

The main and sub questions are addressed by doing document analysis, observations, and interviews.

1.3 Societal relevance

Image of a city, greener cities and sustainability are relevant social topics. First of all, the image of a city is always reflected in news reports, policy documents and also in conversations between people (Kavaratzis, 2008). As mentioned in the introduction, Lelystad currently has a negative image among many Dutch people. According to Citymarketing Lelystad, the residents of Lelystad do not agree with this (Bakker, 2022). Together with the national government, the province of Flevoland and other partners, the municipality has drawn up the policy Lelystad Next Level (Lelystad Next Level, 2021). The aim of this policy is to frame Lelystad in a positive way. Promoting Lelystad as a sustainable and green city is also part of this policy.

Secondly, both in the world and in the Netherlands, the consequences of climate change are visible (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2020; European Commission, n.d.-c; IPCC, 2022). The effects of climate change are heat stress, flooding and drought. Many government organisations are implementing climate adaptive interventions, such as greenery [i.e., more trees, plants, lawns, gravel filter retention ponds]. Evidence shows that this reduces the heat on the streets when temperatures are higher, and increases the number of water basins that store water and give it back to nature when there is a drought (IPCC, 2022). This also ensures that the municipality of Lelystad uses this development to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature in the policy programme Lelystad Next Level.

This research provides an insight into why there may be differences in perception about the image of a city and which spatial interventions, for example climate adaptive interventions, should be used regarding the intended image.

1.4 Scientific relevance

This research is scientific relevant for multiple reasons. Firstly, because it studies the relation between the three variables: city branding and city marketing, placemaking, and spatial interventions together in one research. Secondly, this research examines the concept of city branding and city marketing from a broader perspective with regard to the spatial interventions in the landscape than the current literature which mainly focus on elements within branding strategies (Hospers, 2011; Kavaratzis, 2008; Prilenska, 2012; Rehan, 2014). During this research, it was investigated how the image of a city can be changed through interventions in the landscape and specifically climate adaptive interventions.

The scientific relevance of this research lies in examining the relations between city branding and marketing, placemaking and spatial interventions. There have been no studies yet in which these concepts have been examined together. Therefore, this research is an example of exploratory research.

Much has been written about city marketing and city branding. However, a (new) phenomenon is emerging in science, which is green place branding. Many cities (e.g., Copenhagen, Amsterdam) promote themselves as green cities and that is an example of a “good” image (Acuti et al., 2019; Chan & Marafa, 2017). With “good” is meant that most people experience a green city as something positive and want to come and live there. However, there is not so much information yet about green place branding, especially not regarding Dutch cases. Besides this, there is also little written about city marketing as a spatial planning instrument. Oliveira (2015) and Deffner et al. (2020) state that city marketing or city branding only make sense if it is supported by spatial interventions. The most recent work about this topic is from Deffner et al. (2020), which focused on the relation between city planning and city marketing/branding procedures in two Greek cities Larissa and Kozani. The relation that is currently made between spatial interventions including landscape features and city marketing and branding is that an image of a city can only be changed on the basis of a branding strategy, in which, as Rehan (2014) describes it, the form of the city, the historical buildings and signature architecture

serve as input. This research explores whether the relation can also be the other way around, i.e., that spatial interventions can help to change the image without being determined by the branding strategy. Furthermore, this research takes placemaking into account as a variable related to spatial interventions and city branding and city marketing. Studies show that people have their own image of a city and that certain elements in the landscape such as green spaces can make people feel attached to a certain place (Lew, 2017; Masterson et al., 2019; Wyckoff, 2014).

This thesis provides insight into how the characteristics of the intended image of a city are reflected in the landscape. Furthermore, how intentions to change a city image are articulated with spatial interventions, for example in terms of valuing and promoting natural landscape amenities and nature-based solutions. Also, this research examines how the residents of Lelystad view their own city and how they perceive the intended image of Lelystad in combination with the visibility of the spatial interventions.

1.5 Structure

This research is divided into seven chapters, of which the introduction is the first chapter. The second chapter presents the policy and planning context of the case: Lelystad as capital of new nature, which was obtained through document analysis. In chapter three the different used methods in this research are discussed. This is followed by the results chapter (chapter 5) which presents the findings of the research. Chapter 6 discusses the results from chapter 5 in relation to literature from the theoretical framework. The final chapter answers the research question, followed by limitations, implications and suggestions for further research.

2. Policy and planning context

This chapter provides more information on the planning and policy context of the case: the image of Lelystad as a green city. To determine this context various (policy) documents are analysed. The document analysis helped to get an overview of the policy and planning context regarding green cities, nature-based solutions and the image of cities. The documents can be divided into different scales: global, European, regional and local. It is important to mention that policy documents at lower scales are often based on policies at higher levels. The most important, relevant and striking items from the policy documents per scale are described.

2.1 Global

By looking at policies on an international/global scale, it can be concluded that there are actually no international policies with regard to green cities and environments, nature-based solutions and climate adaptation. However, this does not mean that there is no research leading to input for policy making. In fact, there are research organisations such as the IPCC and the World Bank that issue reports that often serve as input for policy at lower levels. An example of this is the report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [IPCC] 'Climate Change 2022: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability', in which the impact of climate change was carried out on an international scale and also on a European scale (IPCC, 2022). For example, the report states that European cities are hotspots in terms of increased risk of extreme temperatures, floods and droughts. A critical note is made by the IPCC regarding Europe that the implementation of adaptation is not on the right scale and at the right speed to mitigate the risks of climate change. Furthermore, The World Bank Group (2012) addresses how the world can become a green, clean and resilient world for all. The report focuses on these three aspects: green, clean and resilient (World Bank Group, 2012, p.1). The relevant points on these aspects are that natural resources are sustainably maintained, people can live healthily in a world with less air pollution and lower emissions, and countries are prepared for the effects of climate change. This in combination with promoting greenery and protecting ecosystems and increase the biodiversity through spatial and climate adaptive interventions. These studies of the IPCC and the World Bank state that more green space is needed, nature and its ecosystems must be protected, and biodiversity must be increased. No concrete policies are made, but these studies do pay attention to different scales, for example by zooming in on continents and monitoring them.

In addition to the studies above, an agreement was made in 2016 between several countries that has had a major impact on policy at lower scales and is mentioned in research studies. The Paris Agreement from 2015-2016 set out to counteract the effects of climate change by keeping the global temperature rise this century well below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels (United Nations, n.d.-b). This must be done by reducing greenhouse gases. The goal of the Paris Agreement is to have a climate-neutral world by mid-century. In 2015, following the Paris Agreement, the United Nations established sustainable development goal 13, which stands for 'Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts' (United Nations, n.d.-a). This includes global warming below 2 degrees Celsius, but also climate change policies such as national adaptation strategies and planning. The Netherlands has also agreed to the Paris Agreement and the sustainable development goals.

2.2 European

Greening and sustainability are also key issues at the European level. An important policy of the European Commission is the EU Green Deal, the objective of this is that the countries within the European Union should become climate neutral by 2050 (European Commission, n.d.-c). The EU Green Deal consists of different policy programmes such as Fit for 55, European climate law, European climate pact, EU biodiversity strategy for 2030, 2030 Climate Target Plan (European Commission, n.d.-c, n.d.-a; European Parliament, 2018). The EU Green Deal is also coherent with the Paris Agreement concluded in 2015-2016.

There is also a special part of the EU Green Deal, which involves the award of the European Green Capital and the Green Leaf Award (European Union, 2022). As stated in the EU Green Deal, the European Commission wants to promote greening in cities. Cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants can apply to become the European Green Capital. Cities that are too small to compete for the title of European Green Capital can apply for the Green Leaf Award. This enables small and big cities to be seen as green cities too. For example, in 2022 Grenoble will be the winner of the European Green Capital Award and Winterswijk the winner of the Green Leaf Award. Examples of other cities are Copenhagen, Nijmegen, Galway and Växjö (European Commission, n.d.-d, n.d.-b).

In addition, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (2020) has a Green Cities Framework and Programme since 2016, as they highlight the importance of sustainable urban development in combination with economic growth. The report 'Effective policy options for green cities' discusses seven policy themes including 'land use and biodiversity'. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development states that some cities are growing in an uncontrolled manner, while other cities are stagnating because they have a weak recreational and green infrastructure and a low level of biodiversity. According to the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the solutions lie in policies related to the development of compact cities, the promotion of mixed-use areas and transit-oriented urban development, the promotion of green spaces, and the encouragement of community-based land-use planning (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2020, p.10).

European policies influence the policies of national governments, including the Netherlands. In addition, environmental protection and pollution, including the effects of climate change and global warming, is seen as a cross-border problem that European countries must tackle together (Tweede Kamer, 2018). Therefore, the Dutch government is adapting its laws and policies to be coherent with the policies of the European Union.

2.3 National

The Dutch government is also concerned with greening and sustainability. This is evident from various policy documents.

The coalition agreement '*Omzien naar elkaar, vooruitkijken naar de toekomst*' states that the Netherlands should be prepared for the future (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2021). This means that the Netherlands will be carbon neutral, fossil free and circular. In addition, this coalition agreement states that climate adaptation is a separate issue. A more specific look at climate neutrality and climate adaptation reveals that there are several policy documents from the national government in which these topics are key. One example is the policy programme 'Netherlands Nature Positive [*Nederland Natuur Positief*]', in which the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Security and the provinces are looking at a collaborative approach in nature policy (Ministerie van Landbouw, Natuur en Voedselveiligheid & Provincies, 2019). The objective is to make both urban and rural areas greener, with measures being taken to restore nature and increase biodiversity. This is done on the basis of the four V's: strengthen [*versterken*], improve [*verbeteren*], broaden [*verbreden*] and connect [*verbinden*].

On their website, the national government emphasises the importance of more nature in cities and urban areas, because it counteracts problems caused by climate change and promotes the preservation and restoration of biodiversity. One of the central themes of the National Environmental Vision [*Nationale Omgevingsvisie; NOVI*] is climate adaptation (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2020). The 2021-2024 implementation programme of the NOVI states that cities and regions should be healthy, safe and climate-proof environments. This will be done by focusing on

nature-inclusive and climate adaptive options. Moreover, a greener environment will also be resulting in healthier lifestyles and promoting social participation.

Furthermore, there are two national government policy programmes that together play a major role in making the Netherlands greener, water-robust and climate-proof: the National Climate Adaptation Strategy [*Nationale Klimaatadaptatiestrategie; NAS*] and the Delta Programme [*Deltaprogramma*]. The National Climate Adaptation Strategy should also be seen as complementary to the Delta Programme. The Delta Programme focuses mainly on water-related climate risks, while the NAS brings all climate risks into focus. The National Climate Adaptation Strategy was adopted in 2017, as the European Commission had requested the national government to create such a strategy (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2016). The policy document '*Aanpassen met ambitie: Nationale klimaatadaptatiestrategie 2016 (NAS)*' identifies six goals for making the Netherlands climate resilient. These goals are listed below:

- Raise awareness of the need for climate adaptation.
- Encourage putting climate adaptation into practice.
- Utilising and expanding the knowledge base.
- Addressing urgent climate risks.
- Anchoring climate adaptation in policy, legislation and regulations.
- Monitoring progress and effectiveness of adaptation policies.

(Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2016, p.4)

One solution to a consequence of climate change, for example heat stress, is making public areas greener and urban redevelopment. However, this policy document also states that greening is difficult because other goals and effects must also be considered. Moreover, the implementation programme of the National Climate Adaptation Strategy states that regions or municipalities may also adopt their own approach, because they can deliver customised solutions for a particular place (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat, 2018).

The other programme that is related to climate adaptation is the Delta Programme. Part of the national Delta Programme is the Delta Plan for Spatial Adaptation (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat, 2020). The objective of this plan is to have a water-resistant and climate-resistant country in 2050. The underlying reason for this programme is that the Netherlands is a low-lying country that is extra vulnerable to the effects of extreme weather and climate change, such as heat, drought, flooding and water nuisance. First of all, awareness of spatial adaptation is very important, because governments, citizens and businesses are all affected by the consequences of extreme weather and climate change. In addition, stress tests are conducted every few years to assess vulnerabilities to water nuisance, drought, heat and the consequences of flooding. In this programme, climate-resilient and water-resistant construction and design is seen as the 'new normal'. Therefore, the national government wants to encourage multiple parties, both companies and residents, to see these developments as normal rather than the exception.

It is important to note that many of the policy programmes described above need to be implemented at lower scales, i.e., regional and/or local level. Moreover, the policy programmes are not unrelated; the Delta Programme and the National Climate Adaptation Strategy [NAS] complement each other.

2.4 Regional

Lelystad is part of the Province of Flevoland and the Metropolitan Region Amsterdam [Metropoolregio Amsterdam; MRA]. At this scale, there are policies that affect Lelystad. There are also policies specifically focused on Lelystad as part of the regional policy, e.g., Lelystad city centre as part of the MRA climate-resistant construction.

The Metropolitan Region Amsterdam, an administrative consultative structure between municipalities, provinces and water boards, is trying to take an integrated approach to the issues of climate change (Metropoolregio Amsterdam, 2020). The consequences of climate change are seen as a major risk by the MRA. In response to the Delta Programme and the National Climate Adaptation Strategy the MRA has also carried out stress tests on the themes of precipitation, drought, heat stress and flooding. These stress tests that apply specifically to Lelystad are shown in the paragraph 'local'. As a result, the MRA pays attention to climate-resistant new developments, which is also a theme in the NAS (Metropoolregio Amsterdam, 2021). This policy programme aims to realise new building locations which are both nature-inclusive and prepared for the effects of climate change, such as heat, drought and flooding. The MRA intends to do this by drawing up regulations that create a basic level, reducing the risk of major consequences of heat, drought and water nuisance. In addition, there is a principle of 'nature-inclusive and biodiversity' that green space should preferably be included unless there is no other option. According to the MRA, more green space reduces the risk of heat waves, droughts and flooding.

In addition, the strategic agenda '*Over de brug komen - Strategische Agenda Flevoland 1.0*' of the Province of Flevoland focuses on creating and maintaining vital cities and villages, a future-proof regional economy and a solid and sustainable foundation (Provincie Flevoland, 2022). In this regard, greenery and sustainability play a key role. According to the province of Flevoland, both new buildings and existing houses must consider the preservation of biodiversity, water and soil quality. The strategic agenda also emphasises that the water, soil systems and biodiversity determine the ways in which people can live, work, travel and recreate. This must be achieved in particular by taking nature-inclusive and climate adaptive measures. Moreover, it is possible that existing use of space could be replaced for water and greenery. Examples of such spatial interventions that are mentioned in the strategic agenda are increasing forest areas, adapting squares and connecting nature reserves.

2.5 Local

The municipality of Lelystad uses the policies of higher levels of scale and implements them in their own way. In addition, the policies at the local level of scale reflect what Municipality Lelystad is doing in terms of being a green city and promoting Lelystad as the capital of new nature. Besides the policy regarding Lelystad as capital of new nature, sustainability (climate adaptation, nature-inclusive options, improving biodiversity) the current image and pay-off of Lelystad are also discussed.

2.5.1 Lelystad Next Level

Figure 1 Logo Lelystad Next Level



(Lelystad Next Level, 2021)

Lelystad Next Level [LNL] is a policy programme created by the municipality of Lelystad together with the national government and the province of Flevoland. However, many stakeholders such as citizens, housing corporations and other organisations are also involved in this programme. Lelystad Next Level contains plans for the future of Lelystad (Gemeente Lelystad, 2022). The policy was also devised because the national government still pays Lelystad money every year to finance the infrastructure. Lelystad cannot currently finance this itself, because Lelystad does not have 100.000 inhabitants and most of the residents have a lower socioeconomic status. Thus, the residents are unable to pay more for municipal taxes.

The objective of Lelystad Next Level is that by 2040 Lelystad, capital of the new nature, will be an independent, socially resilient, sustainable, attractive and economically strong city with 100,000 inhabitants (Lelystad Next Level, 2021, p.3). The name of this policy programme also relates to this goal. The name Lelystad Next Level was chosen because Lelystad wants to go to the next level in the sense of a larger independent and attractive city through green urbanisation.

There are a few terms that are key to the Lelystad Next Level policy programme. First of all, new nature means that nature is given the space to develop (Kohsiek et al., 2021). In addition, new nature also means that quiet living in green surroundings and business activity in economic hubs go hand in hand (Lelystad Next Level, 2021). The stimulation of biodiversity and climate resilience also fall under this term. One example given in the policy programme regarding new nature are the Marker Wadden, artificial islands created to promote biodiversity and restore nature in the Markermeer. Secondly, green urbanisation means that Lelystad can grow qualitatively by adopting a sustainable perspective, whereby nature-inclusive, climate adaptive, energy-neutral and circularity play a central role (Lelystad Next Level, 2021).

The policy programme Lelystad Next Level (2021) focuses on Lelystad as the capital of new nature. The aim is that by 2040 Lelystad should be recognised and acknowledged as the capital of new nature through green urbanisation. To achieve this, the municipality of Lelystad has drawn up two objectives together with the national government and the province of Flevoland:

- Branding Lelystad as an attractive residential city
- Strengthen Lelystad as the capital of new nature

The sub-goals are that Lelystad as a city must generate more awareness, and that includes awareness of the new nature. To achieve this, more new nature must be created, the biodiversity of current nature must be improved, and it must be ensured that Lelystad becomes more climate resilient.

Lelystad is divided into three main focus areas in the policy programme Lelystad Next Level (2021): coastal development, the existing city and Lelystad Zuid (as shown in figure 2). In all three areas they are creating new nature. However, Lelystad Zuid serves as an example for the other areas, since it is a new district that is currently being built. In addition, Lelystad is also in the process of creating more forests through its forest strategy. Other plans are not specifically mentioned in the policy documents about Lelystad Next Level.

Figure 2 An overview of Lelystad as capital of the new nature



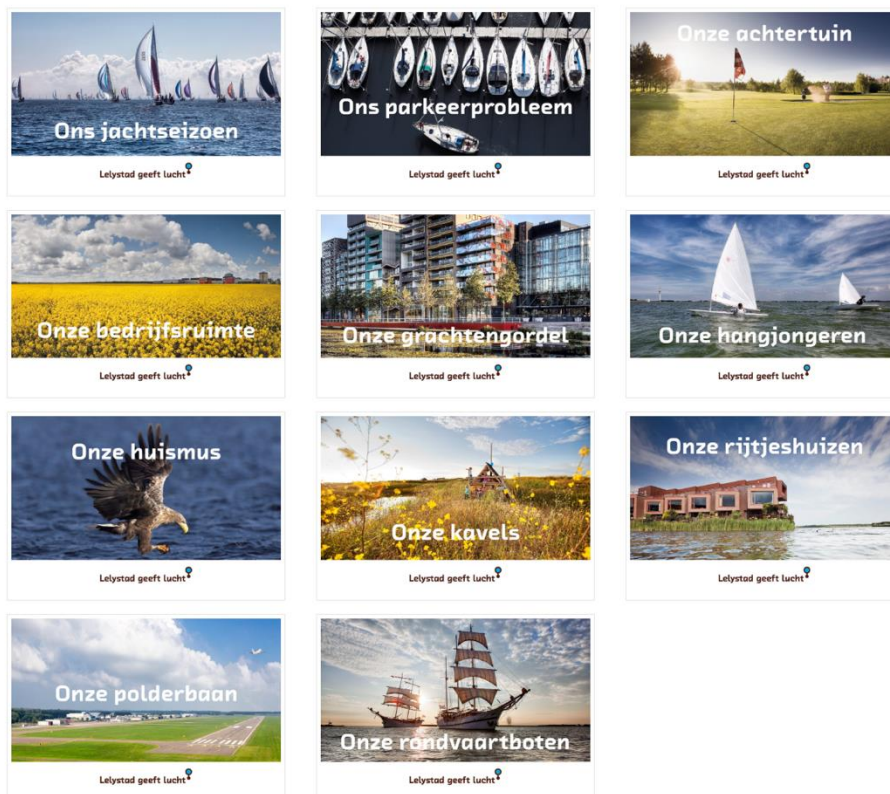
(Lelystad Next Level, 2021, p.35)

In their Action Plan for Sustainability 2021-2024, the municipality of Lelystad stated that the physical living environment must include sustainable area development, nature-inclusive building and climate adaptive development, and environmentally friendly management with respect for biodiversity (Gemeente Lelystad, 2021a). This includes two objectives: objective 1: preventing heat waves, droughts and flooding, and objective 2: making the city greener. For objective 1, the Delta programme and the national government's climate adaptation strategy are also cited. This includes carrying out stress tests and acting on them, facilitating and stimulating and acting in the event of disasters if they occur. For goal 2, the action plan does not refer to policy at the higher levels of scale. It refers to Lelystad being the capital of new nature, which is part of the Lelystad Next Level policy programme. In addition, it is very important for this goal that green space is deployed as a win-win-win situation, i.e., that greening contributes to climate adaptation, the improvement of biodiversity and the quality of the living environment. Greenery includes not only flora and fauna, but also gravel filter retention ponds [Wadi's in Dutch].

2.5.2 Policy regarding the image of Lelystad

In 2018, the last research into the image of Lelystad was done among the residents, the people living in the surrounding area of Lelystad and non-residents (Gemeente Lelystad, 2019). This research showed that both residents of Lelystad and non-residents think there is a lot of green and nature around Lelystad. In addition, 55% of the residents of Lelystad agree that Lelystad has an attractive coast compared to the non-residents (39%). In addition, the current slogan and pay-off '*Lelystad geeft lucht*' from 2009/2008 is known among 22% of non-residents, 78% of the non-residents did not know the slogan.

Figure 3 *Lelystad geeft lucht* campaign



(Lelystad geeft lucht, n.d.-b)

Lelystad geeft lucht stands for the space that Lelystad has to offer (Gemeente Lelystad, 2021b; Lelystad geeft lucht, n.d.-a) By space, they also mean the space to relax, to breathe and to enjoy

nature. In the marketing campaign recognisable and unique parts of Lelystad are emphasised. Examples of the campaign images standing along the road in Lelystad are shown here (see figure 3). These images show the harbours, the sailing in Lelystad, the golf course, the agriculture, the urban buildings, the animals present, the space and greenery of the plots and Lelystad Airport (Lelystad geeft lucht, n.d.-b).

2.6 Conclusion regarding the local policies

The policy at local level corresponds to the policy at other levels of scale. In addition, it can be concluded that the policies of the Municipality of Lelystad can be seen as components of Lelystad Next Level. The focus of the local policies is mainly on sustainability, greening, climate adaptation and improving the image. The focus of the local policy is in particular on sustainability, greening, climate adaptation and improving the city' image. This fits with the intended image of Lelystad as a green city and as the capital of new nature. However, this document analysis shows that the objectives of the local policy are clear, but that there is not much mentioned in terms of implementation. Although this does not mean that is not the case. It is at least not mentioned in the studied policy documents.

In addition, the policy regarding the image of a city is applied on a local scale. The higher levels of scale do have influence on how Lelystad is perceived as a green city and how they may set the frameworks in terms of laws and regulations. For example, Lelystad must also become climate neutral and take measures to achieve this. Another example is that Lelystad may participate in the European Capital Award or the Green Leaf Award of the European Commission in the future, where it can win these awards. This could improve its image. The municipality of Lelystad has the most influence on its image. They can make policies and do spatial interventions to improve the image.

3. Theoretical Framework

This chapter discusses several theoretical concepts that are relevant to this research. The starting point of this theoretical chapter is to gather more knowledge on how a city can change its image. Changing the image of a city is related to several aspects, including the way how people create and perceive a city, how a city can be branded and how the landscape and/or city is designed. These concepts (e.g., placemaking, city branding and landscape design) are explained in this chapter.

3.1 Changing the image of a city by people

To find out how a city can change its image, it is important to understand how such an image is created. The following concepts are used to explain this: image of a city and placemaking.

3.1.1 The image of a city

The image of a city is related to the general meaning and idea of a place. The image of a city can be positive or negative. Hospers et al. (2008) state that the image of a city is determined by the saying 'unknown makes unloved and fame makes loved' (p.22). If a city has a negative image, like Lelystad in the Netherlands, it is difficult to change this image in a person's mind. This makes it difficult to improve the image of this place and to attract new people (Hospers et al., 2008). If a city has a good image, like London, this makes the city more attractive for people to live there. Urry (1992) confirms this with the concept of the tourist gaze. A tourist looks at the environment with a certain gaze because they do not visit a random place but rely on the images and information they know and think in advance about what it will be like. This could also be the case for people who want to live somewhere else. Hospers et al. (2008) indicate that a city that is less well known can also benefit from this, because people don't have high expectations and hopefully their experience of the city is better.

Zukin et al. (1998) indicate in their article that time and cultural space are important in forming images of cities. They use a synonym for images of cities and that is urban imaginaries. Urban imaginaries are the 'set of meanings about cities that arise in specific time and cultural space' (Zukin et al., 1998, p. 629). Not only time and cultural space are important by the existence of urban imaginaries also media-generated images [e.g., magazines, television, radio] (Greenberg, 2000; Rehan, 2014).

It is also important to realise that there are different images of a city. Often cities try to promote themselves as a city with a specific characteristic, that fits the image people have or the image the municipality or the city marketing agency want to create (Helmy, 2008; Hospers, 2011; Kavaratzis, 2008). Helmy (2008) gives a few examples of images of cities that Arabic cities use to promote themselves. Those examples are city image of public realm, shopping, leisure and entertainment, knowledge, business, governance, history, architecture, people, tourism, events and meetings.

3.1.2 Placemaking

Besides the image of the city, it is also important how the city ensures that people want to stay, work, play and learn there. Moreover, the inhabitants of a city are also very important in creating a certain image of the city. Placemaking could be an important concept in this process.

A frequently used definition of placemaking is given by Mark Wyckoff (2014). "Placemaking is the process of creating quality places that people want to live, work, play and learn in." (Wyckoff, 2014, p.2). In addition, Project for Public Spaces (n.d.) indicates that placemaking enables people to develop a common vision. Through the process of placemaking, people can see again the potential of different spatial aspects such as parks and buildings.

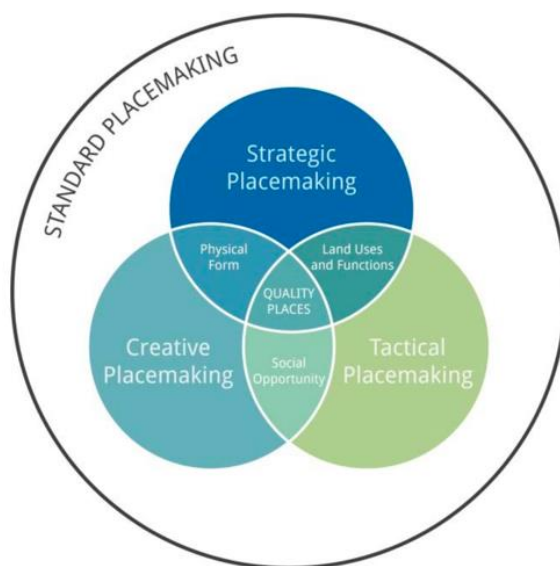
Sense of place is part of placemaking. There are different definitions of sense of place, there is not a specific definition. Sense of place consists of two components 'place attachment' and 'place meanings' (Falihatkar & Aminzadeh, 2020; Frantzeskaki et al., 2018; Masterson et al., 2019). Place attachment is about the emotional connection from a person to a particular location (Masterson et al., 2019). According to Stedman (in Masterson et al., 2019, p.556), place meanings are the cognitive, descriptors of place. When someone describes a place, they can think of what kind of place it is. For example, a car park: there are several squares where cars can be parked, and white lines can be seen between these squares.

As mentioned before, sense of place is part of placemaking. Also, important to know is that some places have a stronger sense of place than others, the so-called quality places for examples. Quality places are places where people and business want to be and above all have a strong sense of place (Wyckoff, 2014). Wyckoff (2014) mention ten key elements of quality places, which are

1. Mixed-uses
2. Quality public spaces
3. Broadband enabled
4. Multiple transportation options
5. Multiple housing options
6. Preservation of historic structures
7. Community heritage
8. Arts, culture and creativity
9. Recreation
10. Green spaces

The importance of these ten elements are also recognised by Lew (2017) and Project for Public Spaces (n.d.). Some of these elements like mixed-uses, arts, culture and creativity and green spaces are used as input for a branding strategy to promote a city (Rehan, 2014). This will be discussed in more detail later in the section on city branding and city marketing.

Figure 4 Four types of placemaking



(Wyckoff, 2014, p.3)

Wyckoff (2014) indicates that there are four types of placemaking, which are strategic, creative, tactical and standard placemaking (see figure 4). Standard placemaking covers the other three types of placemaking. The definition of placemaking is mentioned in the beginning of this paragraph (see page 17). Strategic placemaking is about achieving a goal in addition to create quality places (Wyckoff, 2014). It is often about to attract talented workers and businesses by creating particular places, which are catalysators for more jobs and growth of income. Shaw and Montana (2016) indicate that other investments (e.g., bike paths, restaurants, galleries) are also possible through a major investment in a city or region. One example given by Lew (2017) is the Eiffel Tower in Paris, which has, for instance, increased the number of tourists who have come to Paris and also the number of restaurants and shops.

Creative placemaking is about strategically shape the physical and social character of a city or neighbourhood around arts and cultural activities (Wyckoff, 2014). Examples of creative placemaking is the building of a museum like NEMO in Amsterdam or an activity that add value to quality places such as outdoor concerts in the Vondelpark in Amsterdam.

Tactical placemaking is about creating quality places with the often-used approach to changes public spaces with low risk and high rewards (Wyckoff, 2014). In short, it is about the long term action and the long-term change (Brito & Richards, 2017). An example of tactical placemaking is to transform a road in to a '*fietsstraat*', a street where cars are the "guests", and the cyclist can cycle totally free and have the space instead of only a small piece at the side of the road.

Lew (2017) adds another one to the four types of placemaking: public space placemaking. Public space placemaking is viewed from an urban planning perspective. Public space placemaking is about creating public spaces that are easily accessible, for example, within walking distance, safe and comfortable. This is achieved through the use of mixed-uses and architecture. Furthermore, Lew (2017) emphasises that historic buildings and elements are important to enhance the interesting aspects of a place.

There is also critique on placemaking. According to Buser et al. (2013) is placemaking often used to change and improve the city, but a consequence is that it provides gentrification. Project for Public Spaces (n.d.) indicates that placemaking allows officials, spatial planners and developers to broaden their perspective and the inhabitants of a place to share their ideas. Moreover, placemaking also ensures that there is no focus on individual components, but that common problems are avoided or tackled (Project for Public Spaces, n.d.). Common problems are failed development projects, underutilized parks, traffic-domestic streets and maybe a negative image of a city can be seen as a common problem.

3.2 Changing the image of a city by city branding and city marketing

In addition, the municipality of a city or city marketing agency can strengthen or change the image of the city. This is often done by using branding strategies in combination with city marketing. There is a small difference between city branding and city marketing and that is the following: city branding is about the identity of the city which you need to use to attract people (Hospers, 2011). City marketing is mainly about the wishes and needs of the inhabitants and tourists of the city. This section attempts to make a clear distinction between city branding and city marketing, but these concepts are interrelated.

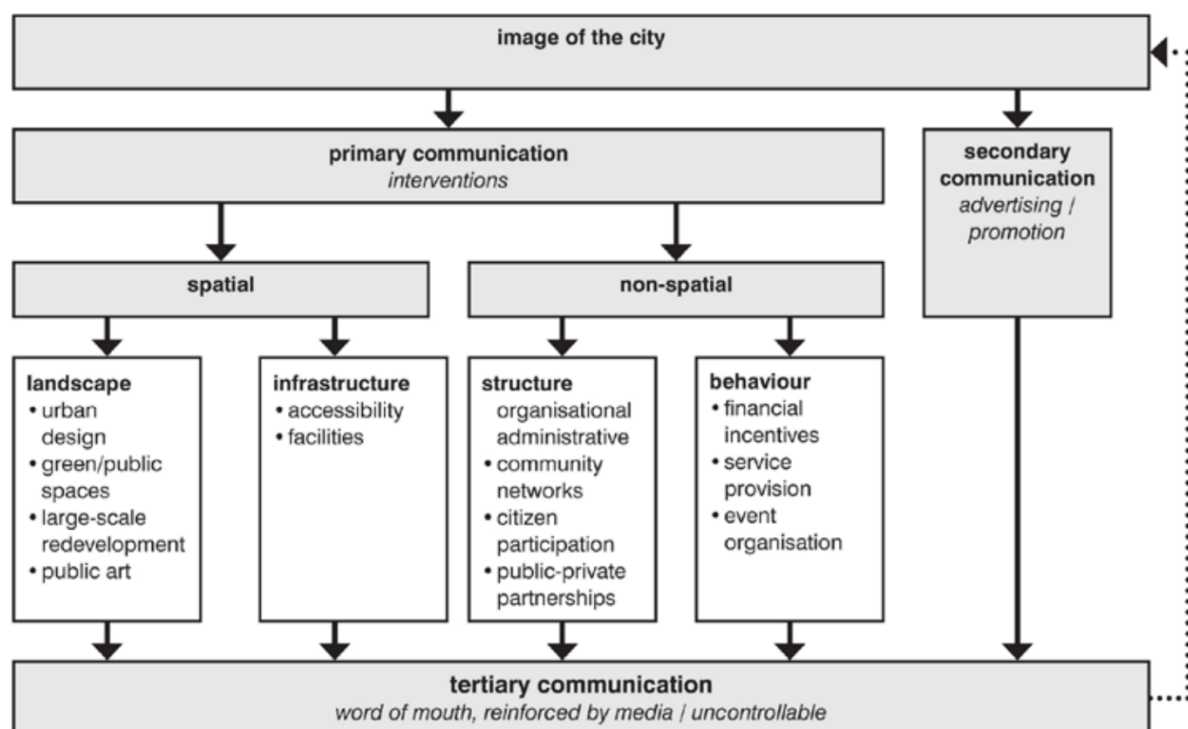
3.2.1 City branding

City branding and place branding are used interchangeably. There are several definitions of city branding. Kavaratzis (2008) defines city branding as the creation of a favourable image or the change of a negative or unsympathetic image of a city. The definition of Muratovski (2012) is more comprehensive:

“city branding should not be focused on ‘selling’ the city, but on enhancing the status of the city and the lives of its inhabitants, which means taking into account social, cultural, political and economic environments and practices.” (p.196).

According to Hospers et al. (2008), city branding is about using visual elements, emotions, anecdotes, and other forms of storytelling to create a better image of the city among the target group, so that the additional image plays a role in the choice process of this target group.

Figure 5 Three types of city branding

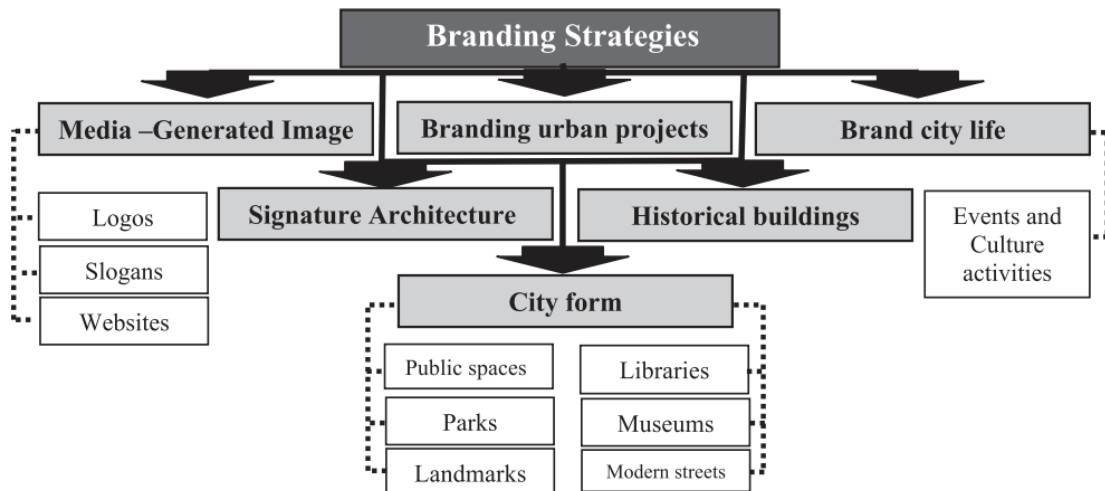


(Prilenska, 2012, p.13)

Three types of communication are important with regard to city branding (Kavaratzis, 2008). The first is primary communication, which concerns the communicative effects of the city's actions. Prilenska (2012) divides this into spatial and non-spatial components (see figure 5). Spatial communication refers to interventions designed to improve the physical quality of a city. For example, large-scale redevelopment and infrastructure projects and green areas. Non-spatial communication relates to the organisational and administrative structure and the city's behaviour. The second is secondary communication, which refers to advertising and promoting a city (Kavaratzis, 2008). An example of secondary communication is the slogan "I Amsterdam", because I Amsterdam is used in several campaigns to attract tourists to Amsterdam and promote Amsterdam as an attractive city to live in (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.). Lastly, tertiary communication refers to the image of the city that is influenced by media and competitor cities, also called "word of mouth". Kavaratzis argues that tertiary communication cannot be influenced by marketers.

According to Rehan (2014) branding of places consists of two elements: city making and city marketing. First, 'City making is a process that makes the place specifically advantageous or attractive' (Helmy, 2008, p.11). Secondly, city marketing is the promotion of a city or region, or a specific advantage of the city, to attract and retain a specific target group (Hospers, 2011; Rehan, 2014).

Figure 6 Branding strategy



(Rehan, 2014, p.225)

As mentioned earlier, it is important for a place to have a good image and this often depends on a synthesis between the structure and the activities that take place in a city (Rehan, 2014). Rehan (2014) mentions that different branding strategies can be developed depending on the objective and visions of urban development. Moreover, these branding strategies not only affect the image of a city, but also have to deal with the interests of investors, politicians, planners, real estate developers and other groups that would like to benefit from an enhanced function of the city (Rehan, 2014). A branding strategy requires media-generated images, branding of urban projects, and branding of city life, historic buildings, signature architecture and the overall form of the city (see figure 6).

Websites, slogans and logos are examples of media-generated images (Rehan, 2014; Hospers, 2011). This is an important aspect of city marketing (read more in the next paragraph). An important part of the branding strategy is branding urban projects, because often they are also related or referring to signature architecture, historical buildings and/or city form.

The city form includes all public spaces, parks, monuments, libraries, museums and modern streets (Rehan, 2014). This is in line with what Kavaratzis (2008) and Prilenska (2012) refer to the spatial component of city branding. Historical buildings and signature architecture are historic buildings are part of the city form (Rehan, 2014). Historical buildings are important in relation with city branding and city marketing, because these buildings, such as the Dom Tower in Utrecht, are often branded and well-known among tourists (Hospers, 2008; Rehan, 2014; Urry, 1992). There are also famous architects or planners which design and/or construct buildings and landmarks (Rehan, 2014; Zenker & Beckmann, 2013). That is referred signature architecture by Rehan. Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain is an example of signature architecture, because it is an architectural building specially designed for that particular location (Grodach, 2010).

A critique on city branding and creating branding strategies by VanHoose et al. (2021) is that often politicians and business elites are determining these strategies. This causes the branding of the city no longer be supported by the residents and/or other organisations such as companies which are

located in the city. However, the input and participation of citizens are really important to make a branding strategy a success. When the branding strategy or policy do not align with the preference of the citizens than it could be a “talking vs. them”. However, Hoekstra (2020) indicates that the image people have of the city also influences the policy strategy with regard to regeneration. So, there is a different way of thinking it is not always us versus them, but more “because of them”.

3.2.2 City marketing

There are multiple definitions of city marketing. Hospers (2011) states that city marketing is the promotion of a city or region to attract and retain a specific target group. Hospers et al. (2008) used a more extensive definition, which is: 'City marketing is the long-term process and/or policy instrument consisting of various interrelated activities aimed at attracting and retaining specific target groups for a particular city' (p.15). According to Gustavsson and Elander (2012), the focus of city marketing is on presenting the city as a place for profitable business and a good place to live. The concepts of placemaking and sense of place also play an important role here.

There are two types of city marketing, namely “cold” and “warm” city marketing (Hospers, 2011). “Cold” city marketing focuses on activities for target groups from outside the city or region, such as tourists and new residents. In contrast to cold city marketing, “warm” city marketing focuses on people who already live, work and study in the area, i.e., the inhabitants of a city or region.

There are several instruments that can be used in city marketing. Ward (1998) states that place promotion, place selling, and place marketing are important in city marketing. With place promotion, slogans and logos are used to promote a place or a city. If investments are made to make the place more accessible, for example by improving the infrastructure, this is called place selling. Place marketing involves the promotion of a place, the improvement of facilities, but also the use of local products and services to ensure a connection with visitors. Hospers et al. (2008) indicate that free publicity is also an instrument that can be used if there is a connection with journalists and original actions are organised. Xiang & Gretzel (2010) and Hospers (2011) mention that social media play a major role in promoting a city, but that the use of social media can differ per target group. As a result of all these tools, the images of the promoted cities may be recognisable to the tourists or to people who do not live in those cities (Urry, 1992). City marketing is an important factor that can influence the image that people have of the city. This is partly because different instruments with a specific aim can be used.

3.3 Changing the image of a city by spatial planning

As mentioned earlier with regard to city branding, the landscape of a city can serve as input for a strategy. This can also be done the other way round that the design of a landscape can serve as an example for a “new” image of a city.

3.3.1 Green-place branding and nature-based solutions

The environment of the city or region (e.g., parks and infrastructure) can be used to promote a city or region. Green-place branding is an example of city branding. De Ridder (2019) mentions that branding of nature is the core of promoting a place regarding green-place branding.

There is no unambiguous definition of a green city. A green city can for instance be a city with an environmentally friendly policy or a city with a lot of green spaces (Acuti et al., 2019; Chan & Marafa, 2017). Andersson (2016) defines the sustainable city, eco-city, transition town and energy city as a green city. An example of a green city is Copenhagen in Denmark with its bicycle policies (Andersson, 2016; European Commission, 2014). More scientists agree that green resources (e.g., public parks, trees in the neighbourhoods) can improve the image of a city and also increase the quality of life in the city and contributed to its liveability and sustainability (Acuti et al., 2019; Chan & Marafa, 2017; Southworth, 2003; Wolff & Haase, 2019). Therefore, green place branding is controversial, as several

cities want to join this trend and to brand themselves as a sustainable and environmentally friendly city (Chan, 2019). This is also called green-washing (De Jong et al., 2019). Green-washing is often practised when it concerns the sustainability of cities, and this often takes place in urban renewal, redevelopment- and regeneration projects (Schuetze & Chelleri, 2015). On the other hand, Andersson (2016) indicates that green-place branding can convert deprived, stagnant places into contemporary and attractive cities.

Furthermore, nature-based solutions [NBS] are part of green place branding. International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) gives the following definition 'Actions to protect, sustainably manage and restore natural or modified ecosystems that address societal challenges effectively and adaptively, simultaneously providing human well-being and biodiversity benefits' (Cohen-Shacham et al., 2016, p.2). Boros & Mahmoud (2021) describe nature-based solution as an 'umbrella concept for applying natural systems to intentionally tackle contemporary environmental challenge' (p.1). Kabisch et al. (2017) mentions a few examples of nature-based solutions: provision of urban green (e.g., parks and trees) on street-level or also on buildings, to may reduce temperature, flood events in a city.

An example of a nature-based solution and city marketing is the park 'Biblioteca degli Alberi di Milano' (Boros & Mahmoud, 2021). Before this park, there were a lot of environmental problems in Milan: heat events, lack of water run-off and green space. The aim of this park was that it would be a strategic element linking the green area to the existing infrastructure of retail, fashion, culture, non-residential and residential spaces. Currently, Biblioteca degli Alberi di Milano is part of the solution regarding the environmental problems. Also, the park is becoming a must-see touristic destination and is seen as part of the new image of Milan. Boros and Mahmoud (2021) mention that 'associations with the park being a nature-based solution are firmly linked to city marketing and place branding strategies, but they also work the other way, to recognize the importance of designated places for nature-based solutions within major urban developments. (p.10)'

3.3.2 Landscape design and city marketing

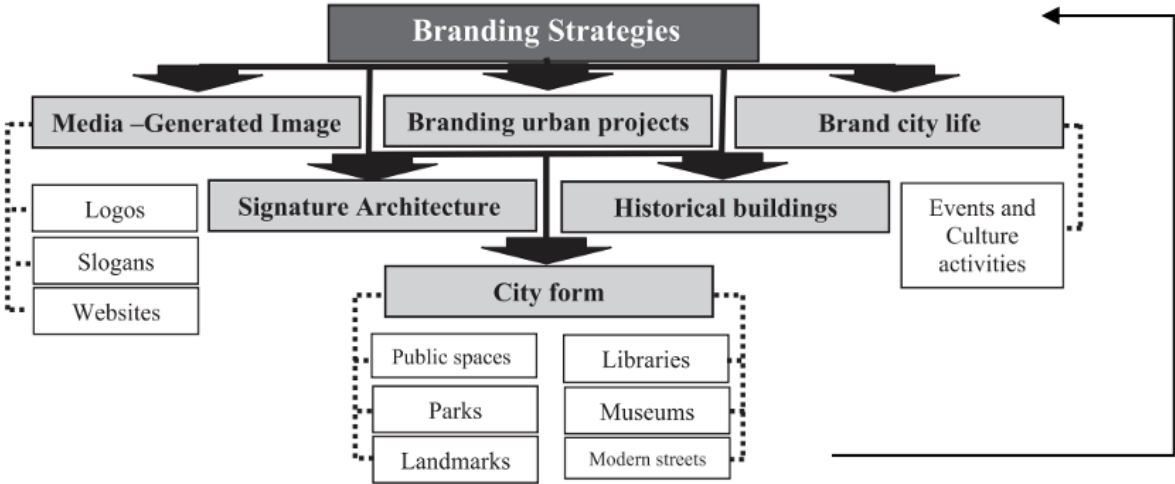
City marketing also has an influence on the landscape. For example, there are often spectacular urban developments, such as flagship projects, concert halls, museums, shopping centres, professional sports stadiums and residential facilities that match the intended image of the city marketing (Berglund & Olsson, 2010). In addition, the public space is also addressed, for example by creating squares, pedestrian walkways and green spaces (Berglund & Olsson, 2010; Wyckoff, 2014). Berglund and Olsson (2010) argue that assumed advantages of a place are reflected in the promotion and the 'new' brand. An example is Iceland with "the Karaoke song - The "A to Ö of Iceland" with images of the typical Icelandic landscape, but in the song the Icelandic people show that there is more than only the touristic sites of Iceland (City/Nation/Place, 2020).

Furthermore, industrial areas are transformed into cultural districts or/and festival markets (Griffiths, 1998; Hall & Hubbard, 1998; Ward, 1998; Mukthar-Landgren, 2005 and Bok, 2008 in Berglund & Olsson, 2010, p.8). Noordkade in Veghel, North Brabant is an example of a transformed industrial area (Noordkade Veghel, n.d.). Currently, it is a cultural district with a theatre, cinema, restaurants, shops and supermarket. This aspect is not included in the empirical part of this research, because Lelystad does not have any industrial areas that are or will be transformed in cultural districts.

It is important to realise that a landscape is dynamic and not fixed. A landscape can change and sometimes the changes are not planned (Bürgi et al., 2005). Examples of the driving forces to change a landscape are socioeconomic (primarily economic factors), political (laws and policies), technological (information technology and developments in transportation), natural (changes in

climate, topography and natural disturbances) and cultural (what people think). These changes could have an effect on the identity of a city, sense of place, city branding and also on the image of a city. Oliveira (2015) and Deffner et al. (2020) also state that city marketing or city branding only make sense if it is supported by spatial interventions. In figure 7, there is made a new version of figure 6. This figure shows that the landscape including the city form also has an influence on the branding strategy instead in the other way round.

Figure 7 The landscape of the city influences the branding strategy



(Rehan, 2014, p.225; adapted by the author of this research on the used literature)

3.3.3 City changes and branding

Ooi (2010) indicates that cities change over time and that realities arise that were not present or visible until recently. Moreover, Ooi also indicated that when a city changes, its image does not always keep up with this situation or reality. The perception of the city and its image may also have changed by the outside world (Ooi, 2010). The official brand is then not equal to the public perception. This is also recognized by Zukin et al. (1998). An example of different perception of an element in a city is given by Kortelainen & Albrecht (2021). Silhouettes of high smokestacks can be seen as an iconic industrial landscape or a sign of air pollution. One image is more positive and has a historical perspective. There other image of the high smokestacks is negative and is maybe seen from the current perspective that smokestacks are the causes of air pollution.

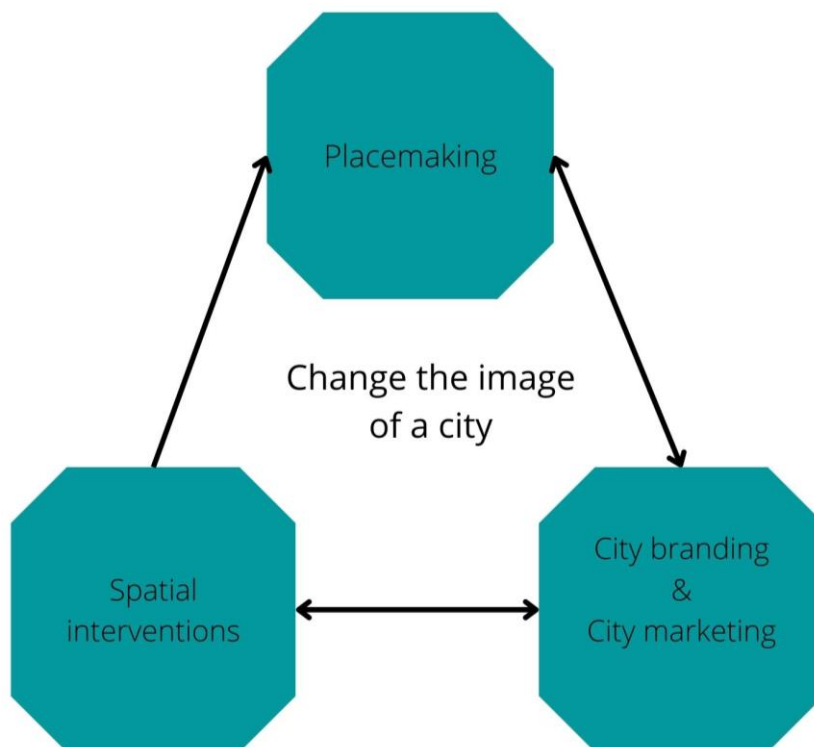
There is also a situation where cities are rebranded too quickly (Ooi, 2010). The stories of the new branding strategies are aspirations that have to be realised. This could result in a negative image of the city. Therefore, it is important that various stakeholders including the residents support the new image and help to implement it (Ooi, 2010; VanHoose et al., 2021).

3.4 Analytical model

In short, the above literature study illustrated that placemaking, city branding, city marketing, landscape design and spatial interventions are important concepts when changing the image of a city and therefore also in this research. The concepts do not stand alone but are interrelated (see figure 8 on the next page). In order to change the image of a city, placemaking, city branding, city marketing, and spatial interventions are needed. In the analytical model below, the relations between these concepts are presented.

The literature has shown that the landscape has an influence on placemaking. In addition, there is a reciprocal relation between city branding and marketing and placemaking. On the one hand, the image that the inhabitants have of a city can serve as input for city branding or city marketing. On the other hand, the image that is used by city marketing and city branding can influence how the residents look at the city and what feeling they have about it. However, there is not much consensus on spatial interventions also having an influence on city branding and city marketing, because there is often top-down thinking from a branding strategy about which elements from the landscape can be used. So, according to the literature It is possible to change the image of a city, but it is difficult because each concept has different conditions, which are mentioned in the theoretical framework, that must be fulfilled. The insights from the literature lead this research to focus on how the municipality of Lelystad is trying to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature by making use of spatial interventions and how residents of Lelystad perceive this.

Figure 8 Analytical model "change the image of a city"



(Made by the author and based on the literature)

4. Methods

This chapter discusses the design of this research and the choices made in the research process. This chapter discusses the chosen methods, data collection, data analysis and research quality criteria.

4.1 Qualitative methods

This research is exploratory. It aims to find out how the municipality of Lelystad uses spatial interventions to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature. According to Boeije (2016), the qualitative approach is suitable for understanding what is happening around the subject of the research and in this case that is Lelystad and its branding. In this research, four different qualitative research methods are used to answer the research question: literature study, document analysis and interviews.

First, the literature review provides insights into whether a city can change its image and what steps are involved. This literature review includes the concepts of city marketing and city branding, placemaking and spatial interventions as spatial planning instrument. In addition, the aim of this research is to find out in which ways the municipality of Lelystad use spatial interventions to promote Lelystad as the capital of the new nature and how the residents are perceiving this.

Second, this research makes use of document analysis, in which policy documents and websites about green cities, climate adaptation as spatial interventions and the image of a city. Document analysis will be used to provide information about the context, and give some insights in existing challenges (Bowen, 2009). By doing so, more context is provided about the policy and planning context at different scales (global, European, national, regional and local). In addition, more attention is given to Lelystad and its intended image, specifically to how this is influenced by policy.

Third, observations were also done to give more context to the document analysis and interviews. Hay (2016) indicates that the purposes of an observation can be counting, contextualising and complementing. The observations within this research consisted of taking pictures and making notes of striking things that were noticed.

In addition, interviews are also used as a qualitative research method in this research. Interviews with experts for example the municipality of Lelystad and the province of Flevoland are important to gather more information on city marketing, the environment and their opinions on the case of Lelystad (Bryman, 2016). Furthermore, it is important to ask residents of Lelystad about their perceptions of Lelystad and what they think of the city and her environment. The focus of the interviews with the residents is mainly on the concepts of placemaking and sense of place. The interviews are therefore held to get a clear overview of the promotion of Lelystad and how these actors themselves view Lelystad in terms of placemaking and sense of place. Besides placemaking and sense of place, the environment is also an important part of city branding and marketing, which includes nature-based solutions.

4.2 Literature study

At the beginning of this research, a literature review was conducted to gain more insight into the phenomena of city marketing, city branding, the image of a city, branding strategies, the environment of a city and nature-based solutions. The aim of literature review was to address the topic of 'the role of nature-based solutions and the environment in achieving an intended image of a city' by obtaining existing theories and knowledge about the above phenomena.

In order to gain insight into the concept of changing the image of a city, the following search terms were used to find scientific literature: 'image of a city', 'image of a region', 'city marketing', 'city branding', 'branding strategy'. This led to finding several publications, such as Hospers (2020), Kavaratzis (2008) and Prilenska (2012). From these articles, other studies have emerged such as Rehan (2014), Urry (1992), VanHoose et al. (2021) and Zukin et al. (1998). In addition, it has emerged that Gert-Jan Hospers and Michail Kavaratzis are experts in the field of city marketing and city branding, since they have often been cited in articles.

Furthermore, the phenomenon of placemaking was also specifically examined since the residents of Lelystad are also an important subject in this research. In order to find out what residents think of Lelystad and what concepts this includes, the words 'image of a city', 'urban imaginaries', 'placemaking' and 'sense of place' were searched. This brought up articles by Greenberg (2000) and Wyckoff (2014). These sources clarified how people form an image and how they perceive their own place.

The policy documents of Lelystad Next Level (2021) state that Lelystad should be seen as the capital of new nature and that new nature should be created. This made it clear that the search terms 'landscape and city marketing', 'nature-based solution and image', 'spatial planning and city marketing' should be used to find literature. Examples of authors of articles that emerged were Boros and Mahmoud (2021), Oliveira (2015) and Ooi, 2010).

All articles, reports and books have been identified through Google, Google Scholar and Worldcat. The sources used in this study were assessed for relevance by looking at the author(s), the year of the article, report or book, the number of citations and the reputation/status of the journal in which they were published.

4.3 Document analysis

The document analysis in this research was used to provide more information on the policy and planning context green cities, climate adaptation as spatial interventions and the image of a city.

The first step was the selection of relevant policy documents. This was done by searching the following search terms in English and Dutch: 'image of Lelystad', 'Green cities', 'image of green cities', 'climate adaptation', 'change of a city's image', 'policy of province Flevoland regarding nature and green', 'nature policy in the Netherlands', 'Imago Lelystad', 'policy climate change', 'policy of the EU regarding nature and green'. This has led to a variety of sources and different findings. Twenty-three documents, of which fifteen are policy documents and seven are websites, have been analysed. These documents are from various policy levels: global, European, national, regional and local. In total, four documents were from the global scale, European scale and local scale and seven documents were from the national scale. In the appendix 1, an overview can be found of the relevant documents used for this analysis.

During the selection of the documents, there was also a check of the authors, the organisations and the date of the document, in order to get a clear picture of the context. In addition, notes were made per document in excel of topics that matched the literature or items that were striking, and open codes were given (these can be found in Appendix 1). The result of the document analysis, the most important information, is summarized and described in Chapter 2.

4.3 Observations

The observation was unstructured, which means that the researcher focused on a few themes, such as the activities people do and how the greenery looks, but did not use an observation schedule (Bryman, 2016; Mulhall, 2003). The advantage of an unstructured observation is that you look at the broader picture (Boeije & Bleijenbergh, 2019). The disadvantage is that the researcher overlooks

things that are important. However, the observations support the findings of the other methods. The observations took place during the days the interviews were conducted. Also afterwards, the researcher visited various neighbourhoods and sites (see Table 1).

Table 1 An overview of the visited sites and locations during the observations

The visited sites and locations	What was observed?
The coastline of Lelystad (at the IJsselmeer)	The activities of the people that were there
Natuurpark	The variety of greenery The activities of the people that were there
Woldpark	The variety of greenery The activities of the people that were there
Oostvaardersplassen	The variety of greenery The activities of the people that were there
School De Lepelaar	The “green” schoolyard
Hanzepark	The variety of greenery The special borders with flowers and plants to increase the biodiversity
De Landerijen	The variety of greenery The wadi [gravel filter retention pond]
Lelystad Zuid (De Warande)	The variety of greenery in a new neighbourhood The implementation of climate adaptive interventions

4.5 Semi-structured Interviews

In this research, data was collected by means of semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews were chosen so that certain topics that had been determined beforehand would be discussed (Baarda, 2020). This ensures that the research question can be answered. The respondent was leading in the interview, which gave the respondent the opportunity to talk more about their experiences and perspective about Lelystad and Lelystad as capital of new nature. This resulted in some of the topics being discussed later than they were in the topic lists (Boeije & Bleijenbergh, 2019).

4.5.1 Respondents selection

The interviews can be divided into two groups: the inhabitants of Lelystad and government officials. Government officials were employees of the municipality of Lelystad and a deputy of the province of Flevoland which are involved in the policy-making and implementation regarding Lelystad Next Level. The interviews lasted 30 minutes on average. A total of 11 residents and 5 government employees were interviewed. Appendices 3 gives more information about the interviews and the respondents through an overview of the respondents, who was interviewed when and where.

The interviews with residents fall into the category of street interviews; interviews in an approachable manner that do not take too long. The residents of Lelystad were interviewed on different days. Respondents were approached on the street or in the park when they were walking along, sitting on a bench or in the grass to ask if they wanted to be interviewed. The places where the respondents were interviewed face-to-face were in fact places where there was greenery in the surrounding area, such as the parks Woldpark, Natuurpark, Oostvaardersplassen and a bench in the neighbourhood De Landerijen. An attempt was made to get a variation in age and male and female, so that a more diverse picture emerges of what residents understand by the image of Lelystad and how they see Lelystad. It has happened that there were several people talking within one interview,

but that was not a problem. The researcher ensured that both respondents gave answers to the questions that were asked.

The government officials were interviewed in a different way. Respondents were contacted by telephone and email. These respondents themselves indicated which date was most convenient for them. The interviews were conducted via Microsoft Teams. Several employees of the Municipality of Lelystad have been interviewed since they all have a different role with regard to the policy programme Lelystad Next Level and Lelystad as a capital of new nature. The aim of these interviews was to find out more about the implementation of Lelystad Next Level because this was not clearly mentioned in the policy documents.

4.5.2 Topic lists

The intended respondents were residents of Lelystad and employees of government organisations. Therefore, the choice was made to draw up two different topic lists, with some topics being similar in order to compare the answers between the three groups of respondents. The topics are based on the most important concepts of the theoretical framework: placemaking, landscape design and features and city marketing and city branding.

The important topics covered in all topic lists are 'the current image of Lelystad', 'the new image of Lelystad', 'interventions in the public space' and 'involvement of residents in the new image of Lelystad'. In the topic list for the employees of the municipality and the province they were also asked about the involvement of other stakeholders in the new image of Lelystad. The questions of the topic list are based on the theories and concepts of the theoretical framework. All topic lists can be found in appendix 2.

A pre-test was also carried out in this study. All topic lists were reviewed by role-plays to see if the questions were clear. This showed that if the respondents were asked about the new image and the new nature, it would be better to first ask for the respondents' definition instead of the definition used by the Municipality of Lelystad. In addition, the first two interviews served as a pre-test. This showed that the question about or what is the most characteristic about Lelystad was sometimes difficult to understand for some people. Therefore, if people found the question difficult, they were asked in other words: 'what is Lelystad known for?' In addition, sometimes not all questions were asked, because respondents already gave an answer by themselves or by an earlier question.

4.6 Data collection

This section discusses the data collection and the experiences within this part of the research.

4.6.1 Ethical considerations during the research

Within the structure of this research, no ethical dilemmas have been identified that require consideration, as the subject is not considered 'fraught' or sensitive and the data collection methods are not expected to unreasonably burden or harm the target group. The researcher showed understanding if, for example, employee of the municipality, the Province or a resident of Lelystad could not and did not want to share certain information because it contained competitively sensitive information. In the context of informed consent, it was made clear to the participants in the interviews that the data would be processed anonymously and could not be traced back to the respondent. In addition, permission to record the interview was requested. With permission, the interviews were subsequently recorded, and the recordings were only listened to by the interviewer. Participants gave their oral consent in this way.

There was one exception: the respondent from the Communication Team of the municipality of Lelystad preferred not to be recorded. A conversation report was made based on the notes taken during the interview (see appendix 4). The respondent checked this conversation report again, to ensure that all the information was correct.

4.7 Data analysis

The policy documents and websites newspapers were analysed by coding and taking notes in Excel. Everything that the researcher thought was relevant to the research and concepts or phrases that sometimes recurred several times in a document or other product (see above) were coded.

The interviews were transcribed and then analysed by coding. The researcher went through all transcripts and coded them using Nvivo12. The transcripts were read through several times, assigning labels to fragments that were potentially important to indicate the image of Lelystad and the visibility of the new image of Lelystad. After the emergence of open codes, axial coding was performed. The fragments of the open codes were looked at again, paying attention to similarities and differences, and overarching codes were created. Furthermore, the possible relations and connections between the collected data of the overarching codes were examined. After the coding process, a code tree emerged with relations and connections between codes and shows which themes are important to answer the research question. The code tree can be found in Appendix X.

4.8 Research quality criteria

This section discusses the validity, the reliability of this research and the role of the researcher.

4.8.1 Validity

Validity refers to whether the data collected is an accurate representation of reality (Bryman, 2016). Validity consists of two parts: internal and external validity.

Internal validity is about whether the chosen research method ensures that the correct conclusions can be drawn and thus the research question can be answered (Bryman, 2016). Interviews and document analysis were used to ensure internal validity. Topic lists were drawn up on the grounds of literature study. In addition, a pre-test was carried out to check that the questions did not narrow down any socially desirable answers and that the questions were clear enough to arrive at relevant answers. After conducting the interviews, coding was done and the most important topics with which the research question can be answered are represented in a code tree. Both the topic lists based on theory and the code tree based on the collected data ensure that the research is well structured.

External validity means whether the research results are possibly generalisable outside the group being studied (Bryman, 2016). This is difficult with qualitative methods because the focus is on the researched group. In this study, the groups studied were the residents of Lelystad and government organisations that are concerned with Lelystad Next Level and Lelystad as capital of new nature. Because only a limited group of respondents were interviewed, it is difficult to generalise the results of this research. However, Flyvbjerg (2006) indicates that the results of a case study can also contribute to knowledge acquisition in a certain area, for example in the form of general conclusions. It may be possible to draw general conclusions regarding changing a new image of a city and the environment and nature-based solutions as a city branding instrument in other regions or in the Netherlands.

4.8.2 Reliability

Reliability refers to the preciseness of the methods of data collection and whether the obtained findings are not affected by chance (Bryman, 2016; Boeije & Bleijenbergh, 2019). In order to ensure the reliability of this research, semi-structured interviews were conducted for which a topic list was

used that was based on theoretical insights. Beforehand, several people were asked to critically examine the topic lists to find out whether the questions had been asked clearly and neutrally. A semi-structured topic list was used, which ensured that the interviews would take a similar form. In addition, the interviews were recorded and later transcribed, so that it was possible to check what exactly was said. The data obtained from the interviews were coded openly, axially and selectively, resulting in a code tree. The code tree is the result of the coding process and indicates which topics are important in order to be able to answer the research question. A semi-standardised topic list and a code tree provide some form of standardisation and help to increase reliability.

4.8.3 The role of the researcher

I have had different roles as researcher in this research, being a student at the University of Utrecht and a former resident of Lelystad. This may have led to the fact that I already had and have a certain image of Lelystad. In addition, I may have had an influence on the process. Before I started this research, I read several articles and media reports about Lelystad and its image. This led me to make assumptions about how other people think about Lelystad, the influence of the city marketing and branding of Lelystad and the role of the municipality. An example of this was that city marketing Lelystad itself was going to set up a "WeLoveLelystad" campaign instead of the municipality doing it. I wrote down the assumptions before I started interviewing so that I was aware of my personal opinion. I also read back these assumptions after the interview and adjusted them if necessary. In this way, I tried to be aware of my role as a researcher during the interviews and to listen carefully to what the respondents told me. In addition, I tried to make the data as representative as possible.

5. Results

This chapter provides an overview of the results from the empirical data: interviews with residents and government officials, and the observations. This is done using the concepts of the analytical framework described in chapter 3. For each concept, the results of the interviews with the officials of the municipality and the province, and residents are discussed.

5.1 Placemaking

In this paragraph, the results regarding placemaking including spatial interventions made by the municipality and the residents' sense of place will be discussed.

One of the aims of this research was to find out if the municipality of Lelystad is doing any placemaking. According to the policy document Lelystad Next Level (2021), the municipality wants to make Lelystad more attractive by making use of green spaces that Lelystad has and spatial interventions regarding climate adaptation and nature inclusion. The programme manager of Lelystad Next Level (G5) and the deputy of the province say the following about the objective of the policy programme:

"The attractiveness of the city needs to improve, and nature is strongly connected to that and also to sustainability." (G5 – Programme manager of Lelystad Next Level, 12-07-2022)

"The aim of Lelystad Next Level is to take Lelystad to a higher level and thus to make the city more attractive by using the nature that is already there and that is being created." (G4 – Deputy of the Province Flevoland, 08-07-2022)

To improve the attractiveness of Lelystad, the presence of greenery in the neighbourhoods, the parks and climate-adaptive interventions are used. The two officials of the municipality (G1 and G2), who are working on nature, mentioned various interventions that can be made. Examples are open paving, green facades, higher flower boxes, more trees and plants. The other government officials described the spatial interventions such as climate adaptation interventions but did not mention these interventions in detail. In addition, both respondent (G1) and respondent (G5) indicated that these interventions could be used in other ways, for instance as part of meeting places, education and the health of residents.

"We also have an important task to support our current residents, and their health is also an element of Lelystad Next Level. For example, how can we use the existing green spaces, which have a positive health effect, by creating opportunities for sport and recreation for our residents" (G5 - Programme manager of Lelystad Next Level, 12-07-2022)

"You can also design your green spaces to encourage children to play outside and get more exercise. We are also a JOGG municipality, which means youths with a healthy weight. In Lelystad, we have a lot of youths who weigh too much. Well, if you design and construct the green spaces in such a way that children play outside, they get more exercise, they play sports and play together. Then it will contribute to their health. (G2 – sustainability director, 04-07-2022)

"Using greenery as a source of food. That has traditionally been done in Lelystad. Well, we are looking into that again, because residents can harvest and eat more healthy food from vegetable gardens in their neighbourhood. For example, we can turn a dog's field into a vegetable garden where people can meet and learn to eat healthy food together" (G2 – sustainability director, 04-07-2022)

"In addition, we want to set up an educational experience centre, the Experience of New Nature, where knowledge can be exchanged between citizens, Dutch people and organisations. They can come here

and be involved in nature and nature development. We will also show people what new nature is in Lelystad." (G1 – Team Economic Affairs, 04-07-2022)

The statements above indicate that green space in Lelystad is not only used to counteract the effects of climate change but can also have an effect on other fields. In addition, these effects ensure a higher quality of the living environment. As a result, this could possibly lead to an attractive image of Lelystad.

It can be concluded that the municipality of Lelystad is engaged in placemaking, since all government officials indicate that spatial interventions, specifically climate adaptation interventions, are being made to make the city more attractive.

5.1.1 Sense of place

With regard to sense of place, residents were asked how they see and experience Lelystad. In addition, they were specifically asked about their immediate surroundings, i.e., what does their and neighbourhood look like.

Place meaning is also part of the sense of place. The respondents were asked to describe their neighbourhood and presence of greenery in their neighbourhood. The respondents live in different neighbourhoods: Boswijk, Landstrekenwijk, Waterwijk, Atolwijk and De Landerijen. One respondent (R10) said that Lelystad is a green city, while the neighbourhood in which he grew up is not so green. On the other hand, the other respondents think that Lelystad is a green city and that this was also reflected in the neighbourhoods where the respondents lived. Table 2 shows how residents view their neighbourhood in relation to the presence of greenery.

Table 2 Greenery in the neighbourhood

Respondent	Quote
R6	<i>I personally think that De Landerijen is a very green neighbourhood. (29-06-2022)</i>
R7	<i>At the Buitenhof it started out very much like nature. Lots of places to let your dog out and at the Beukenhof the same. And the Hondsrug was a bit more built-up. Or well, actually a little less green. There, the greenery was combined with a playground. In the Buitenhof and the Beukenhof, there is more greenery. More woods, more walking and cycling space. (29-06-2022)</i>
R9	<i>I live in the Bongerd now, which is also an old neighbourhood with a lot of space and greenery. This neighbourhood is on the outskirts of Lelystad, so I can be in the forest in no time. (30-06-2022)</i>
R11	<i>The neighbourhood is close to the forest, close to the nature park and has many playgrounds and green. (006-07-2022)</i>

In addition, two respondents of the eleven interviewed residents (R6 en R10) of Lelystad also lived in several neighbourhoods, which also enabled them to make a comparison between different neighbourhoods and the presence of greenery. These residents experienced a difference in the presence of greenery (see the statements below).

"I personally think that De Landerijen is a very green neighbourhood. But in Lelystad you don't have many petrified neighbourhoods, I would say. It's all spacious. Horst was a bit smaller, but still quite a lot of green. I think Lelystad is a green city. It varies a bit per neighbourhood, but if you compare it to another city, we live in an oasis of green." (R6, 23-06-2022)

“I live in the Lagune, which is located in a notorious neighbourhood [Atolwijk]. The people who live there are, I would say, immigrants. The houses are sometimes a bit less maintained. But you can live there just fine. There is quite a lot of green in the neighbourhood. There is a lot of grass, a lot of trees and sometimes those little flowerbeds with high-growing plants. Sometimes there are some pots with flowers. [...] The neighbourhood where I grew up and where my parents live is the Waterwijk. It's all just petrified and there's very little greenery there. The green you see there is only weeds.” (R10, 006-07-2022)

Furthermore, one of the first questions asked the residents was what they thought of Lelystad in general. All residents described Lelystad as a city with a lot of green and space. Examples that respondents mentioned were the parks and forests (the Natuurpark, Woldpark, Oostvaardersplassen and Zuigerplasbos), the presence of different plants, bushes and trees and the coast of Lelystad. For two residents, the presence of water and the coast was part of their image of Lelystad. The other residents did not mention this, which is causing a discrepancy between the intended image and the image among the residents. Some residents also stressed that they appreciate the greenery and space. The statements below illustrate the appreciation of green space.

“The neighbourhood [Boswijk] where I live is quiet. There are old people living there. But I like living there, close to the woods. There is also a lot of green in the neighbourhood. I really like the forest and the greenery in the neighbourhood.” (R5, 23-06-2022)

“During the pandemic, we went outside more often. It's a relief not to live in a small apartment in The Hague. Even our children came back home because they had more freedom and space here.” (R1, 23-06-2022)

The above results show that Lelystad is perceived as a green city by its residents. The presence of green in the neighbourhood and the parks are an important part of their perception. Therefore, green should be an important element in the intended image. This finding corresponds with the intention of Lelystad Next Level and Lelystad as capital of new nature to establish Lelystad as a green city.

Besides the positive images, residents also have negative images of Lelystad. All respondents said their negative image had to do with the lack of facilities and shops. Some negative images of the residents were:

“Boring [...] If I want to do something, I always have to go somewhere else [to other cities]. All you can do here is just sit and be here and that's it.” (R3, 23-06-2022)

“Yes, that there is nothing to do in Lelystad. It is very boring city. Because the city centre is very vacant. There are no night clubs. The entertainment is not very big. And there are more and more shops going through bankruptcy or disappear, It is not really an attraction like Bataviastad of course.” (R7, 29-06-2022)

“Boring for the youth. There are only a few activities you can do in Lelystad” (R10, 06-07-2022)

According to several respondents (R4, R5, R7 & R8), this has to do with the fact that there is not much to do in the city centre, because of the vacancy rate. There are almost no shops and no places to go out in Lelystad anymore, which makes people more likely to buy their clothes somewhere else and go out somewhere else. All residents state that the presence of facilities would possibly improve their image. The image of Lelystad can therefore be improved by having more facilities in Lelystad. More facilities are currently not part of Lelystad Next Level and is also not mentioned by government officials.

In addition, place attachment is also part of the residents' sense of place. Respondents were asked which activities they undertake in Lelystad. The activities were shopping in Bataviastad, cycling, horse riding, walking, picnicking, dancing and self-defence (pencak silat). They were also asked about the activities they do in the nature of Lelystad. The purpose of these questions was to find out if the residents also have a connection with Lelystad and specifically with the green environment. The respondents undertake various activities in green spaces such as cycling, running, horse riding, walking and picnicking. Some residents are more likely to do these activities in nature, while others are less likely to do them.

There are also differences between the residents with regard to their image of Lelystad. Firstly, there was a difference between people who moved to Lelystad and people who grew up in Lelystad. For instance, respondents (R1, R2 and R6) indicated that they had moved to Lelystad from The Hague and Amsterdam because of the amount of space available. In other words, these respondents had moved from a busy city and small flats to Lelystad. It is possible that the younger residents are used to the space and greenery around them, but this did not come up in the interviews.

In addition, the needs of younger residents are also different with regard to what Lelystad should offer. Six of the eleven residents indicated that it is not possible to go out in Lelystad. Some respondents (R7 and R9) do not miss the nightlife facilities, because they are not very keen on going out. But other residents (R3 and R8) go to other places to go out. These results demonstrate that the perception of the residents depends on their needs, stage of life and place attachment.

The residents' sense of place is different for each of them. There are some findings regarding their sense of place that are similar. Lelystad is seen as a green city, as most residents mention the presence of space and green in their image of Lelystad. The sense of place in relation to nature is evident from the quotes of respondents (R1 and R5) as well as from the activities residents undertake in nature.

5.2 City branding and city marketing

This paragraph discusses the findings regarding the current image and the intended image of 'Lelystad as the capital of new nature'. It starts by providing insight into how the officials of the municipality and the province view the current image, and how the intended image is visible in Lelystad and should be promoted. Followed by the findings regarding how the residents of Lelystad view this intended image.

5.2.1 The perspective of government officials on city branding and city marketing

The current image also came up in the interviews with the government officials. The image of Lelystad is partly determined by the history that Lelystad is not such an attractive city. In addition Lelystad is also often portrayed as an unattractive city in news reports (Bakker, 2022; NOS Nieuws, 2022; Vink, 2021). This is also noticed by the two government officials, who gave the following statements regarding the negative image of Lelystad:

"In the media, an article had been published in the Telegraaf. It was about the desert or the concrete desert in Lelystad. I think it was about the city centre. Well, that obviously doesn't do much good for Lelystad's image." (G1 – Team Economic Affairs, 04-07-2022)

"The negative image is also partly justified, because when you look at socio-economic rankings, Lelystad always is at the bottom, from domestic violence to all the children who have disappeared. More examples can be given. Lelystad actually is always on the wrong side of the list." (G4 – Deputy of the Province Flevoland, 08-07-2022)

The municipality of Lelystad wants to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature. In the policy documents concerning Lelystad Next Level, no definition of new nature was mentioned. Therefore, the

government officials were asked what the definition of new nature is. There are similarities regarding the connection with the history of Lelystad and pioneering. In the view of some government officials, new nature also refers to current spatial interventions in which nature features and even specifically to the use of nature in the form of recreation. The table below shows the different definitions of the government officials.

Table 3 Definitions of new nature by the government officials

Respondent	Quote
G1 (Team Ruimte, sustainability manager)	<i>New nature refers to the fact that we, as Lelystad, are relatively young. It also refers to creating nature. New nature refers to the fact that Lelystad as city, is relatively young. It also refers to creating nature. We are still doing a little of pioneering too. (04-07-2022)</i>
G2 (Team economic affairs)	<i>I think we are also increasingly becoming a place where it is nice to relax in the greenery or in the water. This view is from the perspective of recreation or tourism. Nature is one of the core values of recreation. We have really embraced nature in that way. Also, simply because it is something special in relation to the new elements of the city. In other words, that we are a pioneering city again, a young city actually. (04-07-2022)</i>
G3 (Team Communication)	<i>New nature refers to the past of Lelystad, meaning how Lelystad came into existence. This is also applied in the Marker Wadden, the artificial islands where nature can do its thing. (04-07-2022)</i>
G4 (deputy of Province Flevoland)	<i>The new nature has to do with the origin of Flevoland and Lelystad, which used to be a sea and then the polder was created, creating nature reserves such as the Oostvaardersplassen. (08-07-2022)</i>
G5 (Programme manager Lelystad Next Level)	<i>We are a man-made country and city. That means our nature is all conceived and realised. So, we are focusing on new efforts to realise more nature. (12-07-2022)</i>

Furthermore, the policy documents did not make clear what measures and interventions have been taken with regard to the implementation of Lelystad as the capital of new nature. All government employees agree on this and say that the policy programme Lelystad Next Level is in the policy-making phase. However, people are thinking about the implementation of the new nature. For instance, respondent G2 indicates that each domain has its own interpretation of the definition of new nature, because for residential purposes it means something different than for health care or recreation. Although there are spatial interventions that can be included in the capital of new nature, these are climate-adaptive interventions. These are climate-adaptive interventions, but the respondent from the province (G4) also mentions specifically National Park Nieuw Land. Examples of climate-adaptive interventions given by government officials G1 and G2 include open paving, more trees, plants, raised flower boxes, more water and fewer plants in the ditches. In addition, the sustainability director G1 mentioned that ditches could also be used as *wadi's* [gravel filter retention ponds], which would reduce flooding.

With regard to city branding and city marketing, two respondents of the five officials of the municipality and the province indicated that Lelystad as capital of new nature has not been communicated to the public yet. Respondent of team communication (G3) indicated in the interview that there is currently no branding strategy for Lelystad as capital of new nature. This was also

confirmed by the programme manager of Lelystad Next Level (R5). The underlying reason is that the policy from Lelystad Next Level is not implemented and hence the branding and marketing is also not done yet. A striking finding is that government official of the communication team (G3) said that 'Lelystad as capital of new nature' does not have to be branded like this. It could possibly be covered by the current pay-off '*Lelystad geeft lucht*'. The communication official(G3) indicated that the possible slogan 'Lelystad as the capital of new nature' could evoke negative reactions because of the meaning that can be attached to these words. According to this official, the new pay-off should also be based on the DNA of Lelystad, the images that residents and non-residents have of the city. This respondent indicates that this could also be Lelystad as the capital of new nature, but that research should be done first.

5.2.2 The residents' perspective on city branding and city marketing

Besides their own image, the residents were asked about how they think non-residents think about Lelystad. All respondents indicated that they themselves have experienced that there is often a negative image of Lelystad among non-residents. Respondent (R6) summarises this nicely in a Dutch saying "*Onbekend maakt onbemind* [Unknown makes unloved] (R6, 29-07-2022)".

This respondent also indicated that when he cycled with people who did not know Lelystad, they were surprised by what they saw. As result of this bicycle tour, their image of Lelystad was immediately more positive due to the presence of greenery and space. Also, another respondent (R2) gave an explanation why people think negatively about Lelystad, because Lelystad often appears negative in the news and there are less positive news items about Lelystad.

The aim of this research is to find out if the residents perceive Lelystad as the capital of new nature in the landscape. Therefore, the residents have been asked to give a definition of the new nature. The following definitions of new nature in table 4 were given by some residents.

Table 4 Definitions of new nature by the residents

Respondent	Quote
R4	<i>New nature is perhaps more focused on sustainability and perhaps more combined building, such as including more greenery.</i> (23-06-2022)
R7	<i>New nature, maybe reclaiming some places. Places should not be filled with buildings right away, so there should be more greenery.</i> (29-06-2022)
R9	<i>New nature, that sounds like self-constructed. Thus, nature created by humans.</i> (29-06-2022)
R10	<i>That Lelystad becomes a bit greener, so that you have more greenery in the neighbourhoods, because there is already very good greenery around them.</i> (06-07-2022)

In other words, the residents define new nature as being sustainable, combined building, more greenery and constructed nature. To a certain extent, this corresponds to the definitions of the government officials, in which the new nature was also considered to be men-made and more presence of green in the neighbourhoods.

In addition, the respondents were asked what they might be doing themselves that would fit in with the new nature. Some respondents indicated that they did not do anything in relation to new nature because, for example, the house and garden were not theirs (R3 and R7). This does not mean that nothing was done regarding new nature. Three residents indicated that they did the following:

“It is quite green. We have trees, lots of birds and sometimes a fox comes into the garden. Our garden is pretty well designed itself. We make sure that the water from the roof goes directly into the garden instead of into the sewer.” (R5, 23-06-2022)

“Just lots of flowers and plants in the garden. So, our front yard consists of flowers and plants.” (R1, 23-06-2022)

“Our garden does not only contain tiles, it is more soil [...]. We also like to grow a lot of things ourselves in our vegetable garden, which for us is also a bit of a contribution. Also, to maintain the bees with as many flowers as possible that are also a bit focused on for that purpose. That is what I do with my parents.” (R4, 23-06-2022)

A striking finding was that almost all Lelystad residents were not familiar with Lelystad as the capital of new nature. Two out of eleven residents indicated that they had read or seen something about it. This can be understood by the fact that all government officials indicated that Lelystad Next Level including the intended image of Lelystad as capital of new nature has not been implemented at the moment. No campaigns have been conducted either, so it is not surprising that only two out of eleven residents have heard of Lelystad as capital of new nature. Table 5 contains the statements of the residents about whether they were familiar with the intended image that the municipality wants to promote.

Table 5 Familiarity with the intended image of "Lelystad as the capital of new nature"

Respondent	Quote
R2	<i>We read the newspaper, but it was not mentioned there. (23-06-2022)</i>
R3	<i>I have never heard of it. I did know that Lelystad is a green city, but not really this particular one. (23-06-2022)</i>
R4	<i>So, I knew Lelystad had an image like that. But I didn't know that Lelystad now really has a green image, as the green city of the future. It is a new image for me. I had never heard of it before. (23-06-2022)</i>
R8	<i>I have heard that image, it came across. But I don't know where. (30-06-2022)</i>
R9	<i>I have heard something about it. I know that Lelystad was 'clean' for a while. I don't know if I really heard about it, but not that this image is well-known to me. (30-06-2022)</i>
R11	<i>I am only familiar with the new wilderness, but not with Lelystad as the capital of new nature. (06-07-2022)</i>

Subsequently, the residents were asked whether they thought the intended image 'Lelystad as capital of new nature' suited the city. Most residents had doubts about this intended image, especially whether Lelystad will be known as the capital of new nature among residents and non-residents. Two residents said the following about their perspective on the intended image:

“[...]Lelystad does have some greener spots, doesn't it? I think it's fitting, but on the other hand, it is Lelystad you know. I think it's fitting, but on the other hand, it is Lelystad, so you know. But yes, I don't know, it's very contradictory. Capital of something, sounds very crazy for such a city.” (R7, 29-07-2022)

“I initially see only marketing terms from someone who has put a lot of effort into this. Image, city of green, so it is a nice slogan. [...] I have the feeling that they are trying to catch up with Almere, the Floriade, and in previous years the municipality have also put a lot of effort into sustainability. Sustainability is now a theme that is present in the intended image in a different way.” (R8, 30-06-2022).

The conclusion with regard to city branding and city marketing is that there is no branding strategy to brand Lelystad as the capital of new nature. This ensures that the intended image is not known among the residents, which is the intention of the policy programme Lelystad Next Level. In addition, both a communication official from the municipality and some residents question whether Lelystad should be branded as the capital of new nature.

5.3 Landscape features and spatial interventions in Lelystad

This paragraph will focus on what the landscape of Lelystad looks like. The field notes of the observations are presented here in combination with the interviews and policy documents.

5.3.1 Observations in the neighbourhoods of Lelystad

Lelystad is a relatively new city, being in existence since 1967. It emerged from the former Zuiderzee. In the planning of the city, the presence of green and water has been taken into account (Rijksdienst voor IJsselmeerpolders & Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat, 1980). Therefore, Lelystad is a city surrounded by greenery [i.e., forests], agriculture and water. This can also be seen from above (see figure 9). It is striking that there is also greenery near the major roads, which means that greenery is related to the infrastructure in Lelystad.

Figure 9 Lelystad seen from above



(Made by the author)

Lelystad is a green city, there is a difference between the presence of green in the Lelystad neighbourhoods. This is also noted by some residents (R6, R8 and R10). The municipality of Lelystad is working on implementing greenery in the neighbourhoods through Lelystad Next Level, *Actieplan Duurzaamheid 2021-2024* and other projects related to climate adaptation and sustainability. This is due to the fact that more greenery, water and nature-based solutions can reduce the effects of climate change (drought, heat stress, flooding) (Gemeente Lelystad, 2021a; Gemeente Lelystad et al., 2021; Lelystad Next Level, 2021). The observed climate-adaptive interventions are presented below.

Figure 10 Wadi (or retention gravel filter pond) in De Landerijen



(Made by the author)

In the neighbourhood De Landerijen, for example, there are a lot of *wadi's*, in English retention gravel filter ponds, and many ditches and nature-friendly banks. Figure 10 shows an example of a wadi in De Landerijen. A wadi is an example of a climate-adaptive intervention because it collects water and reduces flooding. In addition, the sustainability director from the municipality (G1) indicated that they would like to have more *wadi's* in Lelystad as part of their new nature programme.

Figure 11 Greenery in the Voorstraat (Waterwijk)



(Made by the author)

During the interview, respondent (R10) mentioned how his neighbourhood looked like there was not much greenery. This is also evident from the researcher's observation. In the Waterwijk, a neighbourhood next to De Landerijen, there is less greenery, and the area is petrified. Figure 11 illustrates the respondent's opinion. In this neighbourhood there are terraced houses, which means that the houses are more closely positioned to one another. Because of this there is also less space for greenery.

Figure 12 "groene schoolplein" by the school De Lepelaar



(Made by the author)

In addition, green playgrounds, for example, are also being created (Gemeente Lelystad et al., 2021). An example is the schoolyard of De Lepelaar in the Bolder district (as shown in figure 12). At the time the photo was taken there were no children to be seen, but this may also have had to do with the fact that it was their school holiday. The green schoolyard is part of Lelystad Next Level (2021), where the presence of green is also used in an educational way. The interviewed residents of Lelystad do not relate the educational aspect to the presence of greenery at the moment. Respondent (G2) of the municipality said that using green in an educational way is part of the new nature. The green playground is an example of a spatial intervention of new nature in relation with education.

Figure 13 Bultpark Buurtbos, Hanzepark



(Made by the author)

Besides reducing the effects of climate change, the municipality of Lelystad also wants to increase biodiversity. They do this by using different types of planting. For example, in the Bolder district a piece of nature has been created, the 'Bultpark Neighbourhood Forest' near the Hanzepark (see the photos above). In this piece of nature people will find trees, bushes and herbs that they can also recognize in the forest. Various flowers and bushes have been planted, for instance to attract bees. In addition, information is given about the plants when they start to bloom, as can be seen in figure 13. In this neighbourhood, green has an educational aspect.

Figure 14 Greenery in De Warande, Lelystad Zuid



Made by the author)

Lelystad Zuid is an area in development, where attention is paid to the presence of greenery and space. Figure 14 shows that there are both ditches on the edge of the neighbourhood De Warande and plenty of greenery in the streets. De Warande is a neighbourhood where climate adaptive interventions can be seen. Therefore, De Warande can be seen as a green neighbourhood, but respondent (G1) states that De Warande is less green and spacious than it was planned due to the economic crisis. This is also evident in the last picture in figure 14, there is less greenery and a more petrified environment than the other observed places in De Warande.

5.3.2 Observations in the parks and nature reserves

The interviews with the residents of Lelystad were held at various locations in Lelystad: the Woldpark, the Natuurpark, the Oostvaardersplassen and on a bench in the neighbourhood De Landerijen. Before, during and after these interviews, several observations were done. The parks and nature reserves are used by different people. There were families in these areas, where the children were playing in the park. The parents were watching their children. Furthermore, elderly people who used the parks as a place to relax or as a meeting point. The observations of the parks and nature reserves are discussed in more detail below.

Figure 15 Greenery in Woldpark



(Made by the author)

The Woldpark is also widely used by people who want to take a stroll around the park with their colleagues. The reason for this is that the Woldpark is the only park of the visited parks or nature reserves that is close to the city centre. Other activities observed during the fieldwork were sports, running, walking dogs, cycling, picnicking, playing games and feeding birds. The Woldpark consists

mainly of grass with trees and water around it (see figure 15). The interviewed residents were picnicking and resting on a bench.

Figure 16 Greenery in the Natuurpark



(Made by the author)

The Natuurpark is a nature reserve where animals such as wisents, wild boars, red deer, Przewalski horses and an elk live in enclosure. The Natuurpark is characterised by trees, shrubs, water and grass (see figure 16). During the field work, mostly people with children and older people could be observed. Most people walk around the different animals and from time to time take a seat on a bench at a lookout point. In addition, there are various informative signs about the animals, which means that there is also an educational aspect to the Natuurpark. The interviewed residents were walking in the Nature Park, watching the Przewalski horses and eating and drinking at a bench.

Figure 17 Greenery in Oostvaardersplassen



(Made by the author)

The Oostvaardersplassen is the best-known area for people who do not live in Lelystad, because this nature reserve is frequently in the news regarding the feeding of the animals that live there. The Oostvaardersplassen is part of National Park Nieuw Land and partly open to the public. Oostvaardersplassen is the most varied of the nature reserves in Lelystad, as it consists of woods, water, grass and other vegetation. This provides a higher level of biodiversity. Another reason is that the nature reserve is not completely accessible to humans. Figure 17 illustrates the greenery of the Oostvaardersplassen and the animals that live there. The fieldwork in this nature area, most of the people who were asked for an interview were not from Lelystad. This means that this park is also used by non-residents. The activities people undertook were walking, taking photographs and eating and drinking at picnic tables. The two respondents who were interviewed in Oostvaardersplassen were having lunch.

The observations show that Lelystad is a green city, with some neighbourhoods being greener than others. It should be noted here that the photos, notes and opinions of respondents may portray Lelystad in a more positive or negative manner with regard to the presence of greenery. The photos and notes taken by the researcher are snapshots and thus selective. With regard to the activities undertaken by people, there were no differences between the nature reserves or parks. These activities were picnicking, eating and drinking, walking, exercising, cycling, relaxing and photographing. This demonstrates that green spaces also have a recreational function for residents and non-residents. It is remarkable that photography was observed during the fieldwork because none of the residents mentioned it in the interviews. The only activity that was not observed but did come up in the interviews was horse riding.

6. Discussion

In this research there is explored how the municipality of Lelystad use elements of the landscape to promote Lelystad as capital of new nature and how these spatial interventions regarding Lelystad as capital of new nature are perceived by the residents of Lelystad. This has been examined through policy analysis, observation and interviews. The literature indicates that spatial interventions have an influence on placemaking. In addition, there is a reciprocal relation between city branding and marketing and placemaking. According to the literature, However, there is a one-way relation between landscape and city marketing and city branding. This chapter discusses the findings based on the relations from the analytical model.

6.1 Placemaking

Placemaking plays an important role to change the image of a city. This is because placemaking is about physical places as well as how the residents of a city perceive them and are connected to place (Wyckoff, 2014). The relation between placemaking and the landscape that was highlighted in the literature also emerged in the findings.

Firstly, it was expected that Lelystad municipality would engage in placemaking, because the objectives for achieving the intended image fit the definition of placemaking (Lelystad Next Level, 2021). The definition is 'Placemaking is the process of creating quality places that people want to live, work, play and learn in' (Wyckoff, 2014, p.2.). During the interviews with government officials, tactical placemaking was emphasised. They mentioned that climate adaptive options, such as more greenery, different type of paving, are being considered. These climate adaptive measures are also used to increase the amount of green space in the neighbourhoods and to reduce the effects of climate change. These climate adaptive measures can also be applied in a wider context, for example as a meeting point for residents. Thus, it is a small intervention in public space that can bring about long-term change with minimal risk (Brito & Richards, 2017). In addition to tactical placemaking, Lelystad municipality also engages in strategic placemaking, as both policy documents and interviews with officials of Lelystad municipality and Flevoland province revealed that nature, the presence of space, greenery and water, is utilised to increase Lelystad's attractiveness to its residents, non-residents and to possibly convince non-residents to move to Lelystad (Wyckoff, 2014).

Secondly, Wyckoff (2014) stated that green space is perceived and experienced as a quality place. This is confirmed by the interviews with residents as well since they immediately mention parks and nature reserves as part of their image of Lelystad. Also, the government officials consider green spaces as a quality place, because they intend to use green in several ways such as education and health. In the opinion of the government officials, the residents of Lelystad could use the green spaces even more than they do at present.

Third, sense of place is an important concept of placemaking. The expectation based on the literature is that people perceive a city differently and that a people's emotional connection to a place can also differ (Hospers, 2011; Masterson et al., 2019; Zukin et al., 1998). During the interviews with residents, this partially emerged, as the elderly were more positive about Lelystad than the younger respondents. The negative points of Lelystad, according to the inhabitants, concerned the vacancy rate and the lack of shops and other facilities. According to the theory of Hospers et al. (2008), the municipality of Lelystad should do something about this, because if this image prevails among the inhabitants, it is difficult to change the image. With regard to the sense of place, all inhabitants claim that Lelystad is a green city with lots of space. Some inhabitants indicated that they really liked it, especially during the time of the pandemic.

The relation between the spatial interventions (the landscape) and placemaking is one-way because the residents referred to various elements of the landscape such as the parks, trees, bushes, wadis as part of the image of Lelystad. This demonstrates that there is a positive relation between the landscape and placemaking (as shown in figure X).

6.2 City branding and city marketing

The use of city branding, and city marketing plays a major role when it concerns changing the image of a city. In city branding and city marketing, both spatial and non-spatial components play a role in promoting the city in a particular way (Hospers, 2011). Neither the relation between city branding and marketing and spatial interventions as well as placemaking has been confirmed by the findings of the interviews with residents and government officials. Nevertheless, there are differences and similarities between the literature and the findings. These are explained below.

The expectation from the literature was that the spatial interventions are part of the branding strategy and thus part of city branding and city marketing (Kavaratzis, 2008; Rehan, 2014). The government officials disconfirmed this expectation, as there is no branding strategy regarding Lelystad as the capital of new nature. Therefore, Lelystad is in the process what Helmy (2008) describes as placemaking. In addition, according to the government employees, spatial interventions are made regarding Lelystad as the capital of new nature. The government officials mentioned wadis, open pavement, green facades, more trees, higher flower boxes as examples of spatial interventions. In addition, these respondents also specifically referred to Nationaal Park Nieuw Land, including Oostvaardersplassen and the Marker Wadden as spatial interventions which are part of Lelystad as the capital of new nature. The Oostvaardersplassen and the Marker Wadden are already promoted as part of the current pay-off *Lelystad geeft lucht* (Lelystad geeft lucht, n.d.-a). The residents of Lelystad refer to the same spatial interventions. However, the residents do not consider these spatial interventions as part of Lelystad as the main city of new nature yet. According to Hospers (2011) and VanHoose et al. (2021) this is a condition to change and brand the image of a city.

The theoretical framework has also shown that many cities promote themselves as green cities but are not sustainable and environmentally friendly cities. This is called greenwashing by Chan (2019) and De Jong et al. (2019). On the one hand, Lelystad is not an example of greenwashing. This is supported by the residents' image of Lelystad as a green city. Regarding city branding and city marketing, this indicates that Lelystad could also be branded as a green city. On the other hand, residents have indicated that they do not recognise and perceive the spatial interventions regarding Lelystad as the capital of new nature. Therefore, the intended image can be seen as greenwashing at the moment. In addition, government officials have indicated that Lelystad Next Level has not been implemented and that spatial interventions are therefore not noticeable. The above findings support the claims of Oliveira (2015) and Deffner et al. (2020) that city branding, and city marketing is useless if not supported by spatial interventions.

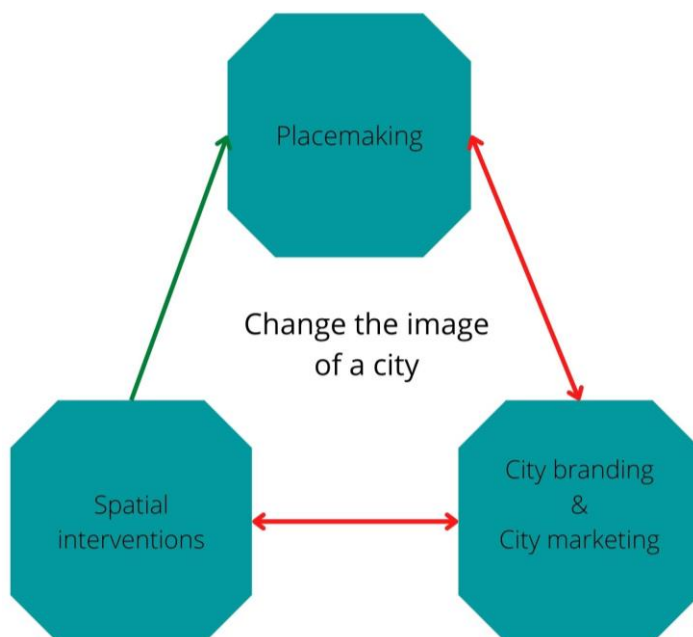
In addition, Kavaratzis (2008) and Prilenska (2012) state that citizen participation is part of primary communication in city branding. Citizen participation is currently not part of the implementation of the intended image. The interviews with government officials indicate that citizen participation will be a part of promoting Lelystad as the capital of new nature. The residents will be able to discuss and think about the intended image and the spatial interventions that fit into it. This is in line with the statements of Ooi (2010) and VanHoose et al. (2021) that residents should support the new image and contribute to its implementation. Most residents stated that they would like to participate on the one hand, but not on the other hand. Their reasons for this are that they feel that their ideas are not being acted upon and that they may not support the municipality's plans regarding Lelystad as the capital of the new nature.

In the context of city branding and city marketing, it is important that the promoted image matches the residents' image (Hospers, 2011; Ooi, 2010; Urry, 1992). Lelystad must be known as the capital of new nature (Lelystad Next Level, 2021). There is a difference between how the government officials look at the intended image and the residents of Lelystad. The government officials believe Lelystad is already the capital of new nature. This contrasts with the image that the residents themselves have regarding Lelystad as the capital of new nature. The residents do not recognise the intended image of 'Lelystad as capital of new nature'. There is a risk, according to Ooi (2010), that in this case Lelystad will be branded too quickly and that this could lead to a negative image.

Referring to the relation between spatial interventions and city branding and marketing, this relation was not found in the research. The spatial interventions are not directly part of Lelystad as capital of new nature, because it has not yet been implemented and promoted to the public. Although, the residents and the government officials identify the same kind of interventions. The other relation relates to city branding and city marketing and placemaking. This relation is negative with regard to the intended image 'Lelystad as capital of new nature' because the residents do not know the intended image. In the future, the intended image could match the residents' image of Lelystad. The municipality of Lelystad is still in the process of placemaking and policymaking instead of city branding and city marketing.

6.3 Analytical model

Figure 18 Analytical model adapted to the results



(Made by the author, based on literature and empirical data)

The analytical model from the theoretical chapter is shown above with the adjustment of the relations based on the results (see figure 18). Based on the findings and literature, it is difficult to change the image of Lelystad at the moment because conditions for the relations are not present.

This research aimed to find a relation between placemaking, city branding and city marketing and elements of components of the landscape to change the image of a city. However, no direct relation between all three concepts was found in the interviews with residents and government officials. This is because the policy regarding the intended image 'Lelystad as capital of new nature' has not been implemented at this time. However, a direct relation between the landscape of Lelystad and placemaking was found. All residents of Lelystad mentioned the presence of greenery and space. This was part of their image of Lelystad. Most of the respondents also liked to use the greenery, especially the forests and parks, in Lelystad. Therefore, it can be said that green and thus nature should be reflected in the city branding and city marketing policy. According to government officials and the policy programme Lelystad Next Level, this will also be the focus. The interaction between placemaking and city branding, and marketing did not emerge in the interviews with the residents as it appeared in the literature. Most residents had never heard of Lelystad as the capital of new nature. In addition, the interviews with officials of the municipality and the province revealed that the policy regarding Lelystad as the capital of new nature needs to be put into practice. Furthermore, there is currently no branding strategy to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature. Therefore, there is no relation between city branding and city marketing and spatial interventions.

7. Conclusion

This chapter will provide an answer to the main research question. Furthermore, the social and theoretical implications of the findings are discussed. Followed by the limitations of this research and an overall reflection on the research process. At the end of this chapter, recommendations for future research are presented.

This research focuses on the question *'How does the municipality of Lelystad use spatial interventions to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature? And how are the residents of Lelystad perceiving this?'*. Through document analysis on the policies on green cities and climate adaptive interventions, interviews with residents of Lelystad and government officials and observations in Lelystad, insight was gained into whether the municipality uses spatial interventions to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature. In addition, this research also provided insight into whether the residents of Lelystad recognised spatial interventions in relation to this intended image and how they experienced that image.

In the theoretical framework, the key concepts in response to the main question were addressed. These were placemaking, city branding and city marketing and spatial interventions. The municipality of Lelystad wants to create a new image of 'Lelystad as the capital of new nature' (Lelystad Next Level, 2021). The literature has shown that it is very important that the image people have is related to how they see and experience their place (Hospers, 2011; VanHoose et al., 2021). Ooi (2010) has indicated that if a city wants to create a new image, residents should play a role in the branding strategy. If residents do not support the strategy, the intended image will not be achieved. However, often the officials of the municipality and/or the marketing agency determine what the branding strategy is (Helmy, 2008). Furthermore, city marketing and city branding strategies are also based on which landscape elements could be used to brand the city in a certain way (Kavaratzis, 2008; Prilenska, 2012). The landscape and its elements play an important role in the city's image. Therefore, the landscape of a city is important in city marketing and branding because people always judge a place by its image, and landscape features such as historic buildings or nature reserves are useful in this regard. Rehan (2014) states that the branding strategy determines which elements of the landscape are used for the image.

The theoretical framework examined in general the relation between placemaking, city branding and city marketing and landscape design and spatial interventions. The qualitative research method, document analysis, interviews and observations, was focused on Lelystad. The policy documents demonstrate that greening, climate adaptive interventions and the presence of parks, forests and water are used to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature. This was demonstrated by the objectives that were drawn up, also in response to national policy. In addition, in the policy programme Lelystad Next Level, National Park Nieuw Land, which includes the Oostvaardersplassen and the Marker Wadden, is seen as an example of the new nature. During the interviews with government officials, they said that according to them Lelystad is already the capital of new nature, but the policy is not implemented yet. For instance, at the time of writing there is no branding strategy of the intended image. In addition, most of the residents of Lelystad were not aware of the intended image of Lelystad as the capital of new nature. The residents' image of Lelystad is that Lelystad is a green city surrounded by forests and water. They perceive these landscape characteristics as part of the image of Lelystad and that also fits the intended image. In the discussion it was also mentioned that the inhabitants should play a role in promoting the envisaged image. It should also be understood which spatial interventions have been or are being made as part of the branding strategy of the intended image. The observations confirmed the respondents' perception of both policy makers and residents about Lelystad as a green city.

The answer to the question *'How does the municipality of Lelystad use spatial interventions to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature? And how are the residents of Lelystad perceiving this?'* Is the following: The municipality of Lelystad uses spatial interventions and landscape features to make Lelystad known as the capital of new nature. The spatial interventions relate to climate adaptive interventions such as more trees, open pavement, more ditches and retention ponds. The landscape features which are used are greening and the presence of nature reserves, such as the Oostvaardersplassen and the Marker Wadden. Nevertheless, most of the spatial interventions that are currently being implemented are not officially part of Lelystad Next Level and Lelystad as the capital of new nature. This is due to the fact that the policy has not been specified and implemented so far. In addition, there is no branding strategy to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature. As a consequence, the residents of Lelystad do not perceive the intended image in the landscape of Lelystad or in their neighbourhood. Most inhabitants were unaware of the existence of the intended image. Furthermore, the residents do not participate in the process of promoting the intended image. In other words, Lelystad is perceived as a green city by the residents, but not as the capital of new nature.

7.1 Theoretical and social implications

This research examined the relation between placemaking, city branding and city marketing and spatial interventions. There were surprising findings that were not expected based on the literature beforehand. As mentioned earlier, no direct relation was found between these concepts in this study, while the literature should have indicated this. A surprising finding was that the residents knew nothing about the intended image of Lelystad as the capital of new nature. This was also confirmed by the government officials who indicated that the policy still needs to be implemented and that there is no branding strategy yet. In addition, a surprising finding was that participation, i.e., the involvement of residents in the planning of space, almost never takes place; only when the neighbourhood is being restructured are residents involved. However, Lelystad municipality does intend to involve residents more in spatial interventions and the creation of the image. However, the relation between placemaking and spatial interventions did emerge from the image that the residents have of Lelystad. In their image of Lelystad, they mentioned different features, such as the presence of greenery and water.

This research shows that the most important concepts from the theoretical framework are not always visible in reality, possibly because certain conditions (such as having a branding strategy, implementation of policy, participation) are not fulfilled.

In regard of the social implications this research shows that the communication through the municipality of Lelystad about the intended image 'Lelystad as capital of new nature' and the spatial interventions regarding this image can be improved. In the interviews, the residents mentioned that they did not know anything about this intended image and therefore could not give examples that fit this image. This could be done by placing an article in the local newspaper, posting social media messages or a letter or newsletter explaining the policy regarding Lelystad as the capital of new nature. The municipality can also inform residents about which spatial interventions, i.e., the creation of the Marker Wadden, are part of the policy and how people actually see some of these interventions in their own immediate surroundings where they live.

In addition, most of the interviewed inhabitants indicated that they do not want to cooperate or think about promoting Lelystad as the capital of new nature, because they feel that they lack knowledge or because they have less confidence that their ideas will be incorporated in the policy. The officials of the municipality indicated that they do want to involve the inhabitants of Lelystad, because they need the inhabitants to implement the policy properly. The first step is to inform the residents about the policy, but the second step is to demonstrate that the ideas of the residents are acted upon. The municipality can organise an information evening, a participation evening and, after

these evenings, communicate to the residents what has been done with their ideas regarding the policy.

Furthermore, this research shows that Lelystad has the image of a green city, but it is not known as the capital of new nature yet. Therefore, it is important for the municipality to have more interaction with the residents of the city because they are an important element when it comes to creating the intended image.

In addition, many spatial interventions are made that have to do with climate adaptation, climate-inclusive and sustainability. This research has tried to show that these spatial interventions can also contribute to the image of a city. Policy makers and planners could work together with people who are working in the field of marketing and communication to see how spatial interventions can be used to improve a city's image, for example by branding a city as a healthy and green city, which would then provide 'proof'. That 'proof' means the visibility of spatial interventions in the surroundings of the inhabitants, but also spreading images and videos of spatial interventions throughout the city via social media or in a campaign.

7.2 Limitations

This research has also had its limitations. The limitations are related to the research method used, the process of data collection, the focus of the research and the status of the implementation of Lelystad Next Level and other documents of municipality of Lelystad with regard to the intended image.

The first limitation is related to the research method applied and that is that the results of the research cannot be generalised. This is because in this research qualitative research methods: document analysis, interviews and observations were used and a specific city Lelystad was chosen as the case. However, Flyvbjerg (2006) that the results of a case study can also contribute to the accumulation of knowledge on a specific topic through general conclusions.

Secondly, there are limitations related to the data collection process of the interviews. The advantage of interviews with both residents and government officials is that more in-depth information and data can be collected compared to a survey. However, interviews take up more of the respondents' time. The researcher had already taken this into account by limiting the amount of questions and topics. Regarding the residents of Lelystad, there were also people in the parks and nature reserves who did not have time for an interview of about 15 minutes. Their reasons were that they were on a break and were walking with colleagues, walking with their dog, watching their children or having other plans.

With regard to the interviewed residents of Lelystad, an attempt was made to have as diverse a group of respondents as possible in terms of age and male/female distribution. The male/female ratio is relatively equal (six women versus five men), however, with regard to age, more young adults were interviewed than later adults and elderly. The possible reasons for this are that more young adults were present in the parks and nature reserves and were more willing to participate in the study.

Another factor was the weather during the days the Lelystad residents were interviewed. At the time of conducting the interviews, there were higher temperatures in the Netherlands. This may also have kept the elderly and later adults indoors more than outdoors. However, the researcher tried to take this into account by bringing bottles of water, lemonade, coffee and tea and by conducting the interviews in the shadow as much as possible instead of in the sun.

The last limitation with regard to the interviews with the residents is that some people wanted to participate in the research, but they could not speak Dutch or English. Thus, there was less usable data collected than expected.

There were also limitations to the focus of the research. This research mainly focused on how the presence of greenery and other spatial interventions in combination with city branding and city marketing and placemaking, can lead to a possible change in the image of a city. As a result, the scope of the research is very broad, and it was difficult to give all three concepts equal attention and to investigate them. This made it difficult to include all concepts in the interviews, also considering the time people had.

In addition, there were limitations during the research regarding the state of the policy of Lelystad Next Level as well as Lelystad as the capital of new nature. Based on the policy documents, the researcher of this study had expected that Municipality Lelystad was in the process of implementation to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature. However, this turned out not to be the case, because with the programme is in the phase of policy design, so making policies specific. This made it more difficult to see how the policy of Lelystad as the capital of new nature would look in practice. However, during this research it turned out that there are many projects and spatial planning of Lelystad that are part of this policy. This is not mentioned in the policy documents, but it did come up in the interviews.

7.3 Recommendations for further research

In this paragraph, recommendations are made for further research.

The first would be to use other research methods in the future. Surveys would give more insight in how all inhabitants of Lelystad think about the current image and the envisioned image of Lelystad as the capital of new nature, because the last research including a survey regarding the image was conducted in 2018 and the idea to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature was only mentioned in 2019. A survey will ensure that some of the results can be generalised and also serve as input for interview questions. In addition, it could be interesting to hold focus groups instead of interviews, because then you have more residents together who also share their opinions and experiences about how they see and experience Lelystad.

The second recommendation concerns the available time for the research. For future research, a recommendation would be to have more time for the data collection and especially for the interviews. There could be more Lelystad residents of different ages and gender to be interviewed in order to have a diverse group of participants. In addition, if there is more time for data collection, there would be more days where the weather is better, e.g., lower temperatures or less rain. The last topic with regard to more time and data collection is specifically about scheduling interviews with government officials. It is advisable to schedule interviews far in advance, because a lot of time has passed before the right person has been reached and an interview date has been set.

Third, a recommendation is to interview non-residents as well as Lelystad residents. Policy documents regarding Lelystad as capital of new nature and in part of the interviews have shown that Lelystad should be known as capital of new nature, thus also among non-residents. Non-residents may have a different perspective on the image of Lelystad and the intended image of Lelystad. This would give a more complete picture of how people look at Lelystad.

Fourth, a recommendation is to pay more attention in future research to social media messages and other types of documents such as TV, radio, podcasts as part of the document analysis. This was not

considered in this research, but literature shows that it has a great influence on the image of a city (Kavaratzis, 2008)

Fifth, one of the main recommendations is that research is carried out on the basis of the above recommendations when the Municipality of Lelystad is further along in the implementation of the Lelystad Next Level policy. Thus, when the municipality takes concrete actions and spatial interventions are visible in relation to the new nature. This would possibly provide more insight into how the municipality uses the landscape (presence of greenery, climate adaptive measures and nature-based solutions) to promote Lelystad as the capital of new nature. This was attempted in this research, but it was not possible to provide a complete picture of this situation.

Finally, below are specific topics that can be investigated in the future:

- Research on what concrete measures or actions are taken by the Municipality of Lelystad regarding Lelystad as the capital of new nature.
- How non-residents in comparison to residents look at Lelystad and the intended image 'Lelystad as capital of new nature'.
- How the current and intended image of Lelystad is reflected in the media and social media and how residents and non-residents see this reflected in Lelystad.
- What the relation is between the opinion and experience(s) of residents and non-residents about Lelystad and the intended image of Lelystad including the implementation.

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Appendix 1. Document analysis

In this section, two tables are presented, one showing which documents were used for the document analysis. The second is a table containing the notes that were made during the study of the documents.

Table 1: An overview of the analysed policy documents

What type of document is it?	Title	Scale
Policy document	<i>IPCC: Climate Change 2022: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability</i>	<i>Global</i>
Policy document	<i>World Bank Group: Toward a Green, Clean, and Resilient World for All A World Bank Group Environment Strategy 2012 – 2022</i>	<i>Global</i>
Website	<i>Sustainable Development Goals - Goal 13: Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts</i>	<i>Global</i>
Website	<i>The Paris Agreement</i>	<i>Global</i>
Website	<i>EU Green Leaf Award</i>	<i>European</i>
Policy document & website	<i>EU Green Deal</i>	<i>European</i>
Website	<i>EU European Green Capital Award</i>	<i>European</i>
Policy document	<i>Effective policy options for green cities: With evidence from case studies</i>	<i>European</i>
Policy document & website	<i>Deltaprogramma</i>	<i>National</i>
Policy document	<i>Nederland Natuurpositief: Ambitiedocument voor een gezamenlijke aanpak in natuurbelid</i>	<i>National</i>
Policy document	<i>Nationale omgevingsvisie (NOVI)</i>	<i>National</i>
Website	<i>Omzien naar elkaar, vooruitkijken naar de toekomst</i>	<i>National</i>
Website	<i>Green Deals</i>	<i>National</i>
Policy document & website	<i>Deltaprogramma</i>	<i>National</i>
Policy document	<i>'Aanpassen met ambitie: Nationale klimaatadaptatiestrategie 2016 (NAS)</i>	<i>National</i>
Policy document	<i>Uitvoeren met ambitie - Uitvoeringsprogramma 2018 –2019</i>	<i>National</i>
Policy document	<i>Plan van aanpak MRA Klimaatbestendig maken</i>	<i>Regional</i>
Policy document	<i>BASISVEILIGHEIDSNIVEAU KLIMAATBESTENDIGE NIEUWBOUW 3.0: Klimaatbestendige nieuwbouw</i>	<i>Regional</i>
Policy document	<i>'Over de brug komen - Strategische Agenda Flevoland 1.0</i>	<i>Regional</i>
Policy document	<i>Actieplan Duurzaamheid 2021-2024</i>	<i>Local</i>
Policy document	<i>LELYSTADSGELUIDEN De mening van inwoners en omwonenden gepeild: Beeld van Lelystad 2018</i>	<i>Local</i>
Website	<i>Stadspromotie</i>	<i>Local</i>
Website	<i>Lelystad geeft lucht</i>	<i>Local</i>

Table 2 An overview of the analysed policy documents with the notes

Document and the source	(open) Codes	Notes (the most important ones)
<i>IPCC: Climate Change 2022: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability</i>	Global and lower scale Impact of climate change Climate adaptation Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An overview of the impacts of climate change on global and for example European scale. • European cities: hotspots for the effects of climate change, including heat stress, floods and droughts • Critique on Europe regarding the implementation of climate-adaption interventions are going to slow and sometime there are also not on the right scale implemented. • Solutions regarding the consequence of climate change are behaviour change, different building or spatial interventions like nature-based solutions and promoting this by governmental organisations.
<i>World Bank Group: Toward a Green, Clean, and Resilient World for All A World Bank Group Environment Strategy 2012 – 2022</i>	Global scale and lower scale Green world Maintain natural resources Climate-adaption Resilient world Accessibility Pollution Emission (greenhouse gasses) Consequences of climate change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green: natural resources are sustainable maintained. The natural resources are preserved so that livelihoods can be improved and above all food security maintained. • Clean: a world with low-pollution, lower emissions, cleaner air, water and oceans can ensure that people can live healthy. • Resilient: Countries have to be prepared for the consequences of climate change through implement climate-adaption interventions. • In Europe, there are a number of countries that are busy with the implementation of EU policies regarding cleaner production and consumption. • A health, green and resilient world for all people which are living on the earth.
<i>United Nations: Sustainable Development Goals - Goal 13: Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts</i>	Limiting the effects of climate change Global warming Implementation on national level Climate adaptation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A goal set by the UN as part of the sustainable development goals to make sure that countries in the world don't wait to see what the effects of climate change are, but that they limit the effects of climate change. • According to this goal, the national government have to make a national adaptation strategy and planning strategy to make sure that everyone can live safe. • This goal was set up after the Paris Agreement.

<i>United Nations: The Paris Agreement</i>	Climate-neutral world Reducing greenhouse gases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goal of the Paris Agreement: A climate-neutral world by mid-century. • In the agreement was mentioned that the global temperature has to be below the 2 degrees Celsius by reducing greenhouse gases and other interventions (like climate-adaption).
<i>EU Green Deal by the European Commission</i>	Being climate neutral Climate law Climate pact Biodiversity Climate adaptation Paris Agreement Greening Sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The objective of the EU Deal: the European Union should become climate neutral by 2050 • The EU Green Deal consists of different policy programmes such as Fit for 55, European climate law, European climate pact, EU biodiversity strategy for 2030, 2030 Climate Target Plan. • The EU Green Deal is also coherent with the Paris Agreement concluded in 2015-2016.
<i>EU Green Deal – European Green capital and European Green Leaf Award</i>	Greenest city of Europe Small and bigger cities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goal of this policy is to promote greening in cities. • Cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants can apply to become the European Green Capital. Cities that are too small to compete for the title of European Green Capital can apply for the Green Leaf Award.
<i>European Bank for Reconstruction and Development: Effective policy options for green cities: With evidence from case studies</i>	Economic development in cities in relation with greening Sustainable urban development Land use Biodiversity Recreational infrastructure Green infrastructure Mixed-uses areas Promotion of green spaces Community-based land-use planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Green Cities framework and programme highlight the importance of sustainable urban development in combination with economic growth. • Some cities have a lower level of green and recreational infrastructure in contrast by other cities in Europe. • Also, some cities have a lower level of biodiversity than others. • How more sustainable the urban development including greening is, how better it is for the economic development of the city. • Solutions for a higher level of green infrastructure and biodiversity: the development of compact cities, the promotion of mixed-use areas and transit-oriented urban development, the promotion of green spaces, and the encouragement of community-based land-use planning
<i>National government, coalition agreement: Omzien naar elkaar, vooruitkijken naar de toekomst</i>	Carbon neutral Fossil free Circularity Climate adaptation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Objective: the Netherlands will be carbon neutral, fossil free and circular. This is according to the coalition a way to be prepared for the future.

	Heat stress Greenery Water Effects of climate adaptation interventions Consequences of climate change Prepared for the future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In this document, there is more attention to climate adaptation, because it's really important to limit the consequences of global change and global warming. • Heat stress is also mentioned separately. More greenery, water and bright surfaces leads to more shade, evaporation and reflection.
<i>National government: The Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Security and the provinces : Nederland Natuur positief</i>	Problems through climate change Biodiversity Different stakeholders Restoring Collaborative approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is policy programme is made by the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Security and the provinces together. • The objective of this policy programme is to make urban and rural areas greener including restore the nature and increase the biodiversity. • The implementation of this policy is done of the four V's: strengthen [versterken], improve [verbeteren], broaden [verbreden] and connect [verbinden].
<i>National government: Nationale Omgevingsvisie [NOVI] 2021-2024</i>	Climate adaptation Health Safe Participation Climate-proof environments Nature-inclusive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Climate adaptation is part of the NOVI. • The objective of the NOVI regarding climate adaptation is cities should be healthy, safe and climate-proof environments. • To make sure that the objective will be achieved, the focus is on nature-inclusive and climate adaptive options. • A green environment counteracts the problems caused by climate change. • A green environment results in healthier lifestyles and promoting social participation.
<i>National government: Green Deals</i>	Needing other stakeholders Sustainable Law Mediating Facilitating/supporting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The National government has a programme Green Deals, in which the government stimulate other organisations and citizens to make the Netherlands greener and to achieve the goal what is mentioned in the coalition agreement. • Other stakeholders work together with the national government to see what the latter can do for them regarding their sustainable plans. • The role of the government can be here: the facilitator, funder and the mediator.
<i>National government: 'Aanpassen met ambitie: Nationale klimaatadaptatiestrategie 2016 (NAS)</i>	Climate adaptation Awareness of the need of climate adaptation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The origin of this policy document is with the goal of the European Commission to make sure that every country has a plan to limit the consequences of climate change. • The six objectives with regard to make the Netherlands resilient:

	<p>Implementing climate adaptation interventions Risks of climate change in the Netherlands Policy-making Greenery</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Raise awareness of the need for climate adaptation. - Encourage putting climate adaptation into practice. - Utilising and expanding the knowledge base. - Addressing urgent climate risks. - Anchoring climate adaptation in policy, legislation and regulations. - Monitoring progress and effectiveness of adaptation policies. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This policy document also states that greening is difficult, because other goals and effects must also be considered.
<p><i>National government: Uitvoeren met ambitie - Uitvoeringsprogramma 2018 – 2019 Nationale klimaatadaptatiestrategie (NAS)</i></p>	<p>Climate adaptation Implementing Heat stress Infrastructure Agriculture Nature Built environment Collaboration</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The implementation with regard to climate adaptation comes with six specific themes: heat stress, infrastructure, agriculture, nature, built environment and working together on provincial and regional strategies. • In this policy document it is said that the regions, or the lower scales, can make their own approach regarding the six themes and climate adaptation. The reason behind this is that they can offer customized solutions to the citizens and organizations. They possibly know what the best thing is to do in that particular place.
<p><i>National government: Delta programma</i></p>	<p>Water resistant Climate-resistant Vulnerability Effects of extreme weather Consequences of climate change Awareness of spatial adaption Stress tests New normal</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The objective of this plan is to have a water-resistant and climate-resistant country in 2050. • The underlying reason for this programme is that the Netherlands is a low-lying country that is extra vulnerable to the effects of extreme weather and climate change, such as heat, drought, flooding and water nuisance. • Awareness of spatial adaptation is be seen as a very important topic because governments, citizens and businesses are all affected by the consequences of extreme weather and climate change. • Also stress tests are be done every few years to see what the vulnerabilities are with regard to water nuisance, drought, heat and the consequences of flooding. • In this programme, climate-resilient and water-resistant construction and design is seen as the 'new normal'. The reason is that the national government wants to encourage multiple parties, both companies and residents, to see these developments as normal rather than the exception.

<i>Metropolitan Region Amsterdam: Plan van aanpak MRA Klimaatbestendig maken</i>	Problems through climate change Stress tests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The MRA indicate that the consequences of climate change are a major risk in the region of the MRA. That is why they do stress test, which is in line with the delta programme and national climate adaptation strategy.
<i>Metropolitan Region Amsterdam: BASISVEILIGHEIDSNIVEAU KLIMAATBESTENDIGE NIEUWBOUW 3.0: Klimaatbestendige nieuwbouw</i>	Climate-resistant New construction New development Nature-inclusive Biodiversity Greenery Green spaces Sustainability Basic level of safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This policy programme and report aims to realise new building locations which are both nature-inclusive and prepared for the effects of climate change, such as heat, drought and flooding. The MRA intends to do this by drawing up regulations that create a basic level, reducing the risk of major consequences of heat, drought and water nuisance. There is a principle of 'nature-inclusive and biodiversity' that green space should preferably be included unless there is no other option. Greenery reduces the risk of heat waves, droughts and flooding. The future plans for new construction in the city centre of Lelystad are also part of this programme. The reason why this location is part of this programme is because Lelystad's identity (Lelystad as capital of the new nature) and the basic level of safety can be used to concretise the ambition of Lelystad Next Level.
<i>Province of Flevoland: Over de brug komen – Strategische Agenda Flevoland 1.0</i>	Greenery Sustainability Regional economy Attractiveness Sustainability Biodiversity Soil systems Nature inclusive Climate adaptation Spatial interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This policy document focuses on creating and maintaining vital cities and villages, a future-proof regional economy and a solid and sustainable foundation The preservation of biodiversity, water and soil quality must be taken into account by new buildings and exiting houses. The strategic agenda also emphasises that the water, soil systems and biodiversity determine the ways in which people can live, work, travel and recreate. This must be achieved in particular by taking nature-inclusive and climate adaptive measures. It is also possible that existing use of space could be replaced and thus provide space for biodiversity, soil or water. The spatial interventions that are mentioned in the report include increasing

		<p>forest areas, adapting squares and connecting nature reserves. These spatial interventions should provide a buffer for rainwater, water storage, more greenery and an improvement in biodiversity.</p>
<p><i>The municipality of Lelystad: Lelystad Next Level</i></p>	<p>New nature Green urbanisation Climate adaptation Attractive city Change the image of the city Greenery Biodiversity Climate resilience Nature-inclusive Energy-neutral Circularity Collaboration Awareness</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The objective of Lelystad Next Level is that by 2040 Lelystad, capital of the new nature, will be an independent, socially resilient, sustainable, attractive and economically strong city with 100,000 inhabitants. • Lelystad wants to be an interdependent city and an attractive city through green urbanisation. • The definition of new nature is not mentioned in this policy document. • New nature can be more greenery, stimulation of biodiversity and climate resilience. • The Marker Wadden are mentioned as an example of New Nature because these islands increase the biodiversity and restore the nature. • Green urbanisation means that Lelystad can grow qualitatively by adopting a sustainable perspective, whereby nature-inclusive, climate adaptive, energy-neutral and circularity play a central role. • The most important stakeholders of Lelystad Next Level besides the municipality are the national government and the province of Flevoland. • The programme has two objectives regarding Lelystad as capital of new nature: Branding Lelystad as an attractive residential city and Strengthen Lelystad as the capital of new nature • More awareness to new nature, more new nature in Lelystad. • In the coastal area, Lelystad Zuid and the existing city is the objective to create more new nature. • In this policy document, there is nothing mentioned about the implementation of this programme, only the objectives are discussed in the document.
<p><i>The municipality of Lelystad: Actieplan Duurzaamheid 2021-2024</i></p>	<p>Climate adaptation Sustainable development Nature inclusive interventions</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In their Action Plan for Sustainability 2021-2024, the municipality of Lelystad (2021) stated that the physical living environment must include sustainable area development, nature-inclusive building

	<p>The consequences of climate change Greenery Biodiversity Wadi's Flora Fauna Green spaces</p>	<p>and climate adaptive development, and environmentally friendly management with respect for biodiversity.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Objective 1 of this policy document is preventing heat waves, droughts and flooding, This includes carrying out stress tests and acting on them, facilitating and stimulating and acting in the event of disasters if they occur. • Objective 2 is making the city greener. it is very important for this goal that green space is deployed as a win-win-win situation, i.e., that greening contributes to climate adaptation, the improvement of biodiversity and the quality of the living environment. Greenery includes not only flora and fauna, but also wadis (gravel filter retention ponds). • This policy programme can be seen as a part of Lelystad Next Level.
<p><i>The municipality of Lelystad: LELYSTADSGELUIDEN De mening van inwoners en omwonenden gepeild: Beeld van Lelystad 2018</i></p>	<p>The image of a city Positive image Negative image Residents Non-residents Knowing the slogan</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This research showed that both residents of Lelystad and non-residents think there is a lot of green and nature around and in Lelystad. • 55% of the residents of Lelystad agree that Lelystad has an attractive coast compared to the non-residents (39%). Nearly 40% know Lelystad well or somewhat. In addition, the current slogan and pay-off 'Lelystad gives air' from 2009/2008 is known among 22% of non-residents, 78% do not know the slogan.

Appendix 2. Interview guide

The interviews were conducted in Dutch, since the respondents have Dutch as their mother tongue and are better able to give answers to the questions. Therefore, the topic list contains Dutch questions. There are two kind of topic lists, one is for the residents of Lelystad, the other one is for people who work at the Municipality of Lelystad and the Province of Flevoland.

Residents of Lelystad – Interview guide

Placemaking en sense of place

- Bent u opgegroeid in Lelystad?
 - Zo nee, Hoelang woont u in Lelystad? Hoe heeft u besloten om in Lelystad te gaan wonen?
- Zou u mij iets kunnen vertellen over de wijk waarin u woont?
- Wat vindt u van Lelystad in zijn algemeenheid? Of Hoe zou u Lelystad omschrijven?
- Wat vindt u van Lelystad als het gaat om
 - Wonen
 - Winkels
 - Natuur (bijvoorbeeld parken)
- Wat is het meest kenmerkend in Lelystad? Waar staat Lelystad volgens u om bekend?
- Wat voor activiteiten onderneemt u in Lelystad en waar?
- Bent u tevreden over Lelystad?
 - Zo nee, wat zou u willen veranderen?
 - Zo ja, kunt u dit aan mij toelichten?

Het huidige imago van Lelystad en citybranding en -marketing

- Wat is volgens u het imago van Lelystad?
 - Wat zou u hieraan willen veranderen?

Koppeling tussen imago en landschap

- Hoe komt het imago van Lelystad terug in de omgeving/het landschap?
- Welke aspecten uit het landschap zouden volgens u terug moeten komen in het imago van Lelystad?

Het beoogde imago van Lelystad

- Als het gaat om het beoogde imago van Lelystad en haar omgeving, hoe kijkt u hierna? (toelichting nieuwe imago)
 - Bent u betrokken bij het uitvoeren van het nieuwe imago van Lelystad?

Betrokkenheid bij het inrichten van het landschap

- Wat is uw definitie van de nieuwe natuur?
- Als het gaat om de nieuwe natuur (dus land teruggeven aan de natuur), doet u daaraan zelf ook aan mee?

Officials – Interview guide

- Zou u mij iets kunnen vertellen over uzelf en uw baan?

Placemaking en sense of place

- Woont u in Lelystad?
 - Zou u mij iets kunnen vertellen over de wijk waarin u woont?
- Wat vindt u van Lelystad in zijn algemeenheid?
- Wat vindt u van Lelystad als het gaat om
 - Wonen
 - Winkels
 - Natuur

Het huidige imago van Lelystad en citybranding en -marketing

- Wat is volgens u het imago van Lelystad?
 - Wat zou u hieraan willen veranderen?

Koppeling tussen imago en landschap

- Hoe komt het imago van Lelystad terug in de omgeving/het landschap?
- Welke aspecten uit het landschap zouden volgens u terug moeten komen in het imago van Lelystad?

Het beoogde imago van Lelystad

- Hoe is het programma Lelystad Next Level ontstaan?
 - Welke stakeholders zijn er bij dit programma betrokken?
 - Hoe worden de inwoners van Lelystad bij dit programma betrokken?
 - Welke (beleids)instrumenten worden ingezet bij dit programma?
 - Welke (ruimtelijke) interventies worden er gedaan?
- Wat is volgens u de branding strategie van Lelystad als hoofdstad van de nieuwe natuur?
 - Welke doelgroep wordt bereikt met dit beoogde imago en waarom?
 - Hoe komt het beoogde imago terug in het landschap?
 - Wat verstaat u onder nieuwe natuur?
 - Hoe kunnen we dit terug (gaan) zien in het landschap?
 - Wie zijn er bij deze branding strategie betrokken?

Appendix 3. Tables with list of interviewees

An overview of all interviews with the information the date of the interview, the duration of the interview and the place where the interview was conducted. There are two tables, because two groups were interviewed: residents of Lelystad and the officials.

Residents of Lelystad

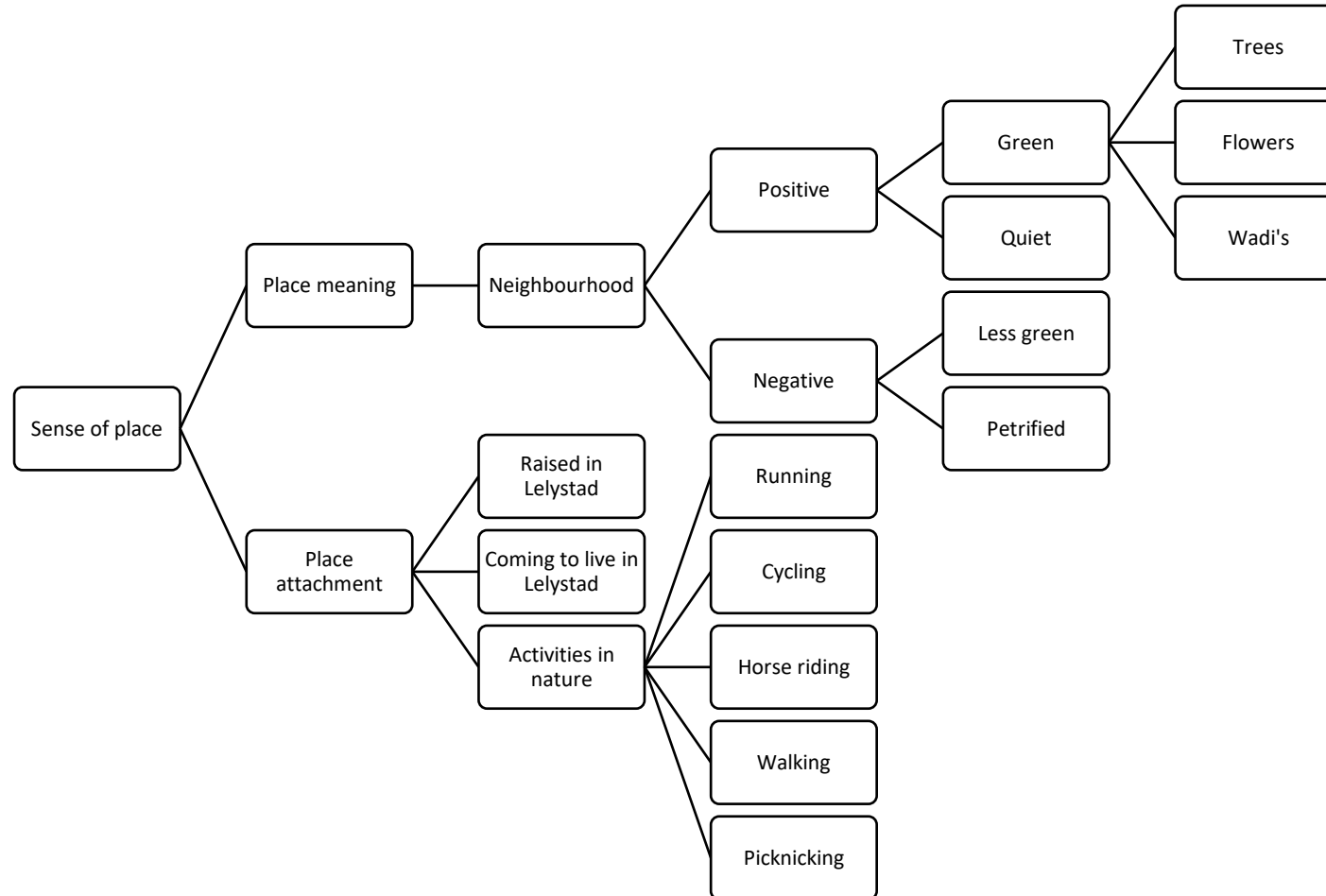
Respondent	Date	Duration	Where	Male or Female	Age
R1	23-06-2022	27:02	Woldpark	Female	Elderly (65+)
R2	23-06-2022	27:02	Woldpark	Male	Elderly (65+)
R3	23-06-2022	17:29	Woldpark	Female	Young Adult (18)
R4	23-06-2022	17:29	Woldpark	Female	Young Adult (18)
R5	23-06-2022	11:22	Natuurpark	Female	Yong Adult (23)
R6	29-06-2022	25:02	Natuurpark	Male	Elderly (65+)
R7	29-06-2022	22:53	Natuurpark	Female	Young Adult (23)
R8	30-06-2022	41:37	Bench at the Brederode	Male	Later Adult (47)
R9	30-06-2022	47:24	Bench at the Brederode	Male	Later Adult (27)
R10	06-07-2022	14:18	Oostvaardersplassen	Male	Young Adult (22)
R11	06-07-2022	18:13	Oostvaardersplassen	Female	Young Adult (20)

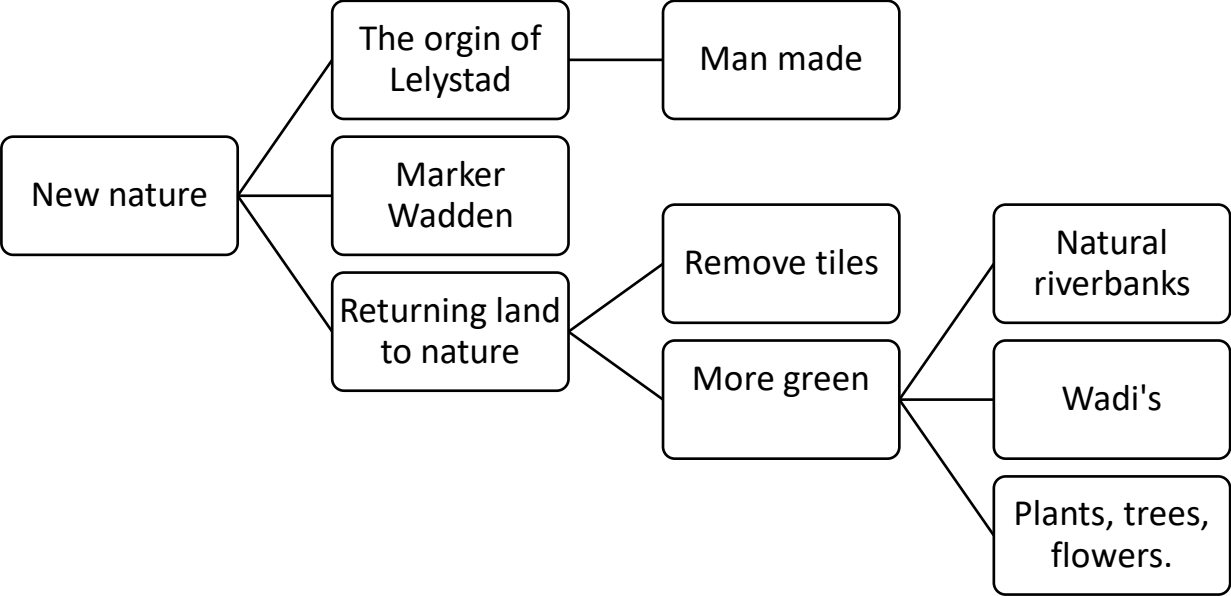
Government officials

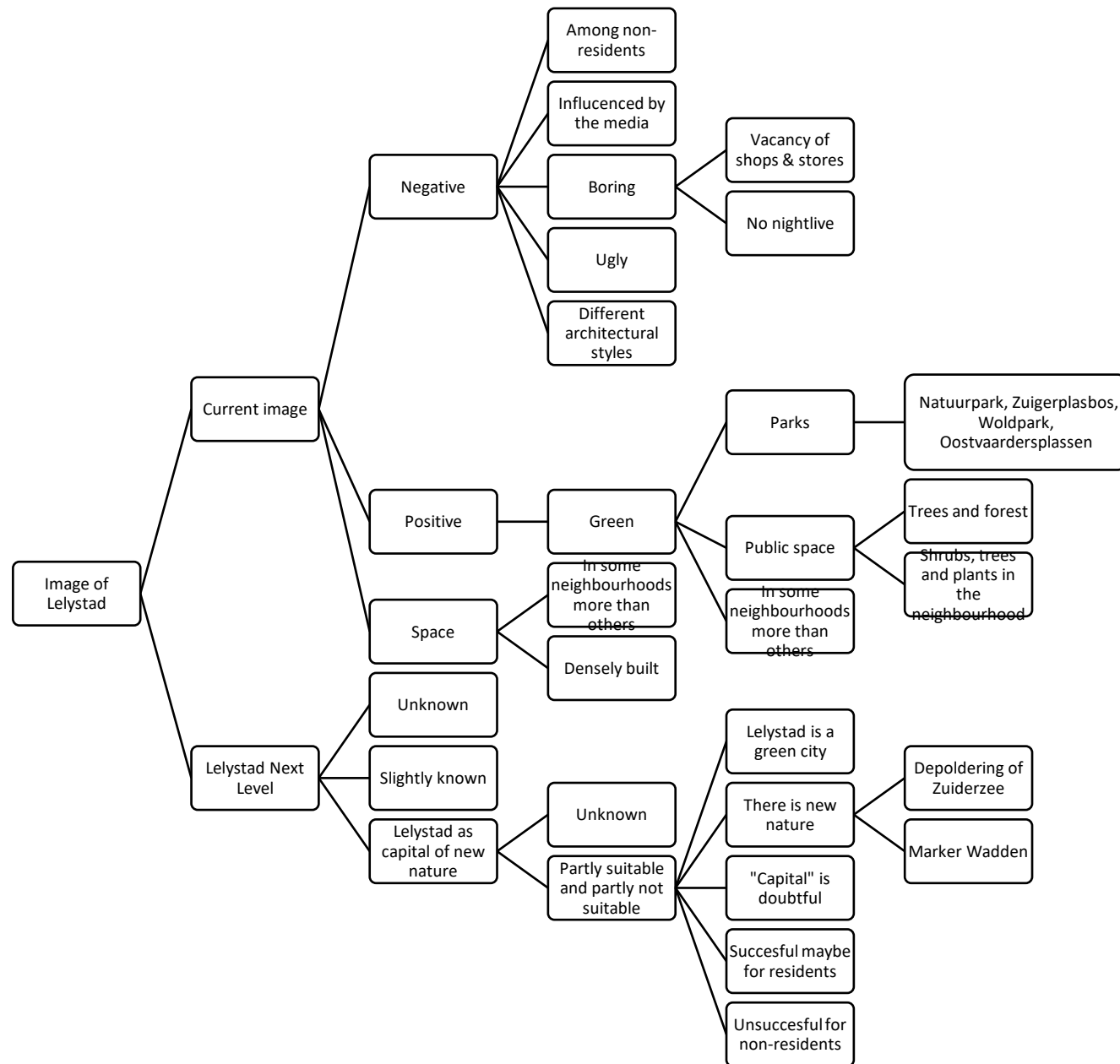
Respondent	Date	Duration	Where	Expertise
Municipality of Lelystad (G1)	04-07-2022	44:26	Teams	Team Ruimte – Sustainability director
Municipality of Lelystad (G2)	04-07-2022	44:26	Teams	Team Economische Zaken (Economic Affairs)
Municipality of Lelystad (G3)	04-07-2022	55:23	Teams	Team Communication
Province of Flevoland (G4)	08-07-2022	46:13	Teams	Deputy of Province Flevoland
Municipality of Lelystad (G5)	12-07-2022	45:28	Teams	Programme manager of Lelystad Next Level

Appendix 4. Coding tree and coding scheme

Residents of Lelystad -The coding trees



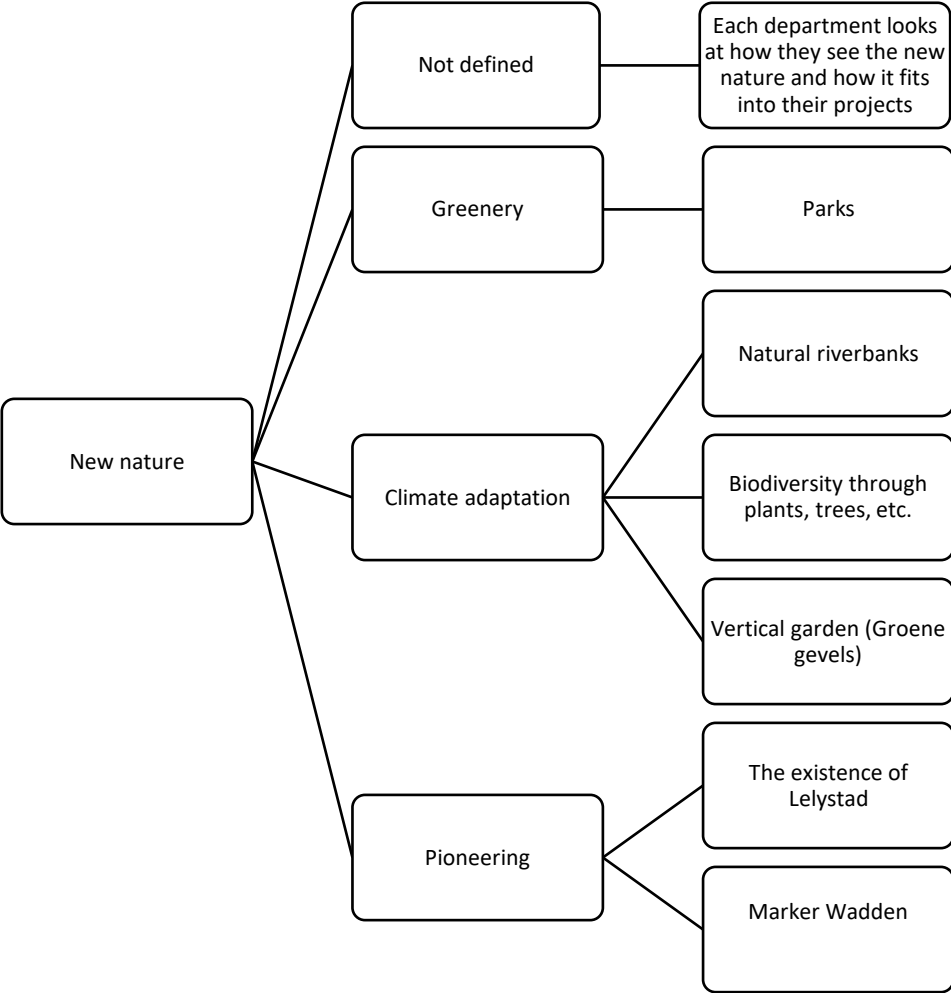


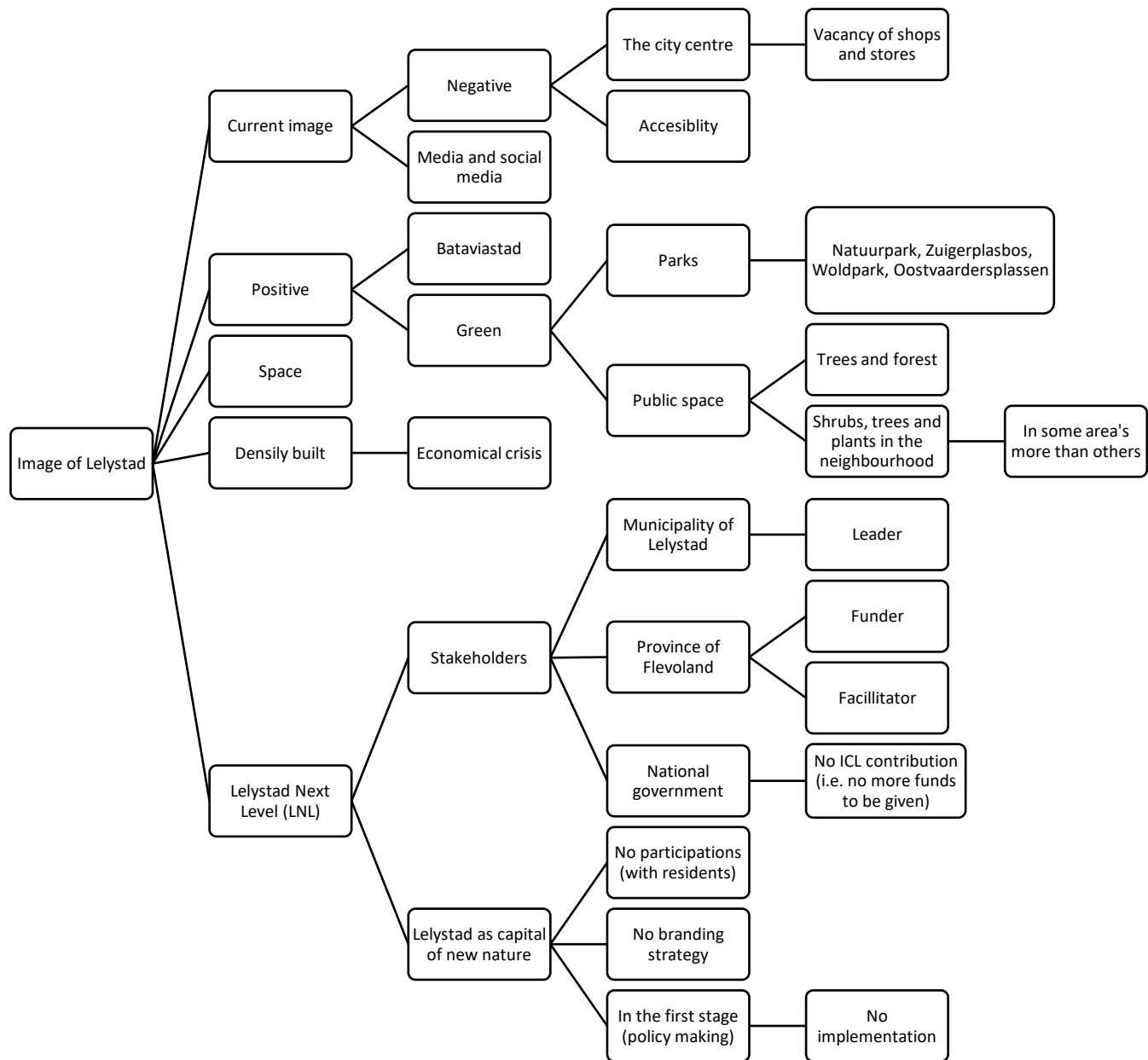


Residents - coding scheme

The coding scheme is not accessible to the public, due to confidentiality. It is possible to request this information by contacting the researcher.

Governmental organisations – Coding trees





Governmental organisations Coding scheme

The coding scheme is not accessible to the public, due to confidentiality. It is possible to request this information by contacting the researcher. This also applies to the notes from the interview with the official from the Communication Team of the municipality Lelystad.