

Sustaining the local identity



Study on sustaining local identities in Dutch rural municipalities, with the example of Cittaslow membership

**Bachelor thesis Geography, Planning and Environment (GPM)
Nijmegen School of Management
Radboud University Nijmegen
June 2017**

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Local market in municipality Midden-Delfland on Midden-Delfland Day, 2015

(<http://jaar2015.middendelfland.net/middendelflanddag/middendelflanddagverslag.htm>)

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You are now holding my bachelor thesis on the subject of local identity sustainment in relation to Cittaslow implementation in Dutch rural municipalities. This thesis forms the closure of a one-year pre-master programme which bridges the gap between my Bachelor of Education in Geography at HAN University of Applied Sciences, and the Master's programme in Human Geography at Radboud University Nijmegen. This document represents a cumulation of several academic skills and knowledge I gained over the past year. My interest in Cittaslow arose during an interesting group project a few months into the pre-master programme, in which we visited several Cittaslow municipalities to make a documentary on this concept within the Dutch context. I safely dare to state now that I have become a Dutch Cittaslow expert over the past couple of months, working on this thesis and driving all over the country to visit several Cittaslows.

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I hope you will enjoy reading my report.

Maarten van Wel

Nijmegen, June 2017

SUMMARY

Under the influence of transnational processes such as globalization, small urban areas such as rural municipalities see their authenticity, the identity, the traditions of places becoming undermined; making them less capable to work on the preservation of their local identity. A Dutch research by Terlouw & Hogenstijn (2015) on how local identities in Dutch communities are formed and which role they take confirmed this concern for the sustainment of these local identities. Citizens fear that processes of globalization, modernization and urbanization affect the local identity; not necessarily making it disappear, but changing it. Identities become more fluid, and congeal only momentarily.

Internationally rural municipalities are searching for, or are already undertaking, certain actions to sustain and strengthen their local identities. This is mainly carried out in the form of policies concerning placemaking activities; thereby strongly linking local identity to place identity (Friedmann, 2010). One such example is the implementation of Cittaslow, or the Slow City movement.

The main focus in this new concept came to be (the improvement of) life-quality and preservation of local values and traditions. Cittaslow provides an explicit agenda of local distinctiveness and urban development (Baycan & Girard, 2013), and can be described as a model for (local) governance; a movement considering social urban life. It is a different way of urban development, that aims at local sustainability (Baycan & Girard, 2013).

It has been 8 years since the first Dutch municipality became Cittaslow; implementing elements to, among other Cittaslow aspects, work on the sustainment of the local identity in certain rural municipalities. However, there has not been extensive research on Dutch Slow City implementation; the first official evaluative research has only started this January (2017) (Rozema, 2016). When executing online literature research, evaluation or even an extensive description of the implementation process can hardly be found. This represents a certain gap in the knowledge on dealing with local identity problematics in rural municipalities. It is for example not clear what aims municipalities exactly wish to reach with the Cittaslow membership, what problems they precisely are going to tackle, which steps they actually take in the implementation process, and why precisely these steps are chosen (and not others). In addition, it is not clear in what form the implementation actually takes place. To summarize: it is not clear how and in what way implementation of the Cittaslow thought relates to the sustainment of local identities.

This research aims to provide a contribution to the existing knowledge on sustaining local identities in Dutch rural municipalities, by analysing existing practices in this area focusing on the implementation of Cittaslow, the steps taken by municipalities, and the argumentation behind these choices. This leads to the following research aim:

To extend the understanding of sustaining local identities in Dutch rural municipalities, by analysing existing practices in this area, with the focus on Cittaslow membership in such municipalities as a case.

The main research question of this study is derived from the research aim and is formulated as follows:

How does Cittaslow implementation by Dutch rural municipalities relate to the sustainment of local identities?

Chapter 2 contains a thorough description of the theoretical framework of this research. This framework forms the base for the choices made in data collection and analysis and focuses mainly on framing the two concepts that are part of the research question and aim: local identity and Cittaslow.

Identity is poorly defined and depends heavily on the used context. However within the context of regional and local identity, two clear distinctions can be made. First, the distinction between primary and secondary identities. The former is based on slowly changing features of places and communities, falling within certain boundaries. The latter regards the way people deal with (differences between) these primary features, addressed from an organizational level. Second, a distinction is made between thick and thin identities. Thick identities consider traditional and historical rooted, well-established regional identities. Thin identities are more sensitive to change, with a focus on relative competitiveness.

Theory shows Cittaslow can be viewed upon from two perspectives. First, Cittaslow is a social movement considering urban life, with a focus on local distinctiveness within a globalized world, aiming to improve life-quality on a local level. Second, Cittaslow is a model for local governance, considered with how cities can transfer and progress in this world while maintaining their local values in doing so. Cittaslow works from an 'explore and reconstruct'-strategy, with a focus on identity, diversity, and a sense of place-belonging, with the potential to cause urban transformation.

Framing local identity within the Cittaslow context shows local identity and life-quality seem to be woven into implementation processes via economic rationale. Cittaslow as a form of urban development can provide strategies which, within local sensitive development, can contribute to the local economy. One can therefore assume that the local identity within Cittaslow implementation in municipalities might be mostly approached as the secondary and thin local identity. However, this relationship is not indicated very strong. This study has kept an open mind on all discussed definitions of local identity. In all this the focus is first of all on the relation between local identity (whichever type) and Cittaslow.

Chapter 3 shows the methodological approach of this research. Based on several arguments the choice is made to carry out qualitative research in the form of a case study, which contributes to the explorative and in-depth nature of this study. The case study will be carried out using some elements of grounded theory as to approach the cases from a relatively open point of view, fitting the explorative nature and with regard to the inadequate theoretical base on Cittaslow implementation and local identity sustainment within a Dutch municipal context. The semi-structured approach for interviews is described and argued. Then, after a short explanation of case selection, case description and selection of respondents, the several steps of data-analysis are described, involving the process from open coding to major themes, using computer program Atlas.ti.

The results are presented as extensive descriptions of the relevant themes derived from the coding process; this can be found in chapter 4. These themes are classified by the researcher as being of minor or major importance to the overall research and linked to the research questions for which they have most relevance. The summarized results from these theme descriptions have been linked to the two concepts of this research (local identity sustainment and Cittaslow implementation) in chapter 5 (Conclusion), describing linkages to theory and new insights. Summarizing these insights leads to the following conclusions for each of the two concepts and the interrelation between those two.

The first component in formulating an answer to the main research question regards local identity, and the sustainment of it. The mentioned features of local identity in all cases make their identity line up with what in the theoretical framework is discussed as the primary identity. The concept of local identity as described in the theoretical framework suggested that municipal organizations might focus more on secondary and thin identity features. The case study rather shows municipalities focus on

secondary and thick identity features, the last of which then again are linked to primary identity features.

The studied municipalities do not experience their local identity being threatened. It is actually seen as a strength. Interesting is the position of the cases Vaals and Alphen-Chaam. It was strongly emphasized here that local identity is *not* used for distinction, marketing or competition. They oppose the idea of identity as a tool for relative competitiveness which was suggested by Terlouw (2012).

The different ways the studied cases handle local identity, protecting it, strengthening it etc., go hand in hand with the global trends in local identity sustainment discussed in the theoretical framework of this research. It is what Paasi (2013) describes as the second dimension of local identity: the identification of people with a region, increasing the awareness of the qualities that surround them. The local identity in the studied cases is not only protected, but also strengthened, even developed further. Citizens are actively involved in becoming aware of their identity.

Though each studied case has its own unique local identity, in all municipalities the importance of the awareness of this identity is emphasized. To protect local values they have to be shared within the community and with others visiting it. Local identity can even be *about* being aware of local features and differences. Municipalities are, and want to be more, aware of their local identity and work with it in policy making.

The second component in the answer to the research question regards the role of Cittaslow implementation. Cittaslow is used as a model for local governance, providing an agenda of local distinctiveness and urban development (Pink 2008). The highest goal within Cittaslow according to theory is to sustain and improve quality of life (Pink, 2008; Radstrom, 2011), which is emphasized in all cases. The municipalities use Cittaslow as a way of distinguishing oneself. It is implemented as a tool for local development, preserving life-quality. It functions as a unique selling point, framing the activities a municipality wishes to carry out. Cittaslow in all studied cases is perceived as something which is used in all phases of making policy and in all different fields, but not as a leading practice; it is something in the back of the head. Becoming Cittaslow does not imply for a municipality to start new policies or activities just because this municipality became Cittaslow. One already *is* Cittaslow before officially becoming it. It is part of the identity without even realizing it. To officially become Cittaslow triggers this awareness, using it as an argument to be and stay yourself. Changes in the municipalities directly related to the Cittaslow membership are therefore hard to be found, since if one already was Cittaslow without knowing, change is not a necessity when official becoming accredited with the Cittaslow certificate.

By combining the two components above, this case study indicates that Cittaslow implementation has a relation to both raising awareness of local identity and framing this local identity. The answer to the main research question can therefore now be summarized in two points:

- Cittaslow implementation in Dutch rural municipalities improves the awareness of citizens for their local identity;
- Cittaslow implementation in Dutch rural municipalities provides a framework to address this local identity and activities regarding it.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	I
SUMMARY	III
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 PROJECT FRAMEWORK	1
1.2 RESEARCH AIM	4
1.3 RESEARCH DESIGN	5
1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	6
1.5 RELEVANCE	6
1.5.1 Societal relevance.....	6
1.5.2 Scientific relevance	7
1.6 READING GUIDE	7
2 THEORY	8
2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	8
2.1.1 The local identity	8
2.1.2 Cittaslow.....	12
2.1.3 Local identity within the Cittaslow context	18
2.2 CONCEPTUAL MODEL.....	19
3 METHODOLOGY	20
3.1 RESEARCH STRATEGY	20
3.1.1 Desk research	20
3.1.2 Case study research.....	20
3.2 RESEARCH MATERIAL	22
3.2.1 Case selection	23
3.2.2 Selection of respondents.....	24
3.3 DATA ANALYSIS.....	25
4 ANALYSIS.....	28
4.1 THEME: ELEMENTS OF LOCAL IDENTITY.....	28
4.2 THEME: CITTASLOW: HOW AND WHY	30
4.3 THEME: LOCAL IDENTITY: NO MARKETING TOOL.....	32
4.4 THEME: LOCAL IDENTITY: NO THREATS	33
4.5 THEME: LOCAL IDENTITY SUSTAINMENT: PROTECTING, DEVELOPING, SHARING.....	34
4.6 THEME: CITTASLOW: INDIRECT CHANGES	36
4.7 THEME: A CITTASLOW ALREADY WAS CITTASLOW	38
4.8 THEME: CITTASLOW: AWARENESS AND FRAMING LOCAL IDENTITY	39
4.9 THEME: AWARENESS OF LOCAL IDENTITY	41
5 CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CRITICAL REFLECTION	44
5.1 CONCLUSION.....	44
5.1.1 Local identity and the sustainment of it.....	44
5.1.2 Implementing Cittaslow	46
5.1.3 Cittaslow implementation in relation to local identity sustainment	47
5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS.....	48
5.3 CRITICAL REFLECTION	49
REFERENCES.....	50

APPENDICES	54
APPENDIX 1 INTERVIEW GUIDE.....	54
APPENDIX 2 INITIAL (OPEN) CODES ATLAS.TI	60
APPENDIX 3 CATEGORIZED CODES ATLAS.TI (REORGANIZED INITIAL OPEN CODING)	63
APPENDIX 4 FROM CODES TO THEMES, AND THEMES INTERRELATED.....	65
APPENDIX 5 ORIGINAL (DUTCH) INTERVIEW QUOTATIONS	67

1 INTRODUCTION

'Over the past couple of decades (...), people and places have been confronted with change on an unprecedented scale and at an extraordinary rate. Economic and cultural globalization has resulted in a 'network society' dominated by flows of capital, ideas and people. Globalization has generated a 'fast world'—a world of restless landscapes in which the more places change the more they seem to look alike, the less they are able to retain a distinctive sense of place, and the less they are able to sustain public social life' (Knox, 2005, p. 3; Castells, 1996; Bianchini, 1988; Comedia, 1991)

1.1 PROJECT FRAMEWORK

Transnational developments and the threat to local identities

In his work 'Creating Ordinary Places: Slow Cities in a Fast World' (2005), Paul Knox describes the ever more globalized conditions we live in, as an outcome of capitalistic influences that are present on a global level. This 'fast world', as he names it, is the result of economic considerations derived from the concept that time is money, thus leading to life being lived on increasingly higher speeds. In this fast world places go through an important transition. Cities are growing, and the ways on which this happens melt more and more together under the influence of globalization; therefore creating cities which look more and more alike (Radstrom, 2011). This has led to a situation in which the authenticity, the identity, the traditions of cities and other places have become undermined. Opponents of globalization state that the rise of an international free market goes at the expense of local cultures, local entrepreneurship and the common people (Levin Institute - The State University of New York, 2016). It is a process which gains more strength because people actively start to search for tradition, identity, in spaces constructed in a commercial way with invented symbolism and traditions, that not so much keeps track of identity but rather leads to convergence (Heidegger, 1971; Knox, 2005).

This effect seems to take place stronger in small urban areas than in the larger ones. Small urban areas such as rural municipalities are less capable to work on the preservation of the local identity, and therefore are more easily seduced to take on quick international solutions to deal with this problem (Radstrom, 2011). Yet at the same time,

'localities have rediscovered the 'culture of place' by stressing their own identity, their own roots, their own culture and values and the importance of their own neighbourhood, area, vicinity, or town.' (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 2001, p. 4).

An example of a country where local identities in rural areas are under pressure can be found in the Netherlands. Here it can be noted that the importance of local identity for communities is recognized by national, provincial and municipal governments. For example, municipality Midden-Delfland decided in its budget for 2015 that €20.000 would be reserved for strengthening social cohesion and local identity (Gemeente Midden-Delfland, 2015). Municipality Teylingen ordered to carry out a research in 2013 on the exploration of local identities and community forming (Roos & van den Berg, 2013). Municipality Heerde mentions in its strategies that in times in which many people move to the

bigger cities, they see it as important to authentic regions to preserve the local identity, strengthen it, and carry it out (Gemeente Heerde, 2016). The national political party CDA devoted a full issue of the journal of their scientific institution to the question how globalization and the sustainment of regional and local identities can go hand in hand, linking it to the more global concept of glocalisation (Wetenschappelijk Instituut voor het CDA, 2015).

On national level, the role and importance of local identities has been specially investigated on behalf of the Dutch Ministry of Internal Affairs in 2015. An in-depth research was carried out by Kees Terlouw and Maarten Hogenstijn to establish how local identities in Dutch communities are formed and which role they take. When speaking of this local identity, what is meant are the features and values which people connect to a certain place. It is therefore strongly linked to everyday life in a place (Terlouw & Hogenstijn, 2015). According to Terlouw and Hogenstijn, every spatial identity is as a collective phenomenon, based on a shared attitude towards a place, region or other area. This attitude is a combination of the shared (cognitive) knowledge, affection and actions. Local identity is important to local communities in the sense that, even when people are not in direct contact with each other, living close to each other makes way for the formation of spatial communities. The identity of these communities is formed on the one hand through communication in shared features and interests, and on the other hand through the way in which is dealt with these different interests within the local community (Terlouw & Hogenstijn, 2015). Terlouw and Hogenstijn found in their research that these identities become sustained through the course of time. They concluded that the local identity is not so much connected to elements of spatiality, not to the history of origins of a place, but to the features of the local community. The virtues of the hard-working, independent citizens with traditional Dutch values, the internal cohesion in local communities, the solidarity when it comes to, for example, local entrepreneurship or elderly care are some of the elements which are highlighted by citizens as import within these local communities (Terlouw & Hogenstijn, 2015).

Yet the research also found, in line with the examples found with local governance as mentioned above, the concern for the sustainment of these local identities. Citizens fear that processes of globalization, modernization and urbanization affect the local identity; not necessarily making it disappear, but changing it. Identities become more fluid, and congeal only momentarily (Terlouw & Hogenstijn, 2015). This lines up with the worldwide transitions mentioned in the beginning of this introduction as described by Knox and others.

Sustaining and strengthening the local identity: Cittaslow

Because of the value of local identities and the threats and fears communities experience in regard to it, rural municipalities are searching for, or are already undertaking, certain actions to sustain and strengthen these local identities. This sustainment of the identity is mainly carried out in the form of policies concerning placemaking activities; approaches in planning, design and management focusing on local communities' assets and potential, thereby strongly linking local identity to place identity (Friedmann, 2010). One such example, carried out by 10 Dutch municipalities so far, is the implementation of Cittaslow or the Slow City movement.

Cittaslow is an international movement, originating in Italy from the Slow Food movement. The Slow Food movement is an example of an organization trying to deal with life in the fast and globalized world. The Slow Food movement is, as described by the movement itself:

'a global, grassroots organization, founded in 1989 to prevent the disappearance of local food cultures and traditions, counteract the rise of fast life and combat people's dwindling interest in the food they eat, where it comes from and how our food choices affect the world around us' (Slow Food, 2015).

In 1999 in Italy, the mayor of Greve, a small town in Toscana, expanded the Slow Food ideas already present in his city to other aspects of city life. The main focus in this new concept came to be (the improvement of) life-quality and preservation of local values and traditions. Cittaslow provides an explicit agenda of local distinctiveness and urban development (Baycan & Girard, 2013), and can be described as a model for (local) governance; a movement considering social urban life. It is a different way of urban development, that aims at local sustainability (Baycan & Girard, 2013). Slow living in Slow Cities appreciates and tries to maintain traditions and traditional ways of living. As Paolo Saturnini, mayor of Greve and founder of Cittaslow, describes:

'Slow Cities were not born as a conservation movement, but, rather, as a movement that in the wake of modernization and globalization asks itself about how to transfer 'cities' in a globalized world without making them lose their soul in that journey' (Miele, 2008, p. 136).

Since it was founded, Cittaslow has taken a major international flight. There are over 220 member cities, spread over more than 30 countries in the world, most of them in Europe (Cittaslow Nederland, 2017). With regard to the European Cittaslow network it has been stated that this network emphasizes the importance of local product and the preservation of cultural history in the living environment, with examples showing how local identities are being embraced by the local (food) economies (Verheul, 2015). Cittaslow first occurred in the Netherlands in 2008, with the certification of municipality Midden-Delfland. Since then, 9 other municipalities followed this example and now carry the Cittaslow label. On the Dutch Cittaslow website, Cittaslow Netherlands states that Cittaslow is the international label for municipalities who prioritise in their strategies the living environment, landscape, local products, hospitality, infrastructure, cultural history and preservation of identity (Cittaslow Nederland, 2017). Further, the website notes with regard to life-quality:

'in these times of urbanisation and generalisation it is important for authentic regions to protect their local identity, strengthen it, and carry it out' (Cittaslow Nederland, 2017).

The ten Dutch municipalities which joined the Cittaslow network mention different goals as to why they joined, as mentioned; such as local food, protecting the environment, and protecting life-quality in general. The preservation of local identity is referred to as one of these goals in the process of making Cittaslow policy. For example, municipality Midden-Delfland describes it as follows:

'in these times of urbanisation and generalisation it is important for authentic regions to protect their local identity, strengthen it, and carry it out. In a Cittaslow, citizens and visitors can enjoy in a pleasant, welcoming way and on a humane pace' (Gemeente Midden-Delfland, 2016).

The city Vianen describes on its website how it, especially from its historic perspective, has always had a unique local identity, and sees the Cittaslow label as a conformation of it (Vrijstad Vianen, 2016). Municipality Oude IJsselstreek uses Cittaslow to make good use of local qualities. It states Cittaslow's

vision gives the municipality an anchor and a strategy to, together with the local society, strengthen the local distinctiveness (College van B&W, gemeente Oude IJsselstreek, 2015). Gebiedsfonds Westerwolde, a fund for the improvement of life quality in municipality Westerwolde, goes one step further, describing how Cittaslow should contribute to the carrying-out of the local identity:

‘With the joining with Cittaslow we want to carry out and strengthen the identity of Westerwolde, by further exploiting our core qualities in the areas of living, recreation and tourism, and cultural history, thus further developing the economy’ (Gebiedsfonds Westerwolde, 2016).

This emphasizes again the importance of the local identity to municipalities; it can play a role in many different areas, from culture to tourism and economic development.

As said, it has been 8 years since the first Dutch municipality became Cittaslow; 8 years since the first Cittaslow elements were adapted and implemented to, among other Cittaslow aspects, work on the sustainment of the local identity of certain rural municipalities. However, there has not been extensive research on Dutch Slow City implementation; the first official evaluative research has only started this January (2017) (Rozema, 2016). When executing online literature research, evaluation or even an extensive description of the implementation process can hardly be found. This represents a certain gap in the knowledge on dealing with local identity problematics in rural municipalities. It is for example not clear what aims municipalities exactly wish to reach with the Cittaslow membership, what problems they precisely are going to tackle, which steps they actually take in the implementation process, and why precisely these steps are chosen (and not others). In addition, it is not clear in what form the implementation actually takes place. To summarize: it is not clear how and in what way implementation of the Cittaslow thought relates to the sustainment of local identities.

1.2 RESEARCH AIM

This research aims to provide a contribution to the existing knowledge on sustaining local identities in Dutch rural municipalities, by analysing existing practices in this area focusing on the implementation of Cittaslow, the steps taken by municipalities, and the argumentation behind these choices. This leads to the following research aim:

To extend the understanding of sustaining local identities in Dutch rural municipalities, by analysing existing practices in this area, with the focus on Cittaslow membership in such municipalities as a case.

1.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

To give a structure, an overview, as to what steps are taken to reach the research aim, the following research model has been designed. It is based on the structure for research models as suggested by Verschuren and Doorewaard (2015).

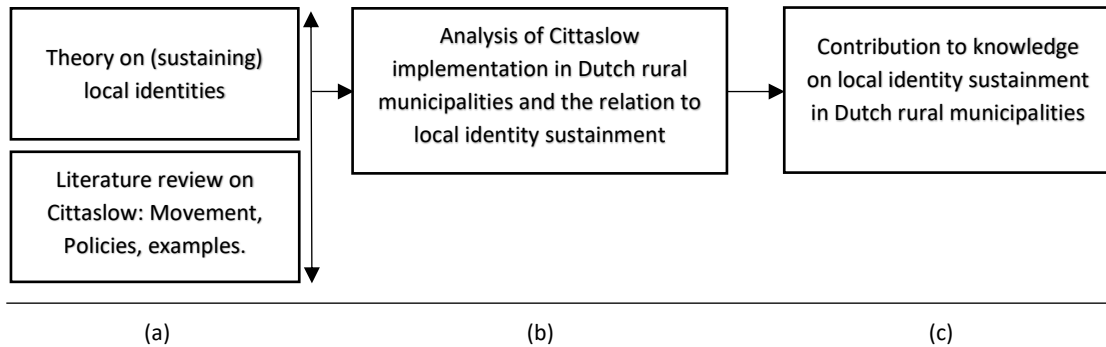


Figure 1 Research model (source: self-made)

Explanation of the research model

(a) A study is done on relevant theory on local identities and the sustaining of these identities (involving also a literature review on local identity (sustainment) in the Dutch context), in combination with a literature review on Cittaslow (its grassroots base, policies, examples etc.). It is part of the theoretical framework of this research, which can be found in chapter 2 of this report. The found information is used to provide context to the process of data collection and analyzation, as to what information needs to be gathered from Dutch municipalities that are Cittaslow member. Phase (b) and (c) represent a gap in the available knowledge as mentioned, thus leading to the need to further investigate these issues. This with the aim to present a discussion based on the choices made in the implementation process, and the argumentation behind it, with regard to the implementation of new forms of policy regarding the sustaining of local identities in Dutch rural municipalities. With the information of (a) as a base, data from Dutch rural municipalities is collected and analysed (b) regarding their Cittaslow membership and the steps taken as implementation, with special focus on the relation between their Cittaslow membership and (the sustaining of) their local identity. This analysis results in a (c) contribution to the knowledge on local identity sustainment in Dutch rural municipalities.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research aim and research model together imply certain steps that need to be taken to achieve this aim, as described in the previous chapter. The research aim and research model together lead up to the following research question:

How does Cittaslow implementation by Dutch rural municipalities relate to the sustainment of local identities?

This research question can be answered through finding answers on the following sub-questions:

1. *What is Cittaslow?*
2. *What is local identity, and how is it positioned within the Cittaslow thought and examples?*
3. *How do Dutch rural municipalities view their local identities and the accompanying problems (if any)?*
4. *What steps do Dutch municipalities take in the implementation of Cittaslow?*

The sub-questions will be answered throughout different phases of the research process. Questions 1 and 2 are based on theory which is obtained through desk research. Answers to these questions will be formulated in the theoretical framework. Together the answers to these questions form a theoretical base on which the data collection for questions 3 and 4 can be framed. Questions 3 and 4 require data from the field, and together will involve the major part in answering the main research question. The answers to questions 3, 4 and the main research questions are formulated in the conclusion of this research (chapter 5).

1.5 RELEVANCE

1.5.1 Societal relevance

As mentioned in chapter 1.1, the process of globalization, modernization and urbanization make rural municipalities in the Netherlands struggle to sustain and carry out their local identity. Municipalities search for ways to adjust their strategies and in doing so implement policy that will help preserve the local identity. It is for these municipalities that this research has most relevance, by contributing to knowledge on the implementation of new forms of policy regarding the sustaining of local identities in Dutch rural municipalities. Current and possible future member municipalities of Cittaslow can make use of this information too, as well as others who (might) work with Cittaslow implementation. This research can help raise the awareness of new and different forms of policy on a local level, which addresses and may help to sustain, enhance and reinforce issues of local identity.

Furthermore, the analysis of the existing practices in this area, with Cittaslow membership as an example, can support policy makers of municipalities struggling now with the sustainment of local identities in the decision making process on municipality strategies regarding this topic. What steps can be taken? Why choose for these steps? How and in how far does it relate to local identity sustainment? It is not only the municipality itself who can profit from this knowledge. Entrepreneurs and companies, and citizens, will be influenced by a new policy regarding local identities as well, since the Cittaslow thought involves certain implementation steps that relies on their engagement too.

1.5.2 Scientific relevance

Many articles have been written on Cittaslow (chapter 2); articles on Cittaslow as a grassroots movement, on Cittaslow as an international organization, on Cittaslow membership. Cities in various countries have been adopting the Cittaslow thought into their policies. However, there has not been extensive research on Dutch Cittaslow implementation. As discussed in the project framework, the first official evaluative research on behalf of one of the member municipalities (more than 8 years after the first Dutch municipality became a member) has only started in 2017, and results will not be expected soon (Rozema, 2016).

The same goes for local identity. This concept has been addressed in many scientific articles, approached from various views and formulated by different scientists in different ways. An extensive research has been done addressing local identity in Dutch rural municipalities, in which also problems regarding local identity were covered. However, literature on (local) policies regarding the sustainment of local identities can hardly be found.

Both in Cittaslow implementation and local identity sustainment a gap in the literature has been detected. As a result, one cannot define the relationship between these two concepts in the context of Dutch rural municipalities. Examining this relationship will shine a clearer light on both the implementation and effects of Cittaslow implementation, and on the sustainment of local identity. This is where this research becomes relevant, delivering a contribution to both the existing knowledge and expertise in the field on Dutch Cittaslow membership and on local identity sustainment in Dutch rural municipalities.

1.6 READING GUIDE

This chapter explains the structure of the report. In this chapter (chapter 1) already the project framework, research aim and design, research questions and relevance have been discussed. Chapter 2 describes the theory behind this research, approaching it from the two different concepts which the research tries to interrelate: local identity sustainment and Cittaslow implementation. The concept of local identity is framed and put in relation to Cittaslow. This in the end of the chapter is made visual in a conceptual model. Chapter 2 also provides answers to research questions 1 and 2.

This theoretical frame forms the base for the methodological approach of this research and the choices made in it, which is worked out in chapter 3. This chapter explains and describes first the choice for the case study approach, followed by an explanation of the selection of cases and respondents and then a description of how the data analysis took place. Chapter 4 contains the results of the analysis; these are presented in separate themes as derived from the data. Chapter 5 contains the conclusions of this research, several recommendations for follow-up research and a critical reflection on this research.

2 THEORY

2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Rural municipalities in the Netherlands see their local identity becoming affected under the processes of globalization, modernization and urbanization; not necessarily making the identity disappear, but changing it, becoming influenced. Municipalities try to undertake action to preserve their local traditions, values and other aspects that are part of this identity. Cittaslow has, as mentioned, been adopted by 10 Dutch municipalities since the first one in 2008. In scientific literature a lot has been written regarding local and regional identities; from what dimensions it can be viewed upon, the value it has to a community, etc. In addition extensive research has been done on Cittaslow around the world.

As mentioned, this research focuses on the relationship between local identity sustainment and Cittaslow implementation in Dutch rural municipalities. Therefore local identity needs to be defined as a concept within the Cittaslow context. In this chapter first the concept of local identity will be discussed, describing the different angles from which this concept is approached by scholars. This leads up to answering the first part of research question 2 ('What is local identity?'). Then follows an extensive description on Cittaslow: where the phenomenon comes from, what preceded it, the motives and philosophy of the movement, a short description on the process of becoming a Cittaslow member, and international examples of Cittaslow implementation. This results in answering research question 1 ('What is Cittaslow?'). Then the chapter will be concluded by framing local identity in relation to Cittaslow within the context of this research, thereby answering the second part of research question 2 ('How is local identity positioned within the Cittaslow thoughts and examples?').

2.1.1 The local identity

'The determined and sometimes self-conscious replication of distinctive identities and institutions is widespread not only within the region of this study but also throughout the world and may prove to be an unexpected aspect of modernity and globalization'
(Donner, 1998, p. 77).

According to Donner, local communities emphasize their identities with the means to protect their social relations and their autonomy against the ever more wider, more impersonal relations in the modern globalized society. This lines up with the views of Knox (2005) and Terlouw and Hogenstijn (2015) as already discussed in the project framework of this research. While some wish to position their identity as opposite to globalization, others wish to use the identity to strengthen the bands with the outside world, and profit from the worldwide competition between regions; forming the base for nowadays popular views on city- and region marketing (Boisen et al., 2011).

A lot has been written about regional and local identities. Though scholars have made many claims about the resurgence of local and regional identity as a transition within all societies that are faced by the consequences of globalization, it still is poorly defined when needed for the purpose of analysis (Tomaney & Ward, 2000). The discourses regarding identity linked to a certain space are plural and depend heavily on the used context. Benwell and Stokoe (2006) argue that identity is 'actively, ongoingly, and dynamically constituted in the discourse' (p. 4).

These discourses are created with regard to relations of power and social practices; not only within a certain place or region, but also between different regions (Paasi, 2013). Identities, according to Paasi, are brought into existence by writing about them, talking about them, performing events with regard to the histories of places and people to make identities understood. These representations, both in the ways of language and acts of performance become components of the identity concepts (Paasi, 2013). Allen et al. (1998) too state that regional identities are formed because of the relations that exist between a region and other regions, and therefore they mark the importance of history in regional identities; a history 'in which they have already been 'placed' ' (p. 10). Tomaney subscribes this position of identity within a historical context; an identity is 'built up', reproduced, educated, on various spatial scales (Tomaney, 2007). In addition, Allen et al. (1998) speak of identities as being relational, 'marking out differences and contrasts between regions and, whilst they are open to reinterpretation, they carry a legacy of meaning' (p. 10).

Primary and secondary identities

Within the discourse of local and regional identity, a distinction can be made between two dimensions. One can speak of the identity of a space or region, and of the consciousness of this space or region by the people living there (Paasi, 2003). Paasi describes the first one as features of nature, people and culture, which produce an 'imagined community'; a selective discourse of distinction (Paasi, 2013; Vainikka, 2013). Various actors draw on certain mixes of these features, in that way producing their own view on what the identity of a space or region is. The second one regards the identification of people with a region (Paasi, 2013).

In this context, Terlouw and Hogenstijn (2015) distinguish between primary and secondary space-bound identities. To thoroughly understand primary and secondary identity, first must be established to what types of communities these identities actually refer. When defining these two types of identity, Terlouw and Hogenstijn (2015) based themselves on three types of community as described by Yack (2012):

- Natural communities: families;
- Consciously chosen communities: clubs, political parties, etc.;
- Contingent communities: places, municipalities, regions, states.

In this research, the focus lies with contingent communities: namely, municipalities. What distinguishes these communities from the others is that they did not form because of natural or self-chosen ties, but purely because of living in each other's vicinity. Within a certain space, people share certain spatial interests, and have a certain way of dealing with problems or conflicts. Because this type of identity is not chosen and not of a natural cause, it is relatively changeable (Terlouw & Hogenstijn, 2015). On the one hand, the identity of such a community is based on features of groups and places that fall within the boundaries of the community. On the other hand, this identity is formed through the way on which is dealt with differences between identities. This is why Terlouw and Hogenstijn distinguish between primary and secondary local identities:

'Primary identities are mostly based on the just slowly changing features of local communities. (...) Secondary identities are based on the ways on which people within a contingent community have learned to deal with these different primary identities' (Terlouw & Hogenstijn, 2015, p. 30).

Terlouw and Hogenstijn link primary identities more to places, and the secondary identities in particular to an organizational structure; like a municipality. As an example of the changeability of primary and secondary identities, they describe what happens when municipalities are being merged:

'The merging of municipalities has little direct influence on the primary, more socio-cultural identities. The features of local communities do not change that quickly. However, because of the disappearance of the old municipalities, the existing secondary political identities mostly disappear. Therefore, dealing with primary identities again becomes an important topic on local politics' (Terlouw & Hogenstijn, 2015, p. 30).

The secondary identity of a community therefore cannot be seen apart of the primary identity; they are inseparably connected. Furthermore the above makes clear that changes in municipal policy regarding identity are mainly focused on the secondary aspects of it.

Thick and thin identities

A different distinction within the concept of local identity is provided by Vainikka (2013). According to Vainikka,

'based on this institutionally operated discourse an ideal, performable and collective 'regional identity' can become crystallized as a part of a reflexive and symbolic meaning system' (Vainikka, 2013, p. 27).

Based on the extensive works on space-bound identities of Paasi (2003, 2013) and Terlouw (2012), Vainikka distinguishes between two influential discourses, describing them in such a clear way it is worth citing the whole paragraph:

'There are two influential discourses that organize the way in which identity, as a form of symbolic power, is conceptualized. These are related to professional positions among various interest groups but also to personal preferences (cf. Paasi 2013). For some participants it is trust in the region's own strengths, traditions, longing, the belief in cultural reconciliation around the province and the reliance on regional spearheads in music, sport and cultural events on which regional cultural consciousness is based. It is sometimes viewed rather elusively as a festive, fleeting spectacle manifesting itself on limited occasions. For others, regional identity is more a matter of relative competitiveness, achievements compared with others and making one's own, regionally labelled formats of success. Both the 'cultural strength' and 'relative competitiveness' readings as internal and external identity strategies are important. The latter, however, is more pervasive and attractive to implement as a policy (cf. Terlouw, 2012).' (Vainikka, 2013, p. 32)

Paasi based his distinction partly on Kees Terlouw (2012), who argues that the transition identities go through are used by local or regional governance for competitive means. They thereby distinguishing in what Terlouw defined as 'thick' and 'thin' identities; the former involving traditional and historical rooted, well-established regional identities, and the latter being more transitory and focussing more on economic competitiveness, which according to Terlouw is slowly taking over the role of regional identity. A thick identity develops in the course of generations. Often this regional identity distinguishes itself from others based on the territory of the region and the features of the community within this region. The expression of this identity is an organized process; attention is paid to it in, for example, teaching programs in schools or in the media (Terlouw, 2012).

Because regions have more and more intensive social and economic contact with other regions, this traditional regional identity is under pressure. Boundaries of regions are adjusted, economic ties with other regions change. There is less and less time for regional identity to become truly anchored in a community. This is a result of, among other causes, the ongoing globalization and the individualization that goes with it. People are no longer necessarily tied to the small, stable networks of, for example family, church or friendship. Instead they choose more and more for themselves with whom they want to engage a relationship, and what kind of relationship this is. These new relations are ‘thinner’, and are more open for transition (Terlouw, 2012):

‘Stable collective identities are replaced by chosen, fluid and temporary individual identities’ (Terlouw, 2012, p. 708).

Terlouw specifically mentions Dutch municipalities as an example in this:

‘For instance the larger Dutch municipalities participate in dozens of different forms of regional cooperation. In contrast to historically grown and culturally based traditional regions with broad and stable identities fixed to a given territory, these new regions have more fluid identities linked to specific policies’ (Terlouw, 2012, p. 708).

The described distinction is the difference between thick and thin identities. Though Terlouw worked this out thoroughly, the concepts are not new and were already used before, for example in 2000 by Zijderveld (2000) who described them as follows:

‘Today thick, greedy and closed institutions, conditioned by a heavy handed, often religiously and magically tabooed, coercive tradition, have been superseded by thinner, more voluntary, more open, and looser institutions which in the behaviour of people are often alternated or temporarily suspended by flexible networks’ (Zijderveld, 2000, p. 128).

The differences between thick and thin identity have been put in a table by Terlouw (table 1). It has been added to this chapter as well, to provide a more clear overview of the aspects regarding thick and thin identities.

Table 1 Thick and thin regional identities. Source: Terlouw (2012). Translated from Dutch by researcher.

Aspect	From ‘thick’	To ‘thin’
Spatial form	Closed	Open
	Territorial	Network
Organization	Institutionalized	Project
Target audience	All citizens	Operators and specific groups
Goal	General and much	Focused
	Culture	Economy
Time	Defensive	Offensive
	Orientated on the past	Orientated on the future
	Stability	Change
Scale orientation	Inward	Outward

Concluding: what is local identity?

With the information gathered from theory in this sub section of the theoretical framework, an answer can be provided now to the first part of research question 2: 'What is local identity?'

Identity as a concept is poorly defined in literature and depends heavily on the used context; it is continuously under construction in the discourse. An identity exists by addressing it in speech, writings, activities; regarding history of people and places. It has to be formed, reproduced, taught to others. Local and regional identities form in relation to that of other regions and places.

In the discourse on place-bound identities, two clear distinctions are made. First, the distinction between primary and secondary identities. The former is based on slowly changing features of places and communities, falling within certain boundaries. The latter regards the way people deal with (differences between) these primary features, addressed from an organizational level. Second, a distinction is made between thick and thin identities. Thick identities consider traditional and historical rooted, well-established regional identities. Thin identities are more sensitive to change, with a focus on relative competitiveness.

Because this research focuses on the local identity on a municipal level, attention will be given as to how municipalities deal with local identity from an organizational point of view. When comparing the features of primary and secondary and thick and thin identity to one another, the theory hints that municipalities might approach local identity mainly from the secondary, thin features of it; the organizational background, the relative competitiveness in relation to other regions. To express the local identity is a way of distinguishing themselves. However, this relation is not stated very clearly. In order to make the concept of local identity more clear within the Cittaslow context as is needed for this research, first Cittaslow will be thoroughly addressed in this framework. Then local identity within this Cittaslow concept will be described, thereby answering the second part of research question 2.

2.1.2 Cittaslow

As discussed in the project framework, the Cittaslow concept has widely spread over the world in the past decennia in a reaction on globalization and the world around us moving on an ever faster pace. In countries like Italy, Germany and Poland, we find extensive Cittaslow networks with sometimes 15 member cities or more (Cittaslow International, 2016). In scientific literature few has been written about the Slow City movement, though including some interesting case-studies focusing on Cittaslow in certain countries or individual slow cities.

The bigger social and societal problem which can be found in literature behind the goal of this research, and which takes an overarching role within the Cittaslow phenomenon in general, is the preservation and sustaining of local identity in local communities within the globalized world. Both Cittaslow International and Cittaslow in the Netherlands emphasize on this, as discussed in the project framework.

In this sub-chapter is explained where the phenomenon Cittaslow comes from; how and why it originated, the Slow Food movement that preceded it, and the motives and philosophy of the movement. Further will be discussed how the Cittaslow membership functions in the ways of adopting and implementing the Cittaslow thought. Also, an overview is provided of several international Cittaslow examples and aspects of their Cittaslow implementation.

Globalization and the rise of grassroots forms of slow urbanism

In the ever more globalized world places go through an important transition. Cities are growing, and the ways on which this happens melt more and more together under the influence of globalization;

therefore creating cities which look more and more alike (Radstrom, 2011). In the project framework, the undermining influence of globalization on the authenticity and identity of cities and places has been described. Small urban areas seem to be effected stronger than larger ones. The rise of an international market goes at the expense of local entrepreneurship, local culture and the common people, as described.

In 2000, Peter Evans wrote:

'the impressive material and ideological power of networks built around trade, finance, and investment make it easy to ignore the growing importance of other kinds of transnational ties that have blossomed as a result of dramatic changes in long-distance transportation and communication' (Evans, 2000, p. 230).

However these other forms of transnational ties do occur. As a counter reaction to the trend described as the fast world, more and more scientists have put their focus in the past decennia on the search for solutions against effects of globalization which are experienced as negative. Ronald Inglehart anticipated on this change in society:

'A transformation may be taking place in the political cultures of advanced industrial societies. This transformation seems to be altering the basic value priorities of given generations, as a result of changing conditions influencing their basic socialization' (Inglehart, 1971, p. 991).

Over the years, fully developed transnational networks emerged operating internationally, focusing on different problems. These concern, for example, human rights, preserving the environment, demanding international recognition for it, and ways to deal with these problems. An awareness grew that this could not be accomplished by national governments alone; civil society had to play a role in this as well (United Nations, 2001). The United Nations took an important step by acknowledging non-governmental organizations (NGO's) in their policies with issues like sustainability, environment, population, equality, social development etc.

These transnational actions however do not only take place on the level of big NGO's. The common man too has started not only to move over national borders, but also to use the new ways of transport and communication to create transboundary communities. Evans (2000) describes this as a 'globalization from below' (p. 230); Knox (2005) speaks of transnational grassroots organizations, as does Batliwawa (2002), who mentions specifically the bottom-up approach of these communities. The globalization from below allows the common man to live life in a different way; in ways that were not possible in the more traditional world based purely on nation-states. The communities and networks that formed in this manner focus among other things on constraining the power of the worldwide elite. New ideologies are being pursued. On a local level, this is put to use to bring the power back to those it now disadvantages, those who are marginalized. In this sense, these groups have a counter-hegemonic approach (Evans, 2000). Many of these grassroots organizations focus on emancipation, protecting the environment, and preservation of the local identity. Some examples are the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India, Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI), the Sovereign Union of First Nations Peoples in Australia, Food Sovereignty, and the Slow Food Movement (Batliwala, 2002; McGregor, 2015; Knox, 2005).

The 'globalization from below' is also expressed in the area of urban development. Similarities between places become more and more common. As a result, elements that make a place unique become ever more important. Citizens of a place become more and more aware of the ways their place is perceived by others; whether these others are multinationals, politicians, tourists or others (Knox,

2005). Urban developers therefore focused on the development of places of entertainment, theme parks, renovation projects, etc. to keep on carrying out these local values and attract new visitors. Places, cities, started to sell themselves to the world by spreading city guides, for example by developing webpages with an aim to attract more tourists, companies and investors. Recent examples of urban development show trends that promise a successful approach regarding the problems with the fast world (Dogrusoy & Dalgakiran, 2011). However, this is a delicate and subjective process. Knox (2005) puts it as follows:

'The question of who does the reimagining and cultural packaging, and on whose terms, can become an important issue for the quality of local life' (Knox, 2005, p. 4).

As discussed, in parallel to the processes of speeding-up life and an increase in international interconnectedness, places lose their identities through a combination of consumption patterns, the search for new ways of selling the place to the world outside, destroying and / or constructing traditions, culture, etc. Cities become uniform to one another, identity-feeling goes lost, consumption grows and environmental issues arise. According to some, this combination of factors results in a need for places to slow down to keep the world (and these places in it) sustainable (Dogrusoy & Dalgakiran, 2011). According to Dogrusoy and Dalgakiran, The term 'slow' has some negativity over it; it is a state best avoided, associated with hesitation, laziness, an incapability to keep up. Yet, as they argue, slow is not simply the opposite of fast. Parkins and Craig (2006) describe slow living as a way of trying to become more individualized; a way of challenging the capitalist aspects of the globalized world. In essence, it is '...an attempt to exercise agency over the pace of everyday life' (Parkins & Craig, 2006, p. 67). To live slow does not mean that one denies all available possibilities globalization has brought with it, such as useful technologies and other aspects of modern ways of living. It is about finding balance between the fast world and at the same time keeping life and places sustainable (Honoré, 2005).

Seen from this view, a form of 'slow urbanization' building on the idea of slow living makes for a challenge when it comes to improving sustainability and the values that go with it in cities and other places (Dogrusoy & Dalgakiran, 2011). The Slow City Movement or Cittaslow is one such example of slow urbanisation. The capitalist side of globalization led to the rise of communities uniform to one another, as a result of the ongoing growth of consumption culture and ways of urbanization. Yet at the same time, localities rediscover their identity, their culture and local values (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 2001). Slow urbanism pays a lot of attention to the actual local identity, the sense of belonging between a place and the people living there. It is at this point where slow urbanism, and with it the Slow City movement, differ strongest from other forms of urban development as a reaction to the fast world.

The Slow Food movement and the rise of Cittaslow

The slow City movement did not directly originate from the mentioned developments concerning slow urbanism. Cittaslow did not start out as a new form of urban development; it has the Slow Food movement as a base. The slow Food movement originated in the North of Italy, in local communities based on local entrepreneurship and agriculture, struggling with the growth of industrialization and the consumption culture (Heitmann et al., 2011). These communities at the same time dealt with a number of strong social groups present in the region, determined to keep the local culture and identity protected from this industrialization and the changes towards monocultures. One way to do so was by promoting the locally produced food products and wines. Tourists and other visitors were invited to

local tastings and the products came for sale outside of the region, even internationally. This led to a new way of trade in food and agricultural industries (Nosi & Zanni, 2004).

Nosi and Zanni describe the twofold way in which Slow Food shows its activities' nature. On the one hand,

'they are aimed to safeguard the food and agricultural heritage through scientific research and the support of small-scale typical productions, on the other they are aimed to educate consumers, increasing their knowledge about typical and traditional foods' (Nosi & Zanni, 2003, p. 783).

The Slow Food movement operates as a grassroots, non-profit organization. It runs on volunteers and voluntary membership, with the intent to give attention to the threat of losing local and cultural identity (Nosi & Zanni, 2004). Slow Food gains popularity fast, rising from an Italian concept to an international project in 1989, where first is spoken of an official Slow Food Movement with its own Slow Food Manifesto. The movement is centred around the philosophy that people have a right to unpolluted, fairly traded food, produced under sustainable conditions for all the different stakeholders in the process (Heitmann et al., 2011).

The slow City movement or Cittaslow derives from the Slow Food movement. It can be viewed upon as a model for local governance for its accredited members; and as a social movement considering urban life, It 'emphasizes local distinctiveness in a context of globalization and sees to improve quality of life locally' (Pink, 2008, p. 97). Cittaslow provides an explicit agenda of local distinctiveness and urban development. It is a different way of urban development that aims at local sustainability. At the same time, it contributes to international sustainability because of the still expanding international Cittaslow network (Baycan & Girard, 2013). Again it should be noted that the 'slow' in Cittaslow is not about countering the fast pace of life. The word 'slow' here accounts for the idea of taking the time for quality (Radstrom, 2011). Cittaslow's intention is not to be conservative; the movement is concerned with how cities can transfer, make progress, in this globalized world, without losing their soul in that transition (Miele, 2008). Cittaslow therefore has not a 'destroy and construct'-philosophy; it is not actually countering globalisation, but rather tries to find a way to make use of it, while sustaining local values (Dogrusoy & Dalgakiran, 2011, p. 127). According to the study done by Mayer and Knox,

'Ideas originating from the Slow City and Slow Food movements can generate alternative community-based and locally driven regimes that promote urban development strategies aimed at rooting the local economy and promoting local and environmentally sensitive development strategies' (Mayer and Knox, 2006, p. 332).

In that sense, one can speak better of an 'explore and reconstruct'-strategy, focussing on diversity, identity, sense of belonging, etc. (Dogrusoy & Dalgakiran, 2011, p. 127). Cittaslow, and slow living with it, has the potential to cause urban transformation. Since potential and accredited members attempt to make life more slow, this means the members have to make changes, remove obstacles, make a transition, to become so (Parkins & Craig, 2006).

Cittaslow has expanded rapidly since its founding in 1999. Today it counts 233 accredited member cities, divided over 30 countries. Furthermore, 20 national networks emerged (Cittaslow International, 2016). Though presented as a movement, Cittaslow can be viewed upon more as formally organized, operating on the level of city policies (Radstrom, 2011). To become a 'Slow City', a

city has to live up to the Slow Food guidelines that still form the base of Cittaslow. While applying to become a member it can be that a city already carries out some of the objectives of Cittaslow. In total, there is a number of 72 requirements to become an excellent Slow City, subdivided into 7 main themes:

1. Energy and environmental policies
 - Parks and green areas, renewable energy, transport, recycling, etc.
2. Infrastructure policies
 - Alternative mobility, cycle paths, street furniture, etc.
3. Quality of urban life policies
 - Requalification and reuse of marginal areas, cable network city (fiber optics, wireless), etc.
4. Agricultural, touristic and artisan policies
 - Prohibiting the use of GMO in agriculture, increasing the value of working techniques and traditional crafts, etc.
5. Policies for hospitality, awareness and training
 - Good welcome, increasing awareness of operators and traders (transparency of offers and practiced prices, clear visibility of tariffs), etc.
6. Social cohesion
 - Integration of disable people, poverty, minorities discriminated, etc.
7. Partnerships
 - Collaboration with other organizations promoting natural and traditional food, etc.

(Source: Cittaslow International, 2016)

Although the list of requirements represents the Cittaslow thoughts internationally, local differences can be found in the way these requirements are read and implemented. As mentioned in the introduction section, the ways of implementation vary between countries and cities. Social movements like Cittaslow are in essence a form of political action. Grassroots communities unite around certain principles and ideas they all share, to make a stand together; but this does not automatically imply the presence of one worldwide authenticity, a global meaning or principle implemented from a top-down point of view (Hendriks et al., 2017).

The procedure for Dutch municipalities who want to become Cittaslow involves the acceptance of the Cittaslow guidelines and actively working on the enhancement of life-quality and sustainment of the local environment. When an application to become Cittaslow is submitted, the national Cittaslow capital (in the Netherlands municipality Midden-Delfland) will perform an audit to judge if the potential municipality in fact lives up to the requirements (Cittaslow Nederland, 2017).

International examples of Cittaslow implementation

As mentioned, Cittaslow has grown rapidly since its founding in 1999. With 233 accredited member cities, divided over 30 countries, one can expect a lot of exemplary material for new or future member cities to consult when making choices regarding the implementation process. Yet as stated, it is difficult to find literature in which the process of an individual city becoming Cittaslow, or the evaluation of it, is described. However, a few examples can be found. Therefore this subchapter contains an overview of various international examples of Cittaslow implementation with their specific context, which could be useful to gain more practical insights in Cittaslow implementation and relate Cittaslow to local identity. As mentioned the practical implementation of Cittaslow can differ between members, which

means that every Slow City has its own version of how to carry out the concept of slow; thereby giving priority to different aspects of the Cittaslow thought.

Orvieto, the first Cittaslow, focused mainly on the connection between environment and social wellbeing. A big practical step in this involved the creation of an electric, environment-friendly bus system to make public transport to the city center more easy for the city residents (Parkins & Craig, 2006). Orvieto's most known practical step, however, is the promotion of the culinary identity of the city, in which much attention is given to local food and wines. This was reached by, among other things, the revision of school meals, and the initiative of the Palace of Taste where local producers and enterprises can discuss the sustaining of local breeds (Miele, 2008).

San Vincenzo, another Italian Cittaslow, has a completely different background. It lacks the history and traditions that many other Slow Cities have, and therefore the focus lies more on 'making' a slow version of practices. Many of the criteria regarding slow urban planning have not been addressed yet. Therefore,

'the process of joining the movement was not difficult, but becoming a Slow city was a much more complex process, that only started at the moment that the town was granted membership of the movement' (Miele, 2008, p. 145).

Ludlow, in 2003 the first Cittaslow in the UK, uses Cittaslow in particular to connect the local environment to the local economy. It does so by investing in local market strategies and putting up networks of local entrepreneurs to oppose big retailers (Pink, 2008). Hersbruck, first Cittaslow of Germany in 2001, uses the Cittaslow principles for the same local-economic goals (Mayer & Knox, 2006).

Waldkirch, Germany's second Cittaslow, puts its effort on social sustainability and social wellbeing of its community members; for example, by opening new places for people to meet each other and maintaining the tradition of the farmers market, which can be found in the city two times a week. These efforts in sustaining local identity extend the market and reach into the neighborhoods whose sense of place are threatened (Mayer & Knox, 2006).

Seferihisar, the first Slow City in Turkey, motivates its membership as to strengthen the local economy and at the same time improve the potential for tourism. In the process of becoming a member the local government spend much time in raising the awareness of the 'slow' philosophy with its inhabitants, by organizing meetings and a focus on taking away the negative tone of the word 'slow'. After becoming a member the most clear manifestations of the Cittaslow thought were the creation of a weekly village market, and organizing festivals regarding local products and cuisine (Dogrusoy & Dalgakiran, 2011).

The implementation of Cittaslow, however, is not everywhere received as a positive policy change. In a research on the possibilities of Cittaslow for local sustainable development in New-Zealand, Semmens and Freeman (2012) concluded that Cittaslow for now only seems suited for cities of a certain style or type; cities that are Eurocentric, with prosperous communities, that were already of a 'slow' nature. The implementation of 'new' Cittaslow elements was met rather with aversion than seen as a possibility; even though these communities do focus on building on a sense of place and protecting the local identity (Semmens & Freeman, 2012).

What is noticeable when studying these international examples from literature, is a significant amount of attention in the implementation for developments related to the local economy. For example Orvieto uses Cittaslow to increase the attention for local products and local production. Ludlow and Hersbruck implement Cittaslow with the aim of improving local-economic circumstances. Waldkrich focuses on sustaining a local market, as does Seferihisar, which further focuses on economic development through local tourism and festivals. These local economic developments were not directly found when examining Cittaslow International's goals and philosophy, but apparently do play a significant role for member cities in the implementation of the Cittaslow thought. Mayor and Knox (2006) too stated this possibility of using Cittaslow in relation to local economic development, as mentioned before (page 15).

Concluding: what is Cittaslow?

With the information gathered from theory in this sub section of the theoretical framework, an answer can be provided now to research question 1: 'What is Cittaslow?'

Cittaslow's philosophy, its thoughts and goals, its history, features and examples of implementation have been thoroughly described above. All of this together, and more that is probably not mentioned within this framework, makes Cittaslow to what it is. Summarized it can be stated based on the gathered information that Cittaslow can be viewed upon from two perspectives. First, Cittaslow is a social movement considering urban life, with a focus on local distinctiveness within a globalized world, with the aim to improve life-quality on a local level. Second, Cittaslow is a model for local governance, considered with how cities can transfer and progress in this world while maintaining their local values in doing so. Cittaslow works from an 'explore and reconstruct'-strategy, with a focus on identity, diversity, and a sense of place-belonging, having the potential to cause urban transformation.

Addressed from a practical point of view, Cittaslow is an international organization which can be joined by places worldwide who are able to live up to Cittaslow's list of criteria. Potential members can be audited and become accredited with the Cittaslow certificate, thereby given permission to use the Cittaslow label in presenting themselves to others. Every Cittaslow member can have its own unique way of addressing and carrying-out the Cittaslow thought.

2.1.3 Local identity within the Cittaslow context

Combining the information of the previous subchapters, an answer can be formulated on the second part of research question 2: 'How is local identity positioned within the Cittaslow thought and examples?' This subchapter therefore focuses on positioning the concept of local identity within the context of Cittaslow implementation in municipalities.

Cittaslow as a model for local governance considers urban life and urban development, focuses on local distinctiveness within the context of globalization, and aims at local sustainability. Local identity and life-quality seem to be woven into implementation processes via economic rationale. International examples show that slow cities focus on, for example, weekly markets with local products. There is a big role for local entrepreneurship within Cittaslow, with special focus on the production and sale of local products, etc. Cittaslow as a form of urban development can provide strategies which, within local sensitive development, can contribute to the local economy.

When comparing this to the different approaches for local identity discussed in chapter 2.1.1, one can therefore assume that the local identity within Cittaslow implementation in municipalities might be mostly approached as the *secondary* local identity (the way in which actors deal with identity;

approaching identity form on organizational point of view) and as *thin* local identity (focusing on (economic) relative competitiveness).

However, this relationship is not indicated very strong. Therefore, in the data collection and analysis for this research the choice is made to, in in-depth interviews, keep an open mind on all discussed definitions of local identity; regarding both thick and thin identity, and primary and secondary identity. Attention will be given to both traditionally identity values and the attention of municipalities for relative competitiveness. Of course in all this the focus will be on the relation between local identity (whichever type) and Cittaslow.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL MODEL

From the theoretical framework, interrelations can be made between the different concepts and approaches concerning this research. In a simplified form these interrelations are shown below in the conceptual model of this research.

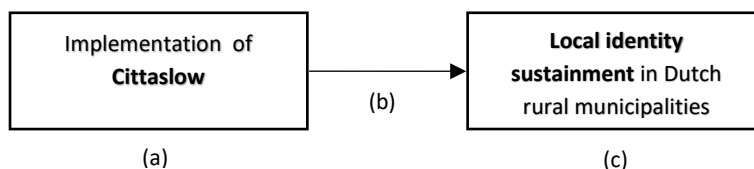


Figure 2 Conceptual model based on the theoretical framework (source: self-made)

Explanation of the conceptual model:

(a) Cittaslow's thoughts and goals, together with various international examples of member cities, show that in the implementation local identity (and with it, local economic development) is high on their agenda. The Cittaslow membership of a number of Dutch rural municipalities relates (b) to their challenges regarding the sustaining, strengthening and carrying out of their local identity (c).

3 METHODOLOGY

In this chapter is described how the research is approached. The chapter starts with an explanation of the research strategy, describing the used methods in this research: desk research and case study research. It also involves and explains the use of in-depth semi-structured interviews that are partly approached using elements from grounded theory. Then follows a subchapter on the collection of research material, involving an explanation of the selection for cases and interviewees. The last subchapter contains a description of how data analysis has taken place.

3.1 RESEARCH STRATEGY

First the research strategy must be established. Which strategy to use depends on the nature of the research question and aim. Several choices need to be considered; for example qualitative versus quantitative research, or empirical vs desk research (Verschuren en Doorewaard, 2015). This research is executed as a qualitative research. This choice was made since an important aspect of this research type is the possibility of gaining in-depth knowledge (Creswell, 2007). The research questions and aim suggest this research will have a descriptive and explorative nature. In this qualitative research the main strategy is a (empirical) case study, preceded by a minor desk research; both will be explained in the following subchapters.

3.1.1 Desk research

Desk research is used to obtain information which is already available and can be found and analysed. This desk research is used for phase (a) of the research (see research model, figure 1) and is meant to provide context for the research in the field (data that will be gathered in Dutch rural municipalities that joined Cittaslow).

Following the threefold typology of theories designed by Creswell (2002) the desk research focuses mainly on middle-range theory involving an in-depth description of the concept of Cittaslow (being a movement, functioning as a model for local governance etc.), the theory behind the concept of local identity, and framing the concept of local identity in relation to Cittaslow. In addition the desk research focuses on more substantive theory; focusing for example on the specific position of local identity in the context of Dutch rural municipalities (for example the extensive research of Terlouw and Hogenstijn (2015)). Thirdly the desk research focuses on the so-called grey literature: policies, political views, etc. This involves for example policy documents of Cittaslow as a movement and from Dutch municipalities implementing Cittaslow. It also involves a focus on international examples of Cittaslow implementation in different places and countries to provide more context on Cittaslow implementation. The grey literature is studied with the aim to get knowledge of the actual actions and attitudes in the field, and to prepare for the field research. The results of the desk research have already been presented in the theoretical framework (chapter 2), thereby answering research questions 1 and 2.

3.1.2 Case study research

The empirical data is collected and analysed through case study research. This case study research will be used for phase (b) of the research (see research model, figure 1). The aim of this research to address the relation between sustaining local identity and Cittaslow implementation is highly dependent on the context (differing from municipality to municipality), therefore implying that a lot of information regarding the context will have to be obtained when interviewing respondents of the municipalities to

bring as much detail as possible into the description of this relation. One can think here of the differences in local identity between municipalities, and the differences in the way municipalities address this identity; or the various ways in which the municipalities might have been implementing the Cittaslow thought into their policies. Therefore this research needs to have an in-depth character, as mentioned. This is why case study as main strategy for this research is most suited.

As Creswell (2012) points out, a case study is a type of ethnography; though these differ in several ways. In contrast to true ethnography, a case study does not necessarily focus on a group, but may also study a programme, an activity or a certain event. In a case study the focus often lies more on activities instead of behaviour. Finally, a case study research focusses on an in-depth exploration of the case. A case-study does not necessarily has to focus on an object, but can also consider a procedure or a bounded system such as an activity or process, based on data collection (Creswell, 2012). A case study therefore lends itself perfect for answering questions as to 'how' or 'why' certain things happen(ed) (Yin, 2003). This make case study research fit for the descriptive and exploratory nature of this research.

By executing a case study it is possible to gain in-depth knowledge, to map the complexity of a topic, and to gain a strong argumentation with a minimum of insecurity. This is relevant for this research because it can help in linking the research context to the experiences of municipalities with regard to their local identity and the implementation of Cittaslow.

The programme or activity, in case of this research, involves the implementation of new forms of policy regarding local identity sustainment. Since the focus lies on a specific issue, not on the cases (the member municipalities) themselves, these are *typical* or *instrumental* cases (Creswell, 2012). Additionally, a choice has been made to involve more than one case. By doing so, more data will be collected and a comparison can be made to provide more insight in the issue. Therefore one can speak of a *multiple* case study (Creswell, 2012).

The aim of this research regards a very specific topic, focusing on one specific relation between two concepts. Also the nature of this research is largely exploratory, partly aiming purely on raising awareness of new forms of local policy on a local level. Therefore, this case study confines itself to three cases. This choice in addition helps to counter some practical problems (for one, limitations in time, and further the extent of the data collection- and analysis due to the partly grounded theory-nature, as will be discussed later).

Interviews

The descriptive and explorative nature of this research, in combination with the case study approach, makes in-depth one-on-one interviewing a strong instrument to collect the necessary empirical data. These interviews are semi-structured and are done with individuals. All these interviews are conducted face-to-face, involving a visit from the researcher to each of the cases (the three selected Cittaslow municipalities). In-depth expert interviews provide extensive data and along with it extensive data-analysis. To provide in-depth understanding through these large amounts of data implies that the researcher has less time to go-in depth in exploring any case with every case that is added to the study (Creswell, 2012). However, the choice to confine this study to three cases (as described in the previous subchapter) helps to keep the data collection and analysis manageable within the limitations of this bachelor thesis.

The interviews are prepared and structured via an interview protocol, based on the elements provided by Creswell (2012). In a semi-structured interview, the interviewer will use a few questions to try to find the interviewees perspective regarding certain issues (Baarde et al., 2005). The topics

that will be addressed are determined on forehand, but the questioning will be done in a relatively open way; some major questions are formulated in advance, but each question leaves room for the interviewee to diverge, extend, etc. (Baarde et al., 2005). This will involve topics such as local identity features, local identity sustainment, and Cittaslow implementation.

The interview exists of 7 major questions. 4 questions focus specifically on the local identity of the municipality, the threats, sustainment, etc. 2 questions focus on Cittaslow and the implementation of it in the municipality. The final question relates to the relation between these two topics. In the end of the interview each respondent was asked if he or she wants to bring in topics that to his or her idea need to be discussed too, and if he or she might want to change or add to previous answers. For each question a set of 'sub-questions' is added which can be used if the conversation runs a hold, for example because the interviewee or interviewer is not clear. However this was used only if this was felt as really necessary, because structure and influence from the side of the interviewer must be kept to a minimum. In Appendix 1 the used interview guide can be found. All interviews are audio-recorded and transcribed using the computer program Atlas.Ti.

Elements of grounded theory within the case study

The project framework and theoretical framework show that not much literature is to be found on the actual implementation process of Cittaslow or evaluation of it; let alone in relation to local identity sustainment. Within the case study research, data will therefore be collected through relatively open, semi-structured interviewing as discussed. The collection of data in this sense uses some steps taken from grounded theory. It should be considered an additional tool in framing the case study approach.

Grounded theory is a 'systematic, qualitative procedure used to generate a theory that explains, at a broad conceptual level, a process, an action, or an interaction about a substantive topic' (Creswell, 2012, p. 423). To use a partly grounded theory approach within this case study fits the explorative nature of this research, since the present literature provides a gap concerning Dutch Cittaslow implementation. This gap can be filled by conducting research that will lead to new insights in Dutch Cittaslow implementation. To involve steps borrowed from grounded theory makes way for the findings of precise answers to the research questions, since the theory is grounded in the data that will be found and therefore will fit the exact studied cases (Creswell, 2012). The in-depth, semi-structured interview leaves room for discovery and surprise which lines up with this partly grounded theory nature. Since the data is collected using elements of grounded theory, several steps from this approach will be used in the analysis as well, as can be read in the subchapter on data analysis.

3.2 RESEARCH MATERIAL

In this subchapter will be discussed how the data for this research have been obtained. This data collection has mostly been gathered through in-depth interviews, as described above. The interviews have been done with municipality officials of Cittaslow member cities who are in one way or another involved in Cittaslow in their municipality. As mentioned, the goal was to have an in-depth interview in three municipalities; meaning three municipality officials had to be interviewed. However, in two of the three interviews coincidentally an extra person considered with Cittaslow was able to join the interviews for a certain amount of time. This means in the end interviews were held with three people for the full duration of the interview, and two extra interviewees for parts of it. In this chapter first the selection of cases is discussed, followed by a subchapter on the selection of, and information about, interviewees.

3.2.1 Case selection

The cases for this research have been selected through purposive sampling. Cittaslow Netherlands has 10 municipalities which are Cittaslow member. As discussed before, for various reasons a choice is made to collect data from three of these municipalities. As discussed in the research strategy, this research involves a multiple, *instrumental* case study; the focus lies on a certain specific issue, not on the municipalities itself. In this subchapter first the selected cases are presented, each with a short overview of its specific context with regard to Cittaslow. Then is described on what arguments the selection of these cases was based.

Cases

Midden-Delfland became Cittaslow in 2008, and as the first Dutch Cittaslow member it is the Cittaslow Capital of the Netherlands; performing most of the audits for new Dutch Cittaslow municipalities. The municipality describes itself as the protected landscape within the metropolis region of Rotterdam-Den Haag. Its main characteristic is the green landscape, where cows still can be found in the meadows and where vegetables, milk and cheese are produced and bought within the region (Gemeente Midden-Delfland, 2016). Midden-Delfland is surrounded by a large urban environment, on the edge of the Randstad; a green oasis between concrete and asphalt. Its mission is to connect the green environment to the urban surroundings, and to work with the community on improving life quality.

Alphen-Chaam became Cittaslow as second Dutch municipality in 2010, together with municipality Borger-Odoorn and audited by Midden-Delfland. Alphen-Chaam lies in the 'green triangle' between Breda and Tilburg. The municipality is known for the 'Wielerronde van Chaam' (Cycle race tour of Chaam), but profiles itself mostly as a municipality offering its citizens space and quiet. Hospitality is a great good here. It has a wide green and open landscape and a long cultural history (VVV Alphen-Chaam, 2017).

Vaals became Cittaslow as fourth Dutch municipality in 2011. The municipality promotes itself for its plurality, the international allure, and the three-lands-point (Netherlands, Belgium and Germany). Vaals further has monumentality to offer, a green and open rural area and an ambiance of 'foreign in your own country'. Cittaslow Vaals is a melting pot of cultures from over 70 different nationalities and has an international appearance as a result of its location in EU region Netherlands-Belgium-Germany (Gemeente Vaals, 2017).

Purposive sampling

The three municipalities described above are selected for various reasons.

To approach this issue from different backgrounds, the municipalities are among other reasons selected on their specific context. As the short descriptions show, all three have a completely different nature; Midden-Delfland as the green oasis within an overwhelmingly urban environment, Vaals as a municipality that has plurality and internationalism as high standard, and Alphen-Chaam being a more 'classic' Cittaslow municipality where community-life and the surrounding landscape are great values.

Of the ten Dutch Cittaslow members, these three are among the four municipalities that have been implementing Cittaslow in their policy the longest; Midden-Delfland being the first in 2008, Alphen-Chaam following second in 2010 together with Borger-Odoorn (which was not available for interviews during the period in which this research was conducted) and Vaals in 2011. Therefore these municipalities will most likely have the most experience with Cittaslow, and possible implementation steps and changes regarding it, in the Netherlands.

As the research focuses among other things on what steps are taken regarding Cittaslow implementation in policy and on how a municipality takes local identity into account when making policy, the geographical dispersion of the selected cases might help to find new insights as well. Each municipality is situated in a different Dutch province; Midden-Delfland in Zuid-Holland, Alphen-Chaam in Brabant and Vaals in Limburg. Therefore each municipality is subjected to different kinds of provincial legislation which might influence the decision-making process. Also, each of these municipalities is relatively far away from the nearest other Cittaslow members. Being only surrounded by non-member municipalities these cases will not be directly influenced by, or have influence on, other member municipalities in their vicinity, as is the case with other Cittaslow municipalities as Vlagtwedde, Bellingwedde and Borger-Odoorn.

Furthermore these municipalities show some basic similarities, making comparisons and generalizations in the analyzation process stronger. For example, Midden-Delfland has 19.034 inhabitants and has an estimated size of 5000 hectares on January 1st 2017 (Gemeente Midden-Delfland, 2017). Alphen-Chaam has 10.058 inhabitants (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2017) and has an estimated size of 9364 hectares. Municipality Vaals has 9710 inhabitants (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2017) and has an estimated size of 2390 hectares. All municipalities are build-up of only a few cities and villages. Midden-Delfland exists of 4 cities / villages, where Alphen-Chaam has 6 and Vaals has 4. All these numbers show that these are three relatively small municipalities. In a bigger municipality, the research subject might be influenced too much by the specific case context.

3.2.2 Selection of respondents

The respondents for each municipality have been selected through purposive sampling. The sampling was based on the research questions and the aim of this research. The focus here lies on Cittaslow implementation, which according to the found literature is managed from a municipal level. Furthermore the research is about local identity. The theory hints at the importance of secondary and thin identity features when it comes to municipal organizations and with regard to Cittaslow membership. Therefore, a choice was made to select interviewees within municipal organizations, with a preference for municipality officials who play a role in the Cittaslow membership / Cittaslow implementation within each municipality. As mentioned the aim was to have an in-depth interview with each of the three municipalities, meaning three respondents had to be found.

Via e-mail and telephone contact, interviews were arranged with a municipality official in each of the selected municipalities. As mentioned all interviews were done face-to-face; the researcher visited each of the municipalities himself. Details for each interviewee can be seen in table 2 on the next page.

Due to fortunate coincidences when conducting the interviews, two extra respondents who play a role with regard to Cittaslow and local identity became involved; one during the interview in Midden-Delfland, and one during the interview in Vaals. To make sure no confusion arises concerning these extra respondents, these were addressed differently in the transcripts and analysis. When concerning the interviews of Midden-Delfland and Vaals, the researcher speaks about interviewee 'A' (the main interviewee) and interviewee 'B' (the interviewees that joined for parts of these interviews). This coding of the interviewees is also added in table 2.

Table 2 Overview research respondents with their respective function and core tasks

	Name	Date	Municipality	Function	Core tasks
1A	Hans Verlinde	04-05-17	Midden-Delfland	Managing director & Chairman of Cittaslow Nederland	P&O (employees and organization), company management, responsible official for Cittaslow Nederland
1B	Govert van Oord	04-05-17	Midden-Delfland	City council member	Spatial planning, rural area / water /nature, culture, P&O, Recreation / Tourism, company management
2	Bart van Strien	08-05-17	Alphen-Chaam	Policy official	Policy development official for municipal organization ABG, official contact for Cittaslow
3A	Hilda Keulders	09-05-17	Vaals	Communication advisor	Policy official for communication and information
3B	Reg van Loo		Vaals	Mayor	Chairman of city council, general municipal interests, public order and safety, fire brigade and safety, quality and unity of policy, civil affairs, service, enforcement, communication and information, regional cooperation, transboundary cooperation and Cittaslow

3.3 DATA ANALYSIS

In the final part of this chapter on methodology, the various steps of the data analysis are discussed. The collected data in the interviews is audio-recorded and made into a transcript, after which the data analysis took place. Analysis has been done using computer software program Atlas.ti, in which each transcript has been opened in a new hermeneutic unit.

The transcripts have been categorized through the process of coding. Since the approach of this case study makes use of a few grounded theory elements, several ways of coding can be applied. Two ways are most relevant to this research. One can use a very unstructured, open approach as suggested by Charmaz (2000), who formulated a more constructivist grounded theory approach. On the other hand one can use a more structured approach as provided by Strauss and Corbin in their more positivist grounded theory approach (Creswell, 2012). Since the goal here is not to create a full new theory, but to use grounded theory as an additional tool within a case study research as explained in subchapter 3.1, a choice has been made to follow the steps of the more structured approach in this matter. The steps taken are described now (Creswell, 2012).

The first step is open coding. This step involves a 'free' kind of categorizing, based on what the researchers reads in the transcription; his first thoughts and ideas. It has a very explorative nature, and involves questions like: what is it about? Which actors are involved? What roles do they play? What aspects are addressed? Quotations addressing similar topics can be given the same codes. This resulted in approximately 70 codes per interviews; an overview can be found in appendix 2.

Second, axial coding is done. The created codes from the open-coding phase were reviewed. The researcher made categories (or themes) in de codes, and connected categories of codes to one another. Irrelevant codes were deleted, codes similar to each other were merged. This reduced the initial 70 codes to roughly 15-20 categories per interview; san overview can be found in appendix 3.

The researcher then searched for the coding paradigm: what is / are the core phenomena? What are causal conditions? What are intervening conditions? What themes provide the context? What themes involve action and interaction strategies? What are the consequences? In other words: what are the major themes within the transcript, and how do these themes interrelate to each other? This

selective coding was done by interrelating categories to one another which showed a certain relationship. According to Creswell (2012), themes provide core information in qualitative data analysis. The researcher choose to identify themes by comparing the (already partly categorized) codes of each interview with the other interviews. Similar codes were lined up together, and additionally the codes were noted that regarded only individual interviews. Similar codes which overlapped between the interviews were assigned a theme, labeled in only a few words describing the core of this theme. This led to an overview of 12 themes shared within all three interviews, 5 themes shared with only two interviews, and in total 9 themes which only regarded one interview, as can be seen in appendix 4.

Then, the themes that were found when comparing the codes of the three interviews were each put into one of four categories as distinguished by Creswell (2012): ordinary themes, unexpected themes, hard-to-classify themes, and major and minor themes. When this categorization was done, the themes were thoroughly compared to the research questions and the discussed literature of this research to determine which of these themes were of more or less relevance to the research question. Based on this determination, the researcher decided to make a distinction between major and minor themes. a set of 5 major themes has been derived. These themes relate directly to the research questions and help to answer them. The 5 major themes are accompanied by 4 minor themes which are underlying to the major themes and help to make the interrelations between the themes more clear. Extra attention has been paid to themes classified as ‘unexpected’ and ‘hard-to-classify’, to make sure that they could be classified as minor or major theme even though they might (at first sight) not line up with the research questions or the discussed theories in this research. The selected themes and the interrelations between them can be seen in appendix 4. The process from coding through categorizing to defining a set of overall themes is summarized in figure 3 below.

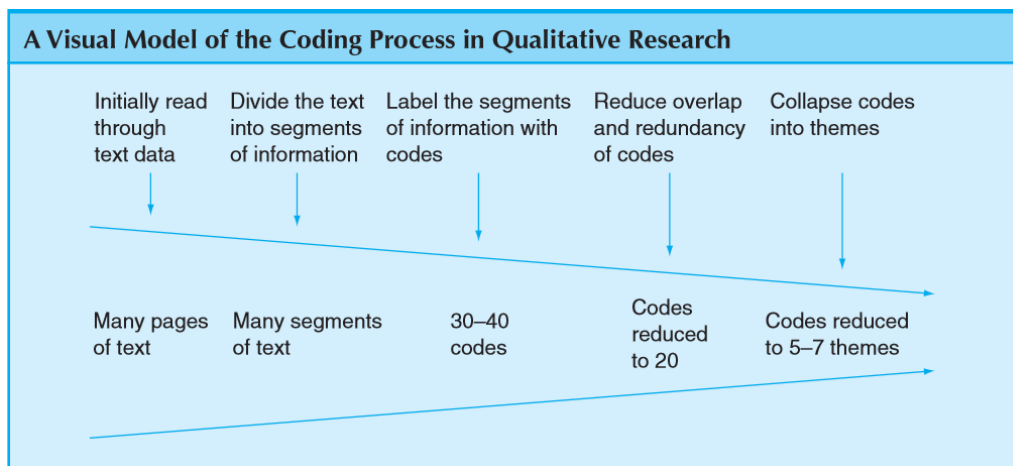


Figure 3 Visual model of the coding process (figure by Creswell (2012))

To work from codes and themes towards answers on the research questions, the researcher used the formed themes to describe what is learned; to develop broad categories of ideas from the data (Creswell, 2012). In doing so, the two concepts of the conceptual model (Cittaslow implementation and sustaining local identity) and the relation between them, has constantly been taken into account. The highlighted themes have been thoroughly described by re-examining the data to which these themes were linked. Different stands, useful quotations etc. were gathered from each interview in order to write-out for each theme a descriptive text passage; what Creswell describes as ‘theme descriptions’. The analysis chapter (chapter 4) is structured by presenting the results per theme. Each

theme has been linked to the research question(s) for which it has relevance. These results have been compared to literature to truly interpret the collected data; these linkages can be found in chapter 5 (Conclusion). Comparisons, differences and new insights are described, so answers on the research questions could be formulated for the conclusion of this research.

4 ANALYSIS

This chapter contains the results of the analysis, based on which the answers for the research questions need to be formulated to obtain the goal of this research. The analysis has taken place as described in the previous chapter. The results in this chapter are organized per theme; each subchapter relating to one theme.

To be as clear as possible, for each theme is mentioned if it was determined by the researcher as a minor or a major theme (as discussed in chapter 3.3 and can be seen in appendix 4), and is described to what research question(s) it relates. Then for each theme the relevant information from the theme descriptions is provided, including tables, quotations, etc. Each theme is then concluded with a short concluding summary.

When referring to interviewees from Midden-Delfland and Vaals, where at a certain moment at each interview two people were present, a distinction is made between interviewee A and interviewee B (following the distinction in the transcripts; as explained in chapter 3.2.2).

The interviews were conducted in Dutch. For the practical use of this research, useful quotations that are used to support the analysis have been translated to English. The original Dutch transcripts of these quotations can be found in Appendix 5. Each quotation in this chapter has been numbered as quotation 1, quotation 2, etc., corresponding with the numbering in the overview in appendix 5.

4.1 THEME: ELEMENTS OF LOCAL IDENTITY

Minor theme

This theme regards the local identity of the investigated municipalities as it is perceived / described by the respondents in the interviews. It therefore relates directly to the first part of research question 3: 'How do Dutch rural municipalities view their local identity?' The comparison table on the following page shows the qualities or elements of local identity per municipality that were mentioned by the respondents in the interviews.

For each municipality, the most frequently addressed elements (or pointed out by the interviewees as being of high importance to their municipality) have been highlighted in the table. For Midden-Delfland, this is the green landscape surrounded by the urban environment and the view of cows in the meadow. As interviewee A mentioned here:

'There is a law, (...) and this law says that this municipality has only one task, the core task: to keep this area open and green' (Quotation 1: Midden-Delfland, Interviewee A)

For Alphen-Chaam, the most important values are social cohesion, the strong community life within the villages of the municipality, followed by nature and landscape. It is notable that the interviewee mentions:

'It is not like: there is not something here for which you want to come to Alphen-Chaam' (Quotation 2: Alphen-Chaam).

Table 3 Elements of local identity of each municipality according to the interviewed municipality officials

Midden-Delfland	Alphen-Chaam	Vaals
The green landscape	Brabants (as: typical for the province of Brabant)	Pluriformity
Cows in the meadow	'Doe maar gewoon, dan doe je al gek genoeg'; Just act normal, then you're acting crazy enough as it is.	International ambiance
Quiet	Nature and landscape	'Drielandenpunt': the point where the three countries Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands come together.
Safety	Agriculture & agricultural history	Sister bond with the close by German city of Aachen
'Nabuurship' (neighborship)	Social cohesion	Vaalse dialect
Social cohesion	Strong community life	Monumental buildings with specific history
Strong community feeling	Carnaval	History of textile industry
Small-scaled artisanal agricultural companies	Recreation	Rich cultural-historical past
	Local products / local production (E.g. Chaams Hoen, Kempisch Heideschaap, beerbrewery, vineyard)	Strong community life
		Nature / outdoor area
		Recreation / tourism

In Vaals, the plurality and the international ambiance that goes with it are strong elements in the local identity, followed by nature and landscape and the strong community life as a result of the rich cultural-historic past.

The municipality officials of Midden-Delfland and Vaals emphasize the unique position of their municipality in relation to other municipalities. As official A of Midden-Delfland states:

'Let me put it this way: no municipality in the Netherlands can be compared to Midden-Delfland'
(Quotation 3: Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

The municipality officials of Alphen-Chaam and Vaals state that the local identity is not the same throughout the whole municipality; it differs from village to village. The interviewee in Alphen-Chaam emphasizes that the boundaries of the municipality do not necessarily match the boundaries of the local identity.

The interviewee of Alphen-Chaam furthermore states that attention for local values is the base of municipal politics; it's what the politicians do their work for.

Each municipality proved to have its own unique set of elements and qualities, shared by their communities, as described (the highlighted items in the table). These elements are, according to some interviewees, not necessarily bound to the boundaries of the municipality or individual villages. At the same time it can be noted from the overview in the table that some identity values are shared in all three municipalities. Examples are nature and landscape, strong community life, and social cohesion ('nabuurship').

4.2 THEME: CITTASLOW: HOW AND WHY

Minor theme

This theme regards the process of becoming a Cittaslow member for the investigated municipalities. How did they become Cittaslow, and why? How did they implement Cittaslow in municipal policy? This theme therefore relates to research question 4: ‘What steps do Dutch municipalities take in the implementation of Cittaslow?’

The comparison table below shows a summary of the different reasons the respondents gave as to *why* their municipalities decided to join Cittaslow, and what Cittaslow according to them has to offer to a municipality. These reasons are organised per municipality.

Table 4 Cittaslow: reasons why, for each municipality

Midden-Delfland	Alphen-Chaam	Vaals
Cittaslow lined up with the discussion on regional vision	Cittaslow lined up with the ‘concept of experience’	Cittaslow as tool to make life-quality the highest standard in all fields of policy
Cittaslow as answer in the search for a Unique Selling Point	Cittaslow to distinguish yourself as municipality	Cittaslow to make people aware of the quality in their environment
Cittaslow as a frame for what you already have	Cittaslow helps summarize your activities under one name	Cittaslow offers theoretical hold to frame what you were already doing
Cittaslow as a way to justify certain (choices in) policy	Cittaslow as a way to justify certain (choices in) policy	Cittaslow helps to justify decisions made by municipality
	Cittaslow helps to put a label on carrying out your principles	
	Cittaslow helps to promote tourism and recreation, local product(s)(ion) / economic development	

Though the reasons vary, similarities can be found as well: Cittaslow as a frame for what you already are, offering a theoretical hold, a name, to summarize the activities you were already doing as a municipality. Cittaslow is thought to help justify certain choices made in policy. This partly lines up with the goals and vision Cittaslow internationally wishes to display. The municipality officials emphasize the importance of life-quality sustainment and improvement. Especially in Vaals this was a constantly returning issue in the interviews; but in Midden-Delfland too, interviewee A spoke about constantly questioning oneself if the choices that were made actually contribute to the life quality of the environment. As mentioned in Vaals:

‘In all things we do to stay the municipality we ware, we try to tell our surrounding urban environment: well, you should want this to. And this you should want to maintain and strengthen’ (Quotation 4: Vaals, interviewee A).

When speaking of what the label might add to municipality Alphen-Chaam, the interviewee said:

‘Sceptics said: we don’t need it, because we can do all these things anyway. And then I say: yes, you are right. But, in some strange way it does help to put a sticker on it and to be able to show: look! Yes, call it a quality mark. Call it a label’ (Quotation 5: Alphen-Chaam).

As an example to what Cittaslow actually is for a municipality, the interviewee of Alphen-Chaam gave the following example:

'You are a farmer, and you grow kale. And because of your convictions, you do this biologically. You don't use pesticides, it is all ecologically correct. You use insects to fight weeds... all kinds of things. Biological kale. But, you do not have the sticker 'bio' or 'eco' on your product; simply because you don't feel for it. Does this mean you are not a biological kale farmer anymore? This does not change the practice... does not matter. But yes, it can have advantages to have that label. The same goes for Cittaslow' (Quotation 6: Alphen-Chaam).

The interviewees further mention Cittaslow to be a way of distinguishing yourself, giving the municipality a unique selling point; giving this as an argument of why Cittaslow was implemented in their municipality.

As to *how* each municipality became Cittaslow, the background for each municipality differs. In Midden-Delfland, it was the mayor who got interested in the concept and visited the first Cittaslows in Italy himself. An Italian committee came to Midden-Delfland for the audit and to accredit the municipality in the end with the Cittaslow label. Midden-Delfland was the first in the Netherlands and therefore became Cittaslow capital.

In Alphen-Chaam, it too started with the mayor, reading about Cittaslow in a magazine. He felt Cittaslow lined up with the 'Belevingsconcept' (concept of experience) which was being developed at the time. A delegation of Midden-Delfland came by to discuss the criteria. The board voted to start the trajectory. In an audit, the criteria were checked, and Alphen-Chaam was given green light to get the Cittaslow label. So, here again it was the mayor who brought in the Cittaslow idea; but the interviewee pointed out that:

'In some municipalities it starts with an interested citizen. In others it is the mayor, or a member of the council... There can be all sorts of entrances. But, the board, the council and college, take the final decision to say: well, we want to go for it, we want to have an audit, and we want to be certified' (Quotation 7: Alphen-Chaam).

In Vaals, it was a municipality official from Midden-Delfland who was in Vaals on holiday and noticed what Vaals is about and how this lined up with Cittaslow. This made Vaals realise they already were Cittaslow without knowing. A delegation from Midden-Delfland visited to audit Vaals and accredited the Cittaslow label.

All municipal officials speak of the Dutch twist that has been given to Cittaslow, in order to line-up the list of criteria with Dutch legislation and stands on environment, durability, etc. New Dutch Cittaslows are audited based on this Dutch list of criteria. A Dutch audit uses slightly different features, criteria, than what was internationally agreed on.

In all three municipalities it is mentioned that Cittaslow is something in 'the back of the head'. It is not a leading strategy, but it is implemented in all policy. Midden-Delfland official A:

'It is a way of living, thinking, working and operating which ensures that you think every time: does this fit with the qualities we want to display in our environment' (Quotation 8: Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

In each new policy document there has to be a paragraph addressing the relation to Cittaslow. In Vaals the conscious choice was made not to assign a special Cittaslow coordinator, since Cittaslow should be anchored in every field and every activity of the municipality.

All respondents emphasize the role of Cittaslow as a name, a label, a theoretical hold to summarize activities already being done in the municipalities. It helps to justify policy choices. In this sense it indeed is used as a model for local governance, with a focus on distinctiveness and local urban development. To improve life-quality is mentioned in all three municipalities, lining up with international Cittaslow goals. Cittaslow is used as a unique selling point, a way of distinguishing oneself; a tool for marketing and competition. In becoming Cittaslow, these Dutch municipalities all followed the same steps: a delegation from a Cittaslow visited the candidate municipality, the list of criteria was checked, an audit was held and the candidate then was accredited Cittaslow at the annual international convention.

4.3 THEME: LOCAL IDENTITY: NO MARKETING TOOL

Minor theme

This theme, as did the first theme, regards the local identity of the investigated municipalities. Yet this theme specifically focuses on one discussed topic: if and how the respondents perceive the local identity of their municipality as a marketing tool, a way of local competitiveness. This topic was discussed in the interviews in relation to the theoretical background on different approaches of local identity within this research (Terlouw, 2003; Terlouw & Hogenstijn, 2015; Paasi, 2003; Vainikka, 2013). The theme therefore relates to the first part of research question 3: 'How do Dutch rural municipalities view their local identity?'

It should be noted that the focus of this theme relates purely to the use of local identity itself; when discussing this topic in the interviews, the respondents were specifically told this question does not relate to Cittaslow, as this would be discussed later on.

The statements of the municipality officials diverge strongly on this topic. According to Midden-Delfland interviewee A, to distinguish oneself in relation to other municipalities always plays an important part in municipality politics:

'Not because of fear of being 'eaten', but because of pride, to show what you have' (Quotation 9: Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

According to this interviewee, the local identity is actively used as a unique selling point (USP). It helps to strengthen the relative competitiveness.

For Alphen-Chaam, the interviewee emphasizes that local identity is *not* used for marketing or competition. When the municipality addresses local identity in their policies, this is purely for the benefit of the citizens. According to the interviewee, when for example talking about attracting people to Alphen-Chaam, the municipality has no need to sell its identity; things are going well as they are. However on a later moment in the interview, the municipality official does speak of a 'leefstijlonderzoek' (lifestyle-research) specially carried out to discover what kinds of tourists are attracted to Alphen-Chaams identity elements.

In Vaals, the municipality uses the local identity to present itself as a city, but not for marketing, distinguishing or relative competition. It is used to try and meet up with everybody's interests in the municipality; to think with the citizens. Not to compete with surrounding municipalities, but to work

with them. Their credo: *'van buiten naar binnen werken'* (to work from outside to the inside; interviewee A). The municipality tries to raise the awareness of the local identity of the citizens. municipality official A does mention a side effect from this:

'You see now that people start to use and promote their identity and the local products available by themselves' (Quotation 10: Vaals, interviewee A).

So, not the municipal organization, but the citizens themselves.

Local identity according to all municipalities *can* be used as a way of distinction in relation to other municipalities, as Midden-Delfland actively does; using it as a unique selling point. However the respondents from Alphen-Chaam and Vaals specifically emphasize they choose *not* to use local identity to distinguish, not to use it as a marketing tool or use for relative competitiveness.

4.4 THEME: LOCAL IDENTITY: NO THREATS

Minor theme

This theme again relates to the local identity in the studied municipalities. The focus within this theme lies with problems that might accompany this local identity; threats, changes. This topic was discussed in the interviews relation to the theoretical background within this research, showing that local identity in small, rural municipalities often is under pressure of, for example, consequences of urbanization and globalization; local elements, local values could change or disappear. The theme therefore relates to the second part of research question 3: *'How do Dutch rural municipalities view their local identity?'*

In Midden-Delfland, according to interviewee A, this is not the case. The interviewee understood that municipalities might sometimes feel like they are in a defensive position regarding their identity, but in Midden-Delfland the identity values are approached as their strength, not their weaknesses. Their main value, the green landscape, is the reason this municipality was established in the first place. The surrounding, urban municipalities value this landscape as well, and treat it as their green and open backyard. They want to sustain Midden-Delfland as it is, too:

'I am not afraid that we, as long as we stick to what we were established for, will be taken from it. I see no threat' (Quotation 11: Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

However, the popularity of Midden-Delfland's green identity does lead to some issues now and then. As an example, interviewee A mentions the house prizes: they have risen so high due to the popularity of the municipality, that young starters coming from the municipality are often not able to buy a house in the place they were born.

The municipality official in Alphen-Chaam too points out that the identity is not threatened; but it *is* influenced by nation-wide trends such as building houses, population aging, and up-scaling in agriculture. These trend-changes however are acceptable. Alphen-Chaam never experienced threatening developments such as a large migration-influx. Citizens do not mention problems regarding (elements of) local identity.

Interviewer: *'So, what I hear you say, is that local values are not really threatened here.'*

Interviewee: *'Well, I do not see how'* (Quotation 12: Alphen-Chaam).

He does recognize these problems *can* exist; as an example he spoke of re-organizing and up-scaling municipal organizations in the province of Friesland, where this led to citizens feeling their identity was threatened. Occasionally, this happens in Alphen-Chaam at a very small scale. The interviewee gives as an example the upcoming disappearance of a library due to budget-cuts, which was stopped by protesting citizens.

In Vaals too, the local identity is not threatened according to municipality official A. This has to do with what Vaals' local identity is about; their highest value is the plurality, the international ambiance and multiculturalism. Interviewee A states:

'The people here are used to the fact that they could be faced with all kinds of nationalities, and this goes together very well' (Quotation 13: Vaals, interviewee A).

The interviewees in all three municipalities do not see their local identity being threatened. It is actually seen as a strength; because it can be shared with others who value it (Midden-Delfland), because no threatening changes occur (Alphen-Chaam), because the identity is *about* dealing with differences and change (Vaals). Municipalities can be influenced by nation-wide trends (as mentioned in Alphen-Chaam), but this is not directly threatening the identity.

4.5 THEME: LOCAL IDENTITY SUSTAINMENT: PROTECTING, DEVELOPING, SHARING

Major theme

This theme arose during the data analysis based on what respondents mentioned regarding the sustainment of (elements of) the local identity of their municipality; concerning protection, developing, sharing, strengthening, etc. The theme relates most to research question 3, on how Dutch municipalities view their local identity.

It should be noted that the focus of this theme relates purely to the sustainment of local identity itself; when discussing this topic in the interviews, the respondents were specifically told this question does not relate to Cittaslow, as this would be discussed later on.

The comparison table on the following page summarizes the comments of the interviewees regarding this theme which were most mentioned, or emphasized by the interviewees as being of high importance. Midden-Delfland focusses strongly on sharing. Sharing is seen as the way to sustain local values. Respondent A uses an interesting metaphor, saying Midden-Delfland is like the Gallic village of Asterix and Obelix, surrounded by big urban municipalities representing the Roman camps:

'We have a magic potion, and this potion is the landscape. We want to sustain and strengthen it, but it's not only here for us. If our urban environment does not want the landscape, it will be lost. They will want to start building on it. So we say: we do not keep our magic potion, our landscape, to ourselves. We share it with the urban environment. And this lead to the urban environment saying: Midden-Delfland is a landscape of green quality, those are our green lungs; it will not be touched' (Quotation 14: Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

Table 5 How local identity is sustained, protected, strengthened, carried-out, for each municipality

Midden-Delfland	Alphen-Chaam	Vaals
Sharing it: sharing is sustaining.	Protection and sustainment through existing legislation	Make people aware of the qualities of their environment
Strengthening it: find functions that go with it and that are of value to people living around it (again: sharing)	Stimulate business activities that line up with what 'fits' with the municipality	Anchor local identity in municipality policy: what are the good things we have, and how can we sustain them?
Strengthening local tourism	E.g. active nature-community, preserving and spreading knowledge about nature and environment.	Involve people who come from outside
E.g. use money to remain greenhouses with meadows		Further develop local identity (to stand still is to fall back)
E.g. replace Campina milk with local produced milk		E.g.: importance of 'who we are and where we want to go' in Vaals' Strategic Vision
		E.g. (re)constructing squares so they relate to cultural-historical history of Vaals.

In Alphen-Chaam, protection of local values takes place...

'Not consciously, as in: we need to protect our local values, but more because of already existing legislation' (Quotation 15: Alphen-Chaam).

Especially when it comes to nature and environment, sustaining and strengthening almost automatically takes place because of this existing legislation.

In Vaals, sustainment, protection and strengthening takes places by anchoring local identity in policy and by involving the people. Interviewee A states that (sustaining) the local identity comes from the community, not from the municipal organization. Therefore it is important to raise the awareness of this identity by the citizens. Local identity therefore is anchored in municipal policies, which is not only about sustaining, but also developing (interviewee A):

'On the one hand, we try to anchor it in policy. To make sure we check: what are the good things we have? How can we maintain this? But, also with an eye on the future: how can we develop this further? Because you can't stand still, that would be going backwards' (Quotation 16: Vaals, interviewee A).

The attention for sustaining (elements of) local identity is present in all studied cases. The studied municipalities handle the sustainment of their local identity in very different ways. In Vaals it is actively tried to sustain, strengthen and develop identity values; in contrast to Alphen-Chaam, where it is more implied in already existing legislation. In Vaals the preservation of local elements is seen as something in which the citizens, the local community, should actively be involved, whereas in Midden-Delfland local identity is protected by involving people from outside the municipality. Similarities can be found as well, such as the rise in attention from the community for local values (local products in Midden-Delfland, a nature-community in Alphen-Chaam, and a general risen awareness of local identity in Vaals).

4.6 THEME: CITTASLOW: INDIRECT CHANGES

This theme relates to the effects of becoming and implementing Cittaslow in the municipalities. What changes are noticeable in the municipalities as a consequence of the Cittaslow membership? Therefore, this theme contributes to answering question 4, on the steps that Dutch rural municipalities take in the implementation of Cittaslow.

Available literature showed only marginal information on this from international examples, and as discussed in the theoretical framework, in the Netherlands there has been no true evaluation of Cittaslow implementation with any of the member municipalities. It was not clear which steps are actually taken in the implementation process, or why these steps were chosen, and in what form implementation actually takes place. In other words: there was no overview of the changes in municipality policy and community since the start of the Cittaslow membership.

The interviews proved this to still be difficult. The municipality officials of Midden-Delfland state that changes over the years since the Cittaslow membership began are not easily labelled as direct consequences of Cittaslow. Yet there have been some small and bigger changes that relate to Cittaslow in lesser or more obvious ways. A few of the mentioned examples are:

- More awareness of local qualities and the local identity (for example when it comes to cultural history or hospitality);
- Stronger focus on the production and marketing of local products;
- More awareness with people that they can use local identity for marketing purposes;
- A rise in activity in the tourism sector (like the rise in Bed & Breakfasts);
- Changes in business management, becoming more quality focused (e.g. more durable farming, supported by the municipality).

Some more concrete examples, however small, were more directly linked to Cittaslow:

- Becoming part of an international Cittaslow network;
- Replace existing streetlighting with green (literally), dimmable streetlights that only activate when traffic approaches;
- Take the paint off the municipality business cards to be more eco-friendly;
- Replace Campina milk in the municipality office with local milk.

The municipality official in Alphen-Chaam had a likewise response in this discussion: there have been changes since the membership that link to Cittaslow, but they did not necessarily occur *because of* Cittaslow. An overview of these changes are:

- More attention to culture;
- More attention for local products and local production;
- More awareness for local qualities and the local identity.

When speaking more in-depth on this topic, some examples emerged that did were more directly linked to Cittaslow:

- Cittaslow contributed in the race for Brabant as province with the 'cultural capital 2018'. Cittaslow was chosen here for marketing strategies to promote Brabant, and it resulted in the foundation 'Culture Development Alphen-Chaam'
- The 'Fund for Quality-improvement' will put 50.000 euro in the proposed idea that is most Cittaslow.
- The Cittaslow concept is taken over from Alphen-Chaam to a whole regional network called 'Landschap de Baronie', connecting several municipalities. Not in name, but in several policy

approaches. According to the interviewee this region could almost be viewed upon as a Slow Region by now.

According to the municipality official in Alphen-Chaam, it is constantly in the back of the head when making decisions. As a result, different choices are made in policy:

'It is a combination of you already find important, and take Cittaslow with it in the back of your head' (Quotation 17: Alphen-Chaam).

Yet the interviewee emphasizes that a direct link from Cittaslow to certain changes is almost unmeasurable. He himself feels as if there are practically no concrete changes as a result of the Cittaslow membership. He states about Cittaslow:

'It is namely for the municipality to, in a certain way, do what you as municipality need to do, and think about it. Become aware, and try to create more external awareness too' (Quotation 18: Alphen-Chaam).

Municipality official A in Vaals responded partly the same: there are no special Cittaslow projects or Cittaslow changes; Cittaslow is integrated in all projects, in all policy. However, where Midden-Delfland and Alphen-Chaam were able to make some relations between changes and Cittaslow, this was very limited in Vaals. Some small examples of changes that can be related to the Cittaslow thought are:

- Building small bikepaths
- Making the municipality office more eco-friendly
- Entrepreneurs carrying the Cittaslow-label who actively carry-out their membership for marketing purposes.

Interviewee A in Vaals states:

'Cittaslow is an integrated part of our company, but it is not like things changed that would not have happened if we would not have been Cittaslow. No, I don't think you should see it that way' (Quotation 19: Vaals, interviewee A).

It can however almost all be related to the Cittaslow philosophy.

When analyzing all comments, interviewees from all three municipalities state that Cittaslow is something in the back of the head; constantly addressed when making policy, but not as a leading practice. The point of being Cittaslow is *not* to start activities or make policies *because of* your Cittaslow membership.

The relationship between Cittaslow membership and certain changes is perceived as difficult to measure. These changes might as well have occurred without the presence of Cittaslow. Another reason that was mentioned for the lack of noticeable changes, is that a Cittaslow municipality already *was* Cittaslow when becoming it officially; therefore change is not a necessity when becoming Cittaslow. This is discussed more extensively in the theme 'A Cittaslow already was Cittaslow'.

All officials do agree in the interviews that the influence of Cittaslow *is* noticeable, in the back of the head, in the mindset of municipality politicians, entrepreneurs and citizens; for those that are aware. This awareness of Cittaslow, and with it the awareness of the local identity, is growing; this will be discussed in different themes ('Cittaslow: awareness and framing Local Identity' and 'Awareness of Local Identity').

4.7 THEME: A CITTASLOW ALREADY WAS CITTASLOW

Major theme

This theme arose during the data analysis as being a constant returning issue mentioned by all respondents: a Cittaslow member must have been living up to the Cittaslow philosophy even before officially becoming Cittaslow. This theme does not relate directly to one of the research questions. However it can be supportive when formulating an answer to research question 4 (what steps Dutch municipalities take in Cittaslow implementation), since it might relate to items concerning becoming Cittaslow or changes made since becoming Cittaslow. Therefore this theme was thought to be relevant to address with regard to this research.

During the interview in Midden-Delfland, interviewee A kept coming back to the following standpoint:

'My standpoint is: you can only become Cittaslow, if you already are Cittaslow. Otherwise you will never become it. Because, you do not become an identity; you are an identity' (Quotation 20: Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

Furthermore he states:

'Cittaslow can be approached as an administrative toy. 'It is so nice to have a label'. But if you do not have Cittaslow in the, call it the veins of your community, in the society itself, if it is not anchored there, than it will never be experienced as hospitable. Than nobody will care about the quality' (Quotation 21: Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

Interviewee B adds to this:

'If you do not want to be it, and you do stick the label to it, than it will give you a lot of trouble' (Quotation 22: Midden-Delfland, interviewee B).

Respondent A further adds that a municipality without cultural history, without people having attention for each other, without willing to go for environmental quality and hospitality, can never become Cittaslow.

The same goes for Alphen-Chaam. As the interviewee says:

'Alphen-Chaam already was Cittaslow, but it did not have the label yet' (Quotation 23: Alphen-Chaam).

Furthermore this municipality official gave the interesting comparison with a farmer growing kale in a biological way, but without having the biological label on his product (as can be read in the theme description for the theme 'Cittaslow: how and why'). As to the process of becoming Cittaslow as a municipality, the interviewee states:

'When we became interested in it (in Cittaslow), and we were informed, people said: well, we already are a Cittaslow municipality, without even knowing it' (Quotation 24: Alphen-Chaam).

In Vaals this again was mentioned by municipality official A. When it comes to being Cittaslow, she says:

'We don't need to invent it, and we don't need to impose it from above. It's just there. That was also the reason that we said, in 2011: yes, but Cittaslow, we already are Cittaslow. We do not need to anything for it, it is just there' (Quotation 25: Vaals, interviewee A).

Later on she adds, about the process of actually becoming Cittaslow:

'We checked: what are the criteria? What is the audit about? And found that, without knowing ourselves, we were already using Cittaslow' (Quotation 26: Vaals, interviewee A).

According to this municipality official, Cittaslow is not something you can impose on your community. It has to be part of the identity already. As mentioned by Midden-Delfland interviewee B, to become Cittaslow when not having it in the veins of your community will only make it feel like a burden.

When speaking with the officials about why they became Cittaslow, they all mentioned that, when learning about Cittaslow, there was a sense of: this fits with what we are already doing. Cittaslow is not something you can become; its features must already be part of your community. It explains why, as discussed in the previous theme, there are only a few significant changes in each municipality which can be linked to Cittaslow since becoming a member; there is no *need* to change anything when you already (unconsciously) were Cittaslow in the first place.

4.8 THEME: CITTASLOW: AWARENESS AND FRAMING LOCAL IDENTITY

Major theme

This theme relates very specifically to the last interview question: 'is there a relation between Cittaslow and (the sustainment of) local identity?' This in fact relates directly to the main research question of this research: 'how does Cittaslow implementation by Dutch rural municipalities relate to the sustainment of local identities?' Though this interrelation should be detected from the rest of the themes and the answers to the research questions in the conclusion of this thesis, the researcher choose to ask the municipality officials about this in a direct way as well. Due to the very provocative nature of this question, and therefore the provocative way in which the answers were obtained, the results gathered within this theme are considered by the researcher as less valuable. This will be kept in mind when formulating conclusions based on this analysis. However the researcher still decided to address this theme since it could provide some interesting comments or insights regarding the main research question.

When directly asking the respondents about the relation (if any) between Cittaslow and local identity, various issues were addressed by the interviewees. Municipality official B from Midden-Delfland points out that the municipality does not necessarily wants to grow or become big, but just wants to stay the way it is. He speaks of:

'Use the 'being yourself' as an argument to actually be allowed to be yourself' (Quotation 27: Midden-Delfland, interviewee B).

Earlier interviewee B already stated that local identity is used as a unique selling point (USP) for the municipality (see theme description 'Local Identity: no marketing'). He later on adds that Cittaslow helps labelling this USP; helps to give it a frame. He states:

'If it's alright, it is not just a label you stick on it. I mean, we became it (Cittaslow) while we already were it. We only embraced the label, because at a certain moment it is a really useful tag for what you more or less want to be. (...) And then it is really useful to have some overall mark for it, (...) and this we name Cittaslow' (Quotation 28: Midden-Delfland, interviewee B).

He adds later on that, in certain groups of people, it is very useful because people know with one hit exactly what you more or less stand for as a municipality.

The interviewee in Alphen-Chaam first states that the relation between local identity and Cittaslow is almost unmeasurable. However, later on he states that the Cittaslow label helps raise the awareness of the identity; both for the municipal organization and towards people outside. According to him, Cittaslow functions as a frame, a name, a label, to address the local identity and activities regarding it.

Interviewer: *'You can summarize it al (the local activities of the municipality) under one name at once).'*

Interviewee: *'Well, exactly!'* (Quotation 29: Alphen-Chaam).

When speaking of Cittaslow and asking if, in his municipality, it might have become a part of the identity, the municipality official says that this might partly be the case:

'The people themselves are working with it (with the local identity), and you notice that Cittaslow is used, is brought as an argument' (Quotation 30: Alphen-Chaam).

In Vaals, municipality official A emphasizes that Cittaslow especially is used in policy concerning local values and the local identity. As an example, she mentions a cultural fund for people who do something to renew, strengthen or protect cultural values of the community. Cittaslow, according to her, is used to protect the good things you have (concerning the local values), and at the same time keep developing; for to stand still is to fall back. Cittaslow furthermore creates awareness with citizens for their local identity and the qualities of their environment.

Even an unconventional Cittaslow topic, such as the plurality which plays a big role in the local identity of Vaals, is easily linked to the Cittaslow philosophy in different ways. Interviewee A here states that, though plurality is not directly a core value within Cittaslow, the fact that people from various national and cultural backgrounds live together in an close community *is* a sign of Cittaslow; a sign of life-quality. The tolerance, the hospitality, between the people.

An amount of similarities between all three municipalities is seen when directly addressing the relation between Cittaslow and local identity. Cittaslow helps to give local identity, and the activities that go with it, a name. People in a community start to use Cittaslow to address and work with local values. Cittaslow is most present in policy concerning local values, used to protect the good you have and develop this further, making it stronger; again, framing.

4.9 THEME: AWARENESS OF LOCAL IDENTITY

Major theme

This theme arose during the interview analysis as being an overarching topic, repeated over-and-over-again in the comments of all respondents. When speaking of local identity, the interviewees in all three interviews repeatedly bring up the importance of awareness; especially when speaking of local identity in relation to Cittaslow. Therefore this theme relates directly to the main research question of this thesis, focusing on the relation between Cittaslow implementation and local identity sustainment in Dutch rural municipalities. This makes this theme highly valuable among the major themes. Furthermore it relates strongly to research question 2 ('What is local identity, and what position does this take within Cittaslow thought and examples?') as an addition to the literature relating to this question. On top of this the theme provides help in answering research questions 3 ('How do Dutch rural municipalities view their local identities and the accompanying problems (if any)?') and 4 ('What steps do Dutch municipalities take in the implementation of Cittaslow?') as to how is being dealt with both Cittaslow and local identity in a Cittaslow municipality. This makes this theme not only a major theme among the interview codes; it proves to be of high significance for this research as a whole.

The content of this theme description might show some overlap with the previous theme; yet as explained there, the information in the previous theme was obtained in a provocative way with a specific interview question and therefore the distinction between the previous theme and this theme is kept. The comments resulting in *this* theme were done throughout the whole length of the interviews and on multiple and various occasions, therefore having a different, not-provoked background or motivation when mentioned by the respondents.

As said, interviewees in all three interviews repeatedly bring up the importance of awareness. Mostly awareness of local identity, followed by awareness of Cittaslow, awareness of life quality, awareness among citizens, awareness among municipality staff, the lack of awareness, how to increase awareness, the benefits of awareness. In the interview in Midden-Delfland, awareness is mentioned multiple times in relation to Cittaslow: making choices every time on what to do in new policy steps; being aware of qualities that you have or want to achieve, and how this policy might effect it or how it can be changed to reach the municipality goals for these qualities. As municipality official A puts it:

'To, with every proposal that you make to a college, think: (...) does this fit with what we stand for?' (Quotation 31: Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

As an example he speaks of buying new cars for municipality staff, making choices between cheap cars driving on fossil fuels, or expensive but durable electric cars. The municipality choose durable cars....

Interviewee: *'...and that does not only count for municipality Midden-Delfland, but for many municipalities. They accidentally might not be Cittaslow, but they too choose for durability.'*

Interviewer: *'But you might just take it a little more into account...'*

Interviewee: *'Yes. Or use it to keep our people aware. You should not want this'*
(Quotation 32: Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

Interviewee A also mentions that, when not being aware of your local identity, you are also not aware of what you could lose as community:

'There are municipalities that are not aware of: what is our.... What do we stand for? What are we? But that is the question you have every time. And maybe it is an open door, but well. Many people that you... They don't know it. They are also not aware of what they might lose, when it comes to processes of upscaling etcetera' (Quotation 33: Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

Furthermore, interviewee A speaks of the benefits for citizens becoming more aware of their local identity and what they might do with it. They have started to realize that they can use their local values as unique selling point; realizing what their qualities can be used for. In this the municipality official sees an increase in the importance of culture for citizens; people are more and more aware of their cultural history.

In Alphen-Chaam the same argument arises as in Midden-Delfland. The municipality official mentions that, for decisions such as building a McDonalds or creating new roads, one should always ask: is this what we want to allow in our municipality? What kind of developments do we want? Certain developments should not be accepted. The same goes for citizens; they have become more aware of Cittaslow, and know how to use it to correct the municipality in its behavior. The municipality official explains this with the following example.

'A provincial road is going straight through Chaam. And well, a lot of trucks traffic comes through there. Well, they are not pleased with this in Chaam, I understand that. And yes, that Cittaslow is taken by the horns as well: Hey, municipality, you are a Cittaslow member, this can't be. They are racing here... right?' (Quotation 34: Alphen-Chaam).

The municipality official of Alphen-Chaam speaks also of the awareness of citizens for their local identity; how it can suddenly rise when they might feel their identity could be threatened. As an example, he speaks of the closing of a library in one of the villages.

'In Alphen-Chaam, the library in Chaam would be closed. (...) Then, for a moment, there was a big protest. And in the end the library stayed open, for now. With some extra tasks to show what they do with subsidy money. But yes, that indeed is such an... Such an example. Of: yes, something is going on that might be taken away. And then there's the devil to pay' (Quotation 35: Alphen-Chaam).

In Vaals, creating awareness according to municipality official A is of great importance in sustaining the local identity and carrying out the Cittaslow thought:

'The art is to make people aware of the quality they have in their environment. Because, if you live here, you often don't see how good it is. You no longer have an eye for the traditions, because they are just there. You are used to it. But that is exactly what we try to make the people aware of' (Quotation 36: Vaals, interviewee A).

Vaals actively tries to make the citizens aware of the qualities that are there;

'But the citizens, they definitely know that Cittaslow is there, but they often do not know what this means for themselves' (Quotation 37: Vaals, interviewee A).

Interviewee A of Vaals does see a growing awareness with citizens, as mentioned before: citizens starting to use their identity and local products for promotion. When it comes to Cittaslow, the municipality official thinks that the citizens are aware of its existence in Vaals; but she is not sure if it really lives with the people, since this is hard to measure. Cittaslow is something that needs to be internalized in the people:

'It has to become internalized, right? Not only with our own people (the municipality staff), but also within the community, right?' (Quotation 38: Vaals, interviewee A).

The Cittaslow supporters, entrepreneurs who support Cittaslow actively, are very aware and also know very well how to use this for marketing purposes, according to the interviewee.

The statements done by all municipality officials, as proven in many quotations above, show that awareness plays a vital role when determining the relation between Cittaslow and local identity in a municipality. This relation concerns being aware of what you have and want to achieve as a community (identity) and how this might be affected or enhanced by policy changes (Cittaslow implementation). Citizens who become aware of their identity realise through Cittaslow how they can use local elements, local values as unique selling points. Being aware is of great importance to carry out the Cittaslow thought, and thus sustain local identity. Without the researcher specifically asking for it, the interviewees bring this awareness up on several individual occasions during the interviews. These standpoints were confirmed when asking the interviewees directly about this relation (As discussed in the previous theme 'Cittaslow: awareness and framing Local Identity').

5 CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CRITICAL REFLECTION

This final chapter of the bachelor thesis contains the conclusions of this research. Based on the results of the data analysis discussed in chapter 4, in relation to the theory provided in chapter 2, an answer to the main research question will be provided in this chapter. This question is:

How does Cittaslow implementation by Dutch rural municipalities relate to the sustainment of local identities?

By answering this research question it becomes clear what the relation is between Cittaslow implementation in Dutch rural municipalities, and the way these municipalities deal with sustaining their local identities. By finding these answers the goal of this research to extend the understanding of sustaining local identities in Dutch rural municipalities, by analysing existing practices in this area, with the focus on Cittaslow membership in such municipalities as a case will be achieved.

First follows a subchapter describing and arguing the conclusions of this research. subchapter 5.2 continues with recommendations for follow-up research regarding the theme under which this research can be placed. Chapter 5 then concludes with a paragraph containing a critical reflection on the different choices made during the execution of this research.

5.1 CONCLUSION

In this chapter an answer to the central question of this research will be given based on the information and analysis from chapters 2 and 4. The conclusions of chapter 4 are summarized and interlinked with the theoretical background, so in the end a final answer on the research question could be formulated.

The conclusion is build up following the two concepts of the concept model of this research (explained in chapter 2.2). Subchapter 5.1.1. discusses the found information, linkages to theory and insights regarding the concept of local identity and the sustainment of it. This discussion provides an answer to research question 3. In subchapter 5.1.2 the same is done for the concept of Cittaslow implementation in Dutch rural municipalities, answering research question 4. Subchapter 5.1.3 culminates in a conclusion describing the found relationship between these two concepts, thereby answering the main research question.

5.1.1 Local identity and the sustainment of it

The information in this subchapter provides the answer to research question 3: 'How do Dutch rural municipalities view their local identities and the accompanying problems (if any)? In doing so, different topics as derived from the analysis will be addressed.

Local identity: features

Each municipality proved to have its own unique set of elements and qualities, shared by their communities. These elements are not necessarily bound to the boundaries of the municipality or individual villages. At the same time, some identity values are shared in all three investigated municipalities. Examples are nature and landscape, strong community life, and social cohesion ('*nabuurschap*'). The mentioned features of identity make the identity descriptions of the municipality officials line up with what Paasi (2003) described as the 'identity of a space or region'; the primary dimension of Terlouw and Hogenstijn (2015), in which one speaks of features of nature, people and culture, which together form an imagined community. This was especially emphasized by the quotations of the municipality officials in Midden-Delfland and Vaals, underlining the unique position

of their municipality in relation to other municipalities. The municipality officials describe the primary identity: the identity linked to a certain place or region (in contrast to the secondary identity which was the consciousness of this space, the identification of people with a region, linked more to an organizational structure) (Paasi, 2013).

Local identity: threats

The studied municipalities do not experience their local identity being threatened. It is actually seen as a strength; because it can be shared with others who value it (Midden-Delfland), because no threatening changes occur (Alphen-Chaam), because the identity is *about* dealing with differences and change (Vaals). Municipalities can be influenced by nation-wide trends (as mentioned in Alphen-Chaam), but this is not directly threatening the identity. This shows that these three municipalities do not experience what was found in literature; the threat to local identities as a result of processes as urbanization and globalization and the fear that communities might not be able to maintain identities the way they are (Knox, 2005; Terlouw & Hogenstijn, 2015).

Local identity: distinguishing and relative competitiveness

The elements the studied cases show concerning distinguishing oneself in relation to other municipalities line up with the elements of Terlouws work (2012) on thick identities, as discussed in the theoretical framework. This approaches identity as a tool for distinction, often based on territorial and communal features (the primary identity features, discussed above).

Studying identity within the cases of this research further shows that municipalities are aware of this thick and primary identity, and work with it in policy. This then relates to the features of secondary identity, which regards dealing with the primary identities on organizational levels such as a municipality (Terlouw & Hogenstijn, 2015).

The concept of local identity as described in the theoretical framework suggested that municipal organizations might focus more on secondary and thin identity features. The case study rather shows municipalities focus on secondary and *thick* identity features, the last of which then again are linked to primary identity features; of which the presence in the municipalities was already established (as discussed above).

Interesting is the position of Vaals and Alphen-Chaam. It was strongly emphasized here that local identity is *not* used for distinction, marketing or competition. Though the municipalities do work with their local identity, and, in that sense, show signs of secondary identity features, they oppose the idea of identity as a tool for relative competitiveness which was suggested by Terlouw (2012). This shows that features of thin identity (of which relative competitiveness forms a significant section) are not strongly focussed on in municipalities.

Local identity: sustainment

The different ways the studied cases handle local identity, protecting it, strengthening it etc., go hand in hand with the global trends in local identity sustainment as discussed in the theoretical framework of this research. Instead of positioning local identity as opposite of, for example, effects of globalization, identity in these municipalities is approached as something to strengthen. It is used to bound with the outside world (e.g. sharing with people from outside, increasing tourist activities), and as a way of profiting from it in the worldwide (but also local scaled) competition between regions (e.g. support business activities that carry out local values) (Boisen et al., 2011). It is what Paasi (2013)

describes as the second dimension of local identity: the identification of people with a region, increasing the awareness of the qualities that surround them.

The way these municipalities deal with the local values of their identity regards features of the secondary identity Terlouw and Hogenstijn (2015) speak of; '...the way in which people within a spatial community have learned to deal with different primary identities' (p. 30). Citizens are actively involved in becoming aware of their identity. Knowledge of local values and features is gathered and spread. Both citizens and Cittaslow entrepreneurs are more aware of their local values and how to use them; lining up with Knox (2005) stating that features which make a place unique become more important, with citizens becoming more and more aware of the ways in which their place is perceived by others.

The local identity in the studied cases is not only protected, but also strengthened, even developed further; as described by Honoré (2005), who mentions that it is not about denying all available possibilities the modernized globalized world brings, but about finding balance between the fast world and at the same time keeping life and places sustainable.

5.1.2 Implementing Cittaslow

The information in this subchapter provides the answer to research question 4: 'What steps do Dutch municipalities take in the implementation of Cittaslow?' In doing so, different topics will be addressed.

Becoming Cittaslow: why

The reasons for each municipality to become Cittaslow partly line up with the goals and vision Cittaslow internationally wishes to display. Cittaslow indeed is used as a model for local governance, providing an agenda of local distinctiveness and urban development (Pink 2008). The highest goal within Cittaslow according to theory is to sustain and improve quality of life (Pink, 2008; Radstrom, 2011), which is emphasized within each of the studied municipalities as well.

The municipalities use Cittaslow as a way of distinguishing oneself, giving the municipality a unique selling point. It helps to give a name to what one was already doing, framing the municipal activities. Interesting is that literature did not show directly the use of Cittaslow for promoting itself as a handy tool for distinguishing, competition or marketing; but the interviewed municipality officials do give this as a main argument of why Cittaslow was implemented in their municipality.

To become Cittaslow, one already had to be Cittaslow

Cittaslow in all studied cases is perceived as something which is used in all phases of making policy, in all different fields, but not as a leading practice; it is something in the back of the head. Becoming Cittaslow does not imply for a municipality to start new policies or activities just because this municipality became Cittaslow.

It proves to be difficult to address changes which can be directly linked to Cittaslow. Any changes that have occurred since the membership started might have occurred as well if the municipality did not become Cittaslow. A second reason for the lack in noticeable changes, is that municipalities officially becoming Cittaslow must already have *been* Cittaslow. Therefore, change is not a necessity when official becoming accredited with the Cittaslow certificate. Cittaslow is not something you can become; its features must already be part of your community, of the identity, though one might not realize this. To officially become Cittaslow triggers this awareness, using it as an argument to be and stay yourself.

When comparing this to the theoretical framework it provides an interesting insight. This theory often mentioned transition, change, strengthen, progress; not to be conservative, but being concerned

with how cities can transfer, make progress in this globalized world, without losing their soul in that transition (Miele, 2008); a *different* way of urban development (Baycan and Girard, 2013); Cittaslow as an 'explore and reconstruct' strategy (Dogrusoy and Dalgakiran, 2011). This suggests cities accredited with the Cittaslow label *do* actively change their policies in relation to the Cittaslow philosophy. Parkins and Craig (2006) emphasize on this: Cittaslow, and slow living with it, has the potential to cause urban transformation, and since potential and accredited members attempt to make life more slow, this means the members have to make changes, remove obstacles, make a transition, to become so. In this sense the Dutch Cittaslow cases in this study seem to deviate from general international assumptions regarding Cittaslow implementation.

All officials do agree in the interviews that the influence of Cittaslow *is* noticeable, in the back of the head, in the mindset of municipality politicians, entrepreneurs and citizens; for those that are aware. This awareness of Cittaslow, and with it the awareness of the local identity, is growing.

5.1.3 Cittaslow implementation in relation to local identity sustainment

In this subchapter the answers from the previous subchapters will be linked, combining with it the answers on research questions 3 and 4 and therefore interrelating the concepts of Cittaslow implementation and local identity sustainment; thus providing an answer to the main research question.

The first component in formulating an answer regards local identity, and the sustainment of it. Though each studied case has its own unique local identity, in all municipalities the importance of the awareness of this identity is emphasized. To protect local values they have to be shared within the community and with others visiting it. Local identity can even be *about* being aware of local features and differences (with Vaals' plurality as example). Municipalities are, and want to be more, aware of their local identity and work with it in policy making.

The second component in the answer to this research question regards the role of Cittaslow implementation. Cittaslow is implemented for local distinctiveness and development, preserving life-quality. It functions as a unique selling point, framing the activities a municipality wishes to carry out; using Cittaslow as an argument to be yourself. One already *is* Cittaslow before officially becoming it. It is part of the identity without even realizing it. To become Cittaslow is to become aware of this identity.

Combining these two components, this case study indicates that Cittaslow implementation has a relation to both raising awareness of local identity and framing this local identity. The answer to the main research question can therefore now be summarized in two points:

- Cittaslow implementation in Dutch rural municipalities improves the awareness of citizens for their local identity;
- Cittaslow implementation in Dutch rural municipalities provides a framework to address this local identity and activities regarding it.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter some suggestions are given for follow-up research. This bachelor thesis does of course not form a full, new theoretical insight on its own; it is a first exploration of a possible relationship between the concepts of local identity sustainment and Cittaslow implementation. To support and strengthen these conclusions, follow-up research is desirable.

Follow-up research might imply a more in-depth analysis of the studied relation. The focus of this research in collecting data was placed on municipality officials, because the theoretical framework suggested mostly 'secondary' and 'thin' features of local identity which regard to an organizational structure behind it. Since Cittaslow is implemented from an organizational, municipal level this was the correct choice. However, to go more in-depth on Cittaslow implementation and local identity, follow-up research might concern itself not with the municipality but with citizens and entrepreneurs regarding their view on (sustaining) local identity and the impact of Cittaslow implementation on them. This might include a change of focus on different aspects of identity as a concept. For example, a focus purely on the primary, thick features of identity could be of bigger relevance to citizens' experience (as was stated in the theoretical frame).

Follow-up research might include a different approach in methodology. A choice was made to do in-depth interviews with municipality 'experts' on Cittaslow. One could also choose to do focus group interviewing, taking in not only municipality officials but also entrepreneurs and citizens from different layers of the municipal population. This to gain more in-depth understanding of what people experience as their local identity, what this means to them, what Cittaslow means to different people, etc.

Follow-up research might also take a more broad direction; expand this research to other municipalities, not necessarily within the Netherlands but also abroad. The results of this research are highly sensitive for the case-contexts, since the focus was placed on three Dutch municipalities of which the local identity proved to have some very typical features. In order to make the relationship between Cittaslow implementation and local identity sustainment more generalizable, a broader research involving more, and more varied data collection might prove to be more effective.

In the project framework the evaluative research of Janny Rozema, starting beginning this year is mentioned. This research focuses on the evaluation of Cittaslow implementation in municipalities Vlagtwedde – Bellingwedde. It might be interesting to compare and discuss the results of this research and hers to see if similarities or new findings might occur.

5.3 CRITICAL REFLECTION

In this final chapter a critical reflection is written by the researcher as a review of this bachelor thesis. This will involve several comments on the way this research process took place.

The theoretical perspective through which this research was approached could be subject of discussion. The researcher choose to study a very specific relationship, focusing on a (quite framed) concept of local identity. The research could be approached from a broader view, not only involving local identity but other aspects as well. The same goes the other way around; the aim of this study addressed local identity sustainment in relation to Cittaslow implementation as policy tool. A choice could also have been made to address the relation between local identity and (several) other policy approaches, increasing the societal relevance (municipalities could have obtained information on a larger number of policy examples on how to deal with identity sustainment). Furthermore, the theoretical perspective could have been from a completely different dimension; focusing much stronger on the economic side of Cittaslow, or for example approach the relation between local identity and Cittaslow from a purely environmental point of view.

A second point of discussion are the relatively open, semi-structured interviews. The explorative nature of this research (since this research question has not been researched before, according to available sources) implied that every new insight on this subject might be valuable, making this type of interview very relevant. Yet, though they leave room for surprise and new insights, they also enlarge the risk that the course of interviews and the topics discussed will vary between the respondents. This not only makes it difficult to compare the data of different cases in the analysis; it also has consequences for the repeatability of this research, making it difficult for others to obtain the same data. This might have affected the reliability of the research. On the other hand it do has to be noted how fruitful the partly grounded theory approach of this research has been. Without the researcher specifically asking for it, the interviewees bring up the (for this research new) concept of awareness on several individual occasions during the interviews; an effect that a partly grounded theory approach with an open mindset and broad questions with plenty of room for answering helped to accomplish.

Another comment is the lack of time to execute a more extensive research, and therefore, the relative small amount of collected data. A larger number of interviews, preferably divided over a larger number of cases, would have made the results more reliable and therefore the research more valuable.

Also, in this research the Cittaslow cases were chosen through purposive sampling; selected based on how value they could be for this research. A more random selection might have provided less relevant information, but would have contributed to the representability of this research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 INTERVIEW GUIDE

This appendix contains the interview guide used to structure the interviews. Below you can find the Dutch version that was actually used in the interviews. It is followed by an English translation of it.

Interview guide (Semi-structured) (Dutch)

Geïnterviewde: Gemeenteambtenaar ([Naam gemeente](#)), betrokken bij Cittaslow ([Naam gemeente](#))
Onderzoeksvraag: Welke relatie is er tussen Cittaslow-implementatie door Nederlandse (plattelands)gemeenten en het behoud van de lokale identiteit?

De opbouw van het interview is als volgt. Na de introductie en een introductievraag volgen 7 brede vragen om het interview deels te structureren, maar met een relatief open karakter om de geïnterviewde in de gelegenheid te stellen hier breed op te antwoorden en zodoende een relatief open interview te creëren. De 'subvragen' a, b, c, etc. zijn niet bedoeld als daadwerkelijk vragen, maar kunnen ingezet worden om 'door te vragen' of de geïnterviewde een houvast te geven.

Intro

(Voorstellen)

Ik wil u allereerst bedanken dat u tijd heeft gemaakt om met mij te spreken vandaag. U weet uit ons eerder contact (mail, telefoon) waar mijn onderzoek over gaat; het Cittaslow lidmaatschap van Nederlandse gemeenten in relatie tot de lokale identiteit in die gemeenten, om bij te dragen aan de kennis in Nederland omtrent Cittaslow en de kennis omtrent het behoud van lokale identiteiten. Ik wil graag met u praten over de lokale identiteit van deze gemeente en de keuzes die gemaakt zijn met betrekking tot het Cittaslow lidmaatschap en eventuele veranderingen die zijn opgetreden. Ik verwacht dat het interview niet meer dan een uur in beslag zal nemen. Met uw toestemming wil ik het interview graag opnemen (alleen geluid) voor de latere verwerking, om er zeker van te zijn dat geen van uw opmerkingen over het hoofd zie; deze dragen bij aan het vinden van antwoorden op mijn onderzoeksvragen. Uiteraard wordt zorgvuldig en vertrouwelijk met de informatie omgegaan. Indien u dit wenst, zullen uw antwoorden behandeld worden als van een anonieme bron binnen de gemeente.

Ik zal u meerdere vragen stellen over onderwerpen gerelateerd aan het Cittaslow lidmaatschap van ([Naam gemeente](#)) en gerelateerd aan de lokale identiteit in deze gemeente. Voelt u zich niet bezwaard om tijdens het interview dingen te benoemen die in u opkomen; mochten we te veel afwijken van dat wat inhoudelijk van belang is voor het onderzoek, zal ik dit aangeven. Aan het einde van het interview heeft u verder de mogelijkheid om eerder commentaar aan te vullen of aan te passen indien u dat wenst. Tussendoor maak ik mogelijk enkele aantekeningen ter notitie voor mijzelf of om later op terug te komen.

Inhoudelijk

Inleidend

Kunt u kort omschrijven wat uw rol / functie is binnen de gemeente, en specifiek met betrekking tot Cittaslow?

Vragen over lokale identiteit

1. Uit onderzoek blijkt dat, onder de druk van processen als urbanisatie, krimp, globalisering, met name kleinere gemeenten worstelen met het behoud van hun lokale identiteit; lokale waarden, lokale eigenschappen. Hoe ervaart u dit in uw eigen gemeente?
 - a. Concrete voorbeelden; mogelijk binnen meerdere perspectieven (**economisch**, cultureel, landschappelijk, demografisch). Zorgen die uitgesproken worden?
 - b. Zo ja; waarom is het een probleem?
 - c. Voor wie is het een probleem? (Niveaus)
(Vat samen)

2. De term 'lokale identiteit' vormt een belangrijk concept binnen dit onderzoek. Als u kijkt naar uw gemeente, hoe zou u lokale identiteit dan omschrijven?
 - a. Omschrijving lokale identiteit van (**Naam gemeente**); Belangrijke elementen hierin
 - b. Eventueel benaderen vanuit meerdere perspectieven (economisch, cultureel, landschappelijk, demografisch)
 - c. Benaderen vanuit verschillende niveaus (overheid, ondernemers, burgers). **'Organisatorische / bestuurlijke' achtergrond**. Hoe wordt hiermee omgegaan?
 - d. Is de lokale identiteit belangrijk voor (leden van) deze gemeente? Hoe ziet u dit / waaraan merkt u dit?
(Vat samen)

3. In Nederland is een grootschalig onderzoek uitgevoerd naar lokale identiteiten van plaatsen en regio's (Terlouw & Hogenstijn, 2015), waaruit blijkt dat de focus vanuit bestuur steeds meer ligt op lokale identiteit als een manier om zich te onderscheiden t.o.v. andere regio's. Op welke manier ziet u deze relatie tussen de benadering van lokale identiteit en (economische) concurrentiepositie in (**Naam gemeente**)?
 - a. Waarom wel / niet?
 - b. Hoe is dit terug te zien?

4. Hoe wordt de lokale identiteit, en dan met name de elementen/kenmerken die besproken zijn in de voorgaande vragen, uitgedragen / gewaarborgd / beschermd / verstevigd (*in het algemeen, vraag is **niet** gericht op Cittaslow*)?
 - a. Concrete voorbeelden? Op welke manier? Mogelijk binnen meerdere perspectieven (**economisch**, cultureel, landschappelijk, demografisch)
 - b. Door wie? Welke actoren?

Vragen over Cittaslow

5. In (**jaartal**) is (**Naam gemeente**) lid geworden van Cittaslow. Kunt u me kort vertellen over de aanleiding, aanmeldingsprocedure en doorgevoerde stappen?
 - a. Wat is het doel? Wat wil de gemeente bereiken? Waarom Cittaslow?
 - b. Hoe verliep de toelating? Criteria / beoordeling?
 - c. Doorgevoerde stappen in brede zin: aanpassingen in (manier van) beleidsvoering?
 - d. Doorgevoerde stappen concreet: wat voor keuzes zijn daadwerkelijk gemaakt in de implementatie? (Bijvoorbeeld specifieke criteria uit de Cittaslowlijst?)
(Vat samen)

6. (Naam gemeente) is lid van Cittaslow sinds (jaartal). Welke veranderingen in de gemeente zijn merkbaar als gevolg van dit lidmaatschap?
- Zijn er concrete voorbeelden te noemen? (eventueel helpen: bekijken vanuit perspectieven. Economie. Landbouw. Cultuur. Demografie.)
 - Op welk niveau vinden veranderingen plaats? (Puur bestuurlijk; burgerinitiatieven; veranderende bedrijvigheid; etc.)
 - Kunnen deze veranderingen met zekerheid aan Cittaslow gelinkt worden? Waarom wel / niet?
(Vat samen)

Cittaslow en lokale identiteit

7. Is er een verband tussen Cittaslow en (het behoud van) de lokale identiteit?
- Is er een verband tussen (elementen van) lokale identiteit en de keuze om Cittaslow lid te worden?
 - Is er een verband tussen bepaalde keuzes gemaakt in de Cittaslow implementatie en (elementen van) lokale identiteit?
 - Is er een verband tussen bepaalde veranderingen die waargenomen zijn sinds het Cittaslow lidmaatschap en lokale identiteit?

Afsluiting

Ik wil u hartelijk bedanken, uw informatie heeft veel toe kunnen voegen aan mijn onderzoek. Is er mogelijk nog meer dat u zelf wil toevoegen of waar u op terugkomen wil?

Als in een later stadium van dit onderzoek mogelijk verdere vragen opkomen, of ik voel de noodzaak om te checken of ik u correct begrepen heb, mag ik dan nogmaals contact met u opnemen?

Ik neem meerdere interviews af. Heeft u nog suggesties voor met wie ik zou kunnen spreken om het beeld voor mijn onderzoek verder compleet te maken (ook op andere niveaus; ondernemers, burgers?).

Na het analyseren van de interviews zal het me nog een maand of twee kosten om conclusies te trekken en het onderzoeksrapport te schrijven. Als u geïnteresseerd bent, wil ik u te zijner tijd graag een kopie toesturen.

(Afsluiting)

Interview guide (Semi-structured) (English)

Interviewee: Municipality official (name municipality), involved in Cittaslow (name municipality)

Research question: How does Cittaslow implementation by Dutch rural municipalities relate to the sustainment of local identities?

The structure of the interviews is as follows. After the introduction and an introductory question, 7 broad questions follow to partly structure the interview; but with a relatively open character to give the interviewee the possibility to approach the answer in a broad way, to create a relatively open interview. The 'sub questions' a, b, c etc. are not meant as actual questions, but can be used for follow-up questions or to give the interviewee a handhold.

Introduction

(Introduce interviewer and interview)

First of all I would like to thank you for making to speak with me today. You from our previous contact (mail, phone) what my research is about; the Cittaslow membership of Dutch municipalities in relation to the local identity in these municipalities, to contribute to the knowledge in the Netherlands concerning Cittaslow and the knowledge concerning local identity sustainment. I would like to speak with you about the local identity of this municipality and the choices that are made in relation to the Cittaslow membership, and any changes that might have occurred.

I expect the interview to take no more than one hour of our time. With your permission, I will record the interview (only audio) for the analyzation later on, to make sure I will not miss any of your comments; these will contribute to finding answers on my research questions. Of course the information will be treated carefully. If you wish, your answers can be treated as an anonymous source from within the municipality.

I will ask you several questions on topics related to the Cittaslow membership of (name municipality), and related to the local identity of this municipality. Do not feel objected to mention anything during the interview that comes to mind; if we diverge to much from what is relevant to my research, I will indicate this. In the end of the interview you will have the possibility to complement or adjust previous comments if you wish. During the interview I might make some notes concerning issues I might want to come back to later on.

Substantive part

Introductory question

Can you describe in short your role / function within this municipality, and specifically with regard to Cittaslow?

Questions on local identity

1. Research shows that, under pressure of processes such as urbanization, shrinkage, globalization, mainly smaller municipalities struggle with the sustainment of their local identity; local values, local characteristics. How do you experience this in your municipality?
 - a. Concrete examples; possibly from multiple perspectives (**economic**, cultural, landscape, demographic). Worries that have been mentioned?
 - b. If yes; why is it a problem?
 - c. To whom is it a problem? (Levels)
(Summarize)

2. The term 'local identity' forms an important concept within this research. If you look at your municipality, how would you describe local identity?
 - a. Description of local identity of (name municipality); important elements in it
 - b. Maybe approach from different perspectives (economic, cultural, landscape, demographic)
 - c. Approach from different levels (government, entrepreneurs, citizens)
'Organizational' background. How is this addressed?
 - d. Is local identity important to the (member of the) municipality? How do you see / notice this?
(Summarize)

3. In the Netherlands a large research has been carried out on local identities from places and regions (Terlouw & Hogenstijn, 2015), which showed that an organizational focus is more and more placed on local identities as a way of distinguishing oneself in relation to other regions. In what way do you see this relation between approaching local identity and relative competitiveness in (name municipality)?
 - a. Why / why not?
 - b. How do you see this?

4. How is local identity, and especially the elements / features discussed in previous questions, carried out / sustained / protected / enhanced? (*Question in general, **not** relating to Cittaslow*)
 - a. Concrete examples? In what way? Possibly from different perspectives (**economic**, cultural, landscape, demographic)
 - b. By whom? Which actors?

Questions on Cittaslow

5. In (year) is (name municipality) became Cittaslow. Can you tell me in short about the motivation, procedure and the steps that were passed in policy?
 - a. What is the goal? What does the municipality want to achieve? Why Cittaslow?
 - b. How did the procedure take place? Criteria / rating?
 - c. Passed steps in a broad sense: changes in policy making?
 - d. Concrete steps: what choices are actually made in the Cittaslow implementation? (For example, regarding specific criteria from the Cittaslow list of criteria?)
(Summarize)

6. (name municipality) has been Cittaslow member since (year). What changes can be noticed as a consequence of this membership?
 - a. Are there any concrete changes to be named? (Maybe helpful: approach from different perspectives. Economic, agricultural, cultural, demographic)
 - b. On what level do changes take place? (Purely organizational; citizen initiatives; changes in entrepreneurship etc.)
 - c. Can these changes with certainty be linked to Cittaslow? Why / why not?
(Summarize)

Cittaslow and local identity

7. Is there a relation between Cittaslow and (the sustainment of) local identity?
 - a. Is there a relation between (elements of) local identity and the motivation th become a Cittaslow member?
 - b. Is there a relation between certain choices made in Cittaslow implementation and (elements of) local identity?
 - c. Is there a relation between certain noticed changed since becoming a Cittaslow member, and the local identity?

Concluding

I want to thank you very much, your information will be a great addition to my research. Is there anything you wish to add or might want to come back to?

If in a later stadium of this research I have further questions, or I feel the need to check if I understood you correctly, can I contact you again?

I am taking multiple interviews. Do you have any suggestions as to who I might speak to, to further complete the information for my research? (Can also be at different levels: entrepreneurs, citizens)

After analyzing the interviews it will take me about two months to come to conclusions and write my research. If you are interested, I would like to send you a copy of it.

(closure)

APPENDIX 2 INITIAL (OPEN) CODES ATLAS.TI

Initial (open) coding Atlas.ti for Midden-Delfland

Name	Grounded
✘ Cittaslow - Citizens' reactions	3
✘ Cittaslow - Differences between member municipality activity	2
✘ Cittaslow - Different Unique Selling Points	1
✘ Cittaslow - Does not address all problems!	1
✘ Cittaslow - entrepreneurs' reactions	2
✘ Cittaslow - Link to (life)quality	11
✘ Cittaslow - Link to local Identity (dit past hier niet)	8
✘ Cittaslow - Link to Slowfood	1
✘ Cittaslow - politicians' reactions	3
✘ Cittaslow - What is it?	1
✘ Cittaslow as a frame for the Local Identity	6
✘ Cittaslow as Unique Selling Point	2
✘ Cittaslow with a Dutch twist	3
✘ Cittaslow: it's an elite thing	4
✘ Cittaslow: who is it for?	4
✘ History of municipality origin	2
✘ Local identity: changing from closed to open more community	6
✘ Local identity: importance of awareness	5
✘ Local Identity: valued by people from outside	6
✘ Local Identity - Interplay municipality-entrepreneurs-citizens	3
✘ Midden-Delfland als 'bijzonder provinciaal landschap'	1
✘ Midden-Delfland as Cittaslow Capital	2
✘ Municipality Cittaslow quality: attention for energy and durability	1
✘ Municipality Cittaslow quality: hospitality	2
✘ Municipality Cittaslow quality: landscape / nature / environment	10
✘ Municipality Cittaslow quality: local products / local production	6
✘ Municipality Cittaslow quality: social cohesion	5
✘ Not relevant	18
✘ Q1 - Answer	5
✘ Q1 - Problems with Local Identity?	3
✘ Q2 - Answer	9
✘ Q2 - Local identity of this municipality?	1
✘ Q2 - Local identity of this municipality? --> Focus on caarrying-out by what levels in society	1
✘ Q2 - Local identity of this municipality? --> Focus on culture and community	1
✘ Q3 - Answer	5
✘ Q3 - Local Identity to distinguish and/or compete?	2
✘ Q4 - Answer	7
✘ Q5 - Answer	2
✘ Q5 - Answer to how Cittaslow is implemented	3
✘ Q5 - Answer to how they became Cittaslow	1
✘ Q5 - Answer to how they came in touch with Cittaslow	1
✘ Q5 - Answer to how they worked with list of Features	1
✘ Q5 - Answer to what is their goal with Cittaslow	1
✘ Q5 - Answer: Cittaslow: in the back of the head, not as a leading practice	4
✘ Q5 - How did they become Cittaslow?	2
✘ Q5 - How did they become Cittaslow? --> Focus on goal	1
✘ Q5 - How did they become Cittaslow? --> Focus on List of Features	1
✘ Q5 - How did they become Cittaslow? - Focus on implementation	1
✘ Q6 - Answer	2
✘ Q6 - Answer - Some concrete examples of 'changes' with a Cittaslow link	3
✘ Q6 - Answer: difficult to actuele make concrete relation between Cittaslow and changes	1
✘ Q6 - Answer: hospitality, B&B's, local foods, producing for the city, economic growth	2
✘ Q6 - Answer: It functions as a branding instrument	1
✘ Q6 - Answer: It helps in communication about the municipalities identity	1
✘ Q6 - Answer: it leads to more awareness of local identity features	4
✘ Q6 - What changes occur with Cittaslow membership?	4
✘ Q7 - Link between Cittaslow and Local Identity?	1
✘ Qualities in municipality that make it Cittaslow	2
✘ Quality: advantages of living in a 'binnentuin' (As Hans names it)	2
✘ Quality: disadvantages of living in a 'binnentuin'	1
✘ Quality: save environment by sharing it	6
✘ Quality: things that are missing in municipality	1
✘ Reason of existense	1
✘ Reason of existense - Green and open	1
✘ Reason to become Cittaslow: the label encourages people to join	3
✘ Role of municipality official	2
✘ Slow Food	3
✘ Slow Management	2
✘ To become Cittaslow, one allready has to be Cittaslow	5
✘ Unique situation of Midden-Delfland	1

Initial (open) coding Atlas.ti for Alphen-Chaam

Name	Grounded
✘ Cittaslow - Citizens' reactions	2
✘ Cittaslow - entrepreneurs' reactions	1
✘ Cittaslow - important values	1
✘ Cittaslow - link to (life)quality	2
✘ Cittaslow - link to local identity (does it fit with us?)	1
✘ Cittaslow - Politicians' reactions	1
✘ Cittaslow - spreading to other municipalities / networking	3
✘ Cittaslow - used as a marketing tool	2
✘ Cittaslow - You do not truly need it to do the things you want to do	1
✘ Cittaslow as a frame for explaining policy	4
✘ Cittaslow as a frame for local entrepreneurship	4
✘ Cittaslow as a frame fro local identity	3
✘ Cittaslow has become part of the local identity	1
✘ Cittaslow to stimulate local economic development	1
✘ Cittaslow with a Dutch twist	2
✘ Cittaslow: exercised from different levels	1
✘ Local Identity - Awareness is key	2
✘ Local Identity - valued by people from outside	2
✘ Municipal organization ABG	3
✘ Municipality Cittaslow quality: landscape / nature / environment	4
✘ Municipality Cittaslow quality: Local products / production	2
✘ Municipality does not go hand in hand with identity	1
✘ No Unique Selling Point (?)	1
✘ Not relevant	8
✘ Q1: Answer - Aging and decline in agricultural activities: bad, but national trend.	2
✘ Q1: Answer - No threat, only existing trends	3
✘ Q1: Answer - No threats appearing	2
✘ Q1: Answer - Threat of 'gemeentelijke herindelung' for identity	1
✘ Q1: Answer - When threatened, people undertake action	1
✘ Q1: Problems with local identity?	3
✘ Q1: Problems with local identity? - Do people talk about it?	1
✘ Q2: Answer	2
✘ Q2: Answer - Brabants, agrarisch	1
✘ Q2: Answer - Local identity is often unnoticed by citizens	1
✘ Q2: Answer - Local identity: local products / production	2
✘ Q2: Answer - Local Identity: nature and landscape are the base.	2
✘ Q2: Answer - Local identity: recreation and tourism	2
✘ Q2: Answer -Local identity is base for municipality politics	1
✘ Q2: Answer -Local identity: community life	2
✘ Q2: Answer -Local identity: differs from village to village	3
✘ Q2: Answer -Local identity: social cohesion	2
✘ Q2: Local identity of this municipality?	3
✘ Q2: Local identity of this municipality? - Is it recognized by the municipality itself?	1
✘ Q3: Answer - Local Identity is not used as marketing tool	2
✘ Q3: Answer - Recreation is an important part of the municipality, and we try to enhance and diverse this.	2
✘ Q3: Answer - There is no problem (Q2), so there is no reason to distinguish.	1
✘ Q3: Answer - Track tourists; what tourists are attracted by local identity of A.C.?	2
✘ Q3: Local identity to distinguish and/or compete?	3
✘ Q3: Local identity to distinguish and/or compete? - Giving reasons why this could be useful	1
✘ Q4: Answer	1
✘ Q4: Answer - Nature preservation community	1
✘ Q4: Answer - Not protected as being local qualities	1
✘ Q4: Answer - protected by existing legislation	2
✘ Q4: Answer - stimulate activities that fit the identity	1
✘ Q4: How is the local identity preserved and strengthened?	1
✘ Q5 - Answer to how Cittaslow is implemented	2
✘ Q5 - Answer to how they became Cittaslow	3
✘ Q5 - Answer to what is their goal with Cittaslow	1
✘ Q5 - Answer to why they became Cittaslow	3
✘ Q5 - Answer: Cittaslow in the back of the head, not as a leading practice	3
✘ Q5 - Answer: Cittaslow lines up with existing policy (Belevingsbeleid)	1
✘ Q5 - How did they become Cittaslow?	2
✘ Q5 - How did they become Cittaslow? - Focus on: what does Cittaslow add?	1
✘ Q6 - Answer: difficult if Cittaslow actually relates to occurring changes	3
✘ Q6: Answer - Changes in policy occur	3
✘ Q6: Answer - Changes in policy occur. Project funding	2
✘ Q6: Answer - more awareness of identity	4
✘ Q6: what changes occur with Cittaslow?	1
✘ Q6: What changes occur with Cittaslow? --> Choices really because of Cittaslow?	1
✘ Q6: What changes occur with Cittaslow? --> Different choices in policy?	1
✘ Q7: Answer - more awareness of identity	1
✘ Q7: Answer: this relation is almost unmeasurable	1
✘ Q7: Relation Cittaslow and Local Identity?	1
✘ Q7: Relation Cittaslow and Local Identity? --> when looking at implementation steps?	1
✘ Role of municipality official	3
✘ Slow Food	1
✘ Stimulate local economic development	1
✘ To become Cittaslow, one already had to be Cittaslow	4

Initial (open) coding Atlas.ti for Vaals

Name	Grounded
⚡ Cittaslow - politicians' reactions	1
⚡ Cittaslow - Spreading to other municipalities / networking	3
⚡ Cittaslow comes from the community, not from the municipality	1
⚡ Cittaslow in relation to (life)quality	5
⚡ Cittaslow in relation to local identity	1
⚡ Cittaslow supporters	1
⚡ Cittaslow with a Dutch twist	2
⚡ Cittaslow: internationalism and multiculturalism can be a part of it!	2
⚡ Cittaslow: the importance of awareness	6
⚡ International Cittaslow Congres 2014, Vaals	4
⚡ Local Identity: the importance of awareness	5
⚡ Municipality Cittaslow quality: nature / landscape / environment	2
⚡ Not relevant	8
⚡ Q1: Answer: No problems, since multiculturalism IS an important part of Local Identity	1
⚡ Q1: Problems with local Identity?	1
⚡ Q2 - Answer - Monumental buildings	2
⚡ Q2 - Answer - Music	1
⚡ Q2 - Answer: 'heemkundekring'	1
⚡ Q2 - Answer: cultural character of Vaals	1
⚡ Q2 - Answer: nature/landscape/environment	1
⚡ Q2: Answer	1
⚡ Q2: Answer - Community life	2
⚡ Q2: Answer - Dialect	3
⚡ Q2: Answer - Drielandenpunt	1
⚡ Q2: Answer - Strong connection (Schwester) with Aachen	1
⚡ Q2: Answer - Tourism	1
⚡ Q2: Answer: differences within municipality	1
⚡ Q2: Answer: history of local Identity	2
⚡ Q2: Answer: pluriformity	4
⚡ Q2: Answer: Vaals as exception in relation to others	1
⚡ Q2: Local identity of Vaals?	2
⚡ Q3: Answer - Local Identity is not used as a marketing tool.	2
⚡ Q3: answer - Often used as a marketingtool	1
⚡ Q3: Answer - Often used as marketingtool	1
⚡ Q3: Cittaslow to compete / dinstinguish?	1
⚡ Q4: Answer - Embed in policy by looking at how it can be developed further	1
⚡ Q4: Answer - Embed in policy by looking at what you have	1
⚡ Q4: Answer - Example of sustaining and strengthening local values	1
⚡ Q4: Answer - strengthened by making people aware (via Cittaslow)	3
⚡ Q4: Answer - Try to involve people from outside in cultural aspects	1
⚡ Q4: How is local identity protected / strengthened?	1
⚡ Q4: Local Identity comes from the community, not from the municipality	2
⚡ Q5: Answer - Cittaslow as a frame for existing policy	4
⚡ Q5: Answer - Cittaslow in the back of the head, not as leading policy	5
⚡ Q5: Answer - Cittaslow integrated in all fields	1
⚡ Q5: Answer - Cittaslow is not used as a marketing tool	1
⚡ Q5: Answer - Everything can be approached via Cittaslow, in a way (with examples)	1
⚡ Q5: Answer - How different municipalities put attention to Cittaslow	1
⚡ Q5: Answer - How they came in touch with Cittaslow	2
⚡ Q5: Answer - Life quality as highest goal within Cittaslow	1
⚡ Q5: Answer - Making municipality staff aware of Cittaslow	1
⚡ Q5: Answer - To raise awareness of quality and identity	4
⚡ Q5: How /why is Cittaslow implemented?	5
⚡ Q6: Answer - Activities from entrepreneurs / 'het Genootschap'	1
⚡ Q6: Answer - Cittaslow is used as a marketingtool	1
⚡ Q6: Answer - No changes that would not have happened if Cittaslow was not there	2
⚡ Q6: Answer - Not very concrete, but embedded in policy	5
⚡ Q6: Changes linked to Cittaslow?	3
⚡ Q7: Answer - Cittaslow is strongly used in policy concerning local values / local identity	1
⚡ Q7: Answer - Cittaslow to protect identity: 'behoudt het goede, maar ontwikkel je ook verder'	1
⚡ Q7: Relation Cittaslow and Local Identity?	2
⚡ Role of municipality official	1
⚡ To become Cittaslow, one already has to be Cittaslow	3
⚡ Vaals: vision for the future	2
⚡ Volunteer work	1

APPENDIX 3 CATEGORIZED CODES ATLAS.TI (REORGANIZED INITIAL OPEN CODING)

Open coding categories Atlas.ti (reorganized initial open coding) for Midden-Delfland

Name	Grounded
☒ Cittaslow - Awareness of local Identity (does it fit here, or doesn't it fit here?)~	8
☒ Cittaslow - Every member municipality does it differently, and with a different UPS	2
☒ Cittaslow - Giving it a Dutch twist	3
☒ Cittaslow - It's an elite thing	4
☒ Cittaslow - Stakeholders' attitudes MOSTLY from sceptic to enthusiasm.~	7
☒ Cittaslow - To help think about, and make decisions regarding, (life)quality~	14
☒ Cittaslow - Use it as Marketingtool / U.S.P.	2
☒ Cittaslow qualities in Midden-Delflands' identity~	22
☒ Local identity - Awareness is important to sustain it	5
☒ Local identity - Changing from closed to open more community	6
☒ Local Identity - Interplay municipality-entrepreneurs-citizens	3
☒ Local Identity - It attracts people from outside	6
☒ Q1 - No threat to L.I. because it is a strength! (But: houseprises...)	5
☒ Q2 - Elements of Midden-Delflands' Local Identity~	10
☒ Q3 - L.I. is used for marketing / competition, (from pride, not from fear)~	5
☒ Q4 - Sustain Identity by protecting, strengthening and SHARING it~	12
☒ Q5 - How and why the municipality became Cittaslow, and implementationsteps.~	18
☒ Q6 - Changes that can be linked direty, but mostly INDIRECTLY, to Cittaslow~	13
☒ Q7 - Cittaslow helps to frame the Local Identity~	6
☒ Quality - Advantages and disadvantages of living in a 'binnentuin'	3
☒ Reason of existence	2
☒ Role of municipality official	2
☒ To become Cittaslow, one allready has to be Cittaslow	5

Open coding categories Atlas.ti (reorganized initial open coding) for Alphen-Chaam

Name	Grounded
☒ Cittaslow - Awareness of local identity (does it fit here, or doesn't it fit here?)	1
☒ Cittaslow - Giving it a Dutch twist	3
☒ Cittaslow - link to (life)quality	2
☒ Cittaslow - Spreading to other municipalities / networking	3
☒ Cittaslow - Stakeholders - IF they know, they are enthusiastic; but not everybody knows!	4
☒ Cittaslow - used as a marketing tool	2
☒ Cittaslow qualities in Alphen-Chaams' identity	5
☒ Local Identity - Awareness is key	2
☒ Local Identity - valued by people from outside	2
☒ Municipal organizatoin ABG	3
☒ Q1 - No threats to L.I., only (acceptable) nation-wide trends~	11
☒ Q2 - Elements of Alphen-Chaams' local identity~	19
☒ Q3 - Local Identity is not used as marketing tool (Cittaslow is!)~	7
☒ Q4 - Sustainment and protection mostly through existing legislation and stimulating certain types of business~	6
☒ Q5 - How and why Cittaslow is implemented, and implementation steps~	21
☒ Q6 - Cittaslow influenced several changes, but is mostly NOT the main reason these changes occur.~	10
☒ Q7 - Relation is hard to measure, but Cittaslow at least raises awareness of, and froms a frame for L.I.~	6
☒ Role of municipality official	3
☒ To become Cittaslow, one already had to be Cittaslow	4

Open coding categories Atlas.ti (reorganized initial open coding) for Vaals

Name	Grounded
☼ Cittaslow - Spreading to other municipalities / networking	3
☼ Cittaslow in relation to (life)quality	5
☼ Cittaslow with a Dutch twist	2
☼ Cittaslow: the importance of awareness	6
☼ International Cittaslow Congres 2014, Vaals	4
☼ Local Identity: the importance of awareness	5
☼ Q1: No problems with L.I., since multiculturalism IS an important part of Local Identity~	1
☼ Q2: Elements of Vaals' Local identity~	22
☼ Q3: Answer - L.I. is not actively used by municipality for promotion, but by the citizens it is.~	4
☼ Q4: Raise awareness, embed L.I. in policy, and develop it further (stilstand is achteruitgang)~	10
☼ Q5: How and why the municipality became Cittaslow, and implementationsteps.~	21
☼ Q6: No concrete changes or projects; Cittaslow is embedded (on the background) in all activities.~	7
☼ Q7: Cittaslow raises awareness and is used in policy concerning local identity. Protect what you have and keep developing t...	5
☼ Role of municipality official	1
☼ To become Cittaslow, one already has to be Cittaslow	3
☼ Volunteer work	1

APPENDIX 5 ORIGINAL (DUTCH) INTERVIEW QUOTATIONS

The interviews were conducted in Dutch. For the practical use of this research, useful quotations that are used to support the analysis have been translated to English. The original Dutch transcripts of these quotations can be found in this appendix. Each quotation has been numbered as quotation 1, quotation 2, etc., corresponding with the numbering of the English translations in chapter 4.

Quotation 1

'Er is ook een wet, (...) en daar staat in dat deze gemeente maar 1 taak heeft; dé taak, de hoofdtak, is dit gebied open en groen houden' (Midden-Delfland, Interviewee A).

Quotation 2

'Het is niet zo van: je hebt hier echt iets waarvoor je naar Alphen-Chaam toe komt' (Alphen-Chaam).

Quotation 3

'Laat ik het zo zeggen, er is geen gemeente in Nederland die vergelijkbaar is met Midden-Delfland' (Midden-Delfland, Interviewee A).

Quotation 4

'In allerlei dingen die wij doen om de gemeente te blijven die we zijn, we proberen elke keer onze stedelijke omgeving (...) eigenlijk te zeggen van: 'nou, dit zou je toch ook moeten willen. En dat zou je toch ook moeten willen behouden en versterken' (Vaals, interviewee A).

Quotation 5

'De sceptici zeggen: ja, dat hebben we helemaal niet nodig, want dat kun je gewoon sowieso zo ook al doen. En dan zeg ik van: ja, daar heb je gelijk in. Alleen, op een of andere vreemde manier werkt het tóch, als je ergens een stickertje op kan plakken en iets kan laten zien van: kijk eens. Ja, noem het maar een keurmerk. Noem het maar een label' (Alphen-Chaam).

Quotation 6

'Je bent een boer, en je verbouwt boerenkool. En door jouw overtuiging doe je dat biologisch. Je doet niet spuiten, het is allemaal ecologisch verantwoord. Gebruik je insecten om onkruid te bestrijden... Noem maar, allerlei dingetjes. Biologische boerenkool. Alleen, jij hebt niet het stickertje 'bio' of 'eco' op jouw product staan als je het hebt verpakt. Want daar heb je allemaal geen trek ik. Ben je dan geen biologische boerenkoolverbouwer meer? (...) Dat doet aan de praktijk... Maakt het eigenlijk geen bal verschil uit. Alleen ja, het heeft soms voordelen om dan dat labeltje te hebben. Zo moet je dat met Cittaslow ook zien' (Alphen-Chaam).

Quotation 7

'In sommige gemeenten begint dat bij een burger die daarover geïnteresseerd raakt. Bij anderen is het een burgermeester, bij anderen is het een raadslid... Er kunnen allerlei ingangen zijn. Alleen, het bestuur, de gemeenteraad en college, die nemen uiteindelijk de beslissing om te zeggen van: nou, wij willen daarvoor gaan, wij willen ge-audit worden, en we willen gecertificeerd worden' (Alphen-Chaam).

Quotation 8

'Het is een manier van leven, denken, werken en opereren die ervoor zorgt dat je elke keer nadenkt: past dat nou wel bij de kwaliteiten die wij in ons gebied willen etaleren' (Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

Quotation 9

'Niet omdat je dat moet doen uit angst, omdat je anders wordt 'opgegeten', maar omdat je het doet uit trots om te laten zien wat je hebt' (Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

Quotation 10

'Je ziet nu toch weer dat mensen die eigen identiteit, en de streekproducten die er zijn, uit zichzelf meer gaan promoten en meer gebruiken' (Vaals, interviewee A).

Quotation 11

'Dus ben niet bang dat we, zolang we vasthouden aan waar we voor opgericht zijn, dat we daar vanaf zullen worden gehaald. Ik zie geen bedreiging' (Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

Quotation 12

Interviewer: *'Dus lokale waarden (...), die staan hier, als ik jou zo hoor, eigenlijk niet echt onder druk.'*

Interviewee: *'Nou ja, ik zou niet weten waardoor' (Alphen-Chaam).*

Quotation 13

'De mensen hier zijn echt gewend aan het feit dat ze met allerlei nationaliteiten te maken kunnen krijgen, en dat gaat echt heel goed samen' (Vaals, interviewee A).

Quotation 14

'Nou hebben wij een toverdrank. En onze toverdrank is het landschap. We willen dat graag behouden en versterken, maar het is er niet alleen voor ons. Als onze stedelijke omgeving dat landschap niet wil, dan gaan het naar de donder. Dan gaan ze het vol willen bouwen (...). Dus wij zeggen dan weer: wij houden onze toverdrank, dat landschap niet voor onszelf. Wij delen dat met de stedelijke omgeving. En dat heeft er toe geleid dat de stedelijke omgeving zegt: nou, Midden-Delfland, dat is een landschap van groene kwaliteit, dat zijn onze groene longen, (...) daar blijf je met je poten vanaf' (Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

Quotation 15

'Niet bewust, zo van: we moeten onze lokale waarden beschermen, maar meer vanuit de overige wet- en regelgeving die er toch al is' (Alphen-Chaam).

Quotation 16

'Enerzijds proberen we natuurlijk in het beleid dat te verankeren hè? Om ervoor te zorgen dat we enerzijds kijken naar: wat is het goede dat we hebben? Kunnen we dat vasthouden? Maar ook met het oog op de toekomst kijken van: hoe kunnen we dat verder ontwikkelen? Want je kunt niet blijven stilstaan natuurlijk, dat is achteruitgang' (Vaals, interviewee A).

Quotation 17

'Het is een combinatie van wat je toch al belangrijk vindt, en in je achterhoofd Cittaslow meenemen' (Alphen-Chaam).

Quotation 18

'Het is met name voor, om als gemeente op een bepaalde manier te doen wat je als gemeente behoort te doen, en daarbij stil te staan. Zelf bewust te worden, en proberen om nog, meer externe bewustwording te krijgen' (Alphen-Chaam).

Quotation 19

'Cittaslow is gewoon een geïntegreerd onderdeel van ons bedrijf, maar niet dat er dingen tot stand zijn gekomen die er niet zouden zijn geweest als we niet Cittaslow waren geweest. Nee, ik denk niet dat je dat zo moet zien' (Vaals, interviewee A).

Quotation 20

'Mijn stelling is: je kunt alleen maar Cittaslow worden, als je het al bent. Anders wordt je het nooit. Want (...) je wordt geen identiteit, je bent een identiteit' (Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

Quotation 21

'Cittaslow kun je aanvliegen vanuit een bestuurlijk speeltje. 'Het is zo leuk om een keurmerk te hebben'. Maar als je geen Cittaslow hebt in de, (...) noem het dan maar de aderen van je bevolking, in de samenleving zelf, als het daar niet verankerd wordt, dan zal het ook nooit ervaren worden als gastvrij. Dan zal niemand zich druk maken om die kwaliteit' (Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

Quotation 22

'Als je het namelijk helemaal niet wilt zijn, en je plakt het er wel op, dan heb je een enorm veel last van' (Midden-Delfland, interviewee B).

Quotation 23

'Alphen-Chaam was al Cittaslow, maar had het labeltje nog niet' (Alphen-Chaam).

Quotation 24

'Toen we daarin geïnteresseerd waren, en we werden geïnformeerd, werd gewoon gezegd: nou, we zijn eigenlijk al een Cittaslow gemeente, zonder dat we dat weten' (Alphen-Chaam).

Quotation 25

'We hoeven dat niet uit te vinden, en we hoeven dat niet van bovenaf op te leggen. Het is er gewoon. Dat is ook de reden geweest dat wij in 2011 hebben gezegd van: ja maar Cittaslow, we zijn al Cittaslow. Daar hoeven we niets voor te doen eigenlijk, het is er gewoon' (Vaals, interviewee A).

Quotation 26

'Wij hebben vervolgens gekeken van: nou, welke eisen zijn daaraan gekoppeld? Wat houdt die audit in? En geconstateerd dat we eigenlijk al, zonder het zelf te weten, met Cittaslow bezig waren' (Vaals, interviewee A).

Quotation 27

'Het 'jezelf zijn' gebruiken als argument om dat 'jezelf' ook te mogen zijn' (Midden-Delfland, interviewee B).

Quotation 28

'Als het goed is, is het dus ook gewoon niet een soort label wat je erop plakt. Ik bedoel we zijn het (Cittaslow) geworden terwijl we het al waren. We hebben alleen dat label omarmd, omdat het op een gegeven moment een reuzenhandig etiket is voor wat je ongeveer wilt zijn. (...) En dan is het wel handig dat je er ook een soort koepelmerk voor hebt, (...) en dat noemen we dan Cittaslow' Midden-Delfland, interviewee B).

Quotation 29

Interviewer: *'Je kunt het allemaal samenvatten onder een bepaalde naam in een keer'.*

Interviewee: *'Nou, juist!' (Alphen-Chaam)*

Quotation 30

'Mensen zelf zijn er gewoon op een bepaalde manier mee bezig (met de lokale identiteit), en je merkt wel dat Cittaslow wordt aangepakt, wordt aangevoerd, als een argument' (Alphen-Chaam).

Quotation 31

'Door bij elk voorstel wat je doet aan en college na te denken: (...) past dat nou bij waar wij voor staan?' (Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

Quotation 32

Interviewee: *'...en dat geldt niet alleen voor gemeente Midden-Delfland, dat geldt voor heel veel gemeenten. Die zijn dan toevallig geen Cittaslow, maar ook die kiezen voor duurzaamheid.'*

Interviewer: *'Maar jullie houden er misschien hier en daar net wat meer rekening mee...'*

Interviewee: *'Ja. Of gebruiken het juist om onze mensen bewust te houden. 'Dit moet je toch niet willen' (Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).*

Quotation 33

'Er zijn gemeentes die zich niet bewust zijn van: wat is nou onze... Waar staan wij nou voor? (...) Wat zijn wij nou? (...) Maar dat is dus de vraag die je elke keer hebt. En misschien is die zo open-deurachtig. Maar goed. Heel veel mensen, die jij zo... Die weten dat niet. Die zijn zich ook niet bewust van wat ze verliezen als het met schaalvergrotingen is et cetera' (Midden-Delfland, interviewee A).

Quotation 34

'Er gaat een provinciale weg dwars door Chaam heen. En nou ja, daar dendert nou best wel veel vrachtwagenverkeer doorheen. (...) Ja, daar zijn ze in Chaam natuurlijk niet blij mee, dat snap ik. Ja, dan wordt ook gewoon Cittaslow natuurlijk bij de hoorns gepakt: Joh, hé gemeente, je bent een Cittaslowgemeente, dat kan niet zo. Er razen hier... hè?' (Alphen-Chaam)

Quotation 35

'Men wilde daar in Alphen-Chaam eigenlijk die in Chaam saneren. (...) Toen was er even grootschalig protest. En uiteindelijk is die bieb wel gebleven, vooralsnog. Wel met een aantal extra opgaven om, zeg maar, te laten zien wat ze met hun subsidiegeld dan doen. Maar ja, dat is inderdaad ook weer zo'n... zo'n voorbeeld, van: ja, dan is er misschien iets aan de orde wat wordt afgenomen. En dan zijn de poppen aan het dansen soms' (Alphen-Chaam).

Quotation 36

'De kunst is om de mensen hier zich bewust te laten worden van de kwaliteit die ze al hebben in hun eigen omgeving. Want, als je hier woont, dan zie je niet hoe mooi het hier is vaak, hè. Je hebt geen oog meer voor de tradities, want ze zijn er gewoon. Dat ben je gewend. En dat is nou net waar we proberen de mensen wel bewust van te maken' (Vaals, interviewee A).

Quotation 37

'Maar de gewone burgers, die weten zeker dat Cittaslow er is, maar ze weten nog vaak niet genoeg wat het voor hen zelf betekent' (Vaals, interviewee A).

Quotation 38

'Het moet verinnerlijkt worden eigenlijk, hè? Niet alleen bij onze eigen mensen (gemeente personeel), maar ook binnen de gemeenschap hè?' (Vaals, interviewee A).