The cultural city and inclusivity:

Exploring marginal communities' use of

culture oriented apps

Student Name: Suzanne A. J. Unkel
Student Number: 321969

Supervisor: Dr. Payal Arora
Second Reader: Dr. Marc Verboord

Master Media Studies Media & Business
Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication
Erasmus University Rotterdam

Master Thesis
July 10th, 2014

Abstract

City branding aims to form a city identity that can be sold to a multitude of people. For Rotterdam, part of its identity is the "cultural city" and this is now also being communicated to publics through city apps. It is widely agreed upon that cultural visitors are older, whiter, come from a higher social class than is commonly obtained and have a higher income and education. However, Western cities like Rotterdam also need to cater to marginal communities that hold opposing demographics. This research investigates whether mobile phone apps can be an avenue to circumvent the conventional divides and become a more inclusive city by roping in those who are not yet participating in the cultural city. For this purpose (1) three focus groups were conducted with young, low-income, non-Western residents of Rotterdam to have a conversation about cultural events and activities, (2) a content analysis of official policy documents and statistics about the cultural city was performed, and (3) Rotterdam's two official cultural city apps were analyzed. It was found that the policy intentionally does not target marginalized communities to engage with the cultural city. Thus, these disadvantaged people who may already feel disconnected from Rotterdam's cultural offering are being even more excluded from the city due to its city branding goals. Nevertheless, the results show that mobile phone apps may indeed form a path to cultural engagement. For the cultural city to become a more inclusive city emphasis is placed on social media. All participants use Facebook (as an app or website) and some have found creative ways to make use of other media apps (e.g. YouTube) to engage with the cultural city on their own terms.

Keywords: city branding; cultural city; marginal communities; multiculturalism; inclusivity; digital technologies; mobile phone apps; cultural engagement; Rotterdam

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express a sincere appreciation for the guidance and support of my supervisor, Payal Arora. Without your passion for the arts and new digital technologies, I may have never embarked down this path of curiosity into the realm of the cultural city and mobile phone apps. Your expertise and advice has helped this research flourish. Next, I extend a thank you to all employees of the Rotterdam city council, Rotterdam Festivals and Rotterdam Partners who have helped me to collect official policy documents and statistics. Special thanks to Louise Henderickx and Cynthia Dekker who have shown a genuine interest in this research.

To my parents, Aat and Liesbeth, thank you for your support and letting me occupy the attic in preparation for earning my master degree. To my brother Maurits, your tips for good TV series have proved to be a great means for taking breaks during the process of writing. Sometimes, perhaps, these shows were too great of a distraction. To my friends, thank you for all the other distractions you provided me with; I truly believe they have contributed to this thesis.

Table of contents

1. Introduction

Cities are increasingly competing for audiences in a global, digitized arena (Paganoni, 2012) and both popular and high culture have grown into valuable sources that are used in city branding practices (Evans, 2003). Therefore, cities are engaging more and more in city branding activities that promote the "cultural city" (Evans, 2003; Meurs & Verheijen, 2003). These branding strategies aim at regenerating established cultural capital to convert it into a competing advantage through hosting cultural events or developing cultural spaces (Richards & Wilson, 2004). Thus, the cultural city materializes cultural experiences in the form of events and activities. Images of a city may come to life either by the city itself or as a result of intentional city branding; the second is preferred above all (Augé, 2013b) as it enables a city to tell its own story. City branding aims to form a city identity that can be sold to a multitude of people (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). For Rotterdam – the city chosen for this thesis – one of its identities is the *cultural city* (Rotterdam Festivals, 2010; Rough Guides, 2014; The New York Times, 2014). This does not imply that the cultural city is the absolute or singular identity of the city. However, this representation is still tenacious, even if the industrial infrastructure and the urban scene have slowly evolved over time, turning increasingly more towards the cultural industry (Vanolo, 2008).

The city of Rotterdam has always been the second city of the Netherlands, being overruled by Amsterdam. Rivalry with the Dutch capital has contributed to the implementation of branding Rotterdam as a *cultural city* rather than the more familiar image of the world port city (Hitters & Richards, 2002). In 1340 Rotterdam was officially acknowledged as a city when it obtained its city rights and quickly the city was recognized as a world port for commerce. Yet, the brisk growth of the city only initiated after the finalization of dredging the *Nieuwe Waterweg* in 1872 as this produced an excelling shipping link to the North Sea. New wharfs were established rapidly causing the demand for more employees which drew the attention from men worldwide (Rotterdam, 2014). Being a world port city, Rotterdam catered to a particular demographic that was low income, transient by people flowing in and out, international and ethnic. World War II brought the economy to a standstill when the Nazi's bombarded the city, leaving nothing but a burning ruin of the heart of Rotterdam (Rotterdam, 2014). Due to World War II and the decisions that were made after the war, a cultural "shortcoming" of Rotterdam is that it nearly does not have cultural heritage; in comparison to a city like Amsterdam this becomes even more apparent

(Hitters & Richards, 2002). After the war, the rebuild of the city started and in a push for modernization, many run-down landmarks were destroyed (Rotterdam, 2014). In other words, Rotterdam's municipality resolved the issue by focusing the cultural sphere around the city's modern architecture and, accordingly, various art institutions like the *Kunsthal* were cultivated in the 1990's (Hitters & Richards, 2002). Similar to before the war, Rotterdam needed more workers in the 1970's and large numbers of foreigners answered the city's call. At first, Rotterdam's populations were offended by these guest workers as they invaded the space of "Rotterdammers", but after some time the tumult appeared to be soothed. However, Rotterdammers of Dutch origin continued to leave the city and therefore Rotterdam steadily evolved into a multicultural city (L. Bruijn, member of the Rotterdam city council, personal communication, January 8, 2014). In fact, Rotterdam has become multicultural by definition as 48.6% of its populations are immigrants (CBS, 2013).

Because of its changing demographics the city needed to re-brand itself. Therefore, to bring the idea of the modern art city to a successful end, a policy on development was incorporated with the ambition to encourage the produce of (international) culture and establish "the image of Rotterdam as a cultural festival and event city, and supporting the applied arts, such as architecture" (Richards & Wilson, 2004, p. 1938). Rotterdam is beginning to pick the fruits of its labors as it recently ranked within the top 10 places to visit by both The New York Times (2014) and Rough Guides (2014), praised primarily for its architecture, (art) culture and gastronomy. Moreover, in 2001 it hosted the European Capital of Culture event (European Commission, 2014). When a city becomes a cultural city it implies that it is *for* the citizens; it cannot just cater to the elites, rather it must contribute to all of its residents. But to what extent is that actually true? Can we say a cultural city is synonymous with being inclusive? An exhibition named *Echte Rotterdammers* [Real Rotterdammers], inquired residents of the city about the typical characteristics of Rotterdam's citizens (Museum Rotterdam, 2013) and the elements that were agreed upon were raw, real, loyal to others and yourself, tell it as it is, hard work, proud, diverse cultures, modern and honest. Other people living in the Netherlands perceive Rotterdam to be multicultural, lively, international, and modern (SmartAgent, 2012) while foreigners ascribe working city, multicultural, international, modern architecture and water to the city (Richards & Wilson, 2004). Rightfully characterizing a city can be difficult, but it is striking

that from all insider and outsider voices the association with multiculturalism comes forward.

Paradoxical, the growing competition for cultural capital and the status of the event city throughout the year (Evans, 2003) has often neglected a considerable part of the cities' residents. It is widely agreed upon that visitors of arts events are white and older, they have a higher income, a higher education and come from a higher social class than is commonly obtained (Lefkin, 1998; McCarthy, Brooks, Lowell, & Zakaras, 2001; Nichols, 2003; Borgonovi, 2004). According to Vanolo (2008, p. 381), "little attention has been given in the realm of urban images to the importance of diversity, tolerance, multiculturalism, and education – the 'human capital' dimension of creativity". Moreover, the very notion of multiculturalism has been discussed by many in the realm of exclusion and inclusion but not so much in connection to the cultural sphere. Thus, a chance to expand the cultural city's audiences is wasted. Smartphones have facilitated a cultural change towards obtaining information and engaging in social interaction whenever and wherever it is desired (Topham, 2012). Marginal communities often do have access to these mobile technologies (Townsend, 2000). In fact, ethnic minorities adopt digital media in proportions very much like the entire EU population (Kluzer, Hache, & Codagnone, 2008). Smartphones can enable interaction with the cultural city through mobile phone applications (apps) as they are "small software packages which can be downloaded for free or for a small cost and which can then be used on the handset, essentially allowing each user to personalize their smartphone to suit their own requirements" (Welsh & France, 2012, p. 47). In this sense, digital apps may be an avenue to circumvent the conventional divides and bring in those that are not yet participating in the cultural city. Therefore, as access to these technologies can potentially serve as a tool of inclusivity, mobile phone apps serve as an avenue of investigation in this thesis. In searching for literature on mobile city apps it is striking to find how often the argument in favor of user engagement reoccurred (Bellman, Potter, Treleaven-Hassard, Robinson, & Varan, 2011; Mechant, De Marez, Claeys, Criel, & Verdegem, 2011; Welsh & France, 2012). In fact, numerous blogs talk about the rising trend of creating city apps to engage citizens (De Lange, 2011; Nisen, 2012; "Parallel 6", 2013). The continuing embrace of city branding strategies focused on the arts and amusement (Evans, 2003) should therefore engage in *mobile technologies* that do reach out to potential new audiences such as *marginal communities*. For the purpose of this thesis those marginal communities are defined as practically the

opposite of conventional audiences of art events; namely non-Western immigrants who are young and have a low income.

The scientific and social relevance of this research is threefold. First, this thesis could benefit Rotterdam's municipality as they could gain insights in their city branding practices. This study investigates the perceptions of marginalized people about their city; do marginal communities see Rotterdam as a cultural city? According to Vanolo (2008), city branding is not composing blank slate stories, rather it illustrates a long procedure of shaping the city that must have a genuine foundation in the local identity. Moreover, city branding must develop expressive stories which heavily relate to the urban spaces. For this reason, it is in the interest of Rotterdam to understand if, and how, its residents perceive the city. Second, as this research specifically aims to reveal how people are engaging with the cultural city through mobile phone apps, it is also interesting to a broader audience of various city councils, cultural institutions, and city branding organizations around the world. When people use these apps, how do they utilize them? Or why are they not using these apps? These questions could possibly lead to improvements of such apps, enabling cities to reach a wider range of people beyond the conventional cultural demographic and/or strengthen their city brand. Finally, this research focuses on the inclusivity of the cultural city. Cultural institutions and events get less and less financial support from the government in times of recession (Rosenstein, Riley, Rocha, & Boenecke, 2013), thus in order to survive and thrive they have to be able to provide for themselves more than before. Hence, the cultural city needs to broaden its audience as it continues to cater to a small segment of the population, namely older white people who are highly educated and have high incomes. Therefore, the cultural city needs to reach out to an entirely different type of visitor as well, namely, young non-western immigrants with a low income. As all western metropolises have such populations, it could not only benefit cultural institutions and events financially, also it could make the very culture the city has to offer more representative and diverse.

In this thesis the term *culture* encompasses only cultural events and activities classified broadly under the arts (e.g. music, film, dance, design) which are performed both in and outside cultural institutions. Hence, both high and popular culture are included in the way the term culture is used throughout the thesis. In line with Gans' (1999) classic book about culture, the culture primarily discussed in this thesis is *public*, which carries more emphasis on public cultural events. There is, however, also a *private* culture that people

create and practice in private spaces, which may be unrelated to the public culture. The purpose of this study is to gain a deeper insight into the role of city branding as a means to include through their media and policy discourses. Additionally, the extent to which the cultural city is increasing its inclusiveness via mobile cultural apps is investigated. The larger significance is to draw a critical relationship between the notion of the inclusive city and the cultural city. Specifically the city of Rotterdam and its marginal communities will be investigated. Additionally, this research incorporates a gender dimension as it checks for differences between male and female participants' experiences of the cultural city. Therefore, we have come to the following research questions:

RQ:
Can Rotterdam as a "cultural city" become more inclusive of its diverse and marginalized public in this digital age?

Sub RQ 1:
How is the "cultural city" of Rotterdam represented through mobile phone apps and how is this linked to their larger city branding?

Sub RQ 2:
How do marginal communities perceive Rotterdam as a "cultural city" and how does usage of mobile apps influence their engagement with the city's cultural offerings?

Sub RQ 3:
What paths do marginalized communities use to engage with Rotterdam's "cultural city" most and why?

Sub RQ 4:
To what extent do the marginalized males engage with Rotterdam's "cultural city" differently from the females?

2. Branding the cultural city

2.1 City branding

2.1.1 The city as a product

In many historical studies by Gold and Ward (1994) and Ward (1998), city branding has been construed not as a fresh idea but rather as a response to the nationalization and globalization process of markets. This provoked an expanding competition between places. However, promotional activities – which were essentially perceived as being identical to advertising – were not recognized as a valid activity for public sector management. Only about 30 years ago this mindset changed (Burgess, 1982). City branding has arisen from the foundations of product branding and marketing, thus it is all about brands. Favorable associations and characteristics imbued in the brand are indispensable features as they symbolize a set of physical and socio-psychological attributes as well as mental connections to the product (Simoes & Dibb, 2001). Moreover, branding consists of a deliberate plan of action to only select specific features as core product values (De Chernatony & Dall'Olmo, 1998) that empower the consumer to form the *identity of the brand* (Zhang & Zhao, 2009). Supplementary to these essential values, marketers may choose to underline symbolic, emotional, experiential and social values (De Chernatony & Dall'Olmo, 1998). That is to say, a brand is a term, name, symbol, sign, design or a merger of these elements "intended to identify the goods or services of a seller and differentiate them from those of competitors" (Kotler, Bowen, & Makens, 1999, p. 284). Additionally, branding efforts aspire to boost awareness and shape a positive image which will finally lead to purchase (Henderson, 2007).

Branding is a form of two-way communication because brands pertain to quality and values as perceived by consumers. From the brand proprietor's point of view the brand identity is paramount to the notion of the brand. However, from the consumer's standpoint the brand image is imperative as it merges the understanding of quality and values as well as associations and emotions (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). Figure 1 portrays a visual synopsis of the connections between brand identity, positioning and image as suggested by Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005).

```
┌─────────────────────┐
│      BRAND          │
│     IDENTITY        │
│                     │
│   How the owners    │
│   want the brand    │
│   to be perceived   │
└─────────────────────┘
          │
          ▼
┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
│        BRAND POSITIONING             │
│   That part of the value proposition │
│  communicated to a target group that │
│  demonstrates competitive advantage  │
└──────────────────────────────────────┘
          │
          ▼
┌─────────────────────┐
│      BRAND          │
│      IMAGE          │
│                     │
│    How the          │
│    brand is         │
│    perceived        │
└─────────────────────┘
```
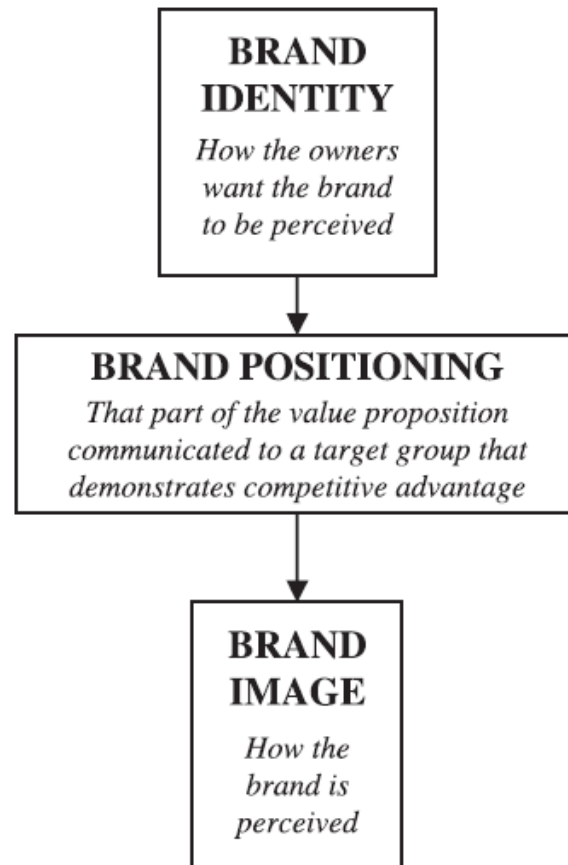
Figure 1.   The connections between brand identity, brand positioning and brand image.

In the past brands were primarily accredited to merchandise, but as stated by Hankinson (2004) brands are also applicable to cities. Although earlier research (e.g. Peterson, 1981) proposes that cities are not products that are participating in direct market transactions, upholders of city branding (e.g. Morgan, et al., 2002; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005; Anholt, 2007) argue that the branding practices revolving products can be relocated to city branding. These advocates of city branding proclaim that cities can be seen as "entities" to which "identities" are attributed; supported by an assortment of significant values that are derived from the long term course of city development (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). In fact, Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005, p. 510) propose that "place branding is not only possible, it is and has been, practiced consciously or unconsciously for as long as cities have competed with each other for trade, populations, wealth, prestige or power". Supplementary to the pervasive operation and success of product branding, the novel but very rapidly developed concept of corporate branding has assisted the progress of the changeover from city marketing to city branding (e.g. Balmer, 2001; Balmer & Greyser,

2003). According to Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005), this transformation "from the random addition of some often crude and disembodied promotion to the existing tool box of planning instruments" (p. 506) to an intensified use of marketing practices as a means to observe a place and to deal with it as a whole was neither perfect nor easy.

Cities can produce service functions just like products can create service values. These utility values can be personal experiences by consumers (investors, visitors and residents) through day-to-day life and business dealing. Moreover, according to Zhang and Zhao (2009, p. 246), "cities can be viewed as spatially extended products and cities can compete with each other in a way that is similar to competition between products. Cities therefore should be treated as 'products' to be marketed, through tourism development and through branding activities". If cities crave to be (1) recognized as existing, (2) perceived in the minds of customers as possessing superior qualities to those of competitors, and (3) consumed in a way corresponding with the aspiration of the place, it needs to create a unique brand identity. Furthermore, it is essential that it is acknowledged that a city has more diverse 'users', 'owners' and 'governors' than commercial businesses do. Thus, the output – the serviceableness of the consumers and the goals of the producers – will be more varied (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). Hence, to be an inclusive cultural city, the city branding authorities should cater to the cultural needs of *all* stakeholders.

2.1.2 Soft power in city branding

As mentioned above, branding is the conscious process of selecting and interlinking features because they boost the value of the product or utility (Knox, 2003). However, there is no definition of city branding generally agreed upon and marketing specialists have often worsened the issue by pursuing a more specific definition (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). In this thesis the concept *place branding* is utilized as an umbrella term that incorporates nation branding, region branding and city branding (Lucarelli & Berg, 2011). Furthermore, *city branding* is defined as the premeditated endeavor of municipalities to create a city identity and promote it to both external and internal audiences. Moreover, city branding is different from *city marketing*; city branding relates to the overall *strategy* and has aims for a long-term impact on audiences, whereas city marketing has a short-term impact and concerns all the visible activities set in motion to promote the city (Augé, 2013a). In other

words, city branding employs city marketing in order to realize the effective promotion of a city (Augé, 2013c).

Kavaratzis (2004, 2008) suggests a three-level communication framework so that one may understand how branding operates. The first level consists of the perceptible and tangible aspects of a city. The second level addresses the propaganda tools that a city makes use of for marketing objectives. The third level refers to the (media) voices people utilize to communicate about a city. As stated by Morgan, Pritchard and Pride (2002), this multiple-level communication process cultivates advantages for both the local and non-local population, moreover, the city's enhanced reputation will establish extra value. As place branding can be international, national, regional and local in scope (Ward & Gold, 1994), invested capital fluctuates with divergent levels of industry and governmental commitment. Objectives are limited to the augmentation of awareness and uniqueness; oftentimes logos and taglines are utilized for these aims (Hankinson, 2001). However, cities do not obtain a brand-new identity overnight simply by creating a memorable logo and a catchy tagline, but city branding is decidedly more than constructing differentiation. It is the shaping of mental connections to the city (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). For that reason, place branding is broadly recognized as "an essential tool to win over the hearts and minds of foreign audiences, and convince them that their values, goals, and desires are similar" (Van Ham, 2008, p. 244). Accordingly, it is a type of soft power as it has the power to generate favorable policy outcomes by appeal and persuasion, rather than by violence and coercion (Nye, 2004).

People love stories (Augé, 2013c), hence people are captivated by a city that knows how to tell a good one. Moreover, if a city fails to communicate its own story, others will fill the gaps. Thus, a city should attempt to pursue its audiences pro-actively (Augé, 2013b). In order to control the perception and appreciation of (potential) residents, investors or visitors, municipalities will engage in "selective storytelling" (Sandercock, 2003). Additionally, city branding authorities are increasingly perceptive of, and responsive to, the reality of negative branding; it has become a vital element of persuasive reputation management as PR debacles can severely devastate consumer relations and ruin the company image. Moreover, unfavorable branding can also plainly befall places. An illustrious example is how US president George Bush branded nations such as Iran and North Korea in a very injurious manner by characterizing them as the "Axis of Evil" (Van Ham, 2008). Also, it

demonstrates that if places fail to tell their own story, their reputation may be easily damaged by others. It is difficult to control people's opinions about a city (Van Ham, 2008), but if the city municipality neglects to engage in city branding it is almost impossible to have an influence on those opinions. In other words, city branding authorities should share a clear story with audiences about their cultural offering while at the same time staying true to the city's identity.

2.2 The cultural city

2.2.1 From high culture to popular culture

Labelling places as the "cultural city" and using entertainment and arts for the purpose of urban rebirth is presently a global phenomenon. Through these branding practices public culture is emulating the symbolic and physical consumption of city spaces. This present-day adaptation to materializing the "cultural experience has resonance with earlier forms of entertainment and collective consumption, as rural gatherings and pursuits were recreated by entrepreneurs in towns and cities. Examples include the fair (today the festival, `boot fair', to the World Fair and Universal EXPO); the pleasure garden (today's garden festival, theme park, open air concert); the circus (stadium, arena); and the music hall and its derivatives, the gin palace and early cinema" (Evans, 2003, p. 418). For the past forty years this transformation to the cultural city has increasingly been practiced by both provincial and capital, small and big, and brand-new and mature cities (Hall, 1992). According to Evans (2001), this time period correlates with the city governments performing in post-industrial metropolises in Europe and North-America by trying to regenerate these places; third world countries and rising global cities have come out to play in this field as well. However, residents were often disregarded on purpose by the authorities so locals resisted these top-down regeneration practices by creating and attending popular amusement and communal events. They did so in public spaces such as the streets and recreational parks (Foucault, 1990) but also in more regulated indoor venues. Furthermore, "these popular sub/cultural activities often exist in interstitial locations or quickly experience commodification, such as community and ethnic festivals (e.g. carnival) and markets" (Evans, 2003, p. 422). The tension between city municipalities desiring to go global and residents wanting to stay local has led to new city branding strategies that incorporate both. For that

reason, geographies and cultural, historical and social identities of the local community should be fairly deliberated so the particular will not get lost under the grandeur of universality (Wallerstein, 1991). Becoming known as an international city is indeed alluring to city branding authorities, however, they must be aware to not neglect their own population in spite of that ambition. The authorities should primarily cater to the needs of the locality as they are a very important audience of the cultural city. Moreover, locals are the "face" of a city to external audiences.

2.2.2 Branding the cultural city

Historically established industrial designs (e.g. manufacturing plants) treat a city as the most important place to consume altogether. Hence, the amassment of cultural consumption aids the branding of the cultural city (Scott, 2001). An example can be found in the branding practices and strategies of museums. Collaborations between museums and retail trade is not a rare occurrence, moreover these unions have been in fashion for a long time. New museums are increasingly situated in areas that hold some specific value to the city (e.g. a historical district) as thereby they adopt the atmosphere of a place and the recognizable associations it has. Therefore, the cultural city assimilates the methods of corporate branding that is focused on profit-making and offers the consumer ready-made amusement. This process had enforced a large-scale change in the management of the organization of these museums. For instance, the curator's function has altered tremendously coming from the role of the guardian of the art collection to the role of the expert who is skilled in investigating new cultural audiences and targeting them through marketing (Evans, 2003). Furthermore, the branding emphasizes the role of museums as broad places for public encounters; the museum is the intersection where students, teachers, residents and tourists come together, a communal space for pleasure and contemplation while experiencing a global and exhilarating city (Boniface, 1998). Thus not only the actual art institution, but also the city, is branded as the museum evolves into a major lure for the urban space of the cultural city (Ryan, 2000).

Gospodni (2002) argues that the position of global and big cities is challenged both nation-wide and on an international level as the perceived quality of life is partly illustrated by the cultural city; it tries to harmonize community, business, and leisure necessities and

desires in a competitive climate. Decisive determinants to the favorable outcome of western cities therefore involve "a high quality environment - built, public open space and urban life" (p. 60). The gains for employment and the urban surroundings that are ascribed to city culture as a result offer a seductive mix for producers of culture and, not in the least, politicians (Evans, 2003). Promoting the cultural city is therefore widely embraced by both nations and cities to demand their rightful position in city rankings (GLA, 2008). The present-day take on this city is all culture that can be shaped into visible and tangible places for consumption (Pratt, 2000; Hutton, 2008) and so urban regeneration policies and marketing plans are more and more focused on the affordances of the cultural city (Evans, 2007; GLA, 2008). Indeed, the full extent of the city culture domain is increasingly being branded as a commodity for consumption (Hannigan, 2003). While the commodification of culture assists the branding of the cultural city, municipalities must preserve the authenticity of culture. Without it, the cultural city will lose its identity that attracted people in the first place.

2.2.3 Cultural events and festivalization

According to Vanolo (2008), one will find a broad arrangement of cultural images in many marketing practices of western cities. First of all there are public spaces; especially recreational parks with historical or notable buildings (Temelova, 2007). Second, the local art scene which encompasses both the high and popular culture styles (Zukin, 1995). Third, the "buzz"; a crowd fills the space with people gathering and chatting (Florida, 2003; Storper & Venables, 2004). Fourth, local and visitor diversity; there is particular consideration for multi-ethnicity and tolerance (Landry & Bianchini, 1995). Finally, there are events (Hall, 1992; Hiller, 2000); big public manifestations, music concerts, and art expositions have the spellbinding ability to captivate and gather the attention of large groups of people (Landry & Bianchini, 1995). This powerful educating and entertaining potential can be embedded in the discourse of the city to disseminate ideas of progress and regeneration. Moreover, not only are these cultural events targeting outside audiences, also they enliven the public spaces and facilitate residents with appreciative feelings towards their city (Richards & Wilson, 2004).

Schuster (2001) and Waitt (2003) researched city marketing and they found that events, above all, are used more and more as an agent to market large cities. Cultural events

present a way of adding adaptability to permanent structures, providing a source of extravaganza which boosts the image of a space. Moreover, they might even function as platforms that will later spawn a brand-new landmark. Oftentimes events are cheaper means of differentiating spaces and they regularly provoke serious curiosity of the media. Furthermore, they may stimulate people to come to a place multiple times and – by accommodating several and various events – the cultural city will be able to reach out to numerous promising audiences (Richards & Wilson, 2004). As a result, cities and their surroundings have turned into theaters for an incessant flow of events which sooner or later will bring about the "festivalization" of the urban space (Harvey, 1991). In fact, the concept of "culture" augmented to include not only established high culture like art museums but in addition it progressively encompasses aspects of popular culture like pop music (Appadurai, 1990).

Large-scale events have evolved into a beneficial form of marketing the cultural city, especially when it comes to the effects they have on city image. This promising possibility has been the logic behind using events as a means for image augmentation (Sassen & Roost, 1999; Selby, 2003). In fact, images that praise the city through the cultural ambience, accidental discovery, the urban life and the buzz were commonplace in city marketing tools years ago – way before the contemporary cultural fad – simply because all these features indicate the existing roots of living in the city (Landry, 2006). Today, cities are devoted to branding the cultural city even if the city's core values and identity's have not changed in recent times. The city atmosphere and especially the images of communal spaces and cultural events prevail to be the foundation of the allure of cities (Vanolo, 2008). The festivalization of culture is, indeed, alluring for city branding authorities as it appeals to bigger audiences. However, it may also drive away locals for that same reason as through increased popularity an event may lose its character.

3. Multiculturalism and the inclusive city

3.1 Marginal communities

3.1.1 Immigrants and citizenship

Nearly all western democracies are reassessing their idea of citizenship in order to react to the challenges of immigration. There are increasingly more immigrants coming to Western cities while they hold on to the connection they have with their home country (Kymlicka, 2003). Moreover, "in this constantly changing environment questions about the incorporation of migrants involve complex sets of issues about individuals, cultural and ethnic communities, and religious identities" (Schuster & Solomos, 2001, p. 5). The growing ethnic and religious variety within places needs a more involved effort to establish and maintain feelings of communal citizenship. A sense of unity and shared values, which in a time of more uniformity would possibly be taken for granted, must be vigorously promoted by the (city) government (Kymlicka, 2003). Moreover, contrasting political agendas have developed diverse ways to handle those issues of ethnic and religious diversity. In fact, different governments offer a wide variety in reaction to the needs of minority groups for political and social privileges, but even more so feelings of inclusion.

In the contemporary scene of Dutch politics it is impossible to form a consensus about policies concerning citizenship and multiculturalism (Migration Policy Institute, 2013). It rather persists to be a sphere of debate and dispute, especially in a climate where asylum seekers and other immigrants are deeply politicized subjects. Schuster and Solomos (2001) propose three leading models of response to these political issues; (1) programs that intent to support a restricted inclusion of minorities and rights of civil citizenship, provided that the minority groups do not hinder the culture of the native majority, (2) programs of acculturation and unification that encompass active processes to handle intolerance and exclusion of minorities, and (3) programs that acknowledge distinct variations of multiculturalism and authorize this cultural diversity in the effectuation of the public policy to some extent. Moreover, respect for cultural pluralism can be achieved more easily when official policy truly commits to citizenship as it can foster a culture of tolerance (Kymlicka, 2003). However, the models described above do not define all possibilities as in the context of western societies there are numerous models of policy regeneration; in fact, it may even

be a mix of all by using different bits and pieces to construct a policy that suits specific needs and wants. This is not remarkable per se because countries and cities have their own past and experiences with immigration and inclusion of minorities (Schuster & Solomos, 2001).

Today, the conversation about identity revolves around feelings of belonging, and the discussion on immigration continues to tackle the concepts of inclusion and exclusion. The presence of governmental help shows whether regulation to acquire legal citizenship is being used as a means to either encourage or dishearten immigration. Examples of public support are "publicly funded language training classes, citizenship promotion campaigns, and informing immigrants about their right to naturalize" (Kymlicka, 2003, p. 197). This can also be taken one step further, like in the Netherlands where immigrants are obligated to follow integration classes to learn the Dutch language and become familiar with "European values" (Entzinger, 2003). However, there is apparent proof that the current resources have insufficient impact; there are limitations to the tools used to enforce policy in realizing considerable progress in the position of minorities (Schuster & Solomos, 2001). As the process of inclusion and exclusion can materialize through diverse instruments (Schuster & Solomos, 2001), why not use the cultural city as a tool to reach out to minorities? Indeed, cultural institutions are increasingly trying to engage a younger audience but oftentimes there is no mention of non-western immigrants (S. Pruimers, policy advisor art and culture at the Rotterdam municipality, personal communication, January 4, 2014). This is a clear-cut opportunity for the cultural city as it needs to attract more visitors while it could make the city as a whole more inclusive to minority groups.

3.1.2 Multicultural cities

Around the globe, cities are getting more and more diversified in their religious, linguistic, racial, cultural and ethnic composition. To a great degree it is the accelerated speed of worldwide migration to economically competitive places that inflame this diversity. Western countries marked by ethno-cultural diversity are progressively dealing with an increase of migration statuses and channels, diversification of country of origin, and more and more variables that affect peoples' lives and in particular where and with whom they co-exist (Vertovec, 2007). Nava (2006, p. 43) connects multiculturalism to a "co-existence with diversity of all kinds", but this is a co-presence whereby "the other is held at arm's length

and differences are often consolidated rather than diffused". According to Harris (2010, p. 574), "community is perceived as one physical, bounded space that coheres as its members share a sense of ownership, and an imagined environment where conflict is absent and security and trust are valued above all else". However, community participation is only acknowledged when it is executed in established ways of what is perceived to be normal (Harris, 2010). Governmental multiculturalism acknowledges and values diversity, however, it can also work against ethno-cultural variety by trying to aggregate difference. Therefore, governments struggle to identify or manage everyday issues that result from holding these groups apart. Furthermore, super-divers Western societies still tend to equal a dominant white population that accepts and even celebrates the co-existence of immigrants who assimilate to its norms and respect its authority (Harris, 2009). Multiculturalism positions ethnic identity, claims for cultural recognition and rights at the heart of urban politics. Public space is construed through the ways city governments try to better deal with diversity and acknowledge "the other" (Pestieau & Wallace, 2003). As municipalities segregate socio-cultural groups into isolated areas, the potential to learn about and learn to respect the "otherness" of "the other" is diminished (Evans & Foord, 2004).

As discussed above, due to global economic and migration trends, the reality of a multicultural city is increasingly becoming important globally (Pestieau & Wallace, 2003). In super-divers Western societies, the arrival of people from diverse backgrounds becomes most visible at the neighborhood scale. Here, immigrants present new claims for housing, commercial comforts, cultural and social institutions, and municipal services. Hence, a wave of newcomers may present a change for the character of the neighborhood (Pestieau & Wallace, 2003). The contemporary production of multicultural urban space (e.g. semi-permanent buildings and cultural festivals) makes it difficult to truly establish cultural expression. Ethnic minorities have limited possibilities to change city space. In fact, their opportunities to utilize public spaces are weakening (Evans & Foord, 2004). To make cities interesting for an ethno-cultural public this demands a change in addressing difficulties of the urban environment; the municipality must be aware of meanings attributed to the environment by various socio-cultural groups (Burayidi, 2003).

The debate on how to deal with diverse cultures has put forward three main perspectives. *Assimilation* is the process whereby minority groups are expected to blend into the dominant society (Waters & Jiménez, 2005). *Multiculturalism* policies support diversity

and allow people "to express their own identity in the manner they see fit" (Bloor, 2010, p. 272). *Interculturalism* moves beyond this mere passive acceptance of diversity and actively promotes interaction between different cultures (Penas & Sáenz, 2006). According to Amin (2002), governments in pursuit of social cohesion can neglect or problematize the practices of negotiation and competition that divide the ownership of space in a neighborhood. There is a need for "initiatives that exploit the potential for overlap and cross-fertilization within spaces that in reality support multiple publics" (p. 972). Furthermore, Amin (2002, p. 927) argues that establishing mutual ownership of one place in these circumstances is unworkable. Thus, instead of forcing "achievements of community or consensus", policy should encourage "openings for contact and dialogue as equals" within the many spaces of a neighborhood. The multicultural notion of citizenship acknowledges ethno-cultural variety and permits people to exhibit their heritage and values even as they take part in the public sphere as democratic inhabitants. This boosts the progress of the public sphere by giving minorities a voice in the decision-making process. In other words, it is important for policy to adopt processes that are inclusive of all citizens and that take into account the concerns of a multicultural public (Burayidi, 2003). In summary, inclusive policies are about assisting citizens to think about their needs and to uncover "creative ways to meet these needs. This objective cannot be achieved if people feel estranged from the process. The potential for this feeling of alienation is more so for multicultural groups than it is for those in the dominant culture" (Burayidi, 2003, p. 272).

In short, multiculturalism is "a dynamic, lived field of action within which social actors both construct and deconstruct ideas of cultural difference, national belonging and place-making" (Harris, 2009, p. 188). It is in day-to-day social encounters where attitudes are formed and where competition over place and ownership is played out (Amin, 2002). Hence, multiculturalism is "not merely an ideology for living respectfully at a distance from cultural others (tolerance), but is experienced on the ground as a lived practice of embodied and felt encounter, where difference is both constructed and contested" (Harris, 2009, p. 191). Thus, multiculturalism also projects the ways that people shape, make use of, and challenge diversity through daily interactions (Harris, 2009). Engaging with the cultural city is also a part of these interactions.

3.1.3 Gender differences in cultural participation

Following Bourdieu's (Bourdieu, 1984) lead, much research on cultural tastes and cultural consumption practices has focused on identifying profiles and how these profiles correlate with socioeconomic characteristics of individuals (Levine, 1988; Peterson, 2005). Various studies have demonstrated that gender is an essential yet neglected aspect in Bourdieu's analysis of cultural capital (e.g. Van Eijck, 2001; Kane, 2003; DiMaggio, P. (2004). Bourdieu (1984) argues that an increase in education will practically level gender differences in engaging with high culture because both men and women can obtain the same cultural capital through that education. Thus, his theory supports gender indifference (Grossi et al., 2013). However, more recent studies have proved that men and women differ in their cultural tastes and leisure activities (Katz-Gerro, 2002; Kaufman & Gabler, 2004). For example, Kane (2003) states that women engage with high culture more than men do. He suggests that women use high culture to draw symbolic boundaries between themselves and men. This, in fact, relates especially well to gender differences.

García-Álvarez, Katz-Gerro and López-Sintas (2007) distinguish between three different types of cultural consumers: omnivorous users, inactive users, and those in between. They describe the cultural omnivore as someone who appreciates an array of cultural tastes, thus – in addition to his preference for high culture – he also engages with popular culture. Typically the omnivore is a high-status individual or part of a privileged group (García-Álvarez, Katz-Gerro, & López-Sintas, 2007). However, increasing social-class mobility in progressive societies is supporting working-class individuals who desire to engage with upper-class culture (Emmison, 2003; Stuber, 2005) As a consequence, the class boundaries of cultural taste have become less clear (Katz-Gerro & Jæger, 2013). Cultural voraciousness does not distinguish between tastes of high and popular culture, rather it demonstrates a *quantitative dimension* of leisure consumption (Katz-Gerro & Sullivan, 2010). According to Katz-Gerro and Sullivan (2010, p. 193), "the concept of voracious cultural consumption is based on the extent of participation in various out-of-home leisure activities, and relates both to the range of those activities (reflecting the diversity of an individual's cultural repertoire) and the frequency of participation in them (characterizing the turnover rate, or 'pace')". They found that there is a significant difference in the level of voraciousness between men and women; men are more voracious than women. This may be explained through the disadvantage that women have in comparison to men in terms of individual,

intensive, active leisure time (Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003); women's leisure time is often fragmented and contaminated by non-leisure activities (e.g. Bittman, 2002; Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003). Lower-class women are more likely to experience these disadvantages more severely as they do not have the same access to resources as higher-class women and, for instance, cannot afford to spend money on domestic help (Katz-Gerro & Sullivan, 2010).

Studies on cultural participation with respect to gender have found that it is mainly men who display omnivorous tendencies (e.g. Van Eijck, 2001) while women tend to be more attracted to high culture (e.g. Katz-Gerro, 2002; Kaufman & Gabler, 2004; Lizardo, 2006; Van Eijck, 2001). According to Grossi et al. (2013), high cultural participation results as "one of the most important contributors to women's subjective well-being, but not for men" (p. 268). In fact, engaging with high culture contributes to women's subjective well-being more than any other type of leisure activity (Grossi et al., 2013). Most explanation for this point exclusively to factors related to gender differences that are created in the process of socialization during adolescence (e.g. Bihagen & Katz-Gerro, 2000; Dumais, 2002) or cultural norms accepted throughout society that define the realm of high cultural participation (e.g. Katz-Gerro & Sullivan, 2004) and education (Grossi et al., 2013) as a feminine realm. In addition, women are more likely to consume high culture than men because they are overrepresented in occupations that specialize in culture production such as the arts and education (Lizardo, 2006). Coupled with the fact that women are oftentimes the ones tending to their household's collective status needs, "it is to be expected that women will have both a more intimate appreciation for the specialized and complex forms of culture traditionally labeled highbrow because their role as status laborers leads them toward acquiring expertise in consuming objects of potential symbolic value" (Lizardo, 2006, p. 4). Thus, the cultural city needs to be an inclusive city not only for different groups of people (e.g. dependant of age, ethnic background, etc.), but also it should cater to the diffent cultural interests of men and women.

3.2 Mobile technologies

3.2.1 Digital inclusivity

In this last era more information is available to more people than ever before, all because of the rapid outburst of digital media content and connective gadgets. Restricted

accessibility by economic position and geography notwithstanding, today people are able to access mind-boggling unlimited information repositories that are progressively portable, ready for use, and synergistic in both composition and distribution. Correspondingly, fundamental human activities have modernized and new potential has surfaced. Examples are the amount of information readily available and the way by which we socialize with other people through digital technologies (Flanagin & Metzger, 2008). Undoubtedly, the expansion and potential of digital technology manifests an extensive global change (Worcman, 2002). Technology is perceived to develop new modes of interaction and communication (Flanagin & Metzger, 2008). Tapscott (1998) determines the following themes as idiosyncratic of digital communication; autonomy and freedom, modernization, intellectual and emotional acceptance, free speech, an analytical approach, and instantaneousness. Digital media supply new tools for shaping community; it is a dynamic and interactive medium, which disseminates many-to-many communication. These contemporary communities are inclusive, and demand the establishment of new forms of expectation and faith. They break the stereotypical labels and they support the formation of new types of relationships typified by equal opportunity, conversation and shared trust (Tapscott, 1998). Digital technology is also known to contribute to the rise of a new form of politics as it is dispersed and democratic; it is a mutually contributed, free-for-all transfer system that functions as a means for "social awakening". This democratization affects offline demeanor as well. As stated by Tapscott (1998), the digital generation is more open-minded, more familiarized with what is going on worldwide, more willing to fulfill a civic and social duty, and to appreciate the environment. In this sense, digital media can be vehicles to reach both cultural and social inclusion (Worcman, 2002).

Technology is developing expeditiously and therefore digital inclusion is also ever changing, that is, what was thought to be ahead in time three years ago can be seen as basic digital inclusion today (Helsper, 2008). Bradbrook and Fisher (2004) bring forward the idea of the "5 C's" in digital inclusion; connectivity (access), capability (skill), content, confidence (self-efficacy) and continuity. This last "C" concerns how digital technologies are part of the framework of day-to-day life; these technologies are broadly accessible and it is getting increasingly hard to separate the "digital world" from the "real world" (Helsper, 2008). According to Tapscott (1998), digital technologies increase users' intelligence, they democratize and are interactive, they build communities, and so on. Furthermore, digital

media vastly disperse power through developing new means of communication and participation. Previously, this power was the privilege of only a few as these people produced what was officially accepted as common knowledge (Worcman, 2002). According to Worcman (2002), marginalized communities can employ these digital technologies as "forms of social and cultural inclusion" (para. 12). Hence, digital technology holds the potential to create a more inclusive environment in which socially and culturally excluded communities can participate.

It is oftentimes assumed that digital exclusion is strongly connected to conventional structures of social exclusion like status or geography (e.g. Norris, 2001). However, when the European Commission asked Kluzer, Hache and Codagnone (2008) to research the adoption of digital technology by immigrant and ethnic minorities and how this has an influence on their economic and social participation and integration in Europe the key findings reflected quite the opposite. Immigrant and ethnic minorities appear to adopt digital media in proportions very much alike the entire EU population, in spite of a lesser socio-economic status. This can be related to the findings that these minorities (1) are required to "go digital" and "connect" for labor and/or education objectives in the host community, (2) want to be able to correspond with social networks of friends and family that are living in other parts of the world, (3) are groups of people that on average are of younger age, relating to better knowledge of digital technology, and (4) wish to preserve and continue their ancestry (particularly younger people) and scrutinize new digital-mediated social relationships, services and content in the host community. Moreover, when Helsper (2008) investigated the connections between the spread of digital technologies and social and economic development it was found that underprivileged people from ethnic groups were more likely to be highly engaged with digital media than predicted exclusively on the basis of their social detriments. Furthermore, young people's lives are progressively mediated by digital technologies in the community, at school and at home (Livingstone & Helsper, 2007). Accordingly, in contrast to their elders, young people are more likely to gather news online, to use digital media at the outset when researching something for school, and to employ online social networking tools to connect to friends and search for information. Hence, the primary information sources are mostly digital media, which is absolutely unlike any generation before (Flanagin & Metzger, 2008). Young people are perceived to enjoy an instinctive, casual relationship with digital media. In this regard, digital technologies present

a new system of empowerment for youth (Tapscott, 1998). According to Buckingham (2006), the description of the concept "youth" calls upon an array of symbolic interpretations that can relate to imaginative identities as much as to tangible potential. People's age – or how old we conceive ourselves to be – is more and more determined by what we consume, by our relationships to particular brands and merchandise. Seemingly, youth culture is now open to everyone.

Over the last eight years, modern technologies have become the solution to some of our access problems. For instance, the arrival of smartphones and their capability to connect with the Internet "provide opportunities for social networking means that the entire dilemma of accessing landlines can be bypassed. Now the issue of cost had to be overcome." (Modarres, 2011, p. 5). By virtue of digital technology the vast quantity of information ready for use is expanding and it has reduced the cost of information production and distribution (Flanagin & Metzger, 2008). Moreover, a considerable part of the low-income population is "more likely to be cell-only wireless users" (Modarres, 2011, p. 6). Hence, the cultural city now has the chance to become a more inclusive city by opening up to marginal communities through digital technologies.

3.2.2 Audience engagement and city branding

New media technologies and the rise of Web 2.0 are presenting the opportunity to truly interconnect with audiences in ways unthinkable just a couple of years ago. These new technologies are not merely novel types of media with which we can do the same old things. New media indicate a shift in thinking about how people communicate with each other; these media embody dynamic and cooperative communication models. They facilitate networked conversations among human beings and they enable all-powerful new forms of knowledge exchange and social organization to develop (Lefebvre, 2007). Not only is it the responsibility of the city municipality to engage all audiences with their city branding (Rainisto, 2003), in fact, it is a necessity as these audiences together can make or break the brand. In other words, audience engagement is pivotal to city branding (Hanna & Rowley, 2011). According to Bourdieu (1984), people belong to certain classes in society and, without thinking about it, we know how to respond to a multitude of cultural stimuli. This sensibility is gained through an upbringing in the conditions of a specific class and the possibilities that

come with it. Moreover, the terms high and popular culture "suggest that most people still notice a relationship between culture and class" (Gans, 2008, p. 8). In other words, cultural taste varies by class. However, with the ever more expanding access to new media everyone has a voice. New media technologies now allow us to explore these social standards with greater freedom and independence than ever before. This is freedom from temporal and geographic boundaries with open access to information. Instead of being hierarchical or layered, the world is becoming more networked, allowing the role of any individual within social systems to become much more nuanced and flexible. People can choose to take on many different roles offered by the networked world. Connectors, seekers, lurkers, weavers, curators, guides, conveners and many other roles are now possible for us to adopt (Lefebvre, 2007).

The upheaval with Web 2.0 is that new media technologies are no longer captured "inside a box" that people use. Oftentimes, they are open-access and enable users to interact with them and make new content themselves. This content can also be shared with others (Lefebvre, 2007). Those social media include Social Networking Sites (SNSs) (e.g. Facebook), creativity works-sharing sites (e.g. YouTube), microblogging sites (e.g. Twitter), and collaborative websites (e.g. Wikipedia) (Mangold & Faulds, 2009). Even though people gravitate towards contacting established social networks for resources (Cho & Lee, 2008), there are numerous rationales why people might want to discover virtual third cultures (McEwan & Sobre-Denton, 2011). Online services like Facebook offer augmented social networking opportunities for people with comparable goals and interests (Lefebvre, 2007). Those networks of people whose virtual interactions are based on mutual knowledge of, and enthusiasm for, a particular consumption activity are referred to as consumption-related online communities (Kozinets, 1999). Indeed, research of virtual communities such as Star Wars fans (Brown, Kozinets, & Sherry, 2003) and something as common as coffee (Kozinets, 2002) has demonstrated that the value acquired by the community members derives not from the subject itself, but from the social links that were developed as a result of engaging with the community online (Brown, Broderick, & Lee, 2007). According to Edelman (2010), people would previously systematically sift out brand choices to complete their engagement by consuming their final choice. However, nowadays we rely heavily on digital communication, we evaluate a shifting array of options, and stay engaged with the brand through social media afterwards (Edelman, 2010). Thus, engagement with a brand does not

necessarily begin or end with the consumption of a cultural event or activity. Hanna and Rowley (2011, p. 466) argue that people "need the opportunity to make a contribution regardless of whether they are voicing competing or contradictory views. If they are considered to be partners in brand creation, [people] will support the brand strategy and deliver on brand experience". Studies (e.g. Pigg & Crank, 2004) have indicated that *trust* plays an essential role in knowledge integration and information exchange, as it allows people to evaluate and justify their decision to contribute or obtain more valuable information. In the virtual world, trust is vital to online community members' intention to swap information with others (Ridings, Gefen, & Arinze, 2002). Regardless of restricted nonverbal cues, it is apparent that social resources such as a sense of belonging, companionship, and emotional support are visibly exchanged online between people who do not know each other in the offline world (Haythornthwaite, 1999).

Social media assist the progress of interaction and cooperation among people. In its most uncomplicated forms, "these media can be thought of as digital extensions of the interpersonal channels of promotion (the proliferation of word-of-mouth [WOM]) (Lefebvre, 2007, p. 32). WOM communication is a crucial part of online consumer interplay, specifically within the setting of virtual communities (Brown, Broderick, & Lee, 2007). In essence, consumption-related online communities serve as WOM networks, where individuals with an interest in something interact for information or to affiliate with other likeminded people (Cothrel, 2000; Kozinets, 1999). Traditional offline WOM is considered to have a strong influence on behavior, particularly on people's search for information, evaluation thereof, and the subsequent decision making process (Silverman, 2001). This rationale may be unsuitable to characterize *online* WOM (eWOM) behavior, since offline WOM theories have tended to pay attention to face-to-face interaction in which the participants are in close proximity and can read a myriad of social and contextual cues (Knapp, 2002). However, studies that have focused on the social-emotional qualities of computer-mediated communication (e.g. Walther, 1996) based on conventions from social psychology about relationship development and social cognition, indicate that "individuals can create fully formed impressions of others based solely on the linguistic content of written electronic messages" (Brown, Broderick, & Lee, 2007, p. 3). The rise of Internet-based media has aided the development of eWOM (Hennig-Thurau, Gwinner, Walsh, & Gremler, 2004). According to Chu and Kim (2011, p. 50), an eminent trait "that makes SNSs unique from other eWOM

media is that users' social networks are readily available on these sites. SNS contacts are members of consumers' existing networks and may be perceived as more trustworthy and credible than unknown strangers, which leads SNSs to become an important source of product information for consumers, and tremendously facilitates and accelerates eWOM". Through manifold exchanges, one WOM message can arrive at many receivers and this message has the potential to have an influence on those receivers (Lau & Ng, 2001). The result of the interpersonal exchanges is consumption-related information that has value over and above messages from outsiders (Brown, Broderick, & Lee, 2007). Therefore, city branding authorities may increase audience engagement by stimulating eWOM. Moreover, as some of these eWOM conversations on SNSs are visible to the public, the authorities can tap into that source of information and use it to improve their city branding strategies.

4. Methodology

4.1 The sub questions

In order to answer the main research question *Can Rotterdam as a "cultural city" become more inclusive for its diverse and marginalized public in this digital age?* a number of sub questions emerged. The first sub question aimed to understand what policy and statistics Rotterdam has on the cultural city, as well as to investigate the official cultural city apps of Rotterdam. The purpose of the second sub question was to uncover which cultural apps are most popular with marginal communities and what their motivations are for using these apps in particular. The third sub question sought to explain what these communities think of the cultural city and its apps, and who is more engaged within these communities. The fourth sub question checked for gender differences in participants' experiences of the cultural city and its apps. Therefore, solely qualitative methods were used for this thesis.

The first sub question was answered by performing a content analysis of the *official policy* and *official statistics* on the cultural city, and by analyzing the *two official cultural city apps* of Rotterdam. After collecting and reading various *policy documents* the following three documents proved to be most relevant to the interests of this thesis:

Title: **Het Rotterdamse Cultuurplan 2013-2016: Midden in de stad**

Translation: The Rotterdam Cultural Plan 2013-2016

Institution: College van B en W (2012)

Title: **Cultuurparticipatie ambities 2013-2016: Meer Rotterdammers over de drempel van culturele instellingen**

Translation: Cultural participation ambitions 2013-2016

Institution: Rotterdam Festivals (2011a)

Title: **Herijking evenementenbeleid: Dieper in de stad, verder in de wereld**

Translation: Recalibration event policy

Institution: Rotterdam Festivals (2010)

All three documents contain the latest Rotterdam policy available in that specific field. Even though the official event policy dates back four years, this document is still used as the city's official policy. Rotterdam's cultural policy is drawn up by the Rotterdam *College van B en W*; in the Netherlands a College van B en W is the executive board of a municipality (College van B en W, 2012). Rotterdam Festivals has been appointed to implement that policy. Hence, Rotterdam Festivals has the task to stimulate the cultural participation of Rotterdammers; to the outside world they are doing that under the name *Rotterdams Uitburo*. Moreover, Rotterdam Festivals is requested to collect and disseminate the results of public research conducted by Rotterdam's cultural organizations (College van B en W, 2012). Also, various *official statistics* documents were collected and read, and the following three proved to be most relevant to the interests of this thesis:

Title: **Cultuurparticipatie van Rotterdammers, 2011**

Translation: Cultural participation of Rotterdammers, 2011

Institution: Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (2012a)

Title: **Wij Rotterdammers en cultuur: Een analyse van cijfers en trends uit vijf jaar publieksonderzoek**

Translation: Rotterdammers and culture

Institution: Rotterdam Festivals (2011b)

Title: **Quickscan Rotterdamse jongeren in hun vrije tijd, 2011**

Translation: Quickscan Rotterdam youth in their leisure time, 2011

Institution: Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (2012b)

The collected statistical data did not need additional analysis through a program like SPSS as it was already processed. Hence, the statistical information was readily available to use to support the line of argumentation. All recent official policy documents and statistics are publicly available online, however some of them are not easy to find. Therefore, the researcher contacted several employees of Rotterdam's municipality, Rotterdam Festivals (responsible for Rotterdam's city branding to internal audiences) and Rotterdam Partners

(responsible for Rotterdam's city branding to external audiences) to collect all relevant documents. As Rotterdam is definitely engaging with city branding practices (L. Bruijn, member of the Rotterdam city council, personal communication, 8 January 2014) and trying to brand itself as "(international) cultural city" (Rotterdam Festivals, 2014), it is interesting to see how the municipality is positioning Rotterdam as such. The two selected apps, *Rotterdams Uitburo* and *Rotterdam Info* – which are constructed with the support of Rotterdam's city branding authorities (R. Weers, senior project leader with Rotterdam Festivals, personal communication, January 15, 2014) – provide users with an overview of Rotterdam's cultural offering and calendar (for free). The *Rotterdams Uitburo* app offers the most up-to-date cultural agenda of Rotterdam. It contains all cultural and recreational activities, namely, concerts, festivals, musicals, cabaret, theater and dance shows, movies, exhibitions, events, city tours, children's activities, markets and even more. This app allows users to quickly look up Rotterdam's cultural agenda, easily browse a list of favorite genres, search on location, genre or artist, check where the location is on the map, make direct phone calls to theater box offices for tickets, the daily supply of the Last Minute Ticket Shop with 50% discounts, compose a personal cultural agenda, and conveniently share activities via Facebook, Twitter, Email and so on. *Rotterdam Info* builds on the previous app in the sense that it incorporates the Uitburo agenda into its own. This second app not only contains a cultural city agenda, also it highlights events that are considered to be "insider tips", it finds locations through offline city maps and GPS, it enables calling and emailing the location directly, it plans your trip for you with public transportation, and it does not require being connected to the Internet. The analysis of these apps took a sampling and focused on *cultural events*, thereby incorporating both low culture (e.g. festivals) and high culture (e.g. opera). Hence, all culture was accounted for as participants in the focus groups might not even realize they engage with high culture, or any form of culture for that matter, while in fact they do by visiting an exhibition in a museum for instance. Such an exhibition might even be a mix of both types of culture when it focuses on hip hop lifestyle, music and artists. During analysis the researcher looked for what cultural events are on offer and how they are categorized within the apps for the period of one month (from April 1st to April 30th, 2014).

The second sub question was answered by conducting *focus groups* with participants from the marginalized communities. Details of the participants are discussed in the next section. Information about the execution of the focus groups is provided in the section

thereafter. For the purpose of the second research question, participants were asked to show what apps they have on their phones. To capture these properly, a photo was taken of all the main screens of the mobile phone. The photos permit an analysis of user behavior by categorizing the apps participants use. Also, the total number of apps and the number of apps per category were counted. Apps that the researcher was not familiar with were further explained by the owner of the phone to ensure that it is clear which apps are culturally oriented and which are not. The reason for choosing a mobile phone platform as a media angle was because people with low incomes may not have their own computer or laptop with access to the Internet but they often do have mobile phones (Townsend, 2000), even smartphones for that matter.

The third sub question was also answered through the *focus groups* and it connects to the operationalization of the second sub question described above. By asking questions and stimulating group discussion, it was uncovered what participants think of the cultural city and its apps. Moreover, these conversations also showed who is engaged (or not engaged) with the cultural city apps and what their motivation are.

The fourth sub question, again, was answered through *focus groups* by analyzing the data that emerged from sub question 2 and sub question 3. When analyzing the focus groups special attention was given to differences between the cultural apps that men and women use, and differences in their thoughts about the cultural city.

Methodological triangulation was purposefully used to gain more insight into the perceptions and preferences of Rotterdam's marginal public in the cultural domain. As various analyses were employed to answer the research questions of this thesis, this paragraph explains what analyses were carried out in what order. First, the official policy documents were analyzed by means of thematic analysis (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2011). Thus, the focus was to find patterns within the data. Different phases within this thematic analysis were familiarization with the data, creating initial codes, finding themes among codes, reviewing the themes, naming and defining themes, and finally producing the results (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Second, the official cultural city apps of Rotterdam were analyzed by looking for how cultural events are categorized within these apps. Third, the official statistics documents were scrutinized to see how Rotterdammers (according to these documents) engage with the cultural city. During these three different analyses it was continuously monitored whether the data from the documents and the apps contradict or

support each other. Fourth, the above analyses contributed to the shaping of questions for the focus groups that represented the marginal public in Rotterdam. Moreover, the focus groups were intentionally conducted last in the process of research so that the researcher was able to compare data from this source with the three official sources of policy, statistics and apps. The data from the focus groups was also analyzed by means of thematic analysis (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2011) to search for patterns within that data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). When all data was collected (from the policy and statistics documents, official cultural apps, and focus groups) and themes had emerged from that data, the researcher juxtaposed the various sources to check for differences within themes. For instance, one theme was "personal interests and barriers". This theme came back in the policy documents, the statistics documents as well as the focus group data. Accordingly, the results chapter of this thesis has a *section* that discusses what cultural interests various Rotterdammers have. In this section the findings from the policy, statistics and focus groups were put together to provide an overview of the "personal interests and barriers" theme. Thus, even though the findings from the official documents, apps, and focus groups are reported all together in the results, the data was collected and analyzed separately in its own time.

4.2 The sample

This research focused on the marginal communities of Rotterdam that are living in "bad neighborhoods" (Ministerie BZK, 2012). From those communities a *sample* participated in this research. The focus was placed on young adults in particular as it is in the interest of the cultural city to reach out to younger audiences. Moreover, they often have more affinity with mobile technologies than older people (Purcell, Smith, & Zickuhr, 2010) and they have more freedom than young people under eighteen. Children and teenagers' local surroundings tend to be delimited (Harris & Wyn, 2008) as they have "a limited capacity to physically move beyond the locale and dependence on local others and local institutions (family, home, school)" (Harris, 2010, p. 581). Additionally, the local spaces that they do have access to are far more scrutinized and controlled than the spaces adults make use of (Harris, 2010).

The *marginal communities of Rotterdam* were defined as non-Western immigrants who have a low income and are between 18 and 30 years of age. Rotterdam varies by

district; districts with the highest percentage of immigrants in 2010 were Delfshaven (72%), Feijenoord (66%), and Charlois (57%). The average household income also varies by district. Five districts are below average and Delfshaven, Feijenoord, and Charlois are the three districts with the lowest incomes per household on average (Rotterdam Festivals, 2011b). For these reasons, the sample of the focus groups consists of residents from the Delfshaven district. More specifically, all research participants came from Spangen because this neighborhood has the lowest "livability score" in this area of Rotterdam. In fact, Spangen is one of the worst neighborhoods to live in according to the "livability maps" as depicted by Atlas voor gemeenten (2014). See Figure 2 for an overview of the Rotterdam livability map.
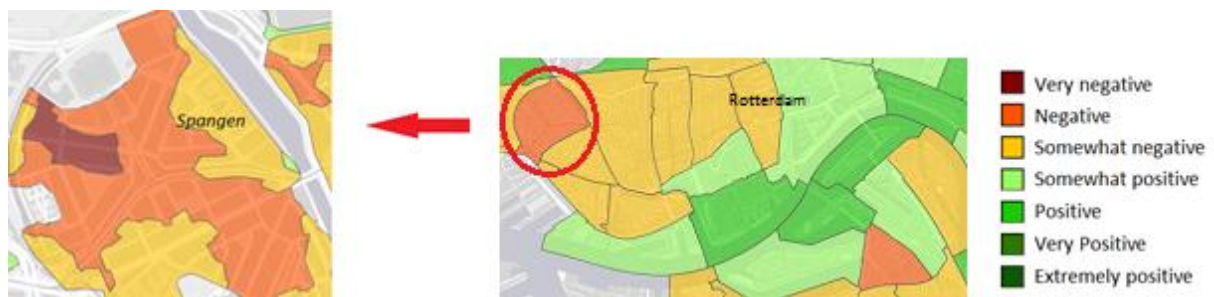
Figure 2.   Livability map of Spangen and Rotterdam.

In the "very negative" areas in Spangen the level of housing, demographics, social cohesion, and safety are way beneath the national average. The two other scoring points measured, public space and public facilities, are also lacking and under the national average. In the "negative" areas in Spangen the level of housing, demographics and safety are very similar to the "very negative" areas. Social cohesion is better in these areas although it still is far under the national average. The level of public space equals the national average and public facilities even score high above the national average (Appendix A).

4.3 The focus groups

For this research 3 focus groups with 6 participants each were conducted with Rotterdammers who fit the profile of young non-Western immigrants with a low income. Getting young marginalized Rotterdammers to join the focus groups was a difficult and time-consuming task, only through indirect personal social ties people were inclined to participate. One focus group was mixed (both men and women), one consisted of only

female participants and one consisted of only male participants. In mixed-sex research groups men are likely to overshadow women, except when the task at hand is clearly related to women in particular (Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 1999). Furthermore, the separation of men and women in different focus groups establishes a comparative dimension into the whole investigation and it aids discussion by fabricating more homogenous groups (Morgan, 1996). Hence, segmentation was employed to overcome communication barriers which may be even more relevant for conservative communities. When interacting with the opposite sex, people may not say certain things. Therefore, the three focus groups had a different composition. Focus groups are "usually stimulating and fun for participants, observers, and the moderator. We noted that having fun helps the flow of discussion and builds a sense of trust among members of the group" (Stewart, Shamdasani, & Rook, 2007). The interaction between respondents may expedite the articulation of ideas and experiences that might be left incomplete in person to person interviews. Furthermore, for the purpose of this research, focus groups may (1) uncover participants' framework of understanding, attitudes, priorities and language, (2) stimulate open conversation, and (3) "help to identify group norms and cultural values" (Kitzinger, 1995, p. 302).

Participants were asked questions about the cultural city of Rotterdam, they were exposed to the selected apps and asked about the cultural apps on their own mobile phones. If needed, or when it could enrich the data, participants were asked to show the researcher and other participants on their mobile phone what they were talking about. The focus groups were recorded on audiotape to capture people's comments and the experiments were carried out behind closed doors in a classroom of a local primary school. The participants were seated in a circular arrangement that provided maximum opportunity for eye contact with both the researcher and other group participants. Participants were seated around a table so that they would feel more comfortable. In the group with both men and women the table also served as a "shield for the legs, eliminating a source of distraction" (Stewart, Shamdasani, & Rook, 2007, p. 3). Every group member wore a name tag with his or her real first name on it to create a basis for building greater rapport among participants. At the outset of each focus group session it was explained to the participants that they would be recorded on audio; it was also clearly stated when the actual recording started and when it ended. Open questions were used to guide the focus groups (Appendix B). This focus group script was primarily based on findings from the three policy documents and three

official statistics documents as mentioned above. Based on the literature review of this thesis, the analysis of Rotterdam's official cultural apps and existing focus group scripts from Rotterdam Festivals (which were used to research Rotterdammers' cultural participation and engagement) more questions were added to this script. For example, the question "Would you want to visit cultural events more often than you do now?" was directly taken from Rotterdam Festivals' script. The questions were intended to steer the conversation to remain on topic, however, during the focus groups various other questions emerged from what participants were talking about. For instance, issues of 'not feeling safe' within Rotterdam (at night or at certain events) were not mentioned as obstacles to engage with culture in any of the policy documents, statistics documents, or official cultural apps. Safety issues did also not come forward as a barrier to engage with the "cultural city" in any of the texts read for the literature review of this thesis. However, during the focus groups women continued to come back to this problem that is keeping them from going to cultural events in Rotterdam. Thus, the researcher asked questions about this topic to both the male and female participants to get more into the details of this issue of not feeling safe. This is in line with Stewart, Shamdasani, & Rook's (2007 p. 12) advice to ask follow-up questions as they "are an important part of extracting full information from respondents". If a participant was not contributing to the conversation as much as others, he or she would be asked direct questions to encourage that person to participate more actively. At the end of a session, group members were debriefed and they were asked to fill out a sheet with questions about their demographics (Appendix C). In order to analyze the focus groups everything that participants said was transcribed. Additional noteworthy concerns were inserted into those transcriptions. Afterwards, the transcripts were thematically analyzed (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2011) to search for patterns within the data. Again, the phases of this analysis were familiarization with the data, creating initial codes, finding themes among codes, reviewing the themes, naming and defining themes, and finally producing the results (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For instance, initial codes such as "safety issues" and "lack of money" created the sub theme "barriers" which was later named "5.1.3 Blocking the path to engagement" as all of these codes described why participants will not or cannot participate in cultural events and activities. From codes such as "art exhibitions" "painting" the sub theme "5.1.1 Cultural events and activities" and from codes such as "fun" and "other people's perspectives" the theme "5.1.2 Motivations for engagement" emerged. Looking at all other codes that

emerged from the focus group data it was clear that these three sub themes should form one of the main themes, namely "5.1 Personal interests and barriers". Both the policy and statistics documents incorporated information about what Rotterdammers like to visit and do, as well as the main obstacles keeping them from engaging with events and activities. Thus, within the theme "5.1. Personal interests and barriers" the data from the focus groups, policy documents and statistics documents was juxtaposed to each other. Special attention was given to things that were often mentioned by participants, noteworthy ideas, and information that they explicitly stated as being important.

5. Results

The results section is guided by three themes that emerged from the collected data. Hence, these themes came forward out of the focus groups, Rotterdam's official policy documents and statistics, and the official city branding apps as discussed in the methods section. The three themes are (1) personal interests and barriers, (2) paths to cultural engagement, and (3) a sense of community. The first scrutinizes the reasons why participants are engaged with cultural events and activities. Also, it shows which cultural events they visit and which cultural activities they perform. Additionally, the boundaries that hold people back from engaging with culture are discussed. The second explores the apps that participants use to engage with culture and apps that may facilitate this process. Other channels through which participants learn about cultural events are delineated as well. The third delves deeper into how personal social ties seem to be the main path to cultural engagement. This theme describes what participants need from the cultural city in order to get engaged with cultural events and activities.

5.1 Personal interests and barriers

Citizens of the Netherlands participate in culture a lot more than other Europeans do on average (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 1997; 2006; 2009; 2010a; 2010b; 2011). Cultural participation encompasses both active and passive participation in a cultural event. Examples of actively taking part in a cultural activity are dancing, painting or making music whereas examples of passive participation are going to the movies, sightseeing cultural heritage or visiting a museum. Generally speaking, the further north the country is, the more often people visit a theater, concert hall or museum (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 1997; 2006; 2009; 2010a; 2010b; 2011). Also compared to the neighboring northern countries such as Belgium, Germany, France and England, the Netherlands has a significantly higher cultural participation rate. In the many prior studies that have been conducted on cultural participation of Rotterdammers the key recurring variables are education level, ethnicity, life stage or age, and experience with culture (Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek, 2008; 2010a; 2011b; Duimel, 2011; Meijjer & Warntjes, 2007; Meijjer & Van de Velde, 2009; Schnabel, 2011; Waning & Meijjer, 2008b; Wijgers & Ram, 2011b). The cultural participation rate in Rotterdam does not differ significantly from the national figures. Compared to

Amsterdam and Utrecht, Rotterdam has the least residents participating in high culture, which can be explained by the lower level of education. However, according to Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (2012a), the cultural participation rates have increased in Rotterdam in recent years and especially young people (70%) engage with culture. This may have to do with what Gans (1999, p. 12) suggests; young people "not only have more time and disposable income but also freedom to choose varieties of culture than almost anyone else. They are also still exploring tastes so as to identify their own, and the formation of 'cultural identity' may begin with a period of omnivorousness". The composition of the population (age, education level and cultural background) seems to be a key determinant for cultural participation. Rotterdam is, and will continue to be younger than other cities. This provides opportunities for further growth as the cultural participation rate of young people is high.

The *scherpe keuzes, heldere prioriteiten* [precise choices, clear priorities] principle from the official policy (College van B en W, 2012) states that art and culture are necessary conditions for achieving Rotterdam's economic, spatial and social ambitions. Therefore, in the coming years the city will focus on two cultural policy priorities, namely (1) the cultural development of Rotterdam (in particular focused on children and young people), and (2) culture in the city (center) and the ability of the cultural sector to respond to social, economic and spatial developments, thereby enhancing its own resilience and sustainability (cultural entrepreneurship). The presence of cultural facilities (e.g. theaters, museums, music venues) and artistic expressions in outdoor areas, the opportunity to develop cultural talent at all levels, but also the annual return of cultural events and festivals, contribute to the attractiveness of the city. According to the College van B en W (2012), these are all arguments for the *residents* of Rotterdam to live there, for *companies* and *promising groups of people* to settle there, and for *tourists* to spend time there. However, when looking at official city statistics and the data from the focus groups, this division is not as balanced as it claims to be. Rotterdam Festivals uses a program called MOSAIC to sort consumers based on their shared socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics, on their behavior and their neighborhood characteristics. The different Rotterdam target groups are split up in three main groups. The first are *heavy users*; for these people culture is an obvious choice. Their characteristics are very similar to the image of the typical culture visitor: native, older generation, better educated and a higher level of prosperity. In general, this group knows

how to be well informed and is easily reached by the cultural institutions. These people also make good use of the Rotterdams Uitburo. The second are *medium users*; these people perceive culture to be an option and they are occasional visitors of art and culture. Culture for this group is quite a serious option for recreation but a lot of information does not reach them, or they decide to make different choices. They are reached less by the cultural institutions. This promising group is open to a reliable guide to the cultural offer and can be reached with collective marketing communication tools such as a central website about culture in Rotterdam, the *Uitagenda* (an event calendar) and other manifestations of the Rotterdams Uitburo. The third are *light users*; these people only visit culture by chance and are far removed from the cultural offerings. They do not know what is on offer and they think that culture is not for them. Only by chance, such as during a free festival, this group comes into contact with culture (Rotterdam Festivals, 2011a). In the Rotterdam policy, the sample of this research – young, non-western immigrants with a low income – is referred to as *Doorzetters* [Strugglers]. Strugglers are perceived as light users. Hence, according to Rotterdam's authorities they will only engage with culture by coincidence (Commissie Deetman / Mans, 2011).

Rotterdam Festivals (2011a) describes *Strugglers* as follows: "Strugglers have certain wisdom in the sense that they do not always go through life easily. They often have to look after the pennies, which creates a gap between (material) needs and financial capabilities ... They are poorly educated and oftentimes they are from an immigrant background. Some of them believe that the world is against them, so they do not always relate positively towards society. They seek refuge in their own community or with friends, with whom they share values that are important to them … Strugglers' barriers to engage with culture are that they do not know what there is on offer, they often do not know what to expect and whether it is worth it. Also, they often indicate that they have no one to go along with" (p.18). The term "Strugglers" implies that these people are indeed struggling for something. The description of this group of people indicates that Strugglers are searching to find their own place in the Dutch society, to gain a sense of belonging, whether that is through cultural assimilation or other strategies. Another struggle put forward is about economics. Rotterdam Festivals (2011a) argues that due to Strugglers' lack of money, the chances of them spending it on culture are not very high. However, it has been proven that the poor seek for leisure in spite of their economics. According to Arora (2012, p. 7), "strong value is placed on entertainment

even as people in poor areas continue to struggle for their basics. This is contradictory to Maslow's seminal theorization on human motivation, where it is argued that until the basic needs are met, people will not aspire for more leisure goods and services. This predictive hierarchy of needs is disbanded as entertainment oversteps physiological wants".

The MOSAIC program has further categorized the three main groups of Rotterdam's population (heavy, medium, and light users) into eight cultural target groups. These groups differ from one another in terms of life phase, socio-demographic data and cultural orientation (Appendix D). Figure 3 shows the distribution of households in Rotterdam.
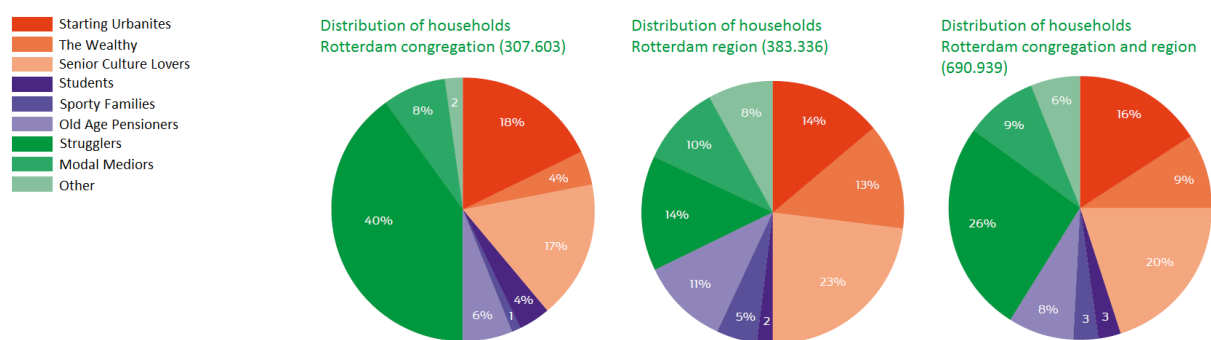
Figure 3.   The distribution of households in Rotterdam.

More than 176.644 Rotterdammers are so called Strugglers (representative of the sample of this research). They make up for more than a quarter of the entire Rotterdam population. In fact, they represent the biggest group in the city, yet the policy dictates the cultural city that these Strugglers are not a priority. This is also experienced by the focus group participants; they feel "left out". Appendix E shows how only those with a good education are actively engaged, not the Strugglers. In the period 2013-2016, Rotterdam Festivals focuses on reaching four promising target groups: *Startende Stedelingen* [Starting Urbanites], *Studentikozen* [Students], *Eenvoudige Pensioengenieters* [Old Age Pensioners], and *Sportieve Gezinnen* [Sporty Families]. Notice how Strugglers belong in the secondary target group, which is considered by the municipality to be mere "by-catch" (Rotterdam Festivals, 2011a, p.13). Thus, not only is it not a priority to reach out to Strugglers, also the least means of the Rotterdams Uitburo are used to reach this group. This demonstrates how the cultural city of Rotterdam is actually an *exclusive* city.

5.1.1 Cultural events and activities

In the focus group that only had male participants, it seemed like the men were downplaying their involvement with high culture. Only after repeatedly asking for what they enjoyed to do or visit, the men would give away bits and pieces of their whole cultural engagement story. Thus, the men tended to only talk about popular culture like movies, TV series and mainstream music concerts at first. Only after a while the men felt comfortable enough to share their full stories. On the other hand, in the female focus group it seemed like the women were proud of their engagement with high cultural activities and events. The women immediately started to share their high cultural interests in the past and the interests they have now. In this group those who were not that engaged with high culture seemed to feel ashamed of that. Only after a while these women started to truly participate in the conversation. In other words, it suggests that men believe it is cool to show no interest in high culture whereas women experience it quite the opposite way. According to Bourdieu (1984), people from lower social classes will try to gain entry to higher rankings in society through education or the arts. However, if these ambitious people threaten class solidarity they will be called to order by their own social class. Looking at the data from the focus groups this is completely not the case for the women; they are in fact proud of their cultural engagement and cannot wait to share it with the group. It does seem to play some role for men as they did try to downplay their cultural engagement at first. Thus, it is not entirely true that appreciation is reduced, as Bourdieu (1984) puts it, to expressing a cultural taste according to the need to be recognized in a given class. The data from the focus groups rather shows a gender differentiation that contradicts Bourdieu's theory in part. The theory seems to hold somewhat true for the male participants but not for the female participants.

As stated in research conducted by the Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (2011a), young people under 30 visit relatively a lot of film and media, festivals, pop music, (stand up) comedy, musicals, and debates and lectures in Rotterdam. The higher educated a person is, the more he or she will participate in culture. Indeed, there does seem to be a connection between cultural participation and the level of education a person has received. Focus group participants who have a HBO education (the middle level of tertiary education in the Netherlands) engage with high culture a lot more than lower educated participants. This does not mean that participants who have a MBO education (the lowest level of tertiary education) do not engage with the cultural city of Rotterdam at all; they simply visit more

cultural events that represent popular culture like festivals. See Appendix F for an overview of the Dutch education system. All focus group participants watch popular movies and TV series, and everyone goes to the cinema from time to time. They also enjoy listening to music although it differs from person to person what kind of music. Where most people listen to mainstream pop, R&B and rock music, Mercy and Khalid expressed their love for jazz music. They both attend jazz jam sessions in Bird, a jazz venue nearby the central train station. Bisnath, someone who does not seem to be engaged with high cultural events at all, may find his path to engagement through music. He listens to songs in different languages from what he knows and even though he cannot understand what the songs are about, he finds pleasure in the melodies. Bisnath also likes classical music. Due to his limited funds he cannot go to classical music concerts but the fact remains that he has an interest in this specific music genre that is considered to be high culture. Four participants visit museums from time to time but they do have different interests. Elaine and Mercy go for the art exhibitions and Mercy also enjoys the general collection because "it is always good". Fédor enjoys going to historical museums while Nurlan goes to modern art museums. Today, young people are more in touch with the popular offerings such as pop music concerts and festivals than traditional forms of art such as museums and opera (Motivaction, 2007; 2010). According to Gans (1999), some cultural choices from different social classes have been converging for a while now, making people more similar in their choices than in the past. Also, it is more difficult to categorize new art forms as they affect the traditional arts by for instance combining ballet with hip hop, or the use of video art in opera and theater. Therefore, the distinction between traditional and popular forms of art is becoming less precise. Research also revealed that among Rotterdammers there is not a common understanding of art and culture (Motivaction, 2007; 2010). Participants often associate the term "culture" with traditional forms of high culture.

Rotterdammers who sometimes visit events (passive cultural participation) engage with art and culture themselves *actively* more often than Rotterdammers who do not attend events. Vice versa, Rotterdammers who themselves are culturally active by for instance being in an acting group, visit more events or museums than Rotterdammers who do not actively take part in cultural events. According to research of Rotterdam Festivals (2011b), this connection does not seem to exist with immigrants (Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek, 2009; 2010b; Meijjer, Dubbeldam, Waning, & Hers, 2007; Waning & Meijjer,

2008a; Wijgers & Ram, 2011a). Based on current studies there is no explanation for this phenomenon. However, when leaving out the low culture events that are easy to consume (cinema, clubs and festivals) this conclusion may be debated. The data from the focus groups shows that the participants that immerse themselves the most in cultural activities also visit the most events that are high culture. This was the case for Orhan, Mercy, and Elaine. Nevertheless, Mi-Young, Fédor, and Khalid also attend cultural events quite often without engaging with cultural activities themselves. On the other hand, Li-Fong and Fatima engage with cultural activities a lot while they do not attend high cultural events. Hence, the three participants that engage the most with high cultural events (they attend these events more frequently and they visit more and various places) do engage with cultural activities the most as well. Nonetheless, this should not be taken as a rule of thumb as participants who either engage with events or activities can also be very culturally engaged.

Other cultural events that participants mentioned that they engage with are festivals, film festivals, music concerts that cater to the participant's ethnic background (e.g. Shashini and Bisnath enjoy concerts of Hindu singers), and various types of exhibitions such as photography and fashion.

"I like going to film festivals. Yeah I went to the Rotterdam Film Festival. Back, when I was in South Korea, we have those film festivals as well, so yeah. You can see like films that normally are not playing in the theatre. Yeah like from, like foreign country films, you know? Like art house films or indie films. Yeah, like there's stuff that you really don't see normally."
(Elaine)

Different cultural activities that female participants performed in the past are drawing, street dance, jazz dance, ballet dancing, singing in a choir, painting. These activities were dropped after high school because of time constraints. Apart from Li-Fong, who played the piano and uploaded his own videos to YouTube, none of the men mentioned that they engaged with cultural activities in the past. Currently three women are still active. Elaine loves photography and to shoot portraits of people while Fatima continues to belly dance even though she stopped participating in competitions. Mercy is very emerged in cultural activities, it was even her plan to go to art school. She now does photography, painting, graphic design, and she recently picked up on playing the cavaquinho (a very small

46

Portuguese string instrument with four strings, similar to the European guitar). Two men engage with cultural activities. Orhan has started to learn how to play the guitar and he is taking singing lessons. He participates as an actor in a Turkish theater group and he also mentors newcomers to this group. Li-Fong continues to play the piano but now only as a hobby. He does still watch videos of piano artists that he follows on YouTube. In 2011, 42% of the Rotterdammers *practiced artistic activities themselves*, some in the privacy of their own homes or clubs while others displayed them (Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek, 2012a). The activities of most practitioners are drawing, painting, graphic design, photography, film, video and dance. Appendix G shows that the number of practitioners of artistic activities among Rotterdammers of non-Western origin is somewhat larger (46%) than among Rotterdammers of Western origin (41%). The research did not provide an explanation for this difference. The older people are, the less they engage with artistic activities themselves. However, the number of arts practitioners clearly increases with the level of education. There is no significant relationship with income. Hence, the cultural activities of the focus group participants fall in line with this research. Also, a number of participants who used to be engaging with various activities have indeed dropped them due to time constraints. However, Orhan is the exception here as he recently has taken up guitar and singing lessons. It seems that through his passion for acting he has started to interest himself for different cultural activities as well; activities that may complement his primary interest in acting.

The *levendige (binnen)stad* [vivid city (center)] principle from Rotterdam's policy (College van B en W, 2012) aims to ensure that more people will want to live and work downtown. Also, more people should be attracted to visit the city center; they should stay longer and spend more money. To achieve this, Rotterdam's municipality will continue to develop the city center into a place where there is always something to do. It needs to become a place where it is pleasant to stay and relaxing for residents, visitors, students, investors and businesses. The municipality is looking for intensive cooperation with all parties that wish to contribute to a *livable* city. They will be provided with space and support wherever possible, for example with obtaining permits (College van B en W, 2010). Cities where people want to live are more successful economically and they will remain so. Attractive cities are thus more future-proof (College van B en W, 2012). This all sounds very well, but what constitutes as a "livable" city? In the policy it is often repeated that

Rotterdam aims to create a livable city for all residents (and external audiences). However, it is clear that a large part of the Rotterdam population is overlooked. In fact, those that are not highly educated are intentionally not targeted, which is quite startling as Rotterdam's population has a *low level of education*. Thus, Rotterdam's municipality is actually neglecting to make the city livable for a very large part of its population. In fact, the city is not catering to the needs of 35% of all Rotterdammers (Appendix H). In other words, the municipality is not trying to make the city "livable" for this large group of low educated people.

5.1.2 Motivations for engagement

There are various reasons why participants are engaged with cultural events and activities. The main ideas that came forward were belonging in a group of people and defining who you are. Especially the people who were less engaged with high culture expressed these reasons. Their lack of interest in high culture is a case of preference, or as Gans (1999) puts it, popular and high culture are different *taste cultures*. According to him each holds common or shared aesthetic standards and values of tastes and people apply these standards in all taste cultures they come across. Therefore, one can enjoy specific high cultural events and specific popular cultural events, and vice versa. Peterson and Kern (1996) coined the term "omnivores" for those that do not limit their choices to a single culture. Even though not all focus group participants engaged with high culture, cultural events and activities were perceived to be fun by all.

"It's fun. The whole experience, I mean you need culture. It's your nutrition in a way, you know? Yeah, because it defines who you are. If you prefer to go to a museum or if you prefer to go to a festival, that defines who you are. And if you don't go to these events then you're kind of lost in your identity sort to say."(Nurlan)

Everyone believed cultural events are important. Even though they did not appreciate it much at the time, some participants were grateful that their primary and secondary school took them out to cultural events. Mi-Young for instance remembered having to go to a photography exhibition. At first she did not want to go, but once there, she loved the expressions on the faces of the subjects. Since then she has been going to exhibitions

herself, photography exhibitions as well. Participants that immerse themselves with high culture to a greater extend engage with cultural events and activities because they want to understand people, emotions and things. According to Rotterdam Festivals (2011b), many Rotterdammers claim that art and culture is important to them. 85% thinks art and culture is important for (the development of) children, 77% for the Netherlands and 53% for themselves. Another reason why participants of the focus groups engage with cultural events is that they love to feel amazed. Especially the highly engaged participants say they want to discover other people's perspectives.

"I think it is important, because if you experience the culture then you will better understand that person. A very nice means to understand someone, you know? Why they do something and why they do it that way. I think that is kind of important. I don't like it if information is handed to me on a platter, I rather discover it myself." (Orhan)

Gans' (1999) perspective would clarify two main reasons why the marginalized young people do engage with cultural events and activities. First, a rise in the educational level reducing the number of people whose schooling ended with elementary schools. Second, a decline in the use of culture as a status indicator; young people are now allowed to engage with both high and popular culture, regardless of the social class they belong to. This has helped young people to become omnivores as they are still in search of and forming their cultural taste.

The *ondernemende stad* [entrepreneurial city] principle of Rotterdam's policy (College van B en W, 2012) encourages institutions to focus on professional, substantive and social developments from their own vision and strategy. This means that Rotterdam's municipality assumes that the cultural organizations are aware of their social responsibility, their environment (regional, national and international) and how this relates to the city (College van B en W, 2012). Thus, cultural institutions are autonomous in their decisions but it is expected of them to serve Rotterdam's social, economic and environmental ambitions. Rotterdam is a city with a large group of young people who feel attracted to urban culture and urban music trends (College van B en W, 2011). Therefore, the policy (College van B en W, 2012) states that these expressions of metropolitan youth culture should not be missing in the city's cultural offering. It also claims that more traditional cultural organizations are now trying to connect to youth culture. All activities that are financed by municipal funds

should contribute to the ambitions of the city (College van B en W, 2012). If event organizers offer something that is missing in Rotterdam's cultural offering, if they fill a gap, they will be supported (R. Weers, senior project leader with Rotterdam Festivals, personal communication, January 15, 2014). Rotterdam is trying to connect to youth culture, even traditional institutions are reaching out to these new audiences. Nurlan, one of the focus group participants, enjoys going to modern art museums that have exhibitions that represent the current blurring of high and popular culture:

"The last one [I visited] was the museum of modern art. So there's also, it's a combination of also street art what can be found in the city. And the, they have different kinds of shows which every couple of months change. Something like that but not like, not like the so called classical culture. That's not my thing." (Nurlan)

In this case, Nurlan visited an exhibition about street art but notice how he speaks about modern art. He does not recognize his interest in modern art as an interest in high culture because it is too much related to what he knows; street art. Therefore he does not acknowledge it as a form of high culture. Nurlan associates high culture only with "classical culture", in other words, the historical museums that Fédor enjoys visiting. Hence, even though the art field has widened to incorporate more popular interests, the perception still persists of them being 'classical'.

5.1.3 Blocking the path to engagement

The main barrier that is holding participants back from engaging with cultural events is money. Due to a limited income these people cannot spend their money on high entrance fees. All marginalized people from the focus groups mentioned money as the biggest obstacle. Hence, they have to choose which events they want to partake in. According to Bourdieu (1984), capital empowers one to withstand and exercise domination in social relations. In other words, it enables one to maintain a specific rank in the status hierarchy of society. This capital is for the largest part made out of cultural and economic capital. Harvey and Reed (1996) suggest that those blamable for the decay of cities lose their rights to the city. On the other hand, those accountable for the revival of cities gain rights to the city. This

is particularly pertinent concerning poverty as the discourse informs us that poverty represents the social downturn of cities and, jointly, the people living there (Harvey & Reed, 1996). The "transformation from citizenship as possession to citizenship as capacity is embodied in the image of the active and entrepreneurial citizen who seeks to maximize his or her lifestyle through acts of choice, linked not so much into a homogeneous social field as into overlapping but incommensurate communities of allegiance and moral obligation" (Rose, 2000, p. 99). Participants also mentioned that they have to spend money to get to the cultural event too. For instance when the event is too far away from their home to walk or go by bike, they will have to take public transportation as none of them possessed a car or other type of motorized vehicle. This connects to the issue of distance and time as well. Anything within the city of Rotterdam was considered close enough to go to for everyone. Also, less engaged participants do not always know what there is on offer and Adil mentioned he sometimes does not feel comfortable with the audience that visits cultural events. There are plans to *bring people closer to culture* (Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek, 2012a). This can be understood in a metaphorical sense but it can also be a matter of distance or travel time. In practice, policy is being implemented according to regional initiatives. When the travel time is shorter, one is more likely to visit a cultural event than if that travel time is longer. The same applies to the distance one is away from the event. However, statistically the travel time has a stronger influence on whether someone will visit a cultural event or not (Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek, 2012a). The economic costs of engaging cultural events virtually are far less than physical visits (Ma, 1996). Also, in spite of concerns about excessively negative communication in anonymous environments, communication in settled online communities tends to be informal, positive, and playful (Soukup, 2006). According to Rotterdam Festivals (2011b), people experience three types of barriers that deter them from cultural participation. First, *social barriers;* atmosphere and entourage deter, the form of culture does not correspond to their well-known social environment, and no one in their own environment will visit it. "It is not for me". Second, *competence barriers*; there is a lack of necessary knowledge. "I did not know". Third, *practical barriers*; there are entrance fees, time consuming, geographical distance and the lack of information about entrance fees, time and place. It is notable that the social and competency thresholds are a much greater obstacle to new audience than the practical barriers. Removing practical barriers is particularly effective in pre-existing audience

(Rotterdam Festivals, 2011b). Rotterdammers say they would visit art and culture more often if the entrance fees were lower or if there were more discounts, better information, better telling what the programs are about, and a more pleasant and safe environment on the streets. Young people until the age of 30 emphasize the importance of better information, better telling what the programs are about, and better access on the Internet (information and bookings) (Appendix I). Comparing this to the data of the focus groups, the so called social barriers were only mentioned by one participant and he mentioned it only once. Less experienced participants, indeed, do not always know what is on offer. However, they do not experience this to be a competence barrier themselves as they prefer to spend their time differently than engaging with the cultural city. Only when the researcher showed them what there is on offer and when other participants shared how they engage with culture, the less engaged felt like they were missing out. Hence, they experienced their lack of knowledge only to be an obstacle when they were confronted with this. Another barrier that was talked about only by the women is that they do not feel safe in the streets of Rotterdam.

"I don't think it's chill to go there. Some time ago I worked at, well a while ago, at Bed Rotterdam on the Coolsingel and my brother dropped me off one time. And then I had to walk from Holland Casino to Bed and all the things people shout at you and, you know, the whole atmosphere, it was all like yeah. But I didn't feel okay and I had the feeling that at any moment something bad could happen. There's like six guys on the corner and I'm just walking and they know they can scare me, so they're like 'uhuh lady' and 'psst psst beautiful'. Yeah, and I didn't think that was very chill." (Ambar)

Thus, if women want to go to a cultural event in the evening they already think about these kinds of situations. Mercy called Stadhuisplein (a square in the city center) one of the creepiest places to walk at ten o'clock in the evening. Also festivals were mentioned to be problematic a couple of times. Especially trouble youth was blamed for ruining the feel of the festival. For festivals and music concerts, hygiene was another complaint. Even though the men said they do not experience safety issues, they do agree the city's atmosphere is quite "dead" in the evening. According to them Rotterdam does not have an appealing ambience that invites you to go out to visit cultural events. The dead spaces of the city come

about through place-making and equal participation by the city council and the city audience in "both the production of meaning and in the means of production of a locale" (Lepofsky & Fraser, 2003, p. 128). The presence and development of technology was given as a reason why young people do not engage with (high) cultural events that much.

"The younger generation now is so, say, bound to their laptops or smartphones that they just, they don't know anything else. They go to the movies yeah, but then again it is looking at a screen. It's not looking at acting or something like that. And I think that for the older generation because they never had that, they only have that now, they are more used to seeing musicals and those other things around them." (Nathan)

Notice how Nathan talks about musicals as high culture. No one in his focus group demurred, in fact Li-Fong talked about musicals in the same way. Hence, participants were actually re-categorizing what constitutes as high and low culture. Also, Nathan is referring to the younger generation as "they" and he claims that "they" are bound to screens. This is interesting as he also claimed that he only watches movies and TV series at home, listens to music and goes to the cinema sometimes. So actually Nathan is describing himself.

5.2 Paths to cultural engagement

Good city branding builds on "soft power" and tries to seduce an audience, not force it. Indeed, Rotterdam seems to be fully aware of this as it states in the official city policy that the "softer" policy of art and culture must not be underestimated in its effects. In the policy it is even stated that research points to the positive relationship between the arts and culture and academic performance (Hetland & Winner, 2001; Winner & Cooper, 2000). Also, culture enhances the quality of life in the city, it increases the interconnecting of residents, and it encourages people's personal development (College van B en W, 2010). According to the Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (2012a), in 2011, 92% of the Rotterdammers was informed by one or more *information sources* about the "what, where and when" of cultural events in the city. A fifth used at least one of the sources of the Rotterdams Uitburo. 44% of Rotterdammers used digital information sources at that time. Through expressions of the Rotterdams Uitburo, Rotterdam Festivals tries to *seduce an as large and diverse an audience*

as possible to participate in culture. However, due to policy they are forced to focus on "promising groups" as these groups have more potential to actually visit cultural events, moreover, the Rotterdam municipality wants to attract higher educated people (C. Dekker, senior project leader with Rotterdams Uitburo, personal communication, March 17, 2014). Hence, light users are not a priority on the cultural agenda. It is certainly possible to better reach this group, but they require a different approach that is tailored to their specific needs. In the *Cultural Plan 2009-2012* Rotterdam Festivals made a number of proposals to reach out to these light users. However, these proposals were not honored. Considering the given financial framework and the lack of priority for these groups, these proposals are not reiterated in the Cultural Plan 2013-2016. Nevertheless, the plans are ready and can be further developed if need be (C. Dekker, senior project leader with Rotterdams Uitburo, personal communication, March 17, 2014). It is noticeable that Rotterdam indeed acknowledges that it is trying to rope in "promising groups of people", which means the city council is looking for the "right type of immigrant". The nature of multiculturalism that the municipality is embracing is that of expats, not that of young marginalized people, at least not with the cultural city. This really captures the tensions on the Dutch debates between assimilation and multiculturalism. The city tries to offer cultural events of high "quality" that appeal to expats. The other side of the medal is that these events may discourage marginalized residents to participate.

Commonly used sources are friends/family/acquaintances/colleagues, pamphlets/leaflets/flyers/program booklets, door-to-door papers, television, free newspapers such as Metro and Spits, signboards/posters, social networks, the AD/Rotterdams Dagblad, radio and the Uitagenda Rotterdam. The use of social networks (such as Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn) as an information source almost doubled in 2011 (21%) compared to 2009 (11%) (Appendix J). Between men and women, the differences are small. Women tend to get information via friends/family/acquaintances/colleagues a bit more often than men. Young people make more use of social networks, television, friends/family/acquaintances/colleagues, and brochures/leaflets/flyers/program booklets. Young people also score high on the number of digital information sources that they use. Rotterdammers with a non-Western background make relatively heavy use of television and Metro/Spits while making relatively little use of the information sources of Rotterdam Festivals/Rotterdams Uitburo. A small part of the Rotterdammers (8%) say they do not

consult any information sources because they have no interest in cultural activities in Rotterdam. This share is significantly higher (10% or more) among elderly, less educated and Rotterdammers with a lower income (Appendix K) (Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek, 2012a). Apart from more commonly used communications, the city is also trying to reach out to promising groups through other communications. The mobile phone apps from Rotterdam Info and Rotterdams Uitburo are considered to be such communications. Also, Rotterdam is currently in the process of creating new cultural apps (L. Henderickx, policy consultant and research coordinator with Rotterdam Sport & Culture, personal communication, February 4, 2014).

5.2.1 Apps used by participants

Apps are widely used by the focus group participants (Appendix L). One of the participants is even planning to develop an app herself for the city of Rotterdam.

"Another problem with cultural events, I think it's ridiculous that I have to pay for the bathroom everywhere I go. Yeah that's what, I am going to develop an app of where you can go pee in Rotterdam. I know everything now, like where the library is, twenty cents toilets. No but it becomes really expensive if you're out the whole day. I can sell to all other apps that have a map on it." (Jacyra)

Fifteen participants had a total of 957 apps on their mobile phones. 509 of those apps had functional purposes (e.g. a calculator), 110 were games (e.g. Candy Crush), and 336 were media (e.g. YouTube). On average one person had 64 apps on his or her smartphone. Only two people used an app that could be categorized as fully cultural. See Figure 4 for a pie chart that shows how the apps are segmented over the four different categories. Figure 5 displays the apps used by the women and Figure 6 displays the apps used by the men. Excluded from these data are the apps of three participants as they did not want to share this information. Also, Mercy mentioned that she has a number of sketch apps on her iPad which she uses from time to time. However, these apps are not listed in Appendix L as she does not have them on her smartphone.
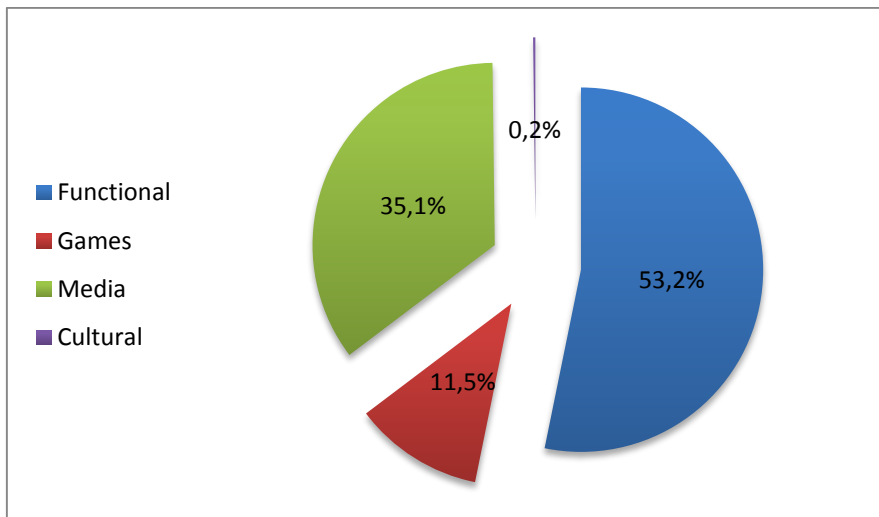
Figure 4.   The division of participants' apps in four categories.
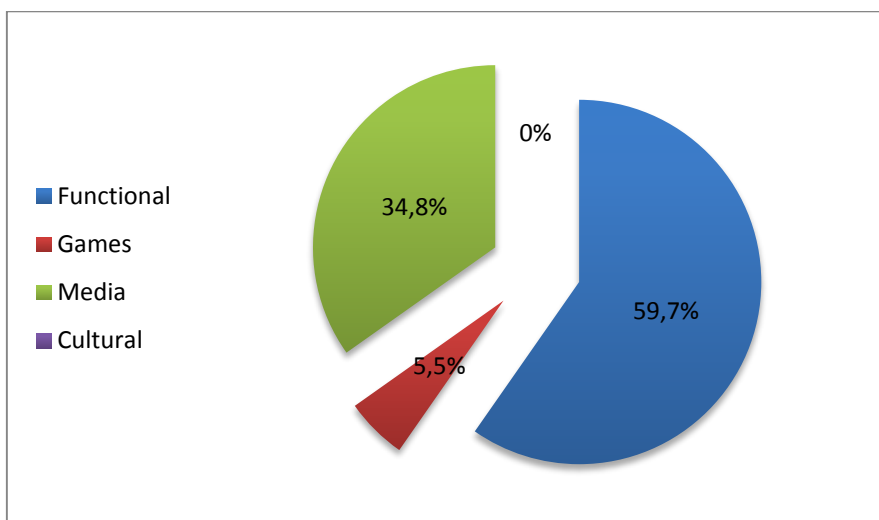
Figure 5.   The division of female participants' apps in four categories.
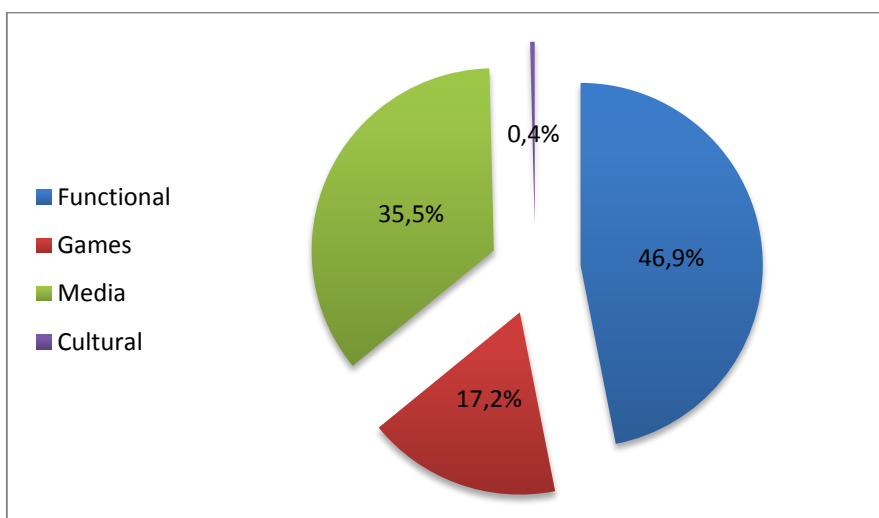
Figure 6.   The division of male participants' apps in four categories.

Comparing female with male participants, women use 12.8% more functional apps but 11.7% less game apps than men. The two cultural apps were used by men. These findings support the proposition that men and women differ in their cultural tastes and leisure activities (Katz-Gerro, 2002; Kaufman & Gabler, 2004). The difference of media apps on their smartphones is rather small; men have 0.7% more media apps than women. However, in the focus groups participants were asked which apps they use to engage with culture, and that data (Appendix L) shows that the women use their media apps more intensively as a path to cultural engagement than the men. More explicitly, female participants use 14.1% of their media apps to engage with culture while male participants only use 9.2% for that purpose. The next paragraph discusses how the media apps are used as paths to cultural engagement.

The *media* category encompasses all apps that may be used as communication channels through which audio and/or video content can be disseminated. Therefore, not only apps like photo cameras were classified as media. Also, applications such as WhatsApp and Facebook are categorized as media, even though they may also serve a functional purpose (e.g. communicating with friends). To make matters even more complex, a lot of these media apps are paths to cultural engagement. For instance, YouTube is a media app and is used for various purposes by different people as they all have diverse interests. Li-Fong engages with cultural events and activities through this medium as he uses YouTube to pursue his passion for playing the piano and music events.

"I use YouTube a lot. I just love following people on YouTube and see creative videos in that, they share their interest. And you can completely see what kind of events they attend to and what events they recommend. They keep you up to date, you know, they look out for you and they will post a video and they will tell you everything about it. Yeah, or sometimes they announce it of course. So they do vlogs [video logs], so they go there and they vlog it."

(Li-Fong)

According to Bourdieu (1984), possession of cultural capital is closely predicted by the social class to which one originates. He did acknowledge that education is an "escape route" as well as it offers a way for the marginalized to acquire culture. Nevertheless, this will come at a too late stage in life as a graduate can never quite acquire cultural capital with the same ease and depth someone acquired by regular exposure at home. At the time of writing his

book in France this may have been true, and in part this still may be true. However, as outlined by Li-Fong's story above, young marginalized people interactions with culture nowadays are not limited to one's direct surroundings. They get informed about the culture they are interested in but also about culture they are unfamiliar with as the Internet allows them to connect with, or follow, people that are outside their direct surroundings and outside their social class.

Another example of indirect engagement, similar to Li-Fong's story, can be clearly delineated through one of the other participants. Elaine is truly interested in photography as she loves to shoot portraits of people, therefore she uses her photography apps in a different way than those who use those apps just for fun. Also, even though Elaine does not have IMDb and Rotten Tomatoes (both film apps) on her smartphone, she does check their websites to look up information about films. She is an art house film enthusiast. Thus, while Elaine uses IMDb to engage with high cultural films, most other participants use the same source to engage with popular culture movies. Hence, high and popular culture once again come together, this time in an app and users decide how they consume that app. Apart from the way Li-Fong and Elaine use some apps as paths to cultural engagement, a number of participants did the same with different apps. Ambar uses AD.nl (a Dutch news app) the same way Mi-Young uses NU.nl (a Dutch news app). Both women read articles about cultural events in the apps and use this as a source of cultural inspiration. Ambar also makes use of Spotify as this allows her to check when artists are on tour and when they perform at a place nearby. Jacyra uses Shazam for that same purpose. Mercy says she uses WhatsApp to communicate about cultural events with her friends, SnapChat during an event and Instagram afterwards. Mi-Young and Fatima have the same experience. Sengül also checks photos about cultural events on Instagram. Twitter is used by Khalid to learn about jam sessions in his favorite jazz venue. These are the intricate challenges of dynamic digital platforms that facilitate the ordinary to the sophisticated, from low to high culture. Facebook was used by all participants to engage with cultural events, this path to engagement will be discussed more in-depth later on. Remaining connected to Russia, Fédor also uses the VKontakte app which is a social network popular amongst Russian speaking people. VKontakte (VK) is similar to Facebook.

A category for *games* was created as these apps do not really serve a purpose other than entertainment for the smartphone user. However, one of the participants, Li-Fong, is

highly engaged with music in all sorts of ways. As stated, he plays the piano but he also has a passion for musicals and both mainstream and underground hip hop and R&B. He has a gaming app called *Muziekvragen* [Music Questions] with which he – in a fun way – continues to engage with music. Apps were categorized as *functional* when their main purpose is pragmatic; to get something done. Examples of these are the compass, contacts, or iTunes Store apps. The apps were only classified as *cultural* when the whole of it was devoted to the purpose of engaging with culture. ScoreCloud was used by Li-Fong. It enables him to "play, sing or whistle any monophonic melody and instantly turn it into music notation. Edit score and change play back sound. Share results with your friends and synchronize it with ScoreCloud Studio on your computer in order to arrange or edit it further" (ScoreCloud, 2014, para. 3). Guitar Tools, the other cultural app used by Orhan, contains "three essential practice tools that every guitarist needs: accurate Tuner, smart Metronome and an extensive Chords Library. Never go out of tune with our simple and precise Tuner, improve your timing skills with easily adjustable Metronome, find all possible finger placement variations for a specific chord in our Chords Library" (Guitar Tools, 2014, para. 1).

5.2.2 Rotterdam's official apps

Only Nathan was familiar with one of the official city branding apps of Rotterdam. In fact, he downloaded the Rotterdam Info app two days prior to the focus group he was in. He downloaded it purely out of curiosity as he wanted to find out more about why Rotterdam was recently ranked within the top ten places to visit by both The New York Times and Rough Guides. Nathan did not notice the app had a calendar before; now that he knows he would like to keep using the app. Three other men were also interested in starting to use one of the official city branding apps. They all liked the fact that it has a calendar. Not only will users come into contact with popular cultural events, they will also gain access to high culture through this calendar. In other words, the high cultural offering is riding on the mundane.

"I also think, the apps you just showed us, I think they are interesting as well. Because I have, if there is something spontaneous that I haven't done before, then I would like to do it. And it doesn't have to be something I like per se. It can also be something I haven't discovered yet sort to say." (Orhan)

The women thought the city apps are good to use for people who are new to a city as they do not know what there is on offer yet. However, the women say they do not need it now because they know Rotterdam and they have their own apps to engage with culture. So what do marginalized people want from a city app? They want interactivity and user engagement, something unique that allows for personalized settings that cater to their preferences. It was suggested that users would be asked to fill out these settings right after downloading it. Also, it was mentioned that the app should be practical, nothing too flashy with too much going on in the different screens. On top of that, the app should be battery friendly as it was considered to be annoying when an app runs down the smartphone battery.

5.2.3 Other paths to engagement

Apart from smartphone apps, participants also engage with cultural events through other paths. Online these paths are blogs (e.g. Sengül reads blogs about movies whereas Mi-Young reads mainly about fashion), websites like Rotten Tomatoes (movie reviews) and We Own Rotterdam (local-for-locals activism; collects under-the-radar initiatives in Rotterdam such as creative events, exhibitions, and fresh music) and by Googling for specific cultural events and then ending up on their official website. Although participants learn about cultural events more online than offline there are some exceptions.

"Usually friends and usually online. Now we have everywhere, someone talking about it or someone posting about it on Facebook, or a little commercial thing on Facebook. But also as Mercy said that this, this poster kind of thing of. Sometimes it's even that you're like 'oh it's a billboard'. And that doesn't happen that often anymore, but yeah it can trigger attention. Usually there's this website, you know? So I'll just put it in my notes on my phone or something and then I go online and look for the details." (Sengül)

This heavy use of online sources by young people comes back in a research performed by the Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (2012b). In 2011, already 91% of all Rotterdammers *used the Internet* (Appendix M). Mostly 65 to 75 year olds do not use the Internet. The use of the Internet among non-Western women, non-Western Rotterdammers from 45 to 64 years, and Rotterdammers with a very low income is significantly lower than average. For the first time in 2011, residents under the age of 24 all do something on the Internet at home (100% Internet penetration rate). Even though non-Western immigrants with low education and low income levels use the Internet less than Western Rotterdammers, still 80% or more does use the Internet (Appendix N). In 2011, 71% of young Rotterdammers used the Internet on their smartphone. Within this group of people, students, working people and Rotterdammers with low incomes use their smartphones relatively often to go on the Internet (Appendix O). All participants in the focus groups, both men and women, used the Internet. Also, everyone connected to the Internet with their smartphones on a day-to-day basis. Perhaps this 100% penetration rate within the focus groups has to do with the simple fact that it is now 2014 and smartphones are increasingly becoming interconnected with our daily lives. The Internet behavior of young people differs from that of other age groups. More often than average, young people keep up their SNSs, they fun surf, download music or movies, and they engage with online gaming (Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek, 2012a). E-mail, searching for specific information and banking are the three most common online activities of Rotterdammers. Young people are more active than older people in multiple areas. Thus, the updating or viewing of SNSs such as Facebook and LinkedIn is one of the most frequently cited activities of young people on the Internet. Internet banking is the only activity that is more often done by the elderly (Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek, 2012b).

Offline paths that participants mentioned they sometimes take are through flyers, posters and billboard. Participants said they randomly bump into these somewhere in the city. Fédor mentioned how he reads "lifestyle" magazines that tell him about cultural events whenever he is back in Moscow. He does not read this type of magazine in Rotterdam though, simply because he does not know if it exists. The most prominent offline path to cultural engagement is WOM as all participants indicate that they engage with cultural events and activities though their friends and family. Their social networks keep them informed about these events and activities. It works the other way around as well as it is

more of a conversation between them and their social connections. When participants are told about a specific event, or if they come across one on a flyer, poster or billboard they search for that event on Facebook and sometimes on the event's official website. Thus, participants always engage with cultural events *online*. They will either take this path straight away, or they will see an offline source that they then will complement with online sources by searching for the event on the Internet.

5.2.4 Facebook and word-of-mouth

Coming back to Facebook, all participant use this platform, be it in the form of the app or in the form of the website. Out of all 18 participants 3 people did not use the Facebook app. For all three participants the reason to not access Facebook through an app is that their phones can handle only a few apps. Facebook is the main path – together with WOM (offline) – through which the young marginalized people get informed about cultural events. Dissimilar to traditional models of discrete unity, feelings of solidarity can emerge among relationships of loose attachments with limited linkages (Wellman, 1979). In other words, informal connections on Facebook which are based on common cultural interests or experiences can steer young marginalized people in the direction of the cultural city. Participants see events pop up in their newsfeed because they follow their favorite artists and venues. They like certain pages, they join certain groups, and they are friends with certain people. Also, Facebook is now promoting so called "suggested posts" to its users. These sponsored advertisements can be pushed to all Facebook users and in return users can "like", comment on, or share these sponsored postings. In summary, participants do not actively seek out cultural events because they do not have to. It has more to do with their one-time input with liking a specific artist or venue like the jazz bar Bird. Also, a big factor of what Facebook users will see pop up in their newsfeed has to do with who they are connected to on this social network. Hence, users will see their friends attending or "liking" particular events in their newsfeed. Users may also be invited themselves by friends or the page that they like.

"I don't actively, it's not active, it's just part of my routine. I'm always checking my social feed
you know. A lot of times just seeing other peoples' activity and then you just go with the flow.
Just like if I was sitting with, if I was sitting in a room with all my friends and somebody is like
'hey we're going to this concert tomorrow', you know?
Same kind of vibe, but online." (Mercy)

As stated, all participants learn about cultural events and activities through their social networks online and offline; in particular through Facebook and WOM. This quote by Mercy illustrates incredibly well how young marginalized people seem to engage with cultural events. It shows how Facebook and WOM seem to be online and offline equivalents for the participants. Even those that say they only watch movies and TV series and listen to music can get engaged with popular and high cultural events through the people that surround them. According to Bourdieu (1986), social capital can lead the way to cultural capital as resources can be accumulated by acquiring social network connections that last. Putnam (2002, p. 22) refined the concept of social capital into "bonding social capital" (one reaching out to his established social network) and "bridging social capital" (one engaging with diverse others). Ellison, Steinfield and Lampe (2007) found that people use SNSs for both purposes. One participates in a community that is simultaneously global (a virtual openly infiltrated environment) and local (giving meaning in that particular virtual place). Learning about cultural events is made so easy by Facebook that the platform is now perhaps even more a reference point than offline connections. This has to do with the fact that one will talk to only a limited amount of people offline whereas on Facebook young people oftentimes have hundreds of friends. Thus, Facebook users will also learn about cultural events that they normally would not have learned about offline as they cannot speak face-to-face to all of their Facebook friends on a regular basis.

5.3 A sense of community

The composition of Rotterdam's population has changed in recent decades and will continue to change the coming years (Rotterdam Festivals, 2011b). Each ethnic group and each generation has different cultural needs. On January 1st, 2011 Rotterdam had nearly 610.000 residents. Compared to the rest of the Netherlands the city is quite *young*. In 2010,

there were over 104.000 young people aged 13-25 years in Rotterdam. The trend that the population of the Netherlands is getting older while the population of Rotterdam stays young is set to continue (Appendix P). Rotterdam is also *multicultural*. International cities not only integrate many of the cultural industries, they are also sites of dynamic social foment and transnational cultural mixing (Yeoh, 1999). While in the Netherlands 2 out of 10 people are of foreign origin, in Rotterdam those numbers are almost 5 out of 10 people (48.6%) (CBS, 2013). Amongst the Rotterdam young adults between 13 and 25 years old, even nearly 6 out of 10 people represent ethnic minorities (Rotterdam Festivals, 2011b). The largest group of immigrants in Rotterdam has Surinamese roots, followed by people from Turkey. The expectation of the city council is that Rotterdam remains multicultural and will become more and more multicultural (Rotterdam Festivals, 2011b). Rotterdam has many residents with *low incomes*. The distribution of household income of Rotterdam to high, middle or low income has remained stable during the years 1994-2007. Over 50% of incomes in Rotterdam are low incomes. Compared with the Netherlands and the other major cities in the country this is a very high percentage. The percentage of high incomes is below the country's average; only 15% of Rotterdammers have a high income (Appendix Q). As found in the analysis of the policy documents, the policy explicitly states that it does not actively target non-Western Rotterdammers who have a low income. In the policy they are referred to as *Strugglers*. Therefore, the city policy creates and continues to expand a gap in understanding. Strugglers who may already feel disconnected from Rotterdam's cultural offering simply because they are not natives, are being even more excluded from the city due to the policy goals.

5.3.1 The local overlooked

The majority of participants said that they feel like they belong to a specific population group within Rotterdam. For instance, Li-Fong says he does not feel completely Dutch, but also he cannot connect to Chinese people. The politics following the cultural imagineering of the city enlivens urban encounters and social conflicts as they are framed by sidelining, exclusion and scattered places, making people feel out of place (Bunnell & Nah, 2004). Therefore, counter movements emerge, "seeking to unmake the processes of marginalization" (Yeoh, 2005). Relating Li-Fong's experiences back to cultural engagement, it

is important because he says all of his friends are Dutch-Chinese. With cultural fragmentation, instead of culture being a common ground it becomes a dividing factor (Ashraf & Galor, 2013). Thus, as a Dutch-Chinese group of people they are isolating themselves by accentuating their specificity (Nagle, 2009). Li-Fong says the reason for this is that other Dutch-Chinese people simply understand him better, and vice-versa. The fact that Li-Fong actively seeks out friends with an ethnic background similar to his is in line with Burayidi's (2003) argument that various socio-cultural groups attribute different meanings to others and the environment. As WOM and Facebook seem to be the main paths to engagement, it implies that the cultural city can become more inclusive through the people who are already engaged with culture. Li-Fong likes to play the piano, enjoys going to musicals and sometimes music performances that are not mainstream; he may be able to inspire his friends and family. Through him the cultural city can reach out to his disengaged social network, both offline and online. A good example of this was provided by Nathan who does not participate in a lot of cultural events. However, because of his brother – someone from his social network – he did go out to see a musical and he was positively surprised.

"I went to a musical in London. It was Les Miserables, don't know how you pronounce that. I was really surprised actually like. It was really good, it was really, really good. I went there because it was my brother's birthday and he wanted to do something and this was his idea. He wanted to see a musical because he is really into musicals, he goes to see one whenever he goes to London. Yeah that's it." (Nathan).

Moreover, Li-Fong – who truly enjoys going to musicals – got interested in this form of art through his cousin who played a role in Miss Saigon. Because of her, he went to see that particular musical. Thus, Li-Fong was roped in by musicals through his cousin; without her doings he may have never experienced any musical at all and would not have known how much he appreciates them. The women in the focus groups mentioned a couple of times that they are very aware of the fact that in Rotterdam people from a lot of different countries are living together. Sometimes they want to escape this conglomeration of multiculturalism. In fact, Shashini and her family go out to visit Volendam (a very traditional Dutch village) once in a while for this purpose. Shashini goes there to enjoy traditional Dutch music, costume, and for a little peace and quiet. Here, high culture is constituted as

escapism. Interestingly, this is the reverse content of what is out there that is considered high culture in contemporary society. On top of that it challenges the idea of indigenization of content for cultural consumption as, in this example, Shashini and her family explicitly crave for Dutch culture. In a research by Lowe (2000, p. 375) it was found that by being exposed to different meanings and interpretations residents "became more aware of possibilities outside of their own frames of reference. They were able to imagine and consider perspectives other than their own". During workshops these marginalized people became more open-minded because they discovered ideas that were unknown and unfamiliar to them prior to interacting with each other. In fact, afterwards they wanted to continue to understand the different perspectives of "others" (Lowe, 2000). Thus, when marginalized people do engage with unknown people and perspectives they do enjoy this and want to continue the relationship. It all depends on whether the first step is taken or not.

The majority of the participants recognized how the cultural heritage from their ethnic background is slowly fading away. All of them thought it is important to hold on to it. It was proposed by the three Turkish participants to reach this goal through smaller cultural events that specifically cater to Turkish people in Rotterdam. Moreover, all female participants were in favor of smaller scale events to give the events more character, a face, an identity, whereas now the cultural events are set up too holistically for their taste.

"Well they do it too big, it's too broad. And just want to attract everyone at all time. But try to do something specifically as well, like for example Turk bar nights like, with Turkish music, live music, stuff like that. You know how many people are craving for that, Turkish people?...Those kinds of things like specific cultural events they don't really look at, they just think about big events like let's bring everyone together, multicultural, multicultural. It's not, it's not about just that. You should also think about specific because they're forgetting that there are a lot of immigrants as well here who are desperately trying to find their own place in another country but at the same time they are craving their own culture still." (Fatima)

According to Jansson (2003), city branding may easily lead to contradictions as "every new market-message is contested by the pluralism of urban social life there can never be a final, intersubjectively shared city image. Rather, the more contradiction and negotiation there

are, the more resources may be put into image-making. And, the more effort that is put into the diffusion of a dominant image, the more image-creation must actually overlook the authentic complexities of social life" (p. 478). Hence, the shaping of the city image is not only a matter of policy; "what the city actually becomes, and how different groups experience it, depend on the activities of social actors as well as systemic forces such as alternative and oppositional groupings challenging such points of view" (Jansson, 2003, p. 464). Even though the cultural Imagineering of the city often puts in quite some effort to mask ethnic, gender, and class polarizations by implementing all aesthetic powers of illusion available (Silk, 2002), it is barely undisputed process. In fact, it is a very dynamic process (Yeoh, 2005). What Fatima says can also be linked to research conducted by the Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (2011a) as it was found that non-Western Rotterdammers and residents with low incomes are missing something from the cultural offering. In general, these residents and the low-educated evaluate Rotterdam's cultural offering rather badly. Young people think festivals are relatively important while classical music and opera are not. Non-Western immigrants think cultural activities within the neighborhood, amateur art, organized creative activities, and debates and lectures are relatively important. Interestingly, those genres that most people do not consider to be important are most important according to people working in the creative and cultural industry. At the same time, low educated people think exactly the opposite (Appendix R). Moreover, Rotterdammers are increasingly visiting smaller festivals in favor of the big ones. In 2011, Rotterdam's festivals were visited by 60% of its residents. The festivals attracted more men than women and more non-Western residents than Western residents (Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek, 2012a). Women from the focus groups, indeed, indicated that they visit festivals less and less as they dislike how many people get drunk at these events, the overall dirtiness, and the negative behavior of people trying to ruin the atmosphere. The men did not have any problems with these things so this may explain why more men attend festivals than women. Lamri said more non-Western people go to festivals than Western people because "it is part of my culture", according to him festivals are the way people from a lot of different cultures (other than the Dutch culture) express themselves. In his words it shows through how Lamri perceives himself; he associates himself with the group identity of his ethnic background which, in Lamri's case, is the Surinamese identity. Moreover, the Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (2012a) also concluded that festival visits increase with higher levels of education

(Appendix S). However, the data from the focus groups contradicts this as it were in fact the lower educated participants that visit more festivals. Participants who are doing HBO (the middle form of tertiary education in the Netherlands) attend more high cultural events than the lower educated participants do.

Participants, even the less culturally engaged, explained how they want to be inspired by cultural events; they want events to have character. Therefore, they suggested to organize more niche events that are catering to smaller groups of people. Lepofsky and Fraser (2003, p. 129) argued that "urban revitalization, particularly in the form of community-building and calls for civic engagement, has heightened the cultural struggle over the meaning of cities". They go on about the struggle to construe what cities mean and whom cities are for. This has often surfaced as a struggle over space, in particular over place-making. Contemporary urban regeneration has the tendency to follow the predominant meaning given to city areas. This meaning is for a large part influenced by city council policy (Lepofsky & Fraser, 2003). Hence, niche events that can cater to particular groups within a city may be overlooked by the municipality. To reach small communities within Rotterdam the two Turkish women proposed to go through "their own people", not outsiders.

"Have an insider because otherwise you'll always be seen as the outsider. Trying to be, you know, there, and cool, and being one of them. I think it should be, make them play the fool a little bit and make them come up with the idea. And have them to take the initial step but don't take it on yourself. You know it should come from them so, I don't know why. You play the fool but you're actually the smart one." (Sengül)

According to Rotterdam Festivals (2010), the Rotterdam identity is celebrated with events. The changes in population, the development of the cultural climate and the Rotterdam city themes are reflected in the events. It also strengthens social cohesion. Again, the goal seems to be assimilation, to create one city identity. The shaping of an identity is most important within city branding and this identity should be satisfactory for *all* stakeholders. As a city presents diverse functional and symbolic meanings for various populations (Zhang and Zhao, 2009), it is a difficult task to capture and refine all these different elements and combine them to create the all-encompassing brand (Henderson, 2007). Thus, a sizable challenge is to

sketch and build a city identity from the numerous values held by diversified social interest groups in the city (Zhang and Zhao, 2009).

Increasing competition, the under-developed international profile and ambitions in the field of city marketing, force Rotterdam to take a distinctive, international positioning (Rotterdam Festivals, 2010). The strategy to market a place as the "cultural city" is already being put to work in other European cities (e.g. Glasgow) to shape new urban Imaginaries that will lure in international professionals and tourists. At the same time this creates employment opportunities for locals (Bayliss, 2004; Watkins & Herbert, 2003). In order to achieve this, the events are explicitly challenged to deliver meaningful experiences that hold the characteristics of the city. When evaluating initiatives, important questions such as what is celebrated with the festival, what makes it "typically Rotterdam" and what it gives back to the city are asked (Rotterdam Festivals, 2010). *Icons* are the most prominent face of the events in Rotterdam. They have international potential and in general high visitor numbers, they are rooted deeply within the city and contribute to the "brand Rotterdam" because they distinctively position a Rotterdam theme. Annually, a selection is made of give or take ten top events that together reflect the themes of the city and provide a balanced image of the city of Rotterdam. In 2010 some examples of these Icons were the International Film Festival Rotterdam, the *Zomercarnaval* [Summer Carnival], North Sea Jazz Festival, the *Wereldhavendagen* [World Port Days] and the Gergiev Festival (Rotterdam Festivals, 2010). Indeed, the focus group participants were interested in the International Film Festival Rotterdam but only two actually visited the event; Elaine (who is an art house film fanatic) and Mercy (who is a cultural event all-rounder that loves to experience the unfamiliar). The other participants were more interested in the mainstream movies on offer in the city's cinemas. All participants said they went to the Summer Carnival a couple of times, however, especially the women, are visiting this event less and less as they do not feel safe there. The North Sea Jazz festival was considered to be too expensive and the World Port Days were "not that interesting". Bisnath, a classical music enthusiast, was indeed very interested in the Gergiev festival when he came to learn about its existence in the focus group. Also, so called *Pearls* like the Dunya Festival and *Wereld van Witte de With* [World of Witte de With] are indispensable within the total offering of events (Rotterdam Festivals, 2010). Participants enjoy visiting these events. Especially the Dunya Festival was mentioned as it offers smaller-scale performances by local talent in different Rotterdam neighborhoods. Since 2013, the

festival has merged with the Summer Carnival and with that change it was relocated to the city center (from its main location in the park next to the Euromast); participants were not very welcoming of this change.

"It feels like they're taking it, things, away from us again. It was so nice, you know? Just let it be, having fun, seeing everything, meeting friends, acquaintances. Dunya is more something for us, you know. Now they're making it into something big again. It's no longer fun." (Jacyra)

As the audience is changing in size, composition and preference (Appendix T), the city must respond to remain powerful and to continue to matter (R. Weers, senior project leader with Rotterdam Festivals, personal communication, January 15, 2014). The city branding authorities of Rotterdam are aware of the power of storytelling and explicitly put forward "the story of Rotterdam" by means of six city themes. As Sandercock (2003) argues, city councils always engage in selective storytelling to secure the perception of various audiences. Residents may challenge the consistency of the city brand with the actuality. As focus group participants indicate that the city's cultural events do not always cater to them, it becomes clear that Rotterdam's desired image and reality are two different things. Rotterdam's city themes are (international) culture city, young city, multicultural city, modern architectural city, maritime city and (international) sports city (Appendix U). Together the events, even more than today, tell the authentic "story of Rotterdam". Focus group participants expressed that they enjoy events that they would categorize under the *multicultural city* theme because they identify themselves and their friends with this theme. The *young city* theme, they say, caters to the needs they have in this life phase; participants who engage with the "young city" expressed that they will probably move away from this theme as they grow older. Both the male and female participants associate the two themes above with *popular culture*. For instance, when they give examples of events from the multicultural city they only mention festivals like the Summer Carnival and the Dunya Festival. When asked about the young city, participants talk about going to the cinema, music concerts, and clubbing. Participants also enjoy events from the *cultural* city theme, however, they all associate this theme with *high culture*. Events that were mentioned as examples are art and history museums, exhibitions outside of the museum (art, photography, or otherwise), and going to the theater. The *sports* city theme was of interest

only to the men, although not all were interested. Participants claimed they never seek out events from the *maritime* and *modern architectural* city.

For this policy, Rotterdam Festivals holds on to the "international festival city scenario" in which the city becomes known through the breadth and quality of its, often home grown, festival offering (Rotterdam Festivals, 2010). Bringing in global fixed capital (e.g. downtown skyscrapers) and circulating capital (e.g. tourism) through an international identity has almost become a worldwide economic strategy (Paul, 2004). According to Rotterdam Festivals (2010), the strength of their scenario is that the events are generally deeply rooted in the city and are provided with space to shine. This spatial Imagineering builds on local identity to create an advantage in the worldwide marketplace. Often, the need to manifest international connections while marketing local sensibilities takes tangible shape in the form of conspicuous flagship projects (Yeoh, 2005). At least six times a year the city needs to attest its international quality through large-scale events. This "international festival city scenario" offers the best opportunities to also tell "the story of Rotterdam" to an international audience (Rotterdam Festivals, 2010). These monumental spectacles comprise both a physical and symbolic element that is targeted at connecting the city to the worldwide economy. This is in part determined by the forming of social networks between mobile urban professionals and policy-makers (Olds, 1995). Simultaneously, these consumerist festivals are often "abstracted from local culture and translated as symbols of the culture to be promoted beyond a nation's own borders" (Silk, 2002, p. 779). Again, the official policy on the cultural city emphasizes the importance of the city center. Rotterdam's cultural city strategy is completely built upon the "international festival city scenario".

In summary, the cultural city should reach out to smaller communities and let them show the Rotterdam municipality what they want. According to the participants, people will share their ideas as long as the municipality shows it is there to help. It was also suggested that the municipality should work together with the embassies from different countries as "they could have good ideas" for Rotterdam's cultural city as well. As of now, focus group participants feel neglected by their own city. In fact, they feel like their city is pulling away even more by taking their festivals, making them bigger, and even physically moving them to other places in Rotterdam.

5.3.2 The desire to connect

A sense of community and socializing, kept on coming back in participants' stories. These feelings can be linked to Anderson's (1983) *imagined communities* as (1) people have an *image* of their communion in their minds, (2) communities are *limited* in the sense that they have boundaries (keeping others out), and (3) regardless of exploitation and equalities the group is perceived as a *comradeship*. In the words of Appadurai (1996), a "community of sentiment" begins to form in which a group of people feel and imagine things together. These feelings have to do with a sense of belonging and inclusivity. A feeling which Rotterdam's current city branding policy is not helping to build; it is not catering to the so called Strugglers. Participants engage with cultural events and activities for "gezelligheid", a Dutch word that is difficult to translate to English but in this context it means a pleasant way of spending ones time, fun, and togetherness. Participants say these events and activities bring people together. Mi-Young shared how her friends are probably her biggest motivation as they call her up and ask her to go to a particular cultural event. It works the other way around too; she reaches out to her friends when she wants to go somewhere as well. For the focus group participants, these social interactions with their networks take place both offline and online, and they say they communicate with others increasingly through social media. According to McEwan and Sobre-Denton (2011, p. 252), "social media, including discussion boards, online community groups, and social network sites, create unique opportunities for the discursive construction of hybridized cultures". Hence, whereas participants in their day-to-day social lives tend to pull back to their safe and familiar communities, social media can perhaps break these communities open and facility the forming of new virtual third cultures. People use computer-mediated communication to collect social information (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007), form relationships (Parks & Floyd, 1996), and initiate communities (Rainie, Purcell, & Smith, 2011). In forming these online communities, users may co-construct new social structures that are deduced from pooled cultural knowledge (McEwan & Sobre-Denton, 2011). In other words, cosmopolitanism can be assisted through mediated social spaces (Evanoff, 2006) in which cultural boundaries can be transcended. This socializing is also about belonging in a group. Everyone mentioned this aspect of their cultural engagement. Natasha and Nurlan said cultural events and activities are about trying to create an identity for themselves. Participants are in search of a community feeling, a group of people that makes them feel safe and at home. Reaching out to new audiences

such as ethnic minorities and low-skilled Rotterdammers from the so called group "culture by chance" is a long-term process that requires specific approaches. Cultural education can play an important role here (Rotterdam Festivals, 2011). Urban regeneration that is led by culture in an environment of intensified city competition is most clearly illustrated in the case of the arts (Yeoh, 2005). To attract capital, public-private ventures have been at the forefront of regenerating city infrastructure in underdeveloped urban areas (Lepofsky & Fraser, 2003). Institutions with a lower threshold, such as community centers, neighborhood theaters and festivals can play a role in reaching out to young marginalized people.

The *stad voor talentontwikkeling* [city for the development of talent] principle from the official policy (College van B en W, 2012) suggests that culture brings people together, rekindles discussion and motivates children and young people to develop their talent. Cultural education is an indispensable element in the Rotterdam education policy and in Rotterdam schools. Children and young people who want to develop themselves further outside of school have to be able to progress to a range of activities, projects and programs in the district, the neighborhood and elsewhere in the city. These forms of leisure activities should be accessible to all children and young people in Rotterdam, regardless of their origin or descent (College van B en W, 2012). All in all, the policy dictates that culture should be accessible to all young Rotterdammers as it has the power to shape community, provoke conversations and stimulate them to develop their talents. Although it is stated that culture should be accessible to all young Rotterdammers – and it is, indeed everyone is *allowed* to engage with the cultural city – the city aims to attract a certain kind of people. The kind of people that is highly educated. Thus, efforts are being made to cater to highly educated Rotterdammers, not to the so called Strugglers.

Local Culture Centers (LCC's) are urban regeneration projects that specifically cater to the locality. These community centers, which are subsidized by the city council, are facilitating self-organizing art events on a very local basis. In 2011, 26% of the Rotterdammers visited at least one of the LCC's listed in the table in Appendix V. The share of male and female visitors of LCC's in Rotterdam is the same. LCC's are relatively the most visited by the elderly (65-75 years old), people of non-Western origins, people with low or medium levels of education and those with low to modal household incomes (Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek, 2012a). The LCC's are a form of regional initiatives in the cultural sector and they are a part of the plan to *bring people closer to culture*. As mentioned above,

the districts with both the lowest average household income and the highest percentage of immigrants are Delfshaven, Charlois and Feijenoord. All three districts cater to the locality through such an LCC. According to Lepofsky and Fraser (2003), a community-based, grassroots organization shifts the rhetoric of community regeneration from a focus on institutional responsibility for service provision to locality efforts. As mentioned before, this engagement that interjects local people into the role of active citizens, the community centers become a mechanism by which citizens' rights to the city become "based more on what they do as active citizens than who they are as urban neighborhood residents" (p. 132). For focus group participants, cultural events are for a large part about the experience they share with their friends. When they go there together, they can talk about it before, during, and after.

"Yeah but I also, guess the feeling that you get when you're surrounded by all these people. Like, they are all there for the same purpose. That's quite enjoyable because everyone, you know, has the same feeling. You know, you are here to see this and appreciate it in the same way… I will definitely visit more cultural events, simply for the fact that I just feel like I'm missing out on a lot." (Nathan)

Participants feel the need to communicate their emotions and ideas; they want to have a conversation about their experiences as they need human interaction. It is also a feeling of belonging to a group that is connected to the fear of missing out. Participants say that one can go to a cultural event alone and still be a part of the group of people that is attending that event. However, they are quite reluctant to actually take that step themselves. Nevertheless, going to cultural events can be networking; participants do feel comfortable to go there with people they barely know, and they are also open to meeting new people at these events. As there is a distraction (e.g. looking at various paintings in an art museum) people are doing something while they are still able to socialize with each other. Orhan for instance loves to socialize with other people at events and to make new contacts this way. Going to cultural events together is about sharing interests. This can be with different people for different events.

"I do some home workout sessions with my friends sometimes, that's about it. Actually we're planning on playing cavaquinhos together. And I know the place where we got our cavaquinhos from they have like cavaquista jam session communities but like in our neighborhood. I have yet to attend but I'm planning on it." (Mercy)

Planning to go somewhere, to visit a cultural event, is almost always done short-term. Exceptions are bigger events in popular culture such as a hip hop concert by Kanye West or the North Sea Jazz Festival. As tickets to these kinds of events will get sold out very quickly people will plan far ahead to go to these events. In all other cases participants decide to attend a cultural event one or two days in advance. Sometimes even a couple of hours before the event starts, especially if the event is free.

"That's for bigger ones like festivals or concerts but when it comes to smaller ones, like usually a couple of days. Yeah exactly like, or it just pops on your newsfeed. But that's got a lot do to, because you have WhatsApp. So like you don't want to make, you don't need to make plans as much because you're 'yeah we'll make the plans tomorrow'." (Fatima)

Another reason why participants decide to go somewhere last minute is because they believe there is a lot on offer in Rotterdam. Therefore, they do not have to make long-term plans. As all participants said, something will pop up on their Facebook news feed. After looking into it more deeply, mainly by browsing the Facebook page or website of that particular event, participants decide to go or not to go.

In summary, the data from the focus groups clearly lays out that for these young marginalized participants the main paths to cultural engagement are Facebook and WOM. These paths are online and offline equivalents of each other. Even more so, they complement each other. Conversations between people do not start and end face-to-face, rather these conversations are continued online. It works the other way around too; a conversation that has started on Facebook may carry on face-to-face, the conversation may even go back to Facebook afterwards. Thus, the conversations that participants have are continuous dialogues that are not held in confined spheres (online versus offline). In fact, the opposite rings true as the conversation goes across online and offline boundaries; participants talk to their social networks in the online environment of Facebook as well as

that they talk to their social networks face-to-face in an offline environment (e.g. at a birthday party or at their local sports club).

6. Discussion and conclusion

6.1 Discussion

Rotterdam's official city branding apps (Rotterdam Info and Rotterdams Uitburo) portray the cultural offering clearly; it builds on the official policy on the "cultural city". This does not come as a surprise as Rotterdam Festivals (also known as Rotterdams Uitburo to the audience) is responsible for implementing that cultural policy and it has created the Rotterdams Uitburo app. The Rotterdam Info app was created by Rotterdam Partners, an organization with which Rotterdam Festivals works closely together. Moreover, some policy documents on the "cultural city" are even created by Rotterdam Festivals. Both official apps provide access to popular and high cultural events. In line with Silk's (2002) argument, the Rotterdam cultural offering is extracting from local culture to promote them as symbols to external audiences. They are sometimes even "taken" from that locality by making these cultural events bigger while locals are craving for smaller-scale events. Focus group participants were very positive about the apps' calendar which shows them when events are taking place. Even though the Rotterdams Uitburo app targets residents who live in Rotterdam and the Rotterdam Info app targets external audiences, participants (especially the women) considered the apps to be more suitable for tourists or other people that are new to Rotterdam. Since participants have been living in Rotterdam for a long time they know where to go through their own social networks.

According to Rotterdam Festivals (2011b), people experience *social barriers, competence barriers*, and *practical barriers* that deter them from engaging with culture. Where Rotterdam Festivals (2011b) claims the practical barriers are not so much an obstacle for Rotterdammers and that removing them is particularly effective in pre-existing audiences, the data from the focus groups contradicts this. In fact, the main obstacles participants mentioned all had to do with practical barriers; entrance fees, travel time and costs, safety (women). Indeed, less culturally engaged participants did not always know what is on offer, and when other participants talked about how they engage with cultural events they felt like they were missing out. Social barriers did not seem to have that much of an impact as only one participant mentioned that he sometimes feels like he does not fit in with the high cultural audience. The definition of high culture, however, was sometimes re-categorized by participants; they have their own perception of what constitutes as high and

popular culture. For instance, in the male focus group both Li-Fong and Nathan defined musicals as high culture and their fellow participants agreed to this. Only two apps used by participants were categorized as fully "cultural". Nevertheless, many other apps they used function as paths to cultural engagement. These are the complex challenges of rich digital platforms that facilitate the mundane to the profound, from low to high culture. Focus group participants were especially drawn to social media apps that allow them to connect to and interact with other people. Feeling a part of a community or imagined community (Anderson, 1991) was reflected throughout the collected data. In almost all cases, participants learn about cultural events through Facebook and if they learn about it through WOM in the offline world they will still look up the event online afterwards (or during the conversation for that matter). Thus, they always engage with cultural events *online* and – if the event is available on Facebook – participants always visit the specific Facebook page or event. In other words, Facebook makes learning about cultural events so easy that the platform is now perhaps even more a reference point than WOM. One will talk to only a limited amount of people offline, whereas on Facebook young people oftentimes have hundreds of friends. According to Chu and Kim (2011, p. 54), SNSs "allow weak ties to expand their potential influence by extending consumers' personal networks to external communities or groups. This accelerates eWOM conversations throughout a large-scale network". Thus, through social media participants also learn about cultural events that they normally would not have learned about in an offline environment.

Some of the more culturally engaged participants expressed that their social networks are for a large part build on cultural fragmentation (Ashraf & Galor, 2013). As these participants belong to marginalized communities this offers a chance to get more people from their social networks also engaged with culture. That is to say, the cultural city can become more inclusive through the people who are already engaged with culture; they may be able to inspire their friends and family. Rotterdam Festivals (2011) does acknowledge that reaching out to low-skilled Rotterdammers and ethnic minorities requires specific approaches. The organization has suggested that cultural education through LCC's can play a role in roping in these new audiences. However, these LCC's have neglected their online presence which is precisely the path participants take to engage with culture. The LCC Delfshaven has almost no online presence at all (only its address and phone number can be found). LCC De Larenkamp (Charlois) and LCC 't Klooster (Feijenoord) do have their own

website and Facebook page but the LCC's do not post updates on a regular basis to get their audience engaged. Participants do not actively seek out information on cultural events, therefore it is so important for cultural institutions to have that online presence, to reach out and to engage (potential) visitors. The LCC's should in particular expand their presence on Facebook as participants in the focus groups repeatedly and explicitly stated that this was their main path to cultural engagement.

Looking at the categorization of the apps that are used by focus group participants, women and men do use them differently. The two apps categorized as fully cultural were used by men and they used 11.7% more game apps than women. Female participants on the other hand have 12.8% more functional apps than the male participants do. Although the men have 0.7% more media apps than women, female participants use 14.1% of their media apps to engage with culture while male participants only use 9.2% for that purpose. The women engage with cultural events on different platforms and different stages in time from the men; women follow an event through WhatsApp (before), SnapChat (during), and Instagram (afterwards). Photography apps seem to play a big role in the women's cultural experiences as they enjoy sharing the experience with others online. Both male and female participants follow a cultural event on Facebook through all stages; it truly is the main point of reference for them. Apart from these mobile technology differences it is striking that women sometimes do not feel safe to visit a cultural event (whether that is at a festival due to other visitors or going home after a cultural event and feeling unsafe in the streets of Rotterdam) while men do not experience any safety issues for themselves. The Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (2012a) found that Rotterdammers are leaving big festivals and visiting more and more smaller-scale ones. Again, this relates to cultural fragmentation through pluralism. From the focus group data it shows that the male participants were not bothered by big-scale festivals; they still enjoyed them. However, all the women expressed a clear preference for small-scale events with more character as they find that the cultural events which are on offer now are set up too holistically.

6.2 Conclusion

All Rotterdammers are potentially culture audience. Thus a lot can be gained, especially for cultural institutions that are receiving less and less funding. Officially the policy

states that the cultural offering should be available to all Rotterdammers, and it is, that is to say all Rotterdammers are allowed to attend the cultural events. However, the problem is that in Rotterdam people are being left out. The cultural city is primarily reaching out to only a small part of that internal audience, the so called "promising groups". These promising groups consist of people who are highly educated. The focus group participants fit the profile of so called "Strugglers" from the official policy documents, and it is made very clear that these people are not actively targeted to engage with the cultural city. In other words, the "cultural city" is a very exclusive city. Strugglers, this marginal community, should be included in the cultural city. They even represent the biggest group of people in Rotterdam. The Strugglers represent 26% of all citizens in the Rotterdam *congregation and region* and even 40% of all citizens if looking only at the *congregation*. Thus, the policy creates and continues to expand a gap in understanding. Marginal communities who may already feel disconnected from Rotterdam's cultural offering are being even more excluded from the city due to its city branding goals. That is, attracting more highly educated people. As Rose (2002) pointed out, citizenship seems to become more and more a status which one can acquire by fitting into that desired city image. Marginalized communities are already economically and socially disadvantaged and on top of that they are now also not actively targeted by the "cultural city". Once again, they are put at a disadvantage from the start.

Rotterdam should aim to reach all of its residents, including its marginal communities, and cater to their specific needs because people need to feel part of a community. The policy explicitly states that culture has the power to shape community, to provoke conversations and to stimulate people to develop their talents (College van B en W, 2010). In fact, the policy points to the positive relationship between culture and academic performance (Hetland & Winner, 2001; Winner & Cooper, 2000). If Rotterdam wants to attract more educated people, and if culture enhances academic performance, why not actively try to bring marginal communities and culture together? Why not look within the city and rope in those that are not yet that engaged with culture? If the "cultural city" of Rotterdam wants to remain relevant, it should cater to the trend that the city has a young population, and that this younger segment will continue to grow. It should also cater to the trend that an increasing ethnic diversity has, at least in part, different cultural demands. The "cultural city" should reach out to marginal communities through the culture they love, and through the channels they use. In part, the "cultural city" can become more inclusive

through mobile phone apps. Participants' main path to engagement is through Facebook. Also, this platform is most trusted for that matter; participants connect to their social networks on Facebook, these are people they know offline as well and people they have come to know online. Facebook is indeed accessible and often used by participants via an app but it should not be forgotten that the platform can also be accessed as a website. New media have fewer boundaries, its novelty can be associated with change. Therefore, the "cultural city" can become more inclusive through social media such as Facebook, in part that change may be initiated through the world of apps.

6.3 Limitations and suggestions for further research

The main disadvantage of this research is that, due to its time frame and purposes, its results are limited to three focus groups with a total of eighteen participants. The outcomes do provide valuable insights that connect well to existing quantitative research on the matter (the official statistics used in this research), however, future research should examine a larger sample of focus groups. Although this thesis talks about non-Western marginalized communities, participants cannot represent this group of Rotterdammers completely as they originate from only a few different non-Western countries. Therefore, future research should also aim to get participants from other groups of non-Western Rotterdammers as well as they may have diverging ideas. This will create a better overview of the dominant factors shaping people's thoughts and feelings about the "cultural city". Moreover, perhaps the participants are more culturally engaged than a random sample as it was communicated to potential participants that the research was about the "cultural city" and that the focus groups would be discussing cultural events and activities. Thus, people who are more engaged with culture were possibly more inclined to join the focus groups. Furthermore, a qualitative content analysis was utilized as a research method. Although it is suitable for this project and its scope, it relies entirely on the interpretation of one researcher. Therefore, the results may be biased. Future studies could investigate the subject making use of multiple researchers and, with that, researcher triangulation (Yin, 2013).

7. Literature and references

Amin, A. (2002). Ethnicity and the multicultural city: Living with diversity. *Environment and planning A, 34*(6), 959-980.

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

Anholt, S. (2007). *Competitive identity: The new brand management for nations, cities and regions*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. In M. Featherstone (Ed.), *Global culture: Nationalism,* g*lobalisation and modernity* (pp. 297-311). London: Sage.

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity al large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Arora, P. (2012). The leisure divide: Can the 'Third World' come out to play? *Information Development*, *28*(2), 93-101.

Ashraf, Q., & Galor, O. (2013). *Genetic diversity and the origins of cultural fragmentation*. Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Atlas voor gemeenten. (2014). Leefbarometer. May 12, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.leefbaarometer.nl/leefbaarheidskaarten

Augé, E. F. (2013a). Propaganda [Prezi presentation]. Retrieved from http://prezi.com/7poi3qvkhuzc/strategic-mass-communication-week-2propaganda/?utm_campaign=share&utm_medium=copy

Augé, E. F. (2013b). Public diplomacy and place branding [Prezi presentation]. Retrieved from http://prezi.com/zb2fmzivhzws/?utm_campaign=share&utm_medium=copy

Augé, E. F. (2013c). Public relations [Prezi presentation]. Retrieved from http://prezi.com/9vyjdbbz6_fs/?utm_campaign=share&utm_medium=copy&rc=ex0share

Balmer, J. M. T. (2001). Corporate identity, corporate branding and corporate marketing: Seeing through the fog. *European Journal of Marketing, 35*, 248-291.

Balmer, J. M. T. & Greyser, S. A. (2003). *Revealing the corporation: Perspectives on identity, image, reputation, corporate branding and corporate-level marketing*. London: Routledge.

Baloglu, S. & McClearly, K.W. (1999). A model of destination image formation. *Annals of Tourism Research 26*(4), 868-97.

Bayliss, D. (2004). Creative planning in Ireland: The role of culture-led development in Irish planning. *European Planning Studies, 12*, 497-515.

Bellman, S., Potter, R. F., Treleaven-Hassard, S., Robinson, J. A., & Varan, D. (2011). The effectiveness of branded mobile phone apps. *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, *25*(4), 191-200.

Bihagen, E., & Katz-Gerro, T. (2000). Culture participation in Sweden: The stability of gender differences. *Poetics, 27*, 327-349.

Bittman, M. (2002). Social participation and family welfare: The money and time costs in leisure in Australia. *Social Policy and Administration, 36*(4), 408-425.

Bloor, K. (2010). *The definitive guide to political ideologies*. Bloomington: AuthorHouse.

Boniface, P. (1998). Are museums putting heritage under the domination of tourism? *Nordisk Museologi, 1*, 25-32.

Borgonovi, F. (2004). Performing arts attendance: An economic approach. *Applied Economics*, *36*(17), 1871-1885.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-248). New York: Greenwood Press.

Bradbrook, G. & Fisher, J. (2004). *Digital equality: Reviewing digital inclusion activity and mapping the way forwards*. London: Citizens Online.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101.

Brown, S., Kozinets, R. V. & Sherry, J. F. (2003). Teaching old brands new tricks: Retro branding and the revival of brand meaning. *Journal of Marketing, 67*, 19-33.

Brown, J., Broderick, A. J., & Lee, N. (2007). Word of mouth communication within online communities: Conceptualizing the online social network. *Journal of interactive marketing*, *21*(3), 2-20.

Buckingham, D. (2006). Is there a digital generation? In D. Buckingham & R. Willet (Ed.), *Digital Generations: Children, Young People and New Media* (pp. 1-13). Mahwah: Erlbaum.

Bunnell, T., & Nah, A. M. (2004). Counterglobal cases for place: Contesting displacement in globalising Kuala Lumpur metropolitan area. *Urban Studies, 12*, 2447-2467.

Burayidi, M. A. (2003). The multicultural city as planners' enigma. *Planning Theory & Practice*, *4*(3), 259-273.

Burgess, J. (1982). Selling places: Environmental mages for the executive. *Regional Studies, 16*, 11-17.

Cai, L.A. (2002). Cooperative branding for rural destinations. *Annals of Tourism Research, 29*(3), 720-42.

CBS. (2013). Bevolking; leeftijd, herkomstgroepering, geslacht en regio, 1 januari 2013. December 10, 2013. Retrieved from http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?DM=SLNL&PA=37713&D1=0-8&D2=0&D3=0-2&D4=70,92,600&D5=(l-2)-l&VW=T

Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek. (2008). Cultuurparticipatie van Rotterdammers, 2007. April 24, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdam.nl/COS/publicaties/Vanaf%202005/08-2794.Cultuurparticipatie%20van%20Rotterdammers%202007.pdf

Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek. (2009). Quickscan Rotterdamse jongeren in hun vrije tijd, 2007. April 24, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdam.nl/COS/publicaties/Vanaf%202005/09-3067.Quickscan%20Rotterdamse%20Jongeren%20in%20hun%20Vrije%20Tijd%20200.pdf

Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek. (2010a). Cultuurparticipatie van Rotterdammers, 2009. April 24, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdam.nl/COS/publicaties/Vanaf%202005/10-3265.Cultuurparticipatie%20van%20Rotterdammers%202009.pdf

Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek. (2010b). Quickscan Rotterdamse jongeren in hun vrije tijd, 2009/2010. April 24, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdam.nl/DKC/Document/Rdamse%20jongeren%20in%20hun%20vrije%20tijd%202009-1010.pdf

Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (2011a). Het Rotterdamse Stadspanel over het kunst- en cultuurbeleid en bezuinigingen daarop. March 14, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdam.nl/DKC/Document/Stadspanel_over_Cultuurbeleid_en_bezuinigingen.pdf

Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek. (2011b). *Recreatief stadsbezoek door Rotterdammers 2003-2009.* April 24, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdam.nl/COS/publicaties/Vanaf%202005/10-3267.Recreatief%20stadsbezoek%20door%20Rotterdammers%202003%20-%20200.pdf

Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (2012a). Cultuurparticipatie van Rotterdammers, 2011. March 14, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdam.nl/COS/publicaties/Vanaf%202005/12-3586.Cultuurparticipatie%20van%20Rotterdammers,%202011.pdf

Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (2012b). Quickscan Rotterdamse jongeren in hun vrije tijd, 2011. March 22, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdam.nl/COS/publicaties/Vanaf%202005/12-3608.Quickscan%20Rotterdamse%20jongeren%20in%20hun%20vrije%20tijd%202011.pdf

Cho, H., & Lee, J. S. (2008). Collaborative information seeking in intercultural computer-mediated communication groups. *Communication Research, 35*, 548-573.

Chon, K. S. (1992). The role of destination image in tourism: An extension. *The Tourist Review, 47*(1), 2-8.

Chu, S. C., & Kim, Y. (2011). Determinants of consumer engagement in electronic word-of-mouth (eWOM) in social networking sites. *International Journal of Advertising*, *30*(1), 47-75.

College van B en W. (2010). Collegewerkprogramma Rotterdam 2010-2014: Werken aan talent en ondernemen. March, 22, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdam.nl/OBR/Document/Economie/Collegewerkprogramma_2010_2014.pdf

College van B en W. (2011). Uitgangspuntennota voor het Rotterdamse cultuurbeleid 2013-2016: Midden in de stad. March 22, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdam.nl/DKC/Document/Uitgangspuntennota.pdf

College van B en W. (2012). Het Rotterdamse Cultuurplan 2013-2016: Midden in de stad. March 14, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdam.nl/DKC/Document/Midden%20in%20de%20Stad%20-%20Cultuurplan%202013-2016%20DEF.pdf

Commissie Deetman/Mans. (2011). Kwaliteitssprong Zuid: Ontwikkeling vanuit kracht. March 13, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/bestanden/documenten-en-publicaties/rapporten/2011/02/17/advies-commissie-deetman-mans/rdamzuid-lr.pdf
Cothrel, J. P. (2000). Measuring the success of an online community. *Strategy and Leadership, 2*, 17-21.

Crang, M. (1998). *Cultural geography*. London: Routledge.

Crompton, J.L. (1979). An assessment of the image of Mexico as a vacation destination and the influence of geographical location upon that image. *Journal of Travel Research, 17*(1), 18-23.

De Chernatony, L. & Dall'Olmo, R. F. (1998). Defining a brand: Beyond the literature with experts' interpretations. *Journal of Marketing Management 14*(5), 417-443.

De Lange, M. (2011, February, 1). Social cities: How to engage citizens with digital media [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://engagingcities.com/article/social-cities-how-engage-citizens-digital-media

Derudder, B., Taylor, P. J., Witlox, F., & Catalano, G. (2003). Hierarchical tendencies and regional patterns in the world cities network: A global urban analysis of 234 cities. *Regional Studies, 37*(9), 875-886.

DiMaggio, P. (2004). Gender, networks, and cultural capital. *Poetics, 32*, 99-103.

Duimel, M. (2011). Facts and figures. Naar het stenen tijdperk of naar de Stones. *Boekmancahier 86*, 13-21.

Dumais, S. A. (2002). Cultural capital, gender, and school success: The role of habitus. *Sociology of Education, 75*, 44-68.

Echtner, C. M. & Brent, J. R. (1991). The meaning and measurement of destination image. *Journal of Tourism Studies, 2*(2), 2-12.

Edelman, D. C. (2010). Branding in the digital age. *Harvard business review*, *88*(12), 62-69.

Ellison, N. B., Steinfield, C., & Lampe, C. (2007). The benefits of Facebook ''friends'': Social capital and college students' use of online social network sites. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 12*, 1143-1168.

Emmison, M. (2003). Social class and cultural mobility. *Journal of Sociology, 39*, 211-230.

Entzinger, H. (2003). The rise and fall of multiculturalism in the Netherlands. In C. Joppke & E. Morawska (Ed.), *Toward assimilation and citizenship: Immigrants in liberal nation-states* (pp. 59-86). London: Palgrave.

European Commission. (2014). Past European Capitals of Culture. March 2, 2014. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/capitals/past-capitals_en.htm

Evanoff, R. (2006). Ethics in intercultural dialogue. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 30*, 421-437.

Evans, G. L. (2001). The world bank and world heritage: Culture and sustainable development? *Tourism Recreation Research, 26*(3), 83-86.

Evans, G. L. (2003). Hard-branding the cultural city - from Prado to Prada, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 27*(2), 417-440.

Evans, G. L. (2007). Tourism, creativity and the city. *Tourism Creativity & Development*, 35-48.

Evans, G. L., & Foord, J. (2004). Rich Mix Cities. *Ethnologia Europaea, 34*(2), 67-79.

Firat, A.F. & Venkatesh, A. (1993). Postmodernity: The age of marketing. *International Journal of Research in Marketing, 10*, 227-249.

Flanagin, A. J., & Metzger, M. J. (2008). Digital media and youth: Unparalleled opportunity and unprecedented responsibility. In M. Metzger & A. Flanagin (Ed.), *Digital Media, Youth, and Credibility* (pp. 5-28). Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Florida, R. (2003). Cities and the creative class. *City & Community, 2*(1), 3-19.

Foucault, M. (1990). *The history of sexuality volume 1*. London: Penguin.

Gans, H. (2008). *Popular culture and high culture: An analysis and evaluation of taste (2nd Edition)*. New York: Basic Books.

García-Álvarez, E., Katz-Gerro, T., & López-Sintas, J. (2007). Deconstructing cultural & omnivorousness 1982-2002: Heterology in Americans' musical preferences. *Social Forces, 86*, 417-443.

Germain, A., & Radice, M. (2006). Cosmopolitanism by default: Public sociability in Montreal. In J. Binnie, J. Holloway, S. Millington, & C. Young (Ed.), *Cosmopolitan urbanism* (pp. 112-139). London: Routledge.

Gertner, D. & Kotler, P. (2004). How can a place correct a negative image? *Place Branding, 1*(1), 50-57.

GLA (2008). *London: A cultural audit*. London: GLA Economics.

Gold, J. R. & Ward, S. V. (1994). *Place promotion: The use of publicity and marketing to sell towns and regions*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Goodall, B. (1991). Understanding holiday choice. In C. Cooper (Ed.), *Progress in tourism, recreation and hospitality management* (pp. 58-77). London: Belhaven.

Gospodni, A. (2002). European cities in competition and the `uses' of urban design. *Journal of Urban Design 7*(1), 59-73.

Grossi, E., Compare, A., Lonardi, C., Cerutti, R., Callus, E., & Niero, M. (2013). Gender-related effect of cultural participation in psychological well-being: Indications from the well-being project in the Municipality of Milan. *Social indicators research*, *114*(2), 255-271.)

Guest, G., MacQueen, K. M., & Namey, E. E. (2011). *Applied thematic analysis*. Sage.

Guitar Tools (2014). Omschrijving. May 5, 2014. Retrieved from https://itunes.apple.com/nl/app/guitar-tools-tuner-metronome/id425129977?mt=8

Gunn, C. (1988). *Vacationscape: Designing tourist regions* (2nd Edition). New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Hall, C. M. (1992). *Hallmark tourist events: Impacts, management, planning*. London: Belhaven.

Hankinson, G. (2001). Location branding: A study of branding practices in 12 English cities. *Journal of Brand Management, 9*(2), 127-42.

Hankinson, G. (2004). The brand images of tourism destinations: A study of the saliency of organic images. *Journal of Product & Brand Management, 13*(1), 6-14.

Hanna, S., & Rowley, J. (2011). Towards a strategic place brand-management model. *Journal of Marketing Management*, *27*(5/6), 458-476.

Hannigan, J. (2003). Symposium on branding, the entertainment economy and urban place building: Introduction. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 27*(2), 352-360.

Harris, A. (2009). Shifting the boundaries of cultural spaces: Young people and everyday multiculturalism. *Social identities*, *15*(2), 187-205.

Harris, A. (2010). Young people, everyday civic life and the limits of social cohesion. *Journal of intercultural studies*, *31*(5), 573-589.

Harris, A., & Wyn, J., 2008. Young people's politics and the microterritories of the local. *Australian journal of political science, 44*(2), 327-344.

Harvey, D. (1991). The urban face of capitalism. In J. F. Hunt (Ed.), *Our Changing Cities* (pp. 50-66). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Harvey, D. L., & Reed, M. H. (1996). The culture of poverty: An ideological analysis. S*ociological Perspectives, 39*(4), 465-495.

Haythornthwaite, C. (1999). *A social network theory of tie and media use: A framework for evaluating multi-level impacts of new media*. Champaign: University of Illinois.

Helsper, E. (2008). *Digital inclusion: An analysis of social disadvantage and the information society*. London: Department for Communities and Local Government.

Henderson, J. C. (2007). Uniquely Singapore? A case study in destination branding. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, *13*(3), 261-274.

Hennig-Thurau, T., Gwinner, K. P., Walsh, G. & Gremler, D. D. (2004). Electronic word-of-mouth via consumer-opinion platforms: What motivates consumers to articulate themselves on the internet? *Journal of Interactive Marketing, 18*(1), 38-52.

Hetland, L., & Winner, E. (2001). The arts and academic achievement: What the evidence shows. *Arts Education Policy Review*, *102*(5), 3-6.

Hiller, H. (2000). Mega-events, urban boosterism and growth strategies: An analysis of the objectives and legitimations of the Cape Town 2004 Olympic bid. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 24*(2), 439-458.

Hitters, E. & Richards, G. (2002). Cultural quarters to leisure zones: The role of partnership in developing the cultural industries, *Creativity and Innovation Management, 11*, 234-247.

Holloway L. & Hubbard, P. (2001). *People and place: The extraordinary geographies of everyday life*. Harlow: Pearson Education.

Hosany, S., Ekinci, Y., & Uysal, M. (2006). Destination image and destination personality: An application of branding theories to tourism places. *Journal of Business Research, 59*, 638-42.

Hunt, J.D. (1975). Image as a factor in tourism development. *Journal of Travel Research, 13*(3), 1-7.

Hutton, T. A. (2008). *Restructuring, regeneration and dislocation in the 21st century metropolis*. London: Routledge.

Jansson, A. (2003). The negotiated city image: Symbolic reproduction and change through urban consumption. *Urban Studies, 40*, 463-479.

Kane, D. (2003). Distinction worldwide? Bourdieu's theory of taste in international context. *Poetics, 31*, 403-421.

Katz-Gerro, T. (2002). Highbrow cultural consumption and class distinction in Italy, Israel, West Germany, Sweden, and the United States. *Social Forces, 81*(1), 207-229.

Katz-Gerro, T., & Jæger, M. M. (2013). Top of the pops, ascend of the omnivores, defeat of the couch potatoes: Cultural consumption profiles in Denmark 1975-2004. *European sociological review*, *29*(2), 243-260.

Katz-Gerro, T., & Sullivan, O. (2004). Leisure, tastes and gender in Britain: Changes from the 1960s to the 1990s. *Sociologie et sociétés*, *36*(1), 165-186.

Katz-Gerro, T., & Sullivan, O. (2010). Voracious cultural consumption: The intertwining of gender and social status. *Time & Society*, *19*(2), 193-219.

Kaufman, J., & Gabler, J. (2004). Cultural capital and the extracurricular activities of girls and boys in the college attainment process. *Poetics, 32*(2), 145-168.

Kavaratzis, M. (2004). From city marketing to city branding: Towards a theoretical framework for developing city brands. *Place Branding, 1*(1), 58-73.

Kavaratzis, M. (2008). From city marketing to city branding: An interdisciplinary analysis with reference to Amsterdam, Budapest and Athens. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from http://irs.ub.rug.nl/ppn/314660232

Kavaratzis, M. (2009). Cities and their brands: Lessons from corporate branding. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy, 5*, 2-37.

Kavaratzis, M. & Ashworth, G. J. (2005). City branding: An effective assertion of identity or a transitory marketing trick? *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, *96*(5), 506-514.

Kitzinger, J. (1995). Qualitative research. Introducing focus groups. *British Medical Journal*, *311*(7000), 299-302.

Kluzer, S., Hache, A., & Codagnone, C. (2008). *Overview of digital support initiatives for/by immigrants and ethnic minorities in the EU27*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

Knapp, M. L., & Daly, J. A. (2002). *Handbook of interpersonal communication*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Knox, S. & Bickerton, D. (2003). The six conventions of corporate branding. *European Journal of Marketing,* 37, 998-1016.

Kotler, P., Bowen, J., & Makens, J. (1999). Marketing for hospitality and tourism (2nd Edition). New Jersey: Prentice Hall International.

Kozinets, R. V. (1999). E-tribalised marketing? The strategic implications of virtual communities of consumption. *European Management Journal, 17*, 252-64.

Kozinets, R. V. (2002). The field behind the screen: Using netnography for marketing research in online communities. *Journal of Marketing Research, 39*, 61-72.

Kymlicka, W. (2003). Immigration, citizenship, multiculturalism: Exploring the links. *The Political Quarterly*, *74*(1), 195-208.

Landry, C. (2006). *The art of city making*. London: Earthscan.

Landry, C. & Bianchini, F. (1995). *The creative city*. London: Demos.

Lau, G. T., & Ng, S. (2001). Individual and situational factors influencing negative word-of-mouth behaviour. *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences, 18*, 63-178.

Lee, G., Cai, L. A., & O'Leary, J. T. (2006). WWW. Branding. States. US: An analysis of brand-building elements in the US state tourism websites. *Tourism Management*, *27*(5), 815-828.

Lee, G., O'Leary, J.T., & Hong, G.S. (2002). Visiting propensity predicted by destination image: German long-haul pleasure travellers to the US. *International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Administration, 3*(2), 63-92.

Lefebvre, R. C. (2007). The new technology: The consumer as participant rather than target audience. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, *13*(3), 31-42.

Lefkin, M. S. (1998). The audience for New York theatre. A profile of Broadway and off-Broadway 1997 theatre season. New York: Theatre Development Fund.

Lepofsky, J., & Fraser, J. C. (2003). Building community citizens: Claiming the right to place-making in the city. *Urban Studies*, *40*(1), 127-142.

Levine, L. (1988). *Highbrow/lowbrow: The emergence of cultural hierarchy in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Livingstone, S., & Helsper, E. (2007). Gradations in digital inclusion: Children, young people and the digital divide. *New media & society*, *9*(4), 671-696.

Lizardo, O. (2006). The puzzle of women's "highbrow" culture consumption: Integrating gender and work into Bourdieu's class theory of taste. *Poetics, 34*(1), 1-23.

Lowe, S. S. (2000). Creating community art for community development. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *29*(3), 357-386.

Lucarelli, A., & Berg, P. O. (2011). City branding: A state-of-the-art review of the research domain. *Journal of place management and development*, *4*(1), 9-27.

Ma, R. (1996). Computer-mediated conversation as a new dimension of intercultural communication between East Asian and North American college students. *Pragmatics and Beyond, 38*, 173-185.

Mangold, W.G. & Faulds, D.J. (2009). Social media: The new hybrid element of the promotion mix. *Business Horizons, 52*(4), 357-365.

Mattingly, M., & Bianchi, S. (2003). Gender differences in the quantity and quality of free time: The U.S. experience. *Social Forces, 81*(3), 999-1030.

McCarthy, K. F., Brooks, A., Lowell, J., & Zakaras, L. (2001). The performing arts in a new era. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation.

McEwan, B., & Sobre-Denton, M. (2011). Virtual cosmopolitanism: Constructing third cultures and transmitting social and cultural capital through social media. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, *4*(4), 252-258.

Mechant, P., De Marez, L., Claeys, L., Criel, J., & Verdegem, P. (2011, July). Crowdsourcing for smart engagement apps in an urban context: An explorative study. Paper presented at the International Association for Media and Communication Research, Istanbul, Turkey. Retrieved from https://biblio.ugent.be/input/download?func=downloadFile&recordOId=1887 102&fileOId=2951841

Meijjer, E., Dubbeldam, B., Waning, E., & Hers, N. (2007). *Cultuurparticipatie van Rotterdammers. Een doelgroepsegmentatie met MOSAIC en COS Vrijetijdsomnibus.* Rotterdam: Elsbeth Meijjer Cultuuronderzoeken.

Meijjer, E., & Van de Velde, M. (2009). *Publieksonderzoeken Rotterdamse zomerfestivals 2009.* Rotterdam: Elsbeth Meijjer Cultuuronderzoeken.

Meijjer, E., & Warntjes, A. (2007). *Centraal publieksonderzoek podiumbezoekers Rotterdam fase 2 2006.* Rotterdam: Elsbeth Meijjer Cultuuronderzoeken.

Meurs, P. & Verheijen, M. (2003). *In transit: Mobility, city culture and urban development in Rotterdam*. Rotterdam: NAi.

Migration Policy Institute. (2013). From national identity to plural identifications. June 12, 2014. Retrieved from https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0CCEQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.migrationpolicy.org%2Fpubs%2FTCM-Netherlandscasestudy.pdf&ei=koaZU4G5Fe7Z4QSgxYCgAw&usg=AFQjCNEYqgxfLEvolMHGSVwWXYALXNqQZQ&sig2=LJ1URXF_t93bIl_UEQ3wig&bvm=bv.68911936,d.bGE

Ministerie BZK. (2012). Leefbaarheidskaarten. January 6, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.leefbaarometer.nl/leefbaarheidskaarten

Modarres, A. (2011). Beyond the digital divide. *National Civic Review*, *100*(3), 4-7.

Morgan, D. L. (1996). Focus groups. *Annual review of sociology, 22*, 129-152.

Morgan, N. & Pritchard, A. (1998). Tourism promotion and power: Creating images, creating identities. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Morgan, N., Pritchard, A., & Pride, R. (2002). Destination branding: Creating the unique destination proposition. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Motivaction. (2007). Een brede kijk op de belangstelling voor kunst en cultuur – een eerste verkenning. April 24, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.motivaction.nl/downloads/Motivaction_rapport_Cultuurbeleving.pdf

Motivaction. (2010). Betekenis van kunst en cultuur in het dagelijks leven. Stichting Cultuur-Ondernemen. April 24, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.cultuur-ondernemen.nl/documents/10156/c4b77d5a-4ed2-458b-b7f4-3ba234728c25

Museum Rotterdam. (2013). Echte Rotterdammers: Wie denken ze wel dat ze zijn [Exhibition]. December 21, 2013.

Nagle, J. (2009). *Multiculturalism's double bind: Creating inclusivity, cosmopolitanism and difference*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Nava, M. (2006). Domestic cosmopolitanism and structures of feeling: The specificity of London. In N. Yuval-Davis, K. Kannabiran, & U.M. Vieten (Ed.), *The situated politics of belonging* (pp. 42-53). London: Sage.

Nichols, B. (2003). *Demographic characteristics of arts attendance, 2002*. Washington DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

Nisen, M. (2012, December, 11). 10 trends that are changing cities forever [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://www.businessinsider.com/cities-focusing-on-big-data-and-mobility-2012-12?page=2

Norris, P. (2001). *Digital divide: Civic engagement, information poverty, and the internet worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nye, J. S. (2004). *Soft power: The means to success in world politics*. New York: Public Affairs.

Olds, K. (1995). Globalization and the production of new urban spaces: Pacific Rim megaprojects in the late 20th century. *Environment and Planning A, 27*, 1713-1743.

Olins, W. (2002). Branding the nation - the historical context. *The Journal of Brand Management*, *9*, 4-5.

Paganoni, M. C. (2012). City branding and social inclusion in the glocal city. *Mobilities*, *7*(1), 13-31.

"Parallel 6". (2013, May, 15). Mobile apps for government: Engaging citizens in a new way [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://www.parallel6.com/mobile-apps-for-government-engaging-citizens-in-a-new-way/

Park, S. Y. & Petrick, J. F. (2006). Destinations' perspectives of branding. *Annals of Tourism Research, 33*(1), 262-65.

Parks, M. R., & Floyd, K. (1996). Making friends in cyberspace. *Journal of Communication, 46*, 80-97.

Paul, D. (2004) World cities as hegemonic projects: The politics of global imagineering in Montreal. *Political Geography, 23*, 571-596.

Penas, B., & Sáenz, M. C. (2006). *Interculturalism: Between identity and diversity*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Pestieau, K., & Wallace, M. (2003). Challenges and opportunities for planning in the ethno-culturally diverse city: A collection of papers - Introduction. *Planning Theory & Practice*, *4*(3), 253-258.

Peterson, P. E. (1981). *City limits*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Peterson, R. A. (2005). Problems in comparative research: The example of omnivorousness. *Poetics, 33*, 257-282.

Peterson, R. A., & Kern, R. M. (1996). Changing highbrow taste: From snob to omnivore. *American sociological review, 61*(5), 900-907.

Pigg, K. E. & Crank, L. D. (2004). Building community social capital: The potential and promise of information and communications technologies. *Journal of Community Informatics, 1*(1), 58-73.

Pratt, A. (2000). New media, the new economy and new spaces. *Geoforum, 31*(4), 425-436.

Purcell, K., Smith, A., & Zickuhr, K. (2010). *Social media & mobile internet use among teens and young adults*. Washington: Pew Research Center.

Putnam, R.D. (2002). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Rainie, L., Purcell, K., & Smith, A. (2011). The social side of the internet. Pew Research Internet Project. Retrieved from http://www.pewinternet.org/Reports/2011/The-Social-Side-of-the-Internet.aspx

Rainisto, S. K. (2003). *Success factors of place marketing: A study of place marketing practices in Northern Europe and the United States*. Helsinki: University of Technology.

Richards, G., & Wilson, J. (2004). The impact of cultural events on city image: Rotterdam, cultural capital of Europe 2001. *Urban studies*, *41*(10), 1931-1951.

Ridgeway, C. L., & Smith-Lovin, L. (1999). The gender system and interaction. *Annual Review of Sociology, 25*, 191-216.

Ridings, C.M., Gefen, D. & Arinze, B. (2002). Some antecedents and effects of trust in virtual communities. *Journal of Strategic Information Systems, 11*(3/4), 271-295.

Rose, N. (2000). Governing cities, governing citizens. In E. F. Isin (Ed.), *Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City* (pp. 95-109). London: Routledge.

Rosenstein, C., Riley, V., Rocha, N., & Boenecke, T. (2013). The distribution and policy implications of US state government general operating support to the arts and culture: Lessons from the great recession. *Cultural Trends*, *22*(3-4), 180-191.

Rotterdam. (2014). Geschiedenis Rotterdam. January 27, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdam.nl/geschiedenisrotterdam

Rotterdam Festivals. (2010). Herijking evenementenbeleid: Dieper in de stad, verder in de wereld. January 21, 2014. Retrieved from

http://www.rotterdam.nl/Clusters/BSD/Document%202013/Directie%20Veiligheid/Nota%20Evenementenbeleid%20Rotterdam%20Festivals.pdf

Rotterdam Festivals. (2011a). Cultuurparticipatie ambities 2013-2016: Meer Rotterdammers over de drempel van culturele instellingen. March 14, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdamfestivals.nl/Assets/Uploads/Documents/Bedrijfsrapporten/Bijlage%20B,%20Cultuurparticipatie%20ambities%202013%20-%202016,%20Meer%20Rotterdammers%20over%20de%20drempel%20van%20culturele%20instelingen.pdf

Rotterdam Festivals (2011b). Wij Rotterdammers en cultuur: Een analyse van cijfers en trends uit vijf jaar publieksonderzoek. March 14, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdamfestivals.nl/Assets/Uploads/Documents/Onderzoeken/Wij_Rotterdammers_enCultuur.pdf

Rotterdam Festivals. (2014). Thema's van de stad. January 20, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdamfestivals.nl/zakelijk/festivals-en-evenementen/financiele-ondersteuning/thema-s-van-de-stad/

Rough Guides. (2014). Top 10 cities. March 2, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.roughguides.com/best-places/2014/top-10-cities/

Ryan, R. (2000). New frontiers. *Tate, 21*, 90-6.

Sandercock, L. (2003). *Cosmopolis II. Mongrel cities for the 21st century*. London: Continuum.

Sassen, S. & Roost, F. (1999). The city: Strategic site for the global entertainment industry. In D. R. Judd & S. Fainstein (Ed.), *The tourist city* (pp. 143-154). New Haven: Yale University Press.

Schnabel, B (2011). De vergrijzing. Een zegen voor kunst en cultuur. *Boekmancahier 86,* 6-12*.*

Schuster, J. M. (2001). Ephemera, temporary urbanism and imaging. In L. J. Vale & S. B. Warner (Ed.), *Imaging the city - Continuing struggles and new directions* (pp. 361-396). New Brunswick: Center for Urban Policy Research.

Schuster, L., & Solomos, J. (2001). Introduction: Citizenship, multiculturalism, identity. *Patterns of prejudice*, *35*(1), 3-12.

ScoreCloud (2014). Description. May 5, 2014. Retrieved from https://itunes.apple.com/us/app/scorecloud-express/id566535238?mt=8

Scott, (2001). *Capitalism, cities, and the production of symbolic forms*. Transactions: Institute of British.

Selby, M. (2003). *Understanding urban tourism: Image, culture and experience*. London: I.B.Tauris.

Silk, M. (2002). 'Bangsa Malaysia': A global sport, the city and the mediated refurbishment of local identities. *Media, Culture and Society, 24*, 775-794.

Silverman, G. (2001). *The secrets of word-of-mouth marketing: How to trigger exponential sales through runaway word-of-mouth*. New York: American Marketing Association.

Simoes, C. & Dibb, S. (2001). Rethinking the brand concept: New brand orientation. *Corporate Communications, 6*(4), 217-224.

SmartAgent. (2012). Tekstrapportage: Consumentenonderzoek binnenstad Rotterdam 2012. January 23, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.rotterdam.nl/Clusters/Stadsontwikkeling/Document%202013/Infopunt%20Arbe idsmarkt/De%20beleving%20van%20Rotterdam%20eindrapport%20DEFINITIEF.pdf

Smidt-Jensen, S. (2006). City branding lessons from medium sized cities in the Baltic Sea region. *Danish Centre for Forest, Landscape and Planning, Rolighedsvej*, *23*, 1958.

Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau. (1997). Trends in de tijdsbesteding van de Nederlandse bevolking 1975-1995. April 24, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.scp.nl/dsresource?objectid=21496&type=org

Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau. (2006). De tijd als spiegel. Hoe Nederlanders hun tijd besteden. April 24, 2014. Retrieved from www.scp.nl/dsresource?objectid=21513&type=org

Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau. (2009). Cultuurbewonderaars en cultuurbeoefenaars. Trends in cultuurparticipatie en mediagebruik. April 24, 2014. Retrieved from www.scp.nl/dsresource?objectid=20312&type=org

Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau. (2010a). Alle kanalen staan open. De digitalisering van mediagebruik. Het culturele draagvlak deel 10. April 24, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.scp.nl/dsresource?objectid=26392&type=org

Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau. (2010b). Wisseling van de wacht: generaties in Nederland. In: Sociaal en cultureel rapport 2010. April 24, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.scp.nl/dsresource?objectid=27175&type=org

Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau. (2011). Eropuit! Nederlanders in hun vrije tijd buitenshuis. April 24, 2014. Retrieved from www.scp.nl/dsresource?objectid=28171&type=pdf

Soukup, C. (2006). Computer-mediated communication as a virtual third place: Building Oldenburg's great good places on the World Wide Web. *New Media & Society, 8*, 421-440.

Stewart, D. W., Shamdasani, P. N., & Rook, D. W. (2007). *Focus groups: Theory and practice* (2nd Edition). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Storper, M. & Venables, A. J. (2004). Buzz: Face-to-face contact and the urban economy. *Journal of Economic Geography, 4*(4), 351-370.

Stuber, J. N. (2005). Asset and liability? The importance of context in the occupational experience of upwardly mobile white males. *Sociological Forum, 20*, 139-166.

Tapscott, D. (1998). *Growing up digital: The rise of the net generation.* New York: McGraw Hill.

Taylor, N. (1998). *Urban planning theory since 1945*. London: Sage.

Temelova, J. (2007). Flagship developments and the physical upgrading of the post-socialist inner city: The Golden Angel project in Prague. *Geografiska Annaler, 89*(2), 169-181.

The New York Times. (2014). 52 places to go in 2014. March 2, 2014. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/01/10/travel/2014-places-to-go.html?smid=fb-nytimes&WT.z_sma=TR_PPTG_20140110&bicmp=AD&bicmlukp=WT.mc_id&bicmst=138855 2400000&bicmet=1420088400000&_r=5

Topham, P. (2012). Making people appy. *Association for University & College Counselling, 27*, 10-14.

Townsend, A. M. (2000). Life in the real-time city: Mobile telephones and urban metabolism. *Journal of urban technology*, *7*(2), 85-104.

Tyler, D., Guerrier, Y., & Robertson, M. (1998). *Managing tourism in cities*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Van Eijck, K. (2001). Social differentiation in musical taste patterns. *Social Forces, 79*, 1163-1184.

Van Ham, P. (2008). Place branding within a security paradigm - concepts and cases. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, *4*(3), 240-251.

Vanolo, A. (2008). The image of the creative city: some reflections on urban branding in Turin. *Cities*, *25*(6), 370-382.

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 30*(6), 1024-1054.

Waitt, G. (2003). Social impacts of the Sydney Olympics, *Annals of Tourism Research, 30*(1), 194-215.

Wallerstein, I. (1991). The national and the universal: Can there be such a thing as world culture? In A. King (Ed.), *Culture, Globalization and the World-system* (pp. 91-106). Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Walmsley, D. J. & Young, M. (1998). Evaluative images and tourism: The use of personal constructs to describe the structure of destination images. *Journal of Travel Research, 36*(3), 65-9.

Walther, J. B. (1996). Computer mediated communication: Impersonal, interpersonal and hyperpersonal interaction. *Human Communication Research, 23*, 3-43.

Waning, E., & Meijjer, E. (2008a). *Cultuurparticipatie en vrijetijdsbesteding Rotterdammers. Een doelgroepsegmentatie met MOSAIC en COS Vrijetijdsomnibus. Met toevoeging bezoek aan Rotterdamse Zomerfestivals 2008.* Rotterdam: Elsbeth Meijjer Cultuuronderzoeken.

Waning, E., & Meijjer, E. (2008b). *Lifestyleprofiel bezoekers festival De Wereld van Witte de With 2008.* Rotterdam: Elsbeth Meijjer Cultuuronderzoeken.

Ward, S. V. (1998). *Selling places: The marketing and promotion of towns and cities 1850-2000*. London: E & FN Spon.

Ward, S. V. & Gold, J. R. (1994). *Place promotion: The use of publicity to sell towns and regions*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Waters, M. C., & Jiménez, T. R. (2005). Assessing immigrant assimilation: New empirical and theoretical challenges. *Annual review of sociology, 31*, 105-125.

Watkins, H., & Herbert, D. (2003). Cultural policy and place promotion: Swansea and Dylan Thomas. *Geoforum, 34*, 249-266.

Wellman, B. 1979. The community question: The intimate networks of East Yorkers. *American Journal of Sociology, 84* (5), 1201-31.

Welsh, K., & France, D. (2012). Smartphones and fieldwork. *Geography, 97*(1), 47-51.

Wijgers, W., & Ram, J. (2011a). *De Rotterdamse Doelgroepen voor Kunst en Cultuur. Een actualisatie naar aanleiding van de Vrijetijdsomnibus 2009 van het Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek van de Gemeente Rotterdam.* Bussum: EMC Cultuuronderzoeken.

Wijgers, W., & Ram, J. (2011b). *Overeenkomsten tussen bezoekers van Rotterdamse podia in de seizoenen 2008-2009 en 2009-2010.* Bussum: EMC Cultuuronderzoeken.

Winner, E. & Cooper, M. (2000). Mute those claims: No evidence (yet) for a causal link between arts study and academic achievement. *Journal of Aesthetic Education, 34*(3/4), 11-75.

Worcman, K. (2002). Digital division is cultural exclusion, but is digital inclusion cultural inclusion? *D-Lib magazine*, *8*(3). doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1045/march2002-worcman

Yeoh, B. S. (1999). Global/globalizing cities. *Progress in Human Geography, 23*, 607-616.

Yeoh, B. S. (2005). The global cultural city? Spatial imagineering and politics in the (multi)cultural marketplaces of South-east Asia. *Urban Studies*, *42*(5-6), 945-958.

Yin, R. K. (2013). *Case study research: Design and methods* (5th Edition). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Zhang, L. & Zhao, S. X. (2009). City branding and the Olympic effect: A case study of Beijing. *Cities*, *26*(5), 245-254.

Zukin, S. (1995). *The cultures of cities*. Oxford: Blackwell.

8. Appendices

Appendix A. Information about the livability of the neighborhood Spangen.
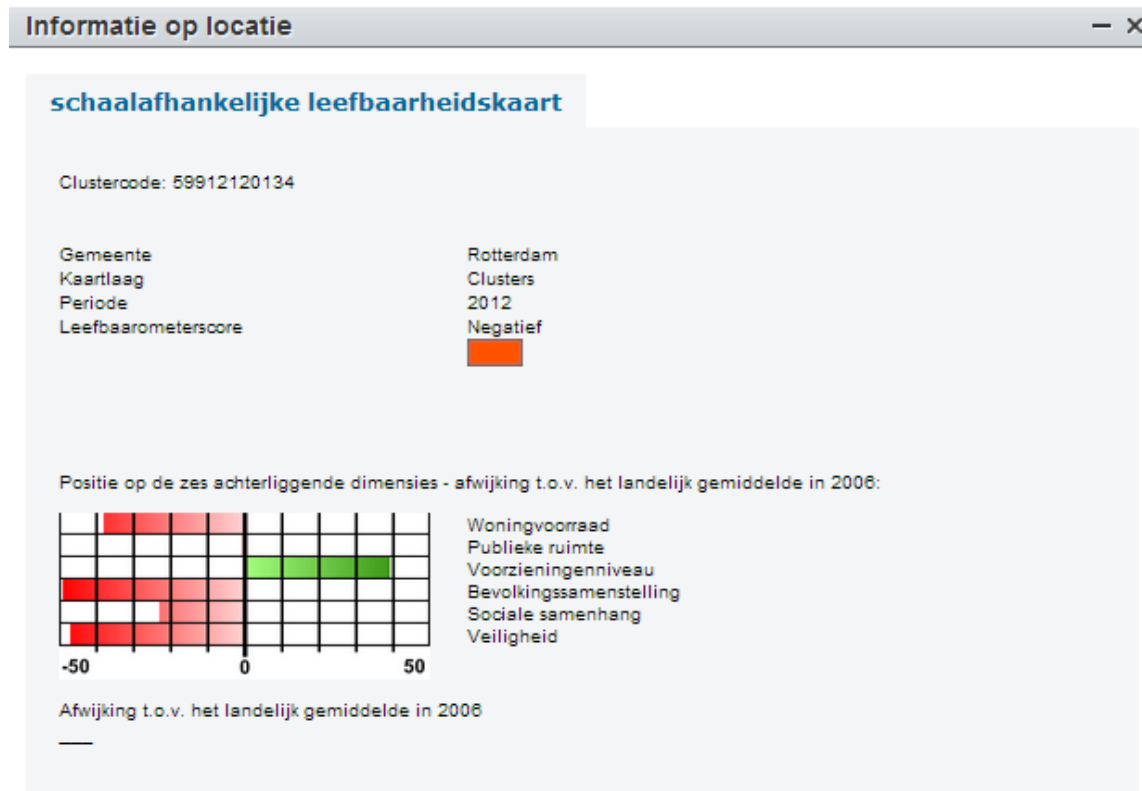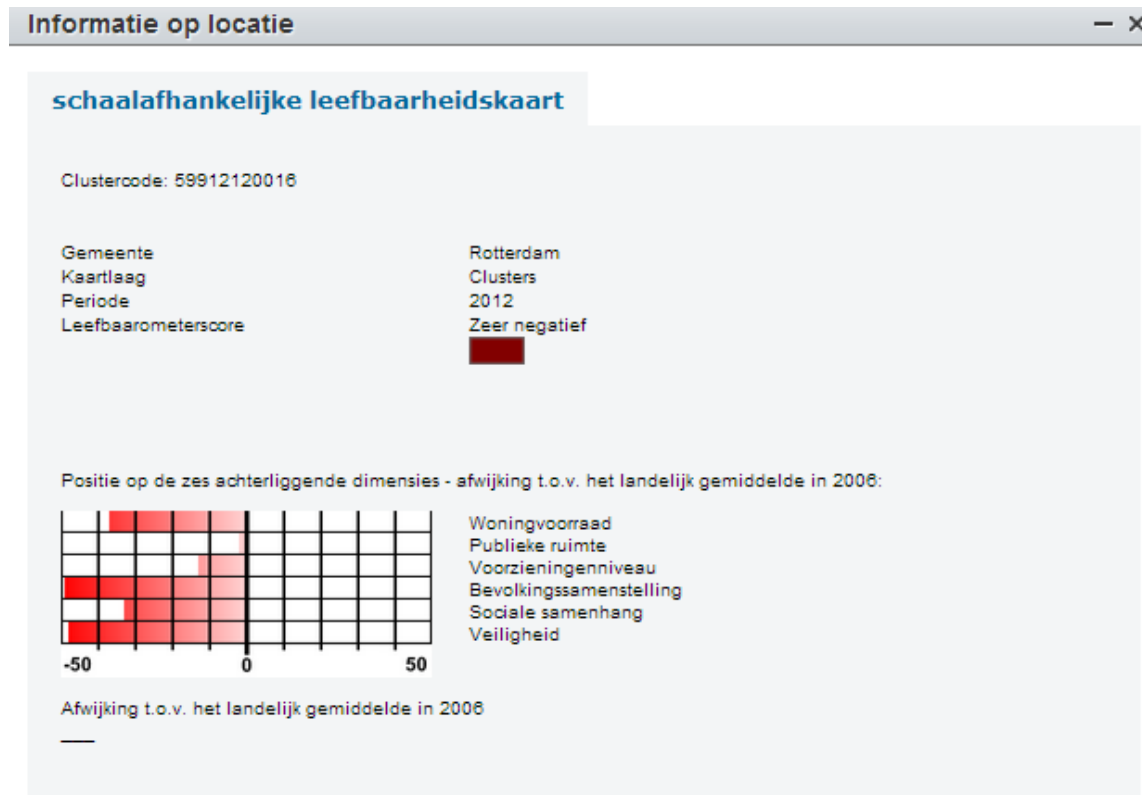
Appendix B. Focus group script (English translation).

5 minutes – Introduction
Intro Suzanne Intro research What is culture to you? What are cultural apps? Practical matters: Personal introduction round Taking photos of your apps Be very honest and critical Say what you think, even if others think something else Please do not hesitate to get some food or drinks in between

5 minutes – Personal introductions
What is your name? How old are you? Where do you live? What do you do in everyday life? Do you practice culture yourself? (e.g. dancing, making music, painting, graphic design, photography, making jewelry; anything that is creative).

5 minutes – Photos interface
Can I take a picture of every screen on your phone?

25 minutes – Cultural visits (general)
Do you visit cultural events? (e.g. films, festivals, museums, shows). Why or why not? What is stopping you from visiting culture? What are the barriers? Do you think it is important or fun to engage with culture? Why? There can be different reasons for a person to engage with culture. Can you tell me what is the most important reason for you? How do you usually find out what, where and when there are cultural things to do? Do you consciously look for cultural events or how do you get informed? How long do you plan in advance to go somewhere and how do you usually get tickets?

Do cultural apps (apps that allow you to see when there is something to do in Rotterdam) sometimes play a role in your decision to visit?
If so, what role?

[For those who practice culture themselves] How do you promote your event to other people?
[To the group] How would you help him/her promote the cultural event?

5 minutes – Rotterdam Info app

Are you familiar with the Rotterdam Info app? [If not, let them download it on their phones and use it]
What do you think of this app? Why do you use it?

Does it show culture that appeals to you?
What culture is missing? (things you like to visit)

5 minutes – Rotterdam UITburo app

Are you familiar with the Rotterdam UITburo app? [If not, let them download it on their phones and use it]
What do you think of this app? Why do you use it?

Does it show culture that appeals to you?
What culture is missing? (things you like to visit)

10 minutes – Other cultural apps

Do you know any other cultural app?
If so, tell the group what this app is called and what the app does.

What do you think of this app? Why do you use it?

Does it show culture that appeals to you?
What culture is missing? (things you like to visit)

10 minutes – Cultural apps (general)

Do you like to have a cultural calendar in an app?
Why or why not?

Can you say what you would like from cultural apps?
(could be both culture and technical wishes)

10 minutes – Cultural websites / social media

Do you make use of websites to learn more about cultural events? Which websites?
What do you think of this website?
Does it show culture that appeals to you?
What culture is missing? (things you like to visit)

Do you use social media to learn more about cultural events? Which platforms/pages?
What do you think of these Social Networking Sites?
Does it show culture that appeals to you?
What culture is missing? (things you like to visit)

10 minutes – general (extra)

Think about the last cultural event you went to.
How did you end up there, why were you there?
Who had taken the initiative to go there?
How did you come to the decision to specifically go there?

What plays a greater role in the decision: where the event is held, who / what there is to see, or both?

When you think of the coming year.
Are you planning to go to some cultural events?
Why or why not?

Would you want to visit cultural events more often than you do now?
If yes: what is holding you back? If no: why not?

Appendix C. Participant details (English translation).

Please fill out the form underneath.

This research is anonymous, therefore your real name will not be publicized in my thesis.

Name

……………………………………………………………………………………

Gender

M / F

Age

………… years old.

Ethnic background (country where you are from)?

………………………………………….

………………………………………….

………………………………………….

Education level

VMBO

HAVO

VWO

MBO

HBO

WO (university)

Appendix D. The eight Rotterdam target groups.

Recente beschrijving Cultuurparticipatie acht Rotterdamse doelgroepen

	18 - 25 jaar	25 - 35 jaar	35 - 60 jaar	60+ jaar
Cultuur is vanzelfsprekend (Heavy user)		Startende stedelingen	Welgestelden	Seniore Cultuur liefhebbers
Cultuur als optie (Medium user)	Studentikozen	Sportieve gezinnen		Eenvoudige Pensioen genieters
Cultuur bij toeval (Light user)		Doorzetters	Modale Medioren	

In de toelichting vindt u een omschrijving van de acht door ons gehanteerde doelgroepen.

Appendix E. The Rotterdam primary and secondary target groups.

Rotterdamse doelgroepen

Producten	Cultuur als vanzelfsprekend (heavy users)			Cultuur als optie (medium users)			Cultuur bij toeval (light users)	
	Startende Stedelingen	Welgestelden	Seniore cultuurlief-hebbers	Studentikozen	Sportieve gezinnen	Eenvoudige pensioen genieters	Doorzetters	Modale medioren
Website Rotterdam Uitburo	■	□	□	■	□	□		
Uitagenda	■	□	□	■	■			
Uitmail (wekelijks)	■	□	□	■	□			
Museum Uitmail (maandelijks)	■	□	□	■				
Kids Uitmail (6xp/j)		□	□		■			
Kids Uitgenda		□			■			
Uitapp/Uit Facebook applicaties	■	□		■	□			
Uitburo social media	■	□		■				
Uitburo last minute ticketing	■	□		■		□		
Uitburo arrangementen		□			■	■		
Uitburo campagnes	□	□		■	■			
Nieuw te ontwikkelen Uitburo product		□			□	■		□
Metro bijlage	■	□		■	□			
Externe media (Havenloods)			□			■	□	

■ Primaire doelgroep   □ Secundaire doelgroep

Appendix F. The Dutch education system.
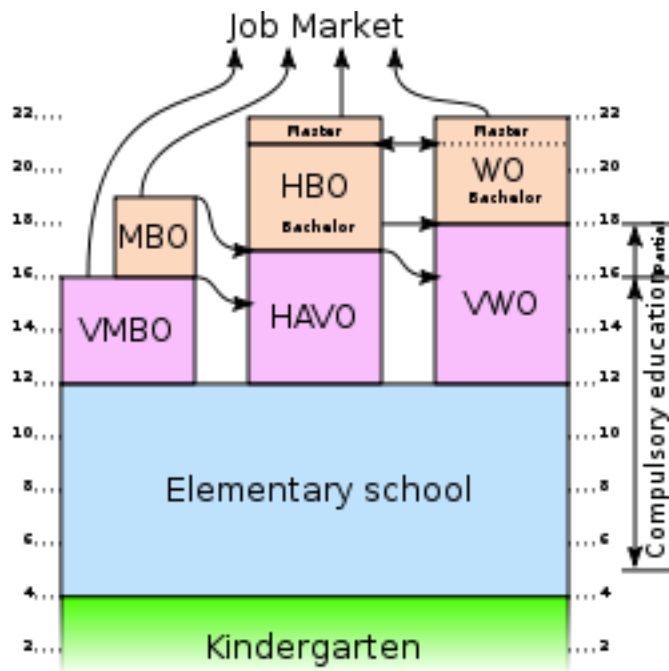
Appendix G. Percentage of Rotterdammers that practices cultural activities, in conjunction with gender, ethnicity, age, education and income, 2011.
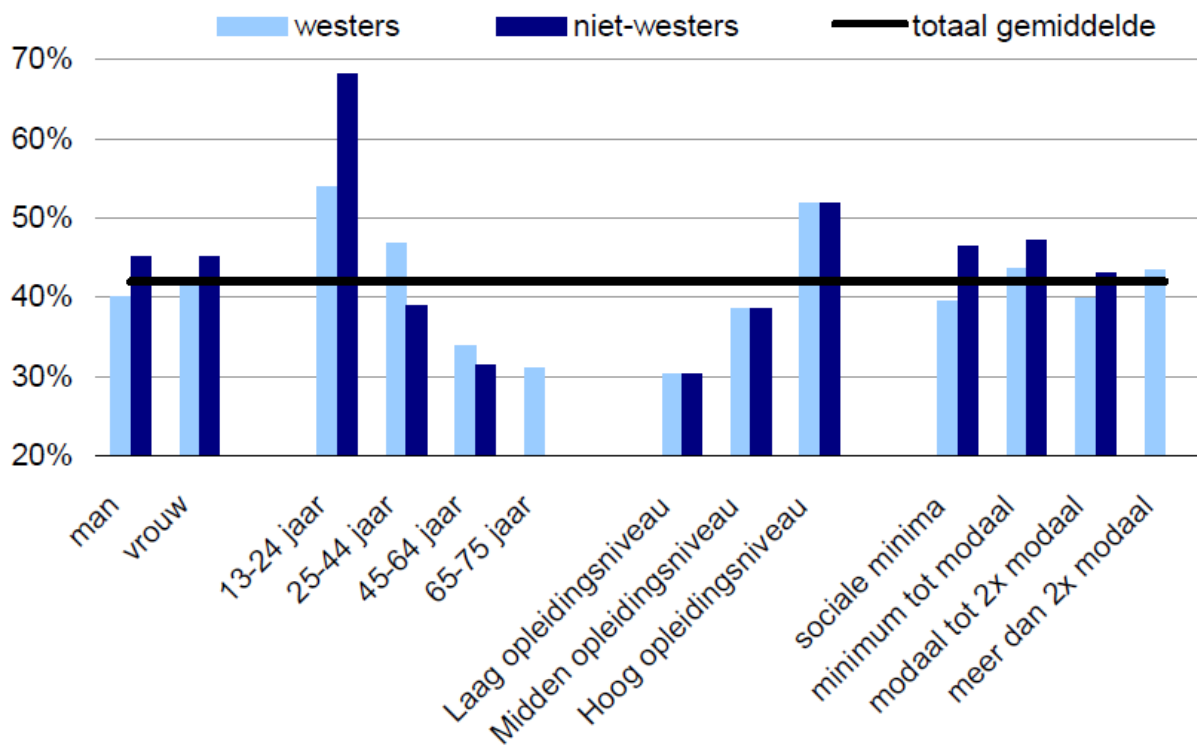
Appendix H. Distribution of the population (15-65 years old) in the big four and the Netherlands by education level (%).

periode	plaats	laag	middel	hoog	onbekend	totale bevolking
2010	Nederland	31%	40%	28%	1%	100%
	Rotterdam	35%	34%	29%	1%	100%
	Amsterdam	22%	29%	48%	1%	100%
	Den Haag	33%	34%	32%	1%	100%
	Utrecht	18%	32%	49%	1%	100%

Appendix I. Through which measures will people visit the cultural offering in Rotterdam more? By personal characteristics, in %.

	totaal	werk in culturele/ ict/ communicatieve sector	studenten	sociale minima	minimum tot modaal	modaal tot 2x modaal	meer dan 2x modaal	laag opgeleid	middelbaar opgeleid	hoog opgeleid
lagere toegangsprijs / meer kortingsmogelijkheden	47	44	50	59	63	50	40	46	52	47
betere informatievoorziening	35	36	41	40	27	38	34	29	34	36
beter vertellen wat het programma inhoudt, zodat ik weet of het voor mij de moeite waard is	25	21	26	22	24	29	23	25	29	23
prettigere omgeving op straat (nu te onveilig)	17	8	10	14	25	13	17	28	20	13
betere programmering	16	23	24	16	13	16	17	4	12	20
betere toegankelijkheid via internet: informatie en boekingen	14	13	20	11	9	17	15	14	15	14
betere bereikbaarheid en toegankelijkheid	12	10	8	13	16	10	12	19	12	11
betere horeca of restaurants in de buurt	11	17	14	11	8	7	14	6	10	13
andere openings- of aanvangstijden	10	12	17	4	10	10	11	4	7	12
meer of betere services voor kinderopvang, parkeren, etc.	9	9	7	8	7	8	10	10	8	9
het is me nu te druk, dus meer kleinschalige activiteiten	9	12	7	5	9	13	7	7	7	10
zalen of ruimten gezelliger maken	6	7	6	6	5	6	6	7	5	6
betere klantenservice	4	3	4	6	3	2	4	5	2	4
betere bewegwijzering op straat	4	4	4	5	4	3	3	4	4	3
iets anders	16	20	15	20	13	15	19	10	17	18
er hoeft niets te veranderen, want kunst en cultuur boeit me niet	4	0	2	2	5	4	4	11	5	1
er hoeft niets te veranderen, want ik snap toch niets van kunst en cultuur	1	0	0	3	1	1	1	5	1	0
er hoeft niets te veranderen, want ik heb daar geen tijd voor	3	1	2	3	3	3	3	6	3	2

Appendix J. Percentage of Rotterdammers that made use of information sources to inform themselves about cultural activities in Rotterdam, 2007-2011.

	2007	2009	2011
via radio	27	23	19
via televisie	44	35	29
via kabelkrant, teletekst	16	10	8
via huis aan huisbladen zoals Havenloods en Maasstad/Echo*	47	45	36
via het AD / Rotterdams Dagblad	27	24	20
via een landelijk dagblad	13	8	6
via Metro en/of Spits (en dergelijke)	39	33	28
via NL10	13	12	9
via Uitagenda Rotterdam	21	21	17
via DIMI magazine/website (in 2007 is alleen naar het magazine gevraagd)	1	1	-
via Stuit'r**	-	-	0
via brochures, folders, flyers, programmaboekjes van culturele organisaties / activiteiten	37	31	34
via affiches, uithangborden, posters van culturele organisaties / activiteiten	34	35	27
via websites van culturele organisaties / activiteiten	13	16	14
via de website van het Rotterdams Uitburo, www.Rotterdamsuitburo.nl	5	7	5
via de website www. rotterdam.info	8	7	7
via de website van Rotterdam Festivals, www.rotterdamfestivals.nl**	-	-	8
via sociale netwerken (Hyves, Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, etc.)	-	11	21
via andere websites	19	11	16
via een digitale nieuwsbrief van het Rotterdams Uitburo (Uitmail)	2	3	2
via een bezoek aan het Rotterdams Uitburo in de Centrale Bibliotheek	3	3	-
via een bezoek aan de Rotterdam Store (VVV) op de Coolsingel	1	2	1
via vrienden, familie, kennissen of collega's	47	47	46
Anders	1	5	1
Minstens één informatiebron	91	96	92
Minstens één van de informatiebronnen van het Rotterdams Uitburo	25	25	20
Minstens één van de digitale informatiebronnen	31	35	44

* In 2007 en 2009 zijn huis aan huisbladen Havenloods en Maasstad genoemd, in 2011 waren dat Maasstad en Echo.

** in 2007 en 2009 niet naar gevraagd.

Appendix K. Percentage of Rotterdammers that made use of commonly used information sources to inform themselves about cultural activities, in conjunction with gender, ethnicity, age, education and income, 2011.

	Vrienden, familie, kennissen of collega's	huis aan huisbladen	brochures, folders, flyers, programmaboekjes	televisie	Metro en/of Spits (en dergelijke)	affiches, uithangborden, posters	via sociale netwerken (hyves, Facebook, etc.)	AD / Rotterdams Dagblad	radio	Uitagenda Rotterdam	Minstens een infobron	Minstens een bron van het Rotterdams Uitburo	Minstens een digitale informatiebron
Alle Rotterdammers	46	36	34	29	28	27	21	20	19	17	92	20	44
mannen	39	37	31	28	27	25	19	23	18	16	91	18	45
vrouwen	51	36	36	30	28	28	23	18	19	18	93	22	42
13-24 jaar	59	14	41	45	30	29	47	18	20	12	92	13	57
25-44 jaar	51	33	35	25	28	33	27	14	16	22	96	26	58
45-64 jaar	38	47	30	27	28	22	7	23	20	16	89	17	29
65-75 jaar	30	55	27	24	25	15	0	39	21	15	86	17	13
westers	45	39	33	25	25	29	20	23	17	20	93	22	43
niet-westers	48	29	34	41	35	22	25	14	21	12	90	14	44
Laag opleidingsniveau	38	40	26	38	31	17	13	20	22	9	85	10	27
Midden opleidingsniveau	46	37	35	31	33	26	27	23	21	17	92	19	47
Hoog opleidingsniveau	54	33	41	18	21	38	25	19	12	26	99	30	58
sociale minima	44	27	34	38	30	21	24	12	19	9	87	12	39
minimum tot modaal	42	44	31	30	36	22	18	20	22	20	92	22	36
modaal tot 2x modaal	47	41	34	26	26	30	22	18	20	20	92	22	45
meer dan 2x modaal	51	34	38	22	21	34	20	24	18	22	97	25	54

Appendix L. Categorization of participants' apps.

The color green highlights the channel(s) through which each participant learns about and/or engages with cultural events.

Focus group 1: mixed

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Shashini	F	26	Suriname	MBO	All	52	All
					Functional	33	Telefoon
							Mail
							Safari
							Berichten
							Agenda
							Weer
							Klok
							Notities
							Herinneringen
							Instellingen
							Bankieren
							Google Maps
							Kruidvat
							Nike + iPod
							AlbertHeijn
							Lekker Doen
							Supermarkten
							Zilveren Kruis
							Adobe Reader
							My T-Mobile
							Contacten
							Calculator
							Kompas
							Kiosk
							Dictafoon
							Kaarten
							Aandelen
							Passbook
							Messenger
							Shooter
							Game Center
							iTunes Store
							App Store
						Games	10	Bingo Blitz
							DiamondDash
							Fairway

					Category	#	Apps
							Jelly Splash
							Gifts
							Pet Rescue
							buggle
							Farm Heroes
							Papa Pear
							Candy Crush
					Media	9	**Facebook**
							FaceTime
							Whatsapp
							Muziek
							Foto's
							Camera
							Video's
							Ringtones
							YouTube
					Cultural	0	

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Ambar	F	25	Indonesia	MBO	All	57	All
					Functional	33	Telefoon
							Mail
							Safari
							Kaarten
							Weer
							Instellingen
							Notities
							Herinneringen
							Klok
							Contacten
							Google Maps
							Berichten
							Messenger
							Agenda
							Parkline
							My Vodafone
							7MWC
							Calculator
							Dictafoon
							Bankieren
							Aandelen
							Kompas
							Thuisbezorgd
							Transavia
							Eet.nu
							Recepten
							Marktplaats

					Category	#	Apps
							Zara
							HealthyApp
							Funda
							Game Center
							iTunes Store
							App Store
					Games	5	Tentacle Wars
							2048
							TreeWorld
							HS Story
							Freeze!
					Media	19	Whatsapp
							Facebook
							Skype
							FaceTime
							Spotify
							Foto's
							Kiosk
							YouTube
							FML
							Shazam
							Muziek
							iBooks
							Video's
							AD.nl
							Dumpert
							Wattpad
							NPO
							RTL XL
							9GAG
					Cultural	0	

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Jacyra	F	25	Cape Verde	MBO	n/a	n/a	n/a does not want to share apps on phone

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Orhan	M	24	Turkey	HBO	All	73	All
					Functional	31	Phone
							Mail
							Safari
							Messages
							Weather

								Reminders
								Calendar
								Clock
								Notes
								Maps
								Settings
								Calculator
								Compass
								Voice Memos
								Translate
								Battery
								Scanner
								Currency
								Office Mobile
								Bankieren (a)
								Bankieren (b)
								My T-Mobile
								AutoScout24
								Marktplaats
								MiniInTheBox
								Zara
								River Island
								H&M
								Vente-Exclusive
								de Bijenkorf
								Followers
								Passbook
								Stocks
								Contacts
								Game Center
								iTunes Store
								App Store
						Games	5	OkeyOnline
								BGammonT
								ClashofClans
								ChessFree
								Flappy Bird
						Media	30	**Facebook**
								WhatsApp
								Twitter
								Skype
								LinkedIn
								FaceTime
								Instagram
								InstaMessage
								Camera+
								Aviary
								Pic Collage
								ToonPaint
								InstaSize

							Slomogram
							Pic&Vid Stitch
							Photoblend
							YouTube
							9GAG
							Forza
							Pathé
							iTV Online
							TuneIn Radio
							CNN
							NU.nl
							EnsonHaber
							Newsstand
							Music
							Videos
							Photos
							Camera
					Cultural	1	**Guitar Tools**

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Bisnath	M	23	Suriname	MBO	All	62	All
					Functional	34	Safari
							Telefoon
							Berichten
							Agenda
							Aandelen
							Kaarten
							Weer
							Notities
							Passbook
							Herinneringen
							Klok
							Mail
							Instellingen
							Mijn Tele2
							Zaklamp
							Google Maps
							iCurrencyPad
							9292
							Vertaler
							NOS Teletekst
							Gmail
							Reisplanner
							Bankieren
							Nike + iPod
							Google
							Thuisbezorgd

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
							Contacten
							Kompas
							Dictafoon
							Calculator
							Emoji 2 (a) (emoticons)
							Game Center
							iTunes Store
							App Store
					Games	12	Candy Crush
							Flappy Bird
							Angry Bird
							Emoji 2 (b) (game)
							FarmVille 2
							Subway Surfers
							Clash of Clans
							Crown Bird
							Frontline 2
							Tic Tac Toe
							Galgje
							RoyalRevolt 2
					Media	16	Instagram
							Skype
							Twitter
							WhatsApp
							FaceTime
							Telegram
							Muziek
							Foto's
							Camera
							Video's
							Kiosk
							YouTube
							AppVanDeDag
							Football App
							WWE
							Pathé Mobiel
					Cultural	0	

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Adil	M	21	Indonesia	MBO	All	126	All
					Functional	42	Telefoon
							Mail
							Safari
							Contacten
							Berichten
							Weer
							Klok

								Instellingen
								NAVIGON
								Kaarten
								Park-line
								Bankieren
								Flitsers
								Agenda
								DirectLease
								Couverts
								Passbook
								Flitsmeister
								Dictafoon
								Aandelen
								Calculator
								Kompas
								Notities
								hockey.nl
								Marktplaats
								Flash Light
								Sparta (soccer club)
								NOS Teletekst
								Buienradar
								Vrienden
								Hockey '14
								Pollux
								teamers
								Messenger
								9292
								My T-Mobile
								Zoek iPhone
								Dropbox
								HotSpotFinder
								Game Center
								iTunes Store
								App Store
						Games	52	Street Cricket
								Train Conduct
								B-gammon
								Real Steel
								Cricket T2
								Flight Control
								ACCommand
								Glow Hockey
								GLWG
								Stunt School
								Slimste Mens
								Pirates
								CSR Racing
								Solitaire City
								SolSpider

								ORBITAL
								Lux DLX
								Death Rider
								Binary Sudoku
								MetalStorm
								AMC Free
								Legends
								Stick Cricket (a)
								Worms
								NFS Shift 2
								Road Warrior
								RealGolf2011
								Stick Cricket (b)
								Stick Tennis
								Stick Cricket (c)
								Stick Cricket (d)
								Real Boxing
								Cliff Diving
								Lazors
								FIFA Superstars
								Fast Five
								Darts
								RF 13
								TurboCricket
								Zentomino
								Risk
								Monopoly
								CrazyMinerBob
								Solitaire
								8 Ball Pool
								MotoTrialz
								TGSSR
								Mortal Skies
								Darts
								PoolStar
								FS5 Hockey
								DragonCity
						Media	32	**Facebook**
								SnapChat
								WhatsApp
								Skype
								FaceTime
								Muziek
								NU.nl
								Camera
								YouTube
								SoundCloud
								Netflix
								Shazam
								Foto's

							Twitter
							Dumpert
							RTL XL
							Podcasts
							Free Apps
							NOS
							Phone Slam FM
							iBooks
							SLAM!FM
							Pathé
							TED
							SmartGlass (Xbox)
							Break
							Fail
							UTT (MTV)
							flabber
							Tinder
							Hot or Not
							Ubersense
					Cultural	0	

Focus group 2: Women

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Elaine	F	26	China	MBO	All	88	All
					Functional	59	Phone
							Messages
							Google
							Chrome
							Google Maps
							Duolingo
							Wally
							Reisplanner
							CamScanner
							Werdsmith
							Nike Training
							Lumosity
							Calendar
							Clock
							Reminders
							Settings
							Notes
							Maps
							Gmail
							Mail
							Safari
							Contacts
							Calculator
							Compass
							Voice Memos
							Stocks
							Weather
							Evernote
							Emoji (emoticons)
							Passbook
							Dictionary
							English-Korean dict
							Translate
							fr-en lite
							French (a)
							French (b)
							French ©
							My Dict
							Essentials
							French-Korean dict
							30/30
							Any.DO
							Textever
							iVoice

							Cal
							P.D. (period dictionary)
							Pocket
							Moves
							CityMaps2Go
							HH Dutch
							Essentials
							WN Dutch
							Basic Dutch
							Dutch
							Nederlands
							Game Center
							iTunes Store
							App Store
					Games	8	Sudoku
							PF Splash
							Water? Free
							Temple Run
							Minion Rush
							Clear Vision 2
							Poems
							2048
					Media	21	WhatsApp
							Facebook
							Viber
							Skype
							LINE
							FaceTime
							Snapchat
							Instagram
							VSCOcam
							Pic Collage
							LINE camera
							Music
							Spotify
							Newsstand
							Photos
							Videos
							Camera
							Flipboard
							TED
							YouTube
							Shazam
					Cultural	0	

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Sengül	F	20	Turkey	MBO	All	86	All
					Functional	46	Phone
							Safari
							Messages
							Calendar
							9292
							Maps
							Weather
							Passbook
							Clock
							Reminders
							Stocks
							Notes
							Settings
							Mail
							AlbertHeijn
							Google Maps
							Emoticons 2
							Foursquare
							Scan
							Buienradar
							OWA
							Nasty Gal
							Sesli Sozluk (dictionary)
							Reisplanner
							Schiphol
							Gmail
							BI
							Messenger
							glasses.com
							Running
							Stress Check
							Digipill
							MapMyRun
							Waze
							Indeed Jobs
							Contacts
							Calculator
							Compass
							Voice Memos
							Dropbox
							FaceNow
							My Vodafone
							Summaries
							Game Center
							iTunes Store
							App Store
						Games	0	

					Media	40	WhatsApp
							Facebook
							FaceTime
							Google+
							Snapchat
							Telegram
							LinkedIn
							Twitter
							Viber
							Skype
							Kakao Talk
							Tango
							Instagram
							Pinterest
							Photos
							Videos
							Camera
							Newsstand
							9GAG
							IMDb
							Zaytung
							Spotify
							YouTube
							Dumpert
							Vine
							Wood Camera
							Facetune (photos)
							BuzzFeed
							Bitstrips
							8tracks
							Shazam
							Music
							SoundCloud
							ntvmsnbc
							Telegraaf
							Cut me in
							Pic Collage
							ElementFX
							Karnaval
							SKY.FM
						Cultural	0	

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Mi-Young	F	22	South Korea	HBO	All	62	All
					Functional	35	Telefoon
							Agenda
							Mail

								Berichten
								Weer
								Notities
								Instellingen
								Safari
								Klok
								Boxer Lite
								Contacten
								Expedia
								Zoek iPhone
								Dropbox
								Prezi Viewer
								Waygo
								Google Drive
								Bankieren
								Beleggen
								Vente-Exclusive
								Reclamefolders
								Groupon
								m.P.
								Nike + iPod
								MyFitnessPal
								Runtastic
								9292
								Reisplanner
								Google Maps
								Airbnb
								Evernote
								IENS.nl
								Thuisbezorgd
								Vegman
								App Store
					Games	0	
					Media	27	FaceTime
							WhatsApp
							Facebook
							Twitter
							Wechat
							Blogger
							LinkedIn
							Wordpress
							Instagram
							Pinterest
							Muziek
							Foto's
							Camera
							Harvest Day
							HongKongRadio
							NU.nl
							ILFN (fashion)

							YouTube
							Viki
							Pathé
							PhotoWonder
							Camera360
							Snapseed
							Cropic
							Photo Slice
							SoundHound
							Tinder
					Cultural	0	

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Mercy	F	24	Kenya	HBO	All	62	All
					Functional	36	Phone
							Messages
							Calendar
							Settings
							Reminders
							Mail
							Notes
							Safari
							Dropbox
							GoodReader
							Weather
							Maps
							Google Maps
							Contacts
							Calculator
							Compass
							Voice Memos
							iTalk
							Clock
							Passbook
							Stocks
							Reisplanner
							EasyJet
							9292
							Bankieren
							IM+ Pro
							Find Friends
							Emoji (emoticons)
							Pages
							Accounts
							DataMan

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
							Data Counter
							My Vodafone
							Game Center
							iTunes Store
							App Store
					Games	3	Temple Run 2
							Candy Crush
							Dead Pixel
					Media	23	**WhatsApp**
							FaceTime
							Facebook
							Viber
							SnapChat
							Skype
							Music
							Camera
							#nocrop
							VSCOcam
							PhotoCandy
							Instagram
							PixIromatic
							IncrediBooth
							Photosynth
							PS Express
							Frametastic
							Photos
							Videos
							9GAG
							McTube
							YouTube
							Newsstand
					Cultural	0	

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Fatima	F	25	Turkey	MBO	All	62	All
					Functional	38	Telefoon
							Chrome
							Mail
							Instellingen
							Aandelen
							Emoticons 2
							MyOrder
							Skype WiFi
							Accupedo
							MijnTelfort
							QuickVoice
							Recorder Pro

							Berichten
							Klok
							Passbook
							Waze
							Kaarten
							Google Maps
							Schiphol
							Weer
							TripColor
							Agenda
							Notities
							CIA
							Kompas
							9292
							Zoek iPhone
							SayHi
							AlbertHeijn
							Calculator
							AdobeReader
							TurboScan
							Herinneringen
							Dictafoon
							Safari
							Game Center
							iTunes Store
							App Store
					Games	0	
					Media	24	Skype
							Facebook
							WhatsApp
							Instagram
							Telegram
							Twitter
							Viber
							Kiosk
							Dumpert
							Light Over Pic
							YouTube
							Foto's
							Camera
							InstaSize
							PhotoCollage
							Lo-Mob
							Video's
							Line camera
							Aviary
							WTF.nl
							9GAG
							Muziek
							SoundHound

							Radio Pro
					Cultural	0	

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Natasha	F	23	Russia	MBO	n/a	n/a	n/a does not want to share apps on phone

Focus group 3: Men

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Li-Fong	M	21	China	HBO	All	102	All
					Functional	39	Safari
							Phone
							Clock
							Calendar
							Messages
							Notes
							Google Maps
							Settings
							Mail
							Reminders
							Contacts
							9292
							Pieco (Chinese diction.)
							Convert
							iCulture
							Bankieren
							My Vodafone
							SCOUPY
							Supermarkt+
							Find Friends
							Translate
							Pages
							Quickoffice
							Currency
							MyFitnessPal
							Calculator
							Compass
							Voice Memos
							Weather
							Maps
							Stocks
							Passbook
							Flitsmeister
							Scanner
							FineScanner
							TinyScan
							Game Center
							iTunes Store
							App Store
						Games	16	**Muziekvragen**
							Flappy Bird
							TETRIS
							Rayman Run
							Tiny Thief

								InfinityBlade2
								Charades!
								NJ Rooftops
								Asphalt8
								Mr. Crab
								Dumb Ways
								TieRight
								Angry Birds Star Wars
								Minigore 2
								Blitz
								2048
						Media	46	**Facebook**
								WhatsApp
								Skype
								Telegram
								FaceTime
								Snapchat
								Instagram
								InstaMessage
								WeChat
								Music
								Camera
								Photos
								AD.nl
								NU.nl
								Voetbalzone
								IMDb
								VI
								Viber
								YouTube
								Pathé
								9GAG
								Vine
								WTF.nl
								AppVanDeDag
								AVDtouch
								Videos
								Newsstand
								VSCOcam
								Fonta
								PicPlayPost
								Impala
								Blux Movie
								Touch Blur
								Spark
								Gravie
								Magisto
								FatBooth
								PicsArt
								MomentCam

					Category	#	Apps
							PixIromatic
							Landcam
							Over
							Diptic
							Photo Splash
							Cam X
							InstantBot
					Cultural	1	**ScoreCloud**

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Nurlan	M	29	Kazakhstan	MBO	All	32	All
					Functional	18	Settings
							Phone
							Mail
							Opera Classic
							Gmail
							Gallery
							Calculator
							Clock
							Bankieren
							Translate
							Wikipedia
							Kaarten
							Contacten
							Dropbox
							Google Maps
							Barcode Scanner
							Wi-Fi Hotspots
							Play Store
					Games	1	Soccer – Soccer
					Media	13	**Facebook**
							WhatsApp
							Instagram
							Telegram
							FM Radio
							Camera
							Shazam
							Pathé
							TV Gids
							IMDb
							Kazakhstan News
							Nomadi
							4shared
					Cultural	0	

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Nathan	M	26	Hong Kong	MBO	All	47	All
					Functional	27	Phone
							Messages
							Calendar
							Maps
							Notes
							Reminders
							Contacts
							Settings
							Dropbox
							Safari
							Messenger
							Mail
							Clock
							Weather
							Reisplanner
							RoomScan
							BBM
							Compass
							Voice Memos
							Stocks
							Calculator
							QR Code
							Passbook
							AlbertHeijn
							Game Center
							iTunes Store
							App Store
					Games	3	Sudoku :)
							Snake 2k
							Half a minute
					Media	17	WhatsApp
							Facebook
							Skype
							KakaoTalk
							FaceTime
							Twitter
							Instagram
							Pic Collage
							Music
							Newsstand
							SoundHound
							TuneIn Radio
							Photos
							Camera
							Photosynth
							Videos
							BBC News

					Cultural	0	

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Fédor	M	21	Russia	HBO	All	44	All
					Functional	28	Safari
							Phone
							Mail
							Messages
							Contacts
							Weather
							Clock
							Stocks
							Maps
							Settings
							Calendar
							Running
							ScannerApp
							Wunderlist
							Bankieren
							Dropbox
							Passbook
							Flights (Skyscanner)
							Booking.com
							Wikipedia
							Calculator
							Compass
							Voice Memos
							Reminders
							Notes
							Vivino
							Game Center
							iTunes Store
					Games	0	
					Media	16	FaceTime
							VKontakte
							Facebook
							Instagram
							Twitter
							WhatsApp
							Viber
							Newsstand
							iBooks
							YouTube
							Netflix
							Shazam
							Music
							Videos

					Photos
					Camera
				Cultural	0	

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Khalid	M	20	Morocco	MBO	All	13	All
					Functional	10	GO SMS Pro
							Instellingen
							Contacts
							Phone
							Maps
							LiveScore
							Evernote
							Bankieren
							Messenger
							Alarm Clock
					Games	0	
					Media	3	WhatsApp
							Twitter
							Shazam
					Cultural	0	

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic background	Education level	Category	#	Apps
Lamri	M	28	Suriname	MBO	n/a	n/a	n/a does not want to share apps on phone

Appendix M. The use of the Internet by Rotterdammers, 2007-2011.*
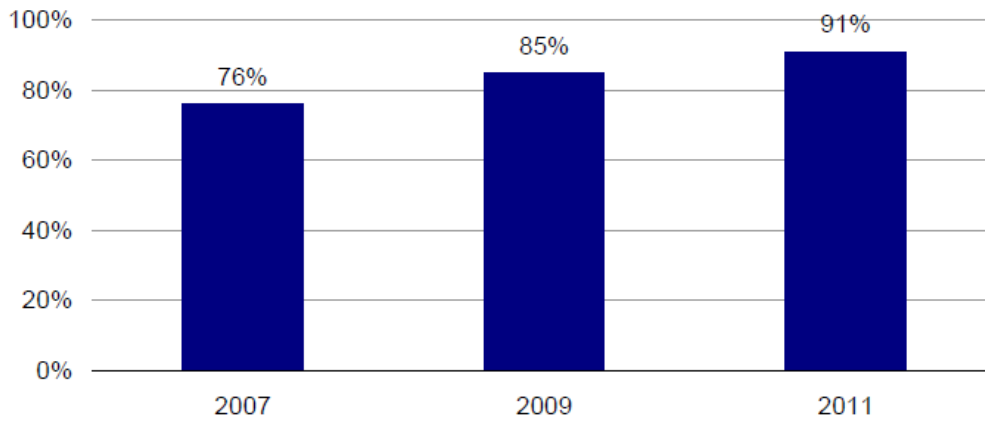
*In 2011 is opbouw van de vragen gewijzigd ten opzichte van eerdere jaren. Hierdoor kan het aandeel internetgebrui-
kers hooguit 2 procentpunten hoger uitvallen dan wanneer dit niet was gedaan.*
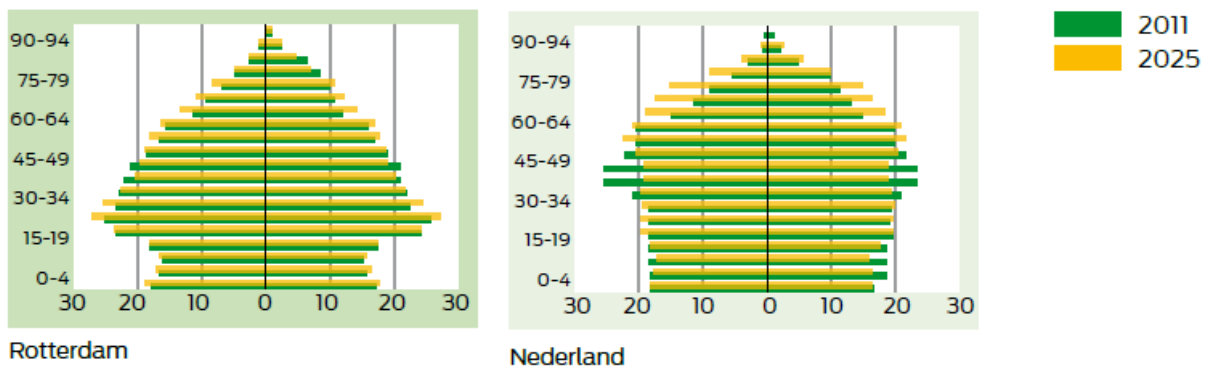
Appendix N. Percentage of Rotterdammers that use the Internet in conjunction with gender, ethnicity, age, education and income, 2011.
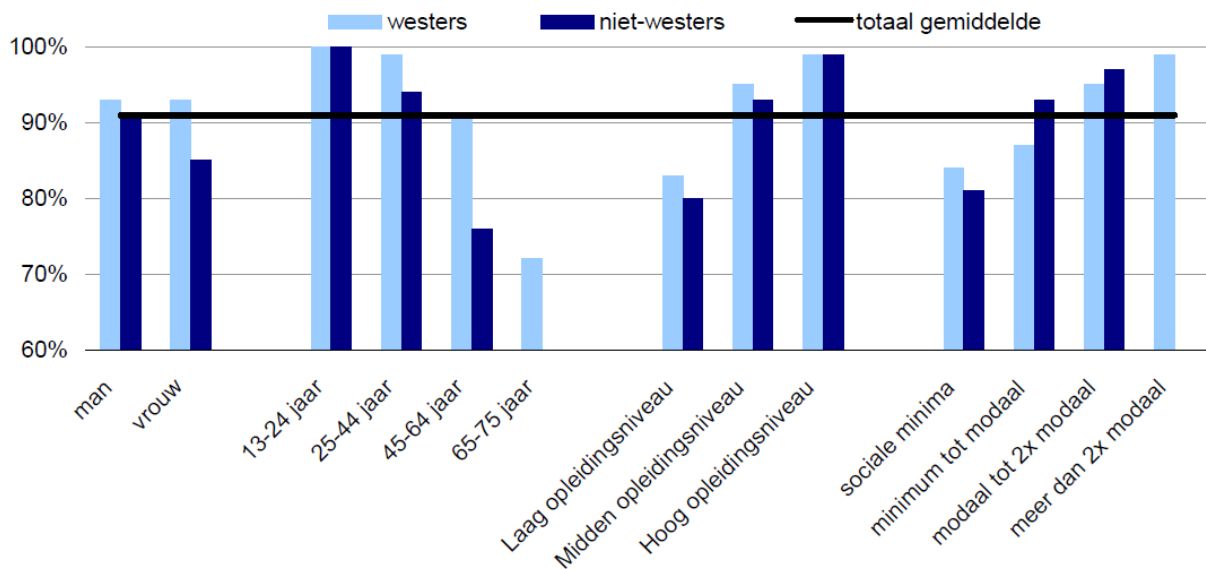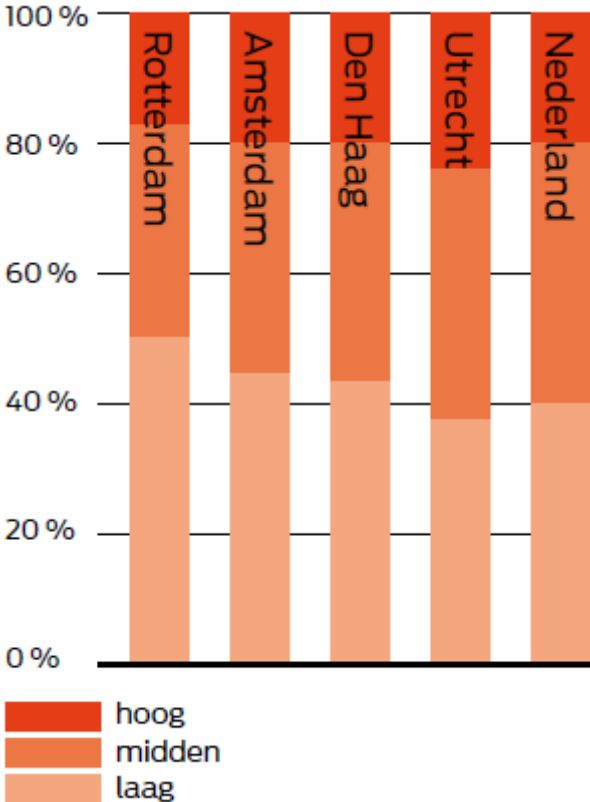
Appendix O. Percentage of young Rotterdammers that uses the Internet on a smartphone.

	13 t/m 17	18 t/m 25	Jongens	Meisjes	Westers	Niet-westers	Schoolgaand	Student	Werkend en overig	Noord	Zuid	Lager dan modaal	Modaal en hoger	Totaal 13 t/m 25 jarigen
Gebruik van internet op smartphone	69	71	70	71	71	70	62	76	77	71	71	74	65	71

Appendix P. Development of the population in Rotterdam and the Netherlands 2011-2025.

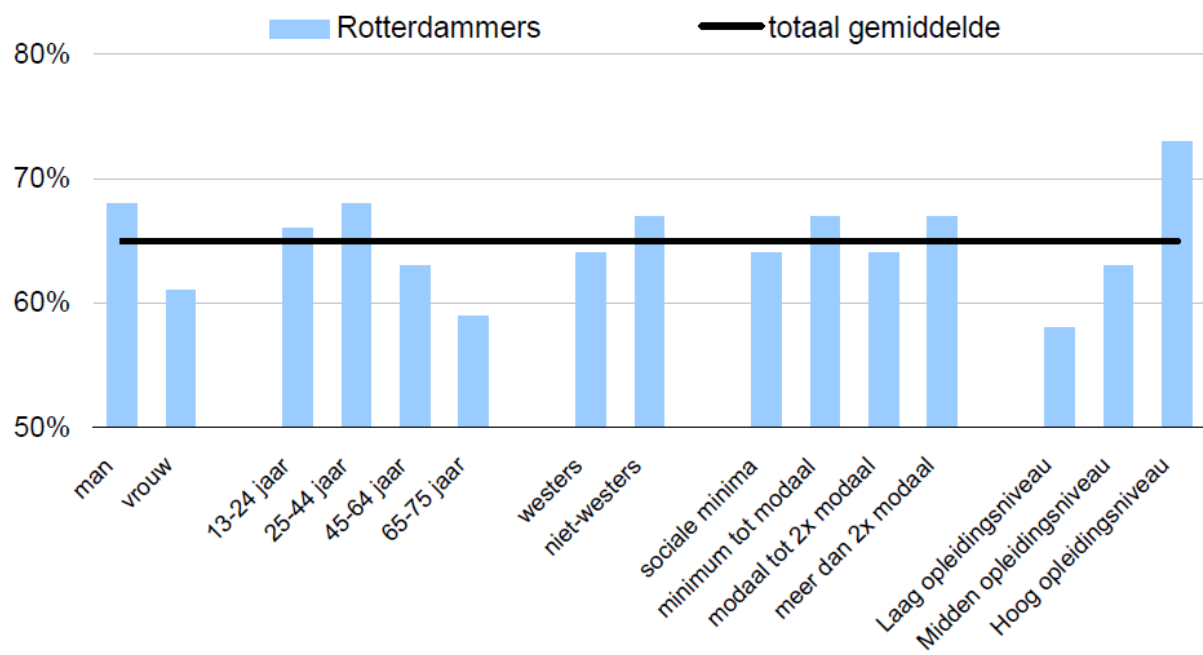Rotterdam   Nederland

2011
2025

Appendix Q. Household incomes in 2008 of the big four and the Netherlands.

Appendix R. Percentage of Rotterdammers that thinks the cultural genres in Rotterdam are important or very important, by personal characteristics.

	totaal	werk in culturele/ ict/ communicatieve sector	studenten	sociale minima	minimum tot modaal	modaal tot 2x modaal	meer dan 2x modaal	laag opgeleid	middelbaar opgeleid	hoog opgeleid
musea	88	94	90	86	85	92	88	76	83	93
film en media	85	94	92	87	87	84	86	75	81	90
beziensw.gebouwen, monum.	83	85	87	83	81	85	84	72	78	87
theater, toneel	79	82	87	86	80	75	80	69	75	84
cultuur op school	78	86	83	80	77	81	78	67	75	82
festivals	77	88	84	78	77	76	76	70	73	80
popmuziek	73	*91*	84	73	73	68	77	57	68	80
cabaret, comedy, musical	73	68	80	68	75	71	73	69	75	74
wereldmuziek, jazzmuziek	72	*88*	83	76	72	73	74	53	66	80
klassieke muziek	67	*80*	65	70	67	65	70	44	59	76
beeldende kunst	65	*83*	71	67	67	65	66	44	59	74
ballet, dans	61	*75*	67	66	54	64	64	38	57	69
culturele activ. in de buurt	60	*71*	*69*	*71*	65	57	56	53	61	61
literaire activiteiten	56	*65*	64	62	57	54	57	36	54	63
amateurkunst / georg. act.	51	*61*	*59*	57	58	50	49	39	50	53
debatten en lezingen	49	*62*	*58*	*57*	45	49	49	26	45	56
opera, operette	44	*50*	50	39	42	42	46	31	39	48

Appendix S. Percentage of Rotterdammers that visited festivals in Rotterdam, in conjunction with gender, ethnicity, age, education and income, 2011.

Appendix T. Trends and developments in Rotterdams festivals.

Trend	Consequentie voor festivals
Meer behoefte aan verrassing, avontuur, spektakel en unieke belevenissen. Men eist 'perfect moments' en manifestaties met een hoge positieve belevingswaarde	Iets bijzonders bieden, onderscheidend blijven; noodzaak om te blijven innoveren
Toenemende internationale oriëntatie van de consument, groeiend aantal 'city trips' in de weekeinden. De concurrentie tussen steden wordt groter.	Scherp eigen profiel behouden; internationaal profiel versterken
Behoefte aan authenticiteit. De toegenomen globalisering en massaproductie hebben geleid tot wereldwijd uniforme cultuuruitingen. Bezoekers verlangen naar 'echt' en 'eerlijk'. Voor sommigen is het gevoel, de uitstraling van echt en eerlijk voldoende, zelfs als het vals is.	In Rotterdam ontwikkelde evenementen hebben voorkeur boven 'rondreizende standaardproducten'.
In vergelijking met Nederland als geheel is de Rotterdamse bevolking relatief jong. Ruim 22% is jonger dan 20 jaar. Een percentage dat het komende decennium nog licht zal stijgen.	Meer voor jongeren programmeren
Meer etnische diversiteit, met deels andere vrijetijdsbehoeften	Inspelen op specifieke wensen, eigen idolen en muzieksoorten
Landelijk: Meer medioren en senioren: veel vrije tijd en geld.	Ruimte voor kwaliteitsfestivals; service en comfort bieden, aanbiedingen incl. diner en hotel
De belangstelling voor cultuur, vooral in brede zin, neemt toe.	Ruimte voor uitbreiding aanbod
Het aantal stedelijke festivals en de bezoekersaantallen blijven toenemen	Onderscheidend profiel behouden
Mensen krijgen steeds meer informatie over het aanbod van evenementen en ander vrijetijdsaanbod (via internet, televisie, radio en andere media) en vergelijken kritisch	Relatie tussen festivals en citymarketing verdiepen, samenwerking met andere vrijetijdspartijen versterken
Tegentrend: Vernieuwingsmoeheid. Hang naar overzichtelijkheid, geborgenheid en authentieke waarden, het 'oude vertrouwde'	Niet alle evenementen hoeven permanent te vernieuwen.

[2] Bronnen:
Cos, Respons EvenementenMonitor 2007; Evenementenbeleidsnota's van diverse Nederlandse en buitenlandse steden, Onderzoek studenten NHTV in opdracht van Rotterdam Festivals, The Internationalisation of Rotterdam's Festivals door Sheena Wrigley in opdracht van Rotterdam Festivals; collega's International Festivals Association. Artikelen in International Journal for Event Management, Artikelen citymarketing van dr. Erik Braun Erasmus universiteit; City Tourism & Culture; The European Experience (European Travel Commission and WTO)

B. Trends in stedelijk festivalbeleid

Overheden vinden evenementen steeds belangrijker, niet alleen vanwege hun intrinsieke belang, maar ook vanwege de neveneffecten: sociale aspecten, verwachte economische betekenis en de positieve invloed op het imago en de identiteitsvorming van de stad. Concurrentie tussen steden neemt toe.

Toenemend bewustzijn van het belang van evenementen voor de ontwikkeling van de creatieve economie. De heersende visie is dat een rijk cultureel leven cruciaal is voor de economische levensvatbaarheid van steden.

De stimulerende rol van festivals wordt steeds meer onderkend en benut. Festivals kunnen dienen als laboratorium voor nieuwe ontwikkelingen en als aanjager voor (gewenste) processen.

Toenemende concurrentie tussen gemeentebesturen om succesvolle, populaire festivals binnen te halen.

Appendix U. The six city branding themes of Rotterdam.

THEMA'S VAN DE STAD

Festivals en evenementen in Rotterdam stralen de thema's van de stad uit.

Rotterdam wil met haar evenementen de thema's van de stad uitstralen. Ingediende plannen worden beoordeeld op aansluiting bij deze thema's. De thema's van de stad zijn: maritieme stad, jonge stad, multiculturele stad, stad van moderne architectuur, internationale cultuurstad en internationale sportstad.

Maritieme stad

Rotterdam is de dynamische thuisstad van Europa's grootste haven. Een internationaal georiënteerde stad, die door elke lading die hier aankomt en vertrekt, verbonden is met honderden landen, duizenden steden en miljoenen mensen over de hele wereld. Het eerste weekend van september heeft nu al een sterk maritiem profiel met de: Wereldhavendagen, Shanty Festival en de Nacht van de Kaap. Initiatieven om dit weekend nog aantrekkelijker te maken voor met name een jonge doelgroep zijn welkom.

Jonge stad

Rotterdam heeft een jonge bevolking en dat vertaalt zich in een veelheid aan jongerencultuur, die zich sterk uit in muziek. We zetten ons om die reden in voor een veelzijdig en pluriform festivalaanbod voor een jong publiek.

Multiculturele stad

De diversiteit van de Rotterdamse bevolkingssamenstelling zien we als een bron van inspiratie en creativiteit. Deze diversiteit wordt ook weerspiegeld in het festivalaanbod. Zomercarnaval en Dunya Festival zijn sterke merken die aansluiten bij dit thema. Vernieuwende plannen die aansluiten bij dit thema kunnen het aanbod aanvullen.

Moderne architectuurstad

Moderne architectuur is onlosmakelijk met Rotterdam verbonden: de gebouwen vertellen het verhaal van de stad. Verschillende gerenommeerde architectenbureaus en de Academie van Bouwkunst zijn hier gevestigd. Jaarlijks fotograferen duizenden toeristen zichzelf op de Erasmusbrug en andere Rotterdamse landmarks. Daarom dient dit thema ook in het evenementenbeleid zichtbaar te zijn.

(Internationale) cultuurstad

Rotterdam wil zich positioneren als internationale cultuurstad. Met toonaangevende musea, een befaamd orkest en gerenommeerde gezelschappen. Festivals als International Film Festival Rotterdam, North Sea Jazz Festival en Rotterdam Philharmonic Gergiev Festival trekken kenners en liefhebbers uit binnen- en buitenland. Rotterdam Festivals stimuleert deze festivals om zich te versterken met randprogrammering. In september presenteren de Rotterdamse culturele instellingen samen 24 uur cultuur, om het nieuwe cultureel seizoen feestelijk te openen.

(Internationale) sportstad

Rotterdam streeft er ook naar zichzelf te positioneren als City of Sports, die onder de verantwoordelijkheid valt van Rotterdam Topsport . Net als bij Rotterdam Cultuurstad zet Rotterdam Festivals zich in voor aantrekkelijke randprogrammering bij de grote sportevenementen.

Appendix V. Percentage of Rotterdammers that visited a LCC in and/or outside of their own district, in conjunction with gender, ethnicity, age, education and income, 2011.

	Bezoekt een LCC in of buiten eigen deelgemeente	Bezoekt een LCC in de eigen deelgemeente	Bezoekt een LCC in een andere deelgemeente
Man	27	23	13
Vrouw	26	20	14
13-24 jaar	25	17	14
25-44 jaar	23	19	13
45-64 jaar	28	24	14
65-75 jaar	33	29	14
Westers	23	19	11
Niet-westers	35	27	19
Laag opleidingsniveau	26	22	12
Midden opleidingsniveau	31	24	18
Hoog opleidingsniveau	22	18	11
sociale minima	34	26	18
minimum tot modaal	27	23	16
modaal tot 2x modaal	25	20	13
meer dan 2x modaal	20	17	9
Alle Rotterdammers	26	21	14