

“What defines a Rotterdammer?” “...Everything”:

The mediated representation of Rotterdam and its negotiation amongst the elderly.

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Master’s Thesis

June 2024

Word Count: 19582

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ABSTRACT

As cities have been contemporarily understood to exert power and meaning through branding, cities are represented in various ways—to anyone and everyone—at once. In understanding who (and what) frame and represent the city, it remains integral in referencing the media in being able to depict the city beyond purely physical attributes. Hereby this study redirected the focus of studying cities as a product of social culture. This study explored the mediated representation and framing of the city of Rotterdam, the Netherlands, through two media outlets: Rotterdam Make It Happen and De Oud-Rotterdammer. This study then also referenced residents as relevant but underrepresented local stakeholders—already knowledgeable and familiar with the city and its relevant media representations. The research question that guided this study was: How do Rotterdam Make It Happen and De Oud-Rotterdammer frame the city of Rotterdam and local ‘Rotterdamers,’ and how is this negotiated between elderly residents in the city? Here, the goal was to study both the representation and negotiation of Rotterdam’s city identity amongst the elderly. This was achieved through a mixed-methods approach analyzing both mediated content (in a content analysis) and personal recollections (through interviews). By first understanding which qualities of the city were most frequently portrayed, this helped outline which qualities and places (within the city) were most often represented within the two media outlets. The interviews then helped understand how residents interpreted such mediated messages and derived meaning from it. With longer durations of residence, the elderly participants interviewed in this study gave various insights on the physical, social, and cultural changes they experienced in the city across the years. In the modern day where a city’s power is largely associated with its marketability, this study demonstrated the need to interpret cities as multidimensional, meaningful, and socially constructed. As such, this study illustrates the benefits of including residents more closely in the co-creation of the city’s brand to produce a more accurate representation of the city socio-culturally.

KEYWORDS: *City branding, Rotterdam, representation, media outlets, the elderly*

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1. Introduction

The space of the city, both tangible and imaginary, has transformed into a tool for indicating global popularity, capital, and branding. Positioned at the intersections of identity, reputation, and belonging, “everything a city consists of, everything that takes place in the city and is done by the city, communicates messages about the city's image” (Kavartiz, 2004, p. 41). Based on personal interpretations, tourist appeal, or iconic landmarks; the city’s branding can largely entice various people to visit or live there. As a marketable entity, the city holds great power in the ability to gain traction and revenue from various flows of income (Gilboa & Jaffe, 2021, p. 2). However, as a product of its surroundings, the city is also defined by its socio-cultural qualities popular amongst residents and tourists alike (Cassia et al., 2018, p. 476). Whereas modern cities employ extensive upgrades into urbanization, this begs the question as to whether such transformations benefit the people living in the city (Custers & Willems, 2024, p.10): especially its residents.

1.1 Cities and Society

As mentioned previously, the city exists both in physical and imagined ways. Beyond occupying space, people often have (pre)conceived notions of a city’s identity (Hospers, 2010, p. 2074). In a social setting, it is therefore integral to reference how the representation of cities constitute how others could view the place; and more generally, how the place could be perceived. City branding is one such method that establishes how the city is represented at a global level, and has implications for how the city’s identity is constructed altogether. Such city branding strategies often frame the city through its various positive attributes to implore tourists to visit: marketing the city as a desirable place while also driving higher economic income from tourism (Alvarez, 2010, p. 172).

However, how the city is represented through its city brand may not be representative of all attributes of the city seen as socially important. Whereas various efforts have been made to attract tourists to modern cities, city branding could benefit from also prioritizing those most familiar with the city: its residents. As referenced by Cassia et al. (2018, p. 476), tourists and residents often share opinions concerning which qualities of the city help signify its identity. This framework helps bridge the gap between studying residents and tourists separately, and fills the

gap in city branding research not yet exploring residents' opinions of the city brand.

Furthermore, Golestaneh et al. (2022, p. 211) reference that the city is constructed by various stakeholders and is inherently dynamic in nature. As the city continuously develops and establishes newfound meanings and identities, the city brand has the ability to be continuously improved and altered (Pedeliento & Kavaratzis, 2019, p. 355). As such, there has been an urgency for policymakers to include residents in the co-construction of city branding to better coordinate and implement the city brand and help it develop (Golestaneh et al., 2022, p. 218). By expanding upon the various stakeholders able to construct the city brand, this can foster a brand identity all stakeholders can agree with.

One method of determining the (co-)construction of meaning across cultural products would be Hall's (1960) encoding/decoding model. While having been a dominant framework in cultural and media studies for decades, this model has not yet been applied to city branding or urban planning strategies. As various stakeholders act as audiences/receivers of the communicated brand messaging, this signifies how city branding strategies can produce meanings and knowledge frameworks. Therefore, this study seeks to fill this gap in contextualizing city branding strategies whereby they wield cultural and societal importance alongside marketing and placemaking values.

The modern city has also transformed to expand upon local borders, where cities can now exert power, branding, and identity in a global network (Sassen, 2014, p. 4). However, more civic or local perspectives have been underrepresented in comparison: specifically in understanding local stakeholders' engagement with the city's brand (Insch & Stuart, 2015, p. 183). Local stakeholders are best represented by citizens, residents, and locals. As opposed to external stakeholders which include tourists and migrants, local stakeholders possess an insiders' (heightened) knowledge and familiarity with the city (Golestaneh et al., 2022, p. 211).

Lastly, it remains important to reference marginalized and underrepresented communities in urban studies disproportionate to their importance in society. Notably, these include ethnic minorities, the disabled, and the elderly amongst others (Paganoni, 2012, p. 27). The elderly, for example, exhibit great place attachment but may suffer psychologically from extensive urbanization strategies (Sun et al., 2020, p. 6). Without an adequate framework in place to understand such marginalities in city branding contexts, and the deeper effects such strategies could hold, the academic understanding of city branding initiatives may benefit from researching

underrepresented stakeholder groups such as the elderly.

Ultimately, the construction of a city brand affects the way in which residents engage with this newfound representation (Insch & Stuart, 2015, p. 184). In seeking to better understand residents' reception to city branding, and the subsequent roles they play in the process, this can give further insights into the construction, representation, and negotiation of city brands. This research therefore presents how city branding strategies (as a marketable entity) have room to adapt to what is deemed socially and culturally relevant in the city by residents. As such, the following question is explored throughout this study: How do Rotterdam Make It Happen and De Oud-Rotterdammer frame the city of Rotterdam and local 'Rotterdammers,' and how is this negotiated between elderly residents in the city?

1.2 Research Context

Having been studied quantitatively as well as qualitatively, most academic research on city brands exist and are localized in a specific context or geographical location. This is often to obtain a greater understanding of the marketing implications for specific city-branding processes (Priporas et al., 2020, p. 459). This research, despite aiming to expand upon the understanding of residents, will also be conducted within a local context: the city of Rotterdam, the Netherlands.

The city of Rotterdam resides in the South of the Netherlands and is much smaller than the capital of Amsterdam in the North. Being most recognizable by its modern architecture, the city had undergone extensive revitalization since its bombardment in the second World War. The city is further famous for its harbor, a unique trait and establishment applicable to no other Dutch city. Through the possibility to transport goods no matter how large, the port is the epicenter for commercial and economic development in the city.

Additionally, Rotterdam is a city which has gained immense popularity over the years through extensive physical transformation (Custers & Willems, 2024, p. 4). By establishing specific neighborhoods as 'trendy' and 'creative,' the city has aimed to extend its notion of 'cool' branding onto areas with untapped potential (Nieuwland & Lavagna, 2020, p. 938). However, issues arose in that the targeted demographics for these places (creatives and tourists alike) had not quite benefitted from this shift in the city's branding. As such, it did not yet feel quite as successful, or remotely authentic, in the eyes of these stakeholder groups (Nieuwland & Lavagna, 2020, p. 938).

As mentioned previously, city branding has been discussed in academic terms as a constructed representation of the city. Here, an important part of representing the city is further achieved through the media. With both municipality and city officials catering content to post on social media, traction can be found both online and through long standing traditional media outlets. Moreover, media outlets often frame cities to cater to a specific group, making the process of understanding meaning especially relevant in cultural products and their effects on target audiences (Hall, 1980, p. 53). Herein it remains pertinent that the city exists as a branded entity with immense socio-cultural implications, forming an interweaving between marketable and social/cultural qualities not yet explored in contemporary city branding research.

As such, the natural progression to understanding the framing of the city—and how this is communicated to residents—would be to first understand the depiction of Rotterdam in the media landscape. This research thus aims to explore the representation, framing, and branding of the city of Rotterdam through media content published between separate outlets. First notably identified in the city branding strategy of Rotterdam Make It Happen (RMIH), this branded identity forms an alliance between many powerful Rotterdam establishments. In promoting forward thinking, action, and global capital, Rotterdam is presented as “a city where the Make it Happen mentality can be seen and felt” throughout the RMIH branding strategy (Rotterdam Make It Happen, 2019, para. 1). This Make it Happen mentality, established in 2014, is intended to bring more international profiling and popularity to the city (Rotterdam Make It Happen, 2019, para. 2).

As mentioned previously, many representations of the city can exist at once. For example, the city of Rotterdam has also been represented in a nostalgic context, completely focused on memories and the recollection of stories. This occurs specifically within the media outlet of De Oud-Rotterdammer. Established as “the nostalgic newspaper of Rotterdam,” this publication has existed for almost twenty years as a pillar in reporting news specifically about the city (De Oud Rotterdammer, 2024, para. 3). Here, their content is catered to people familiar with the city’s events and relevant history, and is quite localized to the population of Rotterdam residents.

Both outlets, although localized to the city of Rotterdam, contribute to the understanding that city branding strategies communicate, construct, and represent the city in specific ways. With multiple narratives existing in the mediated depictions of the city, this has potential to produce different symbolic representations of the same place. As a construction of the city’s

identity, one representation may not be entirely authentic or proportional to how residents experience living in the city. Therefore, in this research, such city branding strategies are explored in the context of residents' understanding and negotiation of this representation. In researching how residents and local stakeholders evaluate the city brand, city branding can further benefit from allowing residents to partake in the co-construction of city identity.

1.3 Chapter Outline

The thesis will be structured accordingly, within each subsequent chapter. In chapter two the relevant theoretical understandings of the city as a branded and marketable entity, as well as its symbolic construction and implications. These notions will be discussed specifically with reference to the goal of this research, which explores residents' interpretation of the city brand. This chapter references relevant overarching concepts such as city image, city identity, and place attachment. After presenting the theoretical foundation, the methodology employed in this study will be outlined and thoroughly explained in chapter three. More specifically, the justification of using a qualitative mixed-method approach will be referenced in how it expands upon popular, contemporary methods of studying city branding. The in-depth analysis of the empirical data is presented in the fourth chapter of results, exploring how meaning is derived from the mediated representation of the city by locals. Lastly, I will present the conclusion whereby I reflect on my research in the context of other city branding studies as well as give suggestions for further research on the topic.

2. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, I outline the concepts, notions, and scholarly research most integral to the topic of city branding and its implications for residents. Firstly, the overarching concept of city branding will be discussed with reference to relevant and contemporary notions concerning the structuring of placemaking, city image, and city identity. I will then discuss the stakeholders most prominent within the processes of city branding, mainly concerning popular measures of city branding through online and offline means. Lastly, most closely coinciding with this study, I outline the current understanding of residents within the city branding process within former and contemporary academic research.

2.1 Branding the City

City branding has been defined by Bonakdar and Audirac (2020, p. 146) as a method of placemaking to further promote urban planning and growth. A novel approach in the greater context of place marketing, place branding allows cities to “redefine themselves through a process of reimagining” (Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013, p. 70). The process of city branding is often achieved through the construction, defining, and reimagining of place as a marketing tool (Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013, p. 70). While a brand is not a product within itself, it *is* what associates meaning and value with the product—in this case, the city. City branding, therefore, has implications for the success of a multitude of cultural and economic sectors: namely tourism, business marketing, and globalization (Hassen & Giovanardi, 2018, p. 45).

Also relevant to the branding of the city is the ability to position the city within a hierarchy of similarly powerful cities across the world, engaging in global conversation (Bonakdar and Audirac, 2020, p. 148). Bypassing national borders, cities are no longer considered restricted by centrality (Sassen, 2012, p. 4): instead, they also exist as representations of physical places. This global network of communication has also served to spread city branding further, such as by publishing city destination content on social media (Sevin, 2014, p. 50). Similarly, this communication network extends into the promotion of cultural products, international relations, and the production of media within the global film industry (Hoyler & Watson, 2019, p. 944). By further blurring transnational borders, global city networks are created based on the distribution of the city’s cultural products (Hoyler & Watson, 2019, p. 944). In such

cases, it has become increasingly relevant that a city's cultural products permeate the identity of the city: adding to the city's brand identity.

Ooi (2011, pp. 56–57) identifies four city branding parameters discussing specific goals for city branding strategies within cultural society, such as that the city brand:

1. Will always present only positive aspects of the place
2. Explicitly aims to modify public perceptions
3. Acts as a (re)construction of the city's identity
4. Has the ability to affect people's interpretation of the location

The relevance of public opinion and interpretation of the city's brand falls under parameters two and four, reaffirming notions that city branding is marketed towards consumers. Yet, aspects such as positive representation and identity also fall under pressing concerns of city branding in parameters one and three respectively. Herein Ooi (2011, p. 56) exemplifies the understanding that notions of place, marketed or otherwise, are deliberately constructed in various ways. However, even within these parameters, the relevant framing of the city in the media is overlooked entirely. As media framing also has the power to also communicate these parameters, the construction of the city's identity in the media has further implications for how the public may perceive this representation and city brand.

Similarly, Ooi (2011, p. 56) presents these parameters, as well as the notion of the city brand, as largely singular. In combination with the use of media to communicate to the public, it remains important to understand the media—as well as cities—as multifaceted. Herein the physical, imaginary, and mediated notions of place must be referenced as integral to the city's brand. In the idea that a city can exist “also in the social imagination and through changing modes of cultural representation,” what matters is the framing of the city (Greenberg, 2000, p. 228).

Therefore, through studying how cities are constructed, it is possible to define what constitutes a city as more than the idea of a fixed place: rather, as an ideology, a product, and a multi-dimensional being. Greenberg (2000, p. 229) defines this as the urban imaginary, where the city is represented beyond its geographical location and exists as an imagined entity in social and cultural contexts. This study exemplifies the fact that many urban imaginaries can coexist at one time, with key differences in how they are represented in the media. As cultural products, these mediated representations of the city are assigned meaning by being discursively constructed and

interpreted. Herein this research aims to explore the inner workings of the branding, representation, and construction of the city to identify and contribute something new in referencing multiple (mediated) urban imaginaries.

2.1.1 City Image and Identity

City image has also become a more widely used term in modern discussions relative to city branding research. City image refers to the collective image associated with the city becoming formed through city branding (Priporas et al., 2020, p. 453). At the crossroads of city branding and identity, city image gives a holistic overview of the characteristics, impression, and beliefs people have of the city (Priporas et al., 2020, p. 455). Ultimately, the city image forms a collective belief between both inhabitants and visitors of the city.

As proposed by Lynch (1960, as cited in Hospers, 2010), the creation of city image concerns the five elements of (1) paths, (2) edges, (3) districts, (4) nodes, and (5) landmarks. All these qualities of city image are understood distinctively through physical forms, contrary to the urban imaginary. These elements of a city's image allow observers to enter, interact with, or view the city from different aspects. Different from city branding and identity, city image revolves around tangible objects that leave a lasting mental impression (Hospers, 2010, p. 2074). It is then important to not only acknowledge such disparities between real and imagined places, but also recognize how both imaginary and physical characteristics produce a specific message related to the city.

City identity further references how the place is marketed to be perceived by target groups, with roots in brand identity (Peighambari et al., 2016, p. 317). Directly opposing city image, which understands the reality of how the city is perceived from outside perspectives, city identity refers to the presentation of the city to target groups (Peighambari et al., 2016, p. 317). Although this aspect of city branding markets the city identity to consumers, it must be recognized that brand managers are responsible for the construction of this identity. As such, the complexities of this construction of city identity must be recognized as separate from the city branding process (Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013, p. 71).

In the greater context of the construction of meaning, it is not uncommon to reference Hall's (1980) agenda-setting impact in the realm of cultural studies. The encoding/decoding model of communication explains the intricate workings of how media products help foster,

create, and deepen the understanding of the topics represented. As the media product provides an encoded message, often in the form of a moral or story, this is left for the audience to decode and interpret (Hall, 1980, p. 130). Overall creating a framework of meaning, audiences decoding messages allows them to produce knowledge of the media product (Hall, 1980, p. 130).

As many city branding strategies emerge as a product of the city's culture, many such strategies create and export media to uphold their representation of the city. As mentioned previously, this can be seen in cultural products such as film extending transnational relations between cities (Hoyler & Watson, 2018, p. 944). Additionally, the mediated representation of the city on social media can further be associated as a product of city branding strategies (Sevin, 2013, p. 228). Although recognizable across mediated products and towards targeted groups, city branding messages have rarely been understood in the context of the encoding and decoding model. As a result, this study seeks to explore this gap within the context of urban studies and city branding research.

Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013, p. 82) have explained that what falls short in the understanding of cities is the current popularity in establishing city brands as a singular identity. Rather, the construction of cities, both by internal and external stakeholders, helps contextualize cities as dynamic in interpretation. In establishing culture, image, and identity as substantial aspects of place branding, Pedeliento and Kavaratzis (2019, p. 355) highlight how “the brand and the meanings that it carries are continuously (re)negotiated and (re)shaped.” However, when analyzing the current field of city branding research, the sociological understanding of placemaking—and its negotiation between relevant stakeholders—has been left underdeveloped.

2.1.2 Measures of City Branding

City branding, as a long existing concept, has had to adapt to relevant technological advancements dominant in society. Since the 2000s, with the cultural explosion of the internet, a city's measurable impact can be assessed through its popularity online. For example, Sevin (2014, p. 51) discusses that social media handles such as Twitter have become modern driving forces in platforming and popularizing destinations. With affordances such as hashtags popularizing the platform, destination marketing has a chance to gain virality online by being marketed to a greater number of people (Sevin, 2014, p. 48). In accepting social media as a part of everyday communication, the concurrent engagement with city brands on these platforms

factors into the marketability of the place (Sevin, 2014, p. 48). This, in return, also has implications for popularity among a wide variety of stakeholders: including, but not limited to, tourists and residents.

At times, city branding initiatives fail to connect to larger networks and discussions already prevalent on social media platforms (Sevin, 2013, p. 235). Rather than utilizing the affordances of social media, online city branding campaigns instead “usually remain in their offline networks,” indicating a dependency on their pre-existing offline reach (Sevin, 2013, p. 235). While Twitter allows place branding accounts to uniquely communicate with consumers directly via one-to-one communication, this aspect was not yet utilized by city branding accounts at the time (Sevin, 2013, p. 237).

This specification towards one-to-one communication was further studied by Papagoni (2012, p. 15) with reference to online municipality websites enabling a larger conversation between the local authority and the public. Under the guise of the urban imaginary, the city was further marketed towards residents through blurring the boundaries between private and public sectors of city communication (Papagoni, 2012, p. 15). More specifically, “by representing and addressing their potential publics locally and globally, [municipality websites] act as laboratories in which places are re-imagined” between people (Papagoni, 2012, p. 17). Such observations allow for the discussion and representation of the city to be negotiated by both authoritative figures (governmental) and locals (residents) on the same platform.

Additionally, city brand communication takes many different forms outside of social media. Cities can also communicate directly with stakeholders through traditional (and largely visual) media such as advertising, public relations, and slogans (Zenker & Braun, 2017, p. 276). This acts as a formal method of communication between city officials to the public. From local perspectives, however, city branding can still be communicated between smaller organizations. Here, word-of-mouth communication channels (shared between people or through media) may also promote city branding through more personal connections (Zenker & Braun, 2017, p. 279).

Herein it remains important that communicating city branding is dependent on both online and offline media, recognized between official and local stakeholders, and can take form in modern and traditional media outlets. By exemplifying these qualities, this study further references the importance of exploring city branding narratives within media outlets.

Furthermore, this study explores various meaning-making processes present in mediated city

branding and across residents—which have yet to be studied in relation to one another within recent city branding research.

2.2 Relevant Stakeholders

The conceptualization of city branding has further evolved to include a more nuanced overview of relevant dialogues between stakeholders. As discussed by Kavartiz and Hatch (2013, p. 82), stakeholders are responsible for the identity of a given city, stating that “identity emerges in the conversation between stakeholders and what brings them together.” In acknowledging that place branding exists as a dialogue between a multitude of perspectives, this further indicates that aspects of city branding can be contested, negotiated, and understood from various perspectives. Also noted by Sassen (2012, p. 3), the understanding of city qualities and attributes varies between people. This then calls for relevant (sub)grouping between different types of stakeholders and also references that the interpretations of city branding are highly personal.

As a result, the needs of local peoples and residents are often prioritized in aiming for a successful city branding strategy (Ooi, 2011, p. 58). Golestaneh et al. (2022, p. 211) further outlined two subsections of relevant stakeholders within the internal and external perspectives associated with the city brand. Whereas city branding can be negotiated by internal stakeholders such as residents and city officials, external stakeholders such as tourists offer an outsider’s perspective highly popular in city marketing research. As such, this emphasis on studying external stakeholders has resulted in the popularization and oversaturation of studying certain groups of people in the city.

On the other hand, it is emphasized that city branding strategists and policymakers should “consider perceptions and attitudes of internal stakeholders and especially local community members to co-create a branding strategy that all stakeholders can align to” (Golestaneh et al., 2022, p. 218). Specifically, this remains important for the promotion of the place brand amongst the population and further directs policymakers to involve local stakeholders in such placemaking strategies. Once again, this notion outlines this study’s specification towards configuring how internal (local) stakeholders negotiate and (re)construct the city’s brand and identity when given the opportunity.

2.2.1 Creative Class and Capital

As mentioned previously, recent city branding research has suffered from an oversaturation of referencing external stakeholders such as tourists, and more popularly, the creative class. As conceptualized by Florida (2003, p. 8) the creative class (composed of highly intellectual people in different job markets) were attracted to places inclusive and diverse. If these cities appeared technologically advanced, talented, and socially tolerant, they would be deemed as creative places within a creative city (Florida, 2003, p. 10). In the aim to attract the creative class to the creative city, this population would become the driving factor in leveraging both the city's economic and social appeal. However, although the creative class has been studied the most in contributing to city identity, they are certainly not the only stakeholders able to do so.

Having developed over time, the creative city was also found to prioritize tourists as stakeholders for economic growth. With the creation of new cultural spaces for the public to consume, the creative city has been criticized for extensively depending on touristic attraction (Pratt, 2011, p. 129). Regardless of the iteration, the creative city was conceptualized to prioritize and attract specific populations, such as the creative class and social elite, at the cost of others. For example, Alvarez (2010, p. 174) highlights that “by making tourists aware of new and attractive areas for exploration, city planners also risk making these places touristic and consequently less valued.” Therefore, in the process of revitalizing a city based on ‘creative values,’ this urbanization further brought upon tensions in classifying residents, tourists, and the creative class as unequally important stakeholders.

It is critical to reference the fact that many city branding strategies are understood contextually. The city of Rotterdam has similarly been studied as a creative city with emphasis on being a ‘capital of cool,’ a newly and highly popular travel destination (Nieuwland & Lavagna, 2020; Custers & Willems, 2024, p. 1). In their study of creative entrepreneurs (subsidiary to the creative class) and tourists, Nieuwland and Lavagna (2020, p. 938) found there to be a perceived “gap between the image of a creative area, and the reality of it,” within popular areas in the city. While highly commercialized areas such as Witte de With street were seen as both attractive and popular, underdeveloped neighborhoods such as the Oude Noorden did not meet the same potential in the eyes of creative entrepreneurs (Nieuwland & Lavagna, 2020, p. 934).

Whilst the city itself had prioritized large scale urbanization projects, such as with

redevelopment of harbor to account for a greater urban economy (Custers & Willems, 2024, p. 8). Rotterdam as a city has thus transformed exponentially with specific city branding insights such as the construction of large-scale iconic buildings (Custers & Willems, 2024, p. 7). In the modernization of the city in changing the structural landscape, the growing tensions between local and foreign residents did not subside. Having named numerous gentrification strategies and resident displacement issues, Custers and Willems (2024, p. 10) ended with questioning precisely who Rotterdam's 'capital of cool' label intends to please.

In general, the creative city was once a newfound and exciting way that the imaginary city space was understood. Criticized more recently by authors such as O'Connor et al. (2020, p. 5), the formal understanding of the creative city aligns less with the modern creative class as their labor has become less prioritized in contemporary society. Rather than prioritizing creative people, countries such as the United States have begun prioritizing the creative industries as a cultural sector to attract global media attention (O'Connor et al., 2020, p. 5). As such, in the global modern, creative cities have become somewhat outdated in only aiming to attract the attention of the creative class. Rather, the understanding of cities has become relevant for all internal and external stakeholders alike, with this study seeking to explore the opinions of the elderly as an underrepresented group in comparison to abundance of research depicting the creative class.

2.3 Understanding of Residents

Whereas local people have been emphasized to play a vital role in developing city branding, little research has been conducted aiming to understand their perspective directly. Freire (2009, p. 420) highlights that a city's branded image relies heavily on stereotypes surrounding local people from the perspectives of visiting tourists. In identifying key characteristics in the city's identity from the local population, these locals were identified as friendly people — thus making the city inviting as well. With locals referred to positively by tourists in how they experienced the city's brand, this helped tourists in identifying key characteristics of the city's identity. Through allocating these local people as producers of the city's culture, the tourists (as consumers) were able to gain a positive impression of their city branding (Freire, 2009, p. 436).

However, what remains critical is that the study of residents' impact on city branding is

most often understood in the tourism sector and context, rather than as a fundamental understanding of the residents themselves. Whereas residents remain a core attribute in determining relevant attributes contributing to city branding (Golestaneh et al., 2022, p. 210), many residents are primitively understood only as (city) brand ambassadors. And while engagement with the city brand also heavily applies to residents, the fundamental interpretation of the city brand (and reception of it) precedes any engagement with such stakeholders entirely. Once again, this references how city branding attributes a symbolically constructed version of the place that can be negotiated between various groups, such as locals and tourists.

Referencing Hall (1960) once more, residents and tourists also promote further frameworks of knowledge of the city. By helping construct the city's identity, local stakeholders help derive and attribute further meaning to the city's branding as it takes place. In continuously interpreting, reinterpreting, and sharing meanings of the city branding, this can provide a more nuanced overview to the city brand. City branding studies can therefore largely benefit from studying locals and residents as a specific target group without relation to tourism and marketing strategies. Instead, such as utilized in this study, the specific meaning-making processes of residents' negotiation of the city brand should be explored.

Place branding studies have been most often conducted on the foundation of top-down communication: communication thus trickles down from leadership figures at the top to residents at the very bottom as part of an exemplary power structure (Gilboa & Jaffe, 2021, p. 2). Place branding presents itself as a marketable identity, with city branding tools often used as a means to gain revenue. These tools have been interpreted most popularly in aspects such as promoting tourism, e-governance of municipality websites, and the existence of a corporate rhetoric (Paganoni, 2012, p. 4). Place branding is therefore aimed to market itself to myriads of stakeholders (Gilboa & Jaffe, 2021, p. 1) and be palatable in nature.

Nieuwland and Lavagna (2020, p. 930) somewhat oppose this narrative in recognizing the importance of resident satisfaction even in urban tourism policies. More specifically, they reference the importance of residents' quality of life, suggesting that "when a place is developed in such a way that local residents enjoy it, it will almost naturally attract more tourists." As is, there is room for the understanding of residents' influence in the progression of city branding strategies—these are rarely central to the discussion surrounding the urban development of modern cities. Instead, more economically powerful stakeholders such as the creative class and

tourists are upheld with importance in driving the city's capital.

Braun et al. (2013, pp. 20–22) reflect on the roles residents have within place branding strategies in referencing three main archetypes, namely:

1. Residents as a part of the place brand, whereby their needs are heard and met through the inclusion of locals within city branding strategies
2. Residents as ambassadors for the place brand, communicating reliable messages about their place (online and offline) through high rates of involvement
3. Residents as active citizens, wherein they exert political and democratic power in choosing government officials.

The opportunity for residents to take on different roles within place branding processes showcases a potential for more aspects of resident roles with place branding strategies to be explored beyond merely three categorizations. In defining residents as essential in the co-creation of the city brand (Priporas et al., 2020, p. 459), the understanding of their needs and wants for the city's identity could be expanded upon further.

Specifically, they highlight that “the focus must lie on fulfilling the needs of residents, who are considered the most important group in a city being the co-creators and ambassadors for the city” (Priporas et al., 2020, p. 459). Once again referencing the importance of resident roles such as ambassadors and co-creators, these characteristics of residents remain important in marketing the city successfully. When aiming to explore the needs of residents, however, a more qualitative approach must be taken to truly understand these highly personal needs in greater depth.

2.3.1 Life Satisfaction

Many studies focused on the perception of city branding rely largely on the understanding of people's life satisfaction and quality of life indicators. Beyond understanding how city branding operates in theory and in practice, the effect on the population has further implications for how well such strategies are received. As investigated by Priporas et al. (2020) as well as Inch and Stuart (2015), residents' engagement with a city brand has substantial benefits to further promoting the city's image. Oppositely, resident disengagement with this brand can cause confusion and disconnect between the people and the government authority responsible for the brand management (Inch & Stuart, p. 183).

Gilboa and Jaffe (2021, p. 7) however mention the dual implications of both place involvement and place attachment as categories of satisfaction. Ultimately, place attachment was more important in residents' loyalty towards the city and also in contributing to the creation of city image among residents (Gilboa & Jaffe, 2021, p. 7). Whereas residents who are both highly involved and attached to the city remain the most loyal to the place as a whole, despite living in individual neighborhoods. This is an interesting point considering the fact that one city is made up of numerous neighborhoods and towns, which can additionally share an identity separate to that of the city. Altogether, Gilboa and Jaffe (2021, p. 8) indicated that the duration of residence, socio-economic status, and neighborhood also factor into residents' place attachment as measures of satisfaction.

Priporas et al. (2020) approached the aspect of city brand engagement across a specific generation: Generation Z. In understanding where the younger generation interacts most often with the city's branded content, they took to analyzing the city's respective social media pages. Whilst a relatively modern approach to understanding city image, the content published through social media allows consumers to engage further with the city's brand online (Priporas et al., 2020, p. 454). In their exploration of the relationship between generation Z residents' life satisfaction and engagement with the city brand, Priporas et al. (2020, p. 459) found that a lower life satisfaction could moderately impact online engagement in Greece. Through actions such as complaining, receiving information, or sharing ideas, residents dissatisfied with the city's image took to online spaces to share their dissatisfaction (Priporas et al., 2020, p. 459).

A similar disengagement was found to circulate between residents in the context of New Zealand by Inch and Stuart (2015). In defining residents as city brand ambassadors, resident engagement with the city brand becomes crucial in further promoting the city image. In their interviews of residents in various age groups (aged 23-69), Inch and Stuart (2015) found that residents who were disconnected from the city's image become more disapproving of the brand entirely. Their feelings of frustration with governmental authority arose as they felt their needs were neither heard nor met, resulting in lower levels of involvement with civic duties (Inch & Stuart, 2015, p 184).

In these instances of quality of life/general dissatisfaction amongst residents, a link can be made between how city branding initiatives are disproportionately marketed to residents as stakeholders. Rather than involving residents to co-create the city's image, many residents feel

dissatisfied in the presence of a clear governmental authority (Insch & Stuart, 2015, p 184). While the sample in Priporas et al. (2020) was found to strongly voice these opinions online, the interviewees in Insch and Stuart (2015) merely voiced these frustrations sparingly. Regardless, between both studies the city was felt to be inaccurately presented and marketed between residents — ultimately causing this frustration. In aiming to further capture instances alluding to residents’ potential (dis)satisfaction, (dis)attachment, and (dis)engagement with city brands, this study aims to further prioritize residents’ perceptions of Rotterdam’s city image.

2.3.2 The Elderly Population

As mentioned previously, there has been an established need in recognizing residents and locals as internal stakeholders within the city branding process. While existing studies opt to discuss various types of residents in both specific age groups such as generation Z (Priporas et al., 2020) as well as a wide range of ages (Insch & Stuart, 2015), no focus has been established for elderly residents. Defined as one specific urban marginality by Paganoni (2012, p. 27), marginalities such as the elderly remain underrepresented in both the city’s published media content and subsequent discussion of residents in city branding research.

Paganoni (2012, p. 27) refers to different subsections of people within urban marginalities, such as underprivileged migrants, ethnic minorities, the unemployed, the disabled, and the elderly. In multicultural cities offering ways to include ethnically marginalized communities in their city branding, it becomes a question of whether all such marginalized communities can find themselves represented by one city brand. With the extensive lack of research dedicated to the elderly population, this identifies an existing gap in research of city branding attempts at being socially inclusive aside from being culturally diverse.

Rather, many cities favor branding their place as highly diverse and multicultural. Between residents and tourists, multicultural cities prioritize the arrival of people with different migratory backgrounds (Hassen & Giovanardi, 2018, p. 45). In efforts to portray the city as largely global, diverse cities celebrate the cultural and ethnic diversity within the city. Although this aspect of diversification has been classified as rather “narrow” in nature, the efforts of these city branding strategies still serve to be socially inclusive rather than exclusive (Hassen & Giovanardi, 2018, p. 46). In such cases, however, it is necessary to reference which specific aspect of diversity is being highlighted: in this case, ethnicity and background. Much less

researched are aspects of generational diversity in the city, as this aspect of understanding residents seems commonplace.

The aforementioned quality of life indicators are especially prevalent within the research centered on the elderly, even outside city-specific contexts. Social attributes, trust, and relationships with neighbors are all significant in fostering a sense of belonging and social inclusiveness, attributing to overall quality of life (Sun et al., 2020, p. 2). However, outside the aspect of social relationships, place attachment can also be identified by the place of residence itself. As such, this attachment can be uplifted or hindered by the qualities of the city communicated to the elderly through city branding. Furthermore, Sun et al. (2020) studied elderly residents' sense of belonging through surveys, which could further benefit from specific the meaning-making practices of qualitative research in exploring the elderly's place attachment towards the city.

While the elderly have been studied in urban contexts previously, this population is not nearly as referenced within city branding strategies in comparison to younger generations. For example, in both the cases of attracting the creative class (Florida, 2003) and creative entrepreneurs (Nieuwland & Lavagna, 2020) to the city, their job professions have been considered integral to helping the city thrive economically. As the creative class remains composed of people with creative jobs, it focuses on age groups that are still members of working society.

Regardless of age, cultural background or profession, any resident should be valued within the city branding process. While the elderly have not yet been seen as active in helping develop the city brand online as compared to younger generations (Priporas et al., 2020), there is still room to understand their methods of interacting with the city's brand. Because it seems that the elderly appear less in both the workforce and online spaces, this implies that they are not active in the co-creation of the city—an aspect of meaning-making that this study seeks to explore. With the continual references to younger generations more involved in city life, this leaves aspects of studying the elderly to be desired. As such, this research aims to uplift the voices of the elderly and include them in the co-creation of the city brand, bringing a new understanding for how long-term residents interpret the city's identity and negotiate its meaning.

3. Method

3.1 Chosen Research Method

In aiming to answer the research question of how different media outlets frame the city of Rotterdam and how this is negotiated between elderly residents in the city, many different dimensions of city branding and relevant stakeholders must be considered. The question being studied implies an investigation of the media content published by different media (under one branded city) as well as residents' opinions on the matter: highlighting two main goals best tackled by different qualitative approaches. To thoroughly explore the given research question, a mixed-methods qualitative approach was utilized.

Fundamentally, qualitative research seeks to understand, reconstruct, and derive further meaning from societally relevant topics (Hollstein, 2011, p. 405). Seeing as this research reflects upon the societal and cultural contexts within Rotterdam and between its residents, such qualitative and exploratory means were best suited to reflect upon the meaning made from the city's branded media contexts. Additionally, the construction and interpretation of meaning is reflected upon by Hall (1980) to heavily determine how mediated messages are encoded and decoded. In the research question, negotiation is discussed with reference to the audiences' position as a result of decoding messages: in which audiences both accept and reject elements of the message. Regardless, audiences interpreting meaning from mediated content results in their positioning (of any kind) and ultimately helps "permit the meanings signified in the discourse to be transposed into practice or consciousness" (Hall, 1980, p. 131).

This research additionally explores such meaning-making throughout different perspectives in the social world: one through media content and one through personal lived experiences. Assessing the construction of the city's branding and identity through different means will ultimately allow for a more proportional answer to the research question. Reflected on by Hesse-Biber (2010, p. 456) such qualitative mixed-methodologies "offer a multilayered view of the nuances of social reality." As this social reality permeates across multiple collaborators, both the creation and interpretation of the city exist as functional aspects of city branding strategies. A mixed methods approach of qualitative content analysis and semi-structured interviews was therefore best to assess the creation of meaning amongst media

outlets and the negotiation of such values between individuals.

3.1.1 Mixed Methods Approach

Zenker (2011, p. 43) identifies three main goals of city branding research through qualitative and quantitative methods. Firstly, largely associated with qualitative methods, insights into consumers' brand associations are measured. With quantitative methods, different dimensions of the city brand are researched through surveys. Lastly, a mixed quantitative-qualitative approach offers insights into the interplay and networks between city branding strategies. However, while Zenker (2011) does not touch upon the possibility of a qualitative mixed-methods approach, this could offer a new framework in helping combine different goals.

In qualitatively studying the content within specific city branding strategies, brand dimensions can be studied more in-depth beyond quantitative means. Inherently, as qualitative studies explore contexts of meaning, a more detailed explanation of implicit and explicit meanings can be identified only through such approaches. Additionally, to uplift this further, these brand dimensions could be used as stimuli for interview in garnering further insights into consumers' opinions concerning the city's brand. Hereby combining the first and second goals outlined by Zenker (2011, p. 43), this study aims to explore various aspects of city branding in both representation (of the city) and negotiation (amongst residents).

In actuality, the content analysis and interviewing methods uplift each other by allowing for continually referencing different representations of Rotterdam across various peoples and institutions. By exploring two different areas of city branding, this allows for an interplay between the content found in both qualitative approaches. Furthermore, by specifying which aspects of the city appear most in branded content, this can derive further meaning on what the media deem as representational. This can then be juxtaposed by the personal interpretation of residents and whether they view these branded aspects as accurate to the city identity from a local's perspective.

3.2 Identifying Data Sources

The specification of focusing on elderly residents first arose from the lack of available studies within city branding research in understanding their roles within the social inclusion of

cities. Identified as an urban marginality by Paganoni (2012, p. 27), the elderly have been especially underrepresented in city branding studies. In comparison to ethnic migrants, the creative class, and younger residents, elderly residents offer a unique perspective in affiliations with city branding that has not yet been explored in contemporary research. As such, this study aims to undertake both the framing of the city and reception of this branding with reference to the opinions of the elderly.

Prior to the study's data collection process, three pilot interviews were held with elderly residents (65 and older) to obtain a scope of relevant Dutch media channels consumed within their age group. In these interviews, numerous different media outlets were presented (by the researcher) and discussed with reference to the participant's knowledge, familiarity, and interaction with them. This was done in order to ensure the selection of relevant media outlets consumed by the elderly in the research question. Herein the relevant media framing and representation of the city were identified in specific outlets that the elderly actively consume as audiences.

In assessing numerous media publications, one popular media outlet was recognized as relevant to the elderly age group: De Oud-Rotterdammer [The Old Rotterdammer]. This outlet was largely relevant to the interviewees as it includes nostalgic narratives of the city from the 1970s onwards, which they were largely familiar with. On the other hand, the specific branded initiative of Rotterdam Make It Happen (RMIH) was selected as it both publishes media content and exists as a branded entity with the slogan 'Make It Happen.' Between all pilot interviews, it was concluded that many different media outlets are responsible for the framing of the city. As such, to be able to compare two relevant frameworks of the city's branding, both De Oud-Rotterdammer and RMIH were selected as they provided two distinct representations of the city in their published content.

3.2.1 Chosen Media Outlets

The city branding strategy of Rotterdam Make It Happen (RMIH) and the media outlet of De Oud-Rotterdammer were selected as two select publishers of media content representing the city of Rotterdam. Whereas both outlets publish various types of content, both visual and textual, they are rather different in nature. Firstly, RMIH identifies itself as a brand alliance under the company of Rotterdam Partners. Their website, available in both Dutch and English, is the main

platform in which RMIH publishes content. In creating an alliance between “prominent and strong Rotterdam organizations and companies,” Rotterdam Make It Happen is further identified as a mindset formed between a multitude of organizations (Rotterdam Make It Happen, 2019, para. 2).

This mindset is self-described as a composition of “aficionados,” people who are highly opportunistic, self-confident, and have a no-nonsense mentality (Rotterdam Make It Happen, 2022, para. 1). The same qualities attributed to the people make the collective mentality. Further defined by people in helping the collective become recognized at an international level, RMIH places importance on community, diversity, and freedom (Rotterdam Make It Happen, 2022, para. 2). RMIH also operates as its own publisher outside of being a collective brand, and has additionally published and branded (visual) media content suited for promoting the city: as seen in their Branded Toolkit. In this toolkit, a database of photographs and videos are uploaded to be used free of charge for those wishing to use the resources specifically for any promotional material of Rotterdam.

On the other hand, De Oud-Rotterdammer is a biweekly published newspaper focused on reporting the history of Rotterdam and relevant activities most popular in the past. Often depicting newsworthy topics such as pop culture and social events popular in the 1970s, De Oud-Rotterdammer describes itself as the “nostalgic Rotterdam newspaper” being published for “real Rotterdammers,” who have an affiliation with the city. (De Oud-Rotterdammer, 2024). This often applies to the elderly looking back on their fond memories in both their and the city’s younger years, solidifying them as the target group for this media outlet. In the paper itself, many articles, accompanying images, puzzles, and broadcasts are published. On their website, De Oud-Rotterdammer also has a forum prompting discussions about specific people, clubs, and events that users have lost contact with.

3.3 Data Collection Process

3.3.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

Qualitative content analysis is a widely used and vastly broad research method focused on ascribing meaning towards data through coding frames (Schreier, 2013, p. 170). Defined by its emphasis on a structural approach to generating codes, these codes assign meaning throughout specific aspects of the units. By later categorizing these codes within themes and subthemes, a

general understanding of the sample can be reached as the coding process develops (Schreier, 2013, p. 177). Within the content analyzed in this research, an inductive coding approach was utilized to extract themes from the data without use of a prior coding scheme. Whilst a researcher's pre-understanding of the research context may impact their familiarity with possible themes, inductive approaches seek to extract meaning directly from content presented in the data alone (Graneheim et al., 2017, p. 30). As such, inductive coding allows for coding creation, application, and implementation to develop across the research in which it is adopted.

The choice of qualitative content analysis (QCA) was conducted as a foundational measure to assess the ways in which modern and relevant media outlets represent the city of Rotterdam. Between De Oud-Rotterdammer and RMIH, both organizations represent the city of Rotterdam through different forms of media. Whereas De Oud-Rotterdammer makes more use of textual data as compared to RMIH, which is visual-oriented, both organizations publish media most suited towards their framing of the city and relevant target audiences. Rather than comparing the two outlets with one another, their differences in representing the city allow for a richer exploration of the various narratives present within city branding strategies.

In aiming to include various types of media under one dataset, QCA became additionally helpful as a method able to analyze various types of data simultaneously. Specifically with QCA and its flexible nature, assigning codes, themes, and deriving meaning from data can be accomplished across different materials (Schreier, 2013, p. 181). Additionally supported by Schreier (2013, p. 181) in recognizing the dominance of hypertext data in QCA research, developing the method to apply to images remains crucial for the development of QCA as a methodology. It must then be referenced, however, that both outlets—and the difference in analyzing visual/textual data—must be approached with nuance.

3.3.2 Content Analysis Sample

The sample of data collected was composed of a mix of textual and visual materials from RMIH ($n=57$) and De Oud-Rotterdammer ($n=23$). To make the content across both outlets more proportional to one another, numerous texts and visual images were studied. For De Oud-Rotterdammer, I analyzed the front page articles of the first eight issues published in 2024 (09/01–16/04) as well as their accompanying images on the cover. I also analyzed the relevant sub-section of the paper called *Ken je dit nog?* [Do you still remember this?] across the selected

issues. This subsection is a call-and-response page centered on the audiences' discussion of old images from Rotterdam, inherently combining text with images. Spreads of advertisements, puzzles, and otherwise were excluded as they did not represent any content pertaining to the city itself.

For the materials from RMIH, the images were collected from their online website and branding toolkit gallery. Specifically, two image collections of 'Rotterdam in 50 images' and those available on the homepage's 'Spotlight' section were selected. These images were saved on the researcher's computer harddrive at the time of collection, April 2024, to represent the collection of images published at the time. As their branding toolkit exists as a database on an online platform, images are uploaded and removed frequently (Rotterdam Make It Happen, 2019). Also considering that specific images often re-appeared in different collections, each image was analyzed once with no repetition in documentation.

Additionally, the text across five specific webpages was acquired: (1) about RMIH (2) the brand alliance (3) brand promise & DNA (4) Make It Happen mentality and (5) positioning & focus. These pages all discussed relevant information in constructing the RMIH brand identity, goals, and positioning as a city branding strategy. In combination with the visual depiction of the city, the text within these webpages discussed elements of the city's identity most aligned with the RMIH brand alliance. As such, both visual and textual elements across the website helped form an understanding of how RMIH frames Rotterdam.

3.3.3 Semi-Structured Interviews

As mentioned previously, three pilot interviews were held as a foundational measure for both qualitative methods conducted in this research. Familiarizing myself with certain topics, themes, and ideas that emerged because of these starter interviews allowed for a more thorough creation of the interview guide to be formally used later on (see *Appendix A*). For example, by being able to test out the usage of visual prompts in the pilot interviews, I found that such visuals helped the interviewees engage with the material and allowed for follow-up questions.

After altering and formalizing the interview guide, further data collection began where I was able to conduct nine in-depth and semi-structured interviews lasting between 42 and 85 minutes each. Most interviews ($n=9$) were conducted face-to-face, apart from two which were conducted through video call. For the interviews held face-to-face, I brought Dutch consent

forms for the participants to sign (see *Appendix B*). This stated exactly how the interview data would be used with insights into anonymity, clarifying full transparency for the procedure. In all cases an additional oral consent to participate was identified both before recording and at the beginning of each audio file.

Interviewing as a qualitative research method has merit in both popularity and approach, as it allows for meaning to be created in a conversational manner between the interviewer and participants (Adeoye-Olatunde & Olenik, 2021, p. 1358). As semi-structured interviews inherently develop over time (Adams, 2015, p. 499), the interview guide was often rearranged within each interview on the basis of which topics were first discussed. For example, if the first interviewee would interpret the questions based on personal identity, the topic of being a ‘Rotterdammer’ would be explored quite early in the conversation despite its positioning at the end of topics within the interview guide.

Along with numerous open-ended questions, relevant data units from both RMIH and De Oud-Rotterdammer were presented to interviewees, as part of the interview guide, to prompt for further discussions of topics relevant to the images. Working as a foundational introduction to both outlets, these images helped drive the interviews to include new aspects of representation, image-making, and identity within the city and the people presented. A total of six photographs, three across both outlets, were shown to each participant. Additionally, an image depicting the RMIH slogan was discussed if the participant was unfamiliar with it. The relevant images are showcased in Figures 1 (De Oud-Rotterdammer) and 2 (RMIH).

Figure 1

De Oud-Rotterdammer prompt images





(2)



(3)

Note. Articles published in issues 7 (image 1), 8 (2), and 3 (3) of De Oud-Rotterdammer, (2024), <https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/>.

Figure 2

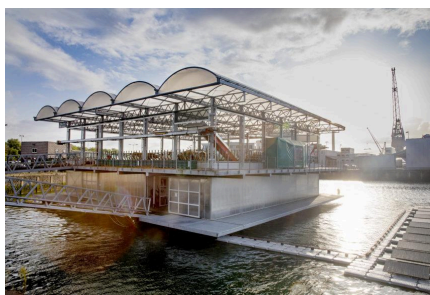
RMIH prompt images



(1)



(2)



(4)



(3)

Note. By I. van den Broek (2021; 2023) and A. Wildeman (2021), photographs, published by Rotterdam Make It Happen. See units 43 (2), 36 (3), 11 (4) in *Appendix D*.

These images were selected across all data units as they depicted either physical places, social culture, or people relevant to Rotterdam. They also included themes relevant to the content analysis, such as the depiction of people and elements of city branding. The Oud-Rotterdammer images depict an old museum that was demolished (1), the dancing and dating scene of

Rotterdam in the past (2), and the city's housing crisis from the 1950s onwards (3). Here, the interviewees read the headlines and viewed the images to understand the topics being discussed in the media outlet.

For the RMIH images, these photographs depicted the slogan (1), people walking around the city (2), the Floating Farm establishment (3), and a monument (and surrounding people) by Rotterdam Central station (4). Here, participants could then decode the images and interpret any inherent meaning relevant to the context of the prompt as well as engage in further relevant discussion. As such, their negotiation of the city's representation was communicated from their interpretation of the images. This then allowed the prompts to give insights into which topics resonated with the locals based on what was identified to be integral to the city's brand in the content analysis.

3.3.4 Recruitment Process

The sampling method utilized throughout the interview recruitment process was a mixture of snowball sampling and purposive sampling (outside the snowball). Snowball sampling refers to the method of non-probability sampling in which referral to potential interviewees allows for more prospective candidates in the recruitment process. By leveraging personal networks, specific populations can be reached both quickly and conveniently through the researcher's connections (Parker et al., 2019, p. 4).

As discussed by Parker et al. (2019, p. 5) snowball sampling has the disadvantage of becoming disproportionate and overrepresenting a certain population (such as women). This similarly became true within this study, accounting for the snowball sample to be entirely homogeneous in the interviewees' ethnicities and largely in gender as well. As a result, a total of six candidates were interviewed from the given snowball sampling method before adopting a purposive sampling method to account for greater diversity between participants. These interviewees were approached by the researcher directly in daily life, with no prior introduction to one another.

All interviews began with the description of the study, an oral informed consent to participate, the pledge to maintain anonymity, and questions regarding their demographic information. The questions regarding the participants' demographics included factors such as age, ethnicity/nationality, place of residence, and duration of residence. Afterwards, further

topics related to their news consumption, affiliation with the city, and recollection of the city's identity (through past and recent experiences) were discussed.

Such demographic information was noted to assess the diversity of the sample garnered from the interviews. As this study aims to gain understanding from Rotterdam residents, this aspect of identity was established during the recruitment process. The interviews were largely similar in structure, with only interviewees B and C interviewed together as a couple. Instead of being interviewed individually, potentially giving largely similar answers, this interview allowed for a three-way conversation.

Table 1

Overview of interviewees

Interviewee	Age	Gender	Place of Residence (District)	Duration of residence (years)	Ethnicity/ Nationality
A	85	F	Vreewijk	85	White Dutch
B & C	82 & 84	F & M	Rotterdam Centrum	66 & 84	White Dutch
D	70	F	Delfshaven	70	White Dutch
E	90	F	Delfshaven	90	White Dutch
F	85	M	Charlois	52	White Dutch
G	72	F	Hillegersberg-Schie broek	52	Surinamese- Dutch
H	67	M	Hillegersberg-Schie broek	58	White Dutch
I	72	F	Feijenoord	72	White Dutch

Interviewee	Age	Gender	Place of Residence (District)	Duration of residence (years)	Ethnicity/ Nationality
J	61	M	Rotterdam Centrum	32	Moroccan

3.4 Coding Process

Within this research, human coding was conducted with help from analytic features within the program ATLAS.ti. Three rounds of inductive coding were conducted between the sample consisting of RMIH and De Oud-Rotterdammer units ($n=71$). Relevant observations or personal interpretations were kept as additional notes. Later on, the generated inductive codes were grouped into relevant emerging themes and subthemes and included in the subsequent codebook generated through the rounds of inductive coding.

By coding the same material numerous times, codes were implemented and developed across these rounds: with codes such as ‘interaction’ changing to ‘togetherness’ to better fit the relevant latent meaning of community-driven activity. Similarly important codes were those depicting ‘people,’ ‘movement,’ and physical qualities of the city’s surroundings such as ‘tall’ to reference buildings and structures, and ‘landmark’ to reference recognizable spaces. As such, the codebook consisted of codes both applicable to analyzing latent and explicit meaning within the text and images. The finalized codebook consisted of 65 codes and can be found in *Appendix B*.

Additionally, transcripts of the Dutch interviews were made to also code and group into the relevant themes that emerged from the content analysis, although I remained open to exploring beyond that as well. The transcripts were initially generated by the transcription system available on Microsoft Word for Web, which I then went over to manually correct errors in diction, grammar, and vocabulary whilst listening to the audio file.

The goal of these coding processes, aligned with the greater goal of the research, was therefore to identify existing (and representational) characteristics associated with Rotterdam throughout media outlets and residents. Throughout the coding processes of both city branded media content and interviews, the aim was to understand if residents recognize such characteristics as relevant to the city’s identity. Furthermore, the coding process helped understand whether elderly residents felt an affiliation between the representation of Rotterdam

in both RMIH and De Oud-Rotterdammer.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

To best consider and acknowledge the relevant ethical implications present within both methods of data collection, aspects such as voluntary participation, informed consent, and anonymity were explained in depth to the interviewees. Having agreed on a standardized method of recording the conversations and keeping the interviewees' identities hidden, audio files were kept to store the conversations. However, what remained utmost priority was keeping the identity of participants anonymous, as they had been informed and consented prior to beginning each interview.

Furthermore, this study also made use of publicly available materials from both De Oud-Rotterdammer and RMIH to analyze. As described by Hewson (2016), online data made publicly consumable on the internet can be researched without the need for informed consent from the individual who published or created it. Especially when understood from the perspective of corporate identities, which both outlets seek to uphold, such publicly available content may be studied without considerations of individual identities. RMIH also explicitly states in their terms and conditions page that the relevant publishing, documenting, and spreading of their content to third parties is prohibited. Specifically, the images published by RMIH may not be used in any form of advertising and marketing but are permitted to be used in discussions of the city and other measures of free use.

3.6 Role of the Researcher

Understood in all forms contextually, meaning making within qualitative methods derives heavily from the researchers involved. Herein it remains important to highlight the role of the researcher as the main facilitator of this study. Across all qualitative methods, the researcher(s) themselves define the context, meaning and interpretation of any findings. Herein, it is integral to acknowledge my identity as a Dutch citizen born in Rotterdam. While I was not raised in the city, I have been living in the south of the Netherlands for the last ten years. Being regularly acquainted with the city in my personal and professional life, I have an acute familiarity with relevant landmarks, activities, and social culture present in the city. As all of these characteristics shaped my identity as a researcher, as well as my understanding of the given research context,

my positionality becomes critical to reflect on.

Positionality, as defined by Holmes (2020, p. 1), is an amalgamation of a researcher's lived experiences and beliefs. A researcher's inherent positionality within the research context may "affect the totality of the research process" altogether (Holmes, 2020, p. 3). Whereas a premeditated understanding of the research context may appear useful, it may also provide inherent biases. Understood in 'insider' and 'outsider' terms, it is misguided to assume that a researcher's insider understanding will always produce data that is true (Heron, 1999, as cited in Holmes, 2020, p. 7).

I would argue that my understanding of the city's relevant landmarks, activities, and social attitudes certainly aided me within the coding processes in analyzing content. Being able to recognize many monuments present in RMIH, as well as social etiquette in De Oud-Rotterdammer, helped further my research through aspects of prior understanding. Additionally, with the usage of snowball sampling, my prior connection (or recommendation from others in the snowball) to the interviewees helped establish a rapport before the formal interview. Many interviewees within the snowball were more comfortable in conversing with me in a casual manner, as they did not see the interviewing process as formally as the strangers I approached.

However, I would also argue that my researcher's positionality and identity were understood differently from the perspective of my interviewees. As my research evolved to become a collaboration between myself and the interviewees, my personal biases were limited as the interviewees shared their experiences directly. Also supported by the inclusion of visual prompts, this directed the conversations to areas of city identity I had not previously considered. Allowing them to interpret the content in the images helped give insights towards their meaning-making process beyond what topics were outlined by the interview guide.

4. Results

In this chapter, the key findings of the research are discussed firstly through the content analysis findings and the subsequent interviews. Here, it is important to call upon the given research question once more: How do Rotterdam Make It Happen and De Oud-Rotterdammer frame the city of Rotterdam and local ‘Rotterdamers,’ and how is this negotiated between elderly residents in the city? By first analyzing media content from RMIH and De Oud-Rotterdammer, these outlets form a framework of understanding how Rotterdam’s city branding is represented in the media. Here, specific topics, elements and qualities of the mediated city were understood through the relevant concepts of placemaking, city image, and city identity previously identified in urban planning theories.

Whether this brand was recognized and received positively by residents as stakeholders was explored in the interviewing process. In discussing how the mediated city was interpreted and negotiated across residents, this required insights into verbalized notions of attachment, pride, and a sense of belonging. In the interviewing of a specific age group (the elderly), the interviews also expanded upon qualities of the city most valued by this population socio-culturally. By first researching relevant topics and themes relevant to the city’s mediated portrayal, the interviewees also gave insights into how they felt about the represented topics and negotiated this representation of the city. As a result, the findings presented in this chapter¹ helped reference how meaning is derived from the mediated versus lived experience amongst the elderly in Rotterdam.

4.1 Relevant Themes

Within conducting the content analysis, the goal was for the framing and representation of the city to be interpreted throughout the media outlets of RMIH and De Oud-Rotterdammer. Whilst coding the images from both outlets resulted in garnering more explicit interpretations of meaning between the depiction of objects, these remained integral in interpreting the qualities of the city most often represented. Often, the latent meaning attached to the city’s representation and framing came from the textual data and subtext. Here, both physical entities (displayed in

¹ The presented excerpts and findings (both the media content and interview quotations written/spoken in Dutch) were translated into English by the researcher.

photographs) and emotional appeals (indicated through text) were interpreted across the various types of units analyzed. In having many instances of both implicit and explicit meanings explored, the emerging themes of (1) movement, (2) place, (3) emotions, and (4) community were found to be highly saturated. The number of coding units identified per theme is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Theme frequency report

Theme	Codes in group (<i>n</i>)	Coding units identified (<i>n</i>)
Place	22	258
Community	24	230
Emotions	13	139
Movement	6	81
Total	65	708

Many themes aligned with relevant frameworks of city branding identified in the theoretical framework chapter. While all coding was completed inductively, it is important to reference that *a priori* notions concerning city branding elements, qualities, and frameworks factored into the analysis as it progressed. For example, elements connected to the creation of city image are often established from physical indicators (Hospers, 2010, p. 2074)—which became prevalent in the theme of identifying place attributes ($n=232$). The higher frequencies within this theme were caused by the accounting for multiple codes in singular images. For example, if two bicycles appeared in one photograph, this would be coded twice. This was done to give a more accurate account of which surroundings appeared most frequently in the mediated depiction of Rotterdam.

The next most saturated theme was that of community ($n=188$). Here, subtext became

increasingly important in interpreting the value that people, personal relationships, and societal culture held within the depiction of Rotterdam and Rotterdammers in the media. As opposed to tangible objects, the theme of community also depicted abstract concepts such as identity, representation, and togetherness. Herein the aspects of social culture, and (local) people, becomes increasingly relevant. Further understood in the context of city image, the characteristics associated with the city arise from relevant impressions made upon people (Priporas et al., 2020, p. 455). As such, local communities and peoples have an impact on how the city is represented based on subjective (but relevant) beliefs. Such interpretations, as well as the aforementioned physical indicators, were identified through different codes within this research. In Table 3, an overview of the most frequent codes appearing in the dataset ($n \geq 29$) can be seen.

Table 3

Code frequency report

Code	Coding units identified (<i>n</i>)
People	50
Togetherness	46
Landmark	41
Delight	35
Tall	30
Movement	30
Change	29
Vibrant	29

From the high frequency of codes identified between the relevant images and text, the depiction of societal progression and togetherness was repeated; people always kept moving in

Rotterdam. Through written means such as “[Rotterdam and Rotterdammers always come out stronger],” RMIH had classified the idea of persevering and moving on as a key element of what makes the city—and its people—unique (Rotterdam Make it Happen, 2024). De Oud-Rotterdammer has touched upon similar notions with more personal approaches from authors, “[Even in the years when I got married and had kids, I went to visit these people...to never forget what these people did for me and my family [during our hardships]” (Kweekel, 2024, para. 15). As such, the balance between people ($n=44$), togetherness ($n=37$), and movement ($n=29$) are integral specifically to the mediated portrayal of Rotterdam and Rotterdammers as perseveres.

4.2 Representing People

The notion that people upheld the identity of the city was referenced across both media outlets. However, the depiction and inclusion of these people within the portrayal of the city differs quite heavily. Whereas the visual imagery in RMIH photographs did often include people, they were frequently seen in the background as opposed to central to, or in the foreground, of the image. In such instances, other relevant objects, landmarks, or activities were otherwise promoted.

Figure 3

Photograph of Rotterdam Central Station and people walking around



Note. By O. van Duivenbode, (2021), photograph, published by Rotterdam Make It Happen. <https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/centraal-station/>.

Many images within the dataset typically showcased either large groups or one to two people within a picture, causing a polarization between the depiction of large and small groups. Often, these large groups were photographed in the background of highly popular and visited areas, such as Rotterdam Central Station. In Figure 3, rather than representing the people going from and towards the station, the landmark itself is highlighted within the ‘Rotterdam in 50 images’ collection as a famous landmark. As such, this space is often busy with people entering and leaving regardless of the time of day. This leads to the interpretation that, within such images, people moving around are rather commonplace and not noteworthy.

Instead, in images where people were central to the frame, these photos depicted events or activities people would actively partake in in the city. These included actions or activities such as taking photographs, eating out, or exercising. Such images would prioritize having the people in frame performing the action, alluding to notions of movement (in the act of doing things) and community (participating in group activities). Often, the people presented in these photos were diverse in physical appearance, gender and ethnicity. However, what many of these photographs had in common were the seemingly young age groups of the people portrayed. Two examples of the lively, diverse, and young age group represented in RMIH’s visuals can be seen in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4

A friend group going out to eat (1) and walking around Rotterdam (2)



(1)

Note. By Stadshaven Brouwerij, (2021), photograph, published by Rotterdam Make It Happen. <https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/proosten-met-vrienden-in-de-stadshaven-brouwerij/>.



(2)

Note. By A. Wildeman (2021), photograph, published by Rotterdam Make It Happen.
<https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/vriendengroep-op-de-wilhelminakade/>.

The first image appeared to be taken in the moment of a toast taken before the people have their meal. In aiming to capture the lively aspects of group activity authentically, both photographs were taken candidly (depicting people still in action). The friend group depicted in the first image is both delighted in emotion and lively in the conversation, busy laughing. Similarly, the group in the second image are also similarly friendly with one another, smiling ear to ear. When presenting the second image to Interviewee J (61, male) and asking if he thought he would be able to see such a scenario in real life, he said that “You definitely see that every day.” Here, an inviting atmosphere was portrayed in showcasing the people of Rotterdam as friendly, diverse, and optimistic through RMIH’s visual branding. This in turn was then also interpreted as accurate to the city’s identity in one of the interviews.

This interpretation of the youth-centric city’s people was also felt more negatively within the discussion held with Interviewee D (70, female). When asked “Do you think that there were many options to visit [cultural] places in the past?” she replied: “No, there are probably more [things to do] now, but I think they’re more focused on younger people. Like festivals and all those things.” Herein the target of youth is identified in cultural settings such as festivals and parties, which the elderly do not participate in. What remained fascinating, however, is that Interviewee D mentioned these activities being “focused on” or deliberately meant for younger audiences. In engaging the youth with the city nightlife, fun and leisurely situations experienced between youthful friend groups (such as the ones depicted in Figure 4), this representation was also verified as accurate by interviewees D and J.

De Oud-Rotterdammer directly opposed this approach of representing Rotterdammers as

dominantly young, as their media content emphasized the nostalgic elements of the city. Despite also focusing on present day developments in the city, a grand majority of articles published in 2024 (7 out of 8) focused on events or activities popular in the 1950s, '60s, and '70s. De Oud-Rotterdammer was characterized by a collective nostalgia, which explains its popularity amongst elderly readers. “[I think it must have been 1966, I was 13 then...when I was invited to the cabaret],” reader de Held-Ouwerkerk (2024, para. 1) wrote in a subsection of the paper. Interestingly, though, the older readers of De Oud-Rotterdammer also engage with the relevant outlet such as the younger generation depicted in the RMIH images. Whereas both media explore the qualities of leisurely activities popular amongst people, the areas of interest clearly differ between RMIH promoting in-the-moment group activities and De Oud-Rotterdammer reminiscing upon the past.

Lastly, the approach in depicting people via images also differed greatly in De Oud-Rotterdammer as opposed to RMIH. In a similar, more personalized approach, De Oud-Rotterdammer attributed the popularity of certain locations and events by emphasizing the amount of people located there. In the only instance of the main article depicting an event from the 2010s (2016 specifically), this seventh issue portrays Rotterdam in a modern way as opposed to the nostalgic narrative. This image, presented in Figure 5, showcases the installation of a bridge in 2016, for a limited time, to the top of the building alongside Rotterdam Central Station.

Figure 5

A crowded group of people by Rotterdam Central Station, 2016



Note. Photograph published in De Oud-Rotterdammer (2024).

<https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/rare-hangplek-door-communicatiefoutje/>.

Here, unlike the image presented in Figure 3, the popularity and crowd depicted in the image are what uplift the event's relevancy. In the article, author van der Stoep (2024, para. 1) specifies that "[I would have also liked to participate, but we were unable to visit the city in those weeks. But I definitely had the memories of the beautiful view that you saw from up top.]" Rather than portraying the landmark or event as separate from the people, the social culture made the author want to participate. This, in combination with the view, left a lasting impression that the experience must have been wonderful. Even in instances where the authors were not directly involved with the event, the fact that "[hundreds of Rotterdammers]" partook helped the author feel a similar sense of belonging as another Rotterdammer (van der Stoep, 2024, para. 1).

In referencing the research question, this representation of people within the media content of RMIH and De Oud-Rotterdammer had rippling effects in how audiences and residents engaged with the content. When prioritized as a key reason for the popularity of social culture, as described in De Oud-Rotterdammer, audiences could interpret the city brand more closely by knowing they can actively contribute to it. However, even when not represented as the target audience for city branding strategies (as opposed to younger generations), the elderly still interpreted the media content from RMIH as largely representative of the city and its people.

4.2.1 The Co-Creation of Meaning

De Oud-Rotterdammer also employed a double-ended communication with their audience and readers. Interestingly, two specific sections of the paper consisted of reader-submitted anecdotes and stories referenced in previous issues. For example, one such section was titled Tante Post [Aunt's Mail], which helped uplift the voices and personal stories of Rotterdammers by including reader-submitted stories. Furthermore, the section of 'Ken je dit nog?' [Do you still remember this?] also included reader-submitted texts. The premise of this section was that each new prompt provided an image of a formerly relevant monument, place, celebrity, building, etc. Included in the middle of the issue, this always included one reader's recollection of the presented image.

For example, reader van Doorn (2024, p. 14) mentioned that another author's article in the outlet "brought back many memories" for him, compelling him to submit his own work to be published. Herein the nostalgic narrative promoted by De Oud-Rotterdammer trickled into

prompting him to also engage in the narrative first-hand. Once again, here both the paper, its writers, and subsequent readers took time to reflect upon the city and engage in meaning-making practices. This sentiment then became a driving factor in helping De Oud-Rotterdammer include audiences in co-creating their nostalgic representation of the city within their published media content.

Both of these sections within De Oud-Rotterdammer publicized citizens' recollections of how life in Rotterdam used to be and encouraged them to share their experiences in the outlet. Similarly, it was also implied that De Oud-Rotterdammer built upon personal stories of Rotterdammers to create a collection of many identities and stories. These sections with reader-submitted text further drove the paper's motivation to deliver nostalgic anecdotes to readers, by readers, and for readers. By including their audiences within their representation of the city, De Oud-Rotterdammer not only helped deliver nostalgic memories through their own framework of knowledge, but incorporated audiences' experiences to further create meaning.

Additionally, amongst the interviewees, all were familiar with the outlet of De Oud-Rotterdammer. As casual or active readers, many interviewees felt positive connections to the newspaper for similarly nostalgic reasons. When asking Interviewee E (90, female) how often she read the paper, she said "Yes, always." Further asking her to describe what she enjoyed reading in it, she mentioned "I find it fun to see the images published and sometimes you'll look if you know the people. And there are also articles about things that were fun in the past, making it fun to read for us older people." Herein Interviewee E expresses participatory behavior with both the newspaper articles and images resonating from within her own network and interests. In these ways, the inclusion of local perspectives and stories within De Oud-Rotterdammer helps construct a nuanced and nostalgic representation of the city that readers can sympathize with, enjoy, and actively contribute to.

Furthermore, audiences were also found to be allowed to contribute to the RMIH branding and initiative. Specifically in the photos published in their various collections, the relevant photographers are credited as employees working for the initiative. While not directly positioning the city branding initiative, such photographers attributed content relevant to the processes of RMIH's city branding and affected the relevant representation of the city. Here, similar to in De Oud-Rotterdammer, meaning was captured and created amongst individuals while also acting as part of the larger media entity.

While presenting one such photograph to Interviewee G (72, female), depicted in Figure 7, she expressed great enthusiasm and excitement at the building depicted. When explaining to her that the building was a newly built and innovative farm, she replied with “So peculiar. Oh, can you visit this place?” to which I responded confirming that you could visit. Her reply was, “Then I really have to do that. Yes, that sounds fun... These things are always fun when it’s possible [to visit], right? Yeah, I’m even getting goosebumps!” In further expressing her excitement to visit the farm with her kids, Interviewee G reacted very positively to the image published by RMIH. Here, she expressed sentiments in accepting—and actively engaging with—this representation of the city’s brand and identity.

As such, when feeling the ability to interact with the city in both new and nostalgic ways, this allowed RMIH and De Oud-Rotterdammer to help make their audiences feel included in their representations of the city. Both RMIH and De Oud-Rotterdammer therefore provided opportunities for audiences to not only view their published media content, but also contribute to it by submitting their writing and photography. Hereby the inclusion of audiences acted as a means of allowing audiences to help co-create, share, and co-produce meaning.

Interestingly, this inclusion also received positive feedback from Interviewees E and G, who expressed joy and excitement when being presented with content from De Oud-Rotterdammer and RMIH respectively. Even across the different media portrayals of Rotterdam from both outlets (nostalgic and modern), the elderly were more inclined to interact with the city brand by the content piquing their personal interests and helping them feel included. In such ways, the city’s mediated portrayal and subsequent branding was accepted and engaged with by the elderly, rather than negotiated or contested.

Throughout the exploration of this co-construction of meaning, it remains important to understand that all representations of the city remain discursively constructed. Even in this study, the meanings extended and identified within De Oud-Rotterdammer and RMIH existed because audiences attributed this meaning to such representations. Rather than understood as fact, the importance of the representation of the city was referenced through interaction and negotiation of the depicted city brand. Even when found relevant to the interviewees in this study, the process of assigning meaning is determined by personalized social and cultural values, which residents explicitly referenced as having changed over time.

4.3 Societal Changes

The majority of interviewees (8 out of 9) recognized a change within the city of Rotterdam, present in both the surroundings of the city and the social culture of its people. When asked which characteristics best fit her interpretation of the modern Rotterdam, Interviewee D said, “Yeah, you’ll never get that back. You won’t get that togetherness back. You have too many outside influences for that.” As a result of previously discussing the social change in her neighborhood, she expressed pessimism towards her interactions with her neighbors. When asked if she was satisfied with this newfound change, she said yes, “I’ll go my own way, so...,” indicating that she had also come to begrudgingly adhere to this change in social culture.

This narrative was similarly identified in issues of *De Oud-Rotterdammer*, where many authors compare and contrast the city’s social culture from the past and present. In issue five, for example, Versnel (2024, para. 7) reflected on Rotterdam’s celebration of the King’s birth in 1967 by describing the celebrations that broke out in the street amongst the townspeople. “[Luckily there wasn’t any damage done, in those times there was still celebration before any riots broke out],” referencing the more hostile celebrations occurring in the streets of Rotterdam nowadays (Versnel, 2024, para. 7). Here, similar feelings of remorse were identified in both cases of discussing the city’s culture in *De Oud-Rotterdammer* and between an interviewee.

These riots were also mentioned in my discussion with Interviewee D. In previously discussing aspects that Rotterdam is famous for, such as the Feyenoord and Sparta football clubs, I asked her about her involvement with the sporting culture. In recognizing that “I also always stood in line [to watch Feyenoord play], her involvement with sports was high also due to her kids’ participation in football training. When I asked her “What do you personally think of the riots that happen [at these sports events]?” she answered with: “In the city, right. That’s very annoying, of course. But those aren’t real Rotterdammers and also not [club] supporters. Those are just the famous rioters.”

4.3.1 Defining a ‘Rotterdammer’

The notion concerning ‘real Rotterdammers’ was one which I asked all my interviewees to describe. In my question of “What defines a Rotterdammer?” there were both vague and specific answers. Interviewee F (84, male), for example, simply answered “Yeah, everything,” indicating that he felt the term ‘Rotterdammer’ was extensive and indescribable. On the other

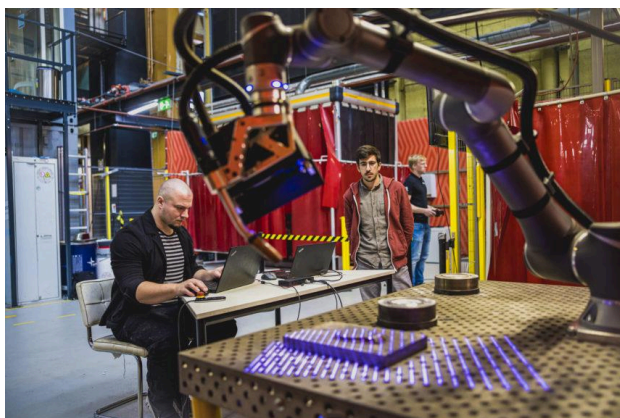
hand, some interviewees attributed working hard to be a characteristic of a Rotterdammer, such as mentioned by interviewees F and J. For example, when asked “Do you think anyone could be a Rotterdammer?” Interviewee J said “No, absolutely not. I think it’s in your character... The Rotterdammer works hard for themselves, for their family, or for their city too.”

Similarly referenced by Interviewee I (72, female), she described the ability to be a Rotterdammer as being “Hardworking. Those who persevere. I think that would be a good logo for Rotterdam.” In expressing the trait of hard work to benefit Rotterdam’s “logo,” Interviewee I attributed this hard work as a core element of Rotterdam’s city identity as an extension of what constituted a Rotterdammer’s identity. Herein both interviewees J and I negotiate this hardworking characteristic as essential to their understanding of a Rotterdammer—and, by extension, Rotterdam.

This notion of hard work was starkly contrasted by the visual content published by RMIH. As mentioned previously, RMIH often depicted young friend groups engaging in leisurely activities such as in Figure 4. As a result, depictions of the workplace (or similarly, people hard at work) were kept minimal in their visual branding, appearing in only one image out of 52. This image is presented in Figure 6 below, where employees of RAMLAB (an automation company) are engaging in 3D printing technology. The image shows the employees as extensively focused on their work, as shown by their focused expressions and active usage of the technological programs, computers, and tools. This image was entirely unique—and singular—in representing work in the collection of ‘Rotterdam in 50 images.’

Figure 6

RMIH published photograph of workers at RAMLAB



Note. By G. Pijper, (2022), photograph, published by Rotterdam Make It Happen.
<https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/ramlab-3d-metaalprinten-2/>.

In their written content, however, RMIH referenced their collective brand identity as defined specifically by working together, indicating a sense of community. Here, RMIH uplift their city branding strategy and goals, such as “making the national and international appeal of Rotterdam bigger” (Rotterdam Make It Happen, 2024, para. 1). While this does showcase RMIH’s interpretation of working hard specifically by working together, this quality is referenced to leverage their city branding rather than as a core attribute of Rotterdam or Rotterdammers.

By referencing how the interviewees and RMIH referenced the notion of work, it became clear that the elderly associated work with the city’s and residents’ identity far more explicitly and often. This therefore showcased that elderly residents produced a different version of what they considered relevant to understanding Rotterdammers, as determined from their (pre)conceived notions about the city and its people being hardworking. In such ways, the media content from RMIH largely depicting leisurely activities (rather than work environments) has room to be contested by the elderly; the elderly instead referenced work as a core element representative of both Rotterdam and Rotterdammers.

4.3.2 Global and Local City Perspectives

Most notably, the media content from RMIH outlined the goal of helping Rotterdam gain international relevance and appeal through its city branding. RMIH describe Rotterdam’s key characteristics, or their DNA, as “Bold [or raw], Forward [or assertive] [and] Culture [or international]” (Rotterdam Make It Happen, 2023, para. 6). In the selected quotation, the characteristics most central to Rotterdam’s identity were expressed in English words. This reinforced the notion that RMIH highly prioritized the international appeal of the city branding strategy by expressing such sentiments specifically in English: even in media content entirely in Dutch.

Such prioritization of the international appeal of the city was not always shared by the interviewees. More specifically, regarding the influx of other cultures and peoples, Interviewee F felt very negatively about the increasing number of foreigners in the city as well as the coverage

of foreign affairs within the news. When questioned about if he kept up with world news, he specified “They shouldn’t have to talk about abroad, right? What’s important is the Netherlands. For me. Other than that, they can figure it out...” In attempting to redirect the focus back to Dutch news, he expressed discontent in interacting with foreign affairs.

Having referenced his own meanings and judgements attributed to the city, expressing that it should remain localized, Interviewee F directly opposed the global brand values outlined by RMIH. Rather, he contested this prioritization of international appeal by instead uplifting issues of local (Dutch) importance. As such, it remains important to reference that residents such as Interviewee F showed unique interpretations of which qualities they determined as important to the city. In this case, this interpretation was directly oppositional to the media framing and representation of Rotterdam as a city with international appeal.

4.4 Landmarks

Aligned with Lynch’s (1960, as cited in Hospers, 2010) five elements of city image, landmarks were frequently depicted within both media outlets through textual and visual imagery. Referred to by the code ‘landmark,’ this code appeared various times throughout the dataset ($n=41$) both in-text and visually. In their mediated representation of the city, both De Oud-Rotterdammer and RMIH placed high value on Rotterdam’s landmarks to accurately reflect the city’s identity.

Specifically, De Oud-Rotterdammer referenced landmarks as important in being popular between both tourists and residents. For example, De Oud-Rotterdammer’s sixth issue published in 2024 referenced the cultural monument and club building ‘De Maas,’ located on the street of Veerдам 1, Rotterdam Centrum. Built in 1908, this building resides in a popular neighborhood close to the harbor and has withstood the bombardment of the city in the second World War. Having existed for over a century, this building holds a lot of value since it also functions as a relic of the past. However, even despite value in the building’s history, its coveted location can be appreciated by anybody. Published in De Oud-Rotterdammer, it was written that:

The building...has been a true ‘*pièce de résistance*’ for about a century. The simple but very functional Art Nouveau building, with a large terrace looking right on the river, attracts everyone's attention. Especially tourists, gazing at

all the beautiful sail ships in the small harbor, always continue walking along the right side facing towards the river. This ritual repeats itself daily.
(Boddaert, 2024, para. 2)

Thus, the impact of such cultural monuments exists between Rotterdam residents and tourists alike. Defined by beauty in the eyes of the tourists, the harbor and sailboats act as a spectacle from which their eyes cannot look away. Interestingly, this is regarded as a positive attribute to the landmark: one which various kinds of people can enjoy. For the author specifically, however, this appeared to have resulted in a sense of pride. Emphasized by the extensive praise given to the beauty of the building in naming it a “*pièce de résistance*,” the excerpt from Boddaert (2024, para. 2) illustrates this cultural monument as one of the highly positive attributes of Rotterdam.

Similarly, Interviewee B also expressed feelings of pride when asked “How would you describe the modern Rotterdam?” in the following statement:

Rotterdam has become a very flashy city. If you drive into Rotterdam, then you’ll see all those tall, tall buildings. And I always find it so nice to enter via the Maasboulevard, and... Oh, and the bridges. The Erasmus and the Williams bridge, if you see them in that light, at that point I’m quite proud of Rotterdam. I do find it a beautiful city... There’s been so much built, and we find that quite special. (Interviewee B, 84, female)

Such positive feelings towards the city, despite its changes, allowed for both Interviewees B and C as a couple to view Rotterdam as a spectacle, finding it quite “special” to observe. In this statement, Interviewee B expressed how she herself felt pride, positive emotions, and attachment to the city’s newfound flashy identity when being met with this change in surroundings. Specifically, in the construction of the Erasmus bridge and Williams bridge as famous landmarks, she welcomed this change as she and her husband had been living in Rotterdam Centrum for a very long time.

RMIH also referenced a similar location close to the harbor and Maas river, but instead depicted a new and more modern building in their photograph: The Floating Farm. The

photograph can be seen in Figure 7 below.

Figure 7

The Floating Farm



Note. By I. van den Broek, (2021), photograph, published by Rotterdam Make It Happen.
<https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/de-floating-farm>.

Here, the building acts as a fully functional farm, but on water. Cows and other livestock remain inside the building, and the Floating Farm delivers their produce to local restaurants and everyday people (Holland.com, 2022, para. 6). Prioritizing innovation and sustainability, this farm tends to the wellbeing of the animals and is the first water-based farm in the world. As well as purchasing and producing goods localized from the same areas, both in Rotterdam and its neighboring province of Schiedam, they keep products saturated in one area to reduce carbon emissions (Holland.com, 2022, para. 4). It is also possible to visit the farm as an outing or activity.

The image of the Floating Farm was also shown as a prompt for the interviewees to discuss their knowledge and experiences with such sustainable initiatives. When shown to Interviewee D (70, female), she mentioned that she had visited the farm before. When I asked her how her experience went, she responded positively by saying “Nice, yeah. It was nice to visit the cows and also go to the store. No, it was really pleasant.” As mentioned previously, Interviewee G also displayed a positive reaction to the image as a prompt. In being told that locals could interact with these modern urban developments in the city, this prompted more positive engagement from interviewees D and G.

More generally, however, Interviewee H (67, male) reflected upon the water as essential to the city's brand identity. When asked "What would you recognize as typical to Rotterdam?" he replied with, "Water... The water has begun to live again. In being ancient, the water has always had importance on the Rot [of Rotterdam]." Whereas he expressed great sentiment towards the water in Rotterdam, he still criticized the city's attempts in making it more urban. When asking him if he thought such developments, like the Floating Farm, were important in the city, he responded with "No, the city isn't made for that... It's fun, but [the water] doesn't benefit from urbanization." Herein Interviewee H showed both a simultaneous enjoyment and critique upon the image of the Floating Farm in the media. As such, this shows that residents have the ability to negotiate the media representations of the city in a nuanced and dynamic way.

Moreover, when showing Interviewee B the picture of Rotterdammers from RMIH's collection, the conversation moved towards places or characteristics which were representative of Rotterdam. I had mentioned that RMIH also had relevant images of the Markthal, a coveted eating spot and popular marketplace located by Blaak and not too far from Rotterdam Centrum. When asked "What do you think of these kinds of places?" she replied with: "Yeah, it's extremely touristic. I live nearby, so I come there often. And it's, yeah, it's good for the economy, but sometimes I think, eh, it could be reduced." Here, Interviewee B drew the line between places meant to attract tourists and also ones which attracted her as a local. In recognizing that such places were good for the economy, this indicates that locals are aware of processes and changes within the city to deliberately attract tourists. This was implied to be referred to as somewhat of a burden and solidified that there was an intended audience for these kinds of appealing buildings.

Here, the interviewees were shown to consider landmarks just as representative of Rotterdam as the media outlets of RMIH and De Oud-Rotterdammer, although not all reactions were equally positive. Relating back to the research question, the importance of such landmarks within the media representation of the city varied between interviewees and the landmarks represented. While popular locations such as the Markthal were deemed as touristic, and therefore inauthentic to the city's identity, Interviewee B still expressed an understanding for the value of the landmark. Interviewee H responded similarly to the Floating Farm, in both enjoying and criticizing it at the same time. Here, landmarks were shown to be especially important in attributing meaning both in the mediated representation of the city and in amongst the elderly

living in Rotterdam.

4.5 Overview of Results

Altogether, this chapter presented two different media frameworks representing the city of Rotterdam. In RMIH, their media content was characterized by change, urbanization, and moving forward. De Oud-Rotterdammer instead published media focused on nostalgia and taking time to reflect. What also emerged was a difference in the target groups between both media outlets, also referenced in the interviews. As the interviewees were given the chance to negotiate the framing of the city, many expressed excitement when allowed to interact with new and past depictions of the city.

Additionally, the interviewees were able to recognize and describe extensive changes in the city's social, cultural, and physical attributes not fully depicted in either media outlet. Specifically in defining a Rotterdammer, as well as the city, interviewees prioritized the notion of hard work more often than the content presented in the media. Therefore, this provided insights into how city branding, and relevant media framing, could benefit from including qualities relevant to the social and cultural understanding of the city—specifically from the perspective of the elderly extensively familiar with, and often proud of, their place of residence.

5. Conclusion

In this research, the inner workings of media representation, city branding, and residents' meaning-making practices were explored with continuous reference to one another. More specifically, this study focused on answering the question: How do Rotterdam Make It Happen and De Oud-Rotterdammer frame the city of Rotterdam and local 'Rotterdammers,' and how is this negotiated between elderly residents in the city? By attributing both media representations and residents' negotiations of the city brand as relevant, the goal of this study was to explore the various meaning-making processes by the chosen media outlets and elderly residents.

Having expanded on the gap in contemporary research urging to represent local stakeholders and include them in the city branding process, this study gave insights into how this inclusion could be accomplished in the future. This study was further specified towards the underrepresented group of elderly residents, as they were found as not yet adequately studied in modern urban research. As a result, this research showcased how they expressed unique and extensive familiarity with their place of residence (as a result of living in Rotterdam long-term). In redirecting the focus of understanding city brands as a representation, product of culture, and an identity, more meaning was derived from residents' interpretation of this city brand.

Earlier, it was referenced that city branding studies have implications in a multitude of sectors such as tourism, business marketing and globalization (Hassen & Giovanardi, 2018, p. 45). However, this study exemplified that city branding studies also exhibit high importance in the social, cultural, and urban development of cities by re-evaluating city brands as discursively constructed. By establishing the representations of cities as processes of meaning-making, made referential by Hall (1980, p. 130), this allowed notions of audience reception to arise—not yet explored in city branding studies. In representing city brands to audiences through the media, this study examined how the city's brand identity was continuously negotiated and understood amongst the elderly.

In further attempts to bridge various gaps in contemporary city branding research, this study utilized a mixed-methods approach. In order to best analyze the processes in which the media representations of the city were discursively constructed, and understood, a qualitative approach was taken. Supported by the methods of content analysis and interviews, these methods firstly helped identify which qualities of the cities were most often represented in the media.

Additionally, this formed the foundation for interviewing Rotterdam residents and helped include them in the co-construction of the mediated city brand.

5.1 Key Findings

Throughout this research, the media outlets of Rotterdam Make It Happen (RMIH) and De Oud-Rotterdammer were studied with the intent of exploring how they frame and represent the city of Rotterdam. In addressing how both media outlets discursively constructed and represented the city, the relevant representations of city identity were explored. This reiterated the importance of tangible objects identified by Lynch (1960, as cited in Hospers, 2010, p. 2074), as landmarks were found to be frequently depicted in the media outlets. Such landmarks were also attributed as important to the city brand by the elderly, such as by expressing that iconic landmarks also brought upon feelings of joy and pride. Here, both the mediated representation and residents' interpretation were harmonious and held high values for how city identity was constructed in RMIH and De Oud-Rotterdammer.

Furthermore, this study found that city branding strategies need to be understood as products of social culture. As referenced in Hall (1980) who discussed how media representations are encoded and decoded, the interpretation of such products is what bestows further meaning upon them. In this study, it was shown that elderly residents actively engage with the mediated representation of the city when feeling included in the city branding process. By being given the opportunity to contribute to the media content published in both De Oud-Rotterdammer and RMIH, this invited residents to help further co-create the city identity represented in the media.

This brand engagement was previously understood by Insch and Stuart as inherently positive or negative. However, this research explored how residents can both disagree with the media representation of the city whilst still regarding it as relevant. Such as with the Floating Farm, a newly built and innovative farm building, interviewees were pleased to be able to visit the farm. In one such case, however, an interviewee expressed how such urbanization strategies may be unnecessary or harmful to the city's development. This once again calls for urban studies to be evaluated on the basis of who they benefit, as the current scope of understanding this remains unclear (Custers & Willems, 2024, p. 10). Regardless, this study highlighted residents' awareness of both the positive and negative implications of city branding strategies and relevant

media framing.

In uplifting the underrepresented group of the elderly in this study, as identified by Paganoni (2012, p. 27), the interviewees' active participation in the city brand aligned with Insch and Stuart (2015, p. 180) in being helpful in promoting the city's image. In the cases of RMIH, some media depictions of landmarks compelled interviewees to visit them purely based on the image. This behavior was akin to the understanding of residents as potential brand ambassadors, as referenced by Braun et al. (2013, p. 21), characterized by high involvement in engaging with and communicating the city brand. More specifically, when feeling included in the city branding process, the elderly showed great excitement in sustaining this engagement. As such, city branding strategies could further benefit from including the elderly in the co-creation of city identity.

As seen in RMIH and De Oud-Rotterdammer, such inclusion could focus on the production and publishing of creative content. With De Oud-Rotterdammer helping include readers' recollections of the past, this helped further drive their nostalgic outlook on the city. RMIH, however, included the work of their employees as part of the greater city brand. Additionally, when referencing such creative hobbies, understanding Florida's (2003) depiction of creative cities could help further develop the media representation of Rotterdammer. In this study, media content from RMIH was often depicted as (culturally) diverse and technologically advanced, whereas this was not always received positively by interviewees focused on the local and national implications for the city's identity.

This study also uplifted the voices of elderly residents, not yet explored within the city branding process. Whilst this was done to fill a gap in existing research, it must also be referenced that segmenting residents—by prioritizing one select group—is not always helpful (Gilboa & Jaffe, 2021, p. 2). Additionally, this study highlighted that elderly residents' roles in place branding may not be as thorough or linear as explained by Braun et al. (2013, p. 21); residents may simultaneously possess qualities associated with different resident roles. It therefore becomes integral to move beyond seeing residents as only stakeholders, ambassadors, or creators of the city brand identity. Instead, they can be dynamic in expressing various opinions and showcasing both engagement and disengagement at different points in the city branding process.

More specifically, this arose in the representation of Rotterdammers as an extension of

Rotterdam. Residents were quick to reference their understanding of Rotterdammers as hardworking people, and Rotterdam as a hardworking city. This was highlighted as a preconceived notion specific to the interviewees' social and cultural knowledge, since Rotterdammers were represented very differently in the media content of RMIH. Opting to depict the city by representing leisurely activities, only one image was found to be representative of this hardworking quality in RMIH's visual branding.

Oppositely, De Oud-Rotterdammer more accurately reflected this hardworking aspect of the city, describing Rotterdammers as perseveres, by reflecting on hardships faced by residents in the past. In the relevance of discursively constructing the brand identity in the media, the approach taken by De Oud-Rotterdammer more accurately reflected contemporary notions that the elderly had regarding Rotterdam and Rotterdammers. As such, this showcased the existence of disparities between the qualities of Rotterdammers represented in RMIH and among how residents interpreted the identity of Rotterdammers.

Specifically in the tensions found between locals and tourists, it was implied that touristic appeal within the city was not as positively viewed from the locals as mentioned in Freire (2009, p. 433). In the understanding that tourists actively bring both relevant attention and economic value to destinations, city branding research has often focused on tourists specifically. In this research, however, the elderly were shown to be aware of this targeting of specific groups and expressed criticism for increasingly 'touristic' places. Here, the affection towards relevant landmarks such as the Markthal were somewhat dwindled if associated too much with tourists' appeal, aligned with findings by Alvarez (2010, p. 174).

Lastly, this research also outlined instances in which the city branding inaccurately reflected the popular and contemporary notions of the place. Specifically in the interviewees' recollection of Rotterdam as a city built on hard work, this aspect of the social culture was critically underrepresented in the visual content published by RMIH. Although it was referenced to leverage the promotion of the city brand, this portrayal of hard work highlighted disparities between how the media and residents interpreted the city's social and cultural values.

5.2 Academic and Societal Implications

This study showed many positive indicators for understanding residents as audiences and negotiators of city branding. From this study of the elderly population, residents who are

involved with news platforms as well as relevant media are still likely to be aware of changes in the city's identity or social culture. Therefore, this interpretation and reception of these city branding attributes was discussed in a way not yet explored prior, with reference to Hall's (1980) encoding/decoding model. Specifically, locals' negotiation of city brands has implications for identifying lacking or oversaturated qualities. In understanding the nuances of this through interviews, the reception of city branding strategies was more deeply understood. As such, while one city brand may not be able to fit all relevant stakeholders (Gilboa & Jaffe, 2021, p. 4), more progress can be made in including underrepresented groups such as the elderly within the city branding process.

Since many interviewees also discussed the relevant change in social culture in Rotterdam becoming less friendly nowadays, the elderly placed further importance on their pre-existing personal network and connections. This aspect of the elderly aligns with the research by Sun et al. (2020, p. 2) indicating that the elderly highly value their social ties in manifesting place attachment. Different to the understanding of place attachment presented by Sun et al. (2020, p. 2), however, this research showed that long-term Rotterdam residents felt higher feelings of attachment to the place and the title of being a Rotterdammer. This label, although impossible to put into words for many participants, had an innate prestige. Opposingly, it was easier for participants to conclude people who wouldn't constitute as Rotterdammers based on more violent or inappropriate actions.

The other goal within this research was to understand how elderly residents negotiate and interpret the relevant cases of Rotterdam's representation and mediated city branding, in which they had higher affiliation with the nostalgic narratives in De Oud-Rotterdammer. Also attributed by many participants being readers of the newspaper, and rather unfamiliar with city branding, this explained many of the positive feelings that arose from pre-established connections. As such, the realization and interpretation of such messaging relies heavily on the audiences' frameworks of knowledge. Such frameworks can include, but are not limited to, attributes such as interpersonal networks, personal hobbies, (pop) culture and other similar socio-cultural values.

Therefore, by once again referencing Hall (1980), it may be beneficial for future urbanization strategies to assess how city brands could be decoded with reference to popularized socio-cultural attributes of the city. Ooi (2011, p. 56) mentions that the city brand commonly represents positive attributes of the city as well as physical places. However, by not including

important socio-cultural qualities of the city relevant to residents, this representation of the city brand may not reflect the lived experience of the city. By also choosing to include topics relevant to residents, such as the sporting culture in Rotterdam, the city brand can better reflect community-oriented activities. Therefore, residents may become active co-creators of the city brand when including their frameworks of knowledge in the representation of the city.

Lastly, local stakeholders, such as interviewees, were found to play the role in creating city image and imageability rather than identity (Hospers, 2010, p. 2076). By allowing residents to also feel inclined to participate in the co-creation of city image, a more accurate overview can be made in representing what is socially and culturally popular in the city. By building upon Greenberg's (2000, p. 229) notion of the urban imaginary, residents can help determine which physical places most accurately represent the city from the perspective of long-term residents. Here, city branding strategies could consider such resident opinions in aiming to develop their branding further.

5.3 Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This study represented the group of elderly residents in Rotterdam, all of which were long-term residents of the city. In interviewing people extensively familiar with the city, its urban developments, and its surroundings, the participants were able to express their affiliations with the city branding process more often. Contrary to the appeal of studying tourists and outside stakeholders, the elderly residents in this study gave a more detailed overview of the changes in the city's social and cultural values across time.

However, one aspect within this study that could be improved for future research would be the utilization of snowball sampling as a sampling method. As identified by Parker et al. (2019, p. 3) snowball sampling often suffers from the researcher's socio-cultural background and network. For example, snowball sampling often over-represents women due to the notion that they may be more helpful or cooperative in participating in the research (Parker et al., 2019, p. 5). This over-representation was also seen in this research with the largely female sample within the initial snowball. However, it must be noted that the snowball sample was expanded upon through the additional sampling method of purposive random sampling to account for greater diversity in the sample.

Opposingly, a positive quality about this study was that the researcher was largely

familiar with the city of Rotterdam as a frequent visitor (however, not as a resident). By also inhibiting a high familiarity with the city's landmarks, geography, and social culture, I was able to develop a more holistic overview of how the city is both mediated and understood from various perspectives. On the other hand, future research could definitely benefit from the addition of more researchers involved in the coding process(es).

Especially concerning the generation of inductive codes, numerous codes were generated, applied, interpreted, edited, and discarded solely by one researcher. To avoid an overlap between generated codes and ultimately build a more holistic coding frame with other relevant observations, team coding could be applied. This could then build upon the completed solo coding, even by including consulting the interviewees, to verify the findings thus far and attribute more towards the research (Saldaña, 2013, p. 35). This also manifests in the understanding that I was familiar with the context of many of the data units, although this was generally helpful in generating a contextual understanding of the topic at hand.

Lastly, this study suffers from generating results more relevant in short-term contexts. Although each interviewee had been a long-term resident of Rotterdam and the majority had high involvement with the city, these feelings were studied in only one moment in time. In understanding that all meaning-making practices are both interpretational and contextual, the residents' feelings of connection or disengagement with the city branding could change at any given time. As such, I propose a longitudinal study consisting of multiple in-depth interviews across specific residents throughout the implementation of new city branding strategies.

In conclusion, this study utilized a new method of studying city branding strategies as products of culture and by being discursively constructed. Contrary to the economic and touristic implications of city marketing, this view of city branding (as a socio-cultural process) provides further insights into how to develop city brands. By aiming to represent various kinds of citizens, including those such as the elderly still underrepresented in city branding research, more meaning can be constructed between various groups. In both the distribution, construction, and interpretations of meaningful city brands, this cultural perspective allows for the development and acceptance of the city brand among various groups and media outlets.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide (Dutch)

Kenmerken

- Hoe oud bent u?
- Wat is uw afkomst?
- Wat is uw geslacht?
- Hoe lang woont u al in Rotterdam?
- In welk deel van de stad woont u (centrum, Noord, Zuid, etc.)?
- Bent u in Rotterdam opgegroeid? (Of niet, waar bent u opgegroeid?)
- Wonen het merendeel van uw familie of vrienden ook in Rotterdam?

Gen. Nieuws

- Leest u vaak het nieuws?
- Door welke vorm van het nieuws (content) wordt u op de hoogte gehouden?
- Wat voor nieuwskanalen leest u het vaakst?
- Waar leest u algemene nieuws over uw stadswijk in Rotterdam?
- Voelt u zich geïnformeerd over ontwikkelingen of evenementen die in de stad doorgaan?

Dagbladen/DOR

- Leest u vaak dagbladen?
- Bent u bekend met het dagblad De Oud-Rotterdammer?
- Het dagblad beschrijft zichzelf als “de nostalgische krant over Rotterdam,” waarop zij meerdere voorwerpen discussiëren vanuit hoe het vroeger was om de stad te beleven.

De Oud-Rotterdammer
- Sinds 2005 - **MEENEMEN = GRATIS**

De nostalgische krant over Rotterdam Dinsdag 16 april 2024 . Jaargang 20 . Nr.8

Dansen was ideale 'daten' van vroeger

Tientallen reacties kwamen we binnen op onze oproep voor verhalen en anekdotes over dansen en dansen in vroeger jaren in Rotterdam. Want ook in Rotterdam gingen de voetjes vrolijk van de vloer. Van stijfkamers tot disco, van dansen en dansverrechten tot wij dansen alles komt voorbij in deze krant. Opvallend vaak werd dansen de aanleiding tot relaties en huwelijken. Dansen was het ideale 'daten' van vroeger en daar had je geen datingsite of computer bij nodig. Als entree op deze pagina een paar korte dansverhalen. Maar in deze krant nog veel meer!

Wat van ver komt...
Het was ongeveer 1963 toen mijn kamertijd ik in Nederland en dan in de paar. We kwamen terecht bij



De foto is van de danser en de danser onder het Miroor Hotel in 1968.

Deze week o.a.:

- Danses
Pag. 3,6,7,10, 17, 22 en 23
- Medische fascie
Pag. 5
- Er lekker op uit
Pag. 11-17
- Marin van Duijven (Hulstert)
Pag. 19

- Zoals hier beschrijft De Oud-Rotterdammer danslessen uit de jaren '70 en hoe dit zojuist de plek was om vroeger te daten.
- Vindt u dat er bepaalde elementen van Rotterdam zijn die vroeger meer prominent waren dan nu?
- Hoe zou u de Rotterdam uit de jaren 70 beschrijven?
- En tegenovergesteld, hoe zou u de moderne Rotterdam beschrijven?
- Wat vindt u van deze bladzijde uit de De Oud-Rotterdammer krant?
- Herkent u dit gebouw?

Ken je dit nog? Nr. 310

'Zo jammer dat museum er niet meer is'

Op de Ken je dit nog-foto van museum De Dubbele Palmboom in Delfshaven kwamen veel reacties. En velen hadden dezelfde strekking: wat jammer dat dit museum er niet meer is'. Lees maar!

Jan Wurbe: "De gebouwen zijn De Dubbele Palmboom in Delfshaven. Ik ben er met de leerschool van de Rotterdamse Droogdok Maatschappij in de jaren '70 met excursie naar toe geweest. Ik kan me herinneren dat je er ook een tentoonstelling en een juweelencollectie had."

Bep Brans: "Hier zien we weer een mooi stukje Rotterdam. Delfshaven in volle glorie. Met het museum 'De Dubbele Palmboom' aan de Voorhaven heb ik samen met de kinderen veel voetsporen liggen. Vele woensdagen hebben we daar in de jaren '70 een bezoek gebracht. Er werd veel gedaan voor de kinderen om ze te Rotterdam" tot 2012. En na weer een paar jaar leegstaand kwam er vanaf Katendrecht in 2020 het "Dutch Pinball Museum" zijn intrede doen of zoals wij het zeggen het flipperkastmuseum."

Chris van der Linde: "Bij het zien van de foto in de krant van 5 maart kwamen er gelijk heel veel herinneringen bij mij naar boven. Wij hebben daar, als Rotterdamse ik cateraar, eind jaren negentig en begin twee decennium heel veel partijen mogen verzorgen. Het museum was niet alleen interessant voor particulieren die iets bijzonders hadden te vieren maar vooral ook voor de organisaties van congressen was het de ideale



- Wat vindt u van de culturele mogelijkheden in de stad?
- Zijn er meer voorbeelden die u zou kunnen herkennen die niet langer bestaan?

De Oud **Rotterdammer** de.oud.rotterdammer @deoudrotterdammer www.deoudrotterdammer.nl
 - Sinds 2005 - **MEENEMEN = GRATIS**
 De nostalgische krant over Rotterdam **Dinsdag 6 februari 2024 . Jaargang 20. Nr.3**

Woningnood herinnert aan vroeger jaren

De woningnood van nu roept herinneringen op aan de naoorlogse jaren van vorige eeuw. Mevrouw T.E. van Noordem van Dordrecht vertelt erover. Voor velen zal het herkenbaar zijn.

Het Oude Noorden was een arbeidersbuurt met hele kleine woningen. De huizen waren wel diep, zo'n 12 meter, en ingedeeld in drie kamers. In de voorkamer zaten wij alleen 's zondags, op verjaardagen en op feestdagen. Daar ging op zaterdag de kachel aan en was het ook zondag warm. De tussenkamer was de slaapkamer van de ouders. Er was ruimte voor een breed bed, een legkast en een nachtkastje. Als wij naar de voorkamer gingen liepen wij dan altijd door de slaapkamer. Wij leefden in de achterkamer. Daar was op de kopse kant met een raam een grootkozijn met aanrecht, een smal tafeltje met een oliebuisje en op de andere kopse kant een eenkeuken.



Noordtoren

Deze week o.a.:

- De Peperklip Pag. 5
- Huisvrouw Pag. 9
- Martin van Deuren (beulster) (1) Pag. 13
- De Laantjes Pag. 15

- Had u zelf ook last van de woningnood vroeger?
- Hoe zou u de woningnood van toen beschrijven?
- Vindt u dat er momenteel ook een noodzakelijke woningnood is in de stad?

RMIH

- Bent u bekend met het 'Rotterdam. Make It Happen.' initiatief?
- Hoe bent u het tegengekomen?



Zoals in de foto is 'Rotterdam. Make It Happen.' een stadsontwikkelings initiatief die al jarenlang bestaat. Met de slogan 'Make It Happen' wilt het bedrijf een actief en participatief beeld geven van de stad: dat Rotterdam en Rotterdammers het waar maken. Terwijl deze slogan langs verbouwingmateriaal staat is de zin 'Make It Happen' bekend geworden ook buiten deze stadsontwikkelings initiatief.

Op hun website delen RMIH dat de merkalliantie bestaat om samenwerking te promoveren. Meer specifiek zeggen ze dat we “samen zetten we in op (internationale) profilering van de stad bij talent, bedrijven, bezoekers, investeerders, bewoners en studenten.” Hier geeft RMIH aan dat ze om mensen geven en zojuist een nauwkeurig beeld van de stad willen schetsen voor internationale profilering.



Ook gaat RMIH om branding en beeldcreatie. Zoals in de foto in de collectie ‘Rotterdam in 50 beelden’ delen ze foto’s van de stad, activiteiten en mensen als onderdeel van Rotterdam. Hier geeft RMIH een positief beeld van de stad, Rotterdammers, en wat zij de ‘Rotterdamse mentaliteit’ noemen. In deze foto schijnt dat er een paar Rotterdammers de sportschool verlaten in de zomer, en dit is dus zo’n ene foto die Rotterdam beschrijft volgens RMIH.

- Vindt u dat er een ‘Rotterdamse mentaliteit’ bestaat?
- Hoe zou u dit beschrijven?
- Wie of wat denkt u dat deze mentaliteit het best bevat?
- Hoe lang denkt u dat deze mentaliteit al bestaat?
- Denkt u dat het tegenwoordig veranderd is (van wat het ooit was)?
- Bovendien, hoe zou u een ‘Rotterdammer’ beschrijven?
 - Draait dit meer om algemene kenmerken?
 - Liggen hier bepaalde fysieke of mentale karakteristieken bij?
- Wat zou u als ‘typisch Rotterdams’ herkennen?
- Vindt u dat RMIH een accuraat voorbeeld van ‘Rotterdammers’ geeft in deze foto?
- Zou u uzelf kunnen herkennen in deze foto van RMIH?

- Voelt u zich als een echte Rotterdammer?
 - Hoe en waarom?
 - Heeft u zich altijd zo gevoeld?
- Voelt u dat uw leeftijdsgroep gerepresenteerd is als een belangrijk onderdeel van Rotterdam?
- Ziet u vaak mensen zoals uzelf in advertenties die u tegenkomt?



-
- Herkent u dit gebouw of monument?
- Wat vindt u zelf dat dit monument betekent?

Stadsounthouding

- Denkt u dat het beeld van een ‘Rotterdammer’ verschilt tussen wie het verzint?
- Denkt u dat er een verschil in sfeer of cultuur bestaat tussen meerdere delen van Rotterdam (Zuid, Noord...)?
- Zou u ooit ergens anders dan Rotterdam willen wonen?
- Heeft u Rotterdam ooit eerder als een “werkstad” genoemd of gehoord?
- Wat vindt u zelf van het idee dat Rotterdam een werkstad is geweest?

Andere steden

- Wonen het merendeel van uw vrienden in Rotterdam?
- Vindt u het belangrijk dat zij van een vergelijkbare achtergrond als u komen?
- Denkt u dat er een cultuurverschil bestaat tussen verschillende steden in Nederland?
- Zou u denken dat mensen uit andere steden een bepaald beeld van Rotterdam hebben?
 - Hoe zou dit komen?

Plek

Hier laat ik dus de allerlaatste foto zien.



RMIH wilt zojuist bekende en onbekende plekken in Rotterdam verheffen in hun Make It Happen initiatief. Onder andere foto's van de cube huizen, Erasmusbrug, Markthal en Centraal Station heeft RMIH ook foto's van minder bekende plekken gedeeld in hun collectie.

In deze foto is de 'Floating Farm' afgebeeld, een circulaire en drijvende boerderij aan zee. Hier probeert Rotterdam een meer milieuvriendelijke manier om de agrarische sector te laten groeien in Rotterdam-West. Dit is dan maar één onderdeel van een nieuw 'groen' initiatief dat boerderijen meer duurzaam zou laten maken, ook al is het zeker een stuk minder bekend dan andere monumenten.

- Bent u bekend met dit soort duurzame initiatieven uit de stad?
- Vindt u dat deze duurzame ontwikkelingen meer prominent worden in de stad?
- Daar tegenovergesteld, welke voorwerpen komen u het meest bekend voor in uw herinnering aan de stad?
- Zijn er bepaalde fysieke plekken die de stadsidentiteit onderhouden? Bestaan dit soort plekken al lang?

Stadsidentiteit en de Gemeente

- Welke elementen van de stadswijk vindt u het meest belangrijk?

- Vindt u dat er een goede band bestaat tussen de gemeente en het volk?
- Denkt u dat de gemeente goed luistert naar de wensen van de maatschappij?
- Wat voor voorwerpen denkt u dat door de gemeente genegeerd wordt?
- Wat voor initiatieven ziet u het meest ondersteund door de gemeente?
- Vindt u dat de stadsidentiteit veranderd is in de laatste jaren?

Appendix B: Consent Form (Dutch)

TOESTEMMINGSVERZOEK VOOR MEEDOEN AAN HET ONDERZOEK

VOOR VRAGEN OVER HET ONDERZOEK KUNT U CONTACT OPNEMEN MET:

Robin Ju, 578196rj@eur.nl

Beschrijving

U wordt uitgenodigd om deel te nemen aan een onderzoek over Rotterdam en de stadsidentiteit. Het doel van de studie is om te zien hoe Rotterdammers de evenementen, identiteit en belang van de stad begrijpen en zelf interpreteren. Uw aanvaarding om deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek betekent dat u akkoord gaat met geïnterviewd worden en dat de audio hiervan opgenomen wordt. In het algemeen zullen mijn vragen betrekking hebben op jouw identiteit als Rotterdammer en mening over media zoals de Oud-Rotterdammer dagblad en Rotterdam Make It Happen initiatief. Tenzij u liever heeft dat er geen opnames worden gemaakt, maak ik een audio-opname van het interview. Het materiaal uit de interviews en mijn observatie zal ik uitsluitend gebruiken voor wetenschappelijk werk, zoals verder onderzoek, wetenschappelijke bijeenkomsten en mijn

scriptie.

Risico's en Voordelen

Voor zover ik weet zijn er geen risico's verbonden aan deelname aan dit onderzoek. Ik zal uw naam en andere identificerende informatie (zoals fysiek) niet gebruiken in het onderzoek. Naar deelnemers aan het onderzoek wordt alleen verwezen met pseudoniemen, en in termen van algemene kenmerken zoals leeftijd en geslacht, etc. Het staat u altijd vrij om bepaalde vragen niet te beantwoorden en/of op elk moment uw deelname te beëindigen.

Tijd

Uw deelname aan dit onderzoek zal ongeveer 45 minuten duren. U kunt uw deelname op elk moment onderbreken.

Betaling

Er wordt geen financiële vergoeding gegeven voor uw deelname.

Rechten van Deelnemers

Als u besloten heeft om mee te doen aan dit project, begrijp dan dat uw deelname vrijwillig is en dat u het recht heeft om uw toestemming op elk moment in te trekken of de deelname stop te zetten. U heeft het recht om bepaalde vragen te beantwoorden of te weigeren indien nodig. Indien u het specifiek zou willen, wordt uw identiteit kenbaar gemaakt in alle schriftelijke gegevens die uit het onderzoek voortkomen, maar anders blijft het volledig anoniem.

Contact en Vragen

Als u vragen heeft over uw rechten als deelnemer aan het onderzoek, of op enig moment ontevreden bent over enig aspect van dit onderzoek, kunt u – desgewenst anoniem – contact opnemen met Robin Ju, 578196rj@eur.nl, student Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam.

Ondertekening

Als u dit toestemmingsformulier ondertekent is uw handtekening het enige bewijs van uw identiteit. U hoeft dit formulier dus NIET te ondertekenen. Om de risico's te minimaliseren en

uw identiteit te beschermen, geeft u er wellicht de voorkeur aan om mondeling toestemming te geven. Uw mondelinge toestemming is voldoende.

Ik geef toestemming voor opname tijdens dit onderzoek:

Naam Handtekening Datum

Ik geef de voorkeur aan dat mijn identiteit wordt onthuld in alle schriftelijke gegevens die uit dit onderzoek voor komen:

Naam Handtekening Datum

Appendix C: Codebook

Theme	Sub Theme	Code	Description	Example
Movement	Fast	Activity	Activities held, events conducted. Form of action.	Dancing
		Movement	Depiction of objects or things in movement.	Cyclists in motion
		Speed	Fast-paced movement.	A boat speeding across waters
		Transport	The transportation of goods or people	Public transport, trains
<hr/>				
	Slow	Standstill	Objects not moving at all.	Stationary objects. People sitting down.

Theme	Sub Theme	Code	Description	Example
		Leisure	Slow-paced activities or events done for fun.	Picnics, dining, social gatherings, relaxing
Place	Buildings	Tall	Buildings very large in size and tall in height	Skyscrapers, apartment buildings
		Structure	Angular shapes of inanimate objects	Apartment buildings in a straight line
		Landmark	Iconic or recognizable physical place in Rotterdam	Rotterdam Central Station, Markthal, Erasmus bridge
		Residential	Areas saturated with living spaces, homes, residents; neighborhoods	Townhomes, apartment complexes, mentions of specific neighborhoods
		Sustainability	Ecologically ‘green’ development, clean energy	Electric cars, the Floating Farm
		Urban	Metropolitan city attributes. Tall, modern architectural buildings.	
		Traditional	Old-fashioned architectural structure and societal attributes	Baroque buildings; the role of a housewife
		Modern	Common present-day architecture or culture	Recently built homes; skyscrapers
		Construction	Buildings still in renovation	Crane machines, bricks

Theme	Sub Theme	Code	Description	Example
	Surroundings	Outside	The outdoors, photograph was taken outside	A photo of a garden
		Blue sky	No clouds in the sky, nice weather	A skyline not covered in clouds; sun
		Cloudy	Clouds seen in the sky, not particularly nice weather	Rainstorm
		Vibrant	Visually colorful or descriptively lively	Neon yellow and red colors; a lively social event such as drinking
		Nature	The outdoors	Trees and flowers in bloom
		Restaurant	An eatery or establishment where people dine	A photograph of a fast food chain
		Animals	The depiction of domesticated animals	Cows and sheep
		Body of water	Any large body of water depicted or discussed	Rivers; puddles; the ocean
		Boat	A vehicle on water	SS Rotterdam; Spido
		Dense	Crowded areas or space	A cramped metro filled with many people
		Distance	The amount of space between people or things	Buildings 800 meters apart from one another
		Lights	Visible, natural or synthetic	Spotlights; sunshine

Theme	Sub Theme	Code	Description	Example
			light	
		Bicycle	A mode of transportation with two wheels	A cyclist moving around
Emotions	Positive	Pride	Feelings of attachment or involvement with something	“The crown jewel of the city, no doubt about it!”
		Beauty	Indications of a high aesthetic value	“A beautiful sight to behold.”
		Delight	An emotion related to happiness, contentment, positivity, and elation	“Truly marvelous!” “It made me really happy.”
		Nostalgia	Positive remembrance of the past.	“I remember it like it was yesterday.”
		Memory	A specific moment in time that stays with someone	“Just last Monday, we went out to eat.”
		Empathy	Showing care for one another’s beliefs or situation; hospitality	“I really understood her pain.”
		Humor	Statement intended to be funny or sarcastic	“We had a good laugh.”
		Hopeful	Indicating optimism about something	“I believed we could get through it.”

Theme	Sub Theme	Code	Description	Example
		Grateful	Showing gratitude and thanks to/for someone or something	“I felt indebted to them.”
	Negative	Hardship	An event or feeling that comes with suffering	“There was no electricity. It was freezing.”
		Unease	Feelings of displeasure and caution towards something	“It made me queasy.”
		Unsure	A state of confusion or disremembrance	“I don’t quite remember...”
		Danger	A perceived threat	“We were in trouble!”
Community	Relationships	People	Human beings	A picture of a family
		Partners	People connected and affiliated with each other	Brand alliances, coworkers
		Romance	A romantic relationship; love	A picture of two people being affectionate
		Friendship	Close bonds between people who speak/see each other often	“In our friend group we had so much fun.”
		Family	Blood-related relations	“My brothers and sisters...”
		Help	The action of aiding or helping someone else in need	“On Sundays we went to donate clothes.”

Theme	Sub Theme	Code	Description	Example
		Sharing	The use of an item between multiple people	A photo of two kids playing with the same toy
		Togetherness	Interaction and a sense of affection between people	“We were never apart.” “Together we overcame the hard times.”
		Reflection	Either a visual reflection of something or a personal reference to the past	“I saw the world differently back then.”; Mirrors
		Collaboration	An alliance between people in creating joint work	“The brand alliance...”
Cultural society	Change		Something being different than it was before	“We used to never have this.”
	Wealthy		An indication of high finances	Gated communities
	Time		The passage of time; progression of existing	A clock; “We didn’t have any time left.”
	Representation		The portrayal of something, someone, or some place	“The city has massive international appeal.”
	Identity		Attributes and qualities associated with the idea/ representation of something	“They now call themselves old-timers.”
	Brand		Commercial product, company, or identity	“Our brand alliance entails that...”

Theme	Sub Theme	Code	Description	Example
		Corporate	A professional workplace setting and attitude	“The union of various brands.”
		Goal	A communicated ambition or collective effort	“Herein we aim to...”
		Opportunity	The possibility to complete or achieve something	“Creating opportunities for the city.”
		Popularity	How much positive attention something gets	“The cafe had a lot of visitors!”
		Technology	Electronic and modern gadgets or advancements	Usage of computer labs in images
		Work	The professional job setting and workplace	“Her job was to manage sales.”
		Art	A creative outlet focused on visual (aesthetic) value	Paintings; graffiti
		Photography	The action of taking a photograph, often with a camera	A person taking a photo of Rotterdam central station with their cell phone camera

Appendix D: Units of Analysis Table

Unit	Link	Outlet	Unit Type	Headline/Title (OR)	Author
1	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/gedachtegoed/	RMIH	Text	Over Rotterdam. Make It Happen.: Gedachtegoed	RMIH
2	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/gedachtegoed/de-merkalliantie/	RMIH	Text	De merkalliantie	RMIH
3	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/gedachtegoed/merkbeloofte-dna/	RMIH	Text	Merkbeloofte & DNA	RMIH
4	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/gedachtegoed/make-it-happen-mentaliteit/	RMIH	Text	Make It Happen mentaliteit	RMIH
5	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/gedachtegoed/positionering-focus/	RMIH	Text	Positionering en focus	RMIH

Unit	Link	Outlet	Unit Type	Headline/Title (OR)	Author
6	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/skyline-foto-met-de-maas-willemsbrug-zalmhaventoren-en-euromast/	RMIH	Image	Skyline foto met de Maas, Willemsbrug, Zalmhaventoren en Euromast	RMIH, Iris van den Broek
7	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/containerschip-vaart-weg-van-de-kade-in-de-haven-van-rotterdam/	RMIH	Image	Containerschip vaart weg van de kade in de haven van Rotterdam	Danny Cornelissen
8	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/mensen-wandelen-langs-de-coolhaven-kade-euromast-zichtbaar-in-achtergrond/	RMIH	Image	Mensen wandelen langs de Coolhaven kade, Euromast zichtbaar in achtergrond	Iris van den Broek
9	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/mensen-op-een-terras-bij-little-c/	RMIH	Image	Mensen op een terras bij Little C	Iris van den Broek
10	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/fietsers-op-de-witte-de-wit-hstraat-2/	RMIH	Image	Fietsers op de Witte de Withstraat	Iris van den Broek
11	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/moments-contained-beeld-voor-centraal-station/	RMIH	Image	Moments Contained, beeld voor Centraal Station	Iris van den Broek
12	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/toeristen-genieten-van-de-zon-en-van-het-uitzicht-bij-metrohalte-hoek-van-holland-strand/	RMIH	Image	Toeristen genieten van de zon en van het uitzicht bij metrohalte Hoek van Holland Strand	Claire Droppert

Unit	Link	Outlet	Unit Type	Headline/Title (OR)	Author
13	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/architectuur-op-de-wilhelminapier-de-rotterdam-en-de-verbouwde-handelsveem-pakhuizen/	RMIH	Image	Architectuur op de Wilhelminapier: De Rotterdam en de verbouwde handelsveem pakhuizen	Iris van den Broek
14	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/streetart-concrete-jungle-door-eelco-van-den-berg/	RMIH	Image	Streetart 'Concrete Jungle' door Eelco van den Berg	Hester Blankestijn
15	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/wikkelboats-in-de-rijnhaven/	RMIH	Image	Wikkelboats in de Rijnhaven	Iris van den Broek
16	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/jonge-vrouw-kijkt-uit-over-wilhelminaplein/	RMIH	Image	Jonge vrouw kijkt uit over Wilhelminaplein	Ernst Wagenveld
17	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/skyline-zicht-op-zalmhaventoren-en-erasmusbrug/	RMIH	Image	Skyline, zicht op Zalmhaventoren en Erasmusbrug	Robin Utrecht
18	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/luchtfoto-de-maas-en-de-zalmhaventoren-in-aanbouw/	RMIH	Image	Luchtfoto: de Maas en de Zalmhaventoren (in aanbouw)	Gerhard van Roon/Kunst en Vliegwerk RP
19	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/luchtfoto-maas-erasmusbrug-wilhelminakade-kop-van-zuid-noordereiland/	RMIH	Image	Luchtfoto: Maas, Erasmusbrug, Wilhelminakade, Kop van Zuid, Noordereiland	Gerhard van Roon/Kunst en Vliegwerk

Unit	Link	Outlet	Unit Type	Headline/Title (OR)	Author
					RP
20	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/watertaxi-varend-op-de-maas-erasmusbrug-en-de-rotterdam-op-de-achtergrond/	RMIH	Image	Watertaxi varend op de Maas, Erasmusbrug en De Rotterdam op de achtergrond	Iris van den Broek
21	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/mensen-genieten-van-het-uitzicht-op-de-skyline-en-de-maas-vanaf-de-euromast/	RMIH	Image	Mensen genieten van het uitzicht op de skyline en de Maas vanaf de Euromast	Iris van den Broek
22	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/skyline-vanaf-de-dak-van-het-depot-boijmans-van-beuningen/	RMIH	Image	Skyline vanaf de dak van het Depot Boijmans van Beuningen	Robin Utrecht
23	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/mensen-recreeren-aan-de-kade-van-de-rijnhaven/	RMIH	Image	Mensen recreëren aan de kade van de Rijnhaven	Iris van den Broek
24	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/de-maeslantkering/	RMIH	Image	De Maeslantkering	Guido Pijper
25	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/kubuwoningen/	RMIH	Image	Kubuswoningen	Iris van den Broek
26	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/coolsingel-gezien-vanaf-de-rooftop-walk/	RMIH	Image	Coolsingel gezien vanaf de Rooftop walk	Iris van den Broek
27	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/voeten-op-de-binnenrotte-	RMIH	Image	Voeten op de Binnenrotte	Iris van den Broek

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	2/				
28	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/uitzicht-op-de-zalmhaventoren-vanaf-de-veerhaven/	RMIH	Image	Uitzicht op de zalmhaventoren vanaf de Veerhaven	Iris van den Broek
29	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/ramlab-3d-metaalprinten-2/	RMIH	Image	RAMLAB, 3D metaalprinten	Guido Pijper
30	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/rijnhaven-floating-office/	RMIH	Image	Rijnhaven, Floating Office	Iris van den Broek
31	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/het-museumpark-met-depot-boijmans-van-beuningen/	RMIH	Image	Het Museumpark met Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen	Iris van den Broek
32	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/uitzicht-vanaf-het-dak-van-depot-boijmans-van-beuningen/	RMIH	Image	Uitzicht vanaf het dak van Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen	Robin Utrecht
33	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/kunst-binnen-het-depot-van-boijmans-van-beuningen/	RMIH	Image	Kunst binnen het Depot van Boijmans van Beuningen	Iris van den Broek
34	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/bspoldervos-met-zebrapad-2/	RMIH	Image	Bospoldervos met zebrapad, Florentijn Hofman	Iris van den Broek
35	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/maassilo-aan-het-water-met-weg/	RMIH	Image	Maassilo aan het water met weg	Iris van den Broek

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36	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/de-floating-farm/	RMIH	Image	De Floating Farm	Iris van den Broek
37	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/de-maasvlakte-gezien-van-uit-de-lucht/	RMIH	Image	De Maasvlakte gezien vanuit de lucht	Guido Pijper
38	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/rotterdam-centraal-station-vanuit-de-lucht/	RMIH	Image	Rotterdam Centraal Station vanuit de lucht	Guido Pijper
40	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/van-nelle-fabriek/	RMIH	Image	Van Nelle Fabriek	Iris van den Broek
41	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/skateboarder-bij-de-erasmusbrug/	RMIH	Image	Skateboarder bij de Erasmusbrug	Iris van den Broek
42	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/watertaxis-varen-over-de-maas/	RMIH	Image	Watertaxi's varen over de Maas	Iris van den Broek
43	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/vriendengroep-op-de-wilhelminakade/	RMIH	Image	Vriendengroep op de Wilhelminakade	Adriënne Wildeman
44	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/toerist-fotografeert-de-delftse-poort/	RMIH	Image	Toerist fotografeert de Delftse Poort	Iris van den Broek
45	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/lente-in-rotterdam/	RMIH	Image	Lente in Rotterdam	Guido Pijper

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46	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/uitzicht-op-ss-rotterdam-vanaf-een-van-de-steigerlocaties-van-watertaxi-rotterdam/	RMIH	Image	Uitzicht op ss Rotterdam vanaf één van de steigerlocaties van Watertaxi Rotterdam	Iris van den Broek
47	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/fietsers-rijden-langs-de-cruise-terminal/	RMIH	Image	Fietsers rijden langs de Cruise Terminal	Iris van den Broek
48	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/architectuur-gebouw-erasmus-mc/	RMIH	Image	Architectuur gebouw Erasmus MC	Guido Pijper
49	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/witte-de-withstraat-2/	RMIH	Image	Witte de Withstraat	Iris van den Broek
50	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/recreanten-bij-de-kralingse-plas-2/	RMIH	Image	Recreanten bij de Kralingse Plas	Iris van den Broek
51	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/centraal-station/	RMIH	Image	Centraal Station	Ossip van Duivenbode
52	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/inkijk-in-de-markthal/	RMIH	Image	Inkijk in de Markthal	Ossip van Duivenbode
53	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/proosten-met-vrienden-in-de-stadshaven-brouwerij/	RMIH	Image	Proosten met vrienden in de Stadshaven Brouwerij	Stadshaven Brouwerij
54	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/traveler-arrives-by-metro-	RMIH	Image	Reiziger arriveert per metro bij Hoek van Holland Strand	Claire Droppert

Unit	Link	Outlet	Unit Type	Headline/Title (OR)	Author
	at-hoek-van-holland-beach/				
55	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/bezoekers-van-bovenop-zuid-op-het-dak-van-winkelcentrum-zuidplein/	RMIH	Image	Bezoekers van Bovenop Zuid op het dak van winkelcentrum Zuidplein	Iris van den Broek
56	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/apm-terminals-maasvlakte-ii-2/	RMIH	Image	APM Terminals Maasvlakte II	Worcflo
57	https://rotterdammakeithappen.nl/media-objecten/het-floating-office-van-het-gca-in-de-rijnhaven-3/	RMIH	Image	Het Floating Office van het GCA in de Rijnhaven	Iris van den Broek
58	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 2	DOR	Text & Image	Toen er hier nog echte winters waren	Carel Wervenbos
59	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 2	DOR	Text & Image	‘ROTEB wees wijs, breek niet ons ijs!’	Bert Luijendijk
60	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 2	DOR	Text & Image	Afscheid van Rotterdam... of toch niet?	
61	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 2	DOR	Text & Image	Vroeg geleerd hoofd boven water te houden	Joop Tessers
62	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 2	DOR	Image	Ken je dit nog? Nr. 306 & 304	DOR & Various
63	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/als-watersnood-evacue-naar-hillegersberg/	DOR	Text	Als Watersnood-evacué naar Hillegersberg	Teun Kweekel

Unit	Link	Outlet	Unit Type	Headline/Title (OR)	Author
64	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 4	DOR	Image	De gevoelige plaat	DOR
65	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 4	DOR	Image	Ken je dit nog? Nr. 305	DOR & Various
66	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 6	DOR	Text & Image	Woningnood herinnert aan vroeger jaren	T.E. van Noordennen
67	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 6	DOR	Text	Huisvrouw zijn was geen makkie	Wim van der Klein
68	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 6	DOR	Image	De gevoelige plaat	DOR
69	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 6	DOR	Image	Ken je dit nog? Nr. 306 & 308	DOR & Various
70	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 6	DOR	Text	Tante Postbus	Various
71	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 8	DOR	Text & Image	Henk en Hilda zijn nu zelf 'old-timers'	Henk Gieszen & Hilda Gieszen-Vermeer
72	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 8	DOR	Text & Image	De slechtste auto van Rotterdam	Wim Hoogerheid en
73	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 8	DOR	Image	Ken je dit nog? Nr. 307	DOR & Various

Unit	Link	Outlet	Unit Type	Headline/Title (OR)	Author
74	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/dorus-is-nog-lang-niet-vergeten/ Issue Week 10	DOR	Text	Dorus is nog lang niet vergeten	Daan Koppenol
75	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/dorus-is-nog-lang-niet-vergeten/ Issue Week 10	DOR	Text	Ken je dit nog? Nr. 308 reacties	Various
76	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/atlantic-huis-westplein-een-fraai-bastion/ Issue Week 12	DOR	Text & Image	‘Atlantic Huis’ Westplein, een fraai bastion	Joris Boddaert
77	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/rare-hangplek-door-communicatiefoutje/ Issue Week 14	DOR	Text & Image	Rare hangplek door communicatiefoutje	Arie van der Stoep
78	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/rare-hangplek-door-communicatiefoutje/ Issue Week 14	DOR	Text & Image	Ken je dit nog? Nr. 310	DOR & Various
79	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/dansen-was-ideale-daten-van-vroeger/ Issue Week 16	DOR	Text & Image	Dansen was ideale ‘daten’ van vroeger	Ton de Raaij
80	https://www.deoudrotterdammer.nl/archief-2024/ Issue Week 16	DOR	Text	Tante Post	Various