The consequences of being 'the Capital of Cool'. Creative entrepreneurs and the sustainable development of creative tourism in the urban context of Rotterdam

Shirley Nieuwland & Mariangela Lavanga

Submit your article to this journal ⬈

View related articles ⬈

View Crossmark data ⬈

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

The consequences of being 'the Capital of Cool'. Creative entrepreneurs and the sustainable development of creative tourism in the urban context of Rotterdam

Shirley Nieuwland ⓘ and Mariangela Lavanga ⓘ

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication, Erasmus Research Centre for Media, Communication and Culture, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Rotterdam, the Netherlands

ABSTRACT

This article analyses how creative entrepreneurs perceive the development of tourism; it looks at creative placemaking in tourism and reflects on the role of creative entrepreneurs in the sustainable development of tourism. To do so, we conducted semi-structured interviews with creative entrepreneurs in the city of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. We choose a city in an early stage of tourism development but in a more advanced stage of culture-led urban regeneration. Although Rotterdam has a long history of strategies to change its image into a creative one, only recently has the city experienced an increase in media attention and a growing number of domestic and international tourists. This offers a unique opportunity to explore tourism development at an early stage. Our results nuance our understanding of the relations between creative entrepreneurs, placemaking, and tourism. Although the creative entrepreneurs in our sample consider themselves placemakers, issues such as equality, inclusiveness, and avoiding gentrification are still not adequately addressed. From a policy perspective, this study emphasises the need to take into account the fundamental question of whose city Rotterdam is and who benefits from the urban and tourism development strategy.

Introduction

The history of the port city of Rotterdam, the Netherlands, is similar to those of many other post-industrial cities. Cities such as Glasgow, Bilbao, Barcelona, or Manchester have all suffered from processes of de-industrialisation, starting from the 1970s. They have tried to use arts and culture to reinvent their image and reposition themselves as creative cities. Large cultural infrastructure (e.g. the Guggenheim museum) combined with big events (e.g. European Capital of Culture, the Olympics) has triggered a process of urban regeneration that contributed to putting the city on the map. While in the 1980s the image of Rotterdam was one of a dull city with a limited cultural offer, a long-term process of public-private investments in cultural infrastructure and events have slowly helped to reposition the city, nationally and internationally. The turning points were the Kunsthal exhibition

space in 1992, the Erasmus Bridge in 1996, redevelopment of the Kop van Zuid area between 1993 and 2000, the European Capital of Culture in 2001 and, more recently, the opening of the Markthal in 2014. This was followed by the Lonely Planet acknowledgement of best in travel for 2016, as well as CNN Travel declaring Rotterdam as 'the Capital of cool'.

Today, these investments are paying off in terms of an increased number of (international) residents, businesses, and tourists. Still developing itself as a creative city and tourist destination and not featuring the characteristics of a heritage city, Rotterdam offers an interesting case to delve into the relations between creative entrepreneurs and tourism in the early stages of tourism development.

While many other European cities are suffering from over-tourism and turning into tourist cities, the municipality of Rotterdam is showing interest in developing a vision for tourism that would address such issues. A new vision was presented in March 2020; it entails the involvement of local residents, community-based approaches, and attraction of a type of tourist who is interested in visiting unexplored areas. This strategy recalls theoretical debates about creative and new urban tourism (Füller & Michel, 2014; Russo & Richards, 2016) as well as ideas about creative placemaking (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010b). It is known that culture-led regeneration strategies as well as creative placemaking in practice often lead to gentrification and inequality (for example Evans, 2009; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010a; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010b; Scott, 2014). Yet, in tourism, the concept is emerging as a form of tourism development that is potentially more sustainable, as it is based on co-creation with local stakeholders and entrepreneurs while creating facilities that both locals and visitors can enjoy (Braun et al., 2013; Colomb & Kalandides, 2010; Marques & Borba, 2017; Van der Borg et al., 2005). However, despite the central role creative entrepreneurs play in urban development strategies, their position in tourism is often overlooked (Go et al., 2014).

This study thus investigates the role of creative entrepreneurs as placemakers in the sustainable development of urban tourism in Rotterdam. Rotterdam may distinguish itself in particular by revealing the extent to which creative entrepreneurs and tourism get interconnected in the early stages of tourism development. Our research uses a qualitative approach involving semi-structured interviews with 22 Rotterdam-based creative entrepreneurs, to which we have added interviews with four stakeholders involved in culture and tourism development in the city. The article starts with an overview of Rotterdam's path towards becoming a creative and tourist city, followed by a theoretical overview explaining the connections between creative tourism, creative entrepreneurs as placemakers, and sustainable urban tourism development. Next, we will explain our research methodology, followed by a detailed result section, after which we will draw our conclusions.

The case of Rotterdam

The path of Rotterdam positioning itself as a creative city started in the late 1980s when the government issued the policy memorandum 'Revitalising Rotterdam' and developed strategies to increase investments in culture, leisure, and tourism. The goal was to redevelop the city's image and increase the quality of life (McCarthy, 1998; Van der Borg et al., 2005). At times of increased intra-urban competition, many cities were shifting from managerial approaches to urban development towards more entrepreneurial ones, which facilitated public-private partnerships in particular (Harvey, 1989). As a port city with currently close to 650,000 inhabitants (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019), Rotterdam was long considered a working-class city with an unattractive image, both nationally and internationally. During that time, Rotterdam was often associated with high levels of unemployability, poverty, and social problems (McCarthy, 1998). While in the 1980s, policy focused on big cultural infrastructures such as the museum park and the new architectural landmark of the Erasmus bridge, during the 1990s soft infrastructures were targeted, for example, temporary events such as festivals (Van der Borg et al., 2005). These investments in cultural infrastructure and activities, as well as first attempts to use arts and culture to

increase diversity and inclusion, contributed to Rotterdam being selected as Cultural Capital of Europe.

While there was a clear focus on residents in the European Capital of Culture programme, this also marked the start of a regeneration strategy to improve Rotterdam's image and attract more visitors (Hitters, 2000; Richards & Wilson, 2004). In subsequent years, priority was given to big infrastructure, skyscrapers, and luxury apartments (e.g. the redevelopment of the waterfront area Kop van Zuid) to attract the so-called creative class (Florida, 2002). Gentrifying specific neighbourhoods because they are upcoming and have growth potential was also part of the city's vision for 2030 (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007b). Between 2004 and 2008, multiple projects were introduced to gentrify a selected number of neighbourhoods and attract a more affluent and creative middle class (Doucet et al., 2011). In 2008, the municipality launched the 'City Lounge'strategy, to make its central areas more attractive and hospitable. The development of iconic buildings as part of this strategy. It led to the realisation of De Rotterdam (an iconic building with mixed-use purposes, designed by architect Rem Koolhaas), a renewed Central Station, and De Markthal (an indoor market in an iconic building, designed by MVRDV) in 2013 and 2014. Simultaneously, Rotterdam became one of the most popular cities in the Netherlands, moving from the 17th to the 6th and, finally, the 2nd position of the strongest city brand, according to residents of the cities itself, between 2015 and 2017 (ED, 2017; Havermans, 2015).

However, as the popularity of Rotterdam grew, its development was also increasingly criticised, very much in line with those addressing the creative city and creative class theories. The main question posed was who will benefit from this development (Liukku & Mandias, 2016). Residents believed Rotterdam was and is losing its raw and authentic character (Liukku & Mandias, 2016). In particular, rental and housing prices have been rising steeply compared to other cities in the Netherlands. In 2018, rentals and housing prices grew 8.6% and 10.9%, respectively, compared to the Dutch average of 4.9% and 9% (Calcasa, 2019; Pararius, 2019).

While critiques persist, the regeneration strategy of Rotterdam also bears fruit in terms of tourists' numbers. With the opening of the Markthal, Rotterdam received plenty of attention from international media. Under the guidance of Rotterdam Partners, the destination marketing organisation (DMO) that came into being in 2014, the city was featured in media outlets such as The Guardian and The New York Times. It was also listed by Lonely Planet as one of the top 10 cities to visit in 2016. As a result, tourists' numbers started to grow. According to Rotterdam Partners, the 'Lonely Planet effect' was especially noticeable in the first half of 2016, a period in which the total amount of international hotel guests was 17.4% higher than during the same period in 2015 (Rotterdam Partners, 2016). Ever since tourists' numbers have kept on growing rapidly. In 2018, around 1.3 million people stayed overnight in a hotel, which is an increase of 15% compared to the year before. Of those visitors, 47% were international tourists (Rotterdam Partners, 2019). The growing number of visitors has led to an increase of jobs in the tourist sector of 14% between 2012 and 2016, while retail and HORECA (HOtel, REstaurants, and CAtering) are benefiting from increased visitor flows as well (Koophandel, 2018).

While the new image and the success it brought to the city are highly celebrated, previously described concerns of residents are still increasing, combined with the fear that Rotterdam will turn into a tourist city (Judd & Fainstein, 1999), which is seen as a place that primarily fulfils the demands of tourists rather than those of local residents. This fear is shared by Rotterdam's Councillor of Education, Culture and Tourism, who mentioned that, despite the positive economic effect tourism brings, '[Rotterdam] should not become like Amsterdam' (Beek & van Heel, 2019). For this reason, the city of Rotterdam and Rotterdam Partners have been working on a vision for tourism development in Rotterdam, which was presented in March 2020. While the strategy was still under development when we were gathering our empirical data, there already was a clear sign it would be partially based on creativity, attracting the creative tourist and placemaking principles. We will come back to this point at the end of the theoretical section.

Creative tourism as sustainable urban tourism development?

Fears of overtourism are based on wider trends in tourism we see throughout Europe, where city tourism has grown by 60% between 2007 and 2014 (Richards, 2017a). While this growth has been stimulated by most cities due to the economic benefits and regenerative effects (Bellini & Pasquinelli, 2017; Koens et al., 2018; Novy, 2014; Sequera & Nofre, 2018), there is a growing awareness of the negative side effects as well, especially for more mature tourist destinations (Bellini & Pasquinelli, 2017; Russo, 2002). Negative aspects related to urban tourism range from overcrowding, a change of city culture and the loss of authenticity, to noise complaints, issues with waste management, and rents and housing prices rising (Bellini & Pasquinelli, 2017; Cócola-Gant, 2015; Colomb & Kalandides, 2010). Besides those aspects, urban tourism is often related to processes of gentrification (Sequera & Nofre, 2018). Many cities worldwide are therefore looking for more sustainable development models for urban tourism. For the sustainable development of tourism we use the definition described by Butler (1993): 'Tourism which is developed and maintained in an area (community, environment) in such a manner and at such a scale that it remains viable over an infinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and wellbeing of other activities and processes' (Butler, 1993, p. 29). For completeness, we use a broad definition of the sustainable development of tourism in which we focus on the community aspect of it. This means we explore the socio-economic and socio-cultural sustainability of the destination, investigating issues such as social and economic equality, community wellbeing and issues related to overtourism.

As a possible strategy, cities aim at attracting a certain type of tourist, who is thought of as being more adventurous. He or she explores lesser-known parts of the city and is more closely connected to the local atmosphere of the city (e.g. NBTC Holland Marketing, 2020; Wonderful Copenhagen, 2017). In academia, this type of tourist is defined as the new urban tourist (Füller & Michel, 2014; Maitland, 2010), the cultural urban traveller (Pasquinelli, 2017), or the creative tourist (Russo & Richards, 2016). Although definitions differ, what they have in common is the idea that these tourists are looking for a more authentic experience, away from the crowds, often combined with engagement with local people and/or a creative element. For this reason, it is by some considered to have the potential for the development of more sustainable forms of tourism (Richards & Marques, 2012; Richards, 2017b). For readability purposes, we have chosen to use the term creative tourism throughout this article, using the definition from UNESCO (2006), which describes creative tourism as 'travel directed towards an engaged and authentic experience, with participative learning in the arts, heritage, or special character of a place, and it provides a connection with those who reside in this place and create this living culture'. The cultural or creative element can be central to the activity that is being undertaken (e.g. a workshop). It may also only provide the background for the experience (e.g. buying products) (Richards, 2011), or may take the form of spending time in a creative environment (Den Dekker & Tabbers, 2012). This type of tourist often visits areas that previously went unnoticed, such as postindustrial cities or regenerated areas, most of the time to distinguish him- or herself from the mainstream traveller (Pappalepore et al., 2014). In this context, gentrifying areas seem to be highly attractive (Cócola-Gant, 2018; Füller & Michel, 2014; Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017). In the next section, we will delve deeper into the relationship between creative areas and tourism.

Culture-led urban regeneration and tourism

Evans (2015) describes creative areas as often being more successful in attracting tourists when they have not been planned or developed top-down but when they have come about organically. The reason is that tourists perceive them as more authentic. From a city branding and planning perspective, an important role for policymakers is to spot where such areas may emerge

and thus further support and facilitate their development. For the outcomes of a regeneration process, it rarely matters whether a creative area was planned or developed organically. Gentrification processes may be triggered in both cases. However, scholars have observed an exacerbation of gentrification processes when tourism increases in the area. Maitland (2010) discusses how Shoreditch and Hoxton in London, a creative area that was not planned for tourism per se, became popular among visitors, who in the end contributed to the process of its rebranding and gentrification. Along the same lines, Pratt (2009) describes how Hoxton was transformed unintentionally into a cultural hotspot and how it is heavily promoted as such at present. Now, tourism gentrification is taking place in this area, while residents are being displaced by visitors rather than new residents. As a result, the very same artists and other creatives who made the area attractive in the first place and triggered its revitalisation, have been forced to move out. In conclusion, from an urban planning perspective, studies acknowledge that culture-led regeneration often leads to gentrification and that tourists are attracted to such areas. Thus, the very same creative tourists who may trigger a more sustainable development of tourism, instead reinforce or exacerbate a gentrification process that displaces local residents and businesses. We argue that the concept of creative placemaking may offer an alternative perspective to help mitigate this vicious and paradoxical cycle.

Creative placemaking and tourism

The concept of creative placemaking comes from the field of urban studies and is defined by Markusen and Gadwa (2010b) as a process in which 'partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighbourhood, town, city, or region around arts and cultural activities' (p. 3). Its main characteristic is the focus on issues of inequality and reduction of gentrification and displacement processes (Frenette, 2017; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010b). Compared to 'regular' culture-led regeneration strategies, more attention is paid to collaboration with local stakeholders and acknowledgement of their history and diversity (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010b). Markusen and Gadwa (2010b) argue that outcomes of creative placemaking should aim at preserving affordable housing, community identity and safety. Another characteristic is the focus on what is already existing in a community (Frenette, 2017) and the involvement of local creative entrepreneurs, often as initiators (Webb, 2014). Examples from the United States, Australia, and Europe, however, have shown that creative placemaking processes still lead to gentrification and displacement, and the focus on social equity is often left out of the strategies (Fincher et al., 2016; Stern, 2014; Webb, 2014).

While there are plenty of studies that discuss creative placemaking in the context of urban development and regeneration, within the field of tourism this idea is still emerging. Examples of this are Braun et al. (2013) and Kavaratzis (2017), who stress the importance of inclusion of local stakeholders in a place-branding process. Their approach is in line with the definition of creative placemaking used by Markusen and Gadwa (2010b). They shift the focus from place branding to placemaking, which pays more attention to residents and local businesses as stakeholders. Eventually, this is thought to lead to a stronger, more authentic, and sustainable destination (Braun et al., 2013; Loy, 2015), which showcases the diversity of the city instead of only one standardised image (Richards, 2017b). This thus makes for a more inclusive strategy. When looking at placemaking from a tourism perspective, more attention is paid to the residents' quality of life as opposed to mainly tourism attraction and improvement of the competitive position of a destination. The rationale is based on the assumption that when a place is developed in such a way that local residents enjoy it, it will almost naturally attract more tourists but in a more sustainable way, as it does not decrease the quality of life of its residents (Colomb & Kalandides, 2010; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010b; Marques & Borba, 2017; Richards, 2017b). Ideas about creative placemaking in tourism are thus fairly optimistic, compared to studies on cultural-

led urban regeneration and creative placemaking in urban planning, where this process often leads to gentrification rather than sustainable development. At the same time, the discussion about placemaking and tourism seems to overlook the role of the creatives whose activities are strategic to the redevelopment of an area into a creative one (Bellini & Pasquinelli, 2016; Loy, 2015). Our next section will therefore focus on the role of creative entrepreneurs in placemaking and the potential of this role for the sustainable development of tourism.

Creative entrepreneurs as placemakers

Surprisingly, creative entrepreneurs are hardly considered when it comes a to placemaking and tourism. In urban studies, they are discussed as central players in creative placemaking; they are often the ones making a certain area attractive in the first place. It is suggested that creative entrepreneurs, in particular, would create facilities that residents can enjoy (Van der Borg et al., 2005). What is more, those facilities might be sustained due to tourism because there would not be sufficient demand or critical mass otherwise (Braun et al., 2018). At the same time, creative entrepreneurs are often residents of that city or area, too, and can therefore be considered important stakeholders when it comes to a more sustainable development of the city and urban tourism. Hence, creative entrepreneurs may contribute, both to a more sustainable process of creative placemaking and creative tourism (Kostopoulou, 2013; Loy, 2015).

As discussed in the previous section, this article makes use of the concept of creative place-making put forward by Markusen and Gadwa (2010b), in which inclusivity and equality play important roles. In this respect, we consider creative placemaking as a tourism development strategy based on culture and creativity that focuses primarily on the development of a place by including multiple stakeholders and leaving room for bottom-up initiatives from creative entre-preneurs. We argue that (a) creative placemaking strategies have the potential to lead to more sustainable forms of tourism development; and (b) creative entrepreneurs can play an important part in this process.

We aim at a better understanding of how creative entrepreneurs as placemakers are poten-tially fostering more sustainable development of tourism. In doing so, the case of Rotterdam pro-vides an interesting insight into the relationship between (the sustainable development of) tourism, placemaking, and the role of creative entrepreneurs in it for several reasons. First of all, as explained at the beginning of this article, tourism has grown rapidly in Rotterdam in the last few years. As a consequence, the local government has shown interest in ensuring more sustain-able development of tourism in the future. At the time we gathered the empirical data, the new strategy of the municipality was still under development. Yet, explorative conversations with stakeholders already informed us about some of the content of the new vision for tourism in Rotterdam. The official document was only presented in March 2020. An important part of this vision focuses on attracting the so-called 'frontrunner' to Rotterdam. The document refers to this type of tourist as someone who "tends to go off the beaten track and is therefore more easily seduced to visit extraordinary places" (p. 13) and who is also interested in a "distinctive art and culture offer" (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020, p. 13). This description shows many similarities with the creative tourist type, meaning that Rotterdam is aiming at attracting a larger number of this type of tourist in the future. Second, a study by NBTC from 2014 has shown that at least 84% of all international visitors to Rotterdam are highly educated and are younger than the average tourist in the Netherlands. This indicates that a young(er) middle class is visiting. The report pro-vides us with further evidence that the majority (56%) of tourists coming to Rotterdam can be described as 'cosmopolitan', which is characterised as individualistic, tolerant, open-minded, cul-ture-minded, and independent (Braun et al., 2018). This again shows similarities with the descrip-tion of the creative tourist who goes off the beaten track and is attracted to creative areas.

In conclusion, the case of Rotterdam, with its proactive gentrification policies in several of its deprived neighbourhoods, combined with a new tourism vision, based on ideas about creative tourism and placemaking, may shed light on the role of creative entrepreneurs in tourism, as placemakers and as the potential stakeholders in more sustainable development of tourism. We will look at several creative areas, their attractiveness for tourism and the development of those areas in relation to the creative entrepreneurs located there, who made these areas attractive and creative in the first place. The next section will delve into the research design for this study.

Research design

Due to its explorative nature, the study is based on grounded theory, where we follow a Straussian approach (Straus & Corbin, 1990). We conducted a total of 26 semi-structured interviews, 22 with creative entrepreneurs in Rotterdam, and for triangulation purposes (Bryman, 2016), 4 more stakeholders in the city, involved in culture and/or tourism development. In this research design, a creative entrepreneur is defined as an individual entrepreneur or small group of entrepreneurs working together on realising creative or intellectual capital, in which financial goals are subsidiary to the creative or intellectual goals (Bujor & Avasilcai, 2016; Klamer, 2011). The term creativity both entails creative and non-creative occupations within the creative industries, as described in the concentric circles model by Throsby (2008). Apart from individual entrepreneurs, a few mid-sized art space organisations were interviewed. The entrepreneurs and other interview participants were selected, based on the criterium of whether the enterprise could potentially engage with tourists (e.g. not a closed studio). When talking about tourists, we refer to visitors from outside of Rotterdam, either national visitors or international ones.

The data sampling, which took place in July, August, and November 2018, was divided into three stages. The initial round of sampling was based on the purposeful selection of creative 10 entrepreneurs mentioned in touristic flyers and guidebooks of Rotterdam. We assumed there might be an exchange between the entrepreneur and tourists, based on their presence in touristic materials. Diversity in geographical location and type of industry were taken into account during this process. It soon became clear that there are a few areas in the city that are described as creative and have a higher density of creative entrepreneurs and organisations. Hence, a subsequent round of interviews was set up. These interviews included seven more entrepreneurs from these areas, who were not mentioned in touristic flyers but could potentially be engaging with tourism due to their location in a creative area. The interview participants were selected by adopting a snowball technique (Morgan, 2008). The third group of interview participants was selected by including five creative entrepreneurs who were purposely engaging with tourists by offering their services through Airbnb Experiences (e.g. a creative workshop or city tour about arts/culture), (see Appendix 1).

All the interviews were semi-structured (Leech, 2002), to obtain as much knowledge as possible about the perspectives of the interview participant (Bryman, 2016). Sensitising concepts, identified at the initial stages of this research were used to support the structure of the interviews (Bowen, 2006; Gasson, 2004). This resulted in four different categories: the background of the entrepreneur and business; the meaning of the location for the entrepreneur; the contribution of the entrepreneur to the city; and the role of the entrepreneur in tourism. The questions related to these categories together help answer the main research question: '*What is the role of the creative entrepreneur as placemaker in the sustainable development of tourism in Rotterdam?*'. The interviews were conducted in Dutch, except one that was conducted in English; they lasted between 24 and 88 min.

Thematic data analysis (Bryman, 2016) has been executed, following the three-phase coding approach described by Strauss and Corbin (1990) with the aid of Atlas.ti. Throughout the analysing process, a constant comparison was applied (Boeije, 2002). Memoing was used for reflexive
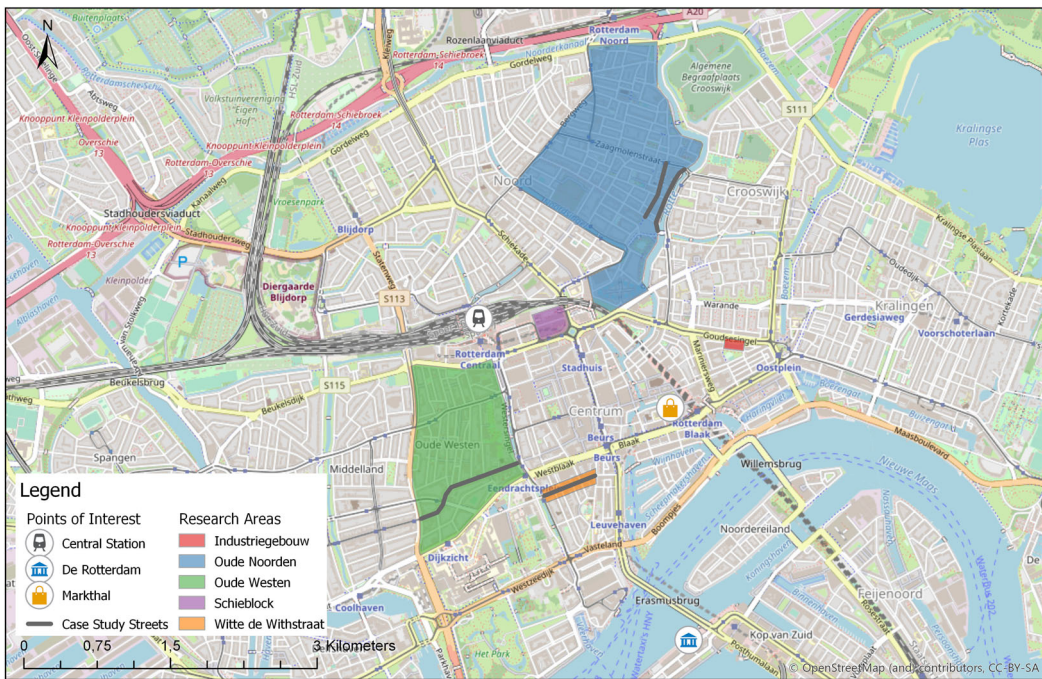
Figure 1. Map Rotterdam – areas under investigation.

purposes (Glaser & Strauss, 2017) and for discovering relationships between codes (Gasson, 2004). This has resulted in four main themes we will describe in the following sections.

Creative areas in Rotterdam

We have identified five areas that are considered creative in Rotterdam, based on several sources: (1) the areas mentioned in tourist flyers and travel guides as being (emerging) creative hotspots; (2) suggestions following the interviews with the first 10 creative entrepreneurs; (3) suggestions following the subsequent round of interviews with other entrepreneurs. The areas are Oude Noorden (three interviewees), Oude Westen (three interviewees), Het Schieblock (three interviewees), Het Industriegebouw (two interviewees), and Witte de With (four interviewees), see Figure 1. Two interview participants were located outside of these areas: one in the city centre, and one in Zevenkamp (an area outside the centre of Rotterdam). The other interview participants did not have any fixed location as they are providing tours, for example.

Oude Noorden and Oude Westen

Oude Noorden and Oude Westen are both central areas of the city of Rotterdam, located at the western and northern sides of the city centre. Both these areas are part of the city's Urban Design Strategy 2030, developed in 2007. In this strategy, both Oude Westen and Oude Noorden (amongst other neighbourhoods) were selected by the municipality as upcoming neighbourhoods where gentrification would be stimulated. In collaboration with housing corporations, the municipality aims at further stimulating the creative economy, to make those areas more attractive to new residents and visitors (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007b). Oude Noorden and Oude Westen were also part of the programme 'Rotterdamse Krachtwijken' which aimed to improve derelict neighbourhoods in terms of safety, economy, education, and employability (Gemeente

Rotterdam, 2007a). Although these areas encompass a larger urban area, creative and commercial activities mostly happen in one or two streets, which are thus the focus of our investigation.

Het Schieblock & Het Industriegebouw

Het Schieblock and Het Industriegebouw are two previously vacant buildings that have been converted into creative offices and workplaces. At the ground floors of both buildings, a few local creative shops, art/cultural spaces, restaurants and cafés can be found. Het Schieblock is located in the city centre. It was developed in 2010 as a result of a public-private collaboration that involved the municipality of Rotterdam, the owner of the building, and architectural firm ZUS. The aim was not necessarily to regenerate the surrounding areas, but instead to provide the area with temporary meaning and workspaces for creative people (a demolition was envisioned for subsequent years, after which it would be redeveloped into an A+++ location in the Rotterdam business district). Het Industriegebouw is a historical, post-war building that was bought by investors in 2015 to recover its old glory and architectural significance. The building is now featuring office spaces, creative co-working spaces, and a diversity of leisure facilities.

Witte de With

Witte de With is a street in the centre of Rotterdam. The redevelopment process was initiated bottom-up in the 1980s by a tenants' association and local business association, and was further accelerated in the 1990s by the Neighbourhood Development Company. Even though initiated in a bottom-up approach, the development became a top-down one with the direct involvement of the Economic Development Department and the Urban Development and Housing Department, but without any involvement of the Cultural Affairs Department.

Creative entrepreneurs and their perception of tourism in Rotterdam

We asked how the entrepreneurs perceive tourism, to understand the level of tourist attraction in the different areas under investigation, as well as to understand whether creative entrepreneurs perceive the visiting tourists as 'the creative tourist' described in the literature. In line with previous findings from a report by Braun et al. (2018), a typical tourist in Rotterdam is considered to be a relatively young visitor (aged between 18 and 40) who is most likely well educated, creative, culturally oriented, or interested in architecture and design. According to our respondents, they visit Rotterdam because it is an alternative to other, more mainstream destinations, and the right combination of top-down created iconic buildings and bottom-up initiated creative initiatives. This perception of tourism seems to be in line with the description of the creative and new urban tourists as discussed in the literature (Füller & Michel, 2014; Maitland, 2010; Pasquinelli, 2017; Russo & Richards, 2016). However, when looking at the creative areas that we identified as potentially attractive to the creative tourist, our respondents indicated that these tourists do not seem to explore as much as one would expect, based on a theory about creative tourism and the general perceptions of the type of tourist that visits Rotterdam. There are, however, differences across neighbourhoods. The areas that were developed with most government intervention (a top-down approach), such as Oude Westen and Oude Noorden, seem to be least successful in being perceived as 'creative hotspots'. In these areas, the entrepreneurs themselves said they do not necessarily recognise the creative image desired for the area and described that the area is not well visited in general, but that tourists in particular are hard to find. This is especially the case for Oude Noorden, where the efforts to brand the area as creative have been the greatest. One of the entrepreneurs located in Oude Noorden described the following incident involving occasional international visitors:

'A while ago there was a German couple (…). And they were like ''Where are all those creative people then?'' And I am one of those creative people, so, I think, it is also a bit difficult.' Entrepreneur 6, Oude Noorden

This example clearly indicates that Oude Noorden does not live up to the expectations of what a creative area is supposed to look like in the eyes of visitors. We found similar sentiments in Oude Westen, where the focus has been less on branding a creative hotspot, but more on general urban regeneration. This area is perceived to be slightly more attractive to both locals and tourists. However, entrepreneurs explained that tourists still get confused about where to go in this area.

On the other hand, entrepreneurs at both Het Schieblock and Het Industriegebouw, areas that were largely developed by means of a bottom-up approach, did recognise the area as a creative hotspot and believed that locals, as well as tourists, perceive it as such, too. The entrepreneurs were under the impression that these areas are visited relatively often by both locals and tourists. According to the reviewed literature, this would be one of the desirable outcomes of placemaking in tourism; it is more in line with what is considered sustainable development (Colomb & Kalandides, 2010; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010b; Marques & Borba, 2017; Richards, 2017b). As discussed in the literature, more organic and bottom-up regeneration processes seem to be successful more often in that respect (Evans, 2015). Most of our interviewees also believed that a bottom-up approach works best when it comes to creating an artistic or creative environment. According to them, it has to grow organically, and the government should not interfere too much, as it would hinder the actual creative development.

Another contributing factor in explaining why Het Schieblock and Het Industriegebouw are perceived more often as creative hotspots could be their industrial character, which is frequently associated with creativity. Furthermore, Het Industriegebouw, Het Schieblock, and Oude Westen are better connected to the city centre, whereas Oude Noorden is slightly more secluded and separate from the city centre.

Witte de With is an exception to this story. According to our respondents, it is currently one of the most popular spots in the city for visitors. It is an interesting example, as the area developed via a bottom-up approach in the early stages but later turned into a top-down approach, with the municipality in charge. Now, it is left to the market. Witte de With is much more characterised by consumption-oriented activities. Creative entrepreneurs perceive the area as increasingly less creative.

Based on these findings, it is interesting that our respondents thought that the visiting type of tourist explores off the beaten track and creative areas, while at the same time, the entrepreneurs of our sample felt that these tourists hardly venture out to some of the lesser known creative areas in Rotterdam. This was exemplified by one of our interviewees:

'I think it's very interesting, because I think it's also contradictory somehow that then, you think, okay, they are coming for alternatives, but the people that profit the most, that's still the more mainstream tourist product'.
Entrepreneur 9, without fixed location

Consequences of urban regeneration and creative placemaking

Most of the creative entrepreneurs were aware of the strategies of the municipality and housing corporations to regenerate specific areas of Rotterdam, but they were not directly involved in the strategy. In hindsight, they reflected on the process.

'(…) they [the housing corporation] really wanted that we, young graduates, would stay in the city, in a neighbourhood, or come to this neighbourhood. In that respect we were then the perfect target group, you know, because Rotterdam also really wanted to bind this group to the city'. Entrepreneur 1, Oude Westen

At the same time, many entrepreneurs are aware of their collective influence as creatives in regenerating urban areas (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010a). Our entrepreneurs mentioned that their presence has brought the area a stronger regenerative power and a new image. They were aware of their role in both positive and negative terms. They referred, for example, to the gentrification process that arises, as has been described in the theoretical section (Evans, 2009; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010a; Peck, 2005; Scott, 2014; Stern & Seifert, 2010). This was especially reflected upon by entrepreneurs located in Oude Westen and Oude Noorden, where broader neighbourhood regeneration processes are at play:

'Yes, the cliché idea that art galleries are the drivers of gentrification. (…) So those creative companies are often the first to settle somewhere, because it's affordable. (…) And at the moment that it becomes too expensive, they are off to the next. (…). In that sense I think I contribute, together with all those others here, to the process. Which I don't think everyone in the neighbourhood is happy with'.

Entrepreneur 17, Oude Westen

In this respect, they did not only reflect on being the potential gentrifiers who will displace others, but they also feared for the existence of their own business and other local initiatives, as displacement of creative entrepreneurs is common in such regenerative processes (Lavanga, 2013; Peck, 2005; Richards, 2011). Here, we identify a well-known process of gentrification, in which tourism does not yet play an active role. The main aim of regenerating these areas has been to attract a creative middle class and actively stimulate gentrification instead of preventing it. This has led, for example, to improved public space and rising numbers of creative businesses.

When we look at the development of Het Industriegebouw and Het Schieblock, our empirical data show less clear indications of heavy gentrification processes. Regeneration in these areas started mostly at the level of the two buildings, which were transformed into creative hubs. Also, Het Schieblock is located in a business district that suffered from the 2008 financial crisis and was mostly left empty, hence gentrification in the surrounding area is limited. Although that the aim of these two initiatives was not to regenerate the surroundings where the two buildings were located *per se*, the two areas are still going through a regeneration process. The area around Het Schieblock, for example, a no-go area at night 10 to 20 years ago, has now become one of the liveliest of the city:

'Because yeah, a sort of hub has been created by the creative industries. (…), this area is a huge success story, actually. From vacant, derelict area to the hotspot of the city.'

Entrepreneur 3, Schieblock

In this case, our entrepreneurs did ascribe an important role to themselves as placemakers from a tourism perspective (Colomb & Kalandides, 2010; Marques & Borba, 2017; Van der Borg et al., 2005). They have created spaces that are enjoyed by both residents and tourists, with so far limited gentrification effects. At the same time, however, we did not find evidence that there are strategies in place to prevent future gentrification effects. Thus, we have not found effective placemaking processes as described by Markusen & Gawda (2010a) that might safeguard sustainable urban regeneration.

Witte de With provides us with the most interesting example when it comes to the regeneration effects and the interplay with tourism. Creative entrepreneurs acknowledged that the area has lost most of its original creative vibe. They noticed that national and international commercial chains have started to settle. They are transforming the street in a more standardised one, such as one can find in any commercial district of any city around the world, with companies that often do not necessarily benefit the local economy.

'(…) you know, Ben and Jerry's, (…) it's a global company like Coca Cola or that, it's not like a local small entrepreneur. It's really one of those big guys. And the fact that they're coming here (…) maybe it will become, like Amsterdam, too mainstream, international, and lose its own authentic character. Which I can agree with, well, Ben and Jerry's, what's next, you know?' Entrepreneur 2, Witte de With

Contrary to what was said before about little to no government intervention, in the case of Witte de With, interestingly enough, entrepreneurs now urge the government to step in and prevent further developments that would displace local and creative businesses and initiatives. Thus, a placemaking process now seems necessary but is currently lacking.

Compared to the other areas, Witte de With can be placed at a later stage of a gentrification process, typified by the eventual arrival of bigger chains and the displacement of creative businesses by hospitality. We see similar processes in other European cities. For example, Smith et al. (2018) describe the case of several creative quarters in Budapest that went through a bottom-up development and are currently offering 'bohemian entertainment' (p. 543) to tourists, which has mostly to do with offering hospitality and entertainment facilities. Meanwhile, residents are being displaced due to rapidly increasing property values. In Southern Europe, Del Romero and Lara Martín (2015) have found a similar pattern occurring in the neighbourhood Russafa in Valencia. The city redevelopment plans have turned Russafa into a trendy neighbourhood that both locals and tourists enjoy. However, at the same time, local traditional and migrant businesses are being displaced due to the popularity of the neighbourhood among tourists. Similar to the case of Witte de With, what is interesting here as well is that these areas are still enjoyed by certain locals, which means they cannot be fully considered touristic areas. It all comes down to the question for whom the city is developed. We will reflect further upon this debate in the subsequent section.

Creative entrepreneurs as placemakers in tourism – inclusiveness & diversity

Our entrepreneurs see a role for themselves in making areas attractive and, in that sense, also in contributing to the promotion of the city. However, despite their different activities (see Appendix 1), in terms of tourism development, their focus is mostly on serving a local clientele. With the exception of the two hostels, which obviously engage with tourists most of the time, the majority of entrepreneurs do not pursue an active strategy to engage with tourism. Even the two tour guides and four entrepreneurs offering tours and workshops via Airbnb Experiences consider these touristic activities as complementary to their main business. In the case of design shops (seven) and exhibition spaces (four), we see a more extensive engagement with tourists, especially when they are located close to the city centre. Nevertheless, they describe their business as focused first and foremost on the local people. Tourism comes second and is seen as something extra.

'I don't want to become a VVV shop (tourist information shop). So I want to be the nice shop of Rotterdam, but not – I think I want to mainly and primarily focus on people from the neighbourhood, that live here, and [tourists] it's just a nice extra target group.'
Entrepreneur 8, Oude Westen

This is very much in line with the theory on creative placemaking and sustainable tourism, in which a destination is primarily developed with and for the local residents and tourism comes second (Colomb & Kalandides, 2010; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010b; Marques & Borba, 2017; Richards, 2017b).

On the other hand, from an urban studies perspective, we cannot deny that gentrification and inequality are still widespread in Rotterdam. This is something that was reflected upon by almost all our interviewees. They were aware of their role in urban regeneration and gentrification processes. They also knew that their initiatives are not necessarily attractive for a large part of Rotterdam's residents. This suggests that the hip and creative side of Rotterdam that is making the city attractive mainly serves one group of residents and visitors:

'Now, in the city centre, it's almost solely entertainment. And you're on the street with a glass of wine and [being] cool. And yes, if you look closely (…) you get a specific audience, yes, white and highly educated. And yes, we're all part of that.'

Entrepreneur 4, Schieblock

Not everyone is included in this form of tourism when we look at the areas involved in this study. Our creative entrepreneurs were mostly located in gentrifying neighbourhoods such as Oude Noorden, other central locations and Oude Westen. Areas like Rotterdam Zuid, one of the poorest areas of the city, do not appear in tourist guides and flyers. The current image of Rotterdam does not seem to reflect the diversity of its residents, according to the entrepreneurs. Many of them wondered who is to benefit from the developments in Rotterdam, because they seem to lead to gentrification in many parts of the city, pushing up rents and housing prices, displacing current residents. Many entrepreneurs believed that those changes are leading to a growing gap between a wealthy and educated middle class and less affluent residents.

'The popularity of Rotterdam has also been a bit over the top, you know, so this hipster capital story, there's always this story that I tell about this division as well. This hip Rotterdam that has become popular, but there's always a big part of the people living in Rotterdam that doesn't benefit at all from that.'

Entrepreneur 9, without a fixed location

In the theoretical section, we discussed how Markusen and Gadwa (2010b) consider creative placemaking as a development strategy based on culture and creativity, that focuses primarily on the development of a place by including multiple stakeholders with room for bottom-up initiatives from creative entrepreneurs. In particular, local government should pay more attention (compared to 'regular' culture-led regeneration strategies) to collaboration with local stakeholders and matters of inclusivity, to limit processes of gentrification. However, we found that our creative entrepreneurs are hardly considered when it comes to placemaking and tourism and that the development process as it is, does not seem very inclusive because of the diversity of Rotterdam's residents. At the same time, we also found that our entrepreneurs themselves do not actively seek to engage more with tourism. Our results point out that the discussion about placemaking and tourism overlooks the role of the creatives, not only in theoretical debates, as suggested by Bellini and Pasquinelli (2016) and Loy (2015), but also in practice.

Furthermore, these findings to some extent contradict Richards (2017b) and Richards and Marques (2012). They point out that creative tourism has the potential to develop destinations more sustainab ly, as this type of tourism moves away from the most visited hotspots of the city and focuses on creative and local initiatives. In our study, however, we found that creative tourism in an urban context, without paying attention to inclusivity, equality, and gentrification effects, does not lead to more sustainable development of urban tourism. This brings us back to the fundamental question: whose city is Rotterdam? In other words, who does benefit from an urban development strategy that prioritises hip and creative businesses to make the place more attractive to a middle-class group of residents and creative tourists? As Zukin (1995) put it: 'Whose city, whose culture?', indicating there are many different cultures in one city that are not all equally included in urban development strategies, just as, in this case, they are excluded from the related tourism development, too.

Conclusions and recommendations for future research

Looking at the relation between creative entrepreneurs and creative tourism, this research has contributed to filling a gap in the literature, in which these subjects are not often combined. First, this study shows that, in the case of Rotterdam, there is often a gap between the image of a creative area and the reality of it. This does not only hold true for tourists in search of such areas, but also for the creative entrepreneurs working and living in the city. In line with earlier findings (Evans, 2015), it seems that at least some scope for bottom-up initiatives makes for a more attractive area for both local residents and tourists. Many entrepreneurs agreed that a top-down intervention by the municipality is desired when creative entrepreneurs face the risk of

being displaced by the same gentrification process they set in motion in the first place. This thus raises the question at what stage of gentrification the government should step in. Which strategies can be used to balance creative areas that are not yet so popular (Oude Noorden), and which strategies for areas that are getting gentrified and commercialised (Witte de With)?

Our analysis of the case of Rotterdam highlights differences in the areas under investigation about the stages of gentrification and tourism processes. We have found only one area where, in this respect, tourism played an active role (Witte de With). Although we found this connection in only one area, most of our interviewees worried about the general gentrification process and perceived this phenomenon as something that will become increasingly connected to tourism in the near future. Recently, other scholars have also argued that the processes of gentrification and tourism cannot be looked at separately, since cities experiencing a gentrification process may see an increase in the negative effects amplified by tourism (Cócola-Gant, 2018; Sequera & Nofre, 2018). Moreover, the process of gentrification is often connected to neo-liberal policy-making, meaning that not just tourism, but also other processes are the source of these changes in cities as well (Koens et al., 2018; Novy, 2014; Sequera & Nofre, 2018).

Looking at the role of creative entrepreneurs in tourism development, they do consider themselves placemakers in the sense that they create areas that are attractive to both locals and tourists (Colomb & Kalandides, 2010; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010b; Marques & Borba, 2017; Richards, 2017b). However, this placemaking effect seems to be more incidental and in some cases directed by government intervention, rather than an active and purposeful strategy by the entrepreneurs themselves. At the same time, it is questioned for whom these areas are attractive and who can benefit from these developments. Our results may suggest that Rotterdam has lacked the placemaking principles of Markusen & Gadwa (2010b) that pay special attention to issues such as equality, the preservation of affordable housing, inclusiveness, and resistance to displacement. We recommend tourism scholars to consider this aspect, which is present in the urban studies perspective, but is currently lacking in tourism studies. At the moment, creative placemaking in tourism mostly focuses on the inclusion of residents and businesses as key stakeholders in tourism development without, however, distinguishing between the types of businesses or socio-economic characteristics of the population. Future research is needed to understand the conditions that allow for a more sustainable creative placemaking in tourism.

Our empirical study has shed light on the nuances between creative areas in the early stages of tourism development when their differences may be easily distinguished and the right policy tools may be better designed. We urge policymakers to adopt a more holistic approach to tourism development and unravel its intertwinement with other fields of urban policy. Collaboration between public and private stakeholders from different sectors is highly recommended, as well as the inclusion of bottom-up initiatives from diverse actors in the city. As Rotterdam is currently in the midst of implementing plans related to its vision for tourism, in this case specifically, we urge for a community-based approach in which the diversity of the city is actively included in tourism. Currently, such an approach does not seem to be part of the envisioned strategy (Nientied & Toto, 2020). Finally, a reflection on the COVID-19 outbreak. We expect that tourism will resume at a slower pace in Rotterdam (and many other cities worldwide). This may offer an opportunity to develop a more proactive strategy to integrate tourism sustainably into urban development. Issues such as gentrification and inclusiveness may be addressed early on, to make sure the city is developed for a diverse group of people and creativity is mobilised in service of social justice.

Acknowledgements

Disclosure statement

Funding

Notes on contributors

Shirley Nieuwland is a PhD candidate within the Erasmus Initiative 'Vital Cities and Citizens' in which she focuses on exploring sustainable urban tourism models in post-industrial cities that have seen a recent growth in tourism, like Rotterdam and Valencia. The project includes research topics such as urban development, (urban) tourism, the sharing economy, the creative city, and gentrification processes.

Mariangela Lavanga is Assistant Professor Cultural Economics at the Erasmus University Rotterdam. She is the academic coordinator of the international Master in Cultural Economics and Entrepreneurship, and co-founder and coordinator of the Minor Fashion Industry. Her expertise lies in the analysis of the interrelations between creative industries, economy and cities, more broadly how culture can contribute to a more sustainable development. Through the lenses of cultural economics and economic geography, Mariangela uses the fashion industry as a case to: (a) understand locational choices, local and global networks, and labour market of entrepreneurs, (b) unravel processes of value-creation, in particular linked to sustainability and circular economy, (c) delve into the role of intermediaries, temporary clusters, and face-to-face interaction in the markets for creative goods and services.

ORCID

Shirley Nieuwland http://orcid.org/0000-0003-4306-8067
Mariangela Lavanga http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5925-9509

References

Beek, M., & van Heel, L. (2019). *Toerisme in Rotterdam groeit harder dan in Amsterdam. Algemeen Dagblad.* https://www.ad.nl/rotterdam/toerisme-in-rotterdam-groeit-harder-dan-in-amsterdam~adbb12e0/

Bellini, N., & Pasquinelli, C. (2016). Urban brandscape as value ecosystem: The cultural destination strategy of fashion brands. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, *12*(1), 5–16. https://doi.org/10.1057/pb.2015.21

Bellini, N., & Pasquinelli, C. (2017). *Tourism in the city: Towards an integrative agenda on urban tourism.* Springer.

Boeije, H. (2002). A purposeful approach to the constant comparative method in the analysis of qualitative interviews. *Quality and Quantity*, *36*(4), 391–409. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1020909529486

Bowen, G. A. (2006). Grounded theory and sensitizing concepts. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *5*(3), 12–23.

Braun, E., Kavaratzis, M., & Zenker, S. (2013). My city–my brand: The different roles of residents in place branding. *Journal of Place Management and Development*, *6*(1), 18–28. https://doi.org/10.1108/17538331311306087

Braun, E., van Haaren, J., van Oort, F., & Steijn, M. (2018). *Economische verkenning Rotterdam. Rotterdam aantrekkelijke stad. aantrekkelijk voor toeristen en inwoners.* https://evr010.nl/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/EVR2018_Magazine.pdf

Bryman, A. (2016). *Social research methods.* Oxford University Press.

Bujor, A., & Avasilcai, S. (2016). The creative entrepreneur: A framework of analysis. Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences, *221*, 21–28. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2016.05.086

Butler, R. W. (1993). Tourism–An evolutionary perspective. In J. G. Nelson, R. Butler, G. Wall (*Eds.*), Tourism and sustainable development: Monitoring, planning, managing. Department of Geography Publication Series, 37. Department of Geography, University of Waterloo.

Calcasa. (2019). *The WOX® quarterly Q4 2019.* https://www.calcasa.nl/media/default/pdf/calcasa_wox_2019k4.pdf

Cócola-Gant, A. (2015). *Tourism and commercial gentrification.* Paper presented at the R*C21 International Conference "The Ideal City: Between Myth and Reality. Representations, Policies, Contradictions and Challenges for Tomorrow's Urban Life*, 27–29, Urbino Carlo Bo, Italy.

Cocola-Gant, A. (2018). Tourism gentrification. In L. Lees, & M. Phillips (Eds.), *Handbook of gentrification studies* (pp. 281). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Colomb, C., & Kalandides, A. (2010). The 'Be Berlin'campaign: Old wine in new bottles or innovative form of partici-patory place branding? In G. Ashworth & M. Kavaratzis (Eds.), *Towards effective place brand management*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Den Dekker, T., & Tabbers, M. (2012). From creative crowds to creative tourism. *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice Volume*, 4(2), 129–141.

Doucet, B., van Kempen, R., & van Weesep, J. (2011). We're a rich city with poor people': Municipal strategies of new-build gentrification in rotterdam and glasgow. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 43(6), 1438–1454. https://doi.org/10.1068/a43470

ED. (2017). *Rotterdam nadert Amsterdam als populairste stad van Nederland*. https://www.ed.nl/binnenland/rotter-dam-nadert-amsterdam-als-populairste-stad-van-nederland∼afe5b6e2/?referrer=https://www.google.com/

Evans, G. (2009). Creative cities, creative spaces and urban policy. *Urban Studies*, 46(5–6), 1003–1040.

Evans, G. (2015). Rethinking place branding and place making through creative and cultural quarters. *Rethinking place branding* (pp. 135–158). Springer.

Fincher, R., Pardy, M., & Shaw, K. (2016). Place-making or place-masking? The everyday political economy of "making place". *Planning Theory & Practice*, 17(4), 516–536.

Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class–and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and every day life*. Tandem Library.

Frenette, A. (2017). The rise of creative placemaking: Cross-sector collaboration as cultural policy in the United States. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 47(5), 333–345.

Füller, H., & Michel, B. (2014). Stop being a tourist!'New dynamics of urban tourism in Berlin-Kreuzberg. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(4), 1304–1318. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12124

Gasson, S. (2004). Rigor in grounded theory research: An interpretive perspective on generating theory from quali-tative field studies. *The handbook of information systems research* (pp. 79–102). IGI Global.

Gemeente Rotterdam. (2007a). Rotterdammers vooruit! Rotterdamse krachtwijken. *Deel* 1 & 2.

Gemeente Rotterdam. (2007b). *Stadsvisie Rotterdam. Ruimtelijke ontwikkelingsstrategie 2030*.

Gemeente Rotterdam. (2019). *Feitenkaart. Bevolkingsmonitor Rotterdam januari 2019*.

Gemeente Rotterdam. (2020). *Te gast in Rotterdam. een nieuwe kijk op toerisme*. https://www.rotterdam.nl/nieuws/nieuwe-toerismevisie/Visie-Toerisme_DEF_toegankelijk.pdf

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (2017). *Discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Routledge.

Go, F., Lemmetyinen, A., & Hakala, U. (2014). *Harnessing place branding through cultural entrepreneurship*. Springer.

Gravari-Barbas, M., & Guinand, S. (2017). *Tourism and gentrification in contemporary metropolises: International per-spectives*. Taylor & Francis.

Harvey, D. (1989). From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: The transformation in urban governance in late capit-alism. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 71(1), 3–17.

Havermans, O. (2015). *Stedelingen mopperen op hun eigen stad. Trouw*. https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/stedelingen-mopperen-op-hun-eigen-stad∼b265809d/

Hitters, E. (2000). The social and political construction of a European cultural capital: Rotterdam 2001. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 6(2), 183–199.

Judd, D. R., & Fainstein, S. S. (1999). *The tourist city*. Yale University Press.

Koophandel, K. V. (2018). *Ondernemerskansen in de stad en regio. economische verkenning Rotterdam 2018. Rotterdam: De aantrekkelijke stad*. https://evr010.nl/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/EVR2018_Magazine.pdf

Kavaratzis, M. (2017). The participatory place branding process for tourism: Linking visitors and residents through the city brand. *Tourism in the city* (pp. 93–107). Springer.

Klamer, A. (2011). Cultural entrepreneurship. *The Review of Austrian Economics*, 24(2), 141–156.

Koens, K., Postma, A., & Papp, B. (2018). Is overtourism overused? Understanding the impact of tourism in a city context. *Sustainability*, 10(12), 4384. https://doi.org/10.3390/su10124384

Kostopoulou, S. (2013). On the revitalized waterfront: Creative milieu for creative tourism. *Sustainability*, 5(11), 4578–4593.

Lavanga, M. (2013). Artists in urban regeneration processes: Use and abuse? *Territoire En Mouvement Revue De Géographie Et Aménagement. Territory in Movement Journal of Geography and Planning*, 17–18, 6–19.

Leech, B. L. (2002). Asking questions: Techniques for semistructured interviews. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 35(4), 665–668.

Liukku, E., & Mandias, S. (Eds.). (2016). *Help, we zijn populair! Rotterdam stad in verandering*. NAIO1O Uitgevers.

Loy, A. (2015). Cultural entrepreneurs as foundations of place brands. In F. Go, A. Lemmetyinen, & U. Hakala (Eds.), *Harnessing place branding through cultural entrepreneurship* (pp. 48–64). Springer.

Maitland, R. (2010). Everyday life as a creative experience in cities. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 4(3), 176–185.

Markusen, A., & Gadwa, A. (2010a). Arts and culture in urban or regional planning: A review and research agenda.

Journal of Planning Education and Research, 29(3), 379–391.

Markusen, A., & Gadwa, A. (2010b). *Creative placemaking*. National Endowment for the Arts.

Marques, L., & Borba, C. (2017). Co-creating the city: Digital technology and creative tourism. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 24, 86–93. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2017.07.007

McCarthy, J. (1998). Reconstruction, regeneration and re-imaging: The case of Rotterdam. Cities, 15(5), 337–344.

Morgan, D. L. (2008). Snowball sampling. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, 2, 816–817.

NBTC Holland Marketing. (2020). *Doelgroepen*. https://www.nbtc.nl/nl/home/kennis-data/doelgroepen.htm

Nientied, P., & Toto, R. (2020). Learning from overtourism; new tourism policy for the city of Rotterdam. *Urban Research & Practice*, 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1080/17535069.2020.1748343

Novy, J. (2014). Berlin does not love you. *The Berlin Reader: A Compendium on Urban Change and Activism*, 223–237.

Pappalepore, I., Maitland, R., & Smith, A. (2014). Prosuming creative urban areas. Evidence from East London. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 44, 227–240. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2013.11.001

Pararius. (2019). *Landelijke prijsstijging in vrije huursector zwakt af*. https://www.pararius.nl/nieuws/landelijke-prijs-stijging-in-vrije-huursector-zwakt-af

Pasquinelli, C. (2017). Tourism connectivity and spatial complexity: A widening bi-dimensional arena of urban tourism research. Tourism in the city (pp. 29–50). Springer.

Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the creative class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(4), 740–770.

Pratt, A. C. (2009). Urban regeneration: From the artsfeel good'factor to the cultural economy: A case study of Hoxton. London. *Urban Studies*, 46(5–6), 1041–1061.

Richards, G. (2011). Creativity and tourism: The state of the art. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(4), 1225–1253.

Richards, G. (2017a). Co-creating the hospitable city? The growth of youth hostels and Airbnb. *Uncover, Tilburg University & NHTV*, Retrieved from: http://www.nritmedia.nl/kennisbank/38626/co-creating-the-hospitable-city/?topicsid=

Richards, G. (2017b). Making places through creative tourism? Paper presented at the *Culture, Sustainability, and Place: Innovative Approaches for Tourism Development*. Ponta Delgada, Azores, Portugal.

Richards, G., & Marques, L. (2012). Exploring creative tourism: Editors introduction. *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice*, 4(2), 1–11.

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

Romero Renau, L., & Lara Martín, L. (2015). De barrio-problema a barrio de moda: Gentrificación comercial en Russafa, el" soho" Valenciano. *Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense*, 35(1), 187–212. VolNumP.

Rotterdam Partners. (2016). *Rotterdam profiteert van Lonely Planet effect*. https://rotterdampartners.nl/rotterdam-profiteert-van-lonely-planet-effect/

Rotterdam Partners. (2019). *Groei toerisme in Rotterdam blijft aanhouden*. https://rotterdampartners.nl/groei-toer-isme-in-rotterdam-blijft-aanhouden/

Russo, A. P. (2002). The "vicious circle" of tourism development in heritage cities. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(1), 165–182.

Russo, A. P., & Richards, G. (Eds.). (2016). *Reinventing the local in tourism: Producing, consuming and negotiating place*. Channel View Publications.

Scott, A. J. (2014). Beyond the creative city: Cognitive–cultural capitalism and the new urbanism. *Regional Studies*, 48(4), 565–578.

Sequera, J., & Nofre, J. (2018). Shaken, not stirred: New debates on touristification and the limits of gentrification. City, 22(5-6), 843–855.

Smith, M. K., Egedy, T., Csizmady, A., Jancsik, A., Olt, G., & Michalkó, G. (2018). Non-planning and tourism consumption in Budapest's inner city. *Tourism Geographies*, 20(3), 524–548. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2017.1387809

Stern, M. J. (2014). Measuring the outcomes of creative placemaking. In The Role of Artists & The Arts in Creative Placemaking, May 30-31, 2014, Baltimore, MD—Symposium Report (pp. 84-97). Washington DC: Goethe-Institut and EUNIC.

Stern, M. J., & Seifert, S. C. (2010). Cultural clusters: The implications of cultural assets agglomeration for neighborhood revitalization. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 29(3), 262–279. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X09358555

Straus, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Sage Publications.

Throsby, D. (2008). The concentric circles model of the cultural industries. *Cultural Trends*, 17(3), 147–164.

UNESCO Creative Cities Network. (2006). *Towards sustainable strategies for creative tourism. discussion report of the planning meeting for 2008 international conference on creative tourism*. UNESCO. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001598/159811e.pdf

Van der Borg, J., Russo, A. P., Lavanga, M., & Mingardo, G. (2005). *The impacts of culture on the economic development of cities*. European Institute for Comparative Urban Research for EUROCITIES network.

Webb, D. (2014). Placemaking and social equity: Expanding the framework of creative placemaking. *Artivate*, *3*(1), 35–48.

Wonderful Copenhagen. (2017). *The end of tourism as we know it. Towards a new beginning of localhood.* http://localhood.wonderfulcopenhagen.dk/

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