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## **THE POWER OF CITY BRANDING**

Exploring the Relationship Between Rotterdam's Branding Efforts and  
the Gentrification of Katendrecht since the 1970s

## **Abstract**

The objective of this paper is to examine the relationship between city branding and gentrification, in order to critically evaluate the city branding ambitions integrated into cities' policies worldwide. A case study of Rotterdam's central neighbourhood, Katendrecht, is used to investigate this relationship through a historical analysis of the area's development and the evolution of the Rotterdam City Brand. Although Katendrecht has undergone Urban renewal and Restructuring over past 50 years, it also faced socio-economic challenges that required the engagement of the community. In the early stages of development, residents fought to eliminate prostitution and decriminalize the neighbourhood. However, recent developments show an influx of developers and investors pushing gentrification processes due to Katendrecht's enhanced reputation, which was achieved through a marketing campaign in 2004.

## OUTLINE

### I. INTRODUCTION

### II. GENTRIFICATION

- A. Forms of Gentrification
- B. Indicators of Gentrification
- C. Effects of Gentrification
  - 1. Displacement
  - 2. Neighbourhood Change

### III. PLACE BRANDING

- A. Terms and Concepts: Place Marketing, Place Branding and Place Promotion
  - 1. Image
  - 2. Flagship Projects
  - 3. Identity
  - 4. Iconic Projects

### IV. HISTORY OF CITY BRANDING IN ROTTERDAM

- A. Rotterdam and its Port Until the 1960s
- B. The Separation of the Port and the City
- C. Cultural and Architectural Flourishing
  - 1. Communicatie 70
  - 2. Flagships and Icons
- D. City Planning Policies
  - 1. "Stadsvernieuwing"
  - 2. "Opzoomeren"
- E. Marketing Strategies
  - 1. Rotterdam Marketing Foundation
  - 2. Rotterdam Durft!
  - 3. Rotterdam World Port. World City.
  - 4. Rotterdam, make it happen!
  - 5. Rotterdam City Brand today

### V. KATENDRECHT

- A. Beginnings of Katendrecht
- B. Phase 1
  - 1. Status Quo
  - 2. Times of Transition
  - 3. Urban Renewal 1975-1991
- C. Phase 2
  - 1. Status Quo
  - 2. Restructuring 1998-2015

### VI. STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

- A. Stakeholder Explanation
- B. Analysis and Reflection

### VII. CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK

### VIII. REFERENCES

- A. Literature
- B. Figures

## I. INTRODUCTION

It is a Friday morning when on the 12th of August in 1977, André van der Louw, the Mayor of Rotterdam issues an order to close all brothel businesses in Katendrecht. Posters placed on eight buildings in Katendrecht indicating the order, have been immediately removed by the brothel owners. After unsuccessful talks with municipal representatives to reverse the decision, the brothels reopened their doors on Friday evening, ignoring the municipality's order. („Sexclubs Katendrecht trotseren sluitbevel“, 1977) This day can be classified as a key moment in the history of Katendrecht, ushering in the era Urban Renewal all the way to a new Katendrecht.

This thesis deals with two main topics: gentrification and city branding. Katendrecht serves as a case study for the topic under investigation by finding an answer to the following research question: To what extent has Rotterdam's city branding informed the gentrification processes in Katendrecht over the last 50 years?

The theoretical framework of this work is based on the study of different forms and the evolution of the phenomenon of gentrification, coined by the British sociologist and urban planner Ruth Glass in 1964, when she wrote the following in her book *London: Aspects of Change* (Glass, 1964):

“One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes—upper and lower... Once this process of “gentrification” starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed.”

As the concept and extent of gentrification has changed over the decades, the discourse on the topic has also broadened. Glass refers specifically to the displacement of households, i.e. the gentrification of housing that is subsequently affordable exclusively to a particular group of tenants (Marcuse, 1986). However, geographers David Harvey (1989) and Neil Smith (2002) note that the process of gentrification has evolved into an urban strategy that links multiple actors from finance, real estate, commerce, and government. According to urban geographers Davidson and Lees (2005), this new type of gentrification can be seen primarily in the increasing construction of new buildings by developers, such as newly built apartment complexes and luxury housing developments. These cityscapes, characterised by the contrast between old and new, are seen as indicators of how gentrification has changed in relation to the availability of capital in each city (Bridge, 2003). According to Smith (1996), contemporary gentrification is too complex to be summarised in a single definition; rather, it needs to be considered at multiple levels, considering recent social, political, economic, and cultural changes. Grouping these changes

under the one term of gentrification could lead to losing their meaning and relevance for the discussion and understanding of urban change (Smith, 2002).

According to German ethnographer Waltraut Kokot (2008), international port cities have been increasingly affected by global transformation processes in recent decades. These changes are both visible and invisible, but nevertheless a reality in port cities all over the world. Rotterdam, like any other major city, is part of a general comparison in terms of size, density, and heterogeneity (Wirth, 1938). However, port cities in particular have always been associated with the stereotype of freedom related to international waterways. These images still shape, whether consciously or unconsciously, the values and goals underlying urban planning and the built environment (Kokot, 2008). Therefore, cities that are interconnected with other port cities are in strong competition with each other (Sassen, 2005), leading governments to improve infrastructures and take measures to promote new economic, educational, and recreational developments (Kokot, 2008).

Through an analysis of stakeholders involved in the transformation processes of Katendrecht as well as in the city branding measures of Rotterdam, the developments can be historically traced and classified. State measures to influence the change of the neighbourhood can be examined by looking into branding campaigns as well as collaboration and participation of stakeholders. This analysis situates itself in the overall context of the city, that is eager to change the image of problem neighbourhoods in the centre of Rotterdam, as sociologist Karlijn Schipper precisely describes in her article „Tussen Katendrecht en Kapenezen“ [Between Katendrecht and Kapenezen] (Schipper, 2013):

“Het Rotterdamse recept om probleemwijken om te toveren tot krachtwijken is om een flinke dosis rijke mensen toe te voegen aan de verarmende bevolking in de wijk.”

[The Rotterdam recipe for turning problem neighbourhoods into power neighbourhoods is to add a big dose of rich people to the impoverished population in the neighbourhood.]

The theoretical framework, which includes the definition of gentrification and the elaboration of related concepts, is followed by the theory of place branding. The next chapter deals with the historical development of Rotterdam, focusing on the history of city branding. The main focus of the thesis is on the next part, which consists of the analysis and study of the transformation processes in Katendrecht over the last 50 years. Beginning with an in-depth examination of the history of Katendrecht, primary and secondary data on important events and processes in Katendrecht are examined at the same time, concluding with reflections on the possible outcomes of the analysis.

## II. GENTRIFICATION

The concept of gentrification, first introduced by Ruth Glass in 1964, has become a significant and much discussed research topic. Among experts in the field of urban planning, the concept of gentrification is an ever-changing and thoroughly complex process that can be observed in a large proportion of cities around the world. Over the last 50 years, the dialogue on gentrification has been constantly evolving, initially solely focussing on specific forms of neighbourhood change, nowadays also dealing with issues like city marketing or zero-policy strategies (Uitermark et al., 2007). Many attempts have been made to clearly define and determine the term. However, in the context of different times and places, it is apparent that the term is multi-layered and constantly changing.

In the course of this thesis the definition of gentrification is based on Clarks understanding of Gentrification, which is as followed (2005, p.258):

"[...] gentrification is a process involving a change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital."

### **A. Forms of Gentrification**

Gentrification can be caused by the state and the market, resulting in market-led gentrification and state-led gentrification. The former leads to the mass displacement of long-term residents, while the latter mainly involves government-initiated urban redevelopment programs (Uitermark et al., 2007).

State-led gentrification is driven by the concept of urban entrepreneurialism, which seeks to rebrand cities as modern and upscale (Rodriguez et al., 2001). Additionally, the aim to create liveable and socially diverse communities is often cited as another motivation for state-led gentrification (van Kempen & Bolt, 2009; Bridge et al., 2011; Harvey, 1989; Loftman & Nevin, 1995). Moreover, gentrification has long been used as a solution without addressing the root causes of poverty and inequality. Local governments actively promote and finance gentrification and facilitate market-led gentrification through "urban revanchism", defined by Smith in 1996, which aims to drive marginalized social groups out of the city to make room for middle-class dwellers (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008; Lees, 2008).

In the Netherlands, gentrification is viewed positively by policy makers and urban leaders as a means to create more liveable neighbourhoods, contributing to its normalization and acceptance as a viable goal (Uitermark, 2009; van Kempen & Bolt., 2009). This perception of gentrification as a necessary solution to save neighbourhoods from further decay is referred to by Slater (2014) as "false choice urbanism".

## **B. Indicators of Gentrification**

Gentrification in a neighbourhood can be identified by specific conditions and trends, according to Kennedy and Leonard (2001). Conditions that increase the likelihood of gentrification include a high rate of renters, low property values compared to neighbouring areas, good transportation infrastructure and job availability, and popularity in the catchment area for densification.

Furthermore, trends that indicate gentrification in progress include a shift from rental tenure to homeownership, an influx of amenities catering to higher-income levels, an increase in down-payment ratios, and rising property values and rents, which can also result in displacement of existing lower-income residents (Kennedy & Leonard, 2001).

## **C. Effects of Gentrification**

The consequences of gentrification can be diverse, including physical displacement of long-term tenants or homeowners and local businesses, due to rising rents, property values, and taxes, as well as the influx of high-income newcomers to the neighbourhood. This process of deconcentration of poverty can lead to a change in the social dynamics and the socioeconomic profile of the area, which can result in potential conflicts between old and new residents. The streetscapes can also change, offering new commercial activities that cater to the changing demographics and preferences of the new residents, improving the area's perception and value. This can lead to even more investment, speculation, and changes in the area (Kennedy & Leonard, 2001).

### 1. Displacement

Displacement is a critical aspect in understanding and defining gentrification. However, displacement is not necessarily tied to a gentrification process. As explained by Grier and Grier (1978), displacement occurs when a household is forced to vacate their residence due to conditions that affect their dwelling or its immediate surroundings. These conditions are often beyond the household's ability to solve, prevent, or control. It becomes simply impossible or unaffordable for the household to continue residing in their dwelling. Grier and Grier (1978) draw a distinct line between voluntary and involuntary movement. According to Newman and Owen (1982) there is no such distinction between voluntary and involuntary moves. They argue that in most cases, people are forced to move because they have no other options available to them. In their article *"Gentrification, Displacement, and the Role of Public Investment"*, the Authors Zuk, Loukaitou-Sideris and Chapple (2018) have mentioned several theories on displacement. Those are summarized in the three main causes for displacement: direct (or physical) causes, indirect (or economic) causes, and exclusionary (or cultural) causes.

## 2. Neighbourhood Change

Neighbourhood change is referred to as the socioeconomic position of neighbourhoods and their rapid change over time. The processes of physical and socioeconomic transition differ among neighbourhoods, and they can result in either positive or negative changes. Negative changes may occur through deliberate social mixing or physical interventions that result in gentrification (Jackson & Mare, 2007; Barrett et.al., 2008).

### III. PLACE BRANDING

#### **A. Terms and Concepts: Place Marketing, Place Branding and Place Promotion**

Between the words place branding place promotion and place marketing of places is to be distinguished (Boisen et. al, 2017). While place promotion is considered “supply-driven”, place marketing is considered as “demand-driven”. Place branding, however, can be seen as the most comprehensive, that can include place promotion and marketing within (Wäckerlin, 2018). In their book *Reframing place promotion, place marketing, and place branding - moving beyond conceptual confusion*, Boisen, Terlouw, Grotte, and Couwenberg (2017) describe place branding as holistic and identity driven, which thereof touches upon several sub-topics, including the image and the identity of a city.

#### 1. Image

In 1960, Lynch introduced the concept of the city's image in his book *The Image of the City*, highlighting its importance in urban design. The idea of a collective mental map of the city, based on various urban elements, was proposed as a guiding principle for city development (Lynch, 1960) Today, the city image is mainly associated with place branding, which involves the consumer's perception or impression of a place. Scholars generally agree that the image is a construct in people's minds that simplifies a large amount of information about a place into a manageable set of ideas. It contains a set of associations related to a specific place and can vary from person to person or group to group (Gertner & Kotler, 2004).

#### 2. Flagship projects

Flagship projects are initiatives aimed at mainly attracting real estate investors, tourists, and new residents with high incomes. Their objectives include polishing up the image of the city, creating a catalysing effect for raising capital, promoting gentrification, and climbing in the urban hierarchy. The Erasmusbrug in Rotterdam is an example of a flagship project. It was built as a crossing of the Maas to link the North and South and to activate the South for further investments.



The bridge has spill over effects that catalyse developments in the surrounding area (Doucet & Van Weeseep, 2011).

### 3. Identity

In place branding literature and practices, identity refers to the essence of a place or brand (Wäckerlin, 2018). However, it's important to note that the identity of a place and brand are two different concepts. In the context of place branding, the brand identity refers to how the place owners want the place to be perceived, and it's crucial to establish a unique brand identity that differentiates the city from other destinations (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). The brand identity is the deliberately expressed core concept of the "product" and is considered the desired image in the consumer's mind (Anholt, 2006).

On the contrary, place identity represents the essence of a location, distinguishing it from how it is perceived by individuals (place image) or intentionally portrayed (brand identity). However, there is a significant conceptual confusion surrounding place identity. Scholars agree that place identity is a continuous process and cannot be defined, manipulated, and promoted as a fixed concept. The majority of scholars in the field of place branding agree that place identity is distinct from place image and brand identity (Wäckerlin, 2018). However, there is ambiguity in the conceptualization of place identity, which can be viewed in two ways: static and dynamic (Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013). The static approach assumes that place identity can indeed be defined, manipulated, and promoted, based on the notion that place identity is a fixed concept. According to Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013), this approach limits place branding to a promotional tool for conveying the identity to others. In contrast, a dynamic view of place identity emphasizes that it is a continuous process rather than an outcome.

### 4. Iconic projects

Iconic projects, for instance, can be considered as identity carriers within the concept of static place identity. Not only do they provide symbolic and postcard value and bringing economic or socio-cultural spin-offs as a catalyst, icons do also provide a sense of identity and public pride. Local authorities use icons intentionally to improve backward neighbourhoods in the context of public-led gentrification (Verheul, 2012).

At last, in their article *City Branding and the Link to Urban Planning: Theories, Practices, and Challenges*, Bonakdar and Audirac (2020) describe city branding to ever since compete with other cities in the context of an increasingly globalized economy. Furthermore, they argue that as a result gentrification is promoted and triggered by place branders. However, Belabas, Eshuis and Scholten (2020) describe city branding as a strategy, that helps a city define a shared identity and sense of belonging, that bonds the residents.

## IV. HISTORY OF CITY BRANDING IN ROTTERDAM

### **A. Rotterdam and its Port Until the 1960s**

The 17th century, also known as the Dutch Golden Age, was a time of great prosperity and cultural flourishing in the Netherlands. Rotterdam in particular developed into an important centre for trade and commerce during this period. Its strategic location at the mouth of the Rhine made the city an ideal port for ships sailing to and from Europe. Dutch ships sailed around the world trading spices, textiles and other valuable goods. This global trade network helped make the Netherlands one of the richest and most powerful nations in Europe at that time (Jacobs, 2007).

The Netherlands emerged as a leading player in mercantilist trade, with a focus on shipping and exploration. In 1620, a group of English Puritans, the so-called Pilgrim Fathers, set out on a long sea voyage from the port of Delfshaven in Rotterdam. Their main goal was to seek religious freedom and a new beginning in the New World. The historic voyage they undertook aboard the Mayflower is now considered a defining moment in American history (Jacobs, 2007).

In 1872, the Nieuwe Waterweg (engl.: New Waterway) was built, connecting Rotterdam directly to the North Sea (Hein & Van Laar, 2020). Two years later, the village of Katendrecht became part of the city (Meer & Boonstra, 2006). From 1885 onwards, three river docks were developed, namely the Rijnhaven, the Maashaven and the Waalhaven, and new industrial areas were built in the port area. These developments encouraged the city to adopt a port city identity that distinguishes Rotterdam from other Dutch cities (Hein & Van de Laar, 2020).

During the late 19th and early 20th century, Rotterdam's port was a transshipment point for raw materials to the German Ruhr Area. The business sector was the initial driving force behind the city's port and urban development, with Rotterdam entrepreneurs being called "Harbor Barons" (Jacobs, 2007). By the beginning of the 20th century, Rotterdam's urban form and port-city scape had changed strongly (Hein & Van de Laar, 2020).

In 1932, the Municipal Port Authority was officially founded (Jacobs, 2007). Before World War II, Rotterdam became the most important continental port, with 600,000 inhabitants by 1940 (Van de Laar, 2014). However, in May of that year, the German bombardment destroyed the inner city, and more than 40% of the quays and other port facilities were destroyed (Hein & Van de Laar, 2020; Van de Laar & van der Schoor, 2019). After WWII, Rotterdam underwent a period of complete rebuilding and modernisation, transforming its industrial port cityscape into a modern dynamic "American City" (Jacobs, 2007; Van de Laar, 2014).

## B. The Separation of the Port and the City

Despite its growth and success, Rotterdam faced significant challenges in the 1970s, including heavy air pollution and thus the need to move away from polluting industries (Van de Laar, 2014, Stevens, 1997). The introduction of containers in 1965 was an important milestone for the port, but also brought new challenges as the port industry began to lose its importance as a job generator (Hein & Van de Laar, 2020). Like most ports in Europe, the traditional port area of Rotterdam lost its function as port activities shifted outside the centre, downstream of the Maas, leaving large unused or empty areas (Oudenaarden & Vroegindeweyj, 2015). The focus of revenue had to change and was subsequently shifted to the city centre, mainly to the creative industries (Van de Laar, 2014). The new types of employment were supposed to bring a new kind of identity-creating connectedness to the residents (Parra Giraldo, 2020).

## C. Cultural and Architectural Flourishing

### 1. Communicatie 70

In the second half of the 1960s, many residents and also the municipality of Rotterdam started to be dissatisfied with the urban environment. The image of Rotterdam as an unfriendly and cold place was one of the reasons for holding the cultural event Communicatie 70 (short: C70) in 1970. It was the fourth major event in Rotterdam since the Second World War. The previous events were mainly about showing off the rebuilt Rotterdam and presenting new technical achievements to the visitors (Bekaert et al., 1996).



Figure 1: Postcard Picture of the colored plastic domes during the C70



Figure 2: Publicity material of the C70 for "smallest port in the world"

The C70), described by Boyle (1997) as the "Urban Propaganda Project", differed from the previous events not only in content but also in style. The event took place in the city centre and not in one of the parks as usual, and was characterised by pavilions, cafés, shops and human-scale stands. In this way, Rotterdam wanted to create a warmer and more human-friendly atmosphere and get rid of the rather negative and cold image of the city centre. To exaggerate

the theme of smallness, the port of Rotterdam, officially the largest port in the world since 1962, was given the slogan "Rotterdam has the smallest port in the world". The C70 was a success in terms of improving the quality of life and the perception of the city centre. The event left its mark on the city centre through improved cycling infrastructure and an increasing number of green spaces (Heiden & Piersma, 2003).

## 2. Flagships and Icons in Rotterdam

Starting already in the 1960, Rotterdam aimed to implement measures to improve the image of Rotterdam and strived to enhance the perception of the city as a brand. The construction of several landmarks, including the Euromast in 1960 and the funicular railway in the 1970s, helped to establish Rotterdam as a city with cultural and social amenities (Stevens, 1997).

With the completion of the Erasmus Bridge in 1996, the aim was to connect the city centre with the previously neglected south of Rotterdam and thus reach the aim of an undivided city. The Rotterdam municipality believed that the bridge would help the city gain more national and international attention. These goals were achieved, as Kop van Zuid gained a lot of attention and attracted new residents, tourists, and investors (Top010, 2013; Oudenaarden & Vroegindeweyj, 2015). The Erasmus bridge can therefore be seen as a catalyst for attractiveness and investment in the south of Rotterdam.



Figure 3: Rotterdam City Map 2001. A clear example of a constructed metropolitan image of the city. The neglect of the South is still apparent, yet showing the Kop van Zuid developments.

## D. City Planning Policies

### 1. "Stadsvernieuwing"

Due to tenant protests around the city centre and increasing dissatisfaction about housing conditions, the newly elected municipal government launched a plan for the "Stadsvernieuwing" (Eng: Urban Renewal) of Rotterdam in 1974. The focus of the Urban Renewal was to improve and renovate the existing housing stock. The entire Urban Renewal plan was to be implemented with the participation of the residents (Mak & Stouten, 2014). The municipality's motto for this restructuring effort was "bouwen voor de buurt", which means "building for the residents".

### 2. "Opzoomeren"

In addition to the goals of Urban Renewal, including the regeneration of the waterfront and the redemption of older neighbourhoods, the municipality of Rotterdam tried to improve the social conditions of certain neighbourhoods. Through the street activity "Opzoomeren", people were invited to participate in improving the city themselves (Ren & Keil, 2017; Van de Laar & van der

Schoor, 2019). What started in one street was adopted by many neighbourhoods in Rotterdam and applied as well. The aim was to promote social integration within each neighbourhood, encourage people to take care of their immediate surroundings and improve the image of the city (Duyvendak & van der Graaf, 2001; Laar & van der Schoor, 2019). However, the initiative did not have the expected long-term impact on the neighbourhoods (Neleman, 2004).

## **E. Marketing Strategies**

In the 1980s, Rotterdam experienced a period of cultural revival. Not only did the city get a new city library, but also several new museums and a new theatre. This was related to the city council's decision in 1984 to implement a strategy to put Rotterdam in the spotlight. Furthermore, politicians Kees Bode and Bram Peper used the term "city marketing" for the first time in the context of Rotterdam's transformation efforts (Parra Giraldo, 2020).

The newly introduced "Inner City Plan" from 1985 focused on specific areas to be developed and was also inspired by the vision of the 'Manhattan on the Maas'. In the years to come, numerous high-rise projects were built, giving Rotterdam its modern image as the high-rise city of the Netherlands (Parra Giraldo, 2020).

### **1. Rotterdam Marketing Foundation**

From around 2000, Rotterdam became known as a city with innovative architecture, cultural and social institutions, and in 2001 the city established the Rotterdam Marketing Foundation to promote its image internationally (Hospers, 2010; Rotterdam Partners, 2023). The city has promoted itself through culture and the arts, which is also linked to its hosting of the European Capital of Culture in 2001 (Hitters, 2000). The city found it necessary to pursue a strategy that would attract new residents, especially graduates and creative people, in order to continue to play an important role in the international competition between city regions (Van Kempen, 2009). However, the city faced difficulties in creating a brand that met the needs and values of all stakeholders, especially residents, who are often neglected in the development of city brands (Insch, 2011). In 2003, Rotterdam actively started implementing branding strategies to develop an attractive city brand (Riezebos, 2014).

### **2. Rotterdam Durft!**

In 2004 Rotterdam launched its first official brand campaign "Rotterdam Durft! (Eng: Rotterdam dares!). The slogan "Rotterdam, a young international city on the waterfront, with a straight-forward and decisive mentality" was meant to reflect Rotterdam's direct and hard-working identity (Noordegraaf & Vermeulen, 2010).

The main objectives of this campaign were to promote Rotterdam as a distinctive city and to gain attention in the global market for future events and initiatives. However, the campaign failed to raise Rotterdam's profile on the international market, so the municipality decided to hand over the project from the Ontwikkelingsbedrijf Rotterdam, or OBR, to the Rotterdam Marketing Company (Parra Giraldo, 2020).

### 3. Rotterdam World Port. World City.

In 2006, the marketing campaign "Rotterdam World Port, World City", led by the Chief Marketing Officer (CMO), aimed to strengthen the city's international competitiveness. The city was to be promoted from a port and city perspective, focusing on the city's favourable geographical location. The goal of raising Rotterdam's international profile was achieved, but residents could not identify with the brand and saw the campaign more as an economic stimulus (Parra Giraldo, 2020; Gemeente Rotterdam, 2008).

### 4. Rotterdam, make it happen!

In 2013, Rotterdam launched a new brand alliance with the Municipality, Port of Rotterdam Authority, Erasmus University, and Rotterdam Partners called "Rotterdam. Make it happen.". This new brand strategy aimed to address the lack of identification with the city and create a more coherent and inclusive image for Rotterdam. A central aspect of the campaign was to promote the city as a place to seize opportunities, grow successfully and invest. Not only were residents finally able to identify with the brand, but the city was also ready to integrate brand attributes into its communication and policies (Belabas & Eshuis, 2019).

### 5. Rotterdam City Brand today

The Rotterdam brand has become more complex over the years and now consists of a brand network with 20 partners. The brand is organised in a public-private partnership whose main goal is to attract international investment, talent and visitors (Parra Giraldo, 2020). It can now finally be considered internationally recognised, and the local stakeholders also identify with the brand. According to the Wall Street Journal, Rotterdam is not only the coolest city in the Netherlands, but you should also visit SS Rotterdam or the Fenix Food Factory, both located in Katendrecht (Barone, 2016, October 11).

## V. FOCUS AREA: KATENDRECHT

### **A. Beginnings of Katendrecht**

In 1895, the village of Katendrecht was incorporated into the city of Rotterdam, opening up the prospect of new land for further expansion of the city (Meer & Boonstra, 2006; Weenink, 2010). Since then, the neighbourhood has undergone many changes in terms of use, size and



appearance. The different transformations of Katendrecht tell different stories about each phase. However, today's Katendrecht does not at all resemble what it was decades ago.

In 1793, a century before Katendrecht has been annexed by Rotterdam, the village had no more than 50 houses (Verheul, 1933). After the completion of the Rijnhaven and the Maashaven, as well as its excavation into a port peninsula in 1911, Katendrecht has developed towards the largest Chinese colony in the Netherlands (Hein & Van de Laar, 2020; Van de Laar & van der Schoor, 2019). This development, however was decelerated under the great depression in the 1930s, which led to a significant decline of the Chinese population in Katendrecht (Van de Laar & van der Schoor, 2019). In May 1940, the city centre of Rotterdam has been destroyed by German bombardments (Weenink, 2010; Jacobs, 2007). Rotterdam's nightlife shifted to a new location that was discovered in Katendrecht, rendering the peninsula even more popular. This was partly because German soldiers were specifically instructed to avoid the area.

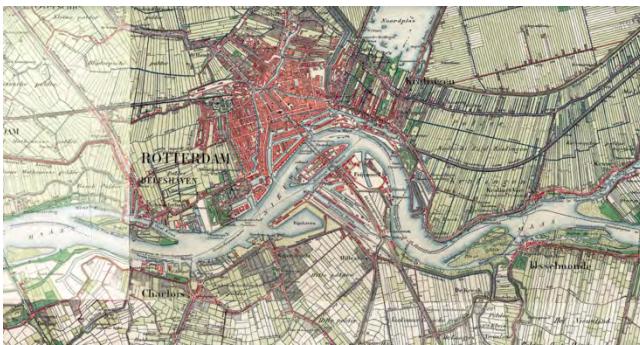


Figure 4: Map of Rotterdam City of the year 1896: Katendrecht annexed by Rotterdam



Figure 5: Map of Rotterdam City of the year 1911: Completion of the Maashaven and the Rijnhaven

## B. Phase 1

### 1. Status Quo

In the following years, Katendrecht developed into a neighbourhood characterised by a close-knit community despite the prevailing problems with poverty and prostitution. Many cafés, dance halls and tattoo studios had their small, thriving businesses, which were mainly used by dock workers and seafarers from all over the world. However, a negative image of Katendrecht led to the people from Katendrecht having a bad reputation overall (Meyer, 1983). In an interview conducted by Nathan van der Ent (2015) as part of his master's thesis at Leiden University, an interviewee says:

“Als we de Kaap verlieten vertelden we vaak niet eens, dat we uit Katendrecht kwamen. Anders ging ze er vanuit, dat we moordenaars en hoeren waren en konden we de baan vergeten.”

[When we left the Cape, we often didn't even tell them that we came from Katendrecht. Otherwise, they would assume that we were murderers and whores, and we could forget the job.]

## 2. Times of Transition

In the 1960s and early 1970s, the atmosphere in the neighbourhood changed as brothel owners and pimps from The Hague moved in to financially exploit the existing prostitution business. This led to increased competition, which pushed out the existing businesses and led to an increase in crime and a sense of insecurity among the residents. Subsequently the neighbourhood body was founded in 1968, which aimed to put an end to the rampant prostitution and criminalisation of Katendrecht. This neighbourhood body was recognized by the municipality as an organization and interlocutor to fight against the prevailing circumstances in Katendrecht. With the campaign under the slogan "Katendrecht Woonwijk!" (Eng: Katendrecht Residential District!), the residents involved tried to draw attention to the problem throughout Rotterdam (Van der Ent, 2015).



Figure 6: Protest of the residents at the City Hall

However, the pimps also became active and the neighbourhood authority did not manage to successfully ban prostitution from the peninsula. In 1972, there were over 121 brothels in Katendrecht, with a total of 385 prostitutes working there (Berkhof, 2011). In the newspaper article *Weer brandstichting op Katendrecht* from the 25<sup>th</sup> of May, 1974 published in *Nederlands Dagblad* it is reported that brothel owners have set fire to the building of the neighbourhood body for the second time. These strong actions by the opposition and the lack of support from the municipality in combating prostitution led to the dissolution of the Neighbourhood Authority in 1974 (Van der Ent, 2015). As a reaction to this, the



Figure 7: Nederlands Dagblad from the 25<sup>th</sup> of May, 1974



activist group AREKA (Actiegroep Redt Katendrecht) emerged from the ongoing dissatisfaction of the residents with the same goal: to demand the closure of the brothels and ban prostitution from Katendrecht (Oudenaarden & Vroegindeweyj, 2015).

It was only when the PvdA government and mayor van der Louw were newly elected in 1974 that measures to ban prostitution in Katendrecht were put on the municipality's agenda (Kaap over 2 jaar uit problemen. Nieuwe bordelen worden gesloten, 1975). The protests and expressions of dissatisfaction were eventually heard and the new city council worked out a strategy together with the affected residents. (Van der Ent, 2015).



Figure 8: Het vrije volk: democratisch-socialistisch dagblad from the 14<sup>th</sup> of January, 1975

### 3. Urban Renewal 1975-1991

In the early 1970s, the first closure orders for brothel owners were initiated by the Municipality, which led to Katendrecht being designated as one of nine Urban Renewal areas in Rotterdam in 1975 (Oudenaarden & Vroegindeweyj, 2015). In the same process, the Municipality decided to involve the residents' organisation in the decision-making process of the Urban Renewal (Meyer, 1983). This democratisation of municipal policy-making reflects the Municipality's interest in driving Urban Renewal hand in hand with the residents living in Katendrecht at the time (Snel ed. al., 2011). However, residents who did not belong to the residents' organisation had no say (Meyer, 1983).

The democratisation of politics was one of the main goals of Urban Renewal, as Jan van der Ploeg, the alderman for urban renewal, recognised. In his view, it was crucial to adapt the immediate living environment of the residents (Van der Ploeg, 1982). In this respect, both the city council and the residents agreed that community participation was essential. Through extensive discussions between the city council and the residents of the old neighbourhoods, the Urban Renewal Ordinance was drafted to formalise democratisation. This ordinance mandated the inclusion of residents in the project groups, giving them a say in the decision-making process. It also gave future residents the opportunity to comment on new construction projects. The democratisation of Urban Renewal meant a move away from the traditional top-down approach,

where decisions were made by external institutions, and shifted the policy-making process to the neighbourhood level, where the population was directly involved (Liedorp, 1982).

According to the newspaper article that has been published on the 21st of August 1974 in *Het Vrije Volk*, by the reporter Hans Maas, the residents were very enthusiastic about the Urban Renewal approach and confident into the ambitions of the municipality (Bedrijfsruimten worden omgetoverd [...]1974). However, the starting phase of the urban renewal turned out to be more difficult than anticipated. The street meetings were organized by the first municipal project leader of Katendrecht, Fred Blokhuizen, in the spring of 1974. The residents could express their opinion and concerns in those meet ups, but only 16 percent of the residents appeared to those meetings (Van der Ent, 2015).

It was not until 1975 that the first project group meetings finally took place. They were organised between April and November 1975 and were rather improvised and disorganised. The project leader and the nine residents representing the AREKA community had to work together to figure out how to structure the project group, as there was no existing administrative model to follow. The absence of a deputy project leader and a social advisor during the first meetings led to confusion about roles and responsibilities, resulting in communication problems and frustrations that had to be resolved (Van den Noort, 2000, Inv. No. 6). Gradually, a clear structure emerged as tasks were defined, frequency of meetings established and communication methods such as a district newspaper and leaflets agreed upon (Firma Breddels en Vermeulen, 1997a, Inv. No. 18). Blokhuizen, the project leader, reiterated the importance of citizen participation in the Urban Renewal process, stating that genuine co-ownership would accelerate progress. However, this optimistic claim was later challenged when it became clear that the reality was more complex (Firma Breddels en Vermeulen, 1997a, Inv. No. 20).

The structure of the urban renewal of Katendrecht was determined in three processes. These were the establishment of the zoning plan, namely "Uitbreidingsplan Katendrecht-Vuist", the purchase and renovation of the housing stock and the curbing of prostitution. Overall, the zoning plan was determined by two main interests: the elimination of prostitution and the preservation of the cosmopolitan character of Katendrecht (Van den Noort, 2000 inv. nr. 92).

In May 1977 the strategic plan was implemented, which contained the conditions as well as the goals and visions for Katendrecht. These goals were a clear result of the residents' participation, which is reflected, for example, in the condition that rents should not be increased after the renovation (Van den Noort, 2000 inv. no. 92). However, the expectations of the urban planners did not match the reactions of most residents. During the renovation process, many Dutch working-class families moved from the inner city to more distant post-war areas or to the suburbs

of Rotterdam (Snel ed. al., 2011). Between 1971 and 1976, the district experienced an average decline of 138 people per year, resulting in an overall loss of inhabitants between the years 1967 and 1976 from 3,733 to 2,468 inhabitants (Van der Ent, 2015). Subsequently, an increase in new residents was reported until 1976, who were mainly migrant workers and their families (Snel ed. al., 2011).

The second part of the Urban Renewal plan was, as already mentioned, the purchase of private houses and the renovation of the housing stock. However, these intentions could not be realised as planned. The project group admitted in a local newspaper in September 1976 that the process seemed to be more complex and more problems arose as time went on. For example, the project group had expected the residents to be more active, whereas it seemed that the interest of the residents in the process was very low (Firma Breddels en Vermeulen, 1997a, Inv. No. 3). In general, it was evident that the process of Urban Renewal suffered several setbacks, especially because of the persistent problem of prostitution, for which the municipality still lacked the legal framework to prohibit it. In this initial phase of Urban Renewal, there seemed to be no way around prostitution, as any attempt to move it to another neighbourhood would immediately lead to another protest by the city's residents (Van der Ent, 2015).

In the early 1980s, the urban regeneration of Katendrecht entered a transitional phase that slowly found a line of success (Van der Ent, 2015). Five years after the start of co-design and discussions, the land use plan 'Katendrecht Vuist' was approved by the municipality (Firma Breddels en Vermeulen, 1997a, Inv. No. 23). The plan was to be implemented by the local actors themselves. The tasks were clearly divided between the project group, the housing association "Onze Woongemeenschap" and the residents. The project group consisted of a permanent core, with a project leader, a deputy project leader, and a participation supervisor, as well as two secretaries and nine residents. The project leader maintained contact with the communities and was often confronted with negotiations to represent the residents' interests before the city council. These constant negotiations and discussions were partly the reason for the delay of the projects. Although it became clear that resident participation slowed down the process, involvement in decision-making was still considered important and was an integral part of Rotterdam's urban regeneration concept (Van der Ent, 2015). In early 1981, residents started to complain about the low amount of information about the progress of the construction and renovation works (Van den Noort, 2000 inv. nr. 7).

In the following two years, a new group was founded at the beginning of 1983, namely the 'Katendrechtse Bewonersorganisatie' (KBO). The group aimed to improve the living conditions of the residents and give them more control over their neighbourhood (Van den Noort, 2000 inv. nr.

9). The organisation wanted to have a say in decisions that affected the community and took responsibility for organising participation. With the emergence of the KBO, the cooperation between the residents, the community and the housing association became more organized (Van den Noort, 2000 inv. nos. 9 and 29). Although professional support was lacking, the Urban Renewal project continued to progress and more than 70% of the houses were bought and renovated (Firma Breddels en Vermeulen, 1997b, inv. no. 23). However, after a small sense of success, the number of prostitutes increased again by the end of 1982 (Kaa-prostitutie steekt [...], 26 August 1982).

From 1983 to 1987, new buildings were successfully constructed as part of the Katendrecht Urban Renewal, but the renovation of the eastern part of Katendrecht was delayed. The economic crisis of the 1980s led to funding shortages and cuts in government subsidies, making it difficult for the municipality of Rotterdam to finance the renewal (LISWO, 1999). This crisis affected all nine districts and led to an increase in the unemployment rate. The most affected was Katendrecht, where half of the working population was unemployed in 1984 (Firma Breddels en Vermeulen, 1997a, inv. nr.38).

It was not until the mid-1980s that the goals were achieved and realised. For example, the first newly built houses at the former Katendrecht harbour were completed in 1985 (Van der Ent, 2015). According to Meyer (1983), the expansion of the neighbourhood was necessary to keep the area attractive and to offer a high quality of life to the new, but especially to the old residents. The new development at the old harbour stood in stark contrast to the development in Katendrecht East, the area around the Deliplein and Atjehstraat (Firma Breddels en Vermeulen, 1997a, Inv. No. 23). In the repeatedly failed attempt to drive prostitution out of Katendrecht, concrete plans for the area around the Deliplein failed again. In this case it was due to the unwillingness of the housing association "Onze Woongemeenschap" to invest and the condition of the KBO not to act until prostitution had successfully disappeared. Another recurring obstacle was that Katendrecht was constantly in the news because of its problems with prostitution and other criminal activities. This inhibited the attraction of new customers. So, opening new cafés or shops would not help to attract people to Katendrecht, as its image was still disreputable (Van der Ent, 2015). Due to the continued disinterest of the various stakeholders, no changes could be achieved, and the plans proved unsuccessful. (Breddels en Vermeulen, 1997a, inv. no. 10). The approach to urban renewal was no longer a co-production between the housing association, the project group, and the residents, but rather that each party pursued its own interests first. This ultimately led to the opposite of democratic decision-making (Van der Ent, 2015).

In 1987, local residents agreed to limit prostitution to a few streets, thus giving Katendrecht developers the opportunity to renovate and buy houses. In the meantime, the municipality tried to find a new location for prostitution in Rotterdam (Firma Breddels en Vermeulen, 1997a, inv. nos. 12 and 20). After three years, however, no solution had been found for the relocation of prostitution. The proposal to move the brothels temporarily into containers was rejected after protests from residents, and it was not until the end of 1990 that the renovation of Atjehstraat could begin (Firma Breddels en Vermeulen, 1997a, inv. nr. 82 and 84).

During the completion phase in 1990, the Katendrecht Urban Renewal project group reflected and summarized their achievement and future concerns (Firma Breddels en Vermeulen, 1997a, inv. nr. 34). A total of 850 homes and more than 50 business spaces have been renovated. In addition to that another 750 newly constructed homes have been added to the area of the Eerste and Tweede Katendrechtse Haven. However, during further discussions it was noted that problems continued to accumulate in Katendrecht East, such as increasing unemployment and vacant homes occupied by underprivileged house seekers (Stichting Historisch Katendrecht, n.d.).



Figure 9: Areal view of Katendrecht at the time of the completion of the Urban Renewal

In the management plan, that is supposed to lead into the next phase of changes in Katendrecht, solutions to those problems weren't mentioned (Firma Breddels en Vermeulen, 1997a, inv. nr. 36 and 37). However, it was noted that the aim of improving the neighbourhood image and developing the Deliplein, as well as providing good quality homes for current and future residents should be continued to be strived after (Firma Breddels en Vermeulen, 1997a, inv. nr. 20, 34 and 38).

## **C. Phase 2**

### **1. Status Quo**

After extensive Urban Renewal and increasing pressure from residents, prostitution finally disappeared between 1990 and 2000. (Stichting Historisch Katendrecht, n.d.). Nevertheless, Katendrecht could not get rid of its image as a criminal and unattractive neighbourhood until the beginning of the 21st century and was still considered a neglected and underprivileged neighbourhood (Weenink, 2010).

Furthermore, Katendrecht faced the highest increase in poverty and unemployment in the seven years between the end of Urban Renewal in 1991 and the beginning of restructuring in 1998 (Horsten, 1995). The Municipality saw the concentration of social rental housing as the reason for these problems, due to a lack of financial resources to maintain the large proportion of social rental housing (Berkhof, 2011). Several measures were taken to respond to these problems. These included not only increased police presence and repression, but also targeting middle class households to achieve a more balanced composition of the population (Snel ed. al., 2011).

The Opzoomer activities, that have gained popularity in the 1980s in Rotterdam reached Katendrecht by 1994. The residents of Katendrecht joined in, organising events such as neighbourhood barbeques and cleaning their own streets. Despite the successful participation and acceptance among the residents, the enthusiasm the Opzooming decreased in the late 1990s, not leaving a greater impact for the future on the neighbourhood (Neleman, 2004).

### **2. Restructuring 1998-2015**

The KBO started putting pressure on the Municipality to quickly develop the edges of Katendrecht (Van den Noort, 2000 inv. nr. 23). The "Strategische Wijkpak" (engl.: Strategic Neighbourhood Approach) thereof provided a framework to meet those requests in the future, by promising to extensively renovate and densify Katendrecht between the 1995 and 2020 (Uiterwaal, 2009). The development ambitions were published in the *Algemeen Dagblad* on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April in 2000 (see Figure 10). The plan was, to double the inhabitants though the planned development of 1.300 new homes on six different locations in Katendrecht. For the existing





Figure 10: Development ambitions published in the Algemeen Dagblad, 22<sup>nd</sup> April 2000

homes, also some transformation was planned. Among those 1.700 existing homes, 90% was owned by Woonstad Rotterdam (former De Nieuwe Unie) (Uiterwaal, 2009).

When in 1998, the port company Hanno moved from Katendrecht, the southern edge of Katendrecht could finally started to be developed. The semi-government company Bouwfonds could therefore start with the development and placed 150 single-family homes and 95 apartments on the former plot of the company. Despite the bad image of Katendrecht and the over average prizes of the owner-occupied homes, the demand for the new

homes was sufficient (Katendrecht wordt degelijk [...], 1998 February 21<sup>st</sup>).

However, that one successful project did not do the trick in making Katendrecht lose all its problems. The criminal tensions and the feeling of unsafety rose again among the residents. In 2001, over a hundred residents sent a letter to the Municipality requesting an immediate change and intervention, especially into the entrance of Katendrecht and the south edge, where Hanno used to be (Van der Ent, 2015).

Also the interventions in the Parkkwartier did not have any line of success. The responsible developer BEMOG promoted together with the Municipality a false image of Katendrecht, whilst in the meantime the declining construction market led to the stagnation of the developments. BEMOG therefore lost its involvement in the development of Katendrecht (Van der Ent, 2015).

In response, the Municipality designed in 2005, together with the project developer Proper Stok and the owner of social housing in Katendrecht, Woonstad an integrated development vision, the "Ontwikkelvisie Katendrecht" (Uiterwaal, 2009). The interest and motivation of the Municipality to intervene and stop criminal activities in Katendrecht was shown clearly in the new vision, however strongly depending on the potential positive influence of the creative class (DS+V & OBR, 2005). The vision aims to transform Katendrecht towards a neighbourhood with a more urban character, but in the meantime providing green outdoor spaces for families and seniors, young professionals, and artists. The vision was divided in three phases: sowing, growing and harvesting. The first phase was completed in 2006 and was mainly addressing the improvement of the infrastructure and the public spaces. The second phase included the renovation of existing residential buildings and the construction of new buildings. The last phase began in 2015 and includes among other things the development of the Rivierkwartier (Van der Ent, 2015).

Three main areas have been addressed in this vision, those are: The old core of Katendrecht (“De oude kern”), the entrance area of Katendrecht (“Het Polsgebied”) and the south side of Katendrecht (dS+V & OBR, 2005).

By the end of 2006, Proper Stok and Woonstad finished with the improvement of the infrastructure and public spaces in Katendrecht. One of the most important public spaces, is the “Katendrecht Kern” (core of Katendrecht), located at the Deliplein. By integrating a theatre and several expensive bars and restaurants, the central Deliplein should be a place that attracts young potentials and artists, however mainly intending to attract the higher-income class. Among the other interventions was also a bridge, that creates a link between the Willhelminaplein (today: Kop van Zuid) and the Deliplein. For the following years, the development focused mainly on the aim of generating growth through renovation and new constructions. The last phase of the restructuring of Katendrecht was the revitalization and the development of the Rivierkwartier, which was planned to start in 2015 (Van der Ent, 2015).

Simultaneously with “Ontwikkelvisie Katendrecht”, an area-campaign should promote living and visiting Katendrecht. This was approached by the representation of the actual character of Katendrecht: tough and dynamic. The campaign’s slogans “Kun je de Kaap aan?” and “Ja, ik kan de Kaap aan.” (english: "Can you handle the Cape?" and "Yes, I can handle the Cape") reflects the municipalities ambitions to no longer represent a false image of Katendrecht but rather show what is characterizing the neighbourhood. Visitors and potential new residents should be attracted and challenged by this question, whether they can handle the cape or not (Van der Ent, 2015; Vandenbussche, 2018). The campaign was not only targeted to visitors and future residents, but also to the current residents of Katendrecht. They have been integrated trough communication and insights into the program and developments, which in the aftermath might attract even more new residents (Berkhof, 2011; Uiterwaal, 2009). This campaign could be seen a new phase, ushering into a successful revitalization of Katendrecht.



Figure 11: Posters of the area campaign “Kun je de Kaap aan? - “Ja, ik kan de Kaap aan.”



The summer of 2008 can be considered as the turning point of the restructuring of Katendrecht. This could be seen in different areas, like e.g. the change in newspaper reporting. The news coverage was for the first time mainly positive and therefore was Katendrecht able to leave its old image behind. In addition to that, the safety index rose significantly and almost reached the urban average of Rotterdam. In the housing test, conducted by Woonstad, the resident's satisfaction turned out to have also significantly improved since 2004 (Van der Ent, 2015).

From that moment of success onwards, the revitalization of Katendrecht continued. In 2010, the Laankwartier, which is located on the south of Katendrecht, was realised. The fast sale of the 200 homes draws witness to the popularity of Katendrecht at that point. One of the very sought after projects was the Rijnhaven bridge that would connect Katendrecht with the Kop van Zuid, was realized in 2012. It not only overcomes the physical barrier of the Maas, but it is also considered as catalyst for the social and economic developments on the peninsula (Van der Ent, 2015).

After the ship SS Rotterdam was permanently moved to the Maashaven in Katendrecht, step by step also other landmarks were established in the years following (Gorter, 2019). In the years between 2010 and up until today many projects have been realized, making Katendrecht even more interesting for tourists and residents from other areas in Rotterdam to visit. Among those is the Fenix Food Factory, that was established close to the Deliplein in 2015. It is built into the Fenixloods and is today a popular place for people to enjoy lunch or have a drink by the water (Rotterdam Info, n.d.).

## VI. STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

### **A. Stakeholder Explanation**

The identified stakeholders involved in the developments of Katendrecht in the last 50 years can be categorized as following:

-  Local Businesses and Entrepreneuers
-  Individual Citizen, Residents and Grassroot Developments
-  Organisations, Investors, Companies and Developers
-  The Municipality of Rotterdam
-  (Social) Housing Associations and Corporations
-  Marketing Companies and related Responsibilities

The specific stakeholders in the case of Katendrecht can be positioned in one of these categories, as followed:

Local Businesses and Entrepreneurs	Brothel owners, pimps and prostitutes from the Hague	Cultural amenities	Bars and Restaurants	
Individual Citizen, Residents and Grassroot Developments	Residents of Katendrecht	Neighbourhood Body	AREKA	Bewonersplatform
Organisations, Investors, Companies and Developers	Katendrechts Bewoners Organisatie (KBO)	Bouwfonds	Proper Stok	Ontwikkelings Bedrijf Rotterdam (OBR)
The Municipality of Rotterdam	Major van der Louw	PvdA Administration	Feyenoord Municipality	
(Social) Housing Associations and Corporations	Onze Woongemeenschap	Woonstad		
Marketing Companies and related Responsibilities	Rotterdam Marketing Foundation	Chief Marketing Officer (CMO)		

Figure 12: Stakeholders involved in the Urban Renewal and Restructuring Processes in Katendrecht and in the Marketing of Rotterdam (own work)

## B. Analysis and Reflection

The analysis is conducted through the time-based visual representation of events and stakeholders in Appendix 1. The following part contains a reflection on the findings of the stakeholder analysis with regards to the research question:

To what extent has Rotterdam's city branding informed the gentrification processes in Katendrecht over the last 50 years?

The first city branding attempts could be traced back to the 1970, when the C70 event happened. This event can be seen as the starting point of Rotterdam's ambitions to represent the city as a brand. However, the event was rather a promotion of the city than an actual place branding. Place promotion is the supply-driven form of marketing, and it results in attention for the product, in the case of the C70, the product was the city itself.

Nevertheless, the C70 did not directly influence Katendrecht's development, even though the neighbourhood underwent quite some social transformations at that time. The more influential factor in Katendrecht was the arrival of the brothel owners and pimps from The Haag by the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. The existing prostitution businesses, that were well integrated in the social structure of the neighbourhood could not handle the pressure of the revenue-centred brothels and pimps. These developments in the social structure of the neighbourhood making local businesses unable to compete with the new-comers, can be considered as a small-scale market-led gentrification and marks at the same time the starting point of the changes in the following years.

Another process that was happening simultaneously to the one mentioned above was the moving of residents from Katendrecht between 1971 and 1976. This was due to the bad housing conditions as well as the rising criminality in the neighbourhood since the arrival of the pimps. This movement of residents that didn't feel comfortable anymore, can be considered as physical displacement, as the residents cannot bear the prevailing conditions in the neighbourhood. However, in that case, the process of displacement cannot be considered as part of any gentrification process. As described in the theoretical framework, displacement can be an effect of gentrification, but can have its source also in other processes. Gentrification however, as also defined above, is tied to the change of residents of higher socio-economic status than the residents inhabiting the place before.

Due to the ongoing dissatisfaction not only concerning the bad housing condition but mainly because of the rising number of brothels and pimps, Katendrecht became part of the Urban Renewal program in 1975, that was officially launched for Rotterdam in 1974. The aim of the Urban Renewal to increase the quality of housing in the selected neighbourhoods do not necessarily have anything to do with gentrification. However, these kinds of developments create a fruitful ground for future investments and therefore good potential for gentrification to evolve. To underscore the governments intentions the Municipality worked closely together with the residents and left many parts of decision making with the residents. However, whilst the city focused on the renovation of buildings, the residents were more concerned about abandoning prostitution from their neighbourhood. Therefore, it can be also seen that, whenever the residents would contribute to the Urban Renewal process, the banning of the prostitution was their leading motivation. The Municipality, however, was more interested in the general goal of the Urban Renewal: the improvement and renovation of the exiting housing stock. This one-sided approach of, e.g. the action group AREKA, lead to the slowing down of the overall Urban Renewal process. The reason for this rather soft intervention in Katendrecht during the Urban Renewal could be therefore the everlasting and never-ending fight against prostitution in Katendrecht.

Consequently, Phase 1 has not only been influenced by the interests of the Municipality to enhance the neighbourhood. The residents of Katendrecht were busy fighting its bad reputation,

which in the aftermath can be considered as the reason why major investments have failed to materialise and therefore gentrification processes could not be triggered. By looking into the stakeholder participation at the bottom of Appendix 1, it becomes obvious, that the two main stakeholders during the process of Urban Renewal were the Municipality and the residents, including the grassroots developments, like the AREKA group. Also, the distribution of power is quite in balance, which is mainly due to the democratization of the process.

Between the urban renewal and the restructuring of Katendrecht, the municipality-led intervention 'Opzoomeren' also arrived in Katendrecht. These activities again show the city's ambitions to involve the population in the improvement of the neighbourhood. Around this time, however, a turning point in the government's ambitions can be observed. Not only the start of the development of the Kop van Zuid in the immediate vicinity of Katendrecht, but also the construction of the Erasmus Bridge as a link between the south and the north of Rotterdam are important milestones for the development and image of the city in the future.

Phase 2, the restructuring of Katendrecht, however, had a different starting point than the first phase. The Katendrechts Bewoners Organisatie (KBO), which exerted pressure on the municipality to initiate restructuring, focused primarily on improving living conditions. Unlike Phase 1, in which residents as initiators mainly asked the municipality to intervene in the neighborhood to eliminate prostitution, restructuring began around 1998 with KBO's request to quickly develop edges of Katendrecht. These areas were still in poor condition and often affected by criminal activity. Various actors such as the development companies Bouwfonds and Proper Stok, as well as the housing association Woonstad, were involved in the process, while the residents seemed to be completely neglected.

When the city of Rotterdam decided in 2003 to actively implement branding strategies to promote the Rotterdam city brand, Katendrecht was still struggling to get rid of its image as a deprived and crime-ridden neighborhood. In response, Katendrecht's first proper marketing campaign was launched in 2004 in collaboration between the municipality, housing associations, project developers, local entrepreneurs and residents. The campaign was designed to reflect the raw character of Katendrecht and remind people of Katendrecht's history. With the area campaign, people were challenged by the question "Can you handle the Cape?".

Together with the "Ontwikkelvisie Katendrecht", which was published in 2005, the image of Katendrecht could finally be improved. The "Ontwikkelvisie Katendrecht" aimed to intervene comprehensively in the neighborhood to stop criminal activities. To reach this goal, the municipality wanted to attract the creative class and young professionals. This was achieved through a gradual approach. In 2008, when most newspapers suddenly started reporting positively about Katendrecht, investors and developers were just waiting to start developing and

investing. This can be considered the starting point of the actual gentrification process in Katendrecht. Noticeable was the development of several expensive bars and restaurants, which were only affordable for the middle and upper class and therefore not meant for all Katendrecht residents.

Since this turning point in 2008, the developments related to the restructuring of Katendrecht show a strong gentrification character. With the SS Rotterdam and the FENIX Food Factory as the main attractions of the neighbourhood, the planned "residential area" also attracts many tourists. All these developments can be classified through two lenses of interest: the public and the private. Since the 1970s, the public interest has been to improve housing conditions as well as to decriminalise Katendrecht. In this, the city government is supposed to give residents a voice and listen to their concerns. While this was successful in urban renewal, where people were heavily involved and had a seat at the decision-making table, the second phase, restructuring, has a different character. The municipality is primarily interested in making the neighbourhood more attractive for investment. The idea of the city as a product that has to sell itself to the outside world, e.g. to investors and tourists, comes very much to the fore and makes Katendrecht a neighbourhood prone to gentrification. However, the private interest of businesses, investors and developers did not seem to exist before the turn of the millennium. As the neighbourhood's reputation was still very poor, hardly anyone could be found who had a serious interest in investing. The turning point in 2008, on the other hand, shows how quickly private interest can change from none to great. Unfortunately, these profit-oriented interest groups are the driving force in urban development in the 21st century.

## VII. CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK

In conclusion, the analysis of Katendrecht and the influence of Rotterdam's city branding ambitions once again shows the complexity of stakeholder relations. It can be said that Rotterdam's city branding has indeed influenced steps in the transformation process of Katendrecht. Nevertheless, this influence on gentrification in Katendrecht can only be attributed to the developments of the last 20 years, when marketing campaigns fell on fertile ground and developers and investors started to actively participate in the development of Katendrecht. The continuous slowing down of the transformation of Katendrecht due to the prevalence of prostitution can be seen in retrospect as a positive aspect for the neighbourhood. Otherwise, Katendrecht would have fallen victim to gentrification much earlier, like its neighbour "Kop van Zuid".

It seems to be a recurring phenomenon that changes in neighbourhoods are sought because of various problems, such as poor living conditions and crime or for reasons of future proving. At the same time, the changes themselves do not seem to be the right choice of planning, as in

many cases they lead to a gentrification of a neighbourhood. This raises the question of how to intervene in a neighbourhood without falling into the trap of catalysing gentrification processes.

This paper does not offer a solution to the problem described above. However, it becomes clear that for a healthy development of a neighbourhood, more time should be spent on exchanges between stakeholders, especially to understand the social configuration of the place. Instead of aiming for a quick transformation process, which in most cases ends in gentrification, a process of slow and steady revitalisation should be pursued, which then provides a good framework for building strong and both economically and socially diverse communities.

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## B. Figures

Figure 1: Van Ulzen, P. (2007). *Imagine a Metropolis: Rotterdam's Creative Class, 1970-2000*. Chapter 2: From metropolitan airs to provincial ambitions (p. 68) 010 Publishers.

Figure 2: Van Ulzen, P. (2007). *Imagine a Metropolis: Rotterdam's Creative Class, 1970-2000*. Chapter 2: From metropolitan airs to provincial ambitions (p. 68) 010 Publishers.

Figure 3: Van Ulzen, P. (2007). *Imagine a Metropolis: Rotterdam's Creative Class, 1970-2000*. Introduction: 'When everything proves an illusion, illusion is the thing that remains' (p. 10) 010 Publishers.

Figure 4: Topotijdreis (n.d.). Rotterdam City Map of the year 1896.

<https://www.topotijdreis.nl/kaart/1886/@93431,435340,8.99>

Figure 5: Topotijdreis (n.d.). Rotterdam City Map of the year 1911.

<https://www.topotijdreis.nl/kaart/1886/@93431,435340,8.99>

Figure 6: Van der Ent, N. (2015). Wij hadden een lange adem. Een onderzoek naar de revitalisering van de Rotterdamse wijk Katendrecht, 1968-2015 (p.41). [Master's Thesis, Leiden University] Retrieved from <https://studenttheses.universiteitleiden.nl/handle/1887/license%3A1>

Figure 7: Weer brandstichting op Katendrecht. (1974, May 25) "Nederlands dagblad : gereformeerd gezinsblad / hoofdred. P. Jongeling ... [et al.]" (p. 13). Amersfoort Retrieved from <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010633261:mpeg21:p013>

Figure 8: Kaap over 2 jaar uit problemen. Nieuwe bordelen worden gesloten. (1975, January 14). Het vrije volk : democratisch-socialistisch dagblad. Rotterdam, p. 2. Retrieved from <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?coll=ddd&identificer=ddd:010958665:mpeg21:p002>

Figure 9: GAR (1987, September 11) 4100 Photo collection. inv.no. 1988-1992

Figure 10: Het grote geld heeft Katendrecht ontdekt. (2000, April 22). Algemeen Dagblad.

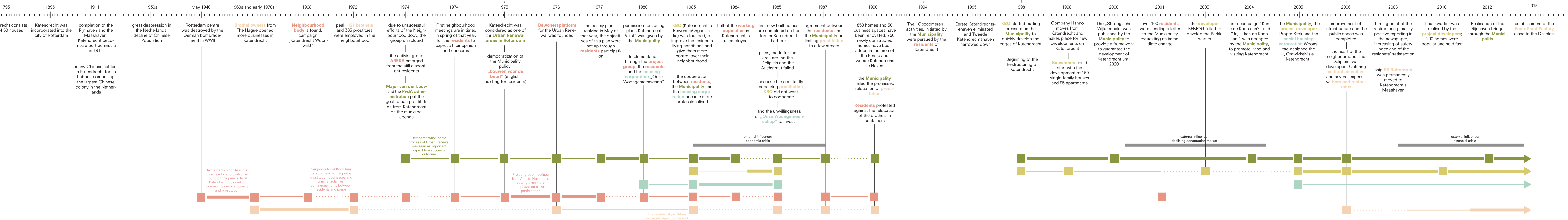
Figure 11: Gebiedsbranding (n.d.). *Katendrecht (Rotterdam)*.

<http://gebiedsbranding.org/voorbeeldproject-katendrecht-rotterdam/>

# Rotterdam



# Katendrecht



**Power of the stakeholder**

- Local businesses and entrepreneurs (Orange)
- Individual Citizen, Residents and Grassroot Developments (Red)
- Organisations/Investors/Companies/Developer (Yellow)
- Municipality of Rotterdam (Green)
- (Social) Housing Association/Corporation (Teal)
- Marketing Companies and related Responsibilities (Blue)

**Power of the stakeholder**

- Thick solid line: High power
- Thin solid line: Medium power
- Dotted line: Low power