Title: When Urban Design Leaves Some Room. Shifting Degrees of Indeterminacy in Rotterdam-Zuid

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When Urban Design Leaves Some Room

Shifting Degrees of Indeterminacy in Rotterdam-Zuid[1]

Michiel Dehaene, Els Vervloesem

The ideal of the 'open city'[2] pictures the urban habitat as a scenario able to evolve over time and accommodate the various desires and ambitions of new individuals and groups who were not previously part of this habitat. The notion of the open city categorizes the urban environment as an opportunity structure, a spatial ecosystem filled with options and choices. This ecology of the open city is made possible by a certain level of indeterminacy in the way in which the social significance of the space is produced and societally constructed.[3]

Urban critics who focus on the everyday[4] tend to see the work of urban planners and designers as a limitation on the opportunities that emerge in the use and appropriation of urban space. Looked at the other way round, however, opportunities are not simply produced by abstaining form planning.. Vacant lots, city outskirts, abandoned buildings, undefined spaces may exert an extraordinarily positive influence on the imagination, but by the same token they are a denial of all the opportunities offered by a well-functioning urban environment. Fixed frameworks and a broad range of use options are antithetical, but they are also interdependent. Between indeterminacy and over-determinacy there is a broad spectrum of spatial registers in which to play the game of giving and taking space. In that sense, designing the open city seems mainly an exercise in dealing with the relative indeterminacy inherent to well-functioning urban environments. The challenge is to find ways to include this indeterminacy in the spatial design of the city.

In this story about Rotterdam-Zuid (the part of the city south of the River Maas), we aim to demonstrate how difficult this challenge is. We examine the ways in which urban design has struggled to sustain, create and generate conditions that are merely semi-determined – to leave room for the unexpected, the undefined. We look at the gap between the design of the space and the way it has subsequently functioned. A story like this might, essentially, be told about any place taken over by urban life. What makes Oud Zuid ('Old South') an interesting place for such an exercise are its constantly changing uses within a spatial framework that has not altered all that dramatically since this part of the city was founded. What is remarkable is that some locations bear this evolving use amazingly well, while other spaces seem trapped in a permanent process of renewal.

Looking back on several key moments, we present not just a different kind of urbanism, but a different Zuid. Not the Zuid some pine for nostalgically, based on a romanticized history of poor but happy working-class districts,[5] nor the Zuid that, after the criticism of large-scale, mostly infrastructural interventions that followed the Second World War, fell prey to spatial fragmentation, or even Zuid as a collection of deprived immigrant neighbourhoods leading the hit parade of deprived urban areas in the Netherlands, but a section of the city that has managed, occasionally thanks to but often in spite of urban renewal efforts, to reinvent itself time and time again, although recent developments have increasingly left it gasping for breath.

Nineteenth-Century Rationalism and Its Side-Effects

In 1879, following the fraud and bankruptcy of the dynamic private entrepreneur Lodewijk Pincoffs, who had been first to tackle the expansion of Rotterdam's port across Zuid (south of the River Maas, on the former island of IJsselmonde), the city was forced, after years of procrastination, to take matters into its own hands.[6] Extending the port along the left bank of the Maas became a priority. The city's director of Public Works, Gerrit De Jongh, was charged with the task, and he set to work as an enlightened engineer. Inspired by the boldness of the work of Baron Haussmann, he redrew the existing polder structure to suit the needs of the port: large sections of terrain carved out for the harbour basins and a new spatial hierarchy, defined by raised axes, formed the basis of the new urban design. Confident that Rotterdam, as opposed to Paris, was a city to which people came in order to earn money rather than to spend it, he re-conceptualized the 'boulevards', traditionally intended for leisurely strolling, to goods traffic.[7] [picture 1.]

In De Jongh's instrumentalist approach, whereby everything was designed to serve the port, city development was a secondary concern. Housing was included, and might even contribute to recover some of the costs, but it took a back seat. The first residential districts De Jongh planned in Zuid, Katendrecht and Afrikaanderwijk, were made to fold into the structure of the port. [picture 2.] Those who came to live here would be living in the middle of loading zones, warehouses, workshops, factories and tracks for goods trains. The port railway literally traverses the street layout. For the rest the structure of the residential neighbourhoods was remarkably simple. The pattern of housing blocks lay somewhere between the orthogonal structure of the polders and the optimal block size of rationalized, speculation building.

In Afrikaanderwijk as well as in Katendrecht – albeit on entirely different scales – one element was added to this equation: an open space created by leaving out one or more housing blocks. These

spaces would become squares named, respectively, Afrikaanderplein and Deliplein. De Jongh's urban design specified precious little in regard to these spaces. Yet it is this very indeterminacy that allowed them to evolve as an open scenario. The significance of these spaces was produced not so much within the logic of production of the port and the residential district, but rather afterwards, in the complex game of use and appropriation that would be played by the district's residents.

According to the nineteenth-century model of building speculation, the parcels of land lining the squares, canals and raised boulevards were the most sought-after and the first to be sold. Traces of this remain to this day. In the districts of Bloemhof and Hillesluis, built a little later and further south, this resulted in the 'Boulevard Zuid' retail ribbon, a unique remnant of mainly private properties in an area otherwise dominated by a housing stock constructed and owned by the various housing corporations. Paradoxically enough, it is precisely this condition of private ownership (and the limited scope for radical restructuring here) that produced an environment that, having grown steadily over time, is spatially differentiated and able to thrive, as it leaves room for bottom-up urban development processes. Today, few places in Rotterdam (and the Netherlands) can boast as high a concentration and as varied a range of (native and immigrant) enterprise as Boulevard Zuid, be it the grand-children of typical 'white' business owners, the survival entrepreneurship of the asylum seeker, the ambitious 'young ethnic professional'[8] or the Turkish multinational opening its latest furniture outlet. [picture 3]

The Exceptional Opportunities of the Enclave

Little did De Jongh imagine[9] that relatively soon after it was developed Katendrecht was to become the place where Chinese sailors settled – initially employed as strike breakers, they were later brought to Rotterdam en masse for their low wages and high flexibility. In hindsight, the settlement of the Chinese newcomers within an enclave situated on a peninsula presented a number of advantages not only for the authorities but also for the Chinese themselves. Katendrecht – and this seems to be a constant in the development of this peninsula – naturally lends itself to the establishment of a regime of exception, somewhere between a policy of tolerance and repression. This was to the mutual benefit of the Chinese shipping masters and assorted intermediaries on the one hand and the Dutch government on the other. The Chinese on Katendrecht had a kind of miniature free state of their own – albeit only as long as the authorities recognized its advantages. The end of the Chinese enclave was as abrupt as its beginnings. As a result of a noxious campaign by

the overzealous police commissioner Louis Einthoven, virtually the entire Chinese community was deported.[10]

Here the enclave was subjected to a dual logic. On the outside it was like a hard shell: difficult to reach and impenetrable. The peninsula was literally hidden from view by the dockland hangars that encircled it, surrounded by water and only accessible from the city centre via a small ferry or a bridge that was raised at random intervals and for long periods of time. The unique space of the peninsula, which was as it were linked to the rest of the city by a mere umbilical cord, provided the ideal setting to harbour all the publicly denounced yet tolerated aspects of urban life in a port city. Overcrowded boarding houses, gambling dens, opium use or prostitution: the authorities turned a blind eye to it all here. The enclave, with its clearly demarcated boundaries, as the perfectly manageable tolerance zone or red-light district: Katendrecht as Rotterdam's 'Hamsterdam'.

At the same time, Katendrecht was blessed with a soft core, where an alternative order reigned within the logic of exception. Katendrecht has consistently been a remarkably mixed place, with – more than in other places – exchange between the local population and new arrivals from all over the world. This was reflected, for instance, in its numerous mixed marriages.[11] [picture 4.] In addition to developing one of the most famous Chinatowns in the Netherlands, Katendrecht evolved, during the dark days of the Second World War when it was cordoned off and declared off-limits to Wehrmacht soldiers, into a sanctuary of fun and entertainment, teeming with sailors' bars, prostitutes and a thriving jazz scene.[12]

Grey Housing

For a long time, the run of the mill jerry-built tenements in the Afrikaanderwijk and on Katendrecht were the cramped abode of dockworkers, but also the residential districts that were developed later, like Bloemhof, Hillesluis and Tarwewijk, provided the perfect base for workers who had to be ready at a moment's notice when a ship sailed in. Living close by still meant something in those days. As the port shifted seaward, however, this housing stock lost its privileged relationship with it. In addition, the process of suburbanization was now in full swing. The space that became available in Oud Zuid starting in the late 1960s was quickly taken over by newcomers from abroad (mainly Turks, Moroccans and Spaniards). Slumlords saw their chance and found the perfect patrimony in the speculatively built housing stock.

The notorious race riots in the Afrikaanderwijk in 1972 threw urban regeneration into high gear. With a great deal of bluff and cheek, the later alderman for urban renewal, Jan van der Ploeg, persuaded the slumlords to sell their flats to the city, with as the biggest stick in his arsenal the threat that the buildings would otherwise be condemned as unfit for habitation.[13] In a short space of time the city doubled its property holdings in the old residential districts (these were later transferred to the housing corporations): from 30 to 60 per cent. The Afrikaanderwijk led the way: today, 84 per cent of the district is in public hands.[14] This policy represented an aggressive campaign to combat slum housing. It also, however, literally squeezed the semi-integrated 'grey' housing system within the private rental market (somewhere between the overcrowded boarding house and regular housing) out of the housing supply. While this grey housing stock was often subject to exploitation and substandard quality, this residential landscape also provided the only alternative for newcomers who were not (yet) able to enter the organized Dutch rental market.[15] The integration process of newcomers was to a significant extent dependent on this housing: it served as a necessary stepping-stone and helped people reunite their families, for instance, and move up on the property ladder. The extent to which and the speed with which the subsidized market was able to respond to these needs was limited. The clearing away of the grey housing market reinforced the contrast between white and black and led to a significant reduction in the adaptive capacities of these areas and the opportunities they offered for self-organization. [picture 5.]

Exercises Inside a Square

For 100 years, the Afrikaanderplein, a square-shaped void in the nineteenth-century utilitarian order, was subjected to all sorts of more or less structured forms of local appropriation.[16] The changing facilities built on the square followed this evolving pattern: a practice pitch for the Feyenoord football team, the construction of the HBS in 1925, a sports pitch for this secondary school, an arboretum, a bird refuge, a music tent . . . [picture 6.] For long periods of its history, this excess no-man's land would linger half-finished, initially because it had not been intended as permanent and later because it was largely ploughed up during both the First and the Second World War.

This pattern of alternating appropriation changed drastically in the early 1960s. The construction of the metro line along the Maashaven docks forced the market that had always been set up there to relocate temporarily to the Afrikaanderplein. For the first time, the square was subject to a dynamic originating beyond the local sphere. The market is still there. The uncertain balance that

persists to this day between local use of the square and a supralocal claim has caused the square to lurch from one conflicting vision to the next.

On the Afrikaanderplein formal, state led urban design demonstrated its ambivalent rapport with the players from civil society around which new claims crystallized. This is most evident with regard to the playground association. Its playground, still there after 60 years, was moved on no less than three occasions during that period, and regulations forced it to replace its equipment at least three times. Sixty years of playground association is equivalent to 17 years of negotiations. The 1970s completed the picture: about half the square was occupied by playground space, with a public area set next to a domain run by the playground association. The public playground, it would transpire after a year, required a great deal of maintenance, for which personnel and resources were lacking.[17] [picture 7.]

Looking back, this period was the beginning of the end. The end of a concordance between the playground association and its target public (over time the association had become a white organization in a neighbourhood of colour) but also the end of a civic-pedagogical public space project that local residents felt represented them and that they supported collectively. The square was done over twice more, in the 1980s and at the end of the 1990s, but it increasingly seemed no one had any clue which public the space was meant to serve. In the 1980s, the idea was still social-democratic inclusiveness. The square was restyled as a park and all functions were assimilated into the park structure. By the late 1990s the mood had changed completely. Strictly defined spaces, controlled spaces, preferably fenced in, were the response to the trouble that undefined public space was reputed to attract. The indeterminacy of the area's original set-up no longer fit social attitudes and was increasingly perceived as a problem. 'Parochialization' was the answer. OKRA's prize-winning design redistributed all the existing claims into a series of rooms, each with its own club. Even the leftover public space, entirely caged in, at the heart of the square became a kind of room for a public club that was increasingly difficult to define.

Heterotopian Sanctuary / Heterotopian Open-Endedness

In Oud Zuid, the spatial ecosystem wherein market and state assign roles according to a strict order, wherein the finely parcelled arrangement of the city makes for constantly changing key players, has used to be the rool but has become the exception. After various rounds of harsh restructuring, it has been replaced by a tightly controlled and carefully programmed patrimony. Within the supply-driven logic of present-day Rotterdam-Zuid, this means that room for alternative appropriation can mostly

be found in the heterotopian order of a series of highly themed spaces, from Theater Walhalla on Katendrecht [picture 8.], or the Eetwijk initiative in the Afrikaanderwijk, to the Freehouse project by Jeanne van Heeswijk and Dennis Kaspori.

Zuid was first subjected to themed urban planning in 1934, when Katendrecht, entirely in keeping with its character as a historic enclave, literally became the backdrop for a tourist-board Chinatown, whereby Rotterdam was invited to come soak up the magical ambiance, highly exaggerated for the occasion, of this exotic corner of the city. [picture 9.] Not only was the tourist board's promotion week an exercise in pigeon-hole thinking, stereotyping all of Katendrecht's heterogeneous community as Chinese, it was a kind of masquerade for the community itself. By appropriating this stereotyped image as a sort of second identity, they gained admission to an outside world that had hitherto remained inaccessible and were able to recruit a new Western clientele and so solidify their precarious economic position. The heterotopia as entirely ambivalent: somewhere between voluntary imprisonment and the machinery of emancipation, between repression and tolerance.[18]

A few exceptions aside, today's heterotopian alternatives lack this ambiguity. The social engagement behind the projects is sincere and inspiring, but in many cases the cultural sanctuary out of which these initiatives emerge is also their limitation. The indeterminacy of the sanctuary primarily locks these initiatives up in their own world. The colourful initiatives are submerged in the proliferation of projects within the professionalized practice of urban regeneration. They reinforce the idea of a civil society that no longer drums up broad public support, but rather is rearranged into a varied landscape of 'single-issue' 'common-interest groups' that follow one another as quickly as the appointments in the active citizen's diary.

The cultural sanctuary is rightly seen as an opportunity to do something for the neighbourhood. The heterotopian places show a different Zuid, and this is useful. At the same time, however, these initiatives seem increasingly cut off from the potential to generate structural investment in the local area. The scale and impact of these soft projects imbedded in the local area, after all, contrast radically with the resources and spatial interventions deployed in order to attract new well-to-do groups to the area (cf. Parkstad). The cultural gesture therefore seems part of a pattern whereby participation, social mobilization and activism are prescribed for those groups and places where financial wherewithal is currently lowest. Or how the sanctuary becomes the space where the group with the biggest problems gets the dubious privilege of solving these problems on its own.

Degrees of (In-) Determinacy

Over the course of its development Oud Zuid has undoubtedly become more spatially diverse. There is a great variety in the housing stock; there are more amenities in the public domain. And yet you could argue that in terms of degrees of (in-) determinacy the spectrum is narrowing. In the last 40 years, in particular, we have witnessed an urban planning practice that focuses on spatial integration and therefore targets the second rate or B location, the underutilized and the oversized spaces. Squeezing out the grey housing market is perhaps the clearest example of this. The result of the various rounds of restructuring is an orchestrated diversity that, while it attempts to take into account the different groups who live in Zuid, locks these city dwellers in custom-made spaces. There is space for the children to play, but they are expected to play on the spring rocker provided for them; there is a housing product for each different stage in the housing 'career', a mentoring path for each kind of entrepreneur. The diversity created is extremely static. The real problem, however, is that it introduces new dividing lines of inclusion and exclusion according to whether the policy is adapted or not, and especially according to how it serves to reinforce the unequally allocated capacity to genuinely appropriate the programme on offer.

In the late 1980s Han Meyer characterized Oud Zuid as a section of the city whose social coherence had been derived from the port and the social organization of labour around it, and in which the industrial city, with its rational urban design, was also undergoing a process of spatial fragmentation.[19] The scarce open spaces, the robust structures of Oud Zuid were no longer zones of exchange in which different, overlapping worlds adjusted to one another; they had become the cracks in a mosaic of problem neighbourhoods. Meyer placed his hopes in the redevelopment being launched on the Kop van Zuid. Over 20 years later, this project has entered its final phase. Parkstad is supposed to bridge the gap between the new development on the east of the Laan op Zuid and the districts of Oud Zuid on the west. [picture 10.] The seams of the worn-out nineteenth-century are being literally rubbed out to make way for a delineated public space and sleekly designed new housing blocks. This operation is reminiscent of the mass-scale regeneration of the grey-housing flats in the 1970s. Projects like this may get rid of the problems, but in one fell swoop they trade the broad spectrum of strongly and weakly integrated spaces for a rigidly organized order in which all that remains apart from the formal market is marginality.

In the Afrikaanderwijk the choices have been made. The existing forms of enterprise must make way for a process of planned gentrification. After the flats in the 1970s, it is now the retail

premises that are being bought up so they can be refranchised and put back on the market as a shopping district for the future residents of Parkstad. From this point of view, Boulevard Zuid looks a lot more interesting. The shopping street has recently undergone a major transformation, but its fate is not yet sealed. The autonomous dynamic of (native and immigrant) enterprise at work in the modest premises that abound in the street exists alongside the new interventions intended to attract the retail chains and supermarkets to the shopping street. Here, the potential for a complementary development is still intact. Here, the street operates as a spatial machine that allows these different development paths and tempos, different investment opportunities, high- and low-dynamic, capital-intensive and -extensive, alternately fast and slow, to co-exist to their mutual benefit. Here, from a business economics standpoint, investment is seeping away, but from an urban development perspective the city is fulfilling its economic function and generating, within a spatial setting, the macro-economic surplus value of a heterogeneous and inclusive urban environment, wherein making financial investments and building social and cultural capital need not be mutually exclusive.

Our stroll down the history of Rotterdam-Zuid's development is gradually coming to an end, having drawn in broad outline the possibilities presented by the indeterminate, the margin left over to a lesser or greater extent in the planning of the city. This margin is linked directly to the prospect of an alternative appropriation of the urban space, and the room that the city leaves to accommodate autonomous development and an organic process of transformation. In this we look not to the orchestrated options, the over-determined variety that is being introduced into the city through custom-made urban design, but rather to the variety that is being produced in the historical development of the city within a contingent process of spatial differentiation.

This claim that indeterminacy contributes to the openness of the city's spatial ecosystem is not without its problems. Indeterminacy, this much is clear, is not a value in itself. Indeterminacy is often a sign of decay, of an erosion of social space. Total indeterminacy is the ultimate denial of the spatial variety that abounds in the city. The periods that stand out in a positive way during this fly-over of Rotterdam-Zuid's history are those in which urban design provided a frame. Indeterminacy is therefore not the marginal remnants of the formal order – it is framed by this order and represents its measure of freedom.

Here, the simplicity and solidity of nineteenth-century planning continue to inspire: elementary frameworks, undefined spaces, parataxis. But other constellations also come under review. In the enclave of Katendrecht, with its hard outer shell and soft core, we noted the tactical advantage of a separate world in which different rules apply. Today's cultural sanctuary is still

persuasive on this point as well: indeterminacy as the refusal, the suspension of conventions that prevail within rigidly managed public-private urban development. Finally we see the continuing struggle of urban design to address the conflict between free appropriation, organization and control. Well-meaning attempts to arrive at full harmonization between spatial organization, significance and use seem an obstacle to a steady and gradual development of the city. Indeed, the unadjusted city and the relative indeterminacy it expresses come out looking more generous towards its users, than the urban spaces foisted on the imaginary resident of the city like a bespoke suit.

From an institutional point of view, indeterminacy isn't a quality in itself either. The self-organization, the freedom put to use produces the worst as well as the best. Self-organization without the framework of a legal order, without a level playing field, makes the city vulnerable to dubious intermediaries:[20] the slumlords in the Afrikaanderwijk of the 1960s and 1970s, the shipping masters in the Katendrecht of the 1930s. Here too, the point is that effective urban renewal can create a context within which a cross-pollination among strongly and weakly institutionalized linkages can take place. In that sense, the same is true for the position of the social initiative. Capital-intensive, locally directed investment on the one hand, activism and participation on the other: lacking the prospect of genuine linkage or mutual benefit. In the process, self-organization threatens to become tantamount to the dubious privilege of being allowed to help oneself. The interest in relative indeterminacy demonstrated in this story about Rotterdam-Zuid is not a plea for deregulation, and even less an argument for allowing urban design to be reduced to the intangible, spontaneous development processes of everyday life. Somewhere in between, among the semi-defined framework of linkages, lie the opportunities for urban design and urban development to connect. A successful contribution by urban design to the open city should be measured by its capacity to deal indirectly with indeterminacy and to enrich the city with a broad spectrum spanning every degree of determinacy: not black or white, but all shades of grey.

Notes

1. This text is based on research conducted within the NWO funded research project 'Children and Migrant Entrepreneurs in the Maelstrom of Repressive Tolerance' of the Research Group Urbanisms at the TU Eindhoven.

2. The notion of the 'open city' has a complex and layered interpretation. See, among others, Pieter Uyttenhove, 'De Open Stad', in Mieke Dings (ed.), *de Stad,* Rotterdam, 2006, 262-273. In the context of our essay the term is used as a general label for the convergence that can be discerned in the discourse of an urbanophile generation of urban designers, in which the city is characterized as a socially open and emancipating environment. The book recently compiled for the 2009 Rotterdam Architecture Biennale is a good illustration of this discourse: Tim Rienets, Jennifer Siegler and Kees Christiaanse (eds.), *Open City: Designing Coexistence*, Amsterdam, 2009.

3. Jean Remy and Liliane Voyé, *Ville, Ordre et Violence. Formes spatiales et transaction sociale*, Paris, 1981. See also Setha Low, *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture,* Austin, 2000.

4. To Henri Lefevre urban planning was directly associated with repressive government action. This tone is nuanced in the discourse on everyday urban planning (cf. Margaret Crawford, et al.). But the undertone is still that most urban planning fails to understand the everyday functioning of the context in which it operates and treats it incorrectly as a result.

5. See the popular nostalgic-historical book series by Tinus de Does and Rein Wolters, among others.

6. Wouter Vanstiphout, *Maak een stad. Rotterdam en de architectuur van J.H. Van den Broek,* Rotterdam, 2005.

7. Jan Nieuwenhuis, *Mensen maken een stad. Uit de geschiedenis van de dienst van gemeentewerken te Rotterdam. 1855-1955*, Rotterdam, 1955.

8. Arjan Erkel and Sezgin Yilgin, *Generatie Yep. De opkomst van de Young Ethnic Professionals*, Rotterdam, 2010.

9. The fact that De Jongh compared the ribbon-development buildings that were to be demolished with a 'Javanese *dessa*' or a 'Turkish village' suggests he had a different public in mind for his efficient and carefully planned Katendrecht. Nieuwenhuis, J., *Mensen maken een stad. Uit de geschiedenis van de dienst van gemeentewerken te Rotterdam. 1855-1955*, Rotterdam, 1955.

10. Henk Wubben, *'Chinezen en ander Aziatisch ongedierte'. Lotgevallen van Chinese immigranten in Nederland. 1911-1940*, Zutphen, 1986.

11. Frederik van Heek, *Chineesche immigranten in Nederland*, Amsterdam, 1936. Van Heek recorded 30 mixed marriages in 1936.

12. See the NTR/VPRO television documentary report 'Dansen in de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Andere Tijden over Katendrecht tijdens de bezetting'.

13. Hugo Priemus, *Wonen: kreativiteit en aanpassing: onderzoek naar voorwaarden voor optimale aanpassingsmogelijkheden in de woningbouw*, The Hague, 1968.

14. http://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/ (last consulted on 16 January 2011).

15. Els Vervloesem, 'The Production of a "Grey Housing" Market during the Guestworker Migration in Rotterdam (1962-1986)', in Proceedings of the Seminar on Urbanization and Urban Culture, 'Why do People Like to Live in Cities?', 10-11 November 2009, The Hague, 2009.

16. Crimson Architectural Historians, *Sociologica. Een simpele strategie voor vernieuwing van de Afrikaanderwijk,* Rotterdam, 2007. http://www.crimsonweb.org/spip.php?article82 (last consulted on 20 January 2011).

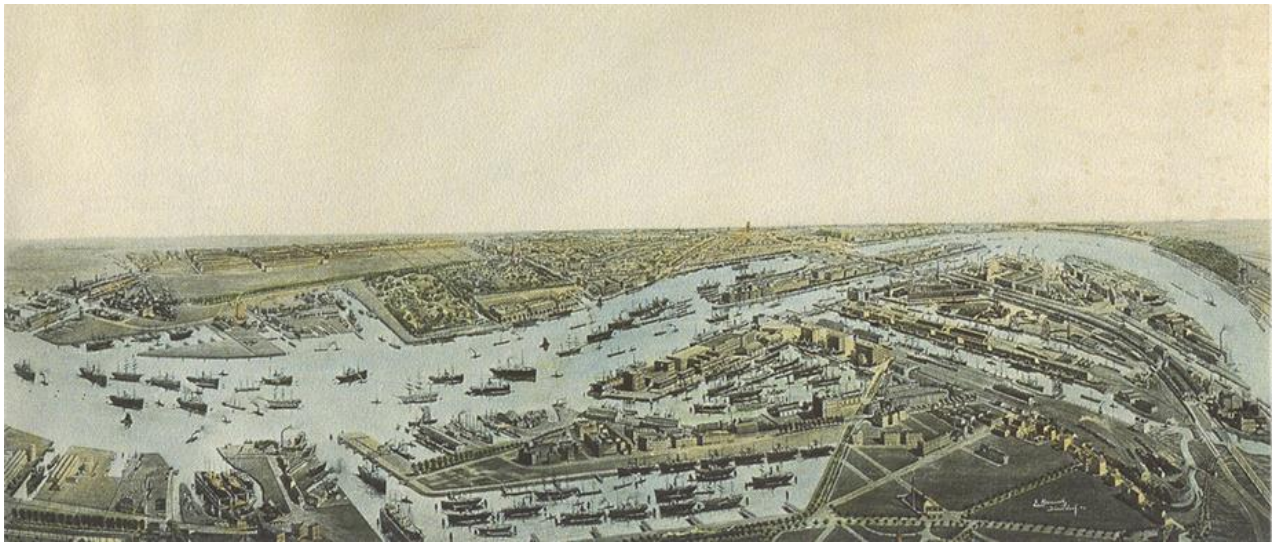
17. 'Verbolgen moeders zelf met bezems naar het Afrikaanderplein. "Speelplein wordt een grote troep"', *Het Vrije Volk,* 11 June 1970.

18. Els Vervloesem, 'Westerse fictie of Chinese maskerade. De sociale constructie van Chinatown tijdens de Rotterdamse V.V.V.-week (1935)', *Stadsgeschiedenis,* 2011, 33-57.

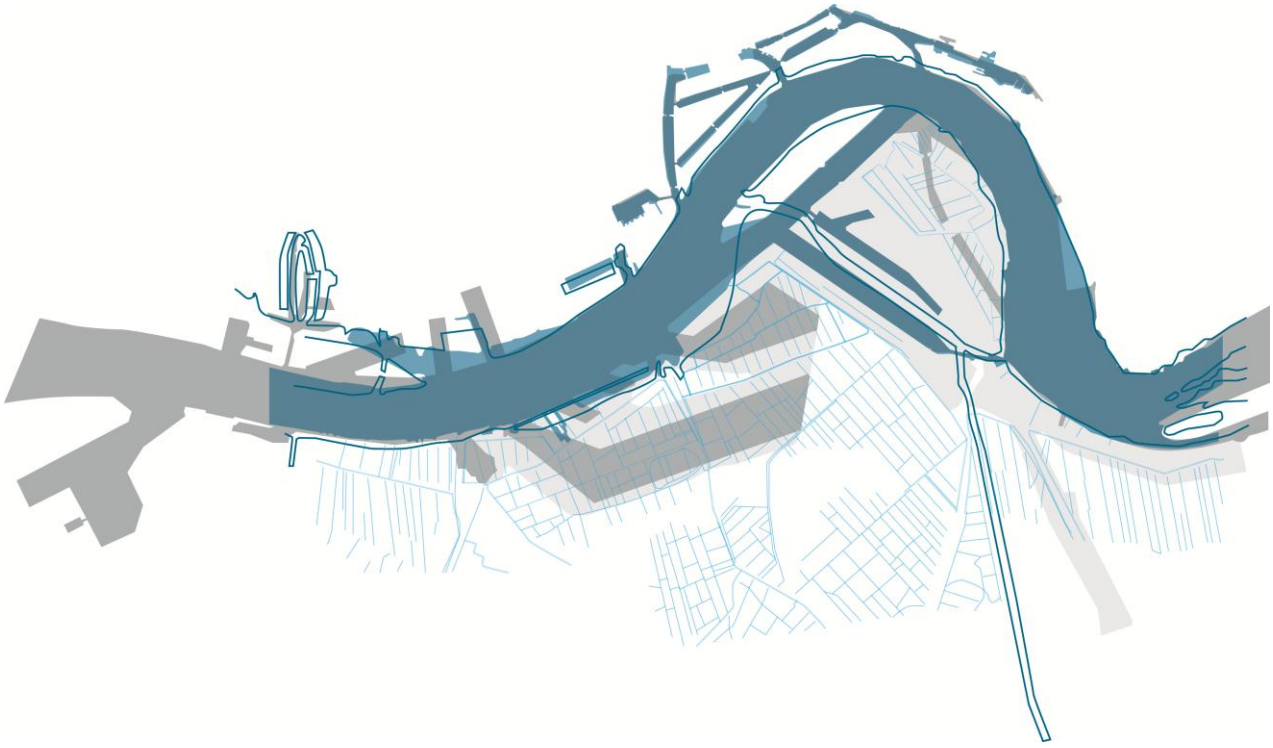
19. Han Meyer, 'Veranderingen en konstanten op Zuid.' In *Verslag werkconferentie 'Kop van Zuid',* Rotterdam, 1990, 42-53.

20. Ariel C. Armony, *The Dubious Link: Civic Engagement and Democratization,* Stanford, 2004.

Figuren

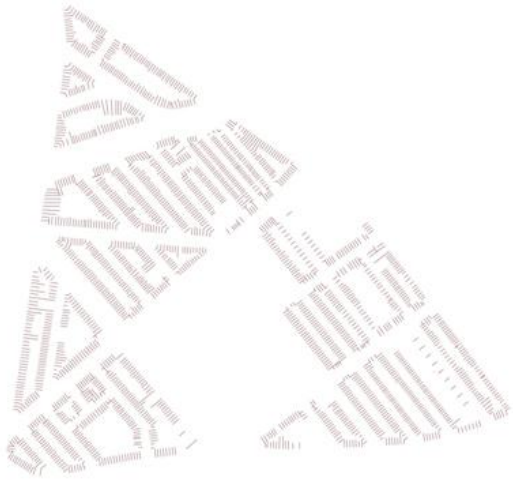


1.Zicht op Rotterdam zuid door E. Hesmert (1904). Katendrecht en de Maashaven zijn grotendeels gerealiseerd. Afrikaanderwijk is in volle ontwikkeling.

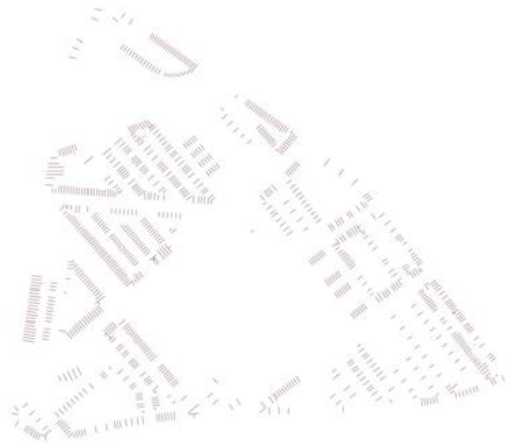


2. Uitbreidingsplannen van de haven geprojecteerd op de polderstructuur. [beeld wordt hermaakt als zwart-wit beeld]

3. Winkelvitrine van J. Noest, die naast “shipchandler” volgens het Cantonese opschrift ook Westerse en Oosterse specialiteiten verkoopt, circa 1927. Hij poseert hier met zijn familie, vermoedelijk is de Chinees op de voorgrond zijn schoonzoon. Bron: Gemeentearchief Rotterdam.



plot divisions 1969



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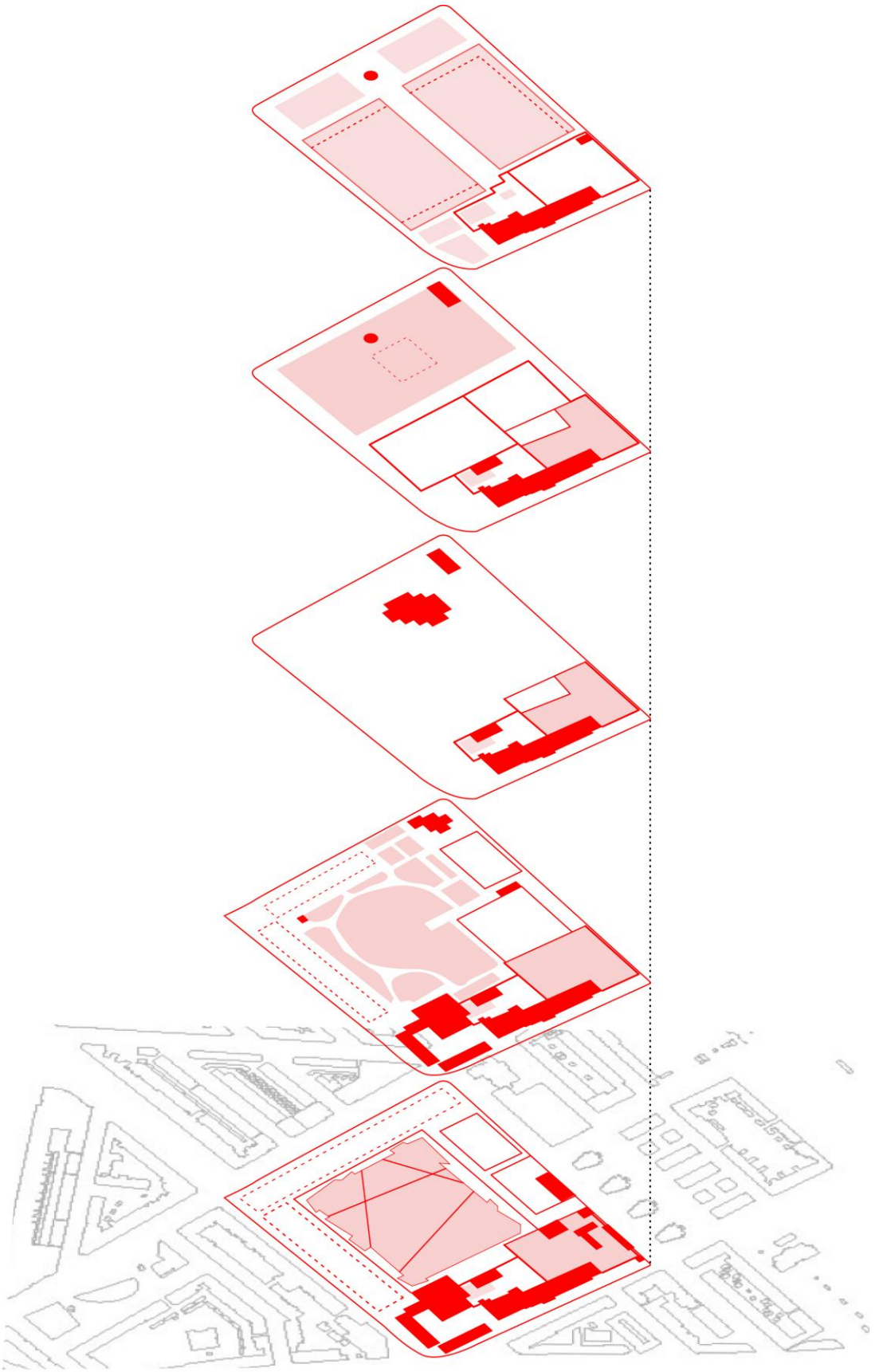
4. kavelgebonden woningen in 1969 vs. 2008.

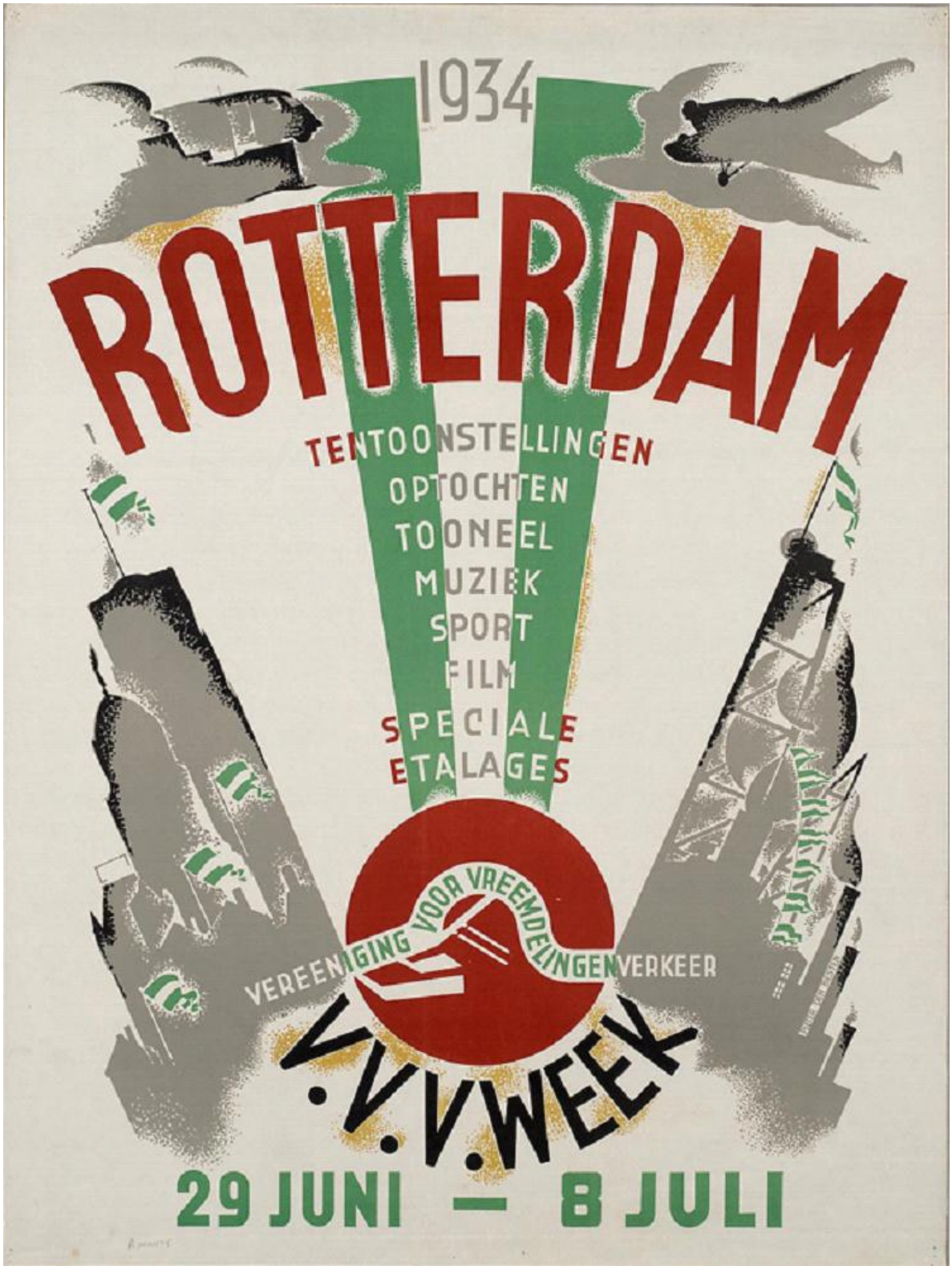


5. de opeenvolgende herinrichtingen van het Afrikaanderplein [beeld wordt afgewerkt en opgemaakt in zwart wit]

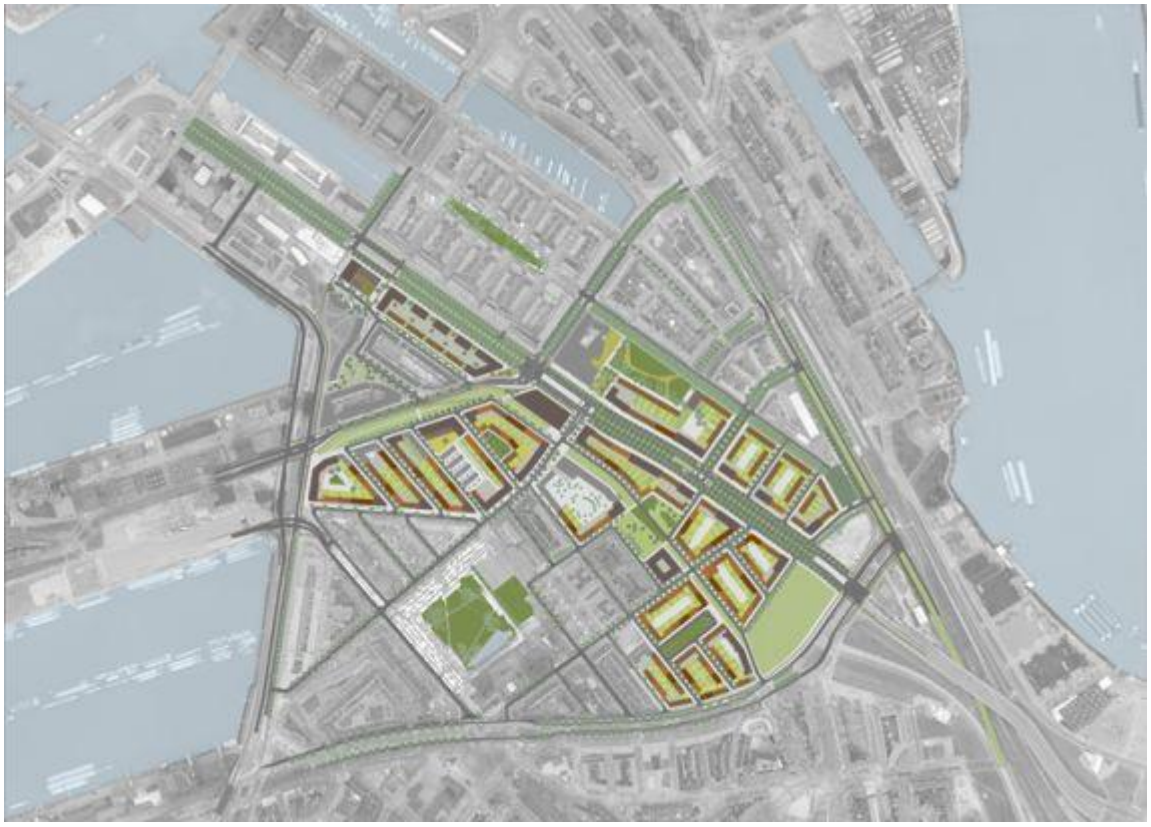
6. Afrikaanderplein 1970: ruimte voor het nieuwe spelen.

7. Beijerlandse Laan. 1960 – 2010

8. Poster van voorstelling ‘Chinees meisje’ in Theater Walhalla.



9. Poster van de V.V.V. week 1930.



10. Parkstad. De aansluiting tussen Kop van Zuid en Oud Zuid zoals verbeeld in het ontwerp van Palmboom en Van den Bout.