

CHANGING IDEALS

POST 65 DISTRICTS IN CAPELLE AAN DEN IJSSEL

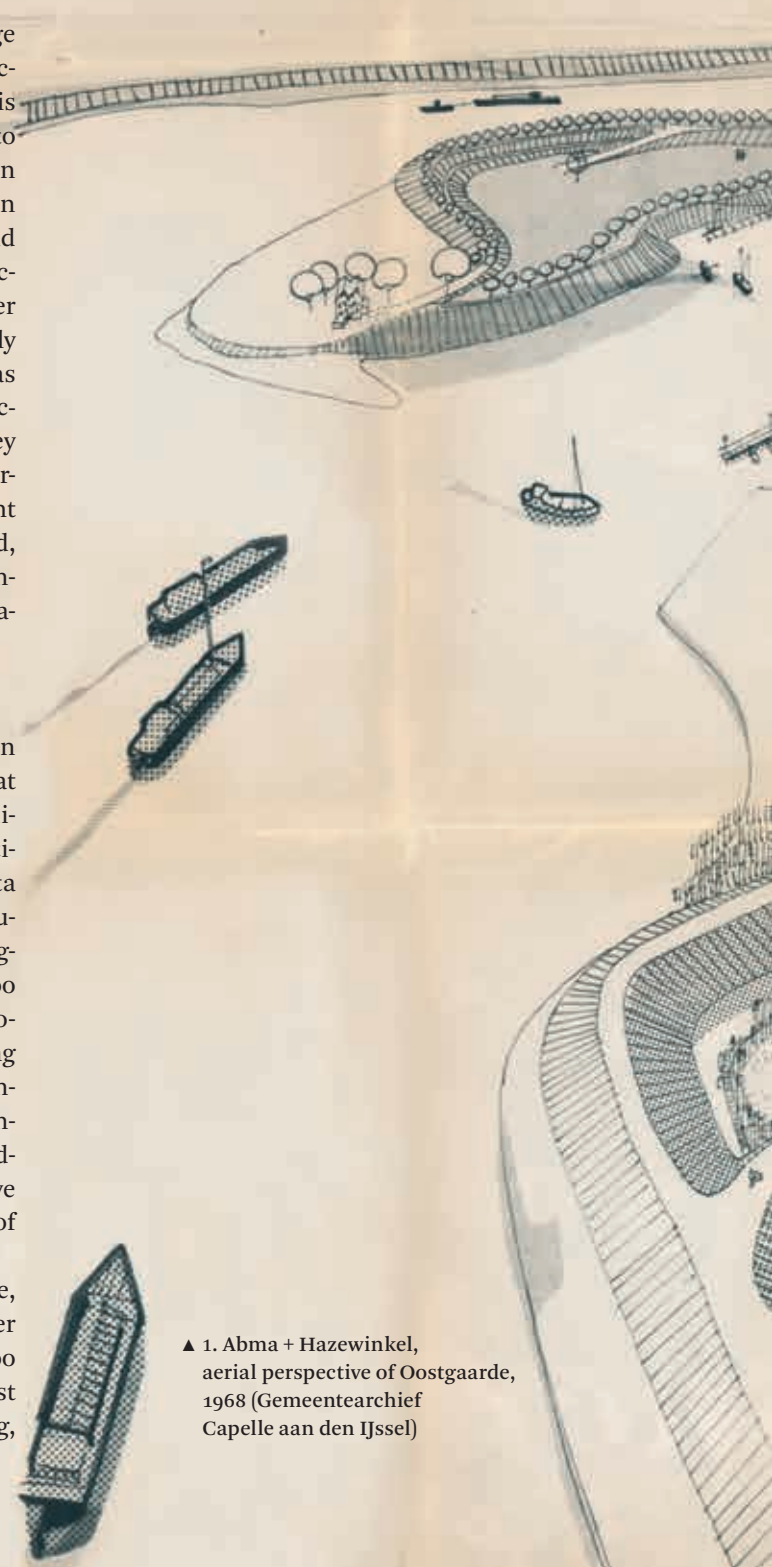
NOOR MENS AND HUGO VAN VELZEN

Capelle aan den IJssel is a showcase of relatively large districts encompassing every aspect of the architecture and urban planning of the Post 65 period.¹ This is the result of a rapid expansion arising from the need to house a substantial portion of Rotterdam's population growth. The term 'Post 65 architecture and urban planning', as well as being used by the heritage world to designate the period following post-war reconstruction, is also used to indicate specific stylistic and other distinguishing features. However, they do not fit easily under a single label. In this article Capelle features as a case study of the changes that took place in architecture and urban planning during this period. The key issues addressed are the social trends and ideas underpinning those changes and the phases they went through. The Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, (RCE, Netherlands Cultural Heritage Agency) distinguishes three stages: growth, change, and differentiation.²

GROWTH OF CAPELLE

The expansion of Capelle marks a particular phase in the demographic development of the Netherlands that was promptly dubbed a 'population explosion'. Initially, planners and demographers greatly underestimated the population growth. In the Tweede Nota voor de Ruimtelijke Ordening (Second Policy Document on Spatial Planning), published in 1966, the magical figure of 20 million inhabitants by the year 2000 appeared. This resulted in a huge construction programme, not least because of a fall in the per dwelling occupancy rate. It was all about large numbers, quantity, mass housing. Shortly after the war, the government had already started to incentivize system building and industrial construction methods with an eye to speeding up the construction of large numbers of dwellings.³

After the Second World War the population of Capelle, a linear dike village along the Hollandse IJssel river to the east of Rotterdam, grew from around 9,000 inhabitants in the mid-1950s to 57,000 in 1988. The first expansion schemes, Schenkel and Middelwatering,

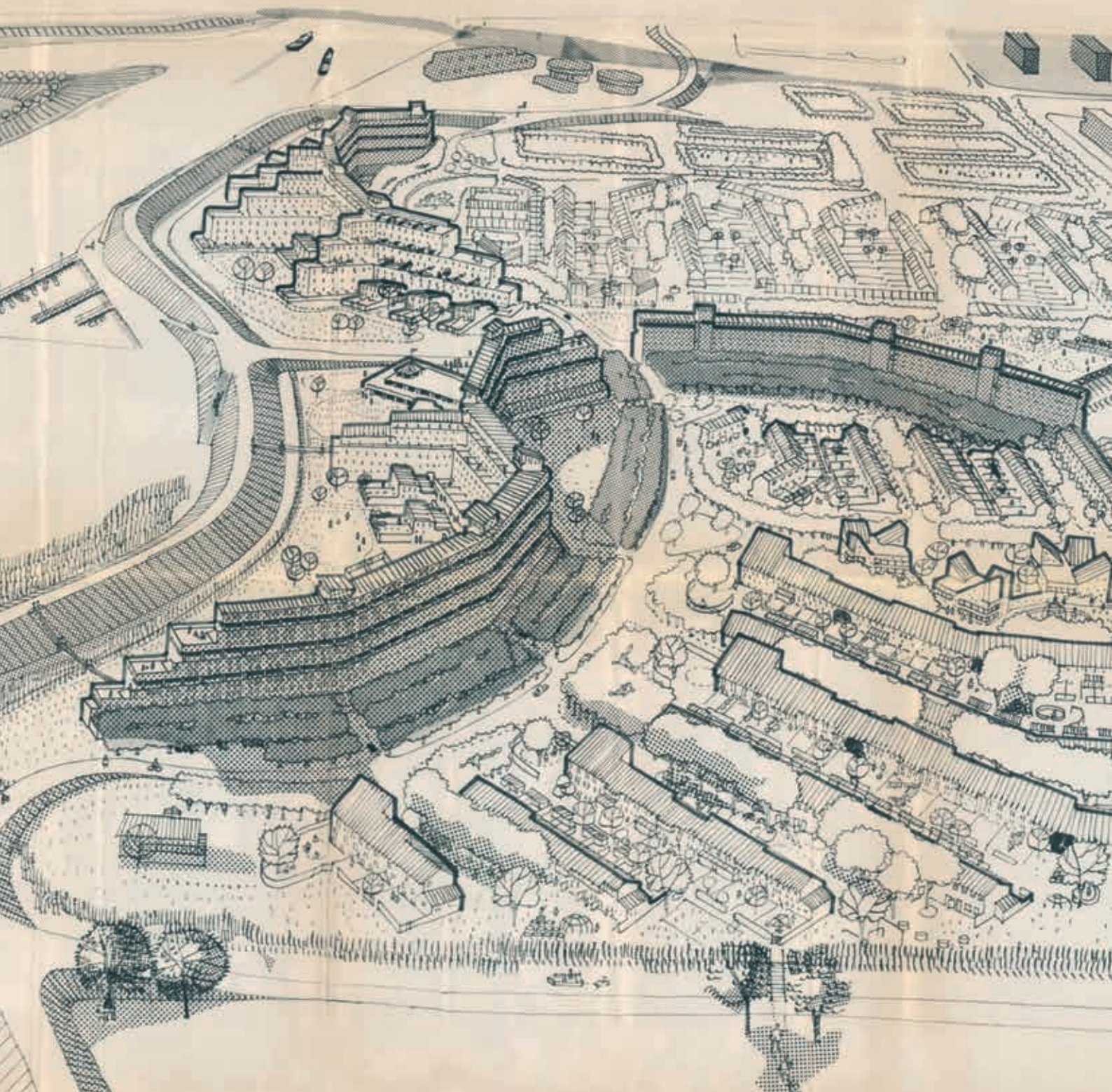


▲ 1. Abma + Hazewinkel, aerial perspective of Oostgaarde, 1968 (Gemeentearchief Capelle aan den IJssel)

were built in the 1950s and '60s and were connected to the village's existing cores. From the 1960s onwards two entirely new districts were added, which had no connection with the historical cores: Oostgaarde far to the east and, to its north, Schollevaar. Finally, in the 1990s the open space along the Hollandse IJssel between Capelle and Rotterdam was fully developed, first with the district of 's-Gravenland and in the 2000s with Fascinatio. This article discusses the developments in Capelle as reflected in two districts, Oostgaarde and Schollevaar.

BIGGER ROLE FOR ARCHITECTS

After the Second World War the guidelines for spatial planning were enshrined in the Wederopbouwwet (Post-war Reconstruction Act) of 1950. The key task was to set out the infrastructure, the functional zoning, and the positioning and typology of the buildings in a spatial masterplan. In practice this was felt to be inadequate and there were constant deviations from it. There was a need for more streamlined procedures and for long-term plans capable of responding to





2. Abma + Hazewinkel, visualization sketch of Oostgaarde main structure, 1967 (Gemeentearchief Capelle aan den IJssel)

change. The 1965 Wet op de Ruimtelijk Ordening (Spatial Planning Act) made urban planning more flexible and shifted the primary focus from the planning process to the zoning plan. Local councils could establish general zoning plans without needing to provide them with an urban planning framework. One consequence of this shift in emphasis was a bigger role for architects in urban design and a blurring of the distinction between the two disciplines. This trend was particularly strong in the 1970s, when architects conquered the territory of urban planning design. Urban planners confined themselves to general sector plans.⁴

OOSTGAARDE

The first urban development plans for Oostgaarde were based on the Rotterdam-Oost/Capelle aan den IJssel (RoCa) structure plan and the Rechter Maasoever regional plan. Rotterdam and Capelle together developed a structure plan for a satellite town that lay partly within the City of Rotterdam and partly in Capelle. Although never officially approved, until 1974 it acted as a plan underlay that guided, and in some instances, determined the planning.⁵ From 1960 onwards, the Instituut Stad en Landschap (Town and Country Institute), acting as an external urban development agency, produced the first designs for the northern part of Oostgaarde. A key component of the plan was the expansion of the Rotterdam metro network. In Oostgaarde a town centre and a metro station were planned at a point along a metro circle line. Most of the buildings were to be system-built high-rise. The metro line would be flanked by ERA apartment buildings designed by Rein Fledderus (1910-1970), while the town centre would be surrounded by apartment buildings constructed according to the MUWI system.⁶

Following criticism of the Stad and Landschap plan, in particular by Provinciale Planologische Commissie (Provincial Planning Committee, PPC), the council consulted another urban planner: Tjakko Hazewinkel (1932-2002) of Abma + Hazewinkel Architecten. The council asked him to produce a new plan for the northern part of the district. Hazewinkel retained the metro circle line and the adjacent town centre (fig. 1). He put the Fledderus-designed ERA apartments in a continuous line along the northern edge of the planning area. The fourteen-storey blocks were built between 1968 and 1970 and were promptly nick-named 'The Chinese Wall'. Hazewinkel placed the nine-storey MUWI-system apartment blocks at right angles to this 'wall'.

OOSTGAARDE ZONING PLAN

In 1968 the Capelle municipal council commissioned Hazewinkel to draw up a zoning plan for Oostgaarde and in April of 1969 appointed him external urban planner for the entire municipality. The collaboration

with Stad en Landschap was terminated.⁷ The metro line to Schollevaar in the RoCa structure plan was no longer a certainty. The provincial government in particular objected to the planned route and so it seemed only sensible to refrain from committing to the route and associated town centre, for the time being. Hazewinkel's proposal left open the possibility of following the original route directly behind the station or of designing a new, more easterly (curved or straight) route.⁸ The IJsseloord area along the river was incorporated into the new district and zoned for housing instead of industry.⁹ An added advantage of this was that the Hollandsche IJssel 'waterfront' could then also be utilized.

Hazewinkel employed high-rise as a spatial structuring element. A central spine of high-rise linked Fledderus's apartment buildings in the northern part of the district with apartment buildings along the Hollandse IJssel. This had the effect of dividing the planning area into compartments walled by high-rise and filled in with low-rise buildings on a smaller scale (figs. 1, 3 and 4). The high-rise architecture Hazewinkel had in mind appears to have been borrowed from the student housing block on Weesperstraat in Amsterdam that he had designed in 1966 with Herman Hertzberger (b. 1932).

Hazewinkel's plans for Oostgaarde and for the architecture of the high-rise buildings chimed with the ideas of Team X, a dissident grouping that emerged in the 1950s within CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne). Its members criticized the reduction of urban planning to the four functions of living, working, leisure and traffic. They championed a livelier form of urban design that aspired to a harmonious blend of large- and small-scale development and a mix of functions. Their main mouthpiece in the Netherlands was the journal *Forum*.

A NEW COURSE

While Team X's ideas might have been intended to overcome the drawbacks of 1950s housing, they were unable to dispel the antipathy to large-scale modernism.

In this Capelle was no exception, with an aversion to high-rise emerging around 1970 among both residents and the municipal council.¹⁰ There was a demand for a higher percentage of low-rise, single-family homes. In 1972 the council resolved to revise the zoning plan, which was considered too detailed and too inflexible.¹¹

The metro circle line disappeared from the revised zoning plan; the resulting space was zoned for low-rise housing. The planned ring road for cars was replaced by a route for slow traffic (mopeds, cyclists, pedestrians). The desired ratio of high- to low-rise development could only be achieved in those 'com-

partments' where development was minimal or yet to begin.¹² A six-storey complex comprising a nursing home and deck-access flats designed by the Van Tijen – Boom – Posno – Van Randen architecture studio was already under construction. The large high-rise-walled compartments were usually filled in by a single developer working with a single architect who assumed responsibility for both the architectural and the spatial design. Several complexes dating from this period adhered to the theme of angled blocks and diagonal lines for which Hazewinkel had laid the groundwork in his plan for the northern part of the district.

The municipal council did not approve the revised zoning plan until April 1976. In the interim, the compartments were filled in on the basis of preliminary planning decisions.¹³ Such decisions, laid down in the Wet op de Ruimtelijke Ordening (spatial planning act), made it possible to implement building programmes that were consistent with the revision of the zoning plan (fig. 5). Architects produced sketch plans in consultation with the public works department, headed since 15 September 1971 by J. van Lokhorst.¹⁴ In 1972 he had recruited the urban planning designer Jan Zijp with whom he had previously worked in Amstelveen. The collaboration between Hazewinkel and Van Lokhorst and Zijp was rather fraught. Haze-



► 3. Abma + Hazewinkel, Oostgaarde zoning plan design, circulation system/blocks of flats, June 1968 (Gemeentearchief Capelle aan den IJssel)

▼ 4. Abma + Hazewinkel, artist's impression of Oostgaarde, 1968 (Gemeentearchief Capelle aan den IJssel)





5. Public Works, urban planning department, Oostgaarde zoning plan, 1975 (Gemeentearchief Capelle aan den IJssel)

winkel appeared to be geared more towards broad outlines, the structure and the design. As he saw it, his task was to produce a spatial structuring plan.¹⁵ He appears to have had little to do with the revision of the subplans.¹⁶

The revised zoning plan upheld the principle of dividing the plan into clearly identifiable neighbourhoods. The planned green structure was also retained, but the central high-rise spine in the old plan was replaced by 'a clearly recognizable new form of multi-storey housing'.¹⁷ Financial constraints meant that the low-rise would have to be fairly dense.¹⁸ The chosen solution entailed multilevel low-rise, which is to say blocks of up to four or five storeys high that would border the centrally located green belt. The belt

ran north to south with on one side water flanked by a route for slow traffic, replacing the road for vehicular traffic proposed by the earlier plan. Branching off this north-south green strip in an easterly direction were similar green structures that traversed that area and ended in a recreational area (Hitland). Buildings on that side of the district were to be kept low in order to soften the transition to open countryside. The green structures would be accompanied by cycle and walking paths. The access structure for cars was separate from this. Frequent bends and T-intersections were designed to slow vehicular traffic.¹⁹

Along the set-aside metro line route, the previously planned high-rise was to be replaced by low-rise apartment blocks. On 8 August 1973, Van Lokhorst pre-



6. Plaza in De Terp shopping centre, 1975-1980, (photo Han van Senus, Historische Vereniging Capelle aan den IJssel)

sented the council with an alternative plan for this section: a plan by Benno Stegeman (1930-2014) for 878 dwellings with a density of around 125 dwellings per hectare. Stegeman had designed an experimental housing type with covered parking, partly beneath the dwellings and partly beneath a roof that doubled as a garden. At the end of the metro line a shopping centre (De Terp) was projected, a location that precluded any future extension of the line to Hitland.²⁰ The shopping precinct and the adjacent housing were to be built on top of and against a (covered) parking deck at ground level. The dwellings were separately accessed from a raised ground level. This use of 'decked housing' with a clear separation of cars and pedestrians is typical of the 1970s. The complex contained a wide variety of housing types, many of which were ground-accessed.

The designer of the shopping precinct was Chiel Verhoeff (1942-2014) of Bakker & Verhoeff (fig. 6).

SCHOLLEVAAR

The *Derde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening* (Third Policy Document on Spatial Planning, 1973-1983) provided the framework for the designation of a series of towns and villages as so-called 'groei-kernen' (new-towns). The central government, based on target numbers of dwellings to be built in the growth areas, undertook to contribute to the creation of a varied living, social and work climate in these towns and villages. In 1976 Capelle aan den IJssel was designated a growth centre. It was agreed with the central government that Capelle would house 50,000 inhabitants by 1 January 1981.²¹

The experiences gained in Oostgaarde formed the basis for the ideas about the development of Schollebaar. The basic premises were a more process-oriented, integrated planning, a design based on the historical topography, public participation, and scaling down, with smaller schemes and neighbourhoods than in Oostgaarde. Of particular importance was an urban design based less on clearly defined compartments and more on spatial design themes.

THE MAIN STRUCTURE

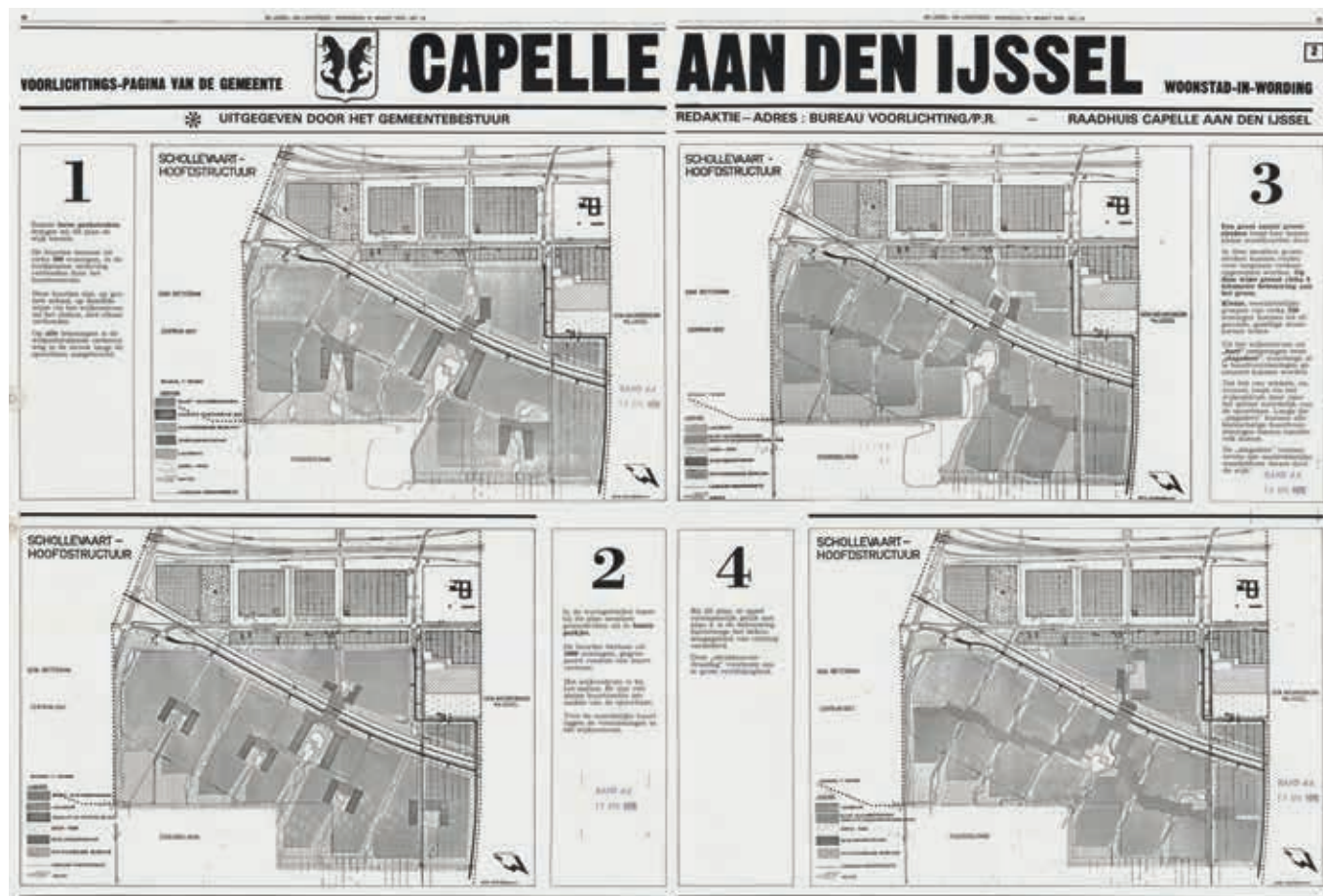
The Schollebaar plan area was bounded to the south by a town park in the making, the future Schollebos, and to the north by a railway line and yet-to-be-built station. The railway line had a major effect on the layout of the district. With noise nuisance in mind, the line was bordered on both sides by an eighty-metre-wide strip where no housing could be built. These strips of land were used instead as access roads for the district. The maximum distance between local amenities and residential areas was set at eight hundred metres. It was logical to couple the town centre with the station, thereby giving the district a clear centre. On 10 March 1976, the council's information page

about the new residential city of Capelle aan den IJssel presented the public with four plan versions based on the 1973 terms of reference (fig. 7). Local residents were invited to make their preference known. The design that received the most votes – version 3 – was then worked out in greater detail.²² The main premise was a number of green strips between neighbourhoods. These 'green fingers' started in the south from where they penetrated deep into the residential areas. They incorporated the routes for slow traffic. The green space would be lined by some eight kilometres of buildings. The rest of the plan consisted of small, self-contained neighbourhoods of around 250 dwellings. Local amenities were accommodated in a strip running from west to east, more or less bisecting the area to the south of the railway line. At the district centre this strip, which ran like an 'artery' through the district, would branch off in the direction of the area north of the railway line and was a potential main walking route.

SCHOLLEVAAR ZONING PLAN

Once the terms of reference and the layout of the main structure had been established, the zoning plan was

7. Information sheet issued by the Capelle aan den IJssel municipal council showing four versions of the main structure of Schollebaar, 10 March 1976 (Gemeentearchief Capelle aan den IJssel)



drawn up. Jan Zijp, from the urban planning section of the public works department, was appointed urban planner and chair of the architectural team. The architects Han van Ardenne (1938) and Jan Sterenberg (1923-2000) were tasked with supervising the architecture and urban design of the individual housing schemes. Together with Zijp they made up the design team for the district, at that point still known as Schollevaart. They were later joined by a landscape expert from the Boer architectural practice. Design sessions were held in Van Ardenne's office in Arnhem.²³

Construction of the first dwellings was intended to commence in 1977. For the most westerly section of the district a detailed zoning plan (subplan 1) was drawn up; for the rest of Schollevaar a general zoning plan. The design team began by formulating the guidelines and the structuring elements for subplan 1, which they then reproduced in an intentions plan (fig. 8). The idea was that the architects would translate these intentions fairly freely into workable forms. The design team recorded the intentions plan and the guidelines for further elaboration in the subplan in the so-called red book.²⁴

Subplan 1 comprised the two most westerly lobes of the district and covered an area of some forty hectares. It was scheduled to contain around 1,500 dwellings, 13 per cent of which would be social housing. The local amenities formed a continuous structure within the amenities strip running through the centre of the plan area.

Subplan 1 was made up of four lobe-like neighbourhoods linked to the amenities strip, surrounded by green space and accessed via a looping local distributor road. The pedestrian zones were structuring elements, connecting the neighbourhoods to the amenities strip that ran like a raised spine through the plan. More or less diagonally positioned pedestrian routes made it easy for people to find their way from the outskirts to the higher and more densely built central area containing amenities and from there to the civic centre. Each neighbourhood was divided into smaller units that would be designed by different developers and architects and could in turn have a different subdivision. The residential environments ranged from low density housing in or beside green space (and water) on the outskirts of the plan area, to urban (compact) housing in the vicinity of the amenities strip.

Contrasts, such as differences in building height, were to be employed to counteract monotony. There were single-storey dwellings with a flat roof as well as four-storey dwellings with a pitched roof. Ground level variations also offered possibilities for introducing diversity. One to 1.5 metre-high mounds were envisaged either side of the amenities strip. The red book included illustrations of different types of residential

settings: houses along a traffic street, houses along a pedestrian street, houses around a court (home zone), clusters of houses bordered by green space, houses surrounded by greenery and houses along a waterway.

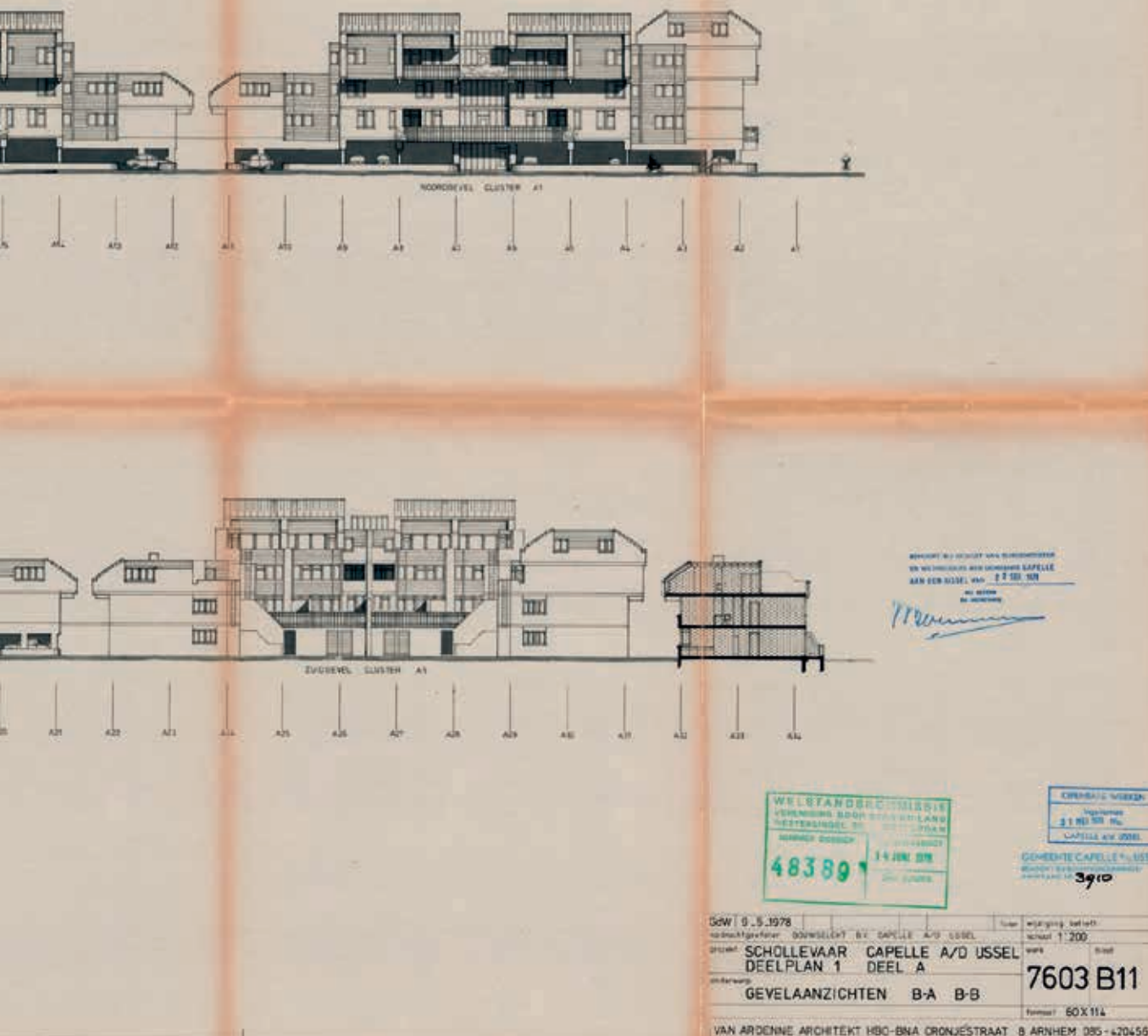
On 26 September 1977, the zoning plan was adopted by the municipal council. From that moment the new district was no longer called Schollevaart, but Schollevaar. On 29 November 1977 the foundation stone was laid and a year later the first of the 6,250 planned dwellings were finished. There was differentiation in dwelling size, type (single-family, ground-accessed, apartment buildings), and financing (social, subsidized and private housing). Sixty-seven per cent of dwellings were to be ground-accessed, 33 per cent in apartment buildings. The different types of dwellings were to be mixed as much as possible.²⁵

THE NEIGHBOURHOODS IN SUBPLAN 1

As well as diversity the planners also strove for coherence, which was to be achieved by interlocking the individual neighbourhoods. Variation was attained by employing different densities and building heights, with the highest densities along the pedestrian and amenities strips. There were also differences in screening, with a substantially closed elevation fronting onto the district access road and a more open aspect on the eastern and western edges of the plan area. The difference between public and private was emphasized by an alternation of introvert and extravert living. One example of introvert living was a cluster of patio dwellings in the Dansenbuurt; designed by the architectural firm A. van der Lek, they were the first patio dwellings in Capelle aan den IJssel. In plan areas with a dense, urban development where the streets required a degree of coherence, the planners turned to decked housing. This was used, for example, in the amenities strip, to a design by Van Ardenne (figs. 9 and 10). To visually underscore its role in the main structure the strip was 'thickened' with low-rise apartment buildings, which had the added advantage of enabling the amenities to be integrated with the dwellings.

Sterenberg designed the dwellings for the southern 'mound', which rose 1.6 metres above grade. Sterenberg's practice had previously employed parking decks and decked housing in Lewenborg (Groningen) and in Buytenwegh De Leyens (Zoetermeer) and that was what he opted for here. In Schollevaar as a whole Sterenberg was commissioned to design 390 dwellings. In addition to four decked housing units, he also built low-rise apartments and single-family dwellings ranging from two to six room dwellings in different widths. For the construction of the project Sterenberg collaborated with ERA, which had also built the decked housing in Zoetermeer.²⁶ The dwellings on the northern mound, designed by Leo de Jonge (1919-2009), were





initially intended to be decked housing, but cost considerations eventually led to the parking decks being removed from the plan.

SUBPLAN 2

In 1978 the zoning plan plus the sketch design containing the architects' plans for the second area were published (fig. 11). The planned shopping centre had been dropped. In compensation, the pedestrian zone was made more attractive by giving the amenities strip a canal profile with canal walls incorporating live/work dwellings. The kinked canal (Floris Burgwal), with several bridges, was lined by a wide variety of low-

rise apartments designed by Van Ardenne.

Most of the social housing was located in the northern part of the plan area. These dwellings, consisting in part of low-rise apartment buildings, lined pedestrian streets and squares that were linked directly with the green zone between subplans 1 and 2. The residential area to the south of the amenities strip was divided into neighbourhoods either side of a green zone, an offshoot of the local public park. The more upmarket dwellings were on the southern rim (the 'golden rim'). Here there were intimate housing enclaves bordering greenery and water. The dwellings were arranged in clusters around home zones. In the southwest corner this took the form of a neighbourhood of three islands designed by Ton Alberts (1927-1999).

ECONOMIZING

At the beginning of the 1980s, rising mortgage rates led to a drop in demand for private sector dwellings. It

▲ 9. J.H. van Ardenne, front elevations of Ervenbuurt houses and amenities, 1978 (Gemeentearchief Capelle aan den IJssel)

◀ 10. J.H. van Ardenne, Ervenbuurt housing, 1977-1981 (photo Contreij)

was therefore decided to build more social housing, which in turn entailed higher densities.²⁷ That density is very obvious in the eastern part of the district. Amenities were also severely reduced and there were increasing doubts as to the feasibility of the amenities strip. While the strip continued to form the spine of this subplan, it was now no more than a pedestrian route to the centre and the station; there were no amenities. Fiolet-Limburg, a firm of architects and urban designers, designed a complex comprising some 550 social housing units and 79 one- and two-person units in the eastern section of the strip (fig. 12). The four- and five-storey apartment buildings containing the dwellings stand along a leafy avenue.

The Schollevaartse road, part of an extended slow traffic route beginning in Oostgaarde (beside the Hollandse IJssel) and ending at the Rottemeren, forms the border between this area and the most easterly one. Here the 'amenities' strip consists almost entirely of multi-storey housing and terminates with a few free-standing local amenities. The southwestern edge of the subplan is marked by 57 state-subsidized private dwellings. To their north a planned neighbourhood centre in the form of a square lined by shops was also severely pared down. Staggered bungalows (patio dwellings) designed by A. van der Lek bordered this area to the northeast.

The area to the north of the railway line was largely

built in the final phase of the Post 65 period, during the transition to rationalization and differentiation. From the beginning of the 1980s there was mounting criticism of the 'New Frumpishness', as the architecture of the 1970s was dismissively labelled. The first steps towards the later 'framework urban design', with its clear geometric patterns, can already be discerned in the street plan for this area. The architecture here cannot be seen as anything other than a lacklustre rendering of the bright future people had initially envisioned for Schollevaar.

CONCLUSION

While the Cultural Heritage Agency identified three phases in the architecture and urban planning of the Post 65 period, in Capelle aan den IJssel we have identified four, partially overlapping phases. The first phase was marked by economic growth and quantitative thinking. Rising dissatisfaction with the results (large-scale districts dominated by cookie-cutter high-rise development) led to the realization that this was a dead-end approach. Compounding this was the lack of interest in single-family housing when this was the most sought-after section of the housing stock, including in the Greater Rotterdam Area.

This did not immediately trigger a breakthrough of small-scale architecture and urban design in the second phase. Under the influence of Team x and its

12. Fiolet-Limburg buro voor architectuur en stedenbouw, low-rise multilevel housing, Schollevaar sub-plan 3a, 1982-1983 (photo Contrei)



Dutch protagonists around the *Forum* magazine, even megastructures were proposed, the best-known Dutch example being the Pampus project of Van den Broek & Bakema. Even cars were not banned initially. Criticism of the previous phase was expressed chiefly in a return of the artistic dimension (architecture and urban planning are more than politics and management) and in the conviction that the social dimension was embedded in the artistic dimension. Design became an end in itself. But even in this phase large-scale development was not eschewed in Capelle, as Hazewinkel's Van den Broek & Bakema-style complexes in Oostgaarde demonstrate.

Not until the third phase was there a more thorough change of course. Rising car ownership was encroaching on more and more public space at the expense of the attractiveness of an area. From the early 1970s, dissatisfaction with what had been built up to that point generated a wide-ranging interest in ecology, naturalness, and sociologically informed architectural experiments. After Hazewinkel's departure there was a change of course in Capelle as well. In the new

suburbs of Oostgaarde and Schollevaar straight lines and monotonous repetition gave way to adventurous subdivision patterns and road structures featuring home zones; high-rise was abandoned and replaced by single-family dwellings and multilevel low-rise. Playfulness and fantasy were given full rein. Capelle also experienced another trend typical of the 1970s: the aspiration for resident participation. This shift came not from the world of spatial planning but from that of public housing.

And it was this domain that eventually sealed the fate of the home zones: in the context of the economic crisis of the early 1980s, the ideal of village-style low-rise was incompatible with the need to deliver large numbers of dwellings within a certain budget. With the market dictating the price, the emphasis shifted to the rationalization of the building process. Whimsicality and playful brick architecture – hallmarks of the 1970s – had had their day. Straightforward rational subdivisions and a more functional architecture took their place. This fourth and final phase manifested itself on the northeast side of Schollevaar.

NOTEN

- 1 This article is based in part on a study conducted by Contrei and Noor Mens for the municipality of Capelle aan den IJssel.
- 2 *Verkenning Post 65. Post 65. Nieuwe perspectieven tussen welvaart en weerstand*, Amersfoort 2018, 11; K. Somer, *Groei, verandering, differentiatie. Architectuur in Nederland 1965-1990*, Amersfoort 2020, 5.
- 3 H. Hellinga, 'De Woning als massaproduct', in K. Bosma and C. Wagenaar (eds.), *Een geruisloze doorbraak. De geschiedenis van architectuur en stedenbouw tijdens de bezetting en de wederopbouw van Nederland*, Rotterdam 1995, 242-267.
- 4 N. de Boer and D. Lambert, *Woonwijken. Nederlandse stedenbouw 1945-1985*, Rotterdam 1987, 31.
- 5 F. Hazewinkel, *De ontwikkeling van het Roca-gebied 1959-1979*, Rotterdam 1981; F. Palmboom, 'Stadsuitbreiding en de vorm van de stad. Het RoCa-gebied geanalyseerd', *de Architect*, Thematic issue on new-build districts (1990) 39, 15-21.
- 6 Capelle aan den IJssel Municipal Archives (GAC), entry 1340, archive of the municipality of Capelle aan den IJssel, inv. no. 2116. Letter from Municipal Executive to T. Hazewinkel, 30 May 1967.
- 7 GAC, entry 1340, archive of the municipality of Capelle aan den IJssel, inv. no. 2116. Letter from the Municipal Executive to Stad en Landschap, 27 March 1969.
- 8 GAC, entry 1340, archive of the municipality of Capelle aan den IJssel, inv. no. 2203. Future development of Oostgaarde in the municipality of Capelle aan den IJssel, September 1968.
- 9 GAC, entry 1340, archive of the municipality of Capelle aan den IJssel, inv. no. 2203. Letter from M.G. Ydo to the municipal executive of Capelle aan den IJssel, 7 March 1968.
- 10 W. van Bremen et al., *Van Dijkdorp tot woonstad. Een eeuw bouwen en wonen in Capelle aan den IJssel*, Capelle aan den IJssel 2009, 79.
- 11 GAC, entry 1340, archive of the municipality of Capelle aan den IJssel, inv. no. 2232. Section O.
- 12 GAC, entry 1340, archive of the municipality of Capelle aan den IJssel, inv. no. 2227. Explanatory notes on the urban design sketch plan for areas K and L 'Oostgaarde' in Capelle aan den IJssel, 4 July 1973.
- 13 GAC, entry 1340, archive of the municipality of Capelle aan den IJssel, inv. no. 2204. Made available to RB for inspection and confirmation 10-2-1969 until revised requirements are confirmed.
- 14 Van Lokhorst, who had previously been in charge of the civil engineering department of the municipality of Amstelveen, was appointed managing director of Capelle aan den IJssel's public works department on 15 September 1971.
- 15 GAC, entry 1393, archive of the public works department, inv. no. 477. Account of discussion between Van Lokhorst, Hazewinkel, Brands (Abma + Hazewinkel), Veldmeijer, Zijp and Van Putten (dept. planning and public works), 26 February 1973.
- 16 He had received a request for this revision from the municipal executive on 5 March 1969. GAC, entry 1393, archive of the public works department, inv. no. 477.
- 17 GAC, entry 1340, archive of the municipality of Capelle aan den IJssel, inv. no. 2209. Regulations and explanatory notes pertaining to the 'Oostgaarde' zoning plan.
- 18 GAC, entry 1340, archive of the municipality of Capelle aan den IJssel, inv. no. 2209. Regulations and explanatory notes pertaining to the 'Oostgaarde' zoning plan.
- 19 GAC, entry 1340, archive of the municipality of Capelle aan den IJssel, inv. no. 2209. Regulations and explanatory notes pertaining to the 'Oostgaarde' zoning plan.
- 20 Van Bremen et al. 2009 (note 10), 85.
- 21 GAC, entry 1393, archive of the public works department, inv. no. 483. Letter from Capelle aan den IJssel public works department to the Public Housing Board, 18 September 1978.
- 22 GAC, entry 1340, archive of the municipi-

- pality of Capelle aan den IJssel, inv. no. 2267. Partial plan, mainly Schollevaart.
- 23 Interview with Han van Ardenne, 20 May 2022.
- 24 GAC, entry 1340, archive of the municipality of Capelle aan GAC IJssel, inv. no. 2282, Schollevaart subplan 1, July 1976.
- 25 GAC, entry 1340, archive of the municipality of Capelle aan den IJssel, inv. no. 2265. 'Regulations and explanatory notes pertaining to the Schollevaart zoning plan', July 1977.
- 26 M. Kruidenier, *Architect Jan Sterenberg en het wonen in de jaren '70. Groeikernen en woonmilieus*, Rotterdam 2021, 148-149.
- 27 Van Bremen et al. 2009 (note 10), 107.

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The article is a work of co-authorship.

CHANGING IDEALS

POST-65 DISTRICTS IN CAPELLE AAN DEN IJSSEL

NOOR MENS AND HUGO VAN VELZEN

In this article Capelle aan den IJssel features as a case study of changes in architecture and urban design in the Post-65 period (1965-1990). During those years the original dike village of Capelle, on the eastern edge of Rotterdam, expanded significantly. Several completely new districts were developed, among them Oostgaarde and Schollevaar. This article focuses on the social trends and ideas that influenced the changes and what phases can be discerned in those changes.

The first phase was dominated by economic growth and quantitative thinking. In the final phase of the post-war reconstruction this resulted in large-scale districts with a lot of high-rise flats and a repetition of identical housing complexes. Growing discontent with the outcome eventually led to the realization that this type of spatial design had no future. It also largely ignored the single-family dwelling, yet this was precisely the section of the housing stock that was very much in demand, including in the greater Rotterdam area.

This did not, however, prompt an immediate breakthrough of small-scale architecture and urban design in the next phase. Under the influence of Team X and its Dutch offshoot centred around the journal *Forum* there were even proposals for megastructures, the best-known Dutch example being the (unbuilt) Pam-pus project of Van den Broek & Bakema. Even cars were initially tolerated. The urban designer Tjakko Haze-

winkel proposed one such megastructure for Oostgaarde.

From the early 1970s, criticism of large-scale developments led to a broad interest in ecology, return to nature and sociologically-informed architectural experiments. Following Hazewinkel's departure, there was a change of course in Capelle, too. In the new residential areas of Oostgaarde and Schollevaar, orthogonality and repetition gave way to adventurous housing subdivisions and road layouts featuring home zones; high-rise was renounced and replaced by single-family dwellings and multilevel low-rise. Playfulness and fantasy were given free rein. This was also facilitated by the introduction of sector plans, which allowed architects much greater freedom.

Rising mortgage interest rates and the economic recession of the early 1980s led to a sharp decline of the demand for private sector housing. It was decided to build more social housing, which necessarily entailed higher densities. That densification can be clearly seen in the eastern and last realized section of the district. In terms of amenities, the plan had been considerably trimmed back and there were growing doubts as to its financial feasibility. Whimsicality and playful brick architecture – typical of the 1970s – had had their day, replaced in the 1980s by straightforward, rational subdivisions and a more functional architecture.