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Cornerstone of Society: The Building of The Modern Nuclear Family in Emmen to foster the Economic Transformation of South-Eastern Drenthe, 1945-1965

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Cornerstone of Society:

The Building of The Modern Nuclear Family in Emmen to foster the
Economic Transformation of South-Eastern Drenthe, 1945-1965



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Acknowledgements

That was it. A marathon, that is how I would describe the process of this thesis; difficult, long, but eventually rewarding. Over a year ago, I started freshly and enthusiastically with this project. Many, many ideas were in my head and the focus of my research shifted several times. Eventually, with the help of Henk te Velde, my supervisor for whose support I'm very thankful, I managed to aim sight on the course of this project. And throughout the last year, it has been Henk who gently directed me back to the course if I got lost. Yet, he allowed me to run my own marathon, which made me learn and see much more along the way.

At many checkpoints, the task ahead remained daunting and it seemed as if I was making little progress. Was I moving backwards? Nonetheless, friends and family were always there to support me along the route, ensuring and pushing me to keep running even if slowly. I'm grateful for their tireless hours of listening and encouragement. You can't believe how relieved I'm not to bother you with thesis worries, at least for a while.

While I was warming up to embark on track, somebody showed up at the starting line and decided that it would be fun to run together with me. She turned out to be the best sport I could have imagined. Lilita, it's hard to capture in words what your support means to me; from drawing midnight mind maps on the floor to marinating chicken, it made every step a lot more fun.

It's common knowledge that marathons are addictive, so even though my legs are still tired, I'm beyond excited to embark on the next one. If anything, I hope that this next one will also be accompanied by the best supporters I could have wished for. My warmest thanks to all of you! Oh yea, and a very special appreciation for my mom, who cooked for me during the last leg. I hope we can keep that tradition!

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Introduction

In 1965, the newly built city quarter Angelslo in Emmen, located in the South-Eastern part of the province of Drenthe, was presented to new residents. As part of this presentation, the interior architect Cora Nicolai-Chaillet¹ designed a model home to inspire newcomer families about the best ways to furnish their houses. Nicolai-Chaillet wrote a brochure from the perspective of the imaginary Angelslo family, that guided visitors through the model home. The brochure introduced the family as follows:

You have probably experienced the housing shortage yourself, and so you can probably understand the joy of the Angelslo family, now that they have been allocated a new house with 4 bedrooms. The Angelslo family lived with another family, along with their two children, a 14-year-old boy and a 16-year-old girl. They had an improvised kitchenette and a tiny bedroom for both children, where only two beds could be placed on top of each other.²

It is no coincidence that Nicolai-Chaillet imagined the family in this way because this description captured the everyday living experience of many families in Emmen. From the end of the Second World War until the construction of the Angelslo quarter, this everyday living experience radically changed. While Emmen and the surrounding area constituted one of the most impoverished parts of the Netherlands right after the war, ridden by unemployment and the worst housing conditions in the country, the region underwent a significant development process between 1945 and 1965. This development process in Emmen was at least two-sided; a radical transformation of the economic structure of the region from an agricultural, small-farmer economy to a fully industrial-capitalist economy coincided with an unparalleled change from a traditional rural village into a modern city that became internationally renowned for its spatial planning and architectural innovations. Both of these transformations were the result of all-encompassing planning efforts of national and local governments and they drastically changed the everyday life of the average family in Emmen, for example, that of the Angelslo family. The subject of this research is the entirety of deliberate transformations that took place in Emmen between 1945-1965, significantly altering the daily lives of its residents.

¹ Cora Nicolai-Chaillet was the partner of architect A.C. Nicolai, who's work will be studied in the next chapter.

² C. Nicolai-Chaillet, 'Roman van de Familie Angelslo', 1965, CORA.I | 10457062 / A30.10, Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam, 1.

Context

The archetypal status of South-Eastern Drenthe in the post-war development of the Netherlands has long been recognised and for that reason, it has been the focus of various academic studies. Up until now, the remarkable developments in Drenthe have been studied broadly from two perspectives. On the one hand, it has been studied by focussing on the implementation of industrialisation policies that had the aim of economically advancing the region. On the other hand, a considerable body of literature concentrates on how the everyday living environment in Drenthe generally, and Emmen specifically, has changed due to spatial planning and architectural innovations. Concerning the first body of literature, the sociological work by Vegchel that studies the first two post-war decades of the economic development of Emmen comprises a valuable starting point.³ Applying a political-culture historical approach, Vegchel aims to answer the ‘who’-questions concerning the industrialisation of the region.⁴ His study provides an overview of the influential actors behind the development and uncovers the ideas that drove them. As insightful as this strongly human approach is, Vegchel generally appears to ignore the material aspects of the development process. In contrast, the work of Nannen on the post-war city expansion of Emmen is a characteristic example of research concerning the changes to the everyday living environment in South-Eastern Drenthe.⁵ The book provides a cultural-historical perspective on the architecture and spatial planning of subsequent new quarters of the city of Emmen. As such, it is a strongly materially oriented research. Through her approach, Nannen demonstrates the evolution of design ideas and ideals that underlie the construction of respective city quarters. The work zooms in on the first post-war housing expansion quarter, Emmermeer, and then traces the evolution of spatial planning and architecture to the later quarters of Angelslo and Emmerhout. Both of these later quarters received widespread international attention due to their innovative approaches to the design of residential living environments.

Although both Vegchel and Nannen, and the broader bodies of literature that they are exemplary of, analyse the development of Emmen within the wider region of South-Eastern Drenthe, neither understands the development of the residential living environment as directly related to the industrialisation efforts in the region. Rather, both studies interpret the changes in

³ Gerrit van Vegchel, *De metamorfose van Emmen: een sociaal-historische analyse van twintig kostbare jaren, 1945-1965* (Amsterdam: Boom, 1995).

⁴ Vegchel, 13-15.

⁵ Anne-Marie Nannen, *Emmen groeit! De veranderingsprocessen in de sociale woningbouw in Emmen: architectuur, stedenbouw, volksbuisvesting en herstructurering in vijftig jaar tijd*, Drentse historische reeks 8 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2000).

housing as the result of the successful industrialisation and economic development of the region, which were brought about by deliberate state intervention through the implementation of industrialisation policies; in other words, industrialisation is presented as the catalyst to subsequent advances in material well-being, such as in housing. However, recent ideas in the field of historical new materialism fundamentally challenge this understanding, which represents advances in material well-being, for example in the living environment, as the result of industrialisation efforts. New materialism is a cross-disciplinary approach that has grown out of challenges to long-established assumptions about relations between the human and non-human world.⁶ From this traditional perspective, matter in the non-human world are passive objects that have to be animated by an outside force. At the same time, the human world is defined as the active world of agency.⁷ New materialism aims to move beyond the strict division of the human and non-human world which leads to explanations that either understand materiality as just the background for social relations or the sole determinant of the social world.⁸ To do this, new materialism brings back a renewed focus on matter as an active and agentive force.⁹ This thesis research applies a new materialist perspective on the post-war development of Emmen, as such attempting to bridge the historiographies concerning the industrial-economic development and the evolution of the residential living environment. Before the precise aim of this current research is laid out, it serves to elaborate on the work of one of the key innovators in the field of historical new materialism.

An overview of relevant theories

In his study of the modern liberal state, *The State of Freedom*, Joyce unpacks how the British liberal state organises freedom through governmental techniques that allow subjects of governance to operate seemingly on their own, without outside interference.¹⁰ This liberal state is based on a logic of rule that “systematically deploys political freedom as a means of governance.”¹¹ In a liberal state, power is exercised in a distinctly different way than the exercise of power in traditional state forms. Whereas traditional forms of government relied predominantly on what Mann has coined despotic

⁶ Christopher N. Gamble, Joshua S. Hanan, and Thomas Nail, ‘What Is New Materialism?’, *Angelaki* 24, no. 6 (2 November 2019): 111–34, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0969725X.2019.1684704>, 111.

⁷ Gamble, Hanan, and Nail, 116.

⁸ Chris Otter, ‘Locating Matter: The Place of Materiality in Urban History’, in *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn*, ed. Tony Bennett and Patrick Joyce, Culture, Economy and the Social (London; New York: Routledge, 2010), 47.

⁹ Gamble, Hanan, and Nail, ‘What Is New Materialism?’, 111.

¹⁰ Joyce uses the concept of liberal state to denote states that have been founded on the principles of political liberalism. Individual freedoms that are constitutionally protected are the fundament of this liberal state.

¹¹ Patrick Joyce, *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 3.

power, which is based on the use of violence, the modern liberal state functions through the use of infrastructural power.¹² Mann defines infrastructural power as “the power to penetrate civil society and to implement logistically political decisions throughout the realm.”¹³ Because of the rule through infrastructural power, the liberal state has a particular relationship with society. With the development of modern statehood, the boundary between state and society has shifted and blurred at the expense of the societal realm.¹⁴ In his illuminating analysis of modern statecraft and governing practices, James C. Scott has tied this form of rule through planning and control of infrastructural power to the logic of high-modernism.¹⁵ He understands high-modernism as a hubristic and top-down approach to social and urban planning that prioritises simplification, standardisation, and legibility, often leading to unintended consequences and failures in the pursuit of state-orchestrated progress.

These sociological accounts of the modern state are illuminating for our understanding, yet awkwardly abstract. To bring these sociological abstractions down to historical reality it serves to turn to Joyce again, who develops a method to take the liberal state back from the abstract and historically study it. Exactly because the modern state coalesces with society, it is impossible to analyse and understand it as a distinct ‘thing’.¹⁶ Therefore, Joyce proposes to study the product of liberal rule. As such, he makes the very material infrastructure that serves to exert power the main object of his research. Additionally, in Joyce’s conception of the modern liberal state, the everyday becomes the most important level of analysis. Building on Foucault, he explains that the modern state is created “by the repetitive re-enactments of everyday practices.”¹⁷ It is the aggregate of everyday practices that makes and affirms the modern state; the modern state is not imposed from outside, but rather produced and reproduced from inside society. In this process, a distinguished role is reserved for the household. Here, the family structures and dynamics are tied to modern statehood through the materiality of residential buildings.

Following these accounts, it can be concluded that the household is essential in the building of the modern liberal state, a relation that is mediated through the materiality of the residential

¹² Michael Mann, ‘The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results’, *Archives Européennes de Sociologie. European Journal of Sociology*, 25, no. 2 (1984): 185–213, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003975600004239>.

¹³ Mann, 189.

¹⁴ Gianfranco Poggi, *The Development of the Modern State: A Sociological Introduction* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1978), 133-34.

¹⁵ James C. Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

¹⁶ Joyce, *The State of Freedom*, 23.

¹⁷ Joyce, 27.

house. Studying this nexus between state power, and the household will broaden our understanding of both of these components of the modern liberal state in their relationality.

Research aim

With the current research, I aim to pick up on Joyce's work in the field of historical new materialism by applying his approach to the development of the governmental techniques of the Dutch state in the post-war period. This period is particularly interesting because, in the decades after 1945, the state was strongly involved in what has been called the 'controlled modernisation' of the country.¹⁸ This modernisation project had a temporally and spatially asynchronous character, which causes the state-making techniques related to the controlled modernisation project can best be analysed in specific regions.¹⁹ In the controlled modernisation project, South-Eastern Drenthe is an archetypal case because the region has been defined as a specific development region in the industrialisation of the Netherlands.²⁰ For this reason, South-Eastern Drenthe is the focal area of my research. More specifically, my research focuses on Emmen, the main residential area in the region. Following Joyce, who contends the centrality of the residential house and the household in liberal state-making, I narrow this research down to the study of public housing and the immediate surroundings of the residential house.

As such, the main argument that I develop in this research asserts that between 1945 and 1963, *public housing and spatial planning in Emmen evolved into governing techniques that increasingly served the aim of industrialisation and economic development of South-Eastern Drenthe by attempting to shape the modern nuclear family*. To develop this thesis, I provide a comparative account of two post-war city quarters in the city of Emmen, Emmermeer and Angelslo. The city quarters, consisting predominantly of public housing, were built successively. While Emmermeer was planned and designed in the 1940s and constructed during the early 1950s, Angelslo was planned and constructed from the second half of the 1950s onwards. I argue that Emmermeer was developed relatively independently of the industrialisation policies that were implemented in South-Eastern Drenthe in that same period. In line with this, housing was not explicitly aimed at shaping modern nuclear families. This started to change as the national government tried to improve the industrialisation programme over the course of the 1950s, which entailed that social factors were identified as the key to the success of the industrialisation efforts. More specifically, fostering and shaping families into modern nuclear

¹⁸ Pieter de Rooy, *Ons Stipje Op de Waereldkaart: De Politieke Cultuur van Nederland in de Negentiende En Twintigste Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 2020), 225-26.

¹⁹ C. J. M. Schuyt and Ed Taverne, *1950: welvaart in zwart-wit* (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 2000), 56.

²⁰ Schuyt and Taverne, 97-98.

families was seen as the fundament of improving the social factors. Despite the ineffectiveness of the direct social development plans formulated by the designated bureaucratic body, the emphasis on social factors had a notable influence on spatial planning and housing design. I demonstrate that, as a consequence, Angelslo was designed specifically to further the industrialisation and economic development of the region. As a result, the everyday living environment of the new quarter effectively became a governing technique that served the Dutch state's aim of realising economic growth by shaping and fostering modern nuclear families.

Overview of literature

My research into the post-war development of Emmen and South-Eastern Drenthe engages with several broader bodies of literature. Firstly, my thesis engages with the dominant periodisation of Dutch politics and government after the Second World War. Secondly, the research builds on a corpus of studies that have analysed the evolution of contemporary governing techniques in controlled modernisation efforts in other liberal democracies. Thirdly, I employ existing material approaches to Dutch post-war history that serve as building blocks to understanding the materiality of post-war industrialisation, spatial planning, and public housing.

Dutch post-war historiography

Broadly speaking, there are two main developments in the periodisation of contemporary Dutch history. The first development dates back to the 1990s, with the rejection of the thesis that the 1960s constituted a fundamental schism in twentieth-century history. The second development is more recent and challenges the idea that the rise of neoliberalism from the 1980s, and in the Netherlands 1990s onwards, entailed the dawn of a radically new period in the political history of Western nation-states.

During second half of the twentieth century, the 1950s were commonly characterised as a period of reactionism, in which traditional societal structures and values were restored. The argument runs that this restoration lay at the heart of political stability during the 1950s and most of the 1960s. However, from around the turn of the century onwards, this restoration thesis became challenged by new interpretations of the history of the pre- and post-war periods.²¹ These interpretations contended that the developments that culminated in significant societal changes in the 1960s had already been preconfigured in the preceding decades. In these interpretations then,

²¹ Piet de Rooy, *Alles! En wel nu!: een geschiedenis van de jaren zestig* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 2020); James Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw: Nederland in de jaren zestig* (Amsterdam: Boom, 1995); Schuyt and Taverne, 1950.

the 1950s are not seen as a period of restoration, but as a period that is fundamental to understanding post-war developments in the Netherlands. In light of this view, Schuyt and Taverne introduce the concept of the 'long 1950s', which understands the span between 1945 and 1973 as the years of the new arrangement of society. In this period, developments that had started in the late nineteenth century slowly culminated in a new social order, a process which was completed by 1973.²²

The main political development in the immediate post-war period is the rise of a new style of governance; technocratic rule and central planning supported by rapid progress in the sciences, especially the social sciences.²³ During this period society was divided into socio-political blocks defined by ideological conviction, a phenomenon called pillarisation. Scholars have argued that the new governing style secured stability amidst the divisions of Dutch society through depoliticising issues by technocratically resolving them.²⁴

The recent work of Mellink and Oudenampsen on the history of neoliberalism in the Netherlands is noteworthy because it provides a thorough re-reading of popular ideas about the post-war rise of the Dutch welfare state.²⁵ Against the popularly held idea that the rise of neoliberal politics and the resulting shrinking of the welfare state during the last decades of the twentieth century in the Netherlands was the result of the import of Anglo-Saxon Thatcherism and Reaganism, they convincingly argue that market-fundamentalist thinking had been strongly present among Dutch policy-makers since the end of the Second World War. The commonly held view of the building of the Dutch welfare state in the post-war period is opposed by their reading of Dutch welfarism as the result of confessional-conservative ideas on the ordering of society rather than as the legacy of a progressive social-democratic tradition.²⁶ The ordering of society served the explicit aim of improving the climate for the thriving of the industrial capitalist economy. Additionally, with their argument on the relative continuity of political economic policies over the course of the entire post-war period, Mellink and Oudenampsen adhere to the long 1950s concept of Schuyt and Taverne.

²² C. J. M. Schuyt and Ed Taverne, *1950: welvaart in zwart-wit*, Nederlandse cultuur in Europese context 4 (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 2000) 23.

²³ Schuyt and Taverne, 83-5; Rooy, *Ons Stipje Op de Waereldkaart*, 219.

²⁴ Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*.

²⁵ Bram Mellink and Merijn Oudenampsen, *Neoliberalisme: een Nederlandse geschiedenis* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2022).

²⁶ Mellink and Oudenampsen, 57-75.

Controlled modernisation in perspective

The phenomenon of controlled modernisation that characterised the first decades after the war in the Netherlands, has been studied in more depth in the context of France and the United States. In addition, literature on the post-war land consolidation in the Netherlands also informs the current research as a specific case of rural controlled modernisation. In all of these studies, the modernisation efforts have been directly tied to the shaping of the household through the residential living environment. First, in her seminal work on the post-Second World War modernisation of France, Ross looks at the relation between exterior decolonisation and interior modernisation of the country.²⁷ She argues that the French state pursued an agenda of forced modernisation which was effectuated through what she calls “a form of interior colonialism”; the colonisation of everyday life.²⁸ The aim of this agenda was to effectively transform the former French agricultural economy into an industrial capitalist power. This colonisation of the everyday was first and foremost focussed on controlling domesticity, disciplining and fostering a modern conception of the household, centred around the romantic couple and the nuclear family.

More recently, Brown put the household at the centre of her inquiry into the methods of government of Soviet and U.S. cities around plutonium-producing plants.²⁹ The cities she studies constitute the pinnacle of modern government and governing techniques in the realm of industrialisation efforts. Namely, they were planned from scratch and served an essential function in Cold War state security by providing the plutonium that was needed for nuclear warheads. Brown contends that to tightly maintain social control and to ensure the relative happiness of workers in one of the most dangerous working environments imaginable, government planners created the perfect conditions for the modern nuclear family to prosperously live. This entailed that the towns were explicitly designed as middle-class suburbs, with spacious single-family residences surrounded by ample utilities, rather than as the working-class areas that one would expect considering the work and the socio-economic status of the factory workers. The underlying assumption was that these material conditions would ensure the flourishing of modern nuclear families, which would in turn stabilise the gated societies.

It is noteworthy that both of these studies of the twentieth-century controlled modernisation and the state take the work of Joyce a step further by explicitly adding a class component to their

²⁷ Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995).

²⁸ Ross, 7-8.

²⁹ Kate Brown, *Plutopia: Nuclear Families, Atomic Cities, and the Great Soviet and American Plutonium Disasters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

analysis. Both Ross and Brown draw attention to the fact that the household is not only a fundamental site to study modern statehood at work. More explicitly than Joyce, they draw attention to the kind of subjects that are produced through the deployment of organised freedom as a form of government. According to Ross and Brown, producing liberal subjects entailed pacifying the historically rebellious working and petty-bourgeois classes through the creation of a broad, middle stratum of society that is devoid of class consciousness.³⁰ In other words, according to these authors, the modern nuclear family and the materiality of housing were not only fundamental to the industrialisation in France and US plutonium towns, but they also served a function in securing political stability.

Besides these international cases of controlled modernisation, the agricultural sector in the Netherlands underwent a specific process of controlled modernisation through the post-war land consolidation efforts. In his doctoral dissertation on land consolidation, Karel analysed the regional development policies that were implemented to further the success of the land consolidation process.³¹ Karel demonstrates that the regional development policies had the aim of farmer families adopting a modern lifestyle as this was thought to have a positive influence on the economic performance of the farms. Part of the efforts to spread a modern lifestyle amongst farmer families was the building of new farms and renovating older farms, especially to improve the living circumstances of the farmers. The reasoning behind this was that modern farms would improve the efficiency of the household so that housewives could use the freed-up time to work in the farming enterprise.³²

Existing material approaches

Moving from international examples of controlled modernisation back to the Dutch context, the third body of literature that has inspired my research comprises the various existing material approaches to Dutch history. The metaphorical bricks that can be used to compose a new materialist approach such as Joyce suggests are widespread. The existing literature can be divided into publications focused on the materiality and infrastructure of housing, those focused on the political aspects, and the body of research on the history of technology.

³⁰ Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*; 149, Brown, *Plutopia*, 5.

³¹ Erwin Karel, 'De Maakbare Boer: Streekverbetering Als Instrument van Het Nederlandse Landbouwbeleid, 1953-1970' (Groningen, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2005).

³² Karel.

A highly instructive approach to the link between modern state-making and material developments is the work of Knippenberg and De Pater.³³ Studying the process of integration of the Netherlands through a geographical lens, their research demonstrates how the rise of the centralised state in the Netherlands was related to the development of mobility and communication infrastructures. However, their approach is limited to infrastructural networks, as such excluding public housing and the expansion of residential areas from their research. Moreover, Knippenberg and De Pater mostly concentrate their research on the early centralisation efforts of the nineteenth-century state. Nonetheless, their argument does provide a groundwork for understanding the role of material infrastructures in exerting state power, especially in the more peripheral areas of the country.

Public housing is given a more prominent role in the research of Van der Woud and Vreeling, who focus on the history of architecture. As opposed to the general trend in the history of architecture, which is mainly attentive to the art-historical and stylistic aspects of architecture, these authors explicitly understand architecture as the translation of societal problems into solutions of spatial planning.³⁴ As such these authors exhibit how a modern capitalist economy in the Netherlands was slowly made through the changing of the landscape,³⁵ spatial planning,³⁶ and architecture³⁷ and how these changes ultimately related to the rise of a modern consumer culture. The cultural historical approach that both of these authors take is unfortunately also their limitation in terms of the subject of this current research. Being predominantly focused on developments in the cultural realm, they have a blind spot concerning how these developments are related to conscious state efforts to stimulate the transformation of the economy.

As for the political aspects of housing, two publications set the stage for this current research. Beekers studied the public housing movement in the Netherlands and give a thorough inside into the political and social aspects of the history of public housing.³⁸ Nonetheless, because of his preoccupation with the history of the movement, the materiality of housing remains under-addressed in his research. Vreeze complements this approach by focusing on the role of policy-making in the construction of public housing in the post-war reconstruction of the Netherlands.³⁹

³³ Hans Knippenberg and Ben de Pater, *De eenwording van Nederland: schaalvergroting en integratie sinds 1800* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1988).

³⁴ Sieger Vreeling, *Geen Stijl: Een rijkere architectuurgeschiedenis* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2022), 8.

³⁵ Auke van der Woud, *Het landschap, de mensen: Nederland 1850-1940* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2020).

³⁶ Auke van der Woud, *Een nieuwe wereld: het ontstaan van het moderne Nederland* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2006).

³⁷ Vreeling, *Geen Stijl*.

³⁸ Wouter Beekers, *Het bewoonbare land: geschiedenis van de volksbuisvestingsbeweging in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2012).

³⁹ N. de Vreeze, *Woningbouw, inspiratie & ambities: kwalitatieve grondslagen van de sociale woningbouw in Nederland* (Almere: Nationale Woningraad, 1993).

Yet, being concerned with the nitty-gritty specificities of policy-making, his research falls short of addressing the state-making efforts that are related to the construction of public housing.

Lastly, the history of technology field in the Netherlands has been given a big impetus through a big research project initiated by the Technical University of Eindhoven from the late 1980s and 1990s onwards.⁴⁰ This project has produced multi-volume histories of technology on developments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Parts of the project have been devoted to developments in the construction of housing and the development of the modern household in relation to certain technologies.⁴¹ These volumes help to situate the evolution of the household, public housing, and spatial planning in Emmen in the larger historical context. This is particularly enlightening for the current understanding of the modern household and the related modern nuclear family. The volumes provide a detailed understanding of the process whereby the archetype of the modern household developed from based on frugality and discipline in the 1950s, to the consuming household in the 1960s. Although these series touch upon the socio-cultural context within which respective technologies developed, political sensitivity is lacking which gives rise to technological determinism.

My research employs the concept of the 'long 1950s' and provides support for the argument that the 1950s and 60s have to be analysed as the period when the post-war order was established through conscious modernisation efforts by the state, in a process of controlled modernisation. As the controlled modernisation efforts reached the final stages, the rapid eruption of cultural modernisation of the 1960s followed. More specifically, in this thesis, I expand on how the post-war order was given shape through the material infrastructure of the everyday living environment. Additionally, I take up the central thesis of Mellink and Oudenampsen and demonstrate how public housing, commonly seen as a prime example of the social-democratic welfare state, became in fact directly related to improving the industrial climate and the economic development of the country. Besides this section of research, the literature on controlled modernisation in France and the US explains how the household and the modern nuclear family were considered fundamental components for the success of those projects. In parallel to this, the materiality of the farm was considered an important aspect of the regional development policies that aimed to economically

⁴⁰ Ernst Homburg, 'Techniekgeschiedenis in Nederland (IIN): de voorgeschiedenis van een project', 2012, <https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/251314>.

⁴¹ J. W. Schot and A. A. Albert de la Bruhèze, *Techniek in Nederland in de twintigste eeuw. [DL] 4: Huishouden, medische techniek*. (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2001); J. W. Schot and A. A. Albert de la Bruhèze, *Techniek in Nederland in de twintigste eeuw. [DL] 6: Stad, bouw, industriële productie*. (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003).

rationalise Dutch farming enterprises. Therefore, these cases serve as a backdrop for analyses of the industrialisation of South-Eastern Drenthe. Importantly, these studies draw attention to the political and class aspects of controlled modernisation, an aspect that deserves to be examined in more detail for the Drenthe case. Additionally, it is important to note that the regional development policies for agriculture were implemented concomitantly with the industrialisation of Drenthe. Lastly, on the one hand, the variety of existing material approaches to Dutch history serves to situate the current research in a longer line of analysis that draws attention to the role of infrastructure as governing technique. On the other hand, these approaches provide the current research with a more detailed understanding of the twentieth-century development of industrialisation, spatial planning, residential housing, and the modern household.

Methodology and source selection

For the current research into the evolution of public housing and spatial planning in relation to the industrialisation of South-Eastern Drenthe, I relied on archival material to substantiate the argument. Archival research is the preferred method within historical new materialism because the affective power of materials – the particular agency that materials or objects get when power is exerted through them – can be rendered visible again to the researcher by recreating the moment when actors reordered the elements that we consider to constitute society.⁴² In other words, through archival sources, I made visible the political motives, knowledge production, policy, and, eventually, the particular reordering of the materiality of the urban and public housing design in South-Eastern Drenthe in relation to the industrialisation efforts.

The Dutch National Archive in The Hague and the Municipal Archive in Emmen were most important to recreate how a new material and social reality were given shape as a way of building the post-war Dutch state. I have used the discussed existing bodies of literature to map the institutions that were most influential in the post-war reconstruction of Drenthe between 1945 and 1963. Therefore, in the National Archives, I focused on the archives of three institutions. First, the Directorate-General of Industrialisation because this body was responsible for the drafting and implementation of the regional development plans. Second, the Ministry of Public Housing and Reconstruction, for this ministry was ultimately responsible for the construction of public housing. Third, the Ministry of Social Work because of their involvement in the social development plans in south-eastern Drenthe. In the Municipal Archives of Emmen, I included the material on the

⁴² Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 64-85.

implementation of the economic and social development policies and the design and construction of post-war city expansion plans and public housing.

In addition to these first two archives, I have relied on the collections of the Dutch National Library in The Hague and Nieuwe Instituut in Rotterdam. While the extensive collections of the National Library included many reports that were important to my research, Nieuwe Instituut has a very specific inventory of architecture and spatial planning-related archival and library sources that were essential to some parts of my study. However, in contrast to the first two archives, I used the collections of these latter two institutions to obtain specific source material that has been well-documented in existing literature.

Besides the sources that I have derived from these archives, I have used publications from architecture magazines and brochures to establish a thorough account of spatial planning and public housing design in the quarters of city expansion. Magazines in construction, architecture, and urban planning were important forums for intellectual exchange in the 1960s and they provided detailed descriptions of newly constructed areas and housing. Brochures on the development of South-Eastern Drenthe were published by the Ministry of Social Work and the municipality of Emmen promoted the new city quarters in publications for prospective new residents. Additionally, I have used newspaper publications from the local newspaper *Emmer Courant*, which I accessed through the Dutch online newspaper database Delpher. Lastly, a 1969 brochure that was published by the municipality of Emmen to inform prospective residents about the city, provides maps of the development of public housing and spatial planning in the various city quarters.⁴³ As these visual representations of the described developments can assist the reader throughout this study, they have been included in an appendix.

Relevance

The relevance of this thesis research is at least threefold. In the scholarly realm, this study contributes to two contemporary debates. Namely, first, by applying an innovative materialist approach to the study of the post-war development of South-Eastern Drenthe, this research exposes how modern statecraft has become increasingly intertwined with the shape of the material world in general, and that of the residential living environment in particular. Through its analysis, this thesis contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the link between post-war development and industrialisation policies on the one hand and the shape of residential areas in housing

⁴³ L.S.P. Scheffer, *Emmen* (Gemeente Emmen, 1969).

architecture on the other; a link that became particularly apparent as residential areas and housing became understood as means towards the end of the industrial capitalist economy. Second, this research sheds an alternative perspective on the post-war construction of public housing in relation to the establishment of the Dutch welfare state. By doing so, it contributes to contemporary re-evaluations of the expansion of the welfare state and public housing sector in the first decades after the war; a topic that has become increasingly urgent to understand due to the incremental breaking down of the welfare state and privatisation of housing since the 1980s.

Thirdly, and more broadly speaking, this thesis engages with possibly the most pressing political question of our times: what will our future look like? Since the publication of the *Limits to Growth* report, the collective realisation has sunk in that the modern Western lifestyle, which was shaped after the Second World War and is heavily reliant on extraction and the use of fossil energy, is unsustainable in the long term and leads to irreversible climate change and damage to ecosystems. Although designing adequate climate policy is currently high on the political agenda, subsequent Dutch governments have struggled to meet the goals that were established under the Paris Climate Agreement, a trend that is visible in most Western liberal democracies.⁴⁴ This political apathy has been argued to be the result of a lack of social imagination; the collective shortage of the ability to imagine alternatives to the current ways of organising the society and living.⁴⁵ As the climate crisis necessitates fundamental changes, the need for alternative imaginations for the future is pressing. Yet, without the imagination of alternative futures, these changes cannot be realised. At the moment of writing, the spatial organisation of the Netherlands has become one of the top priorities on the political agenda again. The Dutch state has recognised that fundamental spatial planning renovations have to be made to get the country ready for the coming century.⁴⁶ In essence, long-term plans of this category are a core example of a future imagination. The first step in this renovation process is the new *Memo Space* that will be published by the Minister of Public Housing and Spatial Planning – a post that was created in 2022 to reflect the renewed urgency of spatial planning. By providing an in-depth understanding of how post-war economic growth and industrialisation-oriented social imagination shaped one of the most fundamental aspects of

⁴⁴ Bruno Latour, *Down to Earth: Politics in the New Climatic Regime*, English edition. (Cambridge, UK ; Medford, MA: Polity Press, 2018).

⁴⁵ Mark Fisher, *Capitalist Realism: Is There No Alternative?* (Winchester, UK ; Washington D.C.: Zero Books, 2009); Latour, *Down to Earth*; Kari Marie Norgaard, 'The Sociological Imagination in a Time of Climate Change', *Global and Planetary Change* 163 (2018): 171–76, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloplacha.2017.09.018>; Geoff Mulgan, 'The Imaginary Crisis (And How We Might Quicken Social and Public Imagination)', 2020.

⁴⁶ Eppo König, 'Het ruimtelijke plan voor Nederland tot 2100 wordt "breder, groter en ingrijpender"', NRC, 11 May 2023, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2023/05/11/het-ruimtelijke-plan-voor-nederland-tot-2100-wordt-breder-groter-en-ingrijpender-a4164497>.

everyday life in the Netherlands, namely the residential house and its immediate surroundings, this research opens up the possibilities to critically rethink the shape and form of housing to suit contemporary and future needs and requirements. As such the research contributes to the daunting task of the spatial planning renovation of the Netherlands to remake the country for the year 2100.

Outline

Following this introduction, I present the research to you in three main chapters. In the first chapter, I introduce the post-war development of South-Eastern Drenthe by zooming in on the design and implementation of the industrialisation policies and the efforts to improve the housing situation by building a new residential area in Emmen. Then, in the second chapter, I demonstrate how concerns about the morality of the Dutch people evolved after the Second World War and how these concerns became the driving force behind the social development plans that came to complement the industrialisation efforts. In the third chapter, I make the case that these social development plans fundamentally influenced the expansion of Emmen in the 1950s, whereby the social development efforts became materialised in the design of the new Angelslo quarter. After this step-by-step exploration of the link between the economic development and public housing of Emmen in the main chapters, I conclude the thesis research by arguing how the Angelslo quarter is an archetypal example of the governing techniques of modern statehood that developed over the course of the twentieth century.

Chapter One Developing Emmen: Industrialisation and Housing

Between the 13th and 15th of December, 1948, the Ministry of Economic Affairs Director-General and his staff embarked on a research visit to the South-Eastern corner of the Dutch province of Drenthe.⁴⁷ The goal of the visit was to investigate the possibilities for the industrialisation of the region. Throughout the three grey and somewhat rainy days of the visit – weather conditions characteristic of December in the Netherlands – the Director-General was taken on driving tours through the various parts of the area, met up with businessmen of regional industries, and talked with local administrators about the various aspects of the industrialisation of the region as a solution for the structural economic malaise.⁴⁸ Besides the economic problems of the area, the ministerial staff also showed concern for broader structural welfare problems of the area, such as housing.

Two weeks later, the local newspaper *Emmer Courant* wrote about an earlier ministerial visit of the region in an article reflecting back on the question of industrialisation in 1948. Already in October, the Minister of Economic Affairs himself had visited the region and had reported to the parliament that “something has to be done” for Drenthe.⁴⁹ The fact that the minister had sent his staff on a research visit two months later, proved that there was a general willingness to improve the situation of South-Eastern Drenthe. This definitely put the hopes of the Emmer population up and the newspaper noted that they wished that “the government should continuously keep an eye on the special requirements and issues of South-Eastern Drenthe”. In the subsequent years, the Dutch government indeed kept an eye on the needs of the region. This chapter explores how the local and national governments slowly developed structural interventions for South-Eastern Drenthe in the first years after the Second World War. First, the chapter analyses how the national industrialisation plan for the region was realised. Second, it demonstrates how the housing question, which was considered one of the biggest welfare problems, was addressed through the construction of new housing. This analysis then leads to the conclusion that in those first years after the war, the economic development and the improvement of public housing remained two

⁴⁷ ‘Reis Naar Z.O. Drenthe Op 13, 14 En 15 December 1948’, 23 December 1948, 2.06.087 / 898, Central archive of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Nationaal Archief.

⁴⁸ ‘Concept-Programma Bezoek Directeur-Generaal van Economische Zaken c.s.’, December 1948, 2.06.087 / 898, Central archive of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Nationaal Archief. ; Weather information based on KNMI historical data, accessed through <https://weerverleden.nl/19481213>, on April 14 2023.

⁴⁹ ‘Meer Industrie in Z.-O. Drenthe in 1949: Emmen Legde Grote Activiteit Aan de Dag’, *Emmer Courant*, 31 December 1948, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMGEM01:163333079:mpeg21:a00035>.

relatively separated policy-domains, although it was acknowledged early on that the issues were interrelated.

Towards a development plan

Prior to the 1850s, the South-Eastern Drenthe had been predominantly inhabited by small-scale, subsistence focussed farmers.⁵⁰ Then, from the middle of the nineteenth century up until the end of the Second World War, the region experienced explosive growth in the peat industry. With the growth of the peat industry, the area encountered a significant population and prosperity increase. The peat workers established new settlements around Emmen, from which they gained access to unexploited peat fields. These towns were connected to Emmen and the larger region through channels, roads, and rail and tram lines. However, because of the dominance of the peat industry, the south-eastern corner of Drenthe had become economically dependent on this sector from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards.⁵¹ In the 1920s, the large-scale substitution of peat for coal caused the collapse of the peat industry, sparking a deep economic recession in the region. During this economic crisis, the region became the focus of national attention following poignant reports of the impoverished living conditions of the peat workers.⁵² From the 1930s onwards, the persisting economic malaise increased the call for structural help from the Dutch national state.⁵³

Following the economic downturn of the 1930s, several measures had been taken to support industrial sectors deemed essential to the national economy and employment. The interventions were first very limited, but their reach was slowly expanded over the course of the decade. The early 1930s governments avoided direct stimulation of industries because of the predominant political-economic thought of minimal government intervention, politics of balanced budget, and the gold standard.⁵⁴ Therefore, the industrial policies of the early 1930s have been characterised as ‘defensive’. The measures were limited, reactive, and only aimed to avert a deeper recession. Throughout the 1930s, the debate on the role of the state in the economy started shifting and as a result, some early ‘offensive’ policies were introduced.⁵⁵ The government introduced two funding mechanisms to support industrial sectors, and Economic-Technological Institutes were established

⁵⁰ Vegchel, *De metamorfose van Emmen*, 24-26.

⁵¹ Vegchel, 29.

⁵² Vegchel, 13.

⁵³ Vegchel, 39-41.

⁵⁴ Willem Dercksen, *Industrialisatiepolitiek rondom de jaren vijftig: een sociologisch-economische beleidsstudie* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1986), 28-32.

⁵⁵ Mellink and Oudenampsen, *Neoliberalisme*, 19-36.

across the country to foster regional industrialisation. The shifted perspective on government intervention became the basis for the post-war continuation of industrialisation plans.

Right after the war, the national government defined local industrial development and economic growth in South-Eastern Drenthe as a fundamental aspect of the reconstruction of the country. This made the development of South-Eastern Drenthe an issue of national importance. A key actor in the drafting of the post-war industrialisation policy was G.A. Kohnstamm, a senior civil servant in the Directorate-General of Trade and Industrial Policy of the Ministry of Economic Affairs.⁵⁶ In 1947, he defended his PhD dissertation on the topic of Dutch industrial development. In this thesis, he laid the groundwork for the post-war industrialisation plans. Kohnstamm concluded that industrial expansion was crucial to generating economic growth and creating employment for the increasing population of the country. Even before the official publication of his dissertation, Kohnstamm sent an important letter to the Minister of Economic Affairs concerning the role of regional industrialisation in national industrial expansion.⁵⁷ According to Kohnstamm, the narrow focus on the modernisation of the peat industry and improving the location factors for industries as the solution to the economic malaise of South-Eastern Drenthe had to be broadened. He suggested that the industrialisation policies for the region had to be approached as a trial for nationwide industrialisation. Furthermore, Kohnstamm pressed upon the minister that he and his team “would therefore like to suggest seriously addressing the problem of South-East Drenthe on a large scale. Our thoughts lean towards a kind of ‘Tennessee Valley Authority Plan’.”⁵⁸ In other words, while the Ministry was mostly focussed on intervening through the immediate, mostly infrastructural, aspects that would improve the industrial climate of the region, Kohnstamm was an early advocate of a more all-encompassing industrialisation approach. In line with the TVA-plans, this entailed the modernisation of society as whole, rather than only economic modernisation.

The initial ideas for the development of South-Eastern Drenthe demonstrated a comprehensive and ambitious approach. The sense of urgency and the magnitude of the proposed ideas for the region's development were influenced by an additional factor. Policy-makers were not only convinced that industrialisation was the path to economic growth and modernisation of the country, but they also expressed concerns regarding congestion and overpopulation in the western provinces. They recognised that a lack of balanced development across the country could

⁵⁶ Dercksen, *Industrialisatiepolitiek rondom de jaren vijftig*, 33.

⁵⁷ G.A. Kohnstamm, ‘Enkele Notities over Het Probleem Z.O.-Drenthe’, 18 June 1947, 2.06.087 / 898, Central archive of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Nationaal Archief.

⁵⁸ Kohnstamm, 11.

exacerbate these issues.⁵⁹ Despite the national significance attached to the development of South-Eastern Drenthe and the recommendations put forth by Kohnstamm, as well as the fears surrounding congestion and overpopulation, the initial national development plan remained limited in scope. It did not adopt a "Tennessee Valley Authority Plan" approach for the region, which would have entailed a comprehensive and transformative development strategy on a large scale.

The first development plan

The drafting of the first national development plan started in 1948, before the ministerial visit to the region. Two months prior to the visit, the national government had already provided a sketch for the development of South-Eastern Drenthe in the report *The Problem South-Eastern Drenthe*.⁶⁰ The report proposed a two-fold plan for the development of the region. The plan focused on increasing the efficiency of the peat industry, while also fostering the creation of new industries to employ former peat workers. Concerning the peat industry, the report mentioned mechanisation – the introduction of more machinery in the production process to substitute manual labour – as the most important measure for the sector to survive in the short term while it was acknowledged that the eventual decline of the industry was inevitable. To attract new industries, the report was concentrated on infrastructural development as main solution. It was argued that building roads and bridges would improve the connections with the rest of the country and attract businesses to the area. Besides the need for infrastructural development, the report mentioned the relative backwardness and lack of proper education of the labour force as well as their focus on traditional economies as possible limitations for the industrialisation of the region.⁶¹ This last point was reinforced during the 1948 mission to South-Eastern Drenthe. Business owners and local administrators reported to the ministerial staff that there was an additional essential aspect to the development of the region, namely “how the population can be made *industry-minded*”.⁶² Although some business owners remarked positively about the work ethic of the new industrial labourers, the former peat workers were commonly seen as only suited for coarse industrial work.⁶³

⁵⁹ ‘Verslag van de Bespreking Op Woensdag 22 November 1950 Inzake Ontwikkeling Gemeente Emmen’, 22 November 1950, 1898/1.82, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

⁶⁰ ‘Het Probleem Zuidoost Drenthe’ (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 1948), 2.06.087 / 898, Central archive of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Nationaal Archief.

⁶¹ ‘Het Probleem Zuidoost Drenthe’, 5.

⁶² ‘Reis Naar Z.O. Drenthe Op 13, 14 En 15 December 1948’, 6 [translation WR]. Note that the original Dutch document used the term ‘industry-minded’

⁶³ ‘Reis Naar Z.O. Drenthe Op 13, 14 En 15 December 1948’, 5.

The report on the problems of South-Eastern Drenthe was not immediately translated into a concrete policy plan. The Dutch state had a lack of funds for the policies during the 1940s and it took until the granting of Marshall funds in 1950 that the development plan for the region could be formally established.⁶⁴ Concerning the division of the budget of the official development plan, the municipal council of Emmen suggested that the funds would be used to make the peat industry more efficient and to foster the industrialisation of the area by improving road and water infrastructure.⁶⁵ In 1951, the official *Development Plan South-Eastern Drenthe* was established. In line with the budgeting suggestions of the municipal council, the Directorate-General of Industrialisation drafted the final development plan with an emphasis on the peat sector and infrastructure for industrialisation. Moreover, within this plan, Emmen was designated as the centre of the development region because policy-makers believed that the clustering of industries would have a positive development effect.⁶⁶ This choice was opposed to earlier, local ideas of the industrialisation of the region that envisioned spreading the industries over the smaller villages throughout the region.⁶⁷

Both Kohnstamm and the report *The Problem South-Eastern Drenthe* argued for an all-encompassing development plan for the region, which should also take broader industrialisation factors, such as the modernisation of society, into consideration. Nonetheless, the 1951 *Development Plan South-Eastern Drenthe* was centred around the narrow industrialisation factors of enhancing the efficiency of the peat industry and improving the infrastructure in the area. A crucial point in the plan was that Emmen was selected as the centre of the industrialisation of the region. This decision had important consequences for the town, which experienced unprecedented growth in the years after the war. Therefore, the municipality was forced to forcefully address the housing problem.

Housing shortage as the number one enemy of the nation

During the three-day ministerial visit to South-Eastern Drenthe in 1948, the housing situation in the area was one of the topics of conversation.⁶⁸ Each day of the visit, the ministerial staff was taken on driving tours covering all corners of the region.⁶⁹ Along these tours, they must almost certainly have come across the numerous shacks and other poor housing conditions, as this was a

⁶⁴ 'Brief van Burgemeesters En Wethouders Emmen Aan de Minister-President Inzake Toekenning Marshallgelden', 28 August 1950, 1898/1.82, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

⁶⁵ 'Besluit: Burgemeesters En Wethouders Emmen Betreffende Gebruik Marshallgelden', 7 September 1950, 1898/1.82, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

⁶⁶ Michiel Alexander Wilhelm Gerding, ed., *Geschiedenis van Emmen En Zuidoost-Drenthe* (Meppel etc.: Boom, 1989), 195.

⁶⁷ Vegchel, *De metamorfose van Emmen*, 185-188.

⁶⁸ 'Reis Naar Z.O. Drenthe Op 13, 14 En 15 December 1948'.

⁶⁹ 'Concept-Programma Bezoek Directeur-Generaal van Economische Zaken c.s.'

widespread problem in Drenthe at the time. Already since the 1930s, the housing conditions in Drenthe had received nationwide attention and the living conditions in the area were widely known as among the worst in the country. In 1932, a governmental report on the housing conditions of slum dwellers stated that the poverty of the working classes in Emmen forced them to be content with the most miserable of housing: “There, it had to be simply accepted that labourers built themselves a shack with some old wood and clutter because the widespread poverty does not allow for any better housing.”⁷⁰ These poor housing conditions persisted throughout the 1930s, as there was a general lack of funds to invest in improving housing conditions amidst the politics of austerity.⁷¹ Then, under German occupation, housing construction came to an almost complete standstill.

In 1948 the importance of the housing question was given more urgency when the social-democratic Minister of Reconstruction and Public Housing, Joris in ‘t Veld, proclaimed the housing shortage to be the number one enemy of the nation.⁷² The problem that his ministry was presented with was two-fold. On the one hand, there was an enormous quantitative shortage of housing. Around the end of the 1940s, there was a shortage of houses for about 300.000 families.⁷³ This shortage was caused by the large-scale war-related destruction of houses and by the almost complete standstill of construction during the five-year occupation period.⁷⁴ Moreover, the post-war period saw a sharp population increase, aggravating the shortage of housing.⁷⁵ On the other hand, the Dutch public housing stock was haunted by a qualitative challenge, which most strongly expressed itself in the persistence of shacks, both in impoverished urban and rural areas. Both aspects of the problem were interrelated because many people were forced to live in sub-par housing, for example in cellars or attics of relatives or friends, as a result of the quantitative shortage of housing. In South-Eastern Drenthe specifically, the situation around the end of the war was among the worst in the country; the housing shortage in Emmen was twice as high as the national average.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ ‘Rapport inzake de huisvesting van krotbewoners’ (Nederlandsch Instituut voor Volkshuisvesting en Stedebouw; Nationale Woningraad; Algemeene Bond van Woningbouwverenigingen, 1932), 21 [translation WR].

⁷¹ J. L. J. Bosmans and A.C.M.W. van Kessel, *Parlementaire Geschiedenis van Nederland* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2011).

⁷² Eric de Lange, *Sober en solide: de wederopbouw van Nederland 1940-1965* (Rotterdam: NAI Uitgevers, 1995), 119.

⁷³ Wouter Beekers, *Het bewoonbare land: geschiedenis van de volkshuisvestingsbeweging in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2012), 181.

⁷⁴ Beekers, 176-77.

⁷⁵ N. de Vreeze, *Woningbouw, inspiratie & ambities: kwalitatieve grondslagen van de sociale woningbouw in Nederland* (Almere: Nationale Woningraad, 1993), 250.

⁷⁶ Elisabeth Bulder, Maarten Duijvendak, and Bert Bulder, *Wonen in het verleden van Drenthe en Groningen* (Onderzoeksbureau Elles Bulder, 2018), 126.

To meet the gigantic challenge that his ministry was facing, In 't Veld developed a housing policy that was founded on two pillars.⁷⁷ Firstly, the central government was given the role to divide all the available building materials among the municipalities, who ultimately decided on construction projects in their respective jurisdiction. This rule was meant to ensure that scarce building materials would rationally and effectively be used. Secondly, the production quantity became the main driver of the housing policy, with the quality and size of newly built houses temporarily being of secondary importance. To accompany this housing policy, the Directorate-General for Public Housing was established. This administrative body took on an important role in planning, oversight, and even the design of public housing.⁷⁸ Rationalisation and standardisation became the keywords driving the housing policy of this period. Following this, house layouts were standardised, variation was limited, and building blocks were rectangular and placed in grid-like patterns.⁷⁹ As such, public housing construction in South-Eastern Drenthe increasingly came under the direct control of the national government, which determined the yearly quota of houses that the municipality of Emmen could build. In the year 1948, the municipality was allocated 1000 houses and in the following year another 100 were added.⁸⁰

Planning against the number one enemy

With this allotment, the municipality of Emmen started implementing the first post-war city expansion plan, constructing the quarter 'Emmermeer'.⁸¹ The expansion plan had been designed during the Second World War and was named after its designer, the architect Verdenius. With the drafting of this plan, the municipality of Emmen fulfilled the obligation of designing a coherent expansion plan as was ordered to municipalities over a certain size under the 1901 Housing Law.⁸² In the explanatory memorandum to the original *Plan Verdenius*, the architect addressed the motivations behind his design.⁸³ According to Verdenius, an expansion plan had become urgent due to a combination of the big population growth during the 1930s and the expected further increase in the following years. At the same time, the unfavourable prospects for the peat industry entailed that the expansion plan had to keep the industrial development of the municipality in mind. Verdenius argued that these new industries and the expanding agricultural sector were in need of

⁷⁷ Beekers, *Het bevoonbare land*, 182.

⁷⁸ Vreeze, *Woningbouw, inspiratie & ambities*, 252.

⁷⁹ Vreeze, 63.

⁸⁰ 'Reis Naar Z.O. Drenthe Op 13, 14 En 15 December 1948', 5.

⁸¹ Anne-Marie Nannen, ed., *Emmen: Architectuur, Stedenbouw, Landschap* (Groningen: Het Grafisch Huis, 2010), 172-173.

⁸² Beekers, *Het bevoonbare land*, 95-97.

⁸³ 'Toelichting Bij Uitbreidingsplan Der Gemeente Emmen', 1942, 488/1.777.811.22, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

space. However, in the past decades, peat and agricultural workers that had constructed new buildings along the main roads of the village had increased the parcellation of the outskirts of the municipality.⁸⁴ By coordinating the growth of Emmen with the expansion plan, precious space would be saved for industries and agriculture. In the *Plan Verdenius*, the architect translated his analysis of the spatial planning of Emmen into the idea of the garden city.⁸⁵ The garden city was originally a British idea for the improvement of living conditions for the working classes.⁸⁶ Following this form, new suburban living quarters were constructed as semi-autonomous parts of the city that mixed domestic housing with an abundance of greenery as an antidote to the ills of the industrialised city. In the garden suburbs, modest single-family houses all had a small garden, which gave quarters a small-town feel which had the aim of fostering traditions of communal life that would be lost in the modern city. According to Verdenius, the garden city design was best suited to accommodate former peat workers and small-scale farmers in their adjustment to a more urbanised lifestyle.

Inspired by the *Plan Verdenius*, the expansion of Emmermeer incorporated the garden city idea while clustering the newly built houses together, as such creating and emphasising the centre of Emmen. However, the specific context of the first post-war years entailed that Emmermeer was not designed and planned in its entirety before the expansion started. Due to the urgency to build new houses amidst the enormous housing shortage in the first years after the war and the constraints on construction caused by a shortage of building materials, the municipality decided to incrementally expand the area of Emmermeer. This entailed that the area was built in a step-wise way. After each yearly quota was determined by the Directorate-General for public housing, the municipality hired an architect to design a couple of streets or a small neighbourhood within the larger Emmermeer area.⁸⁷ Therefore, the area became characterised by a mix of architectural ideas and building styles experimenting with different forms of residential housing.

Although the area evolved as an architectural laboratory, the designs adhered to two main ideas. These can be derived from a 1955 correspondence the municipality of Emmen had with the Provincial Council in which they reflected on the Emmermeer area, in hindsight highlighting the intentions behind the design of the area.⁸⁸ According to the letter, on the one hand, the area aimed

⁸⁴ 'Toelichting Bij Uitbreidingsplan Der Gemeente Emmen', 12.

⁸⁵ Nannen, *Emmen groeit!*, 17.

⁸⁶ Maristella Casciato et al., *Architectuur en volkshuisvesting: Nederland 1870-1940*, Sunschrift 173 (Nijmegen: Socialistische uitgeverij Nijmegen, 1980), 46-49.

⁸⁷ Bulder, Duijvendak, and Bulder, *Wonen in het verleden van Drenthe en Groningen*, 128.

⁸⁸ Burgemeester en Wethouders van Emmen, 'Uitbreidingsplan Emmermeer', 15 March 1955, 552/1.777.811.22, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

to mitigate the negative challenges related to the transition from a rural to an urban environment. This clearly reflects the original plan of Verdenius, where the garden city had an essential function in housing the formerly rural population. On the other hand, the area had to be appealing to “attract people from the West.”⁸⁹ These main ideas behind the design of Emmermeer were related to early-post war views on the industrialisation of the area before the 1951 national *Development Plan* was established. According to these views on the industrialisation of the region, labour was a factor that was abundant in the region considering the high level of unemployment and the expected increase of unemployment from the declining peat sector. This view was echoed in the explanatory memorandum to the *Plan Verdenius*.⁹⁰ However, early post-war experiences had thought the municipal policy-makers that the region lacked skilled and higher-educated workers that were essential for the development of modern industries.

This point became evident when the NAM, a joint venture of Shell and Esso for the exploitation of Dutch fossil fuel reserves, started the exploitation of an oil reserve located in Emmen’s neighbouring municipality Schoonebeek. With the opening and quick development of the exploitation of the Schoonebeek field from 1946 onwards, the NAM suddenly required a big pool of employees to run its activities. These employees could be categorised into two groups: higher educated personnel in managing positions, who came mostly from the western part of the country, and personnel in lower ranks, originating from the larger region around the south-eastern corner of Drenthe.⁹¹ The NAM believed that offering its employees adequate housing was the only thing that could attract qualified personnel to live in the South-Eastern Drenthe area.⁹² The company believed that the managing personnel had to be housed in Emmen because it offered more amenities that families migrating from the western parts of the country desired. This view resonated with the post-war municipal understanding of the industrialisation of the area. Although the region had an abundance of workers, the ability to attract and house higher-skilled managerial classes was seen as a key to the settlement of new industries in the region.⁹³

This view was confirmed in the explanatory memorandum to the *Development Plan South-Eastern Drenthe*. It was mentioned that “the provision of industrial housing for the staff of the companies establishing themselves in the area” was an additional factor in the industrialisation of

⁸⁹ Burgemeester en Wethouders van Emmen, 2.

⁹⁰ Burgemeester en Wethouders van Emmen.

⁹¹ H.J. de Jong, *Schoonebeek: Olierijk in Zuidoost-Drenthe* (Drenthe: Stichting Het Drentse Boek, 1986), 66-72.

⁹² A.C. Nicolai, ‘Rapport Voortgang Aanbouw NAM Woningen’, N.d.; estimated 1946-1948, 124E06/NICO0047 d109, Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam.

⁹³ Vegchel, *De metamorfose van Emmen*, 217-218.

the region.⁹⁴ This referred both to the provision of decent housing for the industrial labourers that were to be drawn from the local population and to the higher-educated managerial classes that had to be attracted from the larger cities in the west of the country. The availability of enough housing for new company staff members was seen as a variable in the industrialisation and development of the region.

Building to fight the number one enemy

The housing architecture and spatial planning in Emmermeer reflected these two broad aims of the early post-war public housing policy (see Appendix C). However, because the area was developed incrementally, there was a large variation in how those aims were translated into the design of the area. This was especially the case with regards to the, in any case, more numerous, public housing that was built to fight the housing shortage amongst former peat and agricultural workers.

Concerning the architecture of the working-class houses in Emmermeer, the architects were all sensitive to designing houses that would ensure a gradual transition from the rural lifestyles of former peat and agricultural workers to living in the confined space of an urbanising area. The principles of the garden city were influential in the design of the area. Nijkampen, a neighbourhood in Emmermeer, was characteristic of the architecture of the working-class houses in Emmermeer (see Appendix D). The neighbourhood was designed by the architect A.C. Nicolai, a nationally acclaimed designer who explicitly combined modern functionalist architecture – design based on the idea that the form has to follow function – with elements that preserved the heritage of rural forms of life.⁹⁵ The neighbourhood was made up of repeating blocks and within those blocks, floorplans and the orientation of the houses on the lots were alternated.⁹⁶ The small neighbourhoods had the goal of recreating traditional rural communities, while the alternations served to give the neighbourhood a village-like appearance as opposed to the mass repetition of building blocks associated with urban centres. Additionally, Nicolai designed the houses in this neighbourhood with generous front and back gardens, intended to give the residents the space for a vegetable garden and keeping a pig or some chickens. The need for growing food and keeping

⁹⁴ ‘Ontwikkelingsplan Zuid-Oost Drenthe. Memorie van Toelichting Zitting ’51/’52-2322’, 1951, 1897/1.82, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

⁹⁵ Albert Gielen, *A. C. Nicolai (1914-2001): bouwstenen voor een moderne woonomgeving* (Rotterdam: Stichting BONAS, 2004), 4-7.

⁹⁶ Nannen, *Emmen groeit!*, 55-60.

animals was deemed important by the alderman for municipal housing, a view supported by the majority of the council.⁹⁷

In other neighbourhoods of Emmermeer, architects incorporated various design solutions. For instance, the prefabricated ‘GROS’ houses, designed by Strikwerda from the municipal public works department were constructed without a front door. This choice was influenced by the rural custom of South-Eastern Drenthe, where visitors would traditionally enter the house through the backdoor.⁹⁸ Furthermore, the prefabricated ‘Bruynzeel’ houses combined the mass-produced character of factory-produced dwellings with spacious gardens on lots that were parcelled out in a rural style.⁹⁹ Regardless of the architectural variation, the common denominator of these architectural designs was to enable tenants to preserve their rural lifestyle within the newly built area of Emmen.

Besides the housing that was designed for the former peat and agricultural workers, modern middle-class houses intended to create a comfortable living environment for the managerial classes of new industries were constructed in Emmermeer. Along the Walstraat, one of the first streets that were developed in the area, A.C. Nicolai built 25 residences for employees of the NAM in 1946. Nicolai designed the houses as a hybrid combining elements of rural and modern architecture.¹⁰⁰ With their relatively low profile and thatched roofs, the houses visually fitted in with the traditional architecture in Emmen. Nonetheless, the residences were clearly middle-class villas in terms of their spaciousness, location protected from the main road, and front and back gardens intended for decorative plants and flowers rather than for growing crops. Furthermore, the premises of the houses were designed with space for the NAM company cars. In the early 1950s, closed car garages were built next to the houses. In 1952-1953, the architect R. de Vries developed managers’ villas and middle-class houses for the higher personnel of the AKU factory. Although not in the direct area of Emmermeer, in terms of periodisation these residences can be considered part of the first expansion of Emmen. These residences were included in the municipal board’s pledge to attract the company to settle in Emmen.¹⁰¹ Akin to the NAM houses, these managers’ villas and middle-class houses combined a spacious and luxurious design to attract higher company

⁹⁷ Vegchel, *De metamorfose van Emmen*, 222.

⁹⁸ Nannen, *Emmen groeit!*, 19.

⁹⁹ Nannen, 50-51.

¹⁰⁰ A.C. Nicolai, ‘Ontwerptekening Walstraat Noodwoning Kernbouw NAM’, 22 October 1946, 1.773.41-2537, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

¹⁰¹ Vegchel, *De metamorfose van Emmen*, 217-219.

personnel from other parts of the country with an architectural style that merged the buildings with the rural surroundings.¹⁰²

In conclusion, although the national government allocated the yearly construction quota to the municipality of Emmen, the municipality was relatively free to design the expansion of the Emmermeer. Due to this reason, Emmermeer became an architectural testing ground where various local architects experimented with the most suitable housing and spatial planning solutions. In their designs, the architects were mostly looking to preserve as many elements of the traditional rural lifestyle of the prospective inhabitants as possible. At the same time, some sections of the quarter were designed to create an attractive living environment for immigrating higher industry personnel.

Conclusion

Both the housing circumstances and the economic malaise were seen as the most explicit symptoms of the underdevelopment of South-Eastern Drenthe. In the early years after the war, when the first development plans for the region were drafted, public housing was already mentioned as an important factor in relation to the implementation of the industrialisation plans. However, as the main focus of the 1951 *Development Plan* was on the mechanisation of the peat industry and the promotion of industrial development, public housing became only loosely related to the industrialisation project. Within the industrialisation plans the attention was solely focused on housing arrangements for immigrating higher industrial staff. The municipal construction plans reflected this view and architects developed housing that was specifically designed to create an attractive living environment for these managerial classes. Contrastingly, the municipal housing policy also considered proper housing to battle the housing shortage and poor living conditions amongst peat and agricultural workers. These working-class houses were designed to accommodate workers in modern living quarters while fostering the preservation of their rural traditions. This was considered the best solution to the housing and spatial problems of Emmen and to an extent the larger region of South-Eastern Drenthe.

Thus, the expansion of the town was initially only loosely related to the industrialisation plans, although both the poor state. In other words, industrialisation and the construction of new housing remained two relatively isolated policy domains although they were both considered part of the structural development issues that haunted the region. Being part of isolated policy domains,

¹⁰² Nannen, *Emmen: Architectuur, Stedenbouw, Landschap*, 164.

the plans were drafted and implemented by different bureaucracies; the industrialisation plans were tightly controlled by the national government whereas the municipality administered the expansion of Emmen. While the industrialisation policies for the region were already an expression of the 'controlled modernisation' ideas orchestrated by the national government, spatial planning and housing architecture were still shaped by local ideas of what Emmen should look like. However, spatial planning and housing design as part of the expansion of Emmen would become more tightly controlled by the national government over the course of the 1950s. This was the result of the rise of state planning and the discovery of the importance of the 'human' factor for the success of the industrialisation efforts. In the next chapter, this thesis zooms in on the socio-cultural turn to the question of industrialisation.

Chapter Two Development: Socio-cultural Interventions

On April 1 1957, the Intradepartmental Committee for Development Regions of the Ministry of Social Work published the *Bulletin for the Development Regions in the Netherlands*. The bulletin had the goal “[t]o provide information in an appropriate and responsible manner, generate interest, foster goodwill, and gain cooperation [...] for the success of social planning in the development regions in our country.”¹⁰³ In other words, it was published to promote public support for the social plans. The picture next to the introductory article points to the main reason for the social planning. In the picture, a peat worker from Drenthe is stacking blocks of peat to dry, while behind him, an oil pumpjack clearly stands out against the horizon. The picture is accompanied by the following caption: “The ‘nodding donkey’ in the Drenthe region, a symptom of advancing industrialisation in the countryside. Essential for prosperity, but responsible only if accompanied by care for social well-being.”¹⁰⁴ The magazine was the result of a significant policy shift in the approach to the industrialisation of the Dutch development areas. From the beginning of the 1950s onwards, policy-makers, influenced by a widespread concern for the degeneration of public morality and by the sociological analyses of this problem, began to see the ‘human’ factor as the key to successful industrialisation and, thus, effective reconstruction of the country. The industrialisation of the country was deemed the inevitable path towards increasing prosperity, while it was acknowledged that this leads to radical transformations of the lives of some people, which could result in social problems.

This chapter sets out to explore the shift of focus to the ‘human’ factors of the industrialisation process. This change resulted in the designing of social plans that complemented the existing industrialisation plans for the development regions. This chapter demonstrates that, as a result, spatial planning and housing design eventually became defined as means towards the end of industrialisation rather than as ends in themselves, as was the case before the 1950s. To arrive at this analysis, the chapter proceeds in several steps. In the first part of the chapter, the implementation of the 1951 *Development Plan* is considered by reviewing its first effects and results. Then, the chapter zooms in on the rise of modern sociology as an important factor in post-war

¹⁰³ H. Oosterhuis, ‘Ten Geleide’, *Mededelingenblad Voor de Ontwikkelingsgebieden in Nederland*, 1 April 1957, 2 [translation WR].

¹⁰⁴ ‘Picture of Peat Worker and Pumpjack’, *Mededelingenblad Voor de Ontwikkelingsgebieden in Nederland*, 1 April 1957, 3 [translation WR].

policy-making. Third, the inquiry takes a closer look at the synthesis of questions concerning public morality that were raised by sociologists with the industrialisation policy for the development regions. Although a direct implementation of this synthesis largely failed, it laid the groundwork for an indirect implementation through the influence on spatial planning and housing architecture. The influence on spatial planning and housing architecture, which made the housing and spatial planning policy not only an end in itself but also an end to the goal of industrialisation, will be further examined in the third chapter.

Industrialisation and development of Emmen in the early 1950s

One year after the implementation of the initial *Development Plan*, the Directorate-General for Industrialisation of the Ministry of Economic Affairs published a memo on the results achieved in the first year of industrialisation plans.¹⁰⁵ The memo was cautiously optimistic about the progress in the region and observed that unemployment had decreased by 300. The memo related this decline to three developments. First, the peat industry had been doing well because of the increasing prices of coal in the first years after the war. Secondly, the industrialisation policy had been effective in convincing AKU, a synthetic textile producer, to open a second factory in the town of Emmen in addition to the factory they opened in 1947 in the neighbouring village Emmer-Compascuum. This new factory provided employment for around 700 workers.¹⁰⁶ Thirdly, unemployment had decreased because of the active migration policy that was being pursued by the National Employment Agency. The Agency promoted the emigration of unemployed workers towards other industrial regions of the Netherlands, such as Twente and Eindhoven. Regardless of the positive development of unemployment, the memo warned that further industrialisation measures remained urgent, due to the predicted temporal nature of the growth of the peat industry and the persistently high amount of workers that were seasonally unemployed.

In an overview of the year 1952, the local newspaper *Emmer Courant* repeated the optimistic tone of the ministerial memo.¹⁰⁷ Just before the start of the new year, the newspaper memorated the important developments of 1952, mostly noting the diligent implementation of the industrialisation plans with regard to the infrastructural works in South-Eastern Drenthe. For example, new bridges had been constructed, the sewage and drinking water systems were extended,

¹⁰⁵ 'Nota No. 275 I.R. Stand van Zaken Met Betrekking Tot Uitvoering Ontwikkelingsplan Z-O. Drenthe', 27 September 1952, 2.06.087 / 898, Central archive of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Nationaal Archief.

¹⁰⁶ 'Nota No. 275 I.R. Stand van Zaken Met Betrekking Tot Uitvoering Ontwikkelingsplan Z-O. Drenthe', 6.

¹⁰⁷ 'Blijvende Vooruitgang En Ontwikkeling in Zuid-Oost Drenthe', *Emmer Courant*, 31 December 1952, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMGEM01:163340076:mpeg21:a00179>.

and the accessibility of the area was improved by building additional roads and electrifying the railway. However, the newspaper also admitted that a lot of things still needed to happen to make industrialisation successful and reduce the unemployment rates in the region. Throughout the year 1952, the pages of the paper indeed underscored the persistent tendencies of unemployment.¹⁰⁸

The question of reconstruction: the material and moral sides

It is apparent that both the ministerial memo and the local newspaper still approached the development of South-Eastern Drenthe as a question of industrialisation, where the weight of focus was on the infrastructural factors that were considered to influence the industrial climate of the region. However, as mentioned in the introduction, the early 1950s saw the rise and growing influence of sociology as a scientific discipline. This discipline rose to prominence in the specific political context of the immediate post-war years. In this climate, there were two main concerns that attracted most political attention. These primary issues that formed the main political mission for the reconstruction of the country were explicitly addressed by prime-minister Louis Beel in his 1946 governmental address to the Second Chamber:

This Cabinet, Mr. Speaker, sets itself the goal to direct all the forces, which the Dutch nation possesses, at an as rapid and complete as possible reconstruction of our national wealth, the material as well as the spiritual, and at an as just as possible distribution and as just as possible access to those material and spiritual assets, which determine the prosperity of the society. [...] Material wealth, Mr. Speaker, cannot, according to this government, lead to substantial happiness of our nation, when it is not based on spiritual well-being. Therefore, this government sets itself the goal to also direct special attention to this.¹⁰⁹

Thus, Beel highlighted both the material and spiritual challenges that his cabinet faced in its mission to reconstruct the country. With this speech, Beel resonated with widely shared concerns about the culture and morality of the Dutch people, which were commonly thought to have been severely damaged by the five years of war and occupation.¹¹⁰ In the 1940s, this view was reflected in publications by influential intellectuals and it also became a core theme in post-war literary

¹⁰⁸ See for example: 'De Economische Ontwikkeling van Drenthe', *Emmer Courant*, 8 October 1952.

¹⁰⁹ 'Handelingen Der Tweede Kamer Generaal. 5de Vergadering. Regeringsverklaring Beel', § vel 13 (1946), 45-46 [Translation by WR].

¹¹⁰ Rooy, *Ons Stipje Op de Waereldkaart*, 217-218.

developments. For example, two of the most prominent historians of the period, Johan Huizinga and Jan Romein, both published on the decaying public morality of the Dutch people and argued that this had a negative effect on the prospects for the reconstruction of the country.¹¹¹ Moreover, it was widely believed that the continued development of industrial capitalism, which was actively stimulated through industrialisation policies, would both worsen and create more issues with public morality.¹¹²

At the same time, the post-war period brought a changed perspective on state intervention in society. This changed perspective was a reaction to the response of 1930s conservative governments under prime-minister Colijn to the mass unemployment and economic recession. Although the Great Depression was a reason for the United States to rethink the role of the state in the economy and to subsequently roll out Roosevelt's New Deal, Colijn's governments followed a strict austerity policy.¹¹³ During the Second World War, however, a definitive shift towards favouring state intervention occurred. In the UK, the influential Beveridge report was published, which argued for the need for a social state to tackle the 'giant evils' of society at the time.¹¹⁴ This publication became the basis for a Dutch report produced under Minister of Social Affairs A.A. van Rhijn.¹¹⁵ This report formed the basis for the establishment of the Dutch welfare state. As the idea of the social state became firmly established, the need for planning increased. To administer the social plans and develop policies that averted the most harmful effects of industrial capitalism, governments turned to the research techniques of the rising social sciences. This discipline was best suited for the task because it promised to provide socio-scientific underpinnings of socio-political measures.¹¹⁶

More specifically, it was the field of cultural sociology that would become extremely influential in policy-making during the reconstruction period. The influence of this field can be attributed to the fact that cultural sociologists shared the key political premises of the post-war period: reconstruction and modernisation. The cultural sociologists positioned themselves ambivalently vis-a-vis the process of modernisation. On the one hand, they thought modernisation

¹¹¹ J. Huizinga, *Geschonden wereld: een beschouwing over de kansen op herstel van onze beschaving*, 2e dr. (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1945); J. M. Romein, *Nieuw Nederland: algemene beginselen ener hervorming in hoofd en leden* (Amsterdam: 'Vrij Nederland', 1945).

¹¹² Rooy, *Ons Stipje Op de Waereldkaart*, 217-220.

¹¹³ Bosmans and Kessel, *Parlementaire Geschiedenis van Nederland*, 33.

¹¹⁴ Mellink and Oudenampsen, *Neoliberalisme*, 32-33.

¹¹⁵ A.A. van Rhijn, *Sociale zekerheid: rapport van de Commissie, ingesteld bij Beschikking van den Minister van Sociale Zaken van 26 Maart 1943, met de opdracht algemene richtlijnen vast te stellen voor de toekomstige ontwikkeling der sociale verzekering in Nederland* ('s-Gravenhage: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1945).

¹¹⁶ Marja Gastelaars, *Een geregeld leven: sociologie en sociale politiek in Nederland 1925-1968* (Amsterdam: SUA, 1985), 123-128.

was an inevitable process. On the other hand, they believed that modernisation had to be accompanied by the reconstruction and fostering of norms and values that were seen as the glue that held the social order together. Otherwise, the pressures of modernisation had the potential of tearing the social order apart. The consensus among cultural sociologists was that restoring public morality was the key to reinstating and fostering social stability in post-war society. For the solutions to restore public morality, the sociologists turned to ordering mechanisms that they argued were traditionally important in the creation of social stability. Cultural sociologists defined the nuclear family as the primary ordering component of society, which had to serve as an anchor for social stability. As a consequence, they argued that the nuclear family and traditional communities had to be rehabilitated.¹¹⁷

In their conception of the nuclear family, the sociologists combined an essentialist idea of the supposed traditional nuclear family and elements of the 'modern' nuclear family. Traditional nuclear families were founded on heterosexual marriage, a strict task division between men and women, and patriarchal rule – the culturally defined privilege of men. The model of the modern nuclear family was influenced by developments in the US, where the nurturing role, the romantic marriage, and a more egalitarian task division between the mother and the father were important. For the cultural sociologists, the nuclear family, which had to become the cornerstone of Dutch society, combined the preservation of traditional values of task division and patriarchal rule with the warmer and more nurturing elements of the American modern nuclear family. Moreover, they characterised the ideal nuclear family as 'closed', meaning that it had a particular distance from society and was as such inviolable. As a consequence, they saw the Dutch 'modern' nuclear family as the warm and safe bulwark against the cold and dangerous world of modernisation. However, defining the Dutch modern nuclear family in this particular fashion posed the cultural sociologists with a problem; they had to rehabilitate and foster the nuclear family as the cornerstone of society, while they ascribed a certain inviolability and integrity to it. This excluded the nuclear family from direct sociological interventions – interventions that were justified in case a family was characterised as 'antisocial', making it a direct threat to the social order. Therefore, the cultural sociologists had to appeal to indirect ordering techniques to shape the socio-political interventions that were inspired by their analyses.

Prevented from making direct interventions in the nuclear family, the cultural sociologists turned their attention to the single-family domestic house as one of the main ordering techniques

¹¹⁷ Gastelaars, 129-132.

to foster the modern Dutch nuclear family. In this change of focus, the cultural sociologists were supported by social scientists from other disciplines that cooperated in a research group called *Utrechtse School*.¹¹⁸ Most members of the *Utrechtse School* had a background in the fields of social psychology and pedagogy. From these various social science fields, and inspired by phenomenological philosophy that was highly influential in the post-war period, a consensus arose around the idea that the materiality of the single-family house was the binding agent for the modern nuclear family.¹¹⁹ The assumption was that a properly designed single-family dwelling and the right arrangement of the interior would result in well-adjusted families.

In their efforts to promote modern single-family houses with properly designed and arranged interiors as a means of fostering the nuclear family, the social scientists focussed on various channels to spread their ideas. Besides their scientific work, some members of the *Utrechtse School* became actively involved in a foundation that promoted proper living, *Stichting Goed Wonen*. The foundation published a monthly magazine on the principles of proper living and designed and furnished so-called ‘model homes’ in newly built areas to educate prospective residents on interior design. Members of the *Utrechtse School* were also involved in popular publications on modern living, such as the book *Ik Kan Wonen* (‘I know how to live’).¹²⁰ In the introduction, psychologist Linschoten observed that the rise of mass society cuts off the nuclear family and the household from its traditional values.¹²¹ The role of proper living, which starts with the right interior design, is to “actualise intimacy, the creation of an indoor space for the individual and for a community of individuals.”¹²² Through the thoughtful creation of this private, indoor space, the integrity of the nuclear family could be protected against the adverse effects of the mass society. Additionally, Linschoten critiqued the public housing policy of the Dutch government arguing that the focus on rationalisation and functionalism lead to a skewing of the attention to the physical well-being over the mental well-being of residents.

While some social scientists became highly influential through mass publications, a fraction of cultural sociologists, who also put the modern nuclear family and the single-family dwelling at the core of their analysis, became pivotal figures through their role in the Ministry of Social Work, which was established in 1952. Here, the cultural sociologists concentrated on the areas where the

¹¹⁸ Ido Weijers, *Terug naar het behouden huis: de Utrechtse School en de Nederlandse roman, 1945-1955* (Rotterdam: Erasmus Universiteits Drukkerij, 1991), 54-57.

¹¹⁹ Weijers, 57-58.

¹²⁰ Johan Niegeman, ed., *Ik Kan Wonen: Geïllustreerd Handboek Voor Allen, Die Hun Huis Goed Willen Inrichten En Bewonen* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1958).

¹²¹ J. Linschoten, ‘Introductie’, in *Ik Kan Wonen: Geïllustreerd Handboek Voor Allen, Die Hun Huis Goed Willen Inrichten En Bewonen*, ed. Johan Niegeman (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1958).

¹²² Linschoten, 18 [translation WR].

cultural degeneration of the society was most pressing. It was the areas that had been designated as economic development areas during the 1940s, where the cultural sociologists observed a high degree of amorality and maladjusted families. Through their analyses, the cultural sociologists concretised the material and moral reconstruction of the country that minister-president Beel addressed in his 1946 speech. From the 1950s onwards, the cultural sociologists began to study economic development in problem regions from a larger sociocultural framework. To do so, they built on ideas about the need for social policies to avert adverse effects of the free markets of modern capitalism. However, as we will see in the next section, the cultural sociologists went a step further by arguing that social policies were needed to safeguard the development of a modern capitalist economy in the first place. In the analyses and the proposed social policies, the nuclear family and the single-family house became essential elements of the intervention.¹²³ Being the first national development region, this would have far-reaching consequences for the development policies in South-Eastern Drenthe.

Sociologists and the development of South-Eastern Drenthe

The social aspects of industrialisation

While the focus of the 1951 national *Development Plan* was mostly on the infrastructural aspects of industrialisation, researchers from the young discipline of cultural sociology interpreted the industrial development of the Netherlands from a different perspective. In fact, they broadened the dominant discourse of development by articulating the need for a shift of focus to the social aspects of the industrialisation efforts.¹²⁴ The Institute for the Social Research of the Dutch People (ISONEVO), established in 1940, evolved as a pivotal actor in the process of broadening the perspective on the development of problem regions. ISONEVO was created with the goal of gaining insight into the economic and social situation of the Dutch people and later on with guiding the reconstruction of the country.¹²⁵ In 1951, ISONEVO issued a report that defined social factors as an important underlying cause of the underdevelopment of certain regions.¹²⁶ Additionally, the publication warned of the negative side effects that could be spurred by the fast industrialisation of traditionally agricultural regions. One year later, sociologist Van Loon published an influential

¹²³ Gastelaars, *Een geregeld leven*, 113.

¹²⁴ Marja Gastelaars, *Een geregeld leven: sociologie en sociale politiek in Nederland 1925-1968* (Amsterdam: SUA, 1985), 133-134.

¹²⁵ Gastelaars, 87-92.

¹²⁶ *Sociale Aspecten van de Industrialisatie* (Amsterdam: Instituut voor sociaal onderzoek van het Nederlandse volk, 1951).

article in which he characterised the ‘human’ factor as essential to the success of the development policies in South-Eastern Drenthe and other Dutch development regions.¹²⁷

The concerns about the social side of the development plans were picked up by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health, which made designing a social plan for the development areas part of the 1953 budget.¹²⁸ According to the explanatory memorandum to the budget, the development regions were characterised by ‘backwardness’ on the social, social hygienic, cultural, and mental terrain. Thoroughly influenced by the modernisation theories of the cultural sociologists, this lack of advancement was said to have a two-sided result. On the one hand, the backwardness inhibited the settlement of new industries in the regions while, on the other hand, it worsened the negative social effects of the industrialisation that was already taking place. The main negative social effect, according to the modernisation theories of the sociologists, was the destruction of traditional communal ties. To mitigate these negative side-effects of industrialisation in underdeveloped regions, the memo stated that “it is necessary to structurally foster the adjustment of the population of the concerning regions to the industrialisation.”¹²⁹ Following this memo, the Ministry founded the Intradepartmental Committee for Development Regions (ICO) as the administrative body to organise the social development policies that aimed to adjust the population to industrialisation. This body became a forum for representatives of different ministries to work together to shape social development plans in addition to the existing industrialisation policies.¹³⁰

The emphasis on the social sides of industrialisation also found its way into municipal-level debates in South-Eastern Drenthe. In response to the explanatory memorandum to the 1953 budget of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health, the Drenthe Development Foundation send the municipality of Emmen a memo reflecting the necessity for a social development plan, while stressing that the foundation had already been engaged in such work in the area since the 1920s.¹³¹ Following this, the foundation suggested that it could initiate a sociological investigation to gain a better understanding of the specific problems of the area. The municipality of Emmen supported this initiative and sent the minister of Social Affairs and Public Health a letter asking to

¹²⁷ P.C.J. van Loon, ‘De Factor “mens” Bij de Industrialisatie Der Nederlandse Ontwikkelingsgebieden’, *Maandschrift Economie*, 1962.

¹²⁸ As quoted in: Stichting Opbouw Drenthe, ‘Sociaal Plan Voor Het Ontwikkelingsgebied Zuid-Oost Drenthe’, 1952, 1898/1.82, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

¹²⁹ As quoted in: Stichting Opbouw Drenthe, 1 [translation WR].

¹³⁰ Vegchel, *De metamorfose van Emmen*, 77-79.

¹³¹ Stichting Opbouw Drenthe, ‘Sociaal Plan Voor Het Ontwikkelingsgebied Zuid-Oost Drenthe’.

reserve a part of the ministerial budget for research conducted by the foundation.¹³² Notably, this suggestion was at odds with the organisational structure that was intended by the ministry and the ICO. In parallel to the centralisation related to the regional industrialisation plans, which removed large parts of the autonomy of regional economic technological institutes, the autonomy of local social development organisations was strongly limited by the creation of the ICO. Referring to the budgetary request that the municipality of Emmen did with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health, the provincial government of Drenthe send the municipality a letter stating that the national government took control of the research and the subsequent social planning. As a result, there would be no funds available for the municipal research.¹³³

The memorandum to the '53 budget pertained that the first step in designing the social plans was to conduct extensive research in the development areas and attributed the ISONEVO a coordinating role in the national research projects. Due to the pillarisation of Dutch society, the work of the non-religious ISONEVO was complemented by research institutes that were aligned with the Roman Catholic and Protestant Christian denominations.¹³⁴ The research phase was to be followed by the devising of social interventions by regional committees, where the ICO was ascribed to a facilitating function. Finally, the implementation of the social development plans was realised by regional private initiatives, religious organisations, and municipal governments. As such, the organisational structure of the ICO presupposed that its main political impact was in shaping the view of the industrialisation question through research and research-based recommendations.

In 1955, ISONEVO published a report commissioned by the ICO concerning the social research project conducted in South-Eastern Drenthe.¹³⁵ The report, similar to studies on other development regions, highlighted the dual nature of the social problems associated with industrialisation and related social interventions.¹³⁶ Industrialisation was found to create challenges by disrupting the traditional sense of community, which were seen as crucial for social stability and well-being. Additionally, industrialisation exacerbated the emergence of new social issues resulting from the economic transition. In the context of South-Eastern Drenthe, the researchers associated these two types of social problems with the region's primary social groups: the sand soil

¹³² Burgemeester en Wethouders van Emmen, 'Sociaal Plan Voor Het Ontwikkelingsgebied Z.O. Drenthe, Gericht Aan de Minister van Sociale Zaken En Volksgezondheid', 16 June 1953, 1898/1.82, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

¹³³ Gedeputeerde Staten van Drenthe, 'Sociaal Onderzoek Ontwikkelingsgebied Z.O. Drenthe; Instelling Provinciale Commissie; Gericht Aan de Heren En Burgemeester En Wethouders van Emmen', 21 April 1954, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

¹³⁴ 'Organogram I.C.O.', n.d., 2.27.02 / 391, Archive of the Ministry of Social Work, Nationaal Archief.

¹³⁵ 'Rapport Zuid-Oost Drenthe' (Instituut voor het Sociale Onderzoek van het Nederlandse Volk, 1955).

¹³⁶ J.A.A. van Doorn, *De Nederlandse ontwikkelingsgebieden: schets van de sociale problematiek* ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsdrukkerijen Uitgeverijbedrijf, 1960), 26.

communities and the peat soil communities.¹³⁷ This practice of connecting certain geographical characteristics to social phenomena was the heritage of a strand of sociology that had been dominant in Dutch research and policy-making in the pre-war period: sociography.¹³⁸ The sociologists found that the sand soil communities consisted of traditional farmers, while the peat soil communities were populated by less traditionally-oriented peat and agricultural workers. Taking into account the distinct characteristics of these groups, the researchers identified different relationships between the inhibition of industrialisation and the adverse social effects experienced by each group. The challenges faced by the farmer communities that lived on the sand soils primarily stemmed from the loss of traditional community bonds. Consequently, social plans for these communities needed to focus on facilitating a gradual transition to an industrialised economy.¹³⁹ On the other hand, the primary issue for the peat soil communities was the negative social consequences brought about by industrialisation. The researchers reported that the moral degradation that was caused by industrialisation had a stronger influence on the peat soil communities because they already exhibited immoral tendencies. In this case, the social plans should aim to “adapt the people with their strong sense of individualism to organisational structures and regulated social conditions.”¹⁴⁰

A significant part of the report was devoted to analysing the family structures in South-Eastern Drenthe, which were, following the cultural sociological theories that formed the basis of the inquiry, the primary social bonds of people and as such were a strong determinant social factor. Again, the report differentiated between the sand and peat soil communities. For the traditional agricultural communities, the nuclear family was an insignificant social category because of the importance of the extended family.¹⁴¹ Commonly, several generations of the same family lived together in one farm dwelling, where the grandmother presided as matriarch over the family. Important decisions and the raising of the children were mostly in the hands of the grandmother because both of the parents would be working the land. As such, traditional values were strongly preserved and children often lacked individual personality development. In contrast, for the peat communities, the nuclear family was an important and strong social unity.¹⁴² However, while the bond between parents and children was strong, the children were left to themselves from a relatively early age onwards, resulting in a lack of morality and discipline.

¹³⁷ ‘Rapport Zuid-Oost Drenthe’, 3.

¹³⁸ Gastelaars, *Een geregeld leven*, 66-94.

¹³⁹ ‘Rapport Zuid-Oost Drenthe’, 140.

¹⁴⁰ ‘Rapport Zuid-Oost Drenthe’ [translation WR].

¹⁴¹ ‘Rapport Zuid-Oost Drenthe’, 6-8.

¹⁴² ‘Rapport Zuid-Oost Drenthe’, 15-16.

Besides this research into the social issues of the entire South-Eastern Drenthe region, the ICO commissioned a study of the specific social problems of Emmen.¹⁴³ This research was deemed an important addition to the general study of South-Eastern Drenthe because the industrialisation process was concentrated and magnified in the village, while accelerated urbanisation complicated the possible social issues. The report stratified the population of Emmen into three main groups, namely traditional farmers, small business owners and craftspeople, and labourers originating from the peat industry. The researchers observed that the industrialisation of the area had a different effect on each of the groups. The traditional farmers rejected the industrialisation and the connected urbanisation of Emmen; as a reaction, their social lives were increasingly oriented on the smaller, traditional farming communities in the vicinity of Emmen. Small business owners generally embraced the industrialisation and urbanisation processes because they had positive effects on their livelihood. The peat labourers had the most ambivalent relationship with the industrialisation process. Haunted by the growing unemployment in the peat sector, they needed industrial jobs. However, industrialisation and urbanisation deprived the former peat labourers of the freedoms they had in their previous employment and living situations. Based on these observations, the report concluded that both farmers and former peat labourers were likely to reject or resist industrialisation and factory labour. Additionally, this had the result of alienating the younger generations from industrial labour. Zooming in on Emmen itself, the researchers found that the accelerated industrialisation and urbanisation lead to heterogeneity and social tensions among the residents of the town.¹⁴⁴ These social tensions were most poignant in the newly built area of Emmermeer, which mostly housed working-class families. According to the report, social problems could strongly rise up in Emmermeer because it had evolved into a segregated neighbourhood. The former peat labourers that moved to the neighbourhood to find employment in industrial work, lacked a sense of community amongst each other and were rejected by the traditional farmer population of Emmen. These conditions were considered unfavourable for the adjustment of these peat families to the ideals of the modern nuclear family that were deemed beneficial to the industrialisation process.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ P.E. Kraemer and J. Haveman, 'Het Nieuwe Emmen in Wording: Verslag van Een Sociologisch Onderzoek Naar de Invloed Der Naoorlogse Industrialisatie Op Bevolking En Samenleving van de Gemeente Emmen' (Sociologisch Instituut der Ned. Herv. Kerk en Instituut voor Sociale Wetenschappen der Rijksuniversiteit, 1954).

¹⁴⁴ Kraemer and Haveman, 140-142.

¹⁴⁵ Kraemer and Haveman, 82.

From research to concrete social plans

Based on their conclusions about the situation in South-Eastern Drenthe and Emmen in particular, the researchers proposed directions for interventions for the social plan that had to accommodate the success of the development policies. These interventions were mostly centred around adapting family structures to the circumstances of industrialisation.¹⁴⁶ For the traditional inhabitants of the sand soils, this entailed introducing and promoting the modern nuclear family to limit the predominance of traditional values and influence of the older generations. This would create more freedom for younger generations to pursue industrial labour and connected values and lifestyles. For the peat communities, it consisted of strengthening the disciplining aspects of the nuclear family to increase the public morality of the children. The researchers postulated that this would increase the adaptability of the peat workers to factory labour.

Following these reports, the ICO synthesised policy interventions that had to be included in the social development plan for South-Eastern Drenthe. This social development plan consisted of two main tiers: an educative component of social work and community programmes and a spatial planning and construction segment, which was focused on facilitating the social plan through material possibilities.¹⁴⁷ In the spatial planning and construction domain, public housing was defined as one of the most important intervention terrains. Appropriate single-family houses were deemed a necessary but not sufficient condition to adapt family structures. In this regard, the report on Drenthe stated that: “Considering the large quantity and the particularly poor condition of single-room houses, the solution of building new houses is insufficient. An entirely new living culture has to be learned [...]”¹⁴⁸

The ICO was not responsible for the design and implementation of concrete social development interventions. Following the organogram of the ICO, this was left to local organisations of social work, churches, and municipalities.¹⁴⁹ This complicated the goal of the ICO to create social plans that accompanied the industrialisation of development areas. According to many politicians, the ICO appeared more like a research centre, rather than a policy institute.¹⁵⁰ In addition to this, members of parliament complained that all the research that was being conducted

¹⁴⁶ ‘Rapport Zuid-Oost Drenthe’, 140-149; Kraemer and Haveman, ‘Het Nieuwe Emmen in Wording’, 149-150.

¹⁴⁷ Dr. P.C.J. van Loon, ‘Ruimtelijke Planning’, 27 January 1956, 2.27.02 / 391, Archive of the Ministry of Social Work, Nationaal Archief.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Rapport Zuid-Oost Drenthe’, 142.

¹⁴⁹ ‘Organogram I.C.O.’

¹⁵⁰ Vegchel, *De metamorfose van Emmen*.

was not resulting in concrete policy measures.¹⁵¹ On the contrary, Van Loon, one of the highest officials of the ICO, voiced the concern that many of the locally initiated social plans had insufficient relation to the industrialisation efforts.¹⁵² Besides the complications with the designing of concrete social plans caused by the cumbersome organisational structure of the ICO, in the second half of the 1950s, the implementation of plans was impeded due to budgetary constraints.¹⁵³ Although the expenses for social plans increased drastically at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, the overall evaluation of the social planning under the ICO and the research institutes remained negative. The Second Chamber, the Association of Dutch Municipalities, and umbrella organisations of local initiatives all concluded that the social planning was too top-down, too bureaucratic, and it lacked the participation of the local populations.

Conclusion

Right after the Second World War, concerns about the morality of the Dutch people were widespread amongst politicians and intellectuals, which resulted in the drafting of policies to improve the morality of the Dutch people. Early on, it was recognised that the damaged public morality could impede a successful reconstruction of the country. In 1946, prime minister Beel indeed outlined that he intended to make the fostering of public morality a main concern of his government, as he believed it came hand in hand with the material reconstruction of the nation. In this immediate post-war period, the discipline of cultural sociology managed to secure an influential position in the designing of policies to foster public morality. In their analysis of the degradation of public morality, cultural sociologists saw the deterioration of traditional community bonds that was caused by industrialisation on modernisation of society as the main cause. As an antidote to this process, the sociologists focussed on the nurturing of communal bonds within the nuclear family in search of creating modern nuclear families. These modern nuclear families would ensure the moral protection of children and as such create a bulwark against the detrimental consequences of the industrialisation of society. The cultural sociologists defined the single-family residence as the most important tool to create modern nuclear families, and in 1952 the Ministry of Social Work

¹⁵¹ Ido de Haan, Willem Gerbert Jan Duyvendak, and Maarten van Bottenburg, eds., *In Het Hart van de Verzorgingsstaat: Het Ministerie van Maatschappelijk Werk En Zijn Opvolgers (CRM, WVC, VWS), 1952-2002* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2002), 78.

¹⁵² P.C.J. van Loon, 'Voorstel Omwerking U.C.O. - Brief; Gericht Aan Provincie Besturen', 31 January 1956, 2.27.02 / 391, Archive of the Ministry of Social Work, Nationaal Archief.

¹⁵³ Haan, Duyvendak, and Bottenburg, *In Het Hart van de Verzorgingsstaat*, 76-81.

was established where the sociologists came to hold key offices. The moral reconstruction of the nation had commenced in full force.

As has been demonstrated in chapter one, the material reconstruction of the nation was addressed with determination through the implementation of industrialisation programs to foster the development of the most troubled regions of the country. While the focus on problems pertaining to public morality was extended over the course of the late 1940s and early 1950s, sociologists started connecting the industrialisation programs for development regions with the morality issue. They argued that the human factor, for a large part defined in terms of moral character, was highly influential on the success of the industrialisation efforts, although the policies had so far been blind to this. To counter this shortcoming of the industrialisation plans, social development policies needed to be rolled out to complement the existing industrialisation plans. For this reason, the Ministry of Social Work created the ICO, an administrative body that would coordinate the research, design, and implementation of the social development policies. Now that social development policies would be designed, the aim was to create an all-encompassing development strategy that would guarantee the successful industrialisation of the region.

Notwithstanding the ambitious plans that the sociologists and other administrators in the ICO began with, after about a decade, the evaluation of the social development plans was predominantly negative. However, these negative evaluations of the social planning efforts do not warrant the conclusion that the theories of the cultural sociologists and the research and recommendations of the ICO and other involved bodies were largely fruitless. During the 1950s, the work of the cultural sociologists, ICO and ISONEVO would have an enormous influence on the further expansion of Emmen as it became a proper industrial city. It was through these city expansion plans, that the modernisation theories of the sociologists and the research of the ICO became materialised in the spatial planning and residential housing architecture of Emmen. In line with the cultural sociological focus on the modern nuclear family and the single-family residence as one of the most important social engineering tools, the new quarter of Emmen would become defined as a tool for social development. As such, public housing would become defined as a means towards the end of industrialisation, rather than only as an end in itself.

Chapter Three Development: Housing for Industrialisation

Over the course of the 1950s, it had become apparent that the population of Emmen would keep growing both due to a birth surplus and labour migration from other parts of the country to the South-Eastern region of Drenthe. On New Year's Eve of 1957, the local newspaper *Emmer Courant* devoted a large share of its last edition of the year to prospects for the future of the area.¹⁵⁴ In this article, the paper projected that the population of Emmen would increase by 11'000 inhabitants in the next ten years. Facing the reality of this steep population increase, it became necessary for Emmen to expand and construct new houses to keep up with the growth. On top of this, while the immediate public housing urgency of the first post-war years had passed, the 1957 report of the Commission for Demolition and Remediation of the Ministry of Social Work drew attention to the persistence of shacks in Drenthe. The Commission underlined that Drenthe remained one of the worst-performing provinces in terms of the quality of its housing stock.¹⁵⁵ According to the Commission, the poor housing quality was related to negative physical, mental, social, and economic consequences. Additionally, they emphasised that “[i]n the pursuit of a harmonious society, it is also necessary for the slums to disappear.”¹⁵⁶

In the context of this pressing need for newly built houses, on March 31, 1960, the *Emmer Courant* published a page-large article on the expansion plans that had been finalised after a decade of debates on how the enlarging of Emmen should be shaped.¹⁵⁷ The eventual plan that was presented to the inhabitants of Emmen was popularised under the header of Emmen as ‘Open and Green City’. This name captured the solution to the fundamental concern of debates, namely how a harmonious expansion of Emmen could be achieved. In this context, ‘harmonious’ pointed to finding a balance between industrialisation, expansion, and the rural character of the municipality with the aim of providing a proper living environment that would safeguard the economic development of the area.

It is no coincidence that this effort of balancing the industrialisation process with the living environment resonated with the social development plans of the cultural sociologists that were the concern of the previous chapter. That is to say, the aim of the cultural sociologists was precisely to ensure a harmonious social order amidst the profound changes that were caused by

¹⁵⁴ ‘Wat Zal de Toekomst Brengen in Zuidoost-Drenthe?’, *Emmer Courant*, 31 December 1957.

¹⁵⁵ Jan Brommer, *Krotopruijing En Sanering: Rapport van de Commissie Krotopruijing En Sanering, Ingesteld Door de Minister van Volksbuisvesting En Bouwnijverheid* (Arnhem: Vuga-boekerij, 1957), 27-35.

¹⁵⁶ Brommer, 27 [translation WR].

¹⁵⁷ ‘Emmen Gaat Open, Groene Stad Worden’, *Emmer Courant*, 31 March 1960.

industrialisation. Although the implementation of the social development plans of the 1950s was widely critiqued and their effectiveness questioned, the cultural sociologists also influenced the development of South-Eastern Drenthe in general, and Emmen in particular, in another fashion. Namely, during the process of designing the expansion, their ideas became highly influential in the spatial planning and architecture of the newly built residential areas in Emmen. This chapter traces how and why the ideas of the cultural sociologists influenced the expansion plans for Emmen. Exposing the influence of their work, the chapter then argues that the new quarter Angelslo constituted the materialisation of the social development plans into spatial planning and residential architecture. Following this analysis, the chapter then concludes that, although the social development plans that were coordinated by the ICO were to a large extent unsuccessful, the material environment of Angelslo constituted an alternative route for the implementation of the plans that had the aim to adapt the rural populations of the area to the rule and rhythm of industrial capitalism.

Further expansion of the city

Right after the Second World War, the national government and the municipality of Emmen had different views on how the region should be developed. Whereas the initial governmental development plans for South-Eastern Drenthe were designed with Emmen designated as a regional centre, many local politicians had a strong preference for spreading new industries, as well as newly built residential houses, over the larger area of the Emmen municipality, which included the smaller outlying villages.¹⁵⁸ The original Verdenius expansion plan reflected this perspective. In the 1940s, Verdenius argued that the industries had to be located in the outlying villages so that they would be close to their labour pool.¹⁵⁹ Emmen was designated as a regional centre, however, it was specified that this was only with regard to a service function for the surrounding villages. As such, the initial spatial planning of the expansion of Emmen considered that expansion in residential housing would be relatively spread out across the surrounding villages. Ultimately, at the time of the implementation of the official 1951 development plan, the municipal spatial planning and housing construction policy and the national industrialisation policy had different perspectives on the spatial development of Emmen and surrounding villages.

These different perspectives eventually centred around the question of the status of Emmen: should Emmen stay a village – a centre village amongst a cluster of villages – or should it become

¹⁵⁸ Nannen, *Emmen groeit!*, 9-11.

¹⁵⁹ 'Toelichting Bij Uitbreidingsplan Der Gemeente Emmen', 12.

a city? In 1951, the regional economic-technical institute of Drenthe issued a report in which they also briefly addressed this question. The report remarked that: “If industrialisation succeeds, people in the northern part of our country will be retained more in smaller cities. This will create a need for a larger central hub located between Groningen, Twente, and Zwolle.”¹⁶⁰ With this orientation, the report was part of the evolution of the view of local governors on the status of Emmen from village to city (see Appendices A and B). In 1951, this evolution resulted in the hiring of an urban planner by the municipality of Emmen.¹⁶¹

The municipality gave the urban planner Z. Naber the task of designing a new expansion plan for Emmen to replace the older Verdenius plan. In this new plan, Emmen would be considered a city rather than a regional centre village. Although this wording may seem like semantic play, it had considerable consequences for the spatial planning of Emmen. Naber designed a plan that situated the expansion of Emmen in a twin city located on the other side of the forest called ‘Emmerdennen’. In Naber’s design, Emmen’s city centre would be moved from the traditional village centre to this twin city. However, Naber’s planning proposal was rejected by the provincial planning department and the regional economic-technical institute because it was considered a too radical transition from a village to an urban living environment. This was especially seen as a problem for the rural populations, for whom it would take several generations to adapt to an urban environment.¹⁶²

Due to the fact that the Naber plan was rejected because it had too little alignment with the current housing needs of the population of South-Eastern Drenthe, the municipal council proposed the Department of Municipal Works, which was in charge of questions of spatial planning and construction, to initiate a study on the living habits in the municipality.¹⁶³ The findings of this survey could then be used to inform the design of the city expansion. The Director of the Department of Municipal Works was highly receptive to the suggestion and he suggested that surveys that the Ministry of Reconstruction and Public Housing conducted could serve as an example for the research in Emmen. Moreover, he pointed out to the municipal council that they

¹⁶⁰ ‘Uittreksel Uit Het Rapport van Het Drents Economisch Technologisch Instituut over Het Economisch Aspect van de Gemeente Emmen’ (Drents Economisch Technologisch Instituut, 1951), 1897/1.82, Gemeentearchief Emmen, appendix B [translation WR].

¹⁶¹ Nannen, *Emmen groeit!*, 82.

¹⁶² Nannen, 82-85.

¹⁶³ Burgemeester en Wethouders van Emmen, ‘Gericht Aan de Directeur Gemeentewerken. Suggestie Woongewoonten Onderzoek’, 7 October 1953, 747/1.778.5, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

would also have to focus their attention on the way the population furnishes and uses their residential spaces because he figured that there ought to be many improvements in this domain.¹⁶⁴

On September 9, 1953, the Municipal Council send all the households in Emmen a letter informing them that the municipal research into living habits and wishes had commenced. The letter explicitly mentioned that the aim of collecting the research data was to “use the experience of you, as a resident, to construct domestic housing that is as good as possible. Because those houses are built for you as residents and not for the architects that design them.”¹⁶⁵ The survey results that were subsequently collected from 150 households in Emmen formed the basis for the report *Mens en Woning (Human and House)* by J.P. Uri, which heralded a new period of public housing construction in Emmen.

In the introduction to the report, it becomes evident that the research is strongly influenced by the premises of the cultural sociological discipline in the Netherlands. The report stated that:

In general, the family should be recognized as the foundation of society, and if this society is to be good, then first and foremost, the family must have the opportunity to develop certain qualities, and for this, the home must provide the opportunity.¹⁶⁶

Following this cultural sociological approach, the report was concerned with the question of how the materiality of the house and the house within the broader neighbourhood influence the form of the nuclear family. The fundamental premise is that ‘good’ nuclear families are at the basis of a ‘good’ society. The research was focused on the various types of public housing that were built in the immediate post-war period for the labour classes of Emmen and its surroundings. The study found several shortcomings in the housing situation of the labour classes.¹⁶⁷ The main shortcomings were all related to how well the new residences helped the families to adapt from their rural origins to the more urban and modern life in Emmen. Firstly, respondents voiced that living in rowhouses required a high level of adjustment because of the lack of space around the house. This problem was partially circumvented when the family in question lived on the corner of a housing block, giving them a larger sense of space. Secondly, many respondents reported that

¹⁶⁴ De Directeur van Gemeentewerken, ‘Reactie Op Voorstel Onderzoek Woonwensen. Gericht Aan Het College van Burgemeesters En Wethouders Der Gemeente Emmen’, 29 October 1953, 747/1.778.5, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

¹⁶⁵ Burgemeester en Wethouders van Emmen, ‘Brief Betreffende Onderzoek Woonstijl En Woonwensen. Gericht Aan Bewoners van Emmen’, 9 September 1954, 747/1.778.5, Gemeentearchief Emmen [translation WR].

¹⁶⁶ J.P. Uri, ‘Mens En Woning: Een Onderzoek in de Gemeente Emmen’ (Emmen, 1955), 747/1.778.5, Gemeentearchief Emmen [translation WR].

¹⁶⁷ Uri, 66-67.

having space for a vegetable garden and keeping animals was important to them. This finding was in line with one of the explicit architectural aims of the first post-war housing in the Emmermeer area. Thirdly, concerning the interior of their house, the majority of the respondents voiced a preference for a combination of kitchen and living room, as this resembles rural living habits; a fact which is supported by correspondence between the Ministry of Reconstruction and Public Housing and the Foundation for Rural Social Work (Stichting Maatschappelijk Werk ten Plattelande).¹⁶⁸ Already at the end of the 1940s, the ministry determined that rural housing was best equipped with a combination of kitchen and living room, although a strict separation of these rooms was preferred with regards to fostering modern living habits and modern nuclear families. Thus, while the first expansion of Emmen, mostly located in the Emmermeer area, was designed to help the rural population to adapt to modern forms of living, the Uri report showed that these efforts were only partially successful.

After the rejection of the Naber expansion plan and the conclusions of the Uri report, the municipality hired two new urban planners. Of these two, Niek de Boer developed an underlying vision for the expansion of the city that was captured by the concept of 'open green city Emmen'.¹⁶⁹ With this concept, De Boer aimed to reconcile the urban and rural aspects of Emmen, making sure that it could develop into a real city while maintaining some of the rural aspects so that the former peat and agricultural populations could adapt to urban life. About this new vision, the mayor of Emmen stated: "That open green city is a city where the rural landscape elements are an integral part [...] Let Emmen become a city but remain a village."¹⁷⁰ Building on this concept, De Boer and his colleague, De Jong designed an expansion plan for Emmen that was comprised of several new quarters. Of these new quarters, the first one to be constructed was Angelslo. Following the original Naber expansion plan, De Boer and De Jong located Angelslo slightly away from the old city centre of Emmen. They envisioned Angelslo as a semi-autonomous quarter that met all the requirements for modern living. To attain this, they designed the entire quarter as a unified whole before construction started, which stood in stark contrast with the earlier Emmermeer expansion of Emmen.

While the design of Emmermeer was based on the ideal of the garden city, Angelslo was designed with an evolved urban planning model in mind. While many of the city expansion plans

¹⁶⁸ H.G. Dijkstra, 'Memo Woonkeuken, Eetkeuken of Kamer En Keuken Apart', estimated 1948-1949, 2.27.02 / 1291, Archive of the Ministry of Social Work, Nationaal Archief.

¹⁶⁹ Nannen, *Emmen: Architectuur, Stedenbouw, Landschap*, 194-195.

¹⁷⁰ Nannen, *Emmen groeit!*, 15 [translation WR].

that were designed during the first half of the twentieth century had a totalising approach by which architects aimed to plan out the entire expansion with the city conceptualised as a unified spatial composition, the new neighbourhood concept ('wijkgedachte' in Dutch) had a radically different approach. According to the neighbourhood concept, a neighbourhood was supposed to be a geographically and socially separate entity.¹⁷¹ Therefore, it could be designed more separately from the general expansion plans of the city, allowing for more adaptable city expansion designs. However, the neighbourhood concept was not only a spatial planning innovation; it was also developed as a social engineering innovation of the finest order. It evolved out of discussions on the cultural and moral deficit of the nation; topics that were also an inspiration for the cultural sociologists. Architects shared the widespread concerns about public morality and underscored that urban life could have a negative influence on morality and, ultimately, on the stability of society because it interfered with traditional community structures. As an antidote, they developed a design of the city that was based on several concentric circles that were centred around the individual and became larger with every level. Those concentric circles corresponded to the level of spatial planning and design and the aim was that the different levels seamlessly connected to each other. The basic levels of organisation were the individual and the nuclear family contained in the single-family house, followed by the housing block, the neighbourhood, and lastly the city. According to the architects, the neighbourhood was the level that kindled social-cultural community life. As such, the neighbourhood would help the individual and the nuclear family to settle in the wider societal structures. With the development of the neighbourhood concept, the theories about the structuring of society around the nuclear family that were also embraced by the influential cultural sociologists became translated into concrete planning and architectural innovations.

Critique on initial plans and sociological studies by ISONEVO

De Boer and De Jong based their design of 'Emmen as open and green city' on the concept of the neighbourhood that promised to mitigate the negative consequences of urban life, which was a main requirement in the light of the earlier declined plans and the Uri report. Nonetheless, their first expansion plan was rejected by the provincial planning department in 1958. The plan was dismissed because the department deemed it undesirable that the planned quarter was separated from the centre of Emmen by the railway line as this made the distance to the centre too large.¹⁷² Moreover, the department believed that the planned expansion was too large compared to the

¹⁷¹ Lange, *Sober en solide*, 63-77.

¹⁷² Instituut voor Sociaal Onderzoek van het Nederlandse Volk, 'Nota Betreffende Sociologische Aspecten van Emmen Als Open Groene Stad - Bijlage H Rapport Jolles', 1958, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

expected population growth of Emmen. In response to this decision by the provincial planning department, the municipality of Emmen asked social researchers of ISONEVO to provide a sociologically informed view on the disagreement with the province of Drenthe regarding the expansion. The municipality approached ISONEVO with the question of what requirements there were for the expansion of Emmen from the perspective of the social development of South-Eastern Drenthe.

In response to this request, ISONEVO issued a memo in which they summarised their view on the expansion of Emmen from the perspective of the social development of the area. In the memo, the institute contended that the disagreement between the municipality and the provincial planning department essentially revolved around the opposition between the view of Emmen as an 'open' or a 'closed' city. In the context of urban planning, 'closed' refers to compact cities with clearly defined borders, creating a strict separation between the urban and surrounding rural areas. 'Open', in contrast, denotes cities that are relatively more spread out and more integrated with the rural surroundings in terms of land use. ISONEVO argued that, although the ideal structure of a city is as a 'closed' entity, the socio-historical specificities of Emmen that were based in the oppositions between the sand and peat soil populations justified a different approach. Arguing from the perspective of the requirements for the social development of those populations, ISONEVO concluded that the expansion of Emmen was best rooted in the 'open' conception of a city.¹⁷³

This sociologically grounded approach to the questions regarding the expansion of Emmen was well received by the municipal council of Emmen. Following the short advice on the general expansion plans for the city, the council requested ISONEVO to conduct an in-depth study of the social aspects related to the planning and construction of the new quarter Angelslo in particular.¹⁷⁴ This shows that the municipality indeed wished to take a radically different approach to the construction of the first new city quarter after the post-war development of Emmermeer. The Uri report demonstrated that Emmermeer had several shortcomings, especially in integrating the former rural populations into a more urbanised living environment. Moreover, it demonstrates that the policy areas of public housing and spatial planning came increasingly under the control of spatial planning experts and sociological advisors at the expense of the influence of local

¹⁷³ Instituut voor Sociaal Onderzoek van het Nederlandse Volk, 80.

¹⁷⁴ H.M. Jolles, 'Rapport van de Sociografische Adviescommissie Der Gemeente Emmen Inzake Sociale Aspecten van de Nieuwe Wijk Angelslo' (Instituut voor het Sociale Onderzoek van het Nederlandse Volk, May 1959), 487/1.777.811.22, Gemeentearchief Emmen, 1.

politicians.¹⁷⁵ As the questions that the municipal council posed to ISONEVO demonstrate, these developments were driven by concerns about the social development of the city, which had come under increased scrutiny over the course of the 1950s and was considered important for the success of the industrialisation of Emmen.

Eventual design of Angelslo and construction

In 1959, ISONEVO published the first report on the social aspects of Angelslo. The goal of the research was to organise Angelslo in such a fashion that an extremely heterogenous population would feel at home in the neighbourhood.¹⁷⁶ To reach this goal, ISONEVO conducted empirical studies in the Emmermeer quarter, as this area was considered to represent the social dynamics and problems that would also be present in the future Angelslo. Based on the survey of Emmermeer, the sociologists aimed to make Angelslo an as stable as possible living environment. Following the theories of the cultural sociologists, social stability would foster well-adapted modern nuclear families and as such it was important for the social development of the region. This first report considered three aspects related to the design of Angelslo: the prospective distribution of the heterogenous population over the new neighbourhood; the establishment of other buildings and utilities within the built area of Angelslo; and, the order in which the new area had to be constructed.

Firstly, as mentioned, the researchers expected the population of Angelslo to be heterogeneous in terms of their origins, religion, family composition, profession, and social status. This heterogeneity posed the first major problem to the stability of the neighbourhood, as observations in Emmermeer showed that heterogeneity was correlated with social tensions. Based on existing sociological literature, the researchers proposed that smaller neighbourhoods within the quarter had to be constructed with the aim of homogeneity.¹⁷⁷ To achieve this, districts had to be designed for families of the same social strata, while the differences with adjoining districts had to be kept as small as possible. Secondly, according to ISONEVO the strategic positioning of buildings for utilities was an essential part of a design that would foster social stability. With respect to this recommendation, the report suggested that every neighbourhood should get its own community centre to foster social cohesion, rather than having one large community centre in the middle of the quarter. These community centres had to be positioned next to the neighbourhood

¹⁷⁵ Vegchel, *De metamorfose van Emmen*, 224-227.

¹⁷⁶ Jolles, 'Rapport van de Sociografische Adviescommissie Der Gemeente Emmen Inzake Sociale Aspecten van de Nieuwe Wijk Angelslo', 32.

¹⁷⁷ Jolles, 4-7.

schools, both planned in a central green zone, as such preserving the rural aspects of Emmen.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, concerning utility buildings, the report argued that it was objectionable to plan space for small businesses to be positioned in the quarter. Although the researchers admitted that it could have a positive effect on “making professional life visible for the younger generations”,¹⁷⁹ as such stimulating them to find occupation in ‘modern’ sectors rather than agriculture or the peat industry, this effect was considered minimal. Moreover, positioning the business within the living quarter was argued to be at odds with the general societal trend towards functional differentiation and segregation, which meant that living and working spaces were increasingly separated and further removed from each other.¹⁸⁰

One year after the publication of the report, ISONEVO issued a follow-up study to the first research into the social aspects of Angelslo.¹⁸¹ This second report included a more detailed evaluation of the question of housing differentiation that was deemed essential to the social environment of the new quarter. The research into this question was divided into two parts with the first section focusing on calculating the ideal level of housing differentiation based on available data on residential housing in Emmen and the second part highlighting the subjective experiences that influence the ideal approach to differentiation. Concerning the first point, the research committee observed that the existing housing differentiation in Emmen was too limited, which led to many families living in houses that were not suitable for their size.¹⁸² In this context, housing differentiation is defined by the size of the residence measured in the number of rooms. The limited differentiation grew out of the context of the immediate post-war period when the public housing policy was aimed at increased standardisation as the solution to the enormous shortage of housing and the scarcity of construction materials. In Emmen, this led to a decision to skew the construction of public housing in Emmermeer towards single-family houses designed for the ‘standard’ nuclear family consisting of two parents and two younger children.¹⁸³ Therefore, the committee advised that in the planning of Angelslo, a larger share of the housing supply had to be

¹⁷⁸ Jolles, 58.

¹⁷⁹ Jolles, 7.

¹⁸⁰ Jolles, 54.

¹⁸¹ H.M. Jolles, ‘Rapport van de Sociografische Adviescommissie Der Gemeente Emmen Inzake Sociale Aspecten van de Nieuwe Wijk Angelslo. Vervolgdeel: Aspecten van de Woningdifferentiatie’ (Instituut voor het Sociale Onderzoek van het Nederlandse Volk, February 1960), 487/1.777.811.22, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

¹⁸² Jolles, 2-3.

¹⁸³ ‘Verslag van de Vergadering van de Commissie Voor Gemeentelijke Uitbreidingsplannen’, n.d., 487/1.777.811.22, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

allocated to families that did not fit this standard, with a particular focus on smaller families with one child.¹⁸⁴

Concerning the second point, the report noted that for several years, the question of “the utility effect of different housing types” had been studied.¹⁸⁵ The ministerial surveys into living style and housing wishes inspired many municipalities, including Emmen, to design their own inquiries. These surveys were an important development because they measured how effective the public housing policy was at meeting the expectations of residents. As such, the researchers considered the results of these surveys an important source of information for the development of city expansions, such as Angelslo. However, the researchers remarked that the Uri study incorporated a fundamental flaw parallel to other surveys of the same type by only focussing on the perceptions of the residents rather than on their factual behaviours. For this reason, ISONEVO conducted a new field study into the living habits of the population of Emmermeer. The results of this field research warranted the conclusion that an increased differentiation in terms of parcelling of the housing plots and floor plans benefitted the living conditions. Therefore, the report suggested that differentiation in terms of size, parcellation, and floor plan should all be explicitly included in the design of Angelslo, as this would have a positive effect on the social aspects of the new quarter.

Throughout the planning phase, the Angelslo plans were heavily criticised from within the municipality. At the core of the critique was the conflict between the alderman for public housing, Reuvers, and the freshly hired urban planners.¹⁸⁶ Reuvers argued that the way the Angelslo plans were made showed the decline of democratic control on matters of spatial planning and housing. Disappointed with this decline in the decision-making power of the council, Reuvers resigned in 1962. Following the ISONEVO advisory reports, De Boer and De Jong redesigned the expansion plan for Angelslo by situating the quarter closer to the old centre of Emmen, after which construction commenced.¹⁸⁷ Although the plan was first rejected by the provincial planning department due to the distance to the old city centre and the planned shopping centre in Angelslo that would have negative effects on existing shop owners, the municipality could finally proceed with the construction after they won the appeal case. Now that Angelslo had finally been given the green light, it marked a victory for a new style of city planning. In this new style, the expansion was designed as a unified whole, rather than realised incrementally.

¹⁸⁴ Jolles, ‘Rapport van de Sociografische Adviescommissie Der Gemeente Emmen Inzake Sociale Aspecten van de Nieuwe Wijk Angelslo. Vervolgdeel: Aspecten van de Woningdifferentiatie’, 17-18.

¹⁸⁵ Jolles, 19.

¹⁸⁶ Vegchel, *De metamorfose van Emmen*, 224-227.

¹⁸⁷ Nannen, *Emmen groeit!*, 84.

With this change, urban planners and sociologists were given an increasingly larger role in the design of the city, spurring two developments. Firstly, spatial planning and public housing policies moved from the realm of the city council to the offices of the planners. This entailed that the expansion of the city became less of a matter of public debate amongst alderman and elected municipal councillors and more of a technocratic affair. Secondly, the urban planners required research based-insights to make integrated quarter-wide expansion plans, providing sociological research institutes, such as ISONEVO, with a new field of application for the cultural sociological theories on social development, public morality, and social stability. As the earlier Uri research was discounted, the ISONEVO researchers carved out an influential role in the design of Angelslo, ensuring that every aspect of the planning of the new quarter, from housing design to the placement of green areas and public buildings, was optimised with regards to the social aims. Through the influence of sociological studies on the expansion plans, the cultural sociological theories would eventually become materialised in the Angelslo quarter. The next section examines how the ISONEVO reports were eventually translated into the materiality of the newly built area.

Architecture and spatial planning in the new Angelslo

The ISONEVO reports on the spatial planning and housing architecture of Angelslo aimed to provide the urban planners of Emmen with the sociological insights to design an expansion of the city that would most benefit the social conditions. Building on these sociological understandings, De Boer and De Jong adjusted the expansion plan for Angelslo. In 1960, the municipality was given free rein for the expansion of the city. Following this eventual plan, Angelslo would become the same size as Emmermeer.¹⁸⁸ The quarter was subdivided into six neighbourhoods that were situated on both sides of the main road, which ran through the middle of the quarter like an artery and served as the connection with the old centre of Emmen. Along this road, the main utilities, such as shops and schools, were situated. These utilities constituted the centre of the quarter. With the design of the connection to Emmen and the positioning of the utilities, the autonomous character of the quarter as prescribed by the neighbourhood concept was preserved (see appendices E and F).

At the same time, the interpretation of the neighbourhood concept that was implemented with the construction of Angelslo constituted an urban planning innovation called a 'residential courtyard' ('woonhof' in Dutch). The idea of the residential courtyard emerged as an answer to the

¹⁸⁸ K.H. Gaarlaandt et al., 'Emmen', *Stedebouw en volkshuisvesting*, 1959, Library collection, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

increase in car possession and the monotony of the immediate post-war neighbourhoods. Both the increased car usage and the monotony of post-war residential areas were considered to have a negative influence on the living environment.¹⁸⁹ By designing the roads of the quarter in a hierarchical fashion, the spatial planners aimed to limit the presence and passing of cars in the immediate surroundings of the residential blocks. This entailed that each of the six neighbourhoods was connected to the main traffic artery with only one access road, while the individual neighbourhoods were only connected to each other with one road. Additionally, the housing blocks were grouped around a dead-end street which only served local traffic and the possibility to park. This hierarchical ordering of the road system ensured that all the traffic was directed through the main arteries, as such limiting traffic close to residences. Angelslo was one of the first Dutch cities where the concept of a residential courtyard was implemented and it later evolved into the residential street ('woonerf' in Dutch), which was implemented in the planning of the next city expansion of Emmen with the quarter Emmerhout. The residential street would become an internationally renowned spatial planning innovation, serving as inspiration for urban planners from around the world.¹⁹⁰

While the hierarchical street plan limited the presence of cars in the immediate vicinity of residential blocks, the courtyard idea also entailed changes in the positioning of urban green space and the orientation of housing blocks. These modifications resulted in a break with the lack of variety of the first post-war newly built residential areas. The courtyard concept involved the prominence of green space throughout the neighbourhoods. Houses in Angelslo were grouped together around these green spaces and many of the residences were located along walking paths that were an integral part of the green spaces.¹⁹¹ The communal green spaces and the walking paths were intended to stimulate social contact among neighbours, which would have a positive effect on social stability, a measure that was in line with the ISONEVO recommendations. Also following the reports' suggestions, the parcelling of the plots and the house layouts were varied to create a more dynamic living environment.

The architecture of the public housing, which comprised the largest share of residences in Angelslo, can be characterised as sober and functional yet spacious, especially in comparison with the architecture in Emmermeer.¹⁹² The houses were distinctively designed following the principles

¹⁸⁹ Nannen, *Emmen groeit!*, 90.

¹⁹⁰ Niek de Boer and Ina Klaasen, *De stad van Niek de Boer: polemische beschouwingen over stad en regio* (Delft: Publikatieburo Bouwkunde TUDelft, 2005), 170-171.

¹⁹¹ Nannen, *Emmen groeit!*, 88.

¹⁹² Nannen, 91-100.

of 'het Nieuwe Bouwen' (the New Building), which was an influential architectural philosophy during the twentieth century. The philosophy posed that architecture had to be separated from ideological idealism and ought to solely be based on objectivity and rationality. For the adherents of this philosophy, the form of spatial planning and architecture had to follow function, as such prioritising functional design and floorplans over purely aesthetic considerations. In the case of residential housing, the function was related to scientifically grounded analyses about the modern nuclear family, aiming to create an environment in which the well-adapted nuclear family could thrive.

Translating the Nieuwe Bouwen approach to the Angelslo architecture, most of the houses in Angelslo were designed to maximise the natural lighting inside by orienting the residences in a north-south orientation and equipping the southern façade with a large window, behind which the living room stretched across the length of the house towards the northern side. Moreover, the houses were surrounded by green on all sides to bring the experience of nature closer to the living environment. To blend the houses into the natural environment, the architects equipped all of the residences with flat roofs, making housing architecture in Angelslo unique in the Netherlands. These features were all considered to improve the physical and mental well-being of residents.

The residential architecture in Angelslo was almost solely aimed at providing housing for working and lower-middle-class families. Proof of this is the fact that the houses were modest in size and constructed either in semi-detached or block style, with only some exceptions in bungalow style. However, middle-class criteria for housing had become more influential in the housing architecture for Angelslo, when compared with the design of residences in Emmermeer which were explicitly designed according to working-class standards.¹⁹³ Opposed to the houses in Emmermeer, which were explicitly constructed with space for a vegetable garden and the keeping of animals, the garden space of the Angelslo residences was designed for ornamental gardening and leisure. The houses themselves were more spacious and ensured that all children of the family could have their own bedroom, something cultural sociologists considered important in light of personal development. Moreover, the houses were all equipped with modern utilities, that had been considered an excessive luxury during the construction of Emmermeer. Regarding the implementation of modern utilities, the houses in Angelslo were connected to the natural gas grid which entailed a revolution in the availability of hot water and spatial heating. For the reason that

¹⁹³ Vegchel, *De metamorfose van Emmen*, 219.

the connection to the gas grid radically changed the energy supply and consumption of households, it serves to delve somewhat more elaborately into this.¹⁹⁴

This combination of the increase of personal space within the single-family house and the possibility to heat these rooms so that they could be used year-round was a significant development that tied questions of individual and social development with housing architecture. In the first half of the twentieth century, as individual households became connected to several systems, such as water, electricity, and gas, the possibilities for hot water and heating within the house increased significantly.¹⁹⁵ From the late 1930s and 1940s onwards, there were developments in the possibilities for the heating of houses going beyond the use of main furnaces and portable heaters. The main development in this period was the introduction of central heating adjusted to the size of the residential home.¹⁹⁶ This central heating could either be oil or gas-fired. Over the course of the 1950s, interest in and support for central heating increased. Also in Emmen, residents started to see central heating as a favourable development for their living comfort and in the Uri study, residents regularly reported that they would like their house to be equipped with central heating.¹⁹⁷

In the late 1950s, central heating increasingly became related to the problems of public morality and the unfolding social planning efforts. In 1959, a detailed study into the heating of public housing was published. In the introduction, the publication referred to the influence of public housing on the individual and on society as a whole and how this relates to the development of public morality.¹⁹⁸ Starting out from this assumption, the research is influenced by the premises of the cultural sociologists. Based on rationalisation calculations of the household, the study concluded that it is socially desirable to fit public housing with central heating.¹⁹⁹ Two main reasons were given for this conclusion. Firstly, introducing central heating allowed for the use of multiple rooms in the winter months, which would foster the individual development of members of the household by allowing the focussed and secluded pursuit of studies or hobbies. This need for a

¹⁹⁴ For more on the links between the household and fossil energy consumption, see for example: Matthew T. Huber, *Lifeblood: Oil, Freedom, and the Forces of Capital*, A Quadrant Book (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

¹⁹⁵ R. Oldenziel and M. Berendsen, 'De uitbouw van technische systemen en het huishouden: een kwestie van onderhandelen, 1919-1940', in *Techniek in Nederland in de twintigste eeuw. [Dl.] 4: Huishouden, medische techniek.*, ed. J. W. Schot, A. A. Albert de la Bruhèze, and Harry Lintsen (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2001), 37–61.

¹⁹⁶ 'De Toekomstige Ontwikkeling van de Centrale Verwarming, van de Ventilering En van de Klimatisering Der Stadswoning: Verhandelingen van Het Congres-1940 Der Nederlandsche Vereeniging Voor Centrale Verwarmingsindustrie, Gehouden Op 14 November 1940 in Het Koloniaal Instituut Te Amsterdam' (Congres-1940 der Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Centrale Verwarmingsindustrie, Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Centrale Verwarmingsindustrie, 1942).

¹⁹⁷ Uri, 'Mens En Woning: Een Onderzoek in de Gemeente Emmen'.

¹⁹⁸ A. de Klerk and L.H. Klaassen, *De Verwarming van de Volkswoning. Economische En Sociologische Aspecten* (Leiden: H.E. Stenfert Kroese N.V., 1959), 15-16.

¹⁹⁹ Klerk and Klaassen, 25.

private room, especially for children, was also explicitly articulated by the cultural sociologists and adherents of the Utrecht School.²⁰⁰ Secondly, central heating would free up the time of the housewife because she would not have to be concerned anymore with the time-demanding task of maintaining the coal-fired furnace. “As the result of this freed up time, more attention can be paid to the family, the husband, the children [...]”.²⁰¹

Emmen was one of the first Dutch municipalities that was connected to a natural gas grid because it was located next to one of the earliest locations where natural gas was found. Namely, the oil production in Schoonebeek also produced some natural gas as a side effect, which was already sold to the municipal gas distribution company of the neighbouring Coevorden in the early 1950s.²⁰² Following the connection of Coevorden to the Schoonebeek well, Schoonebeek and Emmen asked the NAM for the possibilities for their municipalities. Eventually, Emmen was connected to the Schoonebeek well in the late 1950s, which opened up the possibilities for the application of central heating in single-family residences.²⁰³ With respect to the connection to the natural gas grid, households in Angelslo became pioneers for the rest of the Netherlands, which followed suit only from the middle of the 1960s onwards after the exploitation of the Groningen gas field commenced in 1963.²⁰⁴ The popularisation of central heating – which was actively pursued by the NAM and the Dutch Ministry for Economic Affairs in order to maximise the profit of the exploitation²⁰⁵ – influenced the process of individualisation within the nuclear family.²⁰⁶ As every single room of the house could be effortlessly heated with the installation of central heating, it was not necessary anymore for families to group together in the one or two heated rooms – usually the kitchen and the living room – during the cold winter months. Now, it became possible and normal for family members to spend more time in their own bed or study rooms.²⁰⁷

Compared to the immediate post-war houses that were built in the area of Emmermeer, the quarter of Angelslo was marked by many developments in the realm of spatial planning and architecture. Whereas Emmermeer was constructed incrementally, with every expansion designed

²⁰⁰ Weijers, *Terug naar het behouden huis*, 57-60.

²⁰¹ Klerk and Klaassen, 118.

²⁰² Burgemeester en Wethouders van Schoonebeek, ‘Situatie van Aardgas. Brief Gericht Aan Het Ministerie van Economische Zaken, Directoraat-Generaal van de Energievoorziening’, 9 January 1952, 1.824.2 / 1134, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

²⁰³ Burgemeester en Wethouders van Emmen, ‘Gasvoorziening Te Emmen, Concept Brief Aan Inwoners’, N.d., estimated late 1950s, 1.824.111 / 2133, Gemeentearchief Emmen.

²⁰⁴ A. F. Correljé, *Natural Gas in the Netherlands: From Cooperation to Competition?* (Amsterdam: Oranje-Nassau Groep, 2003).

²⁰⁵ Correljé, 30.

²⁰⁶ Noud Vreeze, *Goed Wonen: Geschiedenis van Een Keurmerk* (Bussum: Uitgeverij TOTH, 2015), 104.

²⁰⁷ P. R. D. Stokvis, *Huishouden, huwelijk, gezin: huiselijk leven in de 20e eeuw*, 1e dr. (Rotterdam: Donker, 2002) 63.

by different architects, Angelslo was designed as a unified whole from the start. This had significant consequences for the spatial layout of the quarter and the architecture of the residences. Concerning the spatial arrangement, the quarter was designed based on the neighbourhood concept, which ensured the functional integration of the different levels of the spatial configuration conceptualised as starting from the lowest level of the individual and the household and then moving outwards to the larger levels of organisation. Within this neighbourhood structure, the single-family residence designed according to the principles of the New Building school was seen as providing the optimal space for the unfolding of the modern nuclear family. In this process of unfolding, the nuclear family was assisted by the comforts of spacious houses and modern utilities, especially related to hot water and central heating possibilities.

Conclusion

As Emmen grew rapidly over the course of the 1950s, significant developments occurred in the domain of spatial planning and residential architecture. In the early 1950s, the municipality debated what the future of Emmen should look like: was it to remain a village or should it become a middle-large city? Following the centralisation of the national industrialisation plans around Emmen and based on future prognoses about the further industrialisation of South-Eastern Drenthe, it was decided that Emmen was to become a city of regional importance. This decision entailed a concentration of residential houses and industrial activity in and around Emmen, forcing the municipality to rethink the original expansion plans for the city. To take on this task, the municipality gave the urban planner Naber the task of redesigning the Verdenius expansion plans that originated in the 1940s. However, Naber's plan was rejected by the provincial planning department and the regional economic-technological institute because it entailed a too radical transition from a rural to an urban environment, which was argued to increase social problems in Emmen. In response, Emmen initiated a survey into living habits in the area of Emmermeer. The results of this research inspired the newly hired urban planners, who eventually came up with the concept of the 'Open and Green City' to replace the 1940s Verdenius expansion plans and provide an answer to the social problems of Emmen. Following this plan, Emmen would first be expanded by constructing the quarter 'Angelslo' east from the old centre. At first, this new plan was met with considerable resistance from the provincial planning department because they believed that cities ought to have a 'closed' character. To convince the regional department, the urban planners asked researchers from ISONEVO to judge the Open and Green city plan from a sociological point of view. This choice was motivated by the fact that ensuring social harmony and stability in balance with the economic development of South-Eastern Drenthe was the imperative of the regional

planning department, which paralleled the cultural sociological underpinnings of the ISONEVO research. ISONEVO, in turn, argued that an 'open' model for city expansion suited the socio-cultural characteristics of the area.

Now that the predominant character of the expansion of Emmen was decided upon, the urban planners and the municipality decided to request ISONEVO to conduct a more in-depth research pertaining to the social aspects of the expansion of Emmen with the Angelslo quarter. The aim of this research was to optimise the social circumstances of the living environment as this would be beneficial to the social and consequently the industrial development of the area – an argument based on cultural sociological theories concerning the 'human' factor in industrialisation efforts. Eventually, ISONEVO issued two research reports; one focussed on the spatial planning of Angelslo and one on the residential housing architecture. As the overview of the construction of the quarter has demonstrated, every part of the eventual quarter was thoroughly influenced and thought through from the perspective of optimising the social conditions of the new quarter.

Thus, this chapter has demonstrated that in the design of the expansion of Emmen over the course of the 1950s, the aim of the industrialisation and economic development of the area became the prevalent lens that determined decision-making. This process started out with the decision that Emmen had to become a city, as this was considered most beneficial to the industrialisation efforts. Next, in the designing process, the increasing prominence of urban planners and sociological research came at the expense of the direct democratic control of the municipal council over the expansion plans. Angelslo, therefore, is an exemplary case of the shift from a democratic to a technocratic style of governance. As this chapter has demonstrated, both the urban planners that invented the neighbourhood concept, the ISONEVO researchers that provided planning and architectural advice, and the architects that designed the residential houses, shared the concerns of the cultural sociologists that designed the social development plans for South-Eastern Drenthe and Emmen in an effort to optimise the conditions for the economic development of the region. Although the implementation of social development plans that was coordinated by the ICO was relatively unsuccessful, with the construction of Angelslo, the social development plans became materialised in the living environment. While with the construction of Emmermeer, providing suitable public housing had been an end in itself, in Angelslo public housing had also explicitly become a means to the end of industrialisation and economic development.

Constructing the Cornerstone

Directly after the Second World War, national and local governments aimed to improve the underdevelopment that characterised the South-Eastern part of Drenthe at least since the 1930s. The two main symptoms of this underdevelopment were limited economic prosperity, and related unemployment, and the widespread poor living conditions. Judged by either of these symptoms, South-Eastern Drenthe was indeed one of the most impoverished regions of the Netherlands. Both local and national governmental bodies believed that forceful industrialisation would be the solution to the persistence of economic malaise. In the research for and the drafting of the first plans aimed at the development of the region, an integral approach was suggested. As such, improving the quality of housing was deemed an important factor for the success of the industrialisation plan. Nonetheless, in the first years after the war, the industrialisation plans, which were formalised with the 1951 *Development Plan South-Eastern Drenthe*, and the improvement of housing through the construction of the quarter Emmermeer in the main village of the area, remained two relatively isolated policy-domains. While the industrialisation policy was strongly centralised under the control of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the improvement of housing in Emmen remained largely administered by the municipality. As a result, Emmermeer was constructed after the insight of local politicians, administrators, and architects. Incrementally shaping the expansion of the quarter, they intended to create housing that suited the needs of the rural populations of the area, while also making the village attractive for migrating managing staff for the new industries.

This two-tier approach to the development of South-Eastern Drenthe drastically changed throughout the 1950s, with the unfolding of an integral approach. This integral approach evolved out of the concerns for the widespread presence of moral degradation, which was considered a threat to the successful reconstruction of the nation. The discipline of cultural sociology became of fundamental importance in formulating a solution to positively foster public morality; the solution they suggested was the strengthening of the modern nuclear family to create a bulwark against the negative consequences of the continued industrialisation of society. The sociologists argued that providing properly designed single-family houses was one the most important ways to nurture modern nuclear families. Because successful industrialisation was most pressing in development areas, such as South-Eastern Drenthe, some leading cultural sociologists identified a pressing need to improve the morality of the population; they argued that the industrialisation efforts would be fruitless without a broader social development plan. Whereas the Ministry of Social Work ambitiously started to plan social development policies that were tailored to the

sociocultural context of the traditional sand soil and peat soil communities, those social development efforts never really got a foothold.

Notwithstanding this limited success, the cultural sociological theories about the fostering of the modern nuclear family eventually did make their way into South-Eastern Drenthe. As Emmen needed to be expanded to keep up with the demands of industrialisation – in the process becoming a city –, the design of the new city quarter came increasingly under provincial and national administrative influence at the expense of the democratic control of the municipal council. The spatial planning and architecture of Angelslo became an affair of urban planners, backed up by cultural sociological research and reports, all with the aim of creating an as harmonious as possible living environment. This harmonious living environment would create the optimal circumstances for the flourishing of the modern nuclear family, which in turn mitigated the negative effects of industrialisation and created the ideal circumstances for the modern economic development of the city and the wider region of South-Eastern Drenthe. Although the direct social development plans were rather unsuccessful, they were materialised into the spatial planning and residential architecture of Angelslo. The quarter was designed to shape the behaviour of its inhabitants, the former rural populations that needed to be adapted to the ways of urban life and the modern nuclear family, in congruence with the needs of an industrial capitalist economy. With Angelslo, the spatial planning of Emmen had become part of an integral approach to the industrialisation and economic development of the region as defined by the Dutch state in general, and the Ministry of Economic Affairs in particular.

This thesis research has demonstrated that during the reconstruction of the Netherlands after the war, public housing and spatial planning in Emmen evolved into governing techniques that increasingly served the aim of regional industrialisation and economic development. The design of the everyday living environment became a tool to mould traditional farming and peat families into modern nuclear families that would safeguard the harmonious industrialisation of South-Eastern Drenthe. The modern nuclear family was not only made the figurative but also the literal cornerstone of society, through the explosion of the construction of single-family houses, in Emmen and the rest of the Netherlands. In this way, Emmen became the archetypical materialisation of the ideals of the manageable society that characterised policy-making the first two decades after the world war. This ideal and the related governing practices were powerfully captured and described by Scott, who argued that the manageable society was a 'high-modernist' dream, that relied on research to create an over-simplified conception of social reality that could

then be moulded to suit the ultimate goals of the state.²⁰⁸ In the first decades after the war, the goals of the Dutch state centred around the economic reconstruction of the Netherlands and the restoration of public morality with the aim of creating a harmonious society that was materially and spiritually prosperous. Therefore, Emmen is a perfect example of what Schuyt and Taverne have coined the ‘controlled modernisation’ of the Netherlands.²⁰⁹

This research has provided an expanded perspective on the importance of technocratic government in the realisation of controlled modernisation. This point has widely been argued in analyses of post-war Dutch politics. Most famously, the fundamental role of technocratic government in the reconstruction of the Netherlands became stressed by Lijphart, in his seminal contribution to political science.²¹⁰ In his analysis of the Dutch political system amidst the period of pillarisation, Lijphart used the concept of consociationalism to describe how Dutch elites ensured political stability through cooperation and depoliticising technocratic rule to overcome the ideological differences between the pillars. Yet, this form of depoliticised rule should not be confused with value-free politics. Through the current analysis of the development of Emmen, some of the values that drove the controlled modernisation effort have been excavated. In line with the recent findings of Mellink and Oudenampsen concerning the political-economic policy of the Netherlands during the twentieth century, this research has illustrated that the fact that Emmermeer and Angelslo consisted predominantly of public housing, should not be seen as an achievement of the post-war social-democratic welfare state. In contrast, as this research has argued, the explosion of the public housing stock in the context of the development of Emmen should be interpreted as the result of the development of an integral approach to industrialisation with economic development and growth as the central goals.

Whereas this interpretation of post-war history has been made before, amongst others by Schuyt and Taverne, and Mellink and Oudenampsen, this thesis has provided a new perspective by applying the innovative new materialist approach of Joyce, to the study of public housing and spatial planning of Emmen.²¹¹ While nineteenth-century states already used the affective powers of the material world, such as Joyce demonstrated, the twentieth-century state was able to do so in a significantly more refined manner, exemplified by the use of spatial planning and architecture to further the economic development of Emmen and the wider region. As a high-modernist approach

²⁰⁸ Scott, *Seeing like a State*.

²⁰⁹ Schuyt and Taverne, *1950*.

²¹⁰ Arend Lijphart, *The Politics of Accommodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands* (Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press, 1968).

²¹¹ Mellink and Oudenampsen, *Neoliberalisme*; Schuyt and Taverne, *1950*; Joyce, *The State of Freedom*.

to the question of the development of South-Eastern Drenthe evolved, the new social sciences provided tools to make social reality legible in detail and consequently shape this reality.

This research was for the largest part concerned with the intentions that were behind the development policies for South-Eastern Drenthe and Emmen; intentions that became materialised into the everyday living environment through spatial planning and residential architecture. This raises the question, however, of what happened with those intentions as the designed environment became an everyday living environment. Did Angelslo shape families into modern nuclear families that fostered the goals of industrialisation and economic development? At the end of the 1990s, the municipality of Emmen started research into the spatial and social dimensions of three post-war expansion quarters, including Angelslo. The direct cause for the study was the observed decrease in the popularity of these areas, which was exemplified by the increasing residential vacancy and the negative public image.²¹² The research project noted that Angelslo was designed according to a spatial and social planning logic that no longer reflected the current social composition of the quarter. A lot had changed since the design and construction of Angelslo, and the hardworking, labour-class nuclear family that had been the ideal behind the original Angelslo planning, existed no longer.²¹³

This begs the question of what happened in the years between the construction of Angelslo and the Emmen Revisited research project. Needless to say, there is a whole plethora of causes that led to this development, but for this current research, it serves to turn to Schuyt and Taverne one last time. Namely, they argue that the controlled modernisation projects of the 1950s, which were rooted in the beliefs of high-modernism, contained the inherent seeds of their own destruction. Every step of the controlled modernisation efforts was aimed at striking a balance between the contradictions of a manageable, harmonious society and individual development.²¹⁴ This contradiction was for example apparent in the cultural sociological theories of the modern nuclear family, which had the double role of being a stable cornerstone of society while at the same time fostering individual development. A very specific case of this contradiction is the rising individualism within the modern nuclear family as the result of larger housing with individual bedrooms that could be used year-round because of the introduction of central heating. This contradiction resulted in the planning of society and the development of the individual running out

²¹² Sjoerd Cusveller, *Emmen Revisited: Nieuw Perspectief Voor de Naoorlogse Woonwijken* (Bussum: THOTH, 1997), 10.

²¹³ Cusveller, 16.

²¹⁴ Karel, 'De Maakbare Boer: Streekverbetering Als Instrument van Het Nederlandse Landbouwbeleid, 1953-1970', 24.

of sync, which eventually resulted in the rapid cultural transformations of the 1960s.²¹⁵ At first glance, then, the social planning of Emmen through the design of quarters such as Angelslo seemed to have failed to reach its goals.

Yet, if we turn back to Joyce and his observations regarding the affective powers of the material world, that the modern state uses as a governing technique, it is important to appreciate that his argument is rooted in a Foucauldian understanding of power. This draws out attention to the self-perpetuating logic of power, where the aims of the state become, so to speak, engrained in the soul of the citizen. Citizens then act according to those aims in their everyday habits and behaviour, perpetuating a, perhaps alien or abnormal logic, as a normality.²¹⁶ Although the spatial planning and housing architecture in Emmen seemed to have lost their charm by the 1990s, the underlying ideas have remained largely undisputed. If anything, the fundamental principles of material prosperity and economic growth that inspired the reconstruction and development efforts, have arguably evolved into the way reality is nowadays perceived.²¹⁷ Now that the infrastructural renovation of the Netherlands has become an urgent political question again, the critical appreciation of the affective powers of the material world in shaping the everyday lived reality is vital. I hope this research has given the reader a deeper understanding of the importance of this question.

²¹⁵ Rooy, *Alles! En wel nu!*; Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*.

²¹⁶ Joyce, *The State of Freedom*, 7.

²¹⁷ Fisher, *Capitalist Realism*.

Appendix A

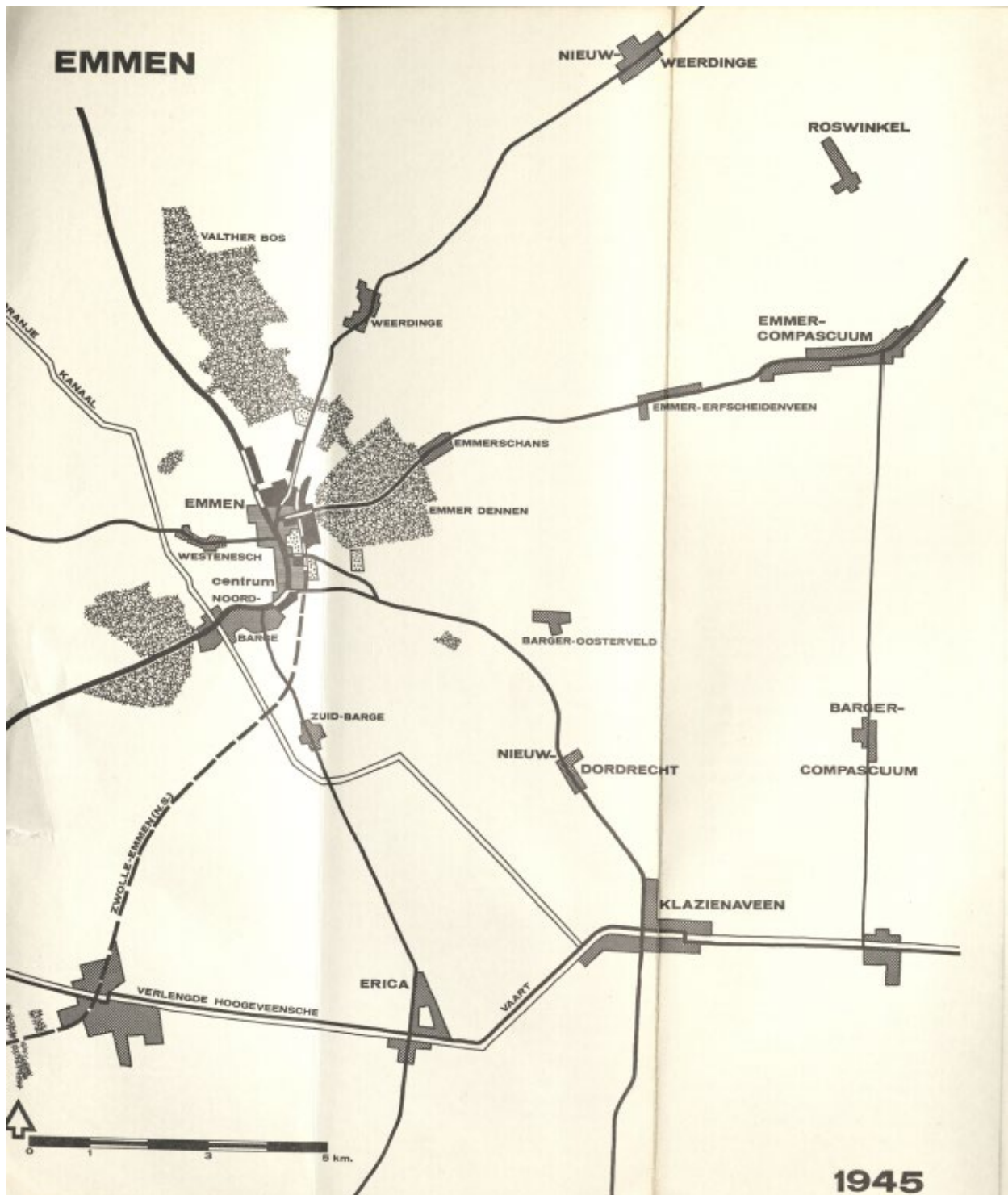


Figure 1 Map of Emmen and surrounding villages, 1945²¹⁸

²¹⁸ Scheffer, *Emmen*.

Appendix B

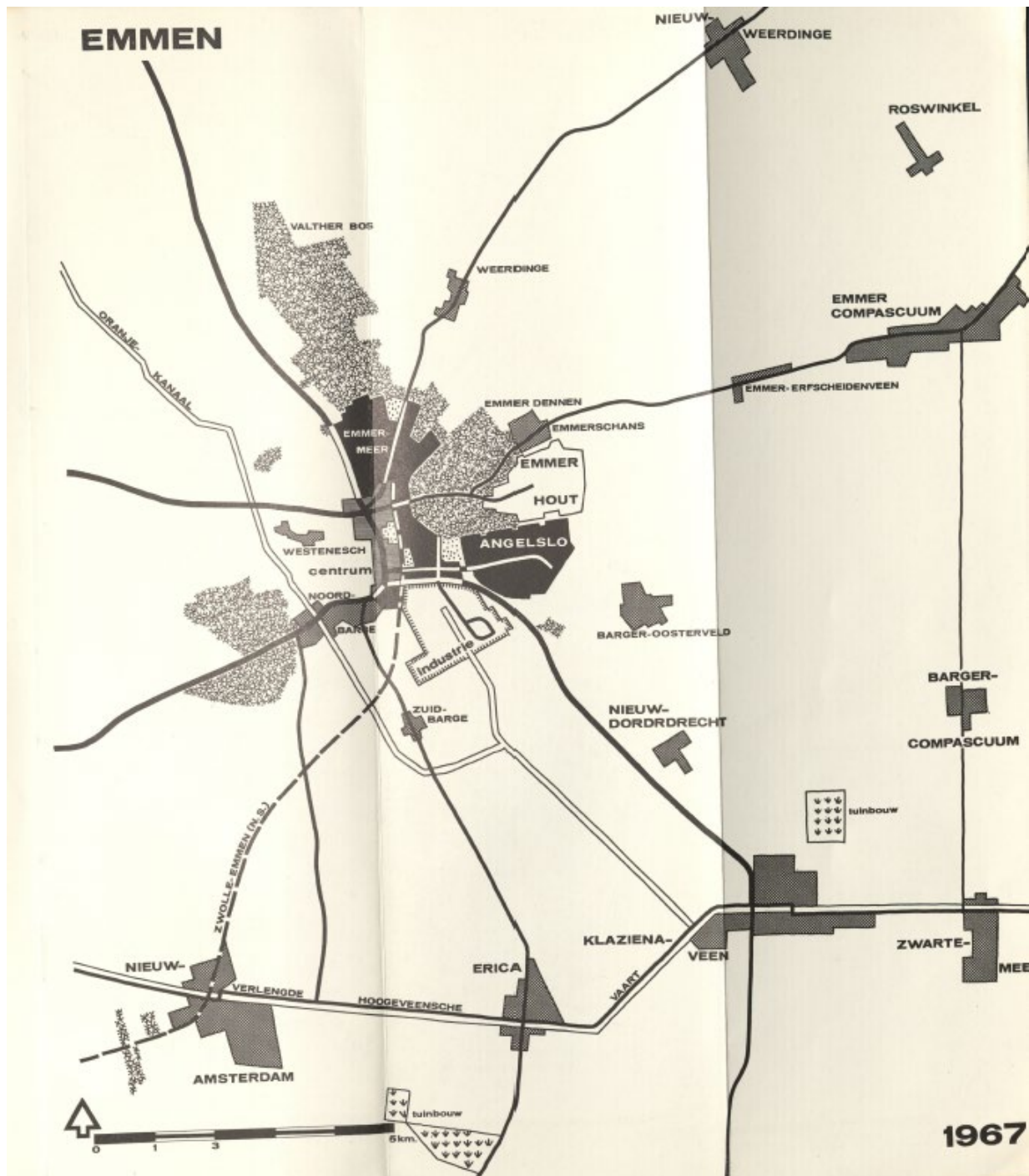


Figure 2 Map of Emmen and surrounding villages, 1967 (situation comparable to 1965)²¹⁹

²¹⁹ Scheffer.

Appendix C

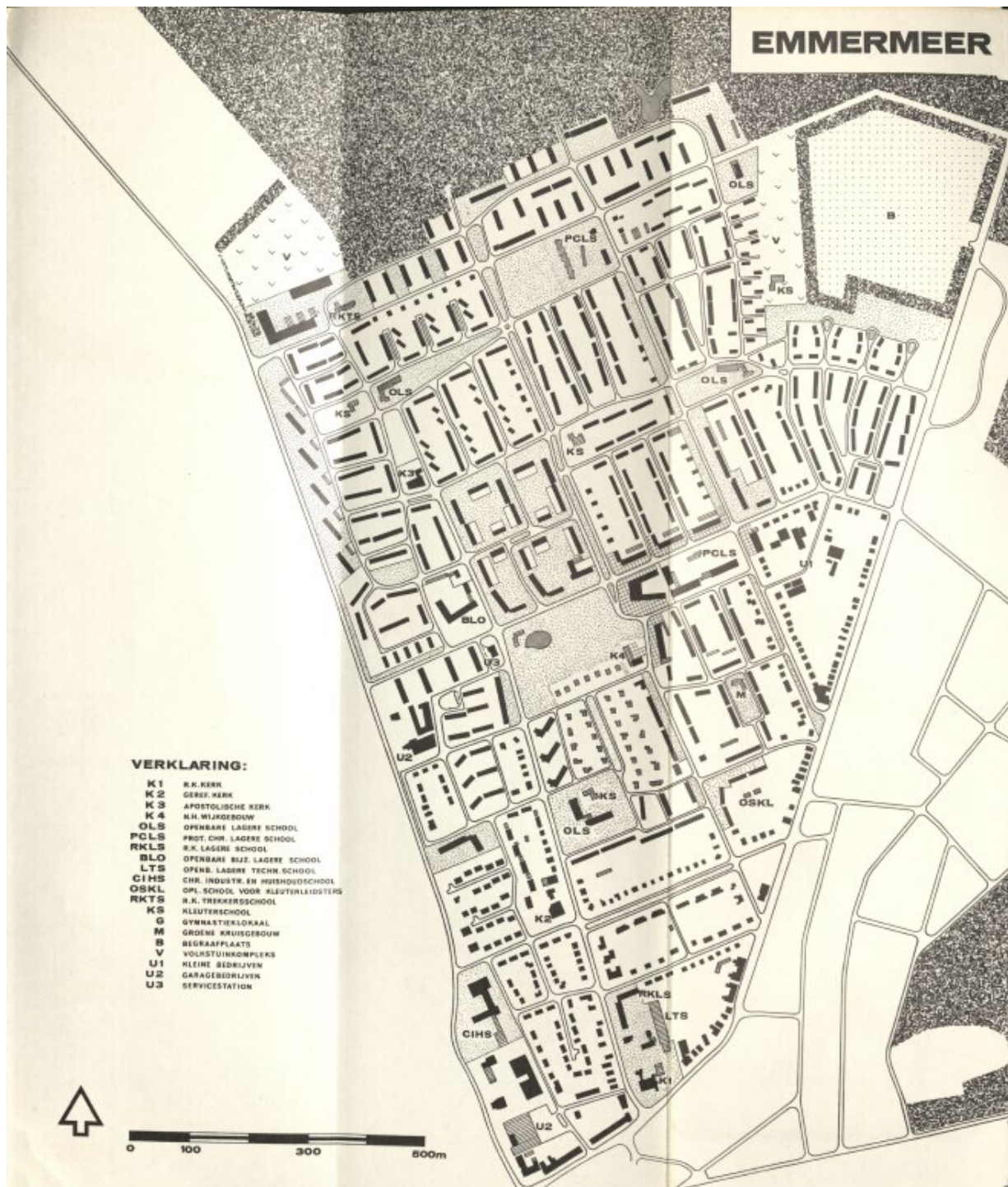


Figure 3 Map of Emmermeer²²⁰

²²⁰ Scheffer.

Appendix D

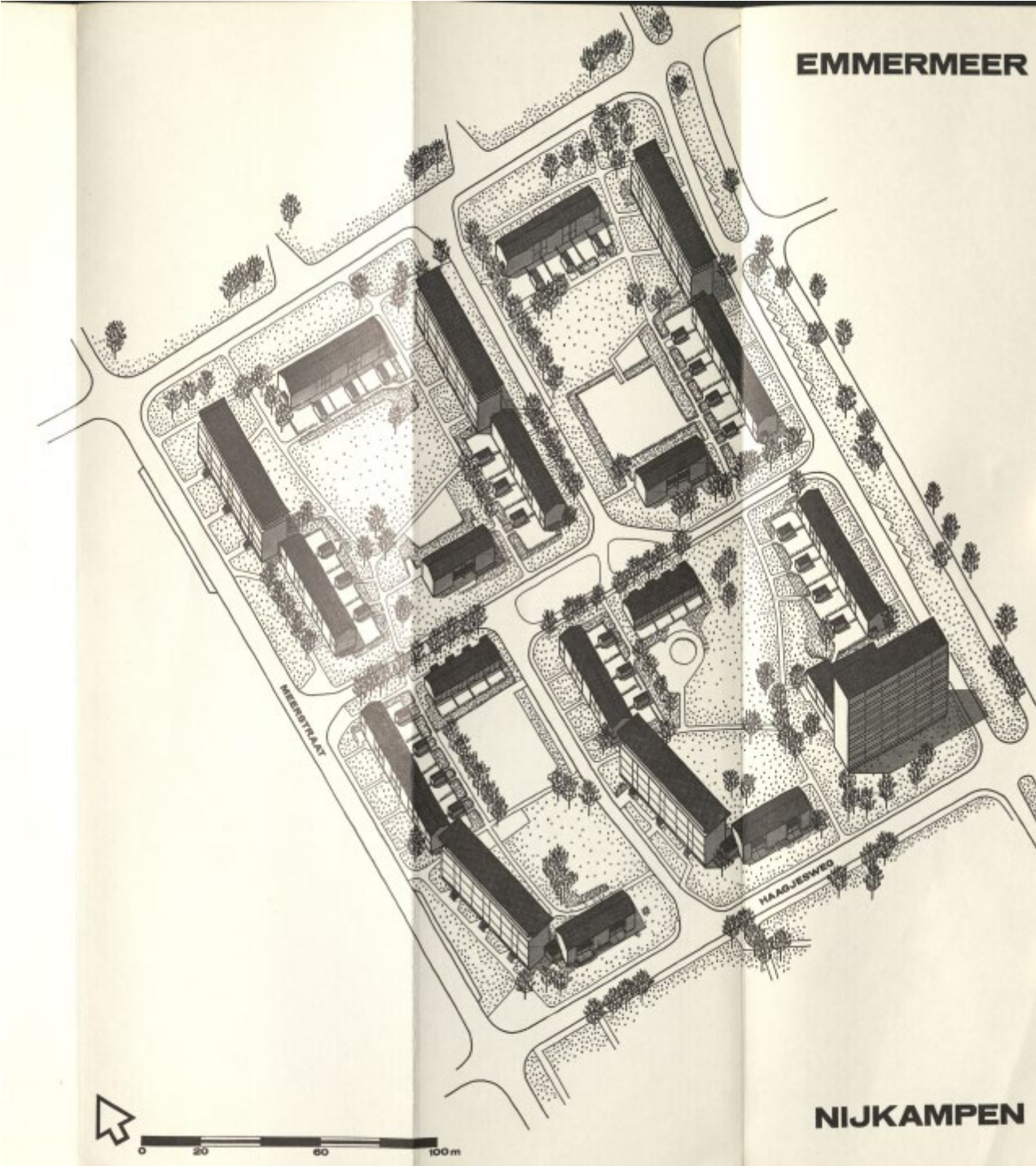


Figure 4 Map of Nijkampen, a neighbourhood in Emmermeer²²¹

²²¹ Scheffer.

Appendix E

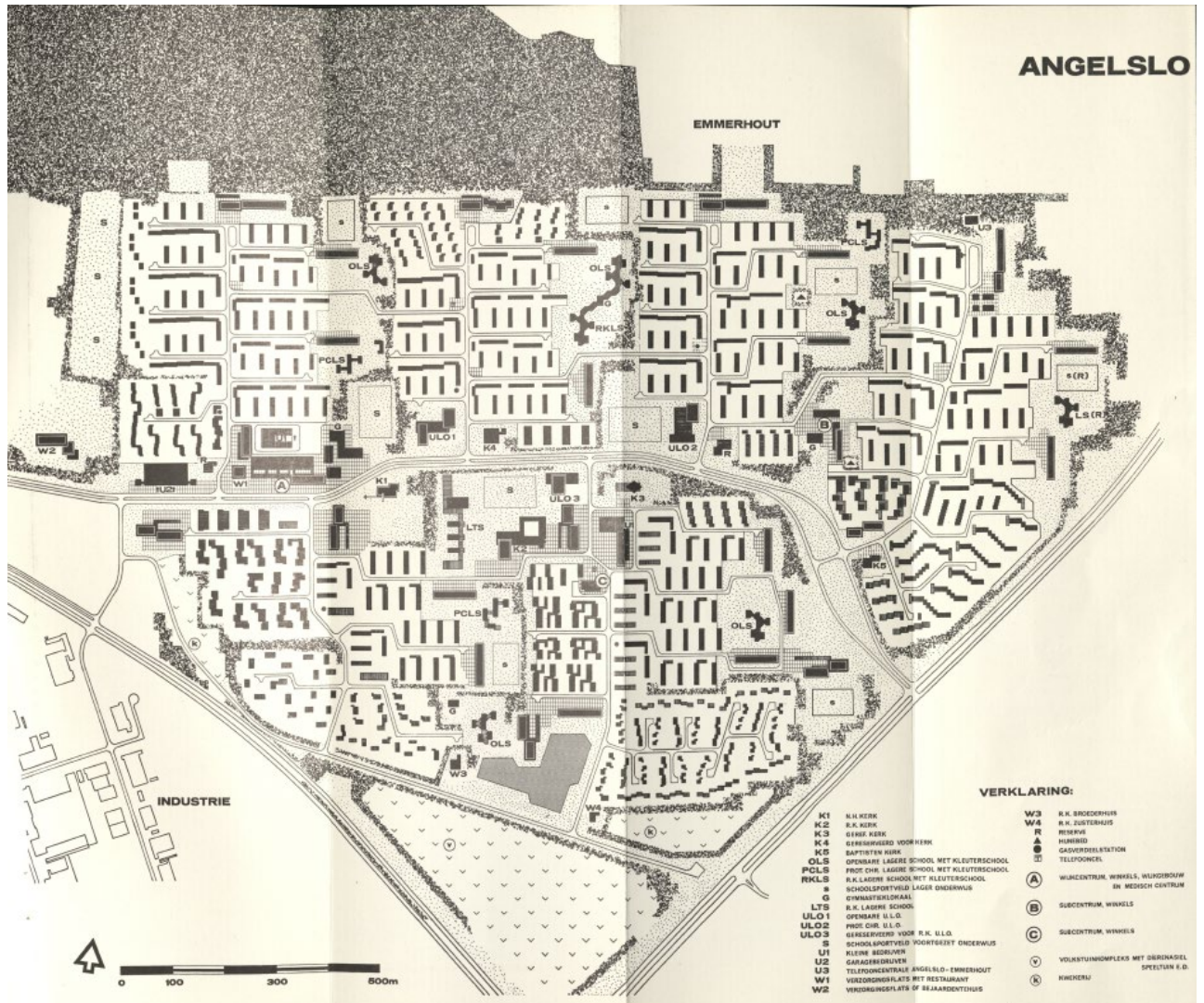


Figure 5 Map of Angelslo²²²

²²² Scheffer.

Appendix F

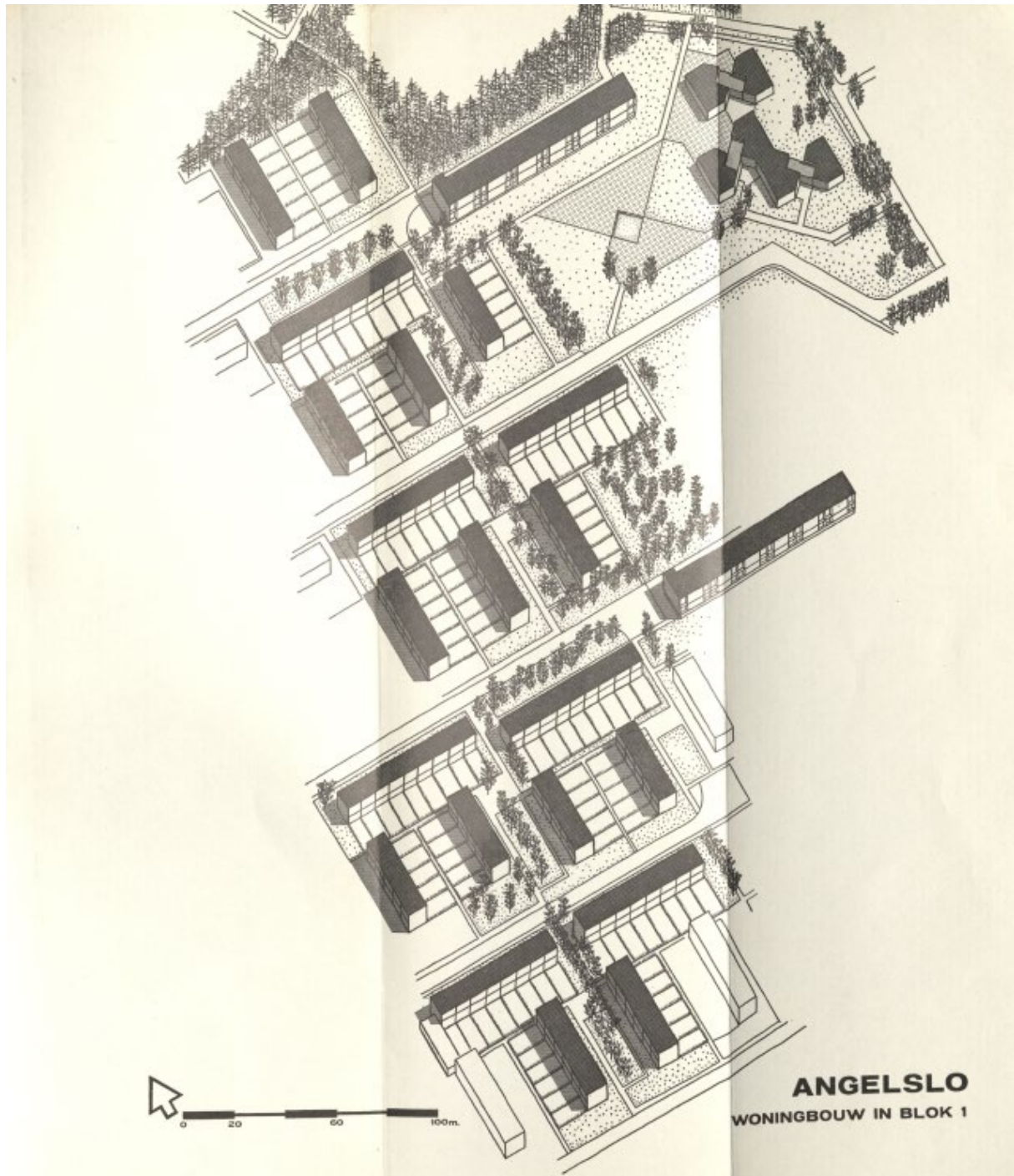


Figure 6 Map of a housing block in Angel slo²²³

²²³ Scheffer.

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