

April 16th 2025



Figure 1 Kraaijvanger architecten, Concert en congresgebouw de Doelen te Rotterdam, retrieved at April 7th 2025

The Role of Cultural Functions in Social and Cultural Reconstruction through the Design and Evolution of De Doelen in Post-War Rotterdam

HISTORY THESIS

APRYLL WUBBELS
TU DELFT MSC ARCHITECTURE
Dolf Broekhuizen

Summary

This thesis researches how cultural functions contributed to the social and cultural recovery of Rotterdam during the post-war reconstruction period. For this research, concert hall de Doelen in Rotterdam is used as a case study. After the bombing in 1940, the city not only faced the challenge of rebuilding its physical structures but also had to reconstruct its social and cultural identity. De Doelen, which was originally destroyed in the bombing, became a symbol of resilience and a key player in the redefinition of Rotterdam's cultural fabric.

De Doelen's design was intended to be open, accessible, and inviting to the visitors. It reflects the post-war ambition of making culture available to everyone. Although the original plan included a multifunctional cultural and commercial center known as the "Rockefeller Center," financial constraints forced the city to scale down. Still, the building became a central space for social interaction.¹

The support of councilor N. Zeelenberg was significant this process. Her focus on accessibility and inclusion ensured that De Doelen was not just a concert hall but a building for all citizens. The final design supported urban recovery by fostering public gathering and strengthening social bonds.²

This thesis shows how De Doelen contributed to rebuilding the cultural fabric of the city. It demonstrates how cultural buildings can support recovery and the development of a new identity after destruction.

¹ Kraaijvanger. (2014). Concertgebouw de Doelen. Kraaijvanger

² Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (ASRO). (1946). Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam: Toelichting op het basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam. Rotterdam: ASRO.

APPENDIX

SUMMARY	1
1 INTRODUCTION	3
2 THEORY & METHOD	4
3 DE DOELEN: CULTURAL FUNCTIONS IN POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION	8
3.1 Cultural and Social challenges in post war time.....	8
3.2 Case study: Development of the Doelen and the intergration of the cultural and social needs	10
4 DISCUSSION	16
5 CONCLUSION.....	17
6 BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	18

1 Introduction

This thesis will explore the context of post-war reconstruction in Rotterdam, focusing on the social and cultural challenges the city faced after World War II. A key aspect of this period was the need for public functions, such as concert halls, which played a vital role in rebuilding Rotterdam's cultural life and fostering a sense of community. This is substantiated by the fact that the post-war reconstruction plan of van Traa (1946), contains 20% more cultural function than before the war existed (Het Vrije volk, 1946).

In addition to examining the concept of public space within a concert hall, this thesis will delve into the broader cultural needs of Rotterdam and how De Doelen responds to those needs. Public space in this context extends beyond the physical space to include the interactions and experiences that occur, reflecting the evolving social dynamics of the city. N. Zeelenberg (1966), the running alderman during the post-war reconstruction believed that the people of Rotterdam would quickly grow accustomed to the newly build cultural center and will be proud of it. The original Doelen building, dating back to 1622, was destroyed during the war. However, the purpose of the new building remained the same. As N. Zeelenberg (1966) stated, "Just as many celebrations were held in the garden of the old Doelen, I expect that in and around the new Doelen, the festive heart of the new Rotterdam will beat." The design of De Doelen, led by the architectural firm Kraaijvanger, reflects the evolving cultural and social priorities of post-war Rotterdam. This chapter delves into the original design proposals and the ways in which the architects adapted their vision to meet the city's needs. This research examines the ways in which the building's layout, functionality, and aesthetics relate to the broader goals of social and cultural recovery.

2 Theory & method

This thesis investigates the importance of cultural spaces in the social and cultural reconstruction of Rotterdam in the post-war period. It specifically examines how cultural functions, such as concert halls, contributed to rebuilding the city's cultural fabric. This is done through a case study of concert hall De Doelen. The theory is grounded in the work of urban planners and architects like Van Traa and Kraaijvanger. This research matches the vision of cultural historian Maarten Kloos³, who states that cultural institutions in the reconstruction period functioned as pioneers of identity and social cohesion within the new city. According to Kloos, these buildings were intended not only to fill physical voids, but also to restore a sense of community and urban continuity. This thesis analyzes how such spaces were designed to respond to the needs of Rotterdam's citizens.

The research method that is used combines primary and secondary sources with archival research. Primary sources are original materials directly related to the topic, such as archival documents and books written at that time. Secondary sources, on the other hand, provide analysis, interpretation, or commentary on primary sources, such as books, journal articles, or reviews written later. The goal is to gain a comprehensive understanding of how De Doelen, as a cultural space, contributed to the post-war recovery of Rotterdam, both socially and architecturally. The following method of sourcing will be used:

In this research primary sources are used which include the original drawings and plans of architects Kraaijvanger and Van Traa. These drawings give one an idea about the original plan and choices that were made. Seeing the drawings helps one to better understand the changes that were incorporated into the building and the change in purpose of the building over time. Furthermore, archival documents, including newspapers during the construction and opening of De Doelen, are used to map out public and political reactions to the building. The newspapers reconstruct the social and cultural context in which De Doelen opened and was received at the time. Secondary sources include books and studies written later on De Doelen and the post-war reconstruction of Rotterdam. This writing places the design within a broader historical and

³ Kloos, M. (2007). *Cultuur en stedelijke identiteit: Publieke gebouwen in de wederopbouw van Rotterdam*. In: W. van der Woud (red.), *Het lege land en de wederopbouw* (pp. 85–101). NAI Publishers.

theoretical framework. By doing so it makes it possible for the impact of De Doelen to be determined within the urban development and changing cultural needs.

By combining these sources, this research creates a nuanced understanding of the role De Doelen has played and how it has transformed over time, the particular sources will be used in the following chapters:

3.1 Cultural and Social challenges in post war time

The destruction of Rotterdam during World War II caused great social and cultural issues that had to be taken into account when rebuilding it. Van Traa's *Urban Plan for Rotterdam (1946)* provides information on the urban development policy of the post-war era, with focus on the integration of cultural functions in urban planning. The plan highlights the social needs of the period. The placement of cultural facilities like concert halls and theaters is intended to help reorganize the cultural needs.

Blijstra's Rotterdam, stad in beweging (1965) also clarifies these challenges by exploring Rotterdam's reconstruction between 1940 and 1948. By stating “*Rotterdam had to reinvent itself, not only as a port city, but as a place where people could come together,*” The book explains the physical and cultural processes of reconstruction. It demonstrates how the city's identity had to be rebuilt. The emphasis on concert halls as public spaces indicates the role of such spaces in the rebuilding of cultural and social life. Similarly, *Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam* by Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (ASRO) (1946), presents the design for a modern, functional city center. By stating “*the charm of the city center will be a powerful and stimulating factor in making the city the commercial as well as cultural center for the wide surrounding region.*” the authors highlight that culture was essential not just for the residents of Rotterdam, but also for restoring the city's wider regional image. Cultural buildings such as concert halls were not only functional additions to the urban plan, but powerful elements for shaping a new identity.

The broader cultural context is also explained in *Rotterdam in de Wederopbouw* by Jongstra and Van der Schoor (2019), who show how institutions like concert halls were used as tools to “stimulate cultural resilience and a renewed sense of belonging.” The cultural and social progress that defined Rotterdam's reconstruction is elaborated. The work revolves around public use such as concert halls that adapted to the new cultural and social demands of the city's citizens.

3.2 Case study: Development of the Doelen and the intergration of the cultural and social needs

The cultural role of De Doelen played a key part in Rotterdam's social reconstruction after the war. The building was not just a concert hall, but the heart of the cultural center. In a 1966 article in *Het Vrije Volk*, Zeelenberg described De Doelen as the “festive heart” of post-war Rotterdam. This phrase highlights how the building was positioned not only as a place for music, but as a center for collective celebration and identity. Cultural spaces like De Doelen helped shape the city's new social life, by giving people a place to come together.

De Doelen's design shows Rotterdam's cultural and social needs after the war. The original design by *Kraaijvanger Architects* (1959) shows how architecture responded to the post-war needs. Their plans reveal an approach that balanced functionality with flexibility. The building was meant to host a wide range of cultural events, which matches the post-war focus on inclusiveness and rebuilding community. Kraaijvanger's 2014 report, *Concertgebouw de Doelen*, explains how the concert hall was carefully embedded into the structure of the new city. The building became part of the urban fabric that represented a new Rotterdam.

This idea is supported by Jager's book, *Evert en Herman Kraaijvanger: Architectonische noblesse* (2015), it discusses the Kraaijvanger brothers' philosophy of architecture. Their "noblesse architecture" is defined as combining precision with functionality. Jager provides a glimpse of the way the architects incorporated cultural and public functions in their designs, like De Doelen, to address the social needs of the time. The careful analysis of the design history and cultural background of De Doelen allows us to understand its role in post-war Rotterdam.

The cultural and historical history of De Doelen is also important to recognize while creating a new building. Hillen's *De Doelen, a concert- en congresgebouw met wortels in de Middeleeuwen*, (2010) offers a historical perspective by tracing De Doelen's origins from the

Middle Ages to its five differentiations. Hillen's study highlights the way in which De Doelen evolved as a social and cultural institution, adapting its activities to the changing cultural needs of the city. It places in context, more broadly, the way in which De Doelen's post-war architecture is a continuation of Rotterdam's established cultural traditions.

Finally, the broader context provided by *Platform Wederopbouw Rotterdam (n.d.)* helps see how De Doelen was part of a larger cultural strategy. The platform offers essential background information about the social and political decisions influencing the evolution of the building. Such resources can be helpful when exploring how the appearance and function of De Doelen in the city were impacted by the larger urban renewal and cultural movement of the post-war period.

3 De Doelen: Cultural Functions in Post-War Reconstruction

3.1 Cultural and Social challenges in post war time

Cinema city

Rotterdam underwent a crucial transformation, reshaping its identity after the widespread destruction of World War II⁴. The destruction of the old center not only left a physical void but also disrupted the city's social and cultural fabric. The city's rebuilding efforts focused not just on replacing buildings but on addressing the cultural needs of its residents. Public spaces like concert halls, museums, and theaters became key in restoring social cohesion and healing. In the '30s the city of Rotterdam was known as a cinema city⁵. In the bombing, three theaters, two concert halls, and twelve cinemas were destroyed. The rebuild of these venues played an essential role in revitalizing Rotterdam's cultural life, offering continuity and renewal while symbolizing the city's resilience and ability to adapt to change. The post-war reconstruction period was therefore not solely an architectural project but also a social and cultural one.

Van Traa's Urban plan

Van Traa, who is an urban developer, designed the Urban Plan for Rotterdam (1946), which played a fundamental role in shaping the city's recovery. Colored in purple (image 1) shows the integration of cultural functions

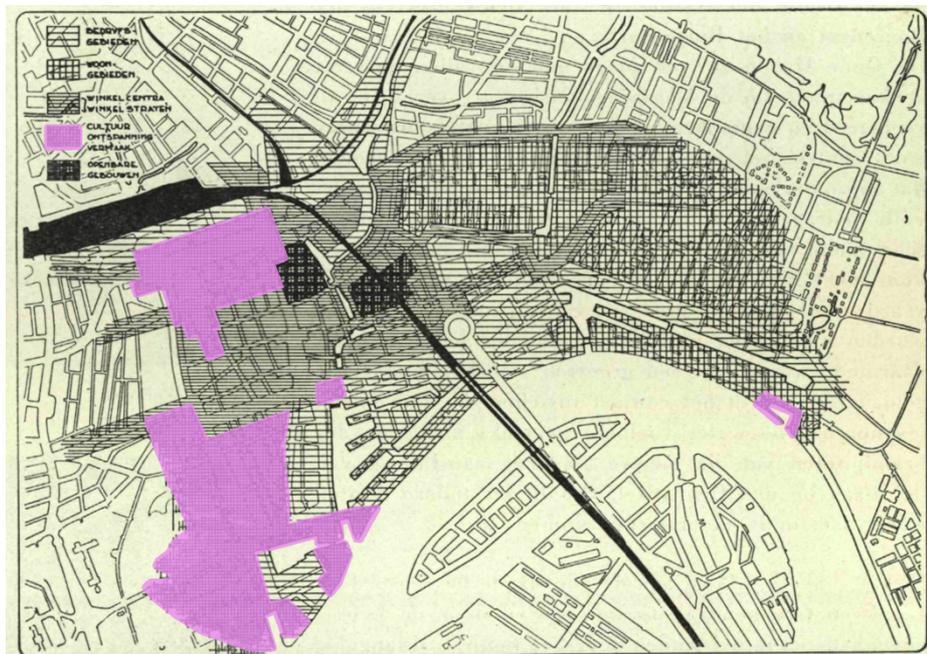


Figure 2 Urban plan, van Traa, (1946), edited by author

⁴ Blijstra, R. (1965). *Rotterdam, stad in beweging. Hoofdstuk 2: Rotterdam verdwijnt en verschijnt 1940-1948.*

⁵ Jongstra, A. & van der Schoor, A. (2019), *Rotterdam in de Wederopbouw*, W. BOOKS, p.34

into the urban landscape. This planned inclusion of cultural institutions such as concert halls and theaters reflect a broader acknowledgement of their role in restoring a sense of community and identity within the city.

Urban priorities

Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam, further clarified the vision for a modern, functional city center. The plan placed cultural areas strategically so that they can be used as sites for social interaction and become part of an active urban center⁶. The renewed focus on public spaces highlighted their dual role: not only did they provide entertainment and cultural enrichment, but they also strengthened social bonds among citizens, from Rotterdam. Together, these plans reflected a broader recognition of how cultural venues could help rebuild both the physical and social fabric of Rotterdam, facilitating its recovery and revitalization. Compensating for the loss of three theaters, two concert halls, and twelve cinemas, the urban plan reserved big spaces for cultural places: 20,000 square meters were designated for concert halls and theaters. For the cinemas, the plan provided for up to 19,000 seats, 20% higher than there were previously before the war⁷. These represent how large a role cultural institution played in restoring the city, with an obvious goal of not just restoring what was lost but of improving and strengthening the cultural life of the city. However, the construction of these venues was late to rise. After the deconstruction the need for housing was logically much higher and thus had priority. The temporary theater on the Aert van Nesstraat finished in 1947, was supposed to last 10 years, but eventually functioned for 37 years. Not until the late 1950s' the development of the cultural functions was on track.

The reintegration of cultural functions into the rebuilt center was not a continuation of pre-war traditions but a reaction to the new social needs. The reconstruction period served as an opportunity to rethink the role of cultural institutions in shaping a modern society. The design and programming of such spaces were carefully aligned with the broader goals of urban renewal. Therefore, ensuring that they responded to the immediate needs of Rotterdam's citizens while also contributing to the city's long-term cultural development⁸.

⁶ Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (ASRO). (1946). *Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam: Toelichting op het basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam*. Rotterdam: ASRO

⁷ Jongstra, A. & van der Schoor, A. (2019), *Rotterdam in de Wederopbouw*, W. BOOKS, p.91

⁸ Jongstra, A. & van der Schoor, A. (2019), *Rotterdam in de Wederopbouw*, W. BOOKS, p.91

3.2 Case study: Development of the Doelen and the intergration of the cultural and social needs

The Doelen before the war

Concerthall De Doelen (pointed out with the star in image 3) was constructed in the 1960s by the Kraaijvanger brothers and architect R. Fledderus and was officially opened in 1966. However, de Doelen has a much longer history, dating back several centuries.

The name "Doelen" originates from the medieval shooting guilds and societies. The first known Doelen in Rotterdam, the *St. Joris Doele*, was built in the 14th century to provide a space for archers to practice. In 1622, the *St. Joris Doele* at the *Coolvest* was transformed into a society building. By

the early 19th century, the building the building was mainly used for music and theatre. To host more cultural activities, a new concert hall, the *Groote Doelenzaal*, was constructed in 1844, on the original site of the Doelen. The venue became a significant cultural landmark in Rotterdam. However, during the bombing of Rotterdam in 1940, the *Groote Doelenzaal* was destroyed, leaving the city without a prominent concert venue. In the aftermath, a search for a new concert hall with the same reputation began.⁹



Figure 3 vector-map, kaart rotterdam detail, retrievevd at April 7th 2025, edited by author

Design proposals

After the *Groote Doelenzaal* was destroyed in 1940, Rotterdam needed a new concert hall. To guide this process, the city formed the Study Commission for the Music Center in 1946. Architect Rein Fledderus collaborated with the commission to design a venue for the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra (RPhO). The initial desing intended to create a both cultural and social building. Fledderus's initial proposal was ambitious. His design included multiple functions,

⁹ Kraaijvanger. (2014). *Concertgebouw de Doelen*. Kraaijvanger.

such as concert halls, cinemas, and a theater, as well as commercial functions like shops and office spaces. The idea was to combine cultural and commercial functions, making sure that the venue would remain financially stable in the long term. The scale and ambition of this project was called "Rotterdam Rockefeller Center,". However, despite its ambitious approach, the plan faced a major obstacle, the price. With an estimated budget of 28 million guilders, it was deemed far too expensive, and the proposal was eventually rejected.¹⁰

After this rejection Fledderus and the commission created a new design. Their second design was brought down to a building that was more focused on just the concert hall. Instead of adding commercial spaces, the new plan prioritized the design of a world-class concert hall focussed on good acoustics and an optimal audience experience. The design aimed to provide an intimate yet impressive setting for musical performances, making sure that the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra would have a space that improved its sound quality and artistic presence.¹¹

The building was planned to be located at Schouwburgplein according to Van Traa's urban concept. Surrounded by other important functions, the building was located in the heart of the city's new cultural area. The location was in line with Cornelis van Traa's overall urban strategy, which placed a strong priority on the role that cultural events had in reviving the city after the war. By placing the concert hall here, the project confirmed the idea that the arts and music were needed for the city's post-war growth and restoration.¹²

De Doelen's design changes reflect a new insight of the changes of Rotterdam's ambitions. The project, which was once supposed to be a large cultural-commercial complex, was eventually scaled down to a music hall. This shows that financial aspects give limitations on the design opportunities, and therefore the way in which Rotterdam reconstructed. There was need for cultural functions in buildings that are multi-use, to engage more people to the function. But the financial limits of a city that had just been at war are significant. Furthermore, it demonstrated that cultural buildings were not simply replaced but rather redesigned to meet

¹⁰ Kraaijvanger. (2014). *Concertgebouw de Doelen*. Kraaijvanger

¹¹ Kraaijvanger. (2014). *Concertgebouw de Doelen*. Kraaijvanger

¹² Kraaijvanger. (2014). *Concertgebouw de Doelen*. Kraaijvanger.

changing needs of the community. In addition to creating concerts, De Doelen wanted to strengthen Rotterdam's identity and strength.

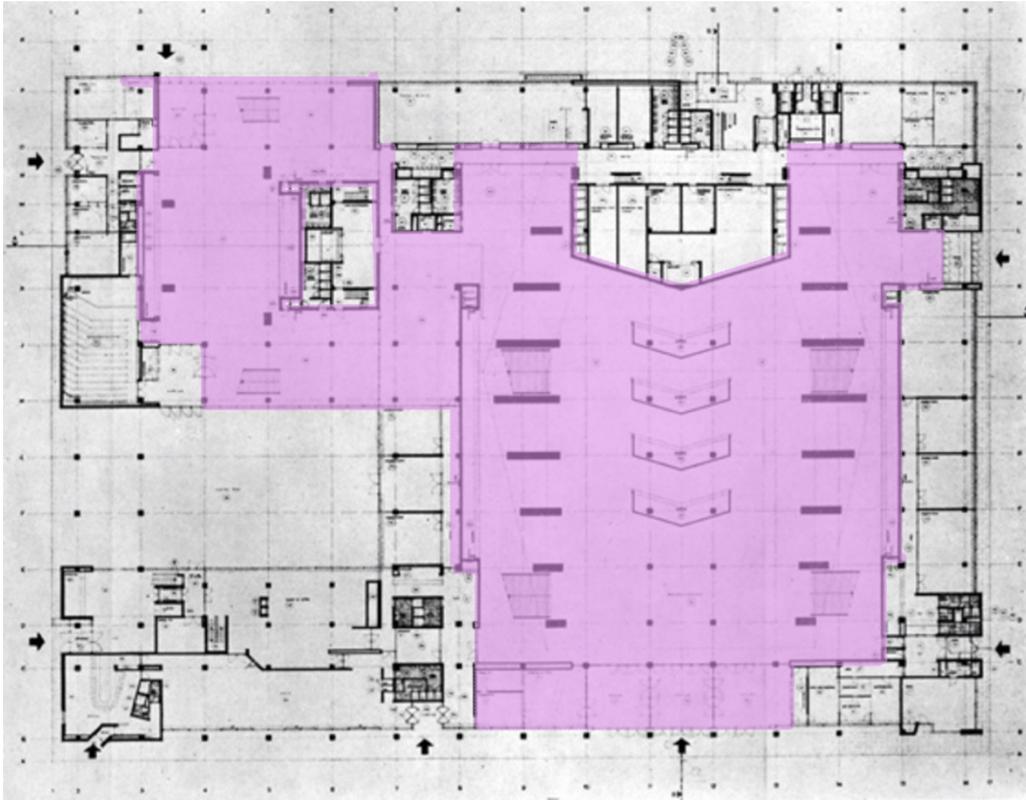


Figure 4 Plattegrond begane grond, Concert en congresgebouw de Doelen te Rotterdam. (1966). Bouw, 21(46), 1822-1849, edited by author

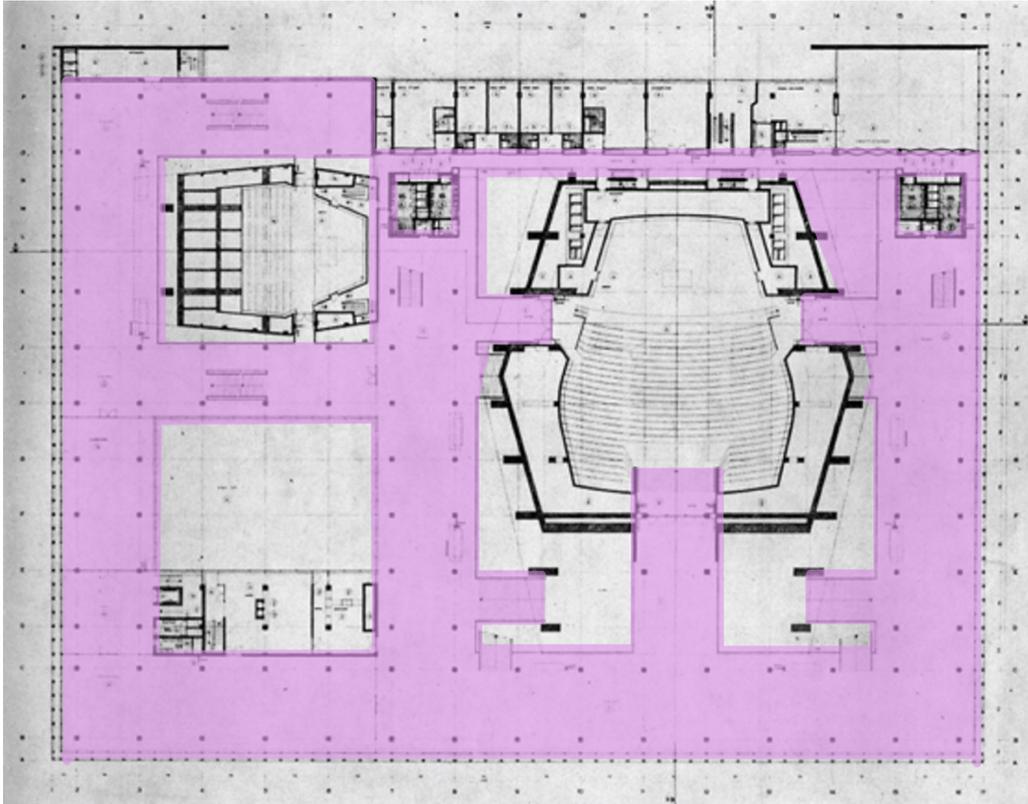


Figure 5 Plattegrond 1e verdieping, Concert en congresgebouw de Doelen te Rotterdam. (1966). *Bouw*, 21(46), 1822-1849, edited by author

The approved and later build design (as seen in figure 2 and 3), shows the organization of public space on the ground floor, making the concert hall more assessable to citizens of Rotterdam or visitors from elsewhere. In this image the public space is colored in purple, which makes it clear how important accessibility was in the design concept. As councilor Zeelenberg quotes: *“a crucial aspect of De Doelen’s design: accessibility. Unlike traditional concert halls that could be perceived as elitist, De Doelen was intentionally designed to be welcoming. The open foyers, clear circulation, and understated yet elegant interior were all aimed at ensuring that Rotterdam’s citizens would feel comfortable engaging with high culture. The building was not meant to intimidate but to invite participation.”*¹³ This openness fits well with Zeelenberg’s idea of making culture available to everyone, not just a select group.

¹³ Zeelenberg, N. (1966, 18 mei). *Eind jaren zestig lijkt de wederopbouw van het Rotterdamse centrum voltooid*. *Het Vrije Volk*.

Councilor N. Zeelenberg

One of the key figures in advocating for De Doelen was Councilor Nelly Zeelenberg, Rotterdam's first female alderman and a champion of cultural affairs and finance. Zeelenberg played a crucial role in securing the project's realization and promoting the cultural development of the city. For Zeelenberg, the opening of De Doelen represented a turning point in Rotterdam's cultural evolution. She remarked, *"I believe that Rotterdam's cultural image is improving significantly. The opening of De Doelen has contributed greatly to this."*¹⁴ Her words reflected a broader ambition to elevate Rotterdam's status as a cultural metropolis, countering its industrial reputation with a thriving artistic scene.

She further emphasized the building's impact on public perception: *"Many Rotterdammers will immediately think of De Doelen. Despite all skepticism, the building now stands, and what's most remarkable is that the citizens have not been overwhelmed by its grandeur. Instead, they have gloriously overcome their hesitation to step inside."*¹⁵

Zeelenberg's efforts ensured that De Doelen was not just another concert hall but a symbol of Rotterdam's cultural growth. Her advocacy helped shape the city's artistic future, making culture more accessible and reinforcing Rotterdam's identity as more than just an industrial hub. Through her work, De Doelen became a place where all citizens could engage with music and the arts, strengthening the cultural fabric of the city.

¹⁴ Zeelenberg, N. (1966, 18 mei). *Eind jaren zestig lijkt de wederopbouw van het Rotterdamse centrum voltooid*. Het Vrije Volk.

¹⁵ Zeelenberg, N. (1966, 18 mei). *Eind jaren zestig lijkt de wederopbouw van het Rotterdamse centrum voltooid*. Het Vrije Volk.

Opening and reactions

The opening of De Doelen in 1966 marked a milestone in Rotterdam's post-war cultural reconstruction. The venue was widely celebrated for its architectural design, modern facilities, and outstanding acoustics. Leo Hanekroot, writing for *Het Vrije Volk*, described the opening night as a festive occasion: "*The formalities of the opening concert led to a celebration: a night of wandering through the foyers, experiencing the fantastic acoustics, and admiring the building's clarity and simplicity*".¹⁶

Despite the positive reception, De Doelen was not without its critics. There were concerns regarding the project's high costs, and architecture students at the time questioned whether the building was remarkable enough to be featured in Rotterdam's architectural publications. Internationally, Kenneth Frampton offered a detailed critique, noting that while De Doelen had a logical location, it failed to effectively engage with its urban surroundings.¹⁷

Although there were critiques in the beginning, De Doelen gained permanent value for the city over time and is since 2016 listed as a national monument.¹⁸

¹⁶ Opening de doelen. (n.d.). *Wederopbouwmuseum*. Retrieved March 20, 2025, from <https://wederopbouwrotterdam.nl/wederopbouwmuseum/artikelen/opening-de-doelen>

¹⁷ Jager, I. (2015). *Evert en Herman Kraaijvanger: Architectonische noblesse*. nai010 uitgevers.

¹⁸ Opening de doelen. (n.d.). *Wederopbouwmuseum*. Retrieved March 20, 2025, from <https://wederopbouwrotterdam.nl/wederopbouwmuseum/artikelen/opening-de-doelen>

4 Discussion

Rotterdam had a difficult time reconstructing its city center and reclaiming its cultural identity in the years after the deconstruction. The city's social and cultural fabric had been lost along with the destruction of the buildings. Cultural organizations like De Doelen, which were bombed, and later rebuilt, became essential representations of resilience and adjustment in the reconstruction, by trying to become more than just the function as it was intended.

De Doelen's design shows a building that would encourage social interaction while also being a great concert hall. Its open floor plans and accessibility focused design enhance this. This makes it possible for more people to connect with culture. In line with the goal of public accessibility during the post-war reconstruction era, the goal was to make culture available to everyone. De Doelen's design also illustrates the difficulties of post-war reconstruction. Evolving from 'the Rockefeller center', which was a multifunctional cultural-commercial complex, to a more focused concert hall. The final design was influenced by the city's financial limitations. Despite the limitations, the building was still designed to create and be part of a new cultural fabric in the city.

N. Zeelenberg's support of De Doelen marks how crucial leadership that focusses on culture is to the city's reconstruction. Her determination made sure that De Doelen became a place that was open and friendly to all residents, instead of just aspiring to the cultural goals of the city. De Doelen became a building for everyone thanks to Zeelenberg's goals of accessibility.

Although De Doelen became an great cultural center in Rotterdam, it is important to consider the building's place in the city's cultural fabric. Other than only restoring what is lost, the fabric redefines the newly build city center. De Doelen was crucial in this matter. Not only because it gave the city's citizens concert hall, but also because it promoted social cohesion.

5 Conclusion

After the war, restoring Rotterdam's social and cultural fabric was as important as fixing the city's infrastructure. Creating places for cultural functions were crucial to this repair. An example of this process is as researched in this thesis, concert hall De Doelen. This building serves as both a concert venue and a cultural hub.

While making his urban plan for the reconstruction of the city center, van Traa recognized the need for cultural restoration. De Doelen's reconstruction brings this vision to life, it demonstrates how urban planning combined with architecture were used to redesign Rotterdam's cultural fabric. Although the original design of the Doelen aimed to combine cultural and commercial functions, financial budget led to a more functional design. However, De Doelen successfully became a central cultural hub, which shows that cultural places were needed for the city's reconstruction.

Other than its architectural value, De Doelen has helped to engage social contact, which has helped to restore Rotterdam's culture fabric. Its layout, which includes a lot of public area, supports the city's goal of developing facilities that meet the needs of the community. Its position in Rotterdam's cultural area highlights its role to the city's renewal.

In answering the main question: How did cultural functions contribute to social and cultural recovery during the post-war reconstruction period, and how is this reflected in the design and role of De Doelen in Rotterdam? It becomes clear that de Doelen is more than just a place of entertainment from the post war reconstruction era. Is a symbol of resilience and renewal and is shaping the city's identity and new cultural fabric in the post-war time. The development of De Doelen shows the balance between goals and economic reality in this time. Highlighting the importance of cultural fabric in urban reconstruction and recovery. This thesis shows and highlights how culture, architectural design, and urban planning work together to create cities.

6 Bibliography

Material bibliography:

Primary sources:

- Kraaijvanger Architects. Architectural drawings for De Doelen Concert Hall. 1959. Archival materials. Rotterdam City Archives, Rotterdam, Netherlands.
- Van Traa's Urban Plan for Rotterdam (1946)
- Blijstra, R. (1965). Rotterdam, stad in beweging. Hoofdstuk 2: Rotterdam verdwijnt en verschijnt 1940-1948.
- Zeelenberg, N. (1966, 18 mei). Eind jaren zestig lijkt de wederopbouw van het Rotterdamse centrum voltooid. Het Vrije Volk.
- Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (ASRO). (1946). Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam: Toelichting op het basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam. Rotterdam: ASRO.

Secondary sources:

- Kraaijvanger. (2014). *Concertgebouw de Doelen*. Kraaijvanger.
- Kloos, M. (2007). *Cultuur en stedelijke identiteit: Publieke gebouwen in de wederopbouw van Rotterdam*. In: W. van der Woud (red.), *Het lege land en de wederopbouw* (pp. 85–101). NAI Publishers.
- Jager, I. (2015). Evert en Herman Kraaijvanger: Architectonische noblesse. nai010 uitgevers.
- Hillen, C. (2010). De Doelen, een concert- en congresgebouw dat wortelt in de Middeleeuwen: De geschiedenis van de Rotterdamse Doelen en zijn vijf voorgangers. Matrijs.
- Jongstra, A., & Van der Schoor, A. (2019). Rotterdam in de Wederopbouw.
- Platform Wederopbouw Rotterdam. (n.d.). Wederopbouw Rotterdam. Wederopbouwrotterdam.nl.

Material archive:

- Stadsarchief Rotterdam: Wethouder mej. J. Zeelenberg: krantenknipsels uit haar ambtsperiode 1956-1967 – number: G000010326 – publication: 1967