

# The spaces of Sliedrecht

Exploring Spatial Dynamics and Power Structures Through Lefebvre's Lens



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This document presents the Research paper of my academic pursuit, the Master of Architecture program at TU Delft. In this research, I will attempt to answer the question: "What characteristics of Sliedrecht contributed to it becoming the birthplace of the dredging industry?" by appropriating Henri Lefebvre's theoretical framework to fit the research. This is done by simplifying his production of space dialectic into three concepts: Borders, Networks, and Differences. While also using the spatial grid of David Harvey. With these concepts, it is shown where the centralities lie within Sliedrecht and how different power dynamics between the church, state/municipality, and the industry particularly the dredging industry have effectively produced the representation of spaces of Sliedrecht that have been used as arguments in municipality investment policies and the architectural competition for the first major urbanization project that Sliedrecht made in the first half of the twentieth century.

**Keywords:** *Henri Lefebvre, Cultural Heritage, Dredging industry, urban identity, Representation*

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# Introduction

Slidrecht has long been recognized as the dredging capital of the world. Boskalis, van Oord, and IHC all have their roots there. This fact is often celebrated by Slidrecht itself and by the nation in general. However, the reason why this particular small town became so well-known and acclaimed for its Dredging industry and why so many of the Large dredging companies have their roots here is still unclear. The characteristics that made Slidrecht what it is are subject to multiple aspects and a definite answer is impossible to give. A good place to start is by analyzing the relationship between Slidrecht's environment and morphology and the people and their perception of the environment. In doing so it is hoped to answer the question:

What characteristics of Slidrecht contributed to it becoming the birthplace of the dredging industry?

This question will be attempted to be answered by using the theory developed by Henri Lefebvre which is best described in his magnum opus "The Production of Space". Lefebvre's theoretical framework helps with this research because it views space not as a static entity that exists independently of human interactions but as a constantly evolving network of relationships actively shaped through social engagement (Peters, 2015).

Lefebvre's theory presents notable advantages on multiple fronts. Firstly, its applicability extends across various scales. Secondly, the theory offers a wide array of applications, spanning from the social sciences to the fields of architecture and urban design. Thirdly, the theory inherently encompasses the transformative shift in recent decades within the social sciences, transitioning from linguistic and spatial considerations to the cultural turn (Jameson, 1998).

Finally, a significant advantage lies in its role as a comprehensive theory of society, accounting for both spatial and temporal conditions (Schmid, 2016, p. 32). But with all these advantages does come the disadvantage of being difficult to specify. That is why in the first chapter, we will adapt Lefebvre's theory to be fit to apply to this research. The second chapter will analyze with the use of the adapted concepts of chapter one of Networks, Borders, and Differences and how the major forces transform the space of Slidrecht appropriate space for the Dredging industry and its production. Hereby locating the important centralities of Slidrecht. The Third chapter will look into which forces were in power and how these forces influenced the production of space in Slidrecht. Lastly, the fourth chapter will analyze how the perceptions of Slidrecht became operative in the making of its first major expansion.





Figure 1: (-) 004-281 - Groeten uit Sliedrecht [Postcard]. Beeldbank Historische Vereniging Sliedrecht

# 1. Appropriating and applying Lefebvre's Theory

Lefebvre's theoretical framework is spread over multiple publications he did but it centers on the idea that society has undergone complete urbanization, where in nearly the entire world is engaged in a pervasive urbanization process. He argues that the traditional classification of places like Sliedrecht as mere "towns" no longer suffices; instead, understanding them requires the framework of urban society (Diener et al., 2005, p. 165). Lefebvre connects urbanization closely with industrialization, seeing them as intricately intertwined. Industrialization sets the stage and tools for urbanization, while the latter emerges as a consequence of the global spread of industrial production. The places where urbanization grows the fastest can be regarded as centralities. These spaces serve as hubs for interaction, communication, and information exchange, simultaneously functioning as environments where constraints dissolve (Diener et al., 2005).

In this definition, Sliedrecht can be regarded as a centrality in the urban fabric of the Dredging industry as well as other networks. Making it an interesting case study for applying Lefebvre's theory. However, the broad scope of the theory necessitates a more focused examination of the centralities generated on a smaller scale.

In short Henri Lefebvre's concept of space production is characterized by three distinct dimensions: the conceived, the perceived, and the lived space (the Phenomenological triad of the embodied experience of space)(See Glossary). On top of that is the Marxist-inspired triad of spatial practices, representations of space, and spaces of representation. These dimensions are instrumental in shaping the "social space". (see Figure 2) These concepts can also be found in the "Grid of Spatial Practices" by David Harvey (see Figure 3).

Two decades ago, Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of (urban) space was perceived as nearly impenetrable and challenging to apply, leading to its infrequent use in empirical research. However, over time, there has been a notable shift, with the theory gaining widespread acceptance and application. This is evident in its increased utilization not only in urban studies but also in the realms of architecture and urban design. But to apply Lefebvre's into practice as Schmid describes in the chapter 'Theory not Method' (Schmid, 2016) one has to appropriate the theory to fit the targeted study area because the theory of Lefebvre is not merely an analysis but also a critique and a project (Stanek, 2008).

Conducting empirical studies that comprehensively engage with the three dimensions outlined entails a substantial undertaking. Firstly, researchers need to scrutinize spatial practice, delving into the tangible processes linked to space production. Secondly, the examination must extend to representations of space, encompassing discourses, concepts, and plans. Lastly, the analysis should integrate spaces of representation, encapsulating lived experiences within the scope of the investigation (Schmid, 2016).

When employing Lefebvre's theory, the goal is to view relationships as dynamic components, avoiding their independent study. Instead, the focus should be on analyzing the dialectical interplay among the dimensions. Lefebvre underscored repeatedly that the three dimensions or moments should not be merged or isolated, as emphasized in his work (Lefebvre et al., 1991).

To efficiently conduct this research within a limited timeframe, the need arose to identify straightforward concepts that could effectively steer the investigation of the urbanization of Sliedrecht. Consequently, Lefebvre's theory was distilled into three guiding concepts inspired by the approach of the study of Switzerland Urbain portrait: Networks, borders, and differences (Diener et al., 2005) (See also glossary).

For each of these concepts, a different map is created of Sliedrecht. Furthermore, an investigation of the architecture produced in Sliedrecht is done by using Harvey's "grid of spatial practices" which multiplies the Lefebvrian practices of production space with their four "aspects" (practices of accessibility and dissociation; of appropriation and use of space; of domination and control of space; and practices of material production) (Harvey, 1989).

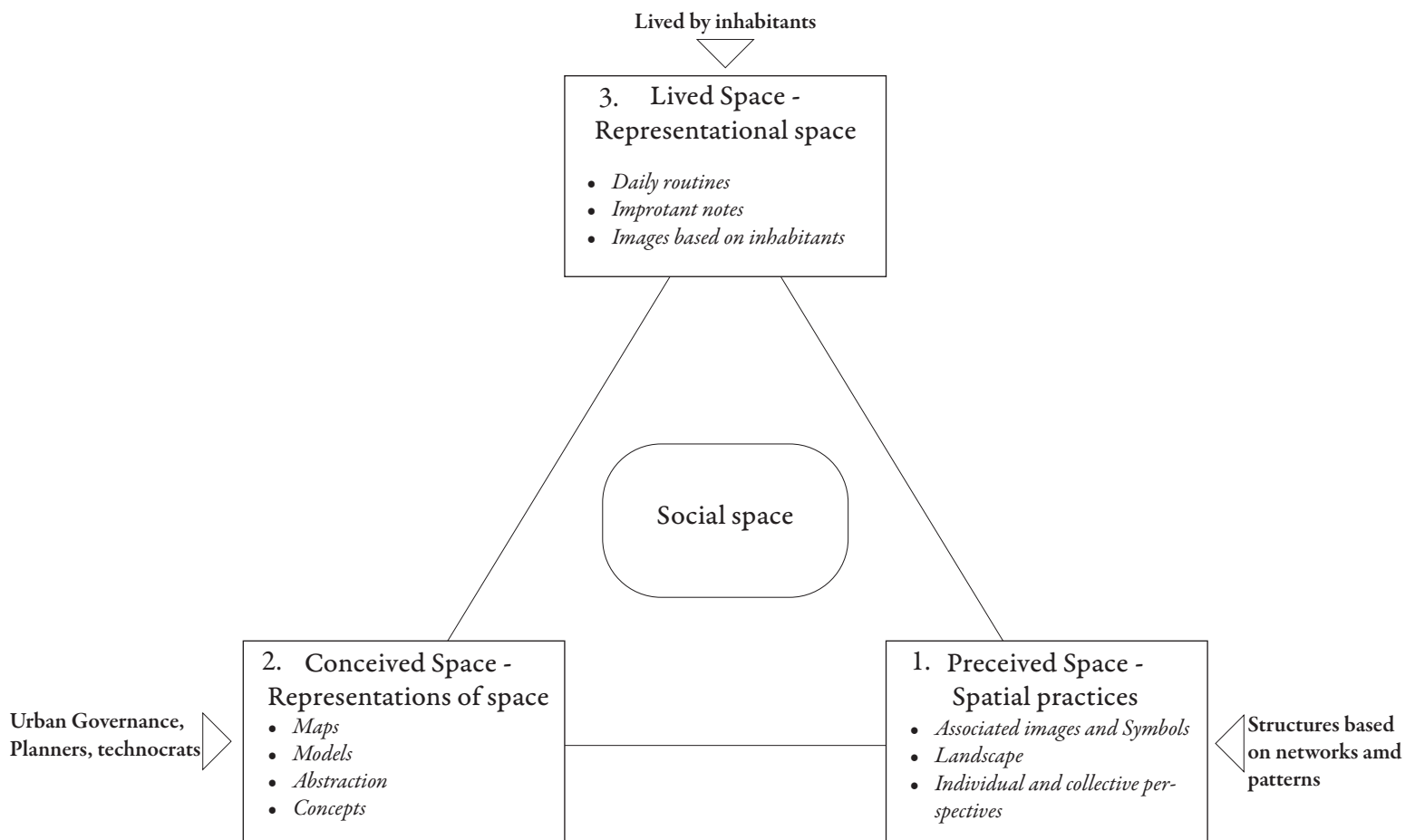


Figure 2: Attempt to combine the two triads of Lefebvre. The combination I provided is a simplification to create a more comprehensive framework, but it's not an exact representation of Lefebvre's original triads. Lefebvre's triads are distinct and reflect his specific concepts and the nuances of his theory. [Diagram]



	Accessibility and Distraction	Appropriation and use of space	Domination and control of space
1. Material spatial practices (experience)	Flows of good, money people, labour power, information etc; transport & communications systems, market and urban hierarchies; agglomeration	Urban built environment, social space and other 'turf' designations; social networks of communication & mutual aid	Private property in land, state, & administrative divisions of space, exclusive communities & neighbourhoods, exclusionary zoning & other forms of social control (policing and surveillance)
2. Representations of space (perception)	Social, psychological and physical measures of distance, mapmaking; theories of the 'friction of distance' (principle of least effort, social physics, range of good, central place and other forms of location theory)	Personal space; mental space; spatial hierarchies, symbolic representation of spaces	Forbidden space "territorial imperatives", community, regional, culture, nationalism, geopolitics, hierarchies
3. Spaces of representation (imagination)	"Media is the message" new modes of spatial transaction (radio, TV, film, photography, painting etc); diffusion of "taste"	Popular spectacles-street demonstrations, riots, places of popular spectacle (streets, squares, markets): iconography and graffiti	Organized spectacles, monumentality and constructed spaces of ritual; symbolic barriers and signals of symbolic capital

Figure 3: Harvey, D. (1990) A 'Grid' of Spatial Practices" [Diagram] Flexible Accumulation through Urbanization Reflections on "Post-Modernism" in the American City. *Perspecta* 26. Page 257. rewritten by author

## 2. Centralities

To examine the interdependences between the representations of Sliedrecht and the architectural and urbanistic forms and programs in the city, I will focus on one of the centralities in the city and how they were influenced by the central powers in the city. First, we will look briefly into the origin of its creation as historical factors continue to influence urban development and how it is thought about.

The first time Sliedrecht is mentioned is in a (forged) charter from 1064. In this document, the geographic data are mentioned. In 1421, the so-called St. Elisabeth Flood. Ensured that the villages in the Grote Waarde disappeared under water and the population fled to present-day Sliedrecht.

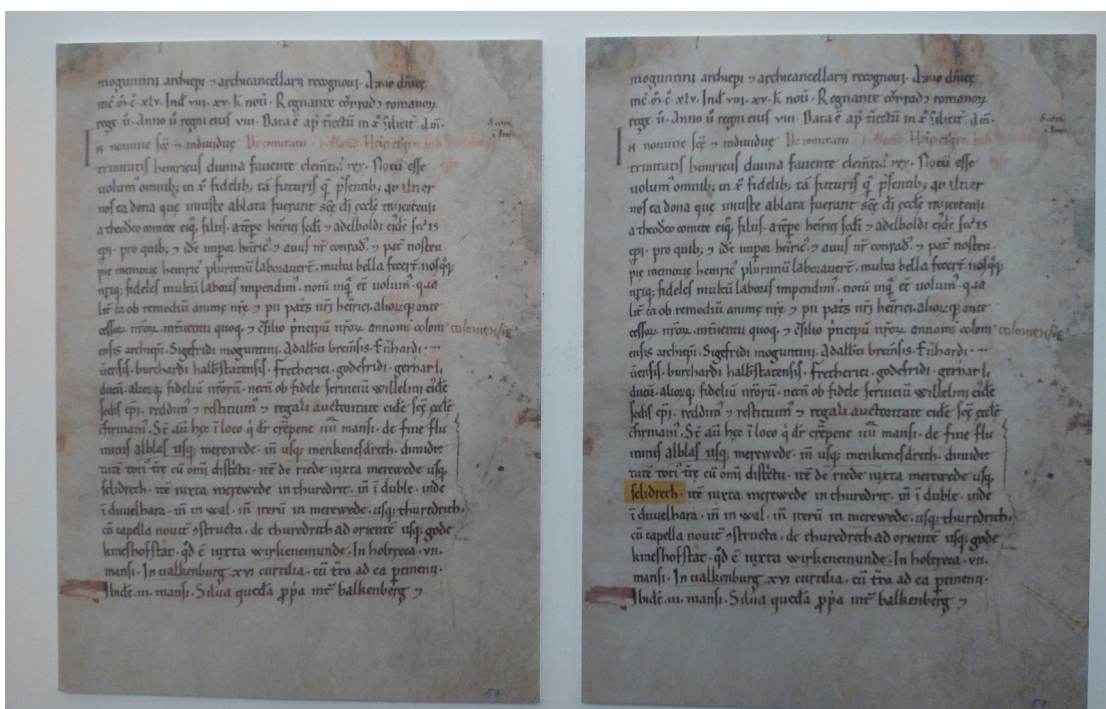


Figure 4: (1064) Certificate Sliedrecht/Certificatel. Sliedrecht museum

Following the Sint-Elisabeth and Allerheiligen floods, Sliedrecht faced challenges, with displaced peasants turning to fishing due to the poor, flood-prone land. The church, dedicated to St. Peter, served as the focal point for the community, playing a crucial role in cultural, social, and political aspects. The dike, a prominent feature in the village was the only dry land in the proximity of the church thus houses were built along its path. Dike maintenance became crucial, leading to the rise of "dike bosses" and later contractors. Sliedrecht's connection to the Rhine network exposed residents to the Reformation's individualistic mentality and hard work ethic as described by Max Weber in his theory of Protestant ethics and the spirit of capitalism (Weber, 2005). Undoubtedly, these factors played a pivotal role in the ascendance of industries, especially the Dredging industry.

Despite their common faith, Sliedrecht remained individualistic. For centuries, one church would have sufficed, but with the increasing number of inhabitants and new branches of Christianity, many church buildings were built in the 19th century. The dredging fleet made Sliedrecht a temporary home port, with associated industries benefiting like shipyards that needed repairs. (See Difference map in the Appendix) Many wheelbarrows found their way to the construction pits. The great demand for brushwood remained and work in the Biesbosch continued.

The dredging industry thrived, especially when the steam engine was invented and applied to facilitate dredging work in 1886 (Korteweg, 2018). Because of the booming industry, the town expanded with essential infrastructure. The Fopsmit introduced the first easy connection with other cities which had three moorings since 1880. (See Network map) and shortly after that the railroad which was built in 1881-1885 which in return increased urbanization. Along the dike, inside the dike, practically everything was built up. On the outside, many places were also built. To create space, more and more "stoepen" with mostly workers' houses were added.

When this was no longer possible, the first plans were put forward for extensive urban expansion which will be discussed in Chapter 4. The mapping of the centralities started by looking for the representations of spaces. By viewing old postcards and photographs certain places were more promptly featured than others for instance the N.H. Dorpskerk and the surrounding "Kerk buurt". Other widely represented places were the municipality buildings, old contractor houses (Historische vereniging Sliedrecht, 2013), the Boschlaan, the Stationroad and the Merwesingel. Sliedrecht in the 18th century limited stores, with goods often sold door-to-door thus these spaces are not represented statically. Lastly, the buildings we today consider monuments are also mapped as they show what was considered important to preserve. (See Difference map in the Appendix ) From this, it is clear that the main differences center around the Church. Furthermore around the Contractor's house (where they worked) "stoepen" sprawled because living closer to your work meant better accessibility. The Contractors' houses were more on the east side of the village as this had better accessibility to the Biesbosch and later on the fopsmit and they lay in the richer district of Naaldwijk.

Sliedrechts main network is also its main border the dike. All the main traffic goods and people were along the dike and was accessible to all the public. On weekdays this was quiet as the men worked in the Biesbosch or were away in the summer on Dredging expeditions. On Saturdays, "outsiders" came to negotiate and would trade goods. And on special days of remembrance, the dike was appropriated as a space of representation and would buzz of activity. But little is known about how the social life was organized. (Bos Jzn. I. 1954)

Though the space was public it was also perceived as a space of power display. Kids were taught in school to take off their hats if they came across Mr. Prins or Mr. Kalis. The same was true for the major. If a policeman would come across them they would hide in a Stoep. (van Leeuwen, 1989) In addition, the industry of the Dredgers and shipbuilders was omnipresent. When walking along the dike the dredging equipment and shipbuilding was almost always visible. Besides that, the wissle of "de klopp" could be heard all over Sliedrecht marking the worktimes of the Shipyard. (Buizert R., 1985) The water that the dike was protecting from is the main network with which Sliedrecht was connected to the outside world with the earlier mentioned Fopsmit and its other ships particularly the Biesbosch from which the early industry started.

Until 1795, Sliedrecht was delineated into 3 districts: Naaldwijk, Lockhorst, and Niemandsvriend with borders crossing at the Tolweg and the Church enclosed by the natural borders of the area. (see Border map in Appendix) In the year 1801, the department borders were changed and Sliedrecht was included in the department Holland which united the municipality across the Merwede, which contributed to the flourishing of the village in the 19th century (see figure 7). To be later revised to be part of the Maaslanden. In 1810, the Netherlands was incorporated into France, resulting in the merger of the three districts into one municipality. The French also established the Kadaster in 1832 which made an equal way of levying the land tax possible for the whole of the Netherlands (Otten, 1997). Furthermore, the existence of a reliable cadastre system enhances confidence in property transactions. This meant that contractors could be more certain about the boundaries and ownership status of the land they were buying or selling.



Figure 5: Sluyter, P (1560) Kaart van de Biesbosch [Drawing]. Nationaal Archief



Figure 6: (Unknown) Jan boeren stoep [Photograph]. <http://sliedrecht.serc.nl/fotogeschiedenis-sliedrecht/stoepen-in-sliedrecht/>



Figure 7: (1830) Map showing the municipality included with part below the Merwede [Drawing]. Topotijdreis

### 3. The church, the industries, and the state

When investigating the urbanization of Sliedrecht through the concepts of Networks, Borders, and Differences it became clear that it was mainly forged by three distinct powers: the state including the major and the municipality, the church, and the industry from which early on the contractors were a big part. In this chapter, we will analyze how these powers interlink and in their way shape the spaces of Sliedrecht. A overview time-line can also be found in the appendix.

As shown the village was constructed around the old Church and through the years few historical structures remained in Sliedrecht. The old church is the only symbol of history dating back to 1000 years ago. Until the French Revolution (1795), the church in the Netherlands was the Reformed Church. For the longest time, the most important decisions were made by the Church. In the year 1807, a local regulation decided that the municipal administration would be part of the Church Council. Resulting in the laying of the first brick of the new school building that was built behind the church by the major Jacobus van Hattum (Bos Jzn. I, 1954) (van Leeuwen, 1989). In many places, the start of the school was a matter for the church council. Not in Sliedrecht where the school is in the first instance taken care of by ordinary members of the church (van Leeuwen, 1989). Other social welfare initiatives were provided by wealthy contractors like Ms. Prins-Visser whose large mansion in the center of the community was turned into a hospital (see figure 10).

During the year 1852 great changes took place in Sliedrecht. At that time the first aldermen were appointed; the town council then consisted of 8 members. On March 21, 1854, the regulations and bylaws were adopted. Since then a board of six regents, all members of the Reformed Church at Sliedrecht, was formed. Two regents were elected by the Town Council, two by the Church Council and two were named the church custodian. The main objective was to house and care for elderly men and women, who were supported by the "Burgelijk Armbestuur".

Many of the major contractors were also part of the church council and regularly supported the church by giving out gifts or supporting financially (van Leeuwen, 1989). But from 1796 citizens filed a protest because they were not eligible to vote but the contractors could (Bos Jzn. I, 1954) thereby making the decision process more democratic.

Neither church life nor congregational life changed much in Sliedrecht in the early years of the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century also other denominations than the Reformed founded their buildings so that after 1900 Sliedrecht was a Christian Reformed Church, a Reformed Church a church building "group bogaard" and a Synagogue. However, in 1929 there was a dispute between the rightists and liberals within the church which resulted in the exiting of the liberals many descendants of the dredgers were involved and their workers. For now, they found refuge in the former custodial school.

Contracting took the form of the procurer splitting the work into small parts, providing the materials himself, and then contracting out the parts of the work to groups of laborers. When working in a heterogeneous manner, the boundaries between the different Classes are extremely blurred (Bos Jzn. I, 1954).

Around 1885 the contractors started to consolidate more into big firms, which was the result of the need for big capital from the now-mostly mechanized company. However the divide between the different classes was small, one spoke at Volker about the "compangie" and at bos about "society". Unfortunately, during the years of great growth, an ever-increasing distance grew between employer and employee. Business, with its highly localized nature and increasingly complicated forms, could no longer tolerate labour mediation in family and acquaintance circles alone.

In addition to the dredging, gravel, and hoop maker business, Sliedrecht primarily has several large shipyards., for instance, Van Rees, Lanser, Baars en de Klop (zie afbeeldingen) (Historische Vereniging Sliedrecht, n.d.) they found a well-outfitted harbor business, indispensable for the many contractor firms.

Through the twin forces of industrialization and urbanization, both took place within the context of growing state and industry, and other related secular forces. the Church was forced to redefine its role in communities (Janssen, 2016).

Now that we looked at the history of Sliedrecht and which different institutions, ideologies, and power structures shape the spaces of Sliedrecht. We also need to look at its representations, because as Lefebvre quotes: "We should have to study not only the history of space, but also the history of representations, along with that of their relationships – with each other, with practice, and with ideology" (Lefebvre et al., 1991). In the first expansion of the village, we can analyze how specific representations become operative. For instance, representations become arguments in municipality investment policies or conceptual frames for architectural competitions or operative design concepts or vessels for everyday experiences of spaces. This can best examined in the old expansion of the village south of the Church.

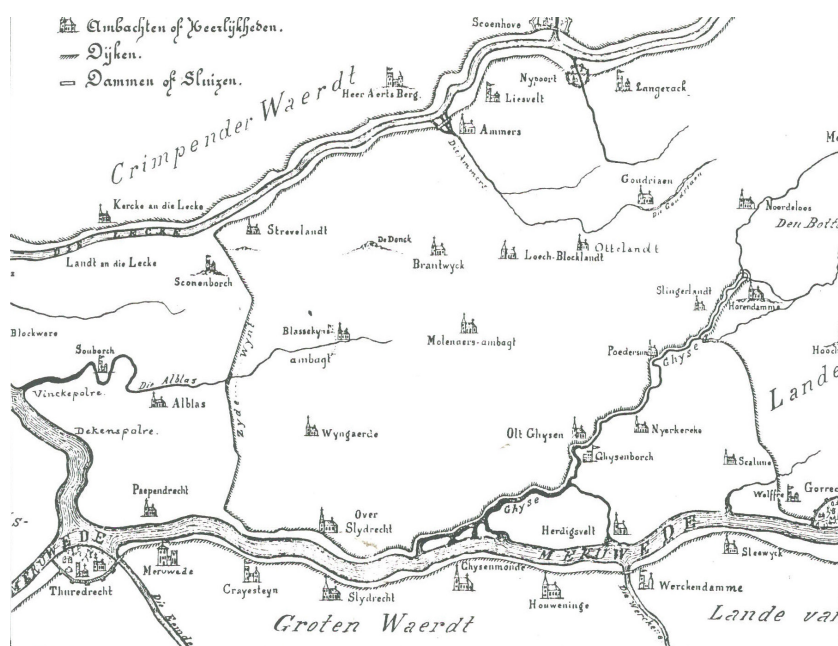


Figure 8: (1277) Waters between the Lecke and Den docke [Drawing]. archive provincial registry of south holland



The Rechthuis (koffyhuis v. d. vliet) served as first place for the city council, Kerkbuurt 141



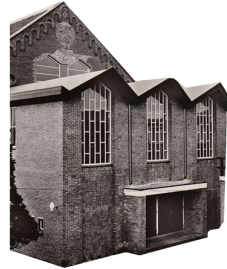
Dutch Reformed Great Church, Kerkbuurt 131



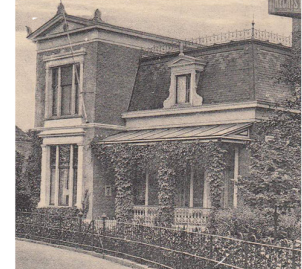
House family Prins, Rivierdijk 456 (One of the first dredging families)



District court(Left) Old Town hall(Right), Kerkbuurt 99



Christian Reformed Church Beth-El, Kerkbuurt 72



Residence of mayor of Sliedrecht (1884-1895) and known dredging families.



Town hall, Doctor langeveldplein 30 (Part of the Expansion)



Reformed church, Middeldiepstraat 6



House of the family bos

### Municipal buildings

### Church Buildings

### Contractor buildings

Figure 9: Author (2023) Showing some of the most represented buildings of the different powers (Illustrations). Beeldbank Historische Vereniging Sliedrecht



Ziekenhuis — Sliedrecht.

Figure 10: (Unknown) Hospital in district A donated by the family Visser (Picture). Beeldbank Historische Vereniging Sliedrecht

## 4. Old expansion

At the turn of the century, Sliedrecht represented the dredging village par excellence. Known nationally, as well as internationally. Up until this point Sliedrecht had grown organically resulting in the Dike ribbon development and the "stoepen". The local debating club that was also linked to the freemason group "Ken U Zelve" suggested that the sand and shanty slabs located outside the dikes could be made suitable for the first urban development plan of Sliedrecht tackling the housing shortage that it was now dealing with. They thought that Sliedrecht had to change, as quoted in the General Assembly on March 30, 1911: "times change and we change with them. So has it been with contractors and contracting" (van den Houte Willems, 1911). Hereby van den Houte Willems (Secretary of "Sliedrecht Vooruit") indicates what importance he attributes to the Dredging industry. With the motto "Sliedrecht vooruit" the outer expansion arose in 1911. Though it took some time to get the citizens on board with the plan (Historische Vereniging Sliedrecht, 2023), the expansion was yet another manifestation of the boldness of Sliedrechters according to many (Timmermans dhr. M.A., 2007).

A committee was appointed by the municipality from which many were contractor descendants to investigate the plan further. The committee intended to implement the middle section first, by immediately putting the entire harbor in order, converting the Kerkeplaat in its entirety into building land, raising the part of a villa park along the main road, and building a road through the commercial and industrial sites on the west side of the area.

Through the years significant additions to the urban landscape of Sliedrecht include the introduction of a new town hall including a square, the establishment of a harbour dedicated to dredging equipment in the middle of the site, and the creation of Merwesingel, an avenue adorned with mansions belonging to dredging families and other prominent individuals. Even though Merwesingel, akin to Boschlaan, was made to house the mansions of prominent people in Sliedrecht it became a featured route during Sunday walks and was considered by many the most beautiful part of Sliedrecht (Piet van Grietjies, 2016).

The Dredging Industry quite clearly had a major focus as one of the debating club members said: "Not inside the dike, the contractor and his entourage of shipyards and machine shops need space to live here and expand his business in the long run" (van den Houte Willems, 1911). But, the municipality decided that building houses took precedence over making the Harbour. The first houses that were built were the well-known 40 "Klop houses," built on behalf of the shipyard "De klop".



Figure 11: (1911) Sketch Expansion plan [Sketch]. Historische Vereniging Sliedrecht



The municipality also assumed a more prominent role, evident in the design of the City hall. Until 1853 the city council of Sliedrecht met in the Rechthuis (Koffyhuis v. d. Vlies). This house was close to the church, outside the dike. (See Difference map) In 1853 a new council house was built inside the dike in the Kerkebuurt by the contractor Adrianus van der Lind. The major lived on the downstairs floor of the new Council house(see Difference map) later he moved and this part changed to the police station. On the Dr. Langeveldplein in the expansion, they would make the new city hall with advice from the architect de Bazel. Giving it a prominent place in the middle of the expansion plan. The old town hall on the Kerkbuurt had become too small. The new major wanted to have an aesthetically pleasing building so a competition was held. It was won by Gijsbert Friedhoff and Jan Hendrik Plantenga. They had designed a building in the Delft School style. In 1923, the new city hall was inaugurated. Amid great interest, the official opening took place and the town hall was immediately put to use. The local police, fire department, and tax authority also found accommodation in the new building. Also, the firm N.V. K.L. Kalis Zonen and Co (one of the major Dredging companies) established their headquarters on the new Dr. Langeveldplein. The square around the council house was initially a market square for a short time, but the market did not flourish, so greenery and flower beds were installed. What did flourish was the rich club life through which choirs and marching bands regularly gave performances in the bandstand on Dr. Langeveld Square. Thus making the square part of the daily practices of Sliedrecht.

The church took a secondary position, following both the congregation and the industrial sector in importance. Only in 1935 was a new church, the reformed church was built. Still, it was placed in very close proximity to the city council and the Kerkbuurt.

Of course, the expansion was not only positive. Across the Kleindiep, a tributary of the Middeldiep, which was an important waterway, a fixed, stone bridge had been built in 1915. This obstructed passage for the ships that sailed to the Hoepel merchants located along the Kleindiep. Because of this the plan encountered quite a bit of resistance. A footbridge that could easily be moved when passing through was eventually chosen by the city council.

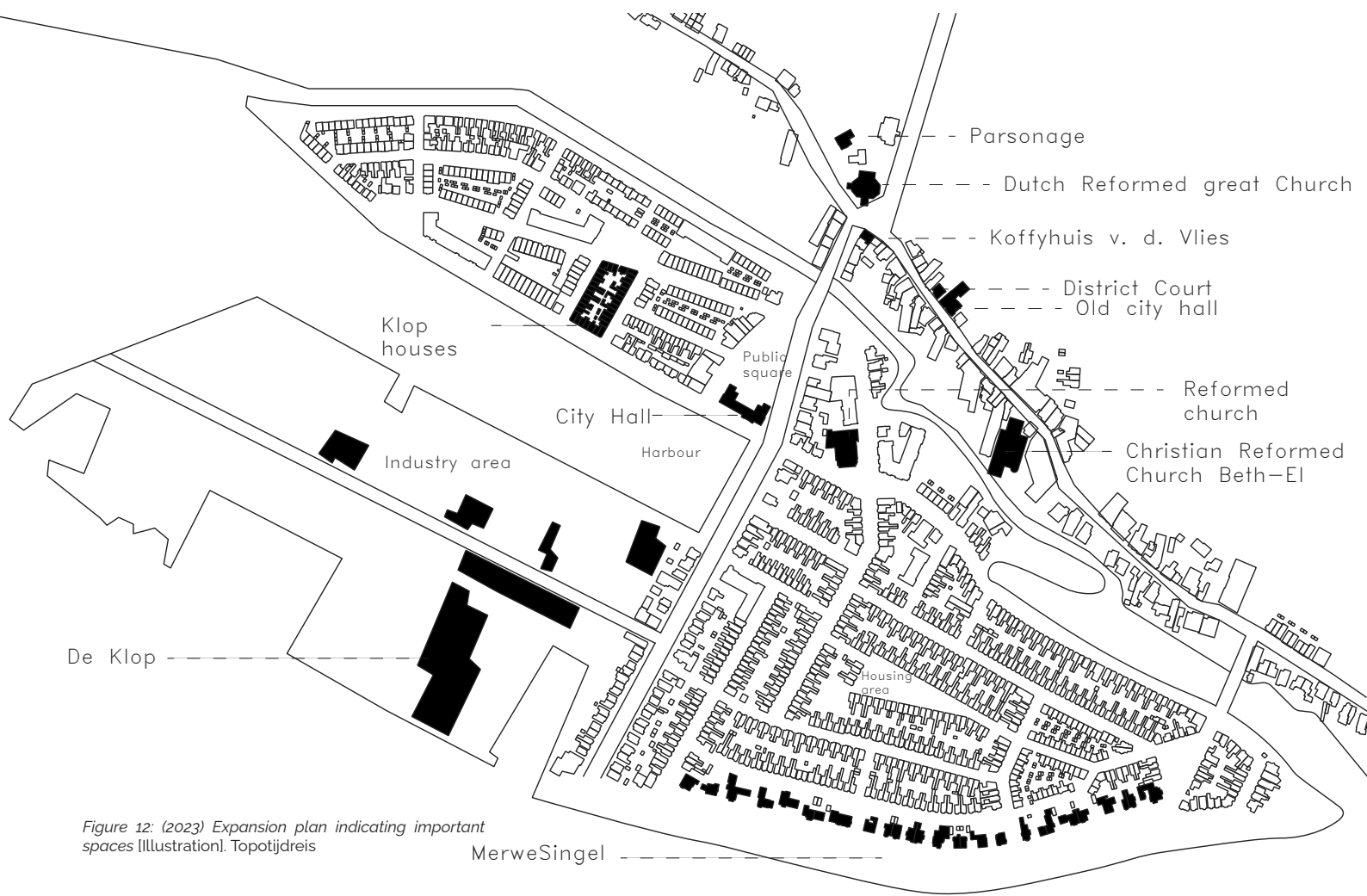


Figure 12: (2023) Expansion plan indicating important spaces (Illustration). Topotijdreis

# Conclusion

In conclusion, Lefebvre's theory is used to fit the targeted study area by locating the centralities in the spaces in Sliedrecht through the concepts of networks, borders, and differences. From this, it became clear that the urbanization and industrialization of Sliedrecht were partly caused by the exploitation of its main border the dike as a zone for creating an exchange between influential entities. Even though Sliedrecht was divided first into 3 districts and from 1800 into 4 neighbourhoods the dike was the system of exchange between the areas and the different influential powers. It was perceived as a public property that people would use to stroll on Sundays. The dike has no flexibility as a physical border for transformation because of its main function as protection of the water. However, perceptions of the dike as a power display increased with the urbanization of Sliedrecht. Important contractors and state buildings would form on the dike around the church and children were taught in school how to act around the major and contractors. The water that the dike was protecting from is the main network with which Sliedrecht was connected to the outside world particularly the Biesbosch from which the early industry started.

Within the centralities, the interplay between different power dynamics determined how the place was perceived, conceived, and lived. From its origin, the Church and Industry played a big role in shaping Sliedrecht. As time went on, though, industry and the government became more influential in determining how the spaces in the area were developed. It is important to acknowledge that the information available has been shaped by specific power dynamics, offering a representation of Sliedrecht from a particular perspective. Notably, spaces like the 'stoepen' and the people that lived there are conspicuously absent in many accounts and have experienced widespread demolition.

How the perception of Sliedrecht became operative could be best viewed first major expansion outer dike. In the expansion plan, the housing of workers was the most important in addition to a port where dredging equipment could be stored. Thus indicating the close linkage between living and working in Sliedrecht. Even though the Old expansion was the initiative of a few important men from the schools, municipality, and industry it was thoroughly discussed with the general public, it was perceived as in line with the way Sliedrecht was represented as bold and enterprising and therefore embraced and incorporated in the daily practices. However, discovering the perspectives of ordinary individuals regarding the expansion plan proved to be challenging and therefore this research could unintentionally post a one-sided view of how the spaces were produced. In the end, this research topic is too broad to narrow down in this short amount of time and much information had to be left out. Lastly, while this study provides valuable insights into the urbanization of Sliedrecht through the lens of Lefebvre's theory, it also underscores the need for continued exploration into the intricate interplay of borders, differences, and networks, both within the town itself and within the broader context of the Netherlands' urban landscape, rivers, and beyond, to comprehensively grasp its evolution as the dredging capital of the world.

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# Glossary

<b>Production:</b>	As Lefebvre says: Nothing in history or society is not produced. 'Nature' itself, as apprehended in social life by the sense organs, has been modified and therefore in a sense produced. Human beings have produced juridical, political, religious, artistic and philosophical forms. Thus production in the broad sense of the term embraces a multiplicity of works and a great diversity of forms.
<b>Lived space:</b>	Lived space refers to the concrete, everyday experiences of individuals and social groups within a particular space. It is the space as it is physically inhabited and used by people.
<b>Conceived space:</b>	Conceived space is the space as it is abstractly and conceptually conceived or planned by various actors, including urban planners, architects, policymakers, and other social agents. It represents the way space is envisioned, designed, and organized according to particular ideas, ideologies, and interests.
<b>Perceived space:</b>	Perceived space refers to the way people subjectively perceive and experience space. It is shaped by individual and collective perceptions, attitudes, and mental representations of a space. This perception is influenced by cultural, historical, and personal factors.
<b>Place:</b>	Place is to be understood as a node of the perceived, conceived, and lived space, "produced" in the embodied experience. Places are not given but produced in time - as events.
<b>Space:</b>	Space should be examined as socially produced in the interaction between social practices between the urban totality.
<b>Material spatial practices:</b>	Refer to the physical and material flows, transfers and interactions that occur in and across space in such a way as to assure production and social reproduction
<b>Representations of space:</b>	Encompass all of the signs and signifiers, codes and knowledge, that all such material practices to be talked about and understood, no matter whether in terms of everyday common sense or through the arcane jargon of the academic disciplines that deal with spatial practices (engineering, architecture, geography, planning, social ecology, and the like)
<b>Spaces of representation:</b>	Are social inventions (codes, signs, and even material constructs such as symbolic spaces, particular built environments, paintings, museums and the like) that seek to generate new meanings and possibilities for spatial practices

- Borders:** The particular character of urbanism can be identified by the way a city appropriates the countless preexisting borders. The original dividing line is transformed into a zone of exchange and a link between distinct things.
- Networks:** Networks are systems of exchange, either of concrete or immaterial nature. In either case, however, exchange inside a network is ultimately based on a physical infrastructure that describes a real space and specific dimensions.
- Difference:** The city is a differential space, in which differences come to light. The city can be defined as a place in which differences know, recognize, test confirm, or offset one another. The dynamic of urban differences is never aimed at homogeneity and synchronization but only at the productivity of diversity and the sum of the possibilities that lie hidden in interferences.
- Centrality:** "Centrality" conveys the concept that specific areas within a city wield a central or dominant role in terms of social and cultural importance. These pivotal locations transcend mere geography, serving as hubs where social, economic, and political activities intersect. They often symbolize authority, influence, and a concentration of resources. The essence of centrality is twofold—it is both a cognitive process and a social phenomenon. Mentally, it involves the simultaneous consideration of events and perceptions of elements within a comprehensive "reality." Socially, it entails the convergence and amalgamation of assets, products, wealth, and activities. Consequently, centrality can be interpreted as a comprehensive amalgamation of diverse elements.

# Appendix

## List of Majors:

1825 - 1844 G. van Hattem  
1844 - 1883 J.A. van Hattem  
1884 - 1895 J.A. van Haaften  
1895 - 1916 S.E. Ypeij  
1917 - 1931 J.A. (Koos) Drijber  
1931 - 1943 H. Popping[1].  
1943 - 1945 J.P.H. Dhont  
1945 - 1946 H. Popping[1].  
1947 - 1954 J.H. Winkler  
1955 - 1960 Pieter (P.) Feitsma PvdA  
1960 - 1974 Christiaan (Chr.) van Hofwegen PvdA  
1974 - 1987 Wim (W.) Hendriks PvdA  
1987 - 1991 Chris (Ch.Th.) Spijkerboer PvdA  
1991 - 2001 Corstiaan (C.A.) Kleijwegt PvdA  
2002 - 2012 Martin (M.C.) Boevée PvdA  
2011 - 2012 Tonny (A.G.M.) van de Vondervoort PvdA  
2012 - 2020 Bram (A.P.J.) van Hemmen CDA  
2020 - 2021 Dirk (D.R.) van der Borg CDA  
2021 - present Jan (J.M.) de Vries CDA

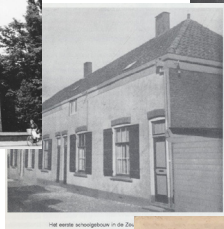
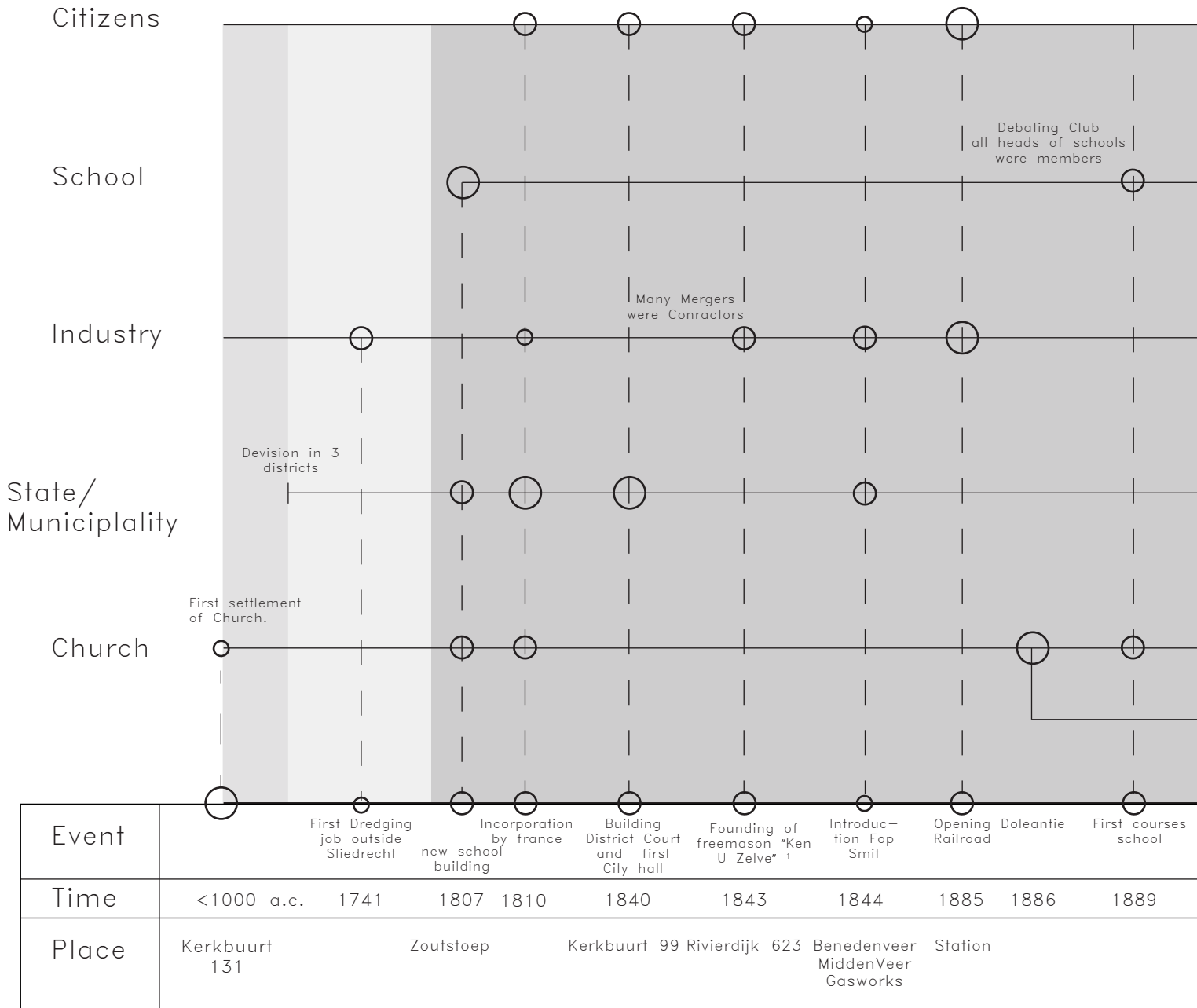


## Expansion commision:

Arie van Hattum  
Grad van Hattem  
Adriaan Volker  
Gerrit Jan Bos W  
Joh. Kraaijeveld  
Arie van Noordenne  
Arie Prins  
A.C Visser

## List of some of the Contractors and family that were also involved within the church or Municipality:

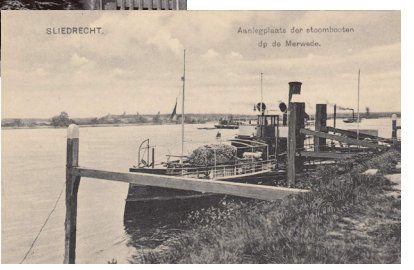
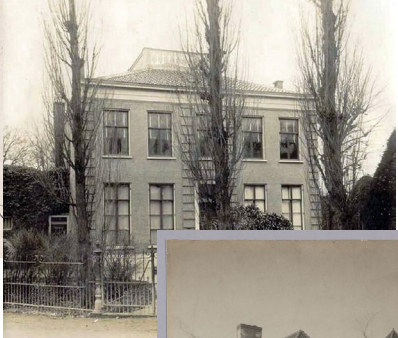
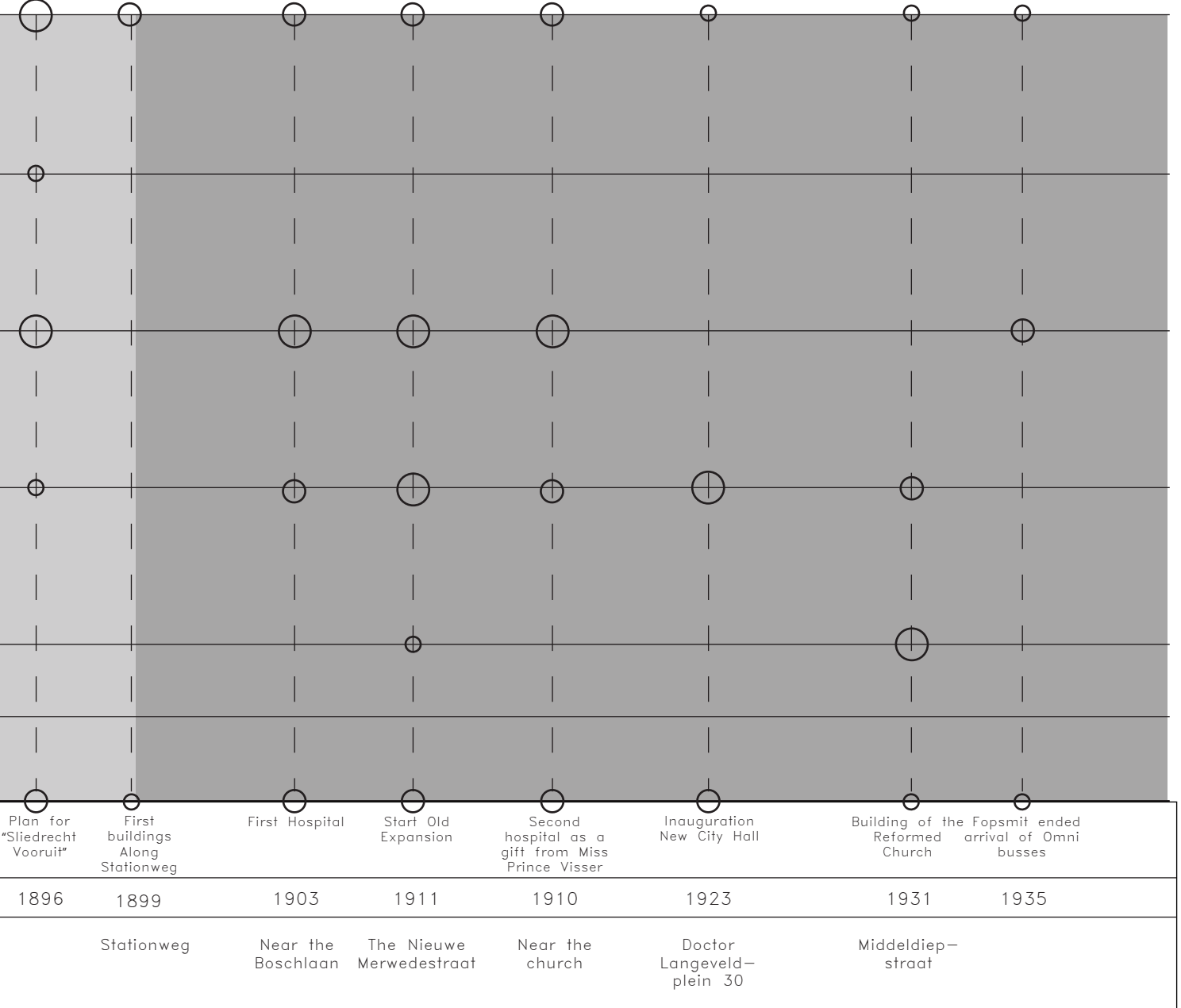
Messrs. P. Langeveld,  
A. Prins Thz.,  
L. van Haaften,  
E. van Noordenne  
A. P. Volker Pz.

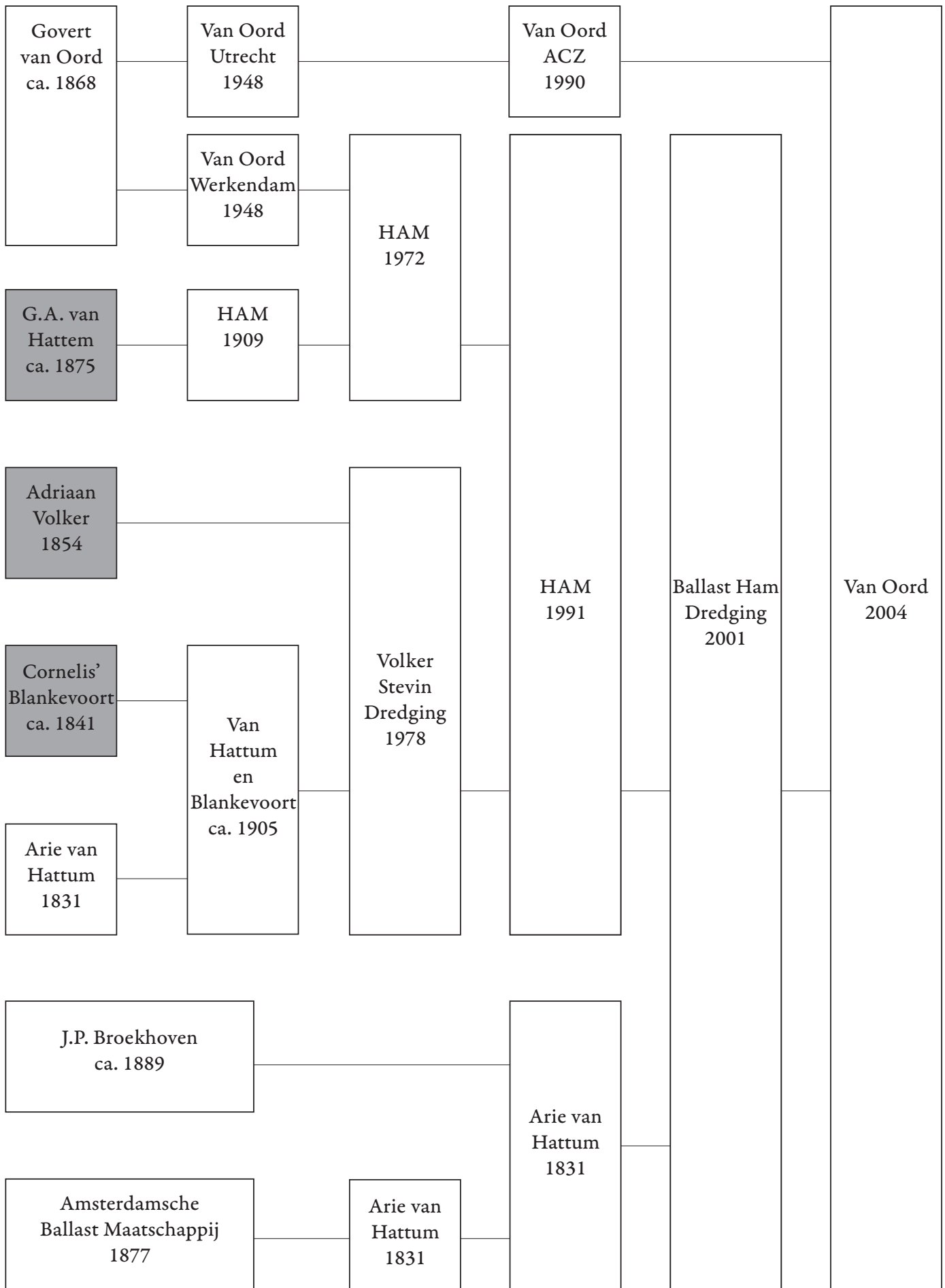


Influence from small to big

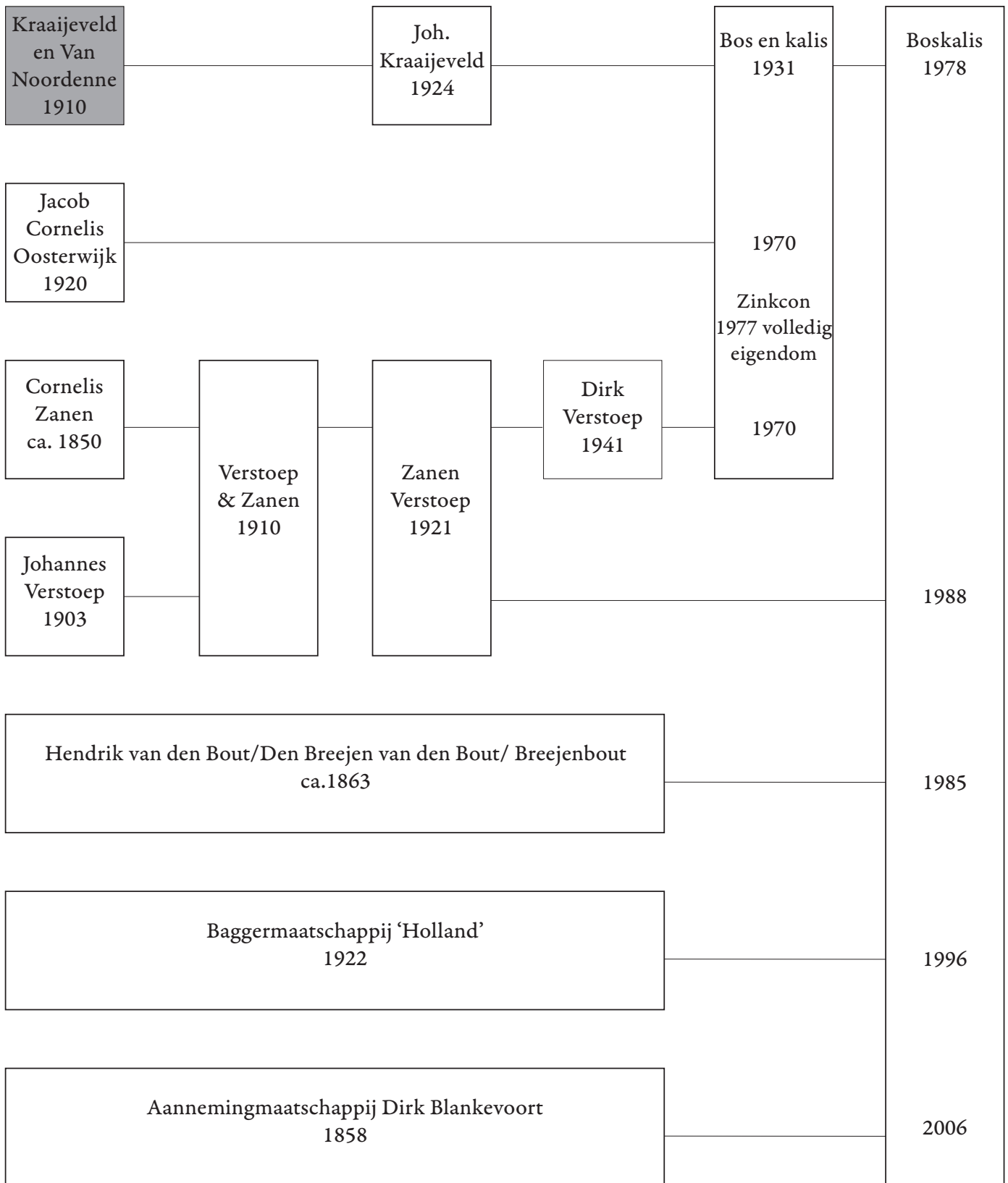
Appendix

ill for more  
Housing





*Most Important companies fused into van Oord*

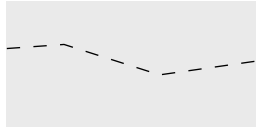


*Most Important companies fused into Boskalis*

BORDERS



Dike road



Municipality border

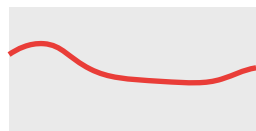


Neighborhood border

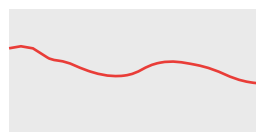


Kerkeweer

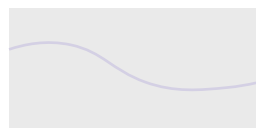
TRANSPORTATION



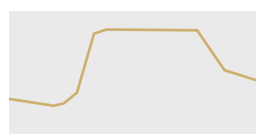
Primary railway



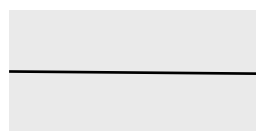
Secondary Railway



Fop smit



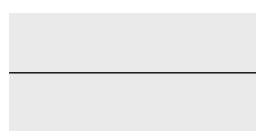
Entrances Biesbosch



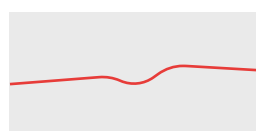
Primary roads



Secondary roads



Stoepen



Old expansion

IMPORTANT BUILDINGS



Residence contractor



Hospital



Shipyards



Fop smit docks



Municipality buildings



School



Church



Monuments



Watertoren

WATER



Beneden Merwede



Biesbosch waterways

---

1	De meulestoep	21	De Kwitantiesteegt
2	De zaoistoep	22	De Smulsteegt
3	De Hoef	23	De Bloemenhof
4	't Oorlogstoepie	24	De Kroonasteegt
5	Rijsdijke stoep	25	De Stroopstoep
6	De Poelestoep	26	Perijs
7	't Orlleajans	27	De Voorstraat (no stoep)
8	De Juliaonaostoep	28	D'n Blijenhoek
9	De Bosse stoep	29	De Kikkersteegt
10	De Kurverstoep	30	't Fort
11	De Veerstoep	31	De Baonstoep
12	De Zeepstoep	32	De Kerremelkstoep
13	De Selnstoep	33	De Leeuwekull
14	De Jordaonstoep	34	De Prinsesstraat
15	De Pepersteegt	35	De Rosmulsestoep
16	De Zoustoep		
17	De Baonstope		
18	De Smidstoep		
19	't Klaaine stoepie		
20	De Schoolstoep		

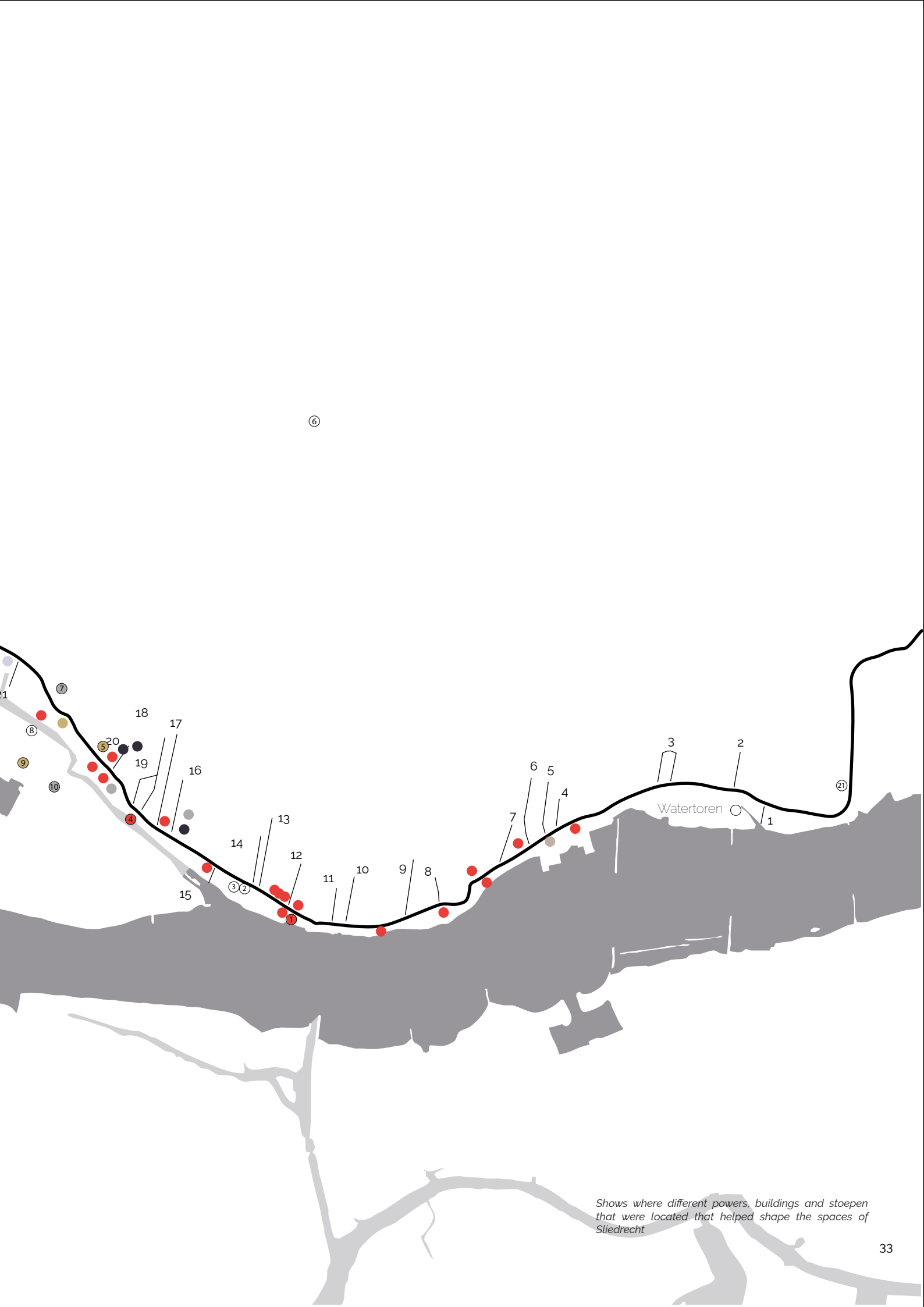
*In addition there were a lot of stoeps without name that we indicate as the "stoep next too..."*

- ① Residential, Rivierdijk 470
  - ② Residential, Rivierdijk 498–500
  - ③ Residential, Rivierdijk 506
  - ④ Residential, Kerkbuurt 52
  - ⑤ Sliedrecht Museum
  - ⑥ Station building
  - ⑦ Reformed Church
  - ⑧ Residential, Dr Langeveldplein 2
  - ⑨ Council house, Dr. Langeveldplein 30
  - ⑩ Reformed church, Middeldiepstraat 6
  - ⑪ Kerkbuurt 209
  - ⑫ Residential, Molendijk 16
  - ⑬ National dredging museum, Molendijk 204
  - ⑭ Residential, Molendijk 181
  - ⑮ Archives National Dredging Museum, Molendijk 208
  - ⑯ Residential, Molendijk 212
  - ⑰ Residential, Baanhoek 97
  - ⑱ Residential, Baanhoek 99
  - ⑲ Farmhouse, Baanhoek 411
  - ⑳ Farm Parallel Road 8–8a
  - ㉑ Dike synagogue on the Rivierdijk
-



# Differences map





⑥



Watertoren ○

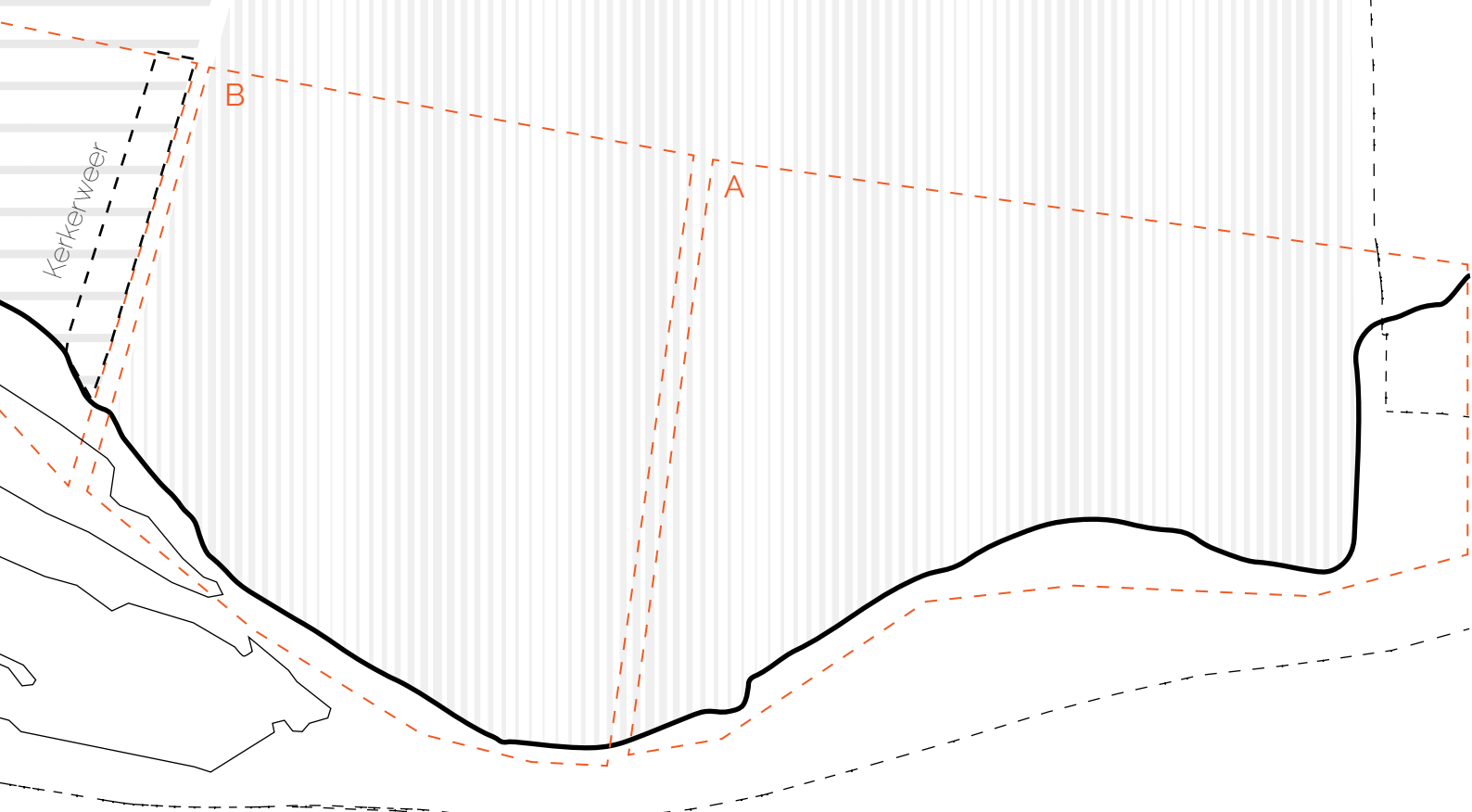
*Shows where different powers, buildings and stoepen that were located that helped shape the spaces of Sliedrecht*



## Borders map

orst

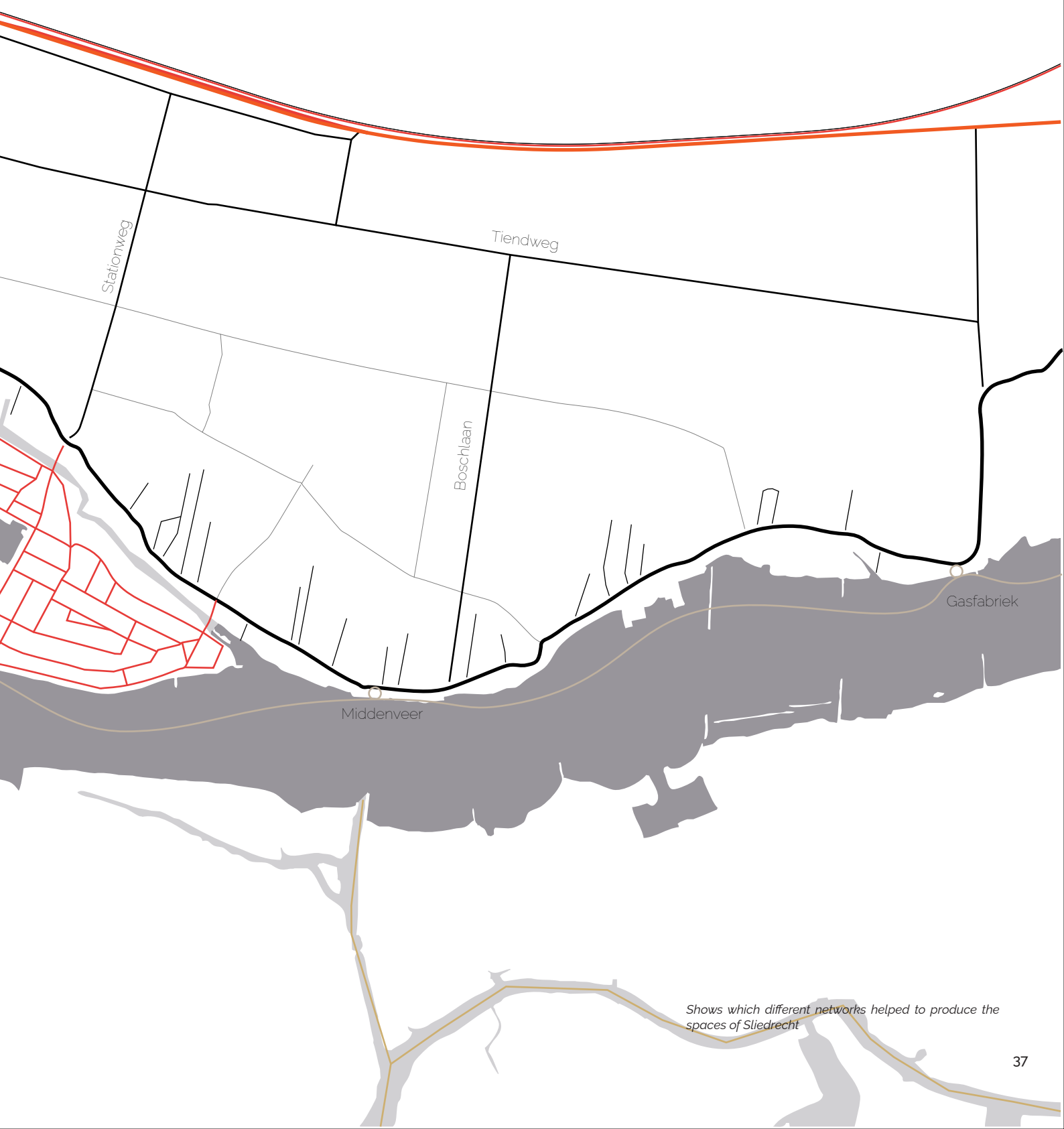
# Naaldwijk



*Shows which borders either physical or mental were part and still are part in the Spaces of Sliedrecht*



# Network map



Shows which different networks helped to produce the spaces of Sliedrecht