

VISUAL ESSAY

From struggle to strength: A visual essay on Rotterdam's memory of hope

Tânia Alexandra Cardoso 🕩



Independent Scholar, The Netherlands Email: art.taniaacardoso@gmail.com

(Received 11 March 2025; revised 09 September 2025; accepted 26 September 2025)

Abstract

Rotterdam, a city in the Netherlands, experienced significant bombing in its city centre during the Second World War. Despite the trauma associated with this event, in 1948, the city adopted a new motto: 'Sterker Door Strijd', translating as 'Stronger Through Struggle'. This motto remains visible today under the city's coat of arms, symbolising the resilience and strength of its inhabitants as they rebuilt their city. 'Sterker Door Strijd' has become a central aspect of Rotterdam's development, particularly in its architecture and urban planning. It showcases a shift in the city's memory from pain to pride and hope for the future. The motto beautifully embodies Rigney's 'memory-activism nexus' from a spatial perspective, reconstructing the city's traumatic memory of destruction into a narrative of resistance. The motto is widely known and felt by every Rotterdammer, including foreigners who live and work in the city, like me. The visual essay 'From Struggle to Strength' poetically focuses on the city of Rotterdam and its motto. It intimately follows my personal artistic journey and my embodiment in the city. The story unfolds as I walk and draw around the city. Additionally, I interviewed inhabitants focusing on the challenges of social housing issues in the city, such as displacement and demolition and considering how the residents are actively resisting these issues. Through these interactions, the visual essay reflects on the transformative power of memory and activism in shaping the city's past, present and future.

Keywords: protest; illustration; storytelling; gentrification; displacement

© The Author(s), 2025. Published by Cambridge University Press. This is an Open Access article, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike licence (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the same Creative Commons licence is used to distribute the re-used or adapted article and the original article is properly cited. The written permission of Cambridge University Press must be obtained prior to any commercial use.

Epilogue

During the Second World War, Rotterdam, a port city in the Netherlands, was deemed a strategic target. On May 14, 1940, the enemy army attacked the city and, after negotiations failed, the city was destroyed.

Through a unique blend of research and illustration, 'Sterker door Strijd' intertwines Rotterdam's historical war-time devastation with recent urban social movements and networks of solidarity. This work directly addresses the city's inhabitants, who are confronting the country's current housing crisis, especially the ongoing demolition processes taking place in social housing neighbourhoods.

'Sterker door Strijd' creates parallels between the struggle faced after the Second World War, where residents took matters into their own hands to rebuild their beloved city, and their current struggle to remain in discussion with the municipality about rebuilding processes. The illustrations, a combination of picturebook, sketchbook work and comics language (Groensteen 2007), remind residents and inform readers that destruction has been a constant in the city's past while acknowledging the inhabitants' role in overcoming past processes of destruction, thus emphasising the importance of present activist contributions during these challenging times.

Who is allowed to make a city? It is in the interplay between past, present and future that the narrative in 'Sterker door Strijd' reveals how memory is intrinsically connected to urban space and dwelling. Following the argument that 'dwelling is the manner in which mortals are on the Earth' (Heidegger 1951: 247), I suggest that both the memory of reconstruction and the protests for the right to housing motivate the theoretical ground, and provide the space, for activism.

Rotterdam is experiencing increasing economic and political marketisation, characteristic of twenty-first century global cities (Bridge and Watson 2011: 57). While political agendas may use storytelling to enhance their monetary and political power (Bridge and Watson 2011: 142), the city's persistent reminders of its struggles and tough identity after the war serve as inspiring narratives or myths, encouraging its residents to follow their city's reputation (Nientied 2018: 167). In this way, past trauma acts as a catalyst for the current wave of urban activism driven by the inequalities and spatial injustices present in the city's policies.

Following Aldo Rossi and Peter Eisenman 'that the city itself is the collective memory of its people', (1982: 130), I propose that the urban elements within the city that narrate the story of destruction and reconstruction act as a 'locus' for its main image. Consequently, the permanence of these memories within urban space, whether through urban elements or stories, highlights that historical memory is not linear: it lingers in the present (Cardoso 2024). This persistent memory influences the relationship between political storytelling and grassroots narratives, shaping how they activate the current moment of protest (Rigney 2018; Merrill and Rigney 2024; Comics, Memory, Activism: Special Collection of Memory, Mind & Media). In this context, my visual essay acts as an extension of the collective memory of Rotterdam, where the city and its movements are highlighted as living entities.

My position as the author is blurred within these movements as I strive to lead the focus back to the city rather than my personal perspective, even though everything started with my walks around the city. This shift, positioning the author in a place of collaboration, makes for unexpected readings and connections between geographical and affective spheres which give the opportunity to the readers to establish a different urban imaginary (Ryan 2013: 381–383). Similarly, the use of personal interviews was decisive for providing not only a fragmented viewpoint but also a multifaceted perspective in accordance with

scholarly research, where knowledge is believed to be situated and no researcher is all-knowing or all-seeing (Rose 1997: 305).

The direct transposition of my sketchbook pages as panels in some comic pages give an insider view of the process. It shows my path through the city as I explore signs of the traumatic memory of the war and visit recently demolished and construction sites (rechtop-destad n.d.-c.). The full-page illustrations, akin to picturebooks, are pivotal moments in these walks that were redefined from the sketchbook's immediate drawing to a more thought-out composition, in the hope of bringing attention to that present moment and generating a more significant impact on the reading process. In combination with these graphical decisions, the language of comics was used throughout the book to enable the juxtaposition of multiple spatiotemporal elements in a non-linear sequence. This means that not just my thoughts and walks, but also other voices and geographical patterns are included throughout, including the visuals of destruction and construction from archived materials that emphasise the residents' determination to reclaim their space in the present moment, like in the past.

Working with the residents and creating my story in combination with theirs creates a polyvocal perspective on the struggles related to the right to the city and affordable housing in Rotterdam. In the visual essay, the experience of becoming stronger through struggle (*Sterker door Strijd*) mirrors their experiences and mine, evoking a form of visual protest that resonates both with Rotterdam's identity as a working class city and with the memory of the city's destruction (Nientied 2018: 162–163).

As a result, the illustrations' artistic expression reveals a one-of-a-kind space. This space, where hidden voices can be heard and political manifestations can occur, exists outside the mainstream narrative offered by the city hall. Such a space in the visual essay evokes collective memory, the locus, challenging the narrative that Rotterdam is a grassroots city, embracing social innovation and cultural diversity (Rossi and Eisenman 1982). Through its engagement with urban imaginary and its audience, the essay aims to create awareness and reconfigure public space by opening up a space of discussion where new encounters can be made (Lindner and Meissner 2019). The visual essay, then, contributes to urban comics as a form of visual activism and political commentary. It becomes a way of preserving the city's past and current historical and urban developments while, simultaneously, engaging with its collective memory in order to mobilise resistance and generate support networks.

'Sterker door Strijd' serves as a counter-narrative to Rotterdam's established image. It becomes what Jorge Santos (2019: 12–19) identifies as a counter-memory in comics: a graphic form of visualising history in a non-linear and fragmented manner. Similarly, the sequence of illustrations shows that historical facts are lingering in the present by juxtaposing my current firsthand experiences with conversations with other residents' about their memories; by exposing and contrasting the cultural context of the current activist practices with past actions and by continuously reinterpreting everyday life in Rotterdam through my embodiment in its streets. The essay evokes the collective memory of Rotterdam by working with memory as a non-linear element in the narrative through different scattered elements in the pages. Consequently, highlighting the inhabitants' determination to overcome adversity in a complex and nuanced form. In this way, the essay invites the readers to take a critical approach to the events the story reflects on by showing them a different perspective.

The comic's pages highlight the use of counter-memory as a form of activism by using the memory of destruction as a transformative tool. By using the verbal and visual combination of a comic structure, historical memory is portrayed as open-ended. This approach not only offers a specific interpretation but also actively engages the reader, inviting them to interpret the material in their own way or to identify with similar situations. For instance, the use of

4 Tânia Alexandra Cardoso

residents' quotes, combined with the author's interpretation of historical memories and present contexts, which are depicted in both direct and metaphorical images, reveals a continuous struggle rather than a point resolved and fixed in time (Santos 2019: 76–77).

This story shows the urban activism enacted by Rotterdammers on the streets today in a positive light. It highlights activist interventions against the current urban policies from a hopeful perspective, displaying successful stories and exposing the networks of solidarity forged among the residents during these struggles (Rigney 2018; Gutman and Wüstenberg 2022; Merrill and Rigney 2024). Consequently, the comic's association between present urban movements and activism with the historical feeling of being stronger through struggle creates a new collective memory that highlights the residents' determination to fight for their rights within the urban political context. Activism is constituted in this comic through the illustration of a complex, nuanced understanding of historical events and support of the contemporary (or polemical) struggles they inspire, as well as through performative comic stories that hope to inspire change (Nordenstam and Wictorin 2023: 63).

Creating this work in the city of Rotterdam, the city where I live, was not only a privilege for me as an artist but also a duty as a resident. My reflections on the city are personal, often revealing moments and events that may escape conventional documentation. I mingle some historical facts with the story, providing context to my thoughts and offering a new understanding of the memories and a fresh perspective onto issues that are raised in the present.

The basis for this visual essay is the work created for the exhibition *Getekend: Rotterdam! Mag ik bestaan?* (Drawn: Rotterdam! May I exist?) at the Kunsthal Rotterdam (the Museum of Contemporary Art) from October 2024 to February 2025. So far, this work has led to several non-academic outputs, including features in newspapers and architecture-related journals, this visual essay, a printed publication and numerous talks and formal presentations. The diverse outcomes of the exhibition have inspired discussions and presented a new medium to different audiences, sparking curiosity and attracting new readers of comics and illustration. It has also engaged residents eager to know more about the process and brainstorming ideas for future projects. The positive reception is generating a wider network of engagement with the people and topic of social insecurity, discriminatory demolition and displacement in the city, encouraging, in turn, more activist work and critical thought about the city's collective memory and about what and who makes a city.

At the exhibition's closing, the work became part of the Rotterdam collection at the city archives. You can catch a glimpse of it in the pages that follow.

И

PART 1



I LOOK WITHIN THE CITY FOR SIGNS AND ELEMENTS IN ITS ARCHITECTURE THAT THE CITY'S STRENGTH STILL STANDS. IT IS HARD.

PRECARITY HAS BEEN THE NORM.

I ALMOST GAVE UP.

THE CITY, HOWEVER, SPEAKS LOUPLY. TO ME IT SAYS: STAY STRONG AND KEEP PUSHING THROUGH.





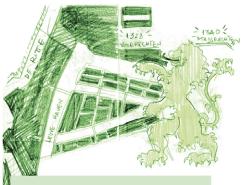
SINCE I STARTED LIVING HERE. I HAVE BEEN MADE AWARE THAT ROTTERDAM HAS A REPUTATION OF HARD-WORKING CITY. LIVING AND THRIVING DITY TO THE VALUE OF ITS HARBOUR. THE HARBOUR KEPT ON GROWING UNTIL EVENTUALLY IT BECAME EUROPE'S LARGEST PORT. NONETHELESS. IT IS STILL THE POOREST CITY IN THE NETHERIANDS.

SOME SAY THE STORY OF THE CITY IS MADE AND REMADE OF CENTURIES OF FIGHTING, FALLING AND GETTING UP AGAIN. A CONTINUOUS MOVEMENT OF TRYING AGAIN. AGAIN. AND AGAIN.









"Zo is de stad gemaakt. Zo zijn de invoneps gemaakt."

"SO IS THE CITY MADE. SO ARE THE RESIDENTS MADE."

GETING BACK ON THEIR FEET IS SOMETHING ROTTERPAMMERS ARE FAMILIAR WITH. THE CITY SLOWLY COMES BACK TO LIFE EVERY

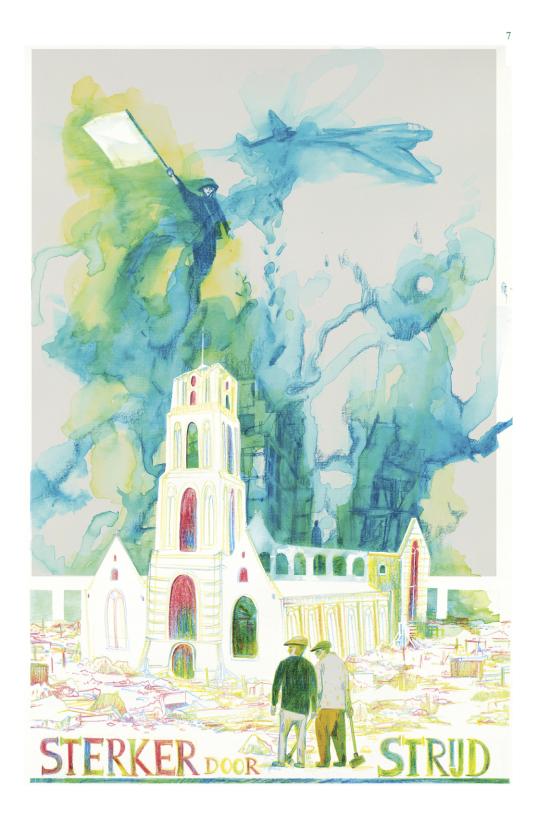
THIS WAS ONE OF THE REASONS FOR QUEEN WILHELMINA OF THE NETHERLANDS TO ATRIBUTE THE MOTTO "STERKER POOR STRIJP" TO THE CITY.

IT SERVES AS A REMINDER OF THE COURAGE AND STRENGTH WITH WHICH ROTTERDAM'S INHABITANTS ENDURED THE TRIALS OF WAR.

THE EXPERIENCE BECAME A TURNING POINT FOR A HOPEFUL FUTURE AS RESIDENTS ROLLED UP THEIR SLEEVES TO REBUILD THEIR CITY.

MALS HERDINERING OCK VOOR HET
NACESLACHT AAN DE MOED
EN DE KRACHT WAALMEDE DE
EN DE KRACHT WAALMEDE DE
BEVOLKING VAN ROTTERDAN
ALLE BEPROENINGEN VAN DE
OORLOG HEEFT GEDRAGEN
EN HET SEL ANGRIJKE
AANDEEL DAT ZUN GENOMEN
HEEFT IN DE BEVRIJDING
DES VADEALANDY

"...ALSO AS A REMINDER FOR POSTERITY OF THE COURAGE AND STRENGTH WITH WHICH THE PEOPLE OF ROTTERDAM EMPURED ALL THE TRIALS OF THE WAR AND THE IMPORTANT PART THEY PLAYED IN THE LIBERATION OF THE FATHERLAND..."



RECONCILING WITH THE PAST, FIGHTING IN THE PRESENT AND REFLECTING ABOUT THE FUTURE. THIS IS THE TRANSFORMATIVE POWER OF MEMORY AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF ACTIVISM.

IN ROTTERPAM'S COLLECTIVE
IMAGINARY THE MEMORY OF TRAUMA
TURNED INTO THE EXPRESSION:



"NOT WORDS BUT ACTIONS."

PESTRUCTION BRINGS RESISTANCE. THIS FEELING BUILT FROM A MEMORY OF PAIN IS NOW ONE OF CHALLENGE.

IN ROTTERPAM'S ENDLESS CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION PROCESS, SOCIAL HOUSING IS BEING PEMOLISHED AND REPLACED BY LUXURY PROJECTS, DISPLACING RESIDENTS. CITIES NEED RENEWAL, BUT AT WHAT COST?









AS I WALK BY "PE VERWOESTE STAP" (THE PESTROYEP CITY) STATUE, WORPS ARE WRITTEN ON THE FLOOR IN CHALK, IT'S STARTING TO RAIN BUT THE RAIN HAS NOT YET WASHEP THEM AWAY.

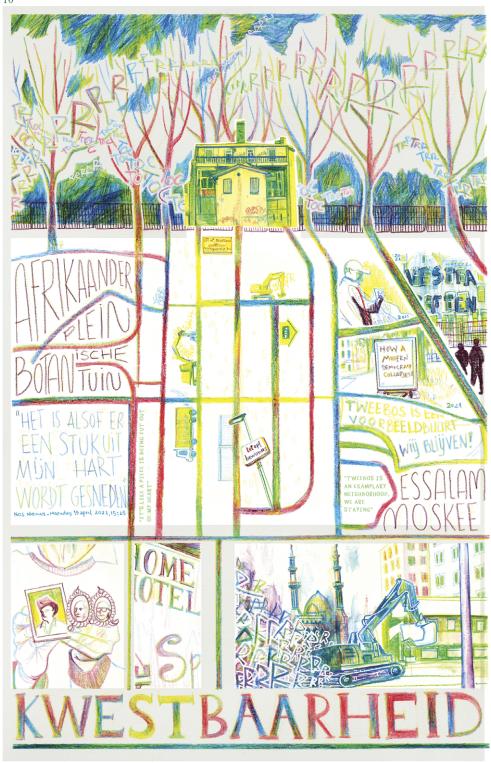
I RECORP THESE WORPS IN MY BROKEN PUTCH AND TRANSLATE THEM IN MY HEAP TO ENGLISH:

"1948
UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF
HUMAN RIGHTS!
75 YEARS LATER THEY ARE IN
PANGER!
SO ARE EDUCATION, ART &
CULTURE, CLIMATE,
SOLIPARITY,

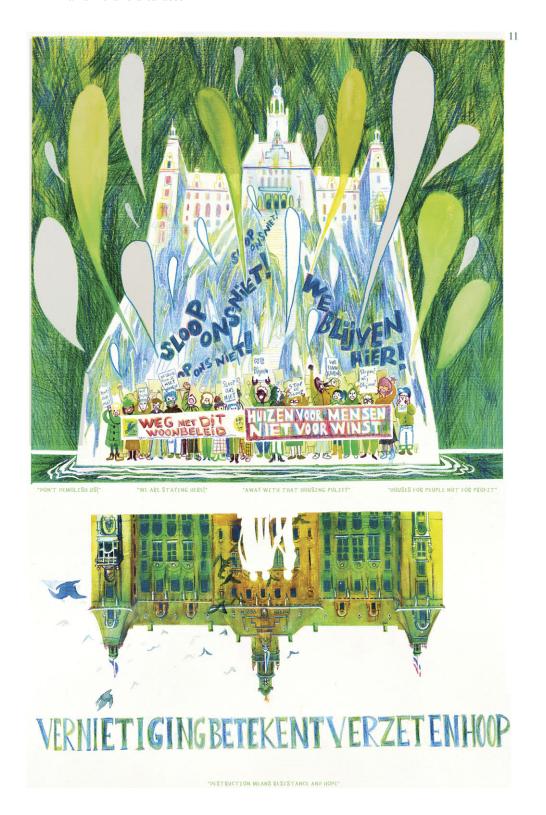
BE VIGILANT!"

FROM THE RUBBLE, WE REBUILD; FROM STRUGGLE, WE RISE AND RESIST TOGETHER.





"VULNERABILITY"





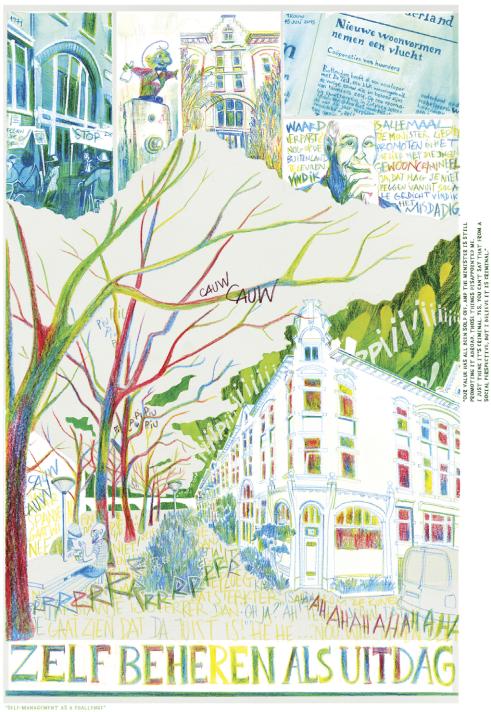






14

PART 2





'I LIVE ALONE, SO I COME HERE EVERY WEEK, I CAN HELP COOK, SPEAK WITH OTHER PEOPLE, AND GIVE FOOD. THERE IS SO MOCH DIVERSITY, WITH PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT BACKGROUNDS AND AGES. IT IS SUCH A COOL PROJECT! WE COOK AND EAT TOGETHER AGAINST FOOD WASTE AND PRECARITY".



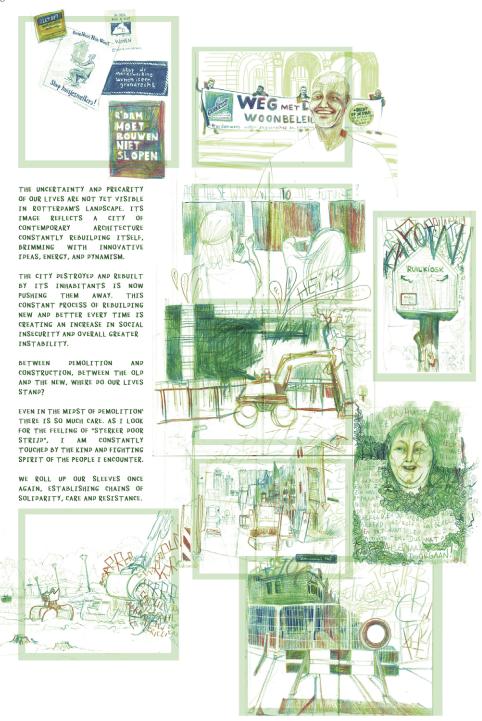


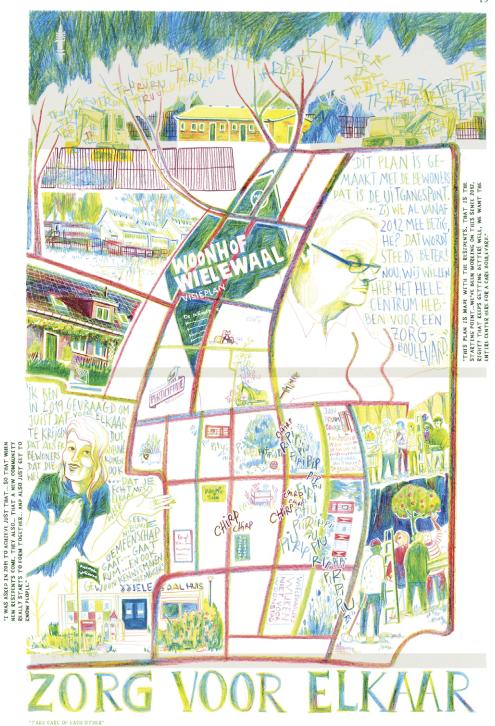
















EVEN WHEN I FORGET, THE STREETS OF ROTTERPAM REMIND ME TO STAY STRONG. IT'S ALL AROUND ME IN STICKERS, BANNERS, GRAFITTI, PRAWINGS, HANDMADE POSTERS, PROTEST BOARDS AND MANY VOICES.

EVEN WHEN IT SEEMS HOPELESS, RESIDENTS WILL NOT KEEP THEIR HEADS DOWN. CAUSES MAY BE LOST BUT THEY WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT UNTIL THE END, EXHAUSTING ALL POSSIBILITIES.

IT'S INSPIRING.

"NEE, WE GEVEN NIET OP."
NO, WE DO NOT GIVE UP.

Notes

This notes section is not essential for understanding, enjoying or forming an opinion about the work you have just read. However, it offers visual and textual references that may enhance your reading experience.

Despite being a native Portuguese speaker, I chose to conduct the entire creative process in English and Dutch. The written Dutch in the illustrated pieces was not proofread and any mistakes are part of my thoughts and broken Dutch expression. This version of the language not only adds an intriguing element to the work but also allows to express my vulnerability as a foreigner.

Page 3: Most of the panels in this book are based on my walking and drawing practice (drawing in situ) during the development of this project. However, on this page, the first panel is based on a photograph from the article 'Woonopstand Voert Actie in Rotterdam Tegen Onbetaalbare Nieuwbouw' (rechtopdestad 2023b) found on the Recht op de Stad website (Eijk 2021; rechtopdestad 2022). The following panels are direct scans from my sketchbook and depict the Erasmusbrug (Erasmus bridge) during its renovation in the summer of 2024 and Dutch words of revolt that I collected from stickers found on walls and streetlamps.

Page 4: This page refers to the historical development of Rotterdam. The sentence 'Zo is de stad gemaakt. Zo zijn de inwoners gemaakt' is a direct quote from the blog post 'Historie van Rotterdam door een Rotterdammer' (Historie van Rotterdam door een Rotterdammer n.d.). The drawn maps are recreations of historical maps from my sketchbook based on maps from the books Leeuwen op de Coolsingel by Paul van de Laar (2020) and Vergeten Verhalen by Johan van der Hoeven (2017). They can also be found at Rotterdam's city archives database (Stadsarchief Rotterdam n.d.-b). The floor lamp depicting the attack of 14 May 1940 can be found in several places in the city and marks de brandgrens (the frontier of fire) (Stadsarchief Rotterdam n.d.-a), the delimitation of the great fire that destroyed most of Rotterdam after the attack (Geschiedenis van Rotterdam 2024). The city's coat of arms can be found in the Rotterdam flag and the likeness of Queen Wilhelmina is based on the photograph of the postcard from her jubilee in 1948.

Page 5: Here, I depict the *Laurenskerk* (Saint Laurence's church). The illustration is a composite of various photographs and footage from the days after Rotterdam's destruction and reconstruction, found at the *stadsarchief* and in the book *Leeuwen op de Coolsingel* (van de Laar 2020). The historical references featuring the soldier holding the white flag, the planes and images of the city's destruction are also based on this material. You can find more information about the effects of war in Rotterdam at Museum Rotterdam '40–'45 Nu in Rotterdam.

Page 6: Here, I focus on local sayings that connect the spirit of the city of Rotterdam to Ann Rigney's concept of the 'memory–activism nexus', explained in the article 'Remembering Hope: Transnational Activism beyond the Traumatic' (2018). The panels show pages of my sketchbooks, and the likeness of Ann Rigney is based on her photograph on Utrecht University's page (Utrecht University n.d.).

Pages 7–10 and 13–18: These pages are created by using my sketchbooks as a base and combining different pages. A video of all the drawings in my sketchbooks, the printed publication and a soundscape created during my practice can be found at studiotako.net.

Page 8: The pictures on the right-hand side are based on the newspaper article 'Sloop Huizen Rotterdam na Jaren Protest: "Alsof een stuk uit mijn hart wordt gesneden" (NOS 2021) and the picture on the left-hand corner is based on the article 'Gerard: "Ik laat me niet intimideren" (Huguenin 2021a) and the wonderful photographs of Joke Schot (Tenzer T n.d.).

Page 9: The inspiration for this page comes from my interviewee's opinion on Rotter-dam's city hall. They used the metaphor of a castle surrounded by a moat to explain the distance between the city hall and the residents of the city. The pictures in the article 'De

Nieuwe Rotterdamse Woonvisie' (rechtopdestad 2024), 'Twee Jaar na Woonopstand: Interview in vers beton' (rechtopdestad 2023a) as well as the work from Bond Precaire Woonvormen (BPW), the Woonprotest and the Woonopstand were the base for the drawings of protesters in this illustration (Het Woonmanifest - van Woningmarkt naar Woonrecht! n.d.; Over de bond n.d.; Huguenin 2021b).

Page 11: During this project's development, I could not speak with the residents of the *Pompenburg* flats directly. Still, I found many visual references from photographs and YouTube videos on the *Recht op de Stad's* (right to the city) website, which inspired me to produce this page in combination with the illustrations from my drawing in situ practice (rechtopdestad n.d.-a).

Page 13: The first and fourth panels are based on pictures and newspaper clippings found in the city archives and on the website of the *Hoek Teilingerstraat's* resident association (rechtopdestad n.d.-b; Bewonersvereniging Zelfbeheer Hoek Teilingerstraat n.d.). The rest of the illustration is a composite of my experience and drawings on the site and my interview with the resident.

Page 14: All drawings on this page are based on my sketchbook pages from *Het Gemaal op Zuid* (the pumping station in the south) (Gemaal op Zuid n.d.). The *Afrikaanderwijk Corporatie* manages this building to organise all kinds of activities, preserving it for prosperity and engaging with the neighbourhood through their collective programming. One of these programmes is *Buurtbuik* (Alderden n.d) (neighbourhood belly), depicted in my story, where people volunteer and come together on Wednesday evenings to cook and eat together.

Page 16: Not all the places I visited and drew in my sketchbook made it to the final illustrations. I placed some of them on this page to showcase other projects, people I talked to or people the inhabitants wanted me to know about and represent in some way.

Page 17: This page illustrates the work of two different associations within the *Wielewaal* that work from different perspectives. One is *Unie van en voor de Wielewaalers* (Union of and for the *Wielewaalers*) (Tuindorp Wielewaal Nieuws n.d.) and the other is *Allemaal Wielewaal* (All Together *Wielewaal*) (Allemaal Wielewaal n.d.).

Page 18: I like to give the readers the freedom to interpret my work, but I want to explain this page. I was incredibly inspired by all the hard work of the *Wielewaal*'s residents. Because I often walked around this neighbourhood and witnessed its transformation, many of my drawings feature the machines coming and going and all the sand and rubble from construction work piling up. It seems to me like a race against time (Rijmondnieuws 2021). Therefore, I thought about the hourglass as the main element of this illustration's composition.

Data availability statement. The data supporting the findings of this study were mostly collected through walking and interviewing. While there are restrictions on the interview data, all open data can be accessed through the reference list and at Rotterdam's City Archives at https://stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl/.

Acknowledgements. I want to bring attention to everyone who, in one way or another, participated in this project, particularly Mr Wil and Mr Martin, Mr Rick, Ms Anna-Maria, the people from Buurtbuik, Bond Precarie Woonvormen, Recht op de Stad, and Woonopstand, and all residents and passers-by who have talked to me on the streets of Rotterdam.

Funding statement. This work was supported by the CBK Rotterdam, the Centre for Visual Arts under under the *Stadstekenaars* 2024 project no 6304. The funder had no role in study design, data collection and analysis, decision to publish or preparation of the manuscript.

Competing interests. The content of this submission is based on the author's personal insights on dwelling, urban identity and spatial justice in Rotterdam. References to specific entities, such as Kunsthal Rotterdam, the Stadsarchief Rotterdam and CBK Rotterdam, are not just based on the author's research, but also on her firsthand experiences and connections with them. The opinions expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily

reflect the views of the mentioned organisations. The direct applications of this research have benefited the author's career as an urban illustrator and researcher.

The content submitted to this collection has not been published previously in any academic journal. However, it has been published in a printed book format by its author (as StudioTako).

References

Alderden R (n.d.) Rotterdam. *BuurtBuik* (blog). Available at https://buurtbuik.nl/rotterdam/(accessed 5 January 2025).

Allemaal Wielewaal (n.d.) *De Wielewaal | Nieuwbouw Rotterdam Zuid*. Available at https://www.nieuwbouw-dewielewaal.nl/ (accessed 5 January 2025).

Bewonersvereniging Zelfbeheer Hoek Teilingerstraat (n.d.) Available at https://www.zelfbeheerhoekteilinger straat.nl/ (accessed 5 January 2025).

Bridge G and Watson S (eds) (2011) The New Blackwell Companion to the City. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Cardoso TA (2024) The Illustrated Cityscape: Imperfect Lines of Urban Exploration. University of Amsterdam, Doctorate Thesis. Available at https://dare.uva.nl/search?identifier=3f631b94-6912-42fb-bc76-7b41b7772398.

Comics, Memory, Activism: Special Collection of Memory, Mind & Media. Cambridge Core. Available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/memory-mind-and-media/announcements/call-for-papers/comics-memory-activism (accessed 3 February 2025).

Eijk Meg van (2021) Alle Rotterdammers hebben recht op de stad. Vers Beton. Available at https://www.versbeton.nl/2021/03/alle-rotterdammers-hebben-recht-op-de-stad/.

Geschiedenis van Rotterdam (2024) In Wikipedia. Available at https://nl.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Geschie denis van Rotterdam&oldid=68642879.

Groensteen T (2007) The System of Comics. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.

Gutman Y and Jenny W (2022) Challenging the meaning of the past from below: A typology for comparative research on memory activists. *Memory Studies* 15 (5), 1070–1086.

Heidegger M (1951[2012]) Building dwelling thinking. In Chang BG and Butchart GC (eds), Philosophy of Communication. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 245–255.

Gemaal op Zuid (n.d.) Available at https://hetgemaalopzuid.nl/ (accessed 5 January 2025).

Het Woonmanifest - van Woningmarkt naar Woonrecht! (n.d.) Woonmanifest. Available at https://woonmanifest.nl/ (accessed 5 January 2025).

Historie van Rotterdam door een Rotterdammer (n.d.) Puur* Rotterdam. Available at https://puurrotterdam.nl/blog/historie-van-rotterdam-door-een-rotterdammer/ (accessed 5 January 2025).

Johan van der H (2017) Vergeten Verhalen: 100 Rotterdamse Oorlogsherinneringen. Rotterdam: Museum Rotterdam Huguenin R (2021a) Gerard: 'Ik laat me niet intimideren'. Recht op de stad (blog). Available at https://rechtopdestad.nl/gerard-ik-laat-me-niet-intimideren/.

Huguenin R (2021b) Mustapha: 'De Tweebosbuurt is mijn leerboek'. Recht op de stad (blog). Available at https://rechtopdestad.nl/mustapha-de-tweebosbuurt-is-mijn-leerboek/.

van de Laar P (2020) Leeuwen Op de Coolsingel: Ongelofelijke Verhalen Uit de Oorlog. Rotterzrdam: Uitgeverij THOTH Bussum. Museum Rotterdam

Lindner C and Meissner M (eds) (2019) *The Routledge Companion to Urban Imaginaries*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis **Merrill S and Ann R** (2024) Remembering activism: Means and ends. *Memory Studies* 17 (5), 997–1003.

Nientied P (2018) Hybrid urban identity—The case of Rotterdam. Current Urban Studies 6, 152-173.

Nordenstam A and Wictorin MW (2023) Feminist Comics Activism. Comics and Migration. Ralf Kauranen et al. London; Taylor & Francis.

Over de bond (n.d.) Bond Precaire Woonvormen. Available at https://bondprecairewoonvormen.nl/overdebpw/ (accessed 5 January 2025).

Prof. Dr. Ann Rigney - Utrecht University (n.d.) Available at https://www.uu.nl/staff/ARigney (accessed 5 January 2025).

rechtopdestad (2022) Raad van State tikt gemeente op vingers vanwege bestemmingsplan Tweebosbuurt Zuid-Oost. Recht op de stad (blog). Available at https://rechtopdestad.nl/raad-van-state-tikt-gemeente-op-vingers-vanwege-bes temmingsplantweebosbuurt-zuid-oost/.

rechtopdestad (2023a) Twee jaar na Woonopstand: interview in Vers Beton. Recht op de stad (blog). Available at https://rechtopdestad.nl/twee-jaar-na-woonopstand-interview-in-vers-beton/.

rechtopdestad (2023b) Woonopstand voert actie in Rotterdam tegen onbetaalbare nieuwbouw. Recht op de stad (blog).
Available at https://rechtopdestad.nl/woonopstand-voert-actie-in-rotterdam-tegen-onbetaalbare-nieuwbouw/.

- rechtopdestad (2024) De nieuwe Rotterdamse Woonvisie. Recht op de stad (blog). Available at https://rechtopdestad.nl/de-nieuwe-rotterdamse-woonvisie/.
- rechtopdestad (n.d.-a.) Pompenburg. Recht op de stad (blog). Available at https://rechtopdestad.nl/buurten/pompenburg/ (accessed 5 January 2025).
- rechtopdestad (n.d.-b) Teilingerstraat. Recht op de stad (blog). Available at https://rechtopdestad.nl/buurten/teilingerstraat/ (accessed 5 January 2025).
- rechtopdestad (n.d.-c) Tweebosbuurt. Recht op de stad (blog). Available at https://rechtopdestad.nl/buurten/tweebosbuurt/ (accessed 5 January 2025).
- Rigney A (2018) Remembering hope: transnational activism beyond the traumatic. Memory Studies 11(3), 368–380.
 Rijmondnieuws (2021) Bewoners Wielewaal verliezen ook laatste slag bij de rechter: sloop mag doorgaan. Available at https://www.rijnmond.nl/nieuws/1211495/bewoners-wielewaal-verliezen-ook-laatste-slag-bij-de-rechter-sloop-mag-doorgaan.
- Rose G (1997) Situating knowledges: Positionality, reflexivities and other tactics. *Progress in Human Geography* 21(3), 305–320.
- Rossi A and Eisenman P (1982) The Architecture of the City. London: MIT Press
- Santos JJ (2019) Graphic Memories of the Civil Rights Movement: Reframing History in Comics. New York: University of Texas Press
- NOS (2021) Sloop huizen Rotterdam na jaren protest: 'Alsof een stuk uit mijn hart wordt gesneden'. Available at https://nos.nl/artikel/2377378-sloop-huizen-rotterdam-na-jaren-protest-alsof-een-stuk-uit-mijn-hart-wordt-gesne den.
- Stadsarchief Rotterdam (n.d.-a) De brandgrens. Webpagina. Stadsarchief Rotterdam. Available at https://www.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl/zoek-en-ontdek/themas/rotterdam-in-oorlog/brandgrens/index.xml (accessed 5 January 2025).
- Stadsarchief Rotterdam (n.d.-b) Resultaten. Webpagina. Stadsarchief Rotterdam. Available at https://www.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl/zoeken/resultaten/index.xml (accessed 5 January 2025).
- **Tenzer T** (n.d.) *Gerard* (84) woonde zijn hele leven in de Tweebosbuurt en moest gedwongen zijn huis uit: 'Vroeger was de huur 15 gulden'. Available at https://www.rijnmond.nl/video/1475808/gerard-84-woonde-zijn-hele-leven-in-de-twee bosbuurt-en-moest-gedwongen-zijn-huis-uit-vroeger-was-de-huur-15-gulden (accessed 5 January 2025).
- Tuindorp Wielewaal Nieuws (n.d.) Nieuwsbrief Wielewaal: Editie Maart 2024. Available at https://tuindorpwielewaal.nl/Nieuws/ (accessed 5 January 2025).
- **Tânia A. Cardoso** (StudioTako) is a freelance illustrator and urbanist based in Rotterdam. Her PhD research explored the poetics of everyday life and reportage art, aiming to challenge perceptions of the urban environment. Tânia's work has been featured in international exhibitions, including 'Drawn! Rotterdam: May I Exist?' at Kunsthal Rotterdam.

Cite this article: Cardoso TA (2025) From struggle to strength: A visual essay on Rotterdam's memory of hope. Memory, Mind & Media 4, e23, 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1017/mem.2025.10016