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ABSTRACT

To enrich and advance debates on the future of port cities, special attention needs to be paid to the unique cultural legacies of these liminal spaces. Inspired by the growing amount of publications that favor a more socio-cultural angle in investigating the past significance and present resonance of maritime urban hubs, this article specifically considers the potential of researching 'pleasurescapes', or public spaces of entertainment, within port city history. The notion of pleasurescapes is first dissected into its two main components to spark thoughts on both the spatial and experiential implications inherent in this term. Subsequently, two conceptual pathways are put forward to instigate more concrete research operationalizations into the historical entertainment culture of port cities. The topic of hedonism, on the one hand, proves fruitful to link to the notion of pleasurescapes and to better understand the past pleasure-seeking behavior of port residents and visitors. On the other hand, Michel Foucault's much-debated 'heterotopia' can effectively be employed in the context of pleasurescapes and port history as well, especially when taking the ascribed 'otherness' of the port city as starting point and scrutinizing the omnipresence of borders within this particular urban setting. The article's concise discussions of these broad topics generate an array of viable starting points from which to operationalize investigations into port cities' pleasure districts specifically and historical entertainment culture in general. Ultimately, the article also calls for placing port cities' pleasurescapes within a long-term perspective, which can stretch from former sailortowns to current revitalized waterfronts.

Of Hedonism and Heterotopia: Pathways for Researching Legacies of Entertainment Culture in Port Cities

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Introduction: In Search of Port City Culture

As quintessential driving forces and principal logistic nodes of a globalized world, ports and the cities they are connected with have first and foremost been studied and evaluated in light of their economic and industrial importance. While this is hardly surprising, calls for a heightened awareness of port cities' unique cultural legacies and positioning have increasingly started to permeate recent debates over the fast approaching future prospects of these maritime hubs. Ports are currently standing on the eve of a high-stakes transition process, which revolves around the negotiation, planning and implementing of complex course changes in order to attain higher levels of sustainability in various domains[1]. The 'AIVP Agenda 2030'[2], for example, illustrates this by outlining ten goals to adopt for the future sustainability of port cities, in line with the list of 17 Sustainable Development Goals that were previously formulated by the UN in 2015 (AIVP, 2020a). Listed in between agenda points related to climate change, circular economy and sustainable energy and mobility is the theme of 'Port Culture and Identity' (AIVP, 2020b). As several port city specialists and researchers have been pointing out over the past years, thinking about the distinct character and cultural particularity of port cities becomes ever more crucial in light of the challenges that ports are facing today, and the potential consequences that come with it for the relationship between ports and cities (Merk, 2016; Hein, 2020). The general sentiments underlying these recent commentaries pertain to the way in which port and city have increasingly grown apart over the course of various industrialization phases. In this regard, the present-day momentum, which finds port authorities and stakeholders rearticulating their workings and merits for a responsible future existence, can and should thus be seized to retighten the mutual connection and understanding between the port's industrial complex and its adjacent urban agglomeration.

In support of this argument, Carola Hein states that "[p]ort cities must build on their past strengths to reinvent themselves for the future and prepare for coming challenges", while also pointing out that "[this] historical resilience of port cities is embedded in a *maritime mindset or port city culture* based on a strong and dedicated collaboration among diverse groups of public and private actors (...)" (2020, original emphasis). In this respect, examining what distinguishes 'port city culture', both in itself and in contrast to other urban areas, becomes a key concern. It needs to move beyond a mere excavation of port cities' cultural underpinnings, and should capitalize on the potential of history to instigate thinking about the future (Staley, 2007). This is not an easy endeavor, especially given that, well into the twenty-first century, a clearly defined notion of 'port city culture' still escapes port researchers and policy makers' grasp. In part, this can be attributed to the elusive nature of the 'port city' itself, which Frank Broeze already highlighted several decades ago (1985: 212). He posits that, next to studies that pertain to the many technical and economic aspects of ports, research that looks at the communities in port cities too often downplays the importance of the port itself (Broeze, 1985: 210). He goes on to say that: "Both classical and "new" urban historians have thus tended to discuss port cities and their

[1] Issues of future sustainability stand not only high on the agenda of port cities, but of course also of other (types of) urban agglomerations. Nevertheless, port cities can often still be singled out from other cities in this respect, given their position as major polluters. The port city of Rotterdam, of which certain concrete illustrations will be brought up throughout this article, is for instance responsible for one fifth of the Netherlands' annual CO_2 emissions, with 90% of those emissions originating from the port itself (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019: 6).

[2] AIVP is an international network organization for port cities, made up of public and private stakeholders.

economic, social, cultural and political issues, as if there were no specific maritime functions and milieu that could have a significant influence on the total process of urbanization and spatial and social evolution" (Broeze, 1985: 210). By ironically accentuating the 'new'-ness of the research approaches carried out by some of his peers in this passage, Broeze also seems to suggest that it is not necessary to try and reinvent an entire discipline in order to get to the heart of a particular matter. Research on port cities and their culture 'simply' needs to keep the peculiarity of the port at the center of its critical inquiries. Otherwise, it risks turning the port into a faint and distant presence, much as is the case in many contemporary port cities, where inhabitants have forgotten or grown oblivious to the shadow that the port casts on their urban environment. A concrete example related to the port city of Rotterdam, which constitutes the main case study for my research, can briefly be highlighted in this context: a Port Pavillion is currently being developed in the city's Maritime District, in order to function as a new 'port information center' for city residents and visitors (Figure 1)[3].

Figure 1. Design image of Rotterdam's prospective Port Pavillion, by MoederscheimMoonen Architects. (Source: Navingo Career, 2020).

Yet, as a quintessential illustration of bringing a part of port culture back into a contemporary urban context, one is left wondering to what degree the historical roots of Rotterdam's culture and entertainment will truly be acknowledged and accounted for through this modern-day initiative. After all, the type of port city culture that was to be found at the Schiedamsedijk, the central city road along which Rotterdam's Port Pavillion is now arising, was of a wholly different nature one century ago, with prostitution activities, dance halls and sailor pubs defining the port city's street image (Figure 2).

[3] Port centers are a project of AIVP (AIVP, 2018), and explicitly listed as a positive and promising example for the realization of the 'Port Culture and Identity' theme on the 'AIVP Agenda 2030' (AIVP, 2020b).

Figure 2. 'Sailor pubs near nr. 177 on the Schiedamsedijk'. (Source: A.J.A. Neuhuys, 1913-1917).

This article aims to advance research into the cultural distinctiveness and legacies of port cities. Especially pertaining to a time frame from the end of the nineteenth century onwards and with a predominantly European perspective in mind, this text takes up inspiration from the growing amount of recent publications that favor a more socio-cultural angle in investigating the past significance and present resonance of maritime urban hubs. After outlining relevant literature in the following section, the article considers the potential of researching specific neighborhoods of popular culture and seemingly notorious entertainment in the history of port cities. These public spaces of entertainment have recently been named 'pleasurescapes', in the context of an eponymous European research project[4]. Whereas this term can be operationalized in various urban historical research contexts, in this article 'pleasurescapes' is conceptualized with the aim of better unearthing characteristics of port city culture in particular. This article argues that notorious entertainment districts frequently formed zones of exception themselves within the liminal context of port cities as a whole. Additionally, their histories can be placed into long-term perspectives, thereby stretching to cultural and societal developments that shape port cities and their waterfront areas nowadays. In order to reflect on these aspects in the article's conclusion, the notion of pleasurescapes is first dissected into its two components, 'scape' and 'pleasure', to spark thoughts on both the spatial and experiential implications inherent in the term. Subsequently, two conceptual pathways are put forward to instigate more concrete operationalizations of research

[4] See the HERA-funded collaborative research project 'Pleasurescapes: Port Cities' Transnational Forces of Integration'.

into the historical entertainment culture of port cities specifically[5]. The topic of hedonism, on the one hand, can prove fruitful to link to the idea of pleasurescapes and the ways in which port cities' entertainment districts lured a mixture of people to its attractions. Bringing hedonism more explicitly into an urban historical context also helps to better theorize the past pleasure-seeking behavior of port residents and visitors, and the potentially detrimental effects that it could entail. On the other hand, Michel Foucault's much-debated 'heterotopia' forms another conceptual tool that can effectively be employed in the context of pleasurescapes and port history, especially when taking the ascribed 'otherness' of the port city as starting point and emphasizing the omnipresence of borders within this particular urban setting. Rather than providing an exhaustive overview of these broad topics, this article discusses hedonism and heterotopia in a concise manner, to stress the potential relevance in light of port cities' entertainment history. Together with reflections on the concept of pleasurescapes itself, this generates an array of viable starting points from which to operationalize investigations into port cities' pleasure districts specifically and historical entertainment culture in general.

Opportunities for Cultural Port History Research

Due to their distinct character as liminal spaces at the intersection of water and land, port cities have already been the subject of various cases of typological analysis, for instance centered on the economic relationships between port and city (Ducruet, 2006), their urban design and spatial configurations (Brand, 2007), or socio-economic and demographic features (Lee, 1998). A direct cultural counterpart to these comparative frameworks is still missing, however, which indicates the untapped research potential that has existed to delve into the cultural profile of port cities. Yet, recent years have seen a steady increase in publications revolving around the cultural connotations and imaginaries of port cities throughout history. Audiovisual representations of port cities are investigated in search of recurring tropes (Kowalewski, 2018; Martinelli, 2019), and dichotomous and overlapping urban portrayals (Mah, 2014). In creatively adopting the color themes of blue and black to unveil "ambivalent and contradictory representations of urban identity in port cities" (Mah, 2014: 27), Alice Mah discusses the discourse of port cities as 'edgy cities', among others (2014: 30-36). This deviating characterization of port cities is based in equal parts on their geographical positioning and socio-cultural identity, and is also highlighted through the use of other monikers like 'shock city' and 'wicked city' in publications that assess the often infamous legacies of some of Europe's most well-known maritime capitals (Van de Laar, 2013; Hewitt, 2019).

Much of the notoriety that comes with port cities' historical imagery, and that remains ingrained in the public consciousness, can be linked to the past existence of sailortown districts. Graeme Milne connects sailortowns to the age of sail in particular, but mentions that several of these waterfront zones persisted until the first decades of the twentieth century in port cities across the world (2016: 1). Located along the shoreline and functioning as a passage between the maritime and urban world, these border sites offered docking seamen rest and refuge, but also introduced them to the dangers and vices of the port city's larger cosmopolitan environment. When Milne zooms in on the distractions that sailortowns generally had on offer for visiting seafarers, it does not become a far cry to exchange his description of 'spaces of enticement' with the 'pleasurescapes'-moniker (Milne, 2016: 77-84)[6]. Before outlining the conceptual components of pleasurescapes, it should be noted that sailortowns not simply make up a logical starting point to further delve into

[5] Note that the word 'entertainment' is used in a broad sense throughout this article, thereby not so much relating to performing arts practices, as is often the case, but rather in entwinement with (experiences of) amusement and pleasure more generally.

[6] This is not to say that all sailortowns could be characterized as pleasurescapes or vice versa, even though certain pleasurescapes, such as the previously mentioned Schiedamsedijk in Rotterdam, certainly did develop out of or were part of sailortowns. The conclusion to this article hints further to a more long-term perspective, from former sailortowns to current revitalized waterfronts, within which port cities' pleasurescapes can potentially be positioned.

port cities' historical entertainment culture. They also form a crucial node through which to introduce aspects and influences of maritime culture into a broader urban historical context, in much the same way as Broeze previously advocated to start research endeavors into port city history "at the places where goods and passengers are transferred between ship and shore, the ultimate rationale of the port" (1985: 213).

Sailortowns run through various contributions of the recent edited volume *Port Towns and Urban Cultures* (Beaven, Bell and James, 2016), too, and the topics that are touched upon in this context range from religious mentalities to identity formation and changes in stereotypical sailor imagery. The cultural plurality that lies at the heart of port city history can be grasped from many angles, and entertainment practices can undoubtedly constitute a significant element of this kaleidoscope. This necessarily also comes with the task of re-evaluating the infamous character of pleasurable activities that, up to today, have put certain historical port city districts, and the people that populated them, into a questionable light. Robert Lee makes this historiographical challenge explicit when tackling two prevalent practices that typified sailor districts, namely alcohol consumption and prostitution (2013: 54-63). Both need to be placed in their wider socio-cultural context and historical time frame, he argues, "[i]n order to deconstruct the urban world of the seafarer in a critical and differentiated manner and to reassess the validity of well-established interpretations" (Lee, 2013: 54). This fits into a larger goal, namely "to place the analysis of the seafarer's shore-based experiences within a wider conceptual and methodological framework" (Lee, 2013: 28), while not succumbing to a nostalgic outlook that sailortown legacies have given rise to, as Milne also warns for (2016: 228). With these considerations in mind, this article now turns to the term 'pleasurescapes', in order to articulate and reflect on the conceptual implications that come with it.

Yet Another 'Scape'?

Discussing and examining pleasurescapes arguably entails bringing together a set of spatial and experiential aspects. A similar combination of factors has already been called for in the context of histories of migration connected to many port cities, as the integration of "spatial migration analysis with narratives on port identities" can yield more comprehensive research insights (Van de Laar, 2016: 306). The potential of spatial analysis, to map historical pleasure districts by means of GIS-related tools, is immediately apparent in the spatial component of pleasurescapes. Yet, its conceptual strength can reach further than that. The suffix '-scape', which was initially coined by Arjun Appadurai in the context of cultural enquiries into processes of modern globalization (Appadurai, 1996), is not merely tied to a geographic base layer, so to speak, but "lends itself expediently to analyzing the way people experience and understand their world(s)" (Salazar, 2013: 753). 'Scapes' can be envisioned as "fluid, irregular shapes" (Appadurai, 1996: 33), as encompassing spheres that structure and give meaning to the world for its inhabitants. Although Appadurai's conceptual treatise is not accompanied by clear-cut propositions on how to empirically operationalize it, convincing research exist in which his highly influential suffix is applied to certain domains of life that are both bound by spatiality and go beyond it[7]. Historical pleasurescapes in port cities can be investigated with such a multi-layered reach in mind as well, thus helping to link distinctive spatial characteristics of entertainment neighborhoods to a more widely shared sense of pleasure culture across various transnationally connected port cities.

[7] To name one concrete example, Hein's study of 'petroleumscapes' discerns a space-bound layer of oil infrastructures, but also adds additional levels of representation and everyday practices to it (Hein and Sedighi, 2016; Hein, 2018). Taken together, these form an intricate global web that exerts its influence in both material and immaterial ways.

Pleasurescapes also need to be framed in such a way that thoroughly distinguishes the term from other, potentially overlapping 'scapes' that have been called into existence before. 'Sexscapes' (Maginn and Steinmetz, 2015), 'playscapes' (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002) or 'nightscapes' (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Farrer and Field, 2015), to mention but a few, all sprout from different research contexts, but may ultimately all tread some similar ground as the notion of pleasurescapes. Ironically, this almost speculative inflation of 'scapes' contrasts with Appadurai's own warning against incessantly multiplying the term (Rantanen, 2006: 14-15). In this regard, it also does not come as a surprise that a handful of scholarly publications already mentioned the word 'pleasurescapes' before, albeit in an often casual and unspecified manner. Some texts in which the term is coined within thematically more resonant contexts are publications related to commodified coastal zones (Osbaldiston, 2018), historical amusement parks (Kane, 2013), or postmodern urban entertainment (Hannigan, 1998). While these specific references deal with varying historical time frames, ranging from early modernity to the current globalization era, it is interesting to note that they generally all converge around the mechanical, artificial and potentially non-authentic nature of spaces that aim to maximize fun and festivities for their visitors. This particular emphasis need not directly be extended to notorious port neighborhoods, and the ways in which certain of these were organically linked to and developed out of sailortowns. While the listed topics that previously drew connections to the idea of pleasurescapes might nevertheless comprise relevant links to pleasurable activities in port cities' history as well, I rather aim to broaden and open up the perspective on pleasure instead, first and foremost by delineating it from the counterpart with which it is often interchanged: leisure.

Pleasure, Instead of Leisure

While expounding on her research into former British amusement parks, Josephine Kane formulates a distinction between pleasure on the one hand, as an emotional condition or feeling that is opposed to pain, and leisure on the other, as those activities carried out in the portion of time that people have at their disposal outside of the context of their work (2015: 40). Furthermore, Kane is right to point out the class-related connotations that are attached to leisure, as the term generally implies "aspirational social practices, often in a collective sense" (2015: 40). This arguably contrasts with more dubious or stigmatized pastimes such as prostitution, drinking or petty crimes, to refer back to the previously outlined references on sailortowns, that one could engage in or be exposed to in certain port city areas in the past. Researching pleasure culture in the context of port city history will therefore center on places, objects, actors and practices significantly different from those that would surface if one were to historicize 'leisurescapes', so to speak. In comparison to this hypothetical sphere, pleasurescapes are necessarily characterized as more contingent and ambiguous, as well as less sanitized and institutionalized. This opposition can also become strikingly apparent when juxtaposing some part of a port city's history with its present situation. To again take the example of Rotterdam[8]: while a pleasure district developed itself in the maze-like narrow alleys around the Zandstraat at the dawn of the twentieth century (Brusse, 1917; Figure 3), the scattered landscape of bars and brothels that attracted people to that particular area in Rotterdam more than hundred years ago now finds a striking counter-image in the metropolitan allure of the OMA-designed expansion of the Timmerhuis complex, in which the city museum found a new residence (Figure 4).

[8] Similar remarks can be formulated regarding Figure 1 and 2 in this article.

Figure 3. Drawing of Rotterdam's Zandstraat around 1895, by Kees van Dongen. (Source: Brusse, 1917).

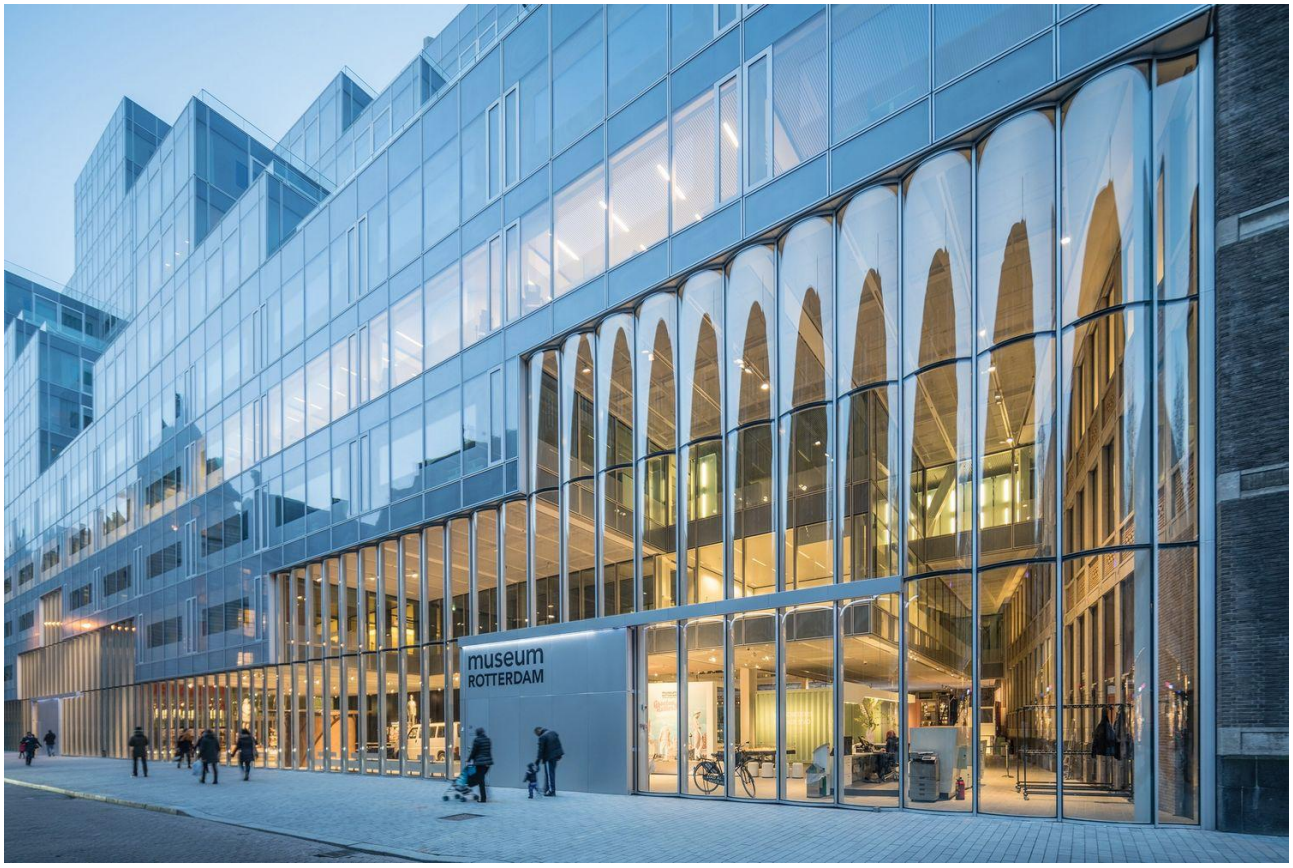

Figure 4. Part of the Timmerhuis complex, designed by renowned architectural firm OMA and depicting the residence of Rotterdam's city museum, by Ossip van Duivenbode. (Source: OMA, 2018).

The different kinds of architectural experiences that, throughout modern history, have been attached to and generated by "competing regimes of pleasure and leisure" are also something that Kane considers when setting up a boundary between these "distinct ideologies" (2015: 40)[9]. Yet, pleasure and leisure cannot simply be regarded as mutually exclusive in general. Naturally, people often engage in leisure activities to enjoy themselves, but a pleasurable feeling can be attained in many other contexts too. Pleasure and leisure do operate on different levels, with the former being something that you feel and the latter something that you do (Kane: 2015: 40), but these levels are necessarily intertwined with one another. In this regard, it is valuable to note that recent attempts have been articulated in the domain of 'history of emotions' to drastically conflate the levels of (inner felt) experiences and (externally discernible) practices with each other. In an influential paper on this subject matter, Monique Scheer advocates for utilizing the term 'emotional practices' to start thinking of emotions as performative actions in their own right (2012: 194). It goes beyond the scope of this article to outline how Scheer draws on various scholarly disciplines in order to make this point, or even to thoroughly indicate the different problems and pitfalls that might arise when trying to apply this new view on emotions in a particular historical case study. In the research context of pleasurescapes, scrutinizing some of the entertainment practices that a port city's population could engage in the past, whether it be illicit gambling or dancing in exotic music halls, arguably does not necessarily and automatically open the door towards the manifold ways that people actually felt about these activities when they carried them out within this particular maritime urban setting. Nevertheless, when it comes to experiences of pleasure in particular, one specific aspect of Scheer's conceptualization of emotional practices as "things people do *in order to* have emotions" can still be highlighted further (2012: 194, original emphasis), namely the goal-oriented character or purposefulness with which she imbues the term. This aspect sparks a closer investigation of pleasure in relation to hedonism, which can prove especially fitting for research into port city history.

Hedonistic Pursuits near the Port

Pleasure is something that is 'sought after'. This is a universal and timeless ideal, as evinced by a variety of case studies that historicize and discuss pleasure-seeking behavior within particular locales and communities, ranging from courtesan culture and amusement halls in early twentieth century Shanghai to gay club culture in London's rebranded post-industrial nightlife zones (Lam, 2019; Andersson, 2011). The act of seeking out pleasurable experiences as a main objective, which I here term hedonism, can be seen as a catalyst or structuring force in the context of port cities' historical entertainment districts. Whether it concerns Parallel Avenue in Barcelona, Hamburg's Reeperbahn or the previously mentioned Zandstraatbuurt in Rotterdam, the word on these alluring urban zones spread along transnational lines of maritime trade and travel and prompted many people to visit such pleasure areas upon arrival in port cities. In contrast to the above-mentioned case studies on pleasure seeking, which both adopt a narrow focus on specific community groups within a larger urban context, the crux of port cities, and thus also of their pleasurescapes, lies in the cultural amalgamation that they facilitate and represent. Therefore, unequivocally disentangling all the different groups of actors that historically came together in these entertainment neighborhoods, be they mariners, migrant workers or travelling artists, risks losing sight of the heart of the subject matter. Instead, common denominators can be identified and theorized across the myriad encounters that occurred in pleasurescapes, one being the quintessentially fleeting nature of the pleasurable experiences in which people indulged and which furthermore can be linked to the overarching temporal character and transitory nature of the port city itself, as a place of comings and goings (Hein, 2015).

[9] Note that there exists a rich body of literature on the architectural history of places for public leisure and relating to, among others, experiences of modernity and metropolitan life (see for instance Bollerey, 2019), and tourism and recreation (see for instance Picon-Lefebvre, 2019).

In this respect, pleasurescapes in port cities arguably constitute exceptional sites for hedonistic endeavors, especially when the more negative associations of hedonism are foregrounded, such as "addiction, superficiality, irresponsible behaviour and short-sighted egoism" (Veenhoven, 2003: 437). It goes without saying that this article cannot cope with the varying contexts and different perspectives, from ethics to psychology and economics, in which hedonism has been debated. When perceived as the pursuit of pleasure in determining human actions, considerations about the short-term character of this behavioral stance are easily formulated. Pleasure is an experience that always fades away. It is therefore no surprise that hedonism is regularly linked to "(...) sensory pleasures such as drinking alcoholic beverages, smoking tobacco, eating sweets and abundant sex" (Veenhoven, 2003: 438). Ruut Veenhoven, who tackles hedonism in the context of its effects on happiness and contemporary lifestyles, further outlines how the evaporating character of pleasure could "leave the pleasure seeker unsatisfied and give rise to an urge for ever-stronger stimuli. This could involve increasingly hazardous behaviour and also lead, inevitably, to disappointment (...)" (2003: 439). When relating this again to the realm of port cities' pleasurescapes, its underlying tensions become quickly apparent. For a person to navigate through a fabled but yet unknown entertainment district, the path towards that desired whirl of pleasures might well be less straightforward than initially expected. And even if one finds some partial satisfaction, it can still be tempting to push boundaries and channel frustrations, especially if it is relatively easy to escape the ensuing consequences and sail off to another destination at dawn. This also brings to mind the empirical use of crime statistics in historical research on urban port culture (Lee, 2013; Nilson, 2016). Trying to put hard numbers on the occurrences and types of pleasure activities in particular port districts therefore presents itself as a necessary undertaking, in order to craft a balanced twin narrative that both deconstructs the historical notoriety of port cities, as previously suggested by Lee (2013), and an all too easy perception of hedonism as "uncontrolled greediness and a preference for primitive pleasures" (Veenhoven, 2003: 441). One last point to be raised in this regard is that, conceptually, 'pleasurescapes' is steeped in a consumerist perspective. Its implicit focus lies on those who want to be entertained, and less on the people who fulfill the needs and meet the wishes of the pleasure seekers. Yet, both parties are involved and needed in the proper functioning of their deviant microcosms. This is also where the term 'heterotopia' can come in.

The Entwinement of Heterotopias and Port Cities

Where to start with heterotopia? Michel Foucault's under-defined but over-discussed term has spawned and inspired a plethora of research endeavors, so much so that a separate website has been established to track the term's incessant dispersion and influence (Johnson, 2019). Foucault himself started mentioning the term during the end of the 1960s. In a 1980s interview, he looks back on this, saying: "To make a parenthetical remark, I recall having been invited, in 1966, by a group of architects to do a study of space, of something that I called at that time "heterotopias", those singular spaces to be found in some given social spaces whose functions are different or even the opposite of others" (Rabinow, 1984: 252). The casual demeanor with which Foucault looks back on this event almost distracts the attention from the rather direct definition of heterotopia that he provides in this statement. Following from the word's Greek etymology, heterotopia points to places that are 'other', in a certain or variety of ways, compared to the 'default' societal space or environment that surrounds them. While a heterotopia thus forms a site of exception, heterotopias themselves are not necessarily exceptional in their occurrence. At least, that is the impression one gets when counting the various and wide-ranging examples that Foucault provides for the term in *Of Other Spaces*, the text that forms the basis of the previously mentioned lecture he gave to the architects in the 1960s. While Foucault sets up six principles of heterotopias and discusses these by linking them to prisons, libraries and brothels, among others, he ends his text by pointing to ships as "the heterotopia *par excellence*", as they are placeless places that by means of their buoyancy can engage in endless quests (Foucault and Miskowiec,

1986: 27, original emphasis). Ships therefore also spark the imagination of many (Foucault and Miskowiec, 1986: 27), but perhaps most of all those places and people who historically have depended on and are accustomed to seeing them, and whose attentiveness has predominantly been directed to the surrounding waters.

Thinking back of the infamous connotations attached to port cities, as previously mentioned in this text, these maritime urban hubs have continuously been imagined as 'places of otherness' in their own right. By now, this has become an almost common conception, and is especially brought up in the context of the intricate migration histories that have shaped the urban and socio-cultural identities of port cities over time (Van de Laar, 2016)[10]. However, it arguably goes too far to simply say that port cities form entire heterotopias in themselves. While the cities' geographical liminality and deviant characterization could weigh in on such an argument, it also risks playing into the partly self-sustaining nature of the 'othering' discourses surrounding port cities, without offering a critical assessment of these very same narratives (Mah 2014: 54). Notwithstanding these considerations, can we nevertheless conceive of pleasurescapes as heterotopic zones that have thrived within the traditionally perceived 'otherness' of the port city? This question will necessarily stay open-ended to a certain degree, given that Foucault's proposed principles of heterotopias remain rather incomplete, as is widely acknowledged, and thus lack a certain practical applicability. In spite of this, however, a couple of elements from his evocative text can still be singled out and briefly commented on. As Foucault writes concerning his third heterotopic principle, "[t]he heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible" (Foucault and Miskowiec, 1986: 25). This statement can hold true for a theater and its stage or for a cinema and its screen, examples that Foucault puts forward in his text (Foucault and Miskowiec, 1986: 25). For the previously highlighted case of Rotterdam, a certain imaginative illustration of this idea can be found in a painting that presumably portrays the waterfront of the neighborhood Katendrecht (Figure 5), a peninsula located south of Rotterdam's urban center and which, for a significant period of time during the twentieth century, functioned as a prostitution area and Chinatown district. Remarkable for its overall composition, the painting depicts a rather perplexing scenery of amusements, where a couple appears to make love on a bench by the water and right next to a merry-go-round for kids. Above all, the artwork hints at a variety of borders that existed or even dissolved into one another. In researching port cities' former pleasurescapes, properly delineating different types of boundaries that were in place certainly becomes a key task. This does not only involve spatial borders, in the sense of where one pleasure district ended and another neighborhood began in the city, but it also pertains to manners of conduct and entry and exit barriers. Under his fifth principle, Foucault mentions how in a heterotopia "[e]ither the entry is compulsory, (...) or else the individual has to submit to rites and purifications. To get in one must have a certain permission and make certain gestures" (Foucault and Miskowiec, 1986: 26). Uncovering such unspoken behavioral rules and non-spatial boundaries within pleasurescapes can contribute to understanding how port cities developed a cultural identity of their own, and also how this disseminated transnationally.

[10] See Lafazani, 2013 for a more contemporary research example on migration in the context of a port city, and that also utilizes the notion of heterotopia.

Figure 5. 'Fairground with carousel along the quay of (presumably) Katendrecht'. (Source: Dolf Henkes, 1961).

Conclusion: From Sailors to Tourists

If pleasurescapes are a characteristic element of a port city, at least during a certain period in time, then neighborhoods of notorious entertainment hold a clue to the larger cultural distinctiveness of port cities. Debates on this latter topic, especially where the perceived uniqueness of port cities is assessed in relation to other urban contexts, can thus be enriched by digging deeper into the histories of past pleasurescapes. In the concluding contribution to an edited volume on the histories of waterfront redevelopment, Carola Hein and Felicitas Hillmann for instance argue how contemporary cruise ship tourism acts as a connecting force between historical sites of port cities, their current revitalization and thus the changing valuation and booming leisurely uses of waterfronts (Hein and Hillmann, 2017: 229). Through the cruise industry, new migratory streams are also facilitated, that link back to and build on the routes of sailors and migrant workers who travelled from one port city to the other in earlier times (Hein and Hillmann, 2017: 229). Pleasurescapes in port cities can be placed within this long-term perspective as well. One only has to think of how the multifaceted image of pleasure culture as depicted in the Katendrecht painting has nowadays found a replacement in the post-industrial revitalization of that same neighborhood's docksides (Figure 6). In between the first instances of sailor settlements and the gentrified waterfronts that currently attract tourists and cruise ships, the historical narratives of port cities' past entertainment districts are positioned[11].

[11] A brief initial version of this argument has previously been formulated in Baptist, 2020.

Figure 6. Impression of the post-industrial revitalization of the waterfront in Rotterdam's Katendrecht, by Fenix Food Factory (Source: Meanwhile in Rotterdam, 2020).

This article has reflected on the term 'pleasurescapes', in order for it not to remain an underspecified conceptual buzzword, and to put forward different possibilities on how to operationalize it for the particular purpose of researching legacies of entertainment culture in port cities. The combination of experiential and spatial aspects, as outlined in the text, imbues the notion of pleasurescapes with a general strength and applicability that can be utilized in a variety of urban historical research contexts. The specific context of port city history has led this article to link the term to the broader concepts of hedonism and heterotopia, and through an exploration of both topics multiple opportunities for future research have been articulated. These pathways prove valuable to pursue further, in light of better understanding the cultural profile of port cities in general and their historical entertainment districts in particular.

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