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# THE RISE AND FALL OF WINKELCENTRUM SCHALKWIJK

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Delft University of Technology

Thesis  
AR1A066



Fig. 1.1 (Noord-Hollands archief, 1978)

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## Introduction

In approximately 2006, as a little kid, I initially entered Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk, an indoor shopping mall situated near the city of Haarlem. The mall left a distinct impression upon me, which was not necessarily favourable, but neither was it unfavourable. The expansive rows of stores enclosed beneath a single roof, with restaurants, supermarkets, and department stores, serve to transport visitors away from reality for a while. The sole focus of the visitor centers around the shops and the activities taking place under the glass ceilings of the various passageways. The mall serves to a diverse group of visitors ranging from mothers and children carrying out everyday shopping to youths seeking the mall as a social hangout spot and elderly individuals who view the mall as a location for shopping and socializing.

Returning to Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk in 2023, I observed a marked change in the mall since my earlier visits. Many shops had vanished, leading to high vacancy rates and empty storefronts. The number of visitors had declined significantly, with predominantly elderly individuals dominating the mall's current landscape on their distinctive scoot mobiles. These individuals were driving or congregating together, engaging in social interactions with each other. In the Dutch language, they are sometimes referred to as 'hangouderen' or loitering elderly. (*Winkelcentrum weert 'Hangouderen,'* 2005)

Shopping malls are large, indoor complexes that feature a wide range of retail stores, restaurants, entertainment venues, department stores, and other amenities. They are designed to provide shoppers with a convenient and enjoyable experience, and have become popular destinations in every continent. In the Netherlands, shopping malls have become an increasingly important part of the retail landscape since the 1960s. The growth of these malls was driven by several factors, including changing consumer habits, urbanization, and a desire for modern, convenient shopping environments. Many of the first shopping malls in the Netherlands were modeled after American malls, which were already popular in the United States by the mid-20th century. American malls were designed to provide a one-stop-shop for consumers, with a wide range of stores and entertainment options in one location. ('s-Gravenhage: Sociaal-Economische Raad et al., 1962)

The first shopping mall in the Netherlands, the Boogaard, was opened in 1963 in the city of Rijswijk. It was followed by other malls in the 1970s and 1980s, including Alexandrium in Rotterdam, Gelderlandplein in Amsterdam, and Schalkwijk in Haarlem. Over the years, Dutch shopping malls have evolved to meet the changing needs and preferences of consumers. Many malls now include amenities such as cinemas, fitness centers, and even residential areas. They have also become more eco-friendly, with some malls using sustainable materials and renewable energy sources. Despite these changes, Dutch shopping malls continue to face difficult times remaining popular with the consumer. And for the last 20 years mall owners saw a significant increase in vacancy in their malls. Overall, shopping malls have become an important part of the retail landscape in the Netherlands, offering consumers a convenient and enjoyable shopping experience that continues to evolve with changing trends and technologies, if this is not done correctly it can be crucial for the survival of the mall. (van den Eerenbeemt, 2021) (De Tijd De Maasbode, 1962)

The shoppingmall in Schalkwijk was opened 1971. This shoppingmall has been expanded multiple times, with additional buildings and the major change from outdoor to covered shopping mall in 1992. From 1971 till 2023 the popularity of this shopping mall varied widely. With glorydays in 1990 to the neglected state it currently sees. At this point the shopping mall is about to disappear and make place for highrise housing projects. Why

did shopping malls once were so popular and are currently seen as poor and shady places? These are the questions that keep coming up when you visit a place like Schalkwijk. (Frank & De Jong, 2014)

This thesis aims to provide an understanding of the design rules used in the creation of Schalkwijk shopping mall and how it evolved from its glory days to its current neglected state. The research is divided into four chapters, each focusing on a different aspect of the mall.

#### **Chapter 1: The design of the 'modern' shopping mall in the 1970s**

The first chapter will delve into the design rules that were prevalent during the 1970s, the era when shopping malls started gaining popularity. The chapter will examine literature from that time to create a list of design rules that were commonly used. The aim of this chapter is to provide a context for understanding the design philosophy behind the creation of Schalkwijk shopping mall.

#### **Chapter 2: The implementation of design rules in Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk**

Chapter two will focus on the implementation of the design rules in Schalkwijk shopping mall. The chapter will provide a timeline of all the interventions that were made to the mall, and archival drawings will be used to illustrate the changes made over time. The aim of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive understanding of how the design rules were applied in the creation of Schalkwijk shopping mall.

#### **Chapter 3: Public reaction to Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk**

Chapter three will examine the public's reaction to Schalkwijk shopping mall throughout its existence. News articles from various sources will be used to illustrate the public's opinion on the mall, from its early days of glory to its current state of neglect. The aim of this chapter is to provide a better understanding of the public's perception of the mall and how it changed over time.

#### **Chapter 4: The current state of Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk**

Chapter four will focus on the current state of Schalkwijk shopping mall and the plans for its transformation. The chapter will use sources from the leading architecture firm responsible for the mall's transformation to provide an understanding of the changes that will be made to the mall, including the addition of more high-rise structures. The aim of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the future of Schalkwijk shopping mall.

#### **Conclusion:**

This thesis provides an understanding of the design rules used in the creation of Schalkwijk shopping mall, its evolution over time, public opinion, and plans for its transformation. Through a detailed analysis of each chapter, the thesis aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the mall's history and future.

## **Chapter 1: The design of the 'modern' shopping mall in the 1970s**

### **1.1 The rise of the American Shopping Mall**

The emergence of the shopping mall as a commercial entity, as it is known in the Netherlands, can be traced back to the United States. In the mid-1920s, the outskirts of cities were primarily inhabited by farmers who relied on a few major delivery companies for their shopping needs, as they did not possess personal automobiles. Consequently, these farmers faced limited options in terms of product variety.

With the increasing ownership of cars by farmers, they were able to travel to the delivery companies located on the outskirts of the cities. Consequently, multiple businesses started settling next to each other, leading to the emergence of the so-called 'farmers markets', which can be considered a precursor to the shopping malls. This arrangement allowed the farmer to fulfill all their shopping needs in a single visit, while the self-service approach made the purchasing process more approachable.

Following the conclusion of the Second World War, the United States experienced significant city expansions, accompanied by a renewed focus on incorporating shopping malls within these expansions. The post-war period witnessed a remarkable surge in the establishment of shopping centres, commonly referred to as the "shopping centre boom" of the 1950s. By 1956, the United States counted approximately 1,800 shopping centres, with this number increasing to 4,600 by 1960.

The proliferation of shopping centres during this period can largely be attributed to the increased mobility of the American population. Advancements in transportation infrastructure, including the widespread adoption of personal automobiles and the construction of highways, provided individuals with greater ease of access to commercial centers. This newfound mobility contributed to the rise of consumer culture, as individuals could now more easily travel to shopping centers, expanding the range of products and services available to them. ('s-Gravenhage: Sociaal-Economische Raad et al., 1962)

### **1.2 The rise of the Dutch Shopping Mall**

The importance of shopping malls in The Netherlands and Europe, in general, was relatively low compared to the United States. This can be attributed to the fact that European cities are generally more compact and less spread out, reducing the need for large-scale commercial centers in suburban areas.

In The Netherlands, for instance, cities are typically situated in close proximity to one another, which ensures that residents in rural areas have access to shopping centers within a reasonable distance. Consequently, shopping malls are not considered a vital necessity as is the case in the United States. (Jones, 1969)

Despite the relative unimportance of shopping malls in The Netherlands, they emerged as a crucial feature of the urban landscape during the large city expansions of the 1970s. These expansions led to the development of suburbs outside of the cities, necessitating the incorporation of retail spaces as a key element of the planning process.

To address this need, the Dutch government devised a system for the location of shopping functions in and around cities, known as the 'detailhandelsapparaat.' This system aimed to provide shopping options within each part of the city, and it consisted of three shopping concentrations scaling from large to small: the city center, the suburban center, and the neighborhood center. The system was developed with a strong hierarchy,

ensuring that retail spaces were available near every part of the city. However the smaller the concentration the less quality and variety in products are available. A longer travel to a large concentration will provide the consumer with more options and more luxury. ('s-Gravenhage: Sociaal-Economische Raad et al., 1962)

- The city center (stadscentrum)

One such type is the city center, or stadscentrum, which is characterized by a large concentration of shops and provides consumers with the best options to compare goods and products on quality and price.

- The suburban center (wijkcentrum)

Can be seen as the shopping mall. Established in response to the creation of a city expansion, and is characterized by a limited range of products of middle quality. While these centers may not offer the same level of variety and quality as city centers, they nonetheless serve an important role in providing convenient shopping options for residents in outlying areas.

- The neighbourhood center (buurtcentrum)

Typically located within a 400 meter range of households and primarily provide for everyday needs. As such, they tend to be smaller in size and offer a more limited range of products than their larger counterparts.

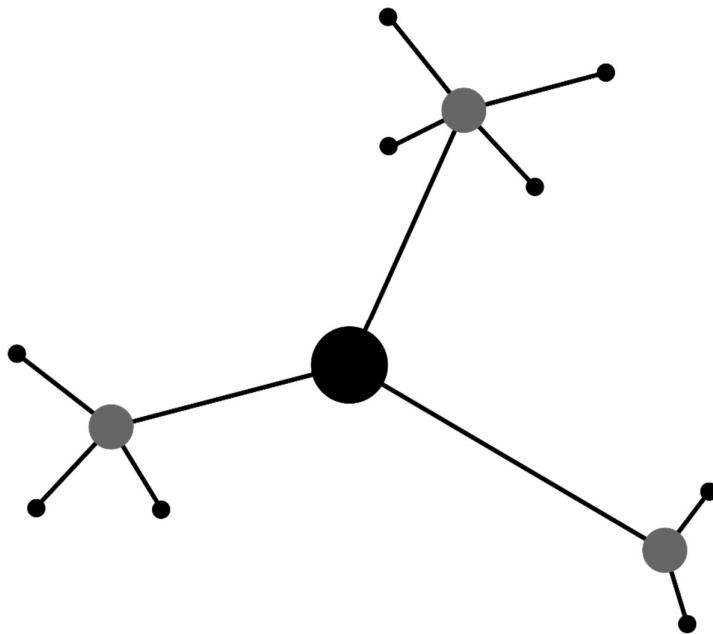


Fig. 1.2 This diagram illustrates how the 3 parts of detailhandelsapparaat are connected. With one city center in the middle reaching out to the suburbs centers, and each suburb has its own neighborhood centers. (own illustration)

### 1.3 Design Rules for the Dutch Shopping Mall

For the design of a shopping mall, a set of rules and guidelines can be established to ensure that the shopping mall is designed in a manner that maximizes its functionality and appeal to consumers. Numerous studies and literature have been devoted to exploring the various aspects of shopping mall design and identifying best practices in this regard.

One such set of guidelines was formulated by the Raad voor het Grootwinkelbedrijf in 1970. These guidelines provide a comprehensive framework for designing a shopping mall that takes into account the needs of both retailers and consumers. The guidelines cover a range of topics, including the layout of the mall, the placement of individual stores, and the design of common areas such as entrances, walkways, and parking lots. In this thesis, the focus will be primarily on a few key points from the Raad voor het Grootwinkelbedrijf's guidelines. (Amsterdam: Raad voor het Grootwinkelbedrijf, 1970)

### 1. *Situation*

the location of the mall should be situated to serve the surrounding neighborhoods, with ample room for potential expansion to accommodate future growth. The potential for additional floors or extra parking space should also be considered during the planning phase. It is important to note that the mall should not be subordinated to other functions, such as housing, to prevent any interruptions in the flow of consumer traffic, and to ensure that the stores are not broken up by apartment buildings. Additionally, access to public transport should be available at multiple entrances to the shopping mall.

### 2. *Access roads*

It is preferable for the shopping mall to be surrounded by access roads, preferably the main access roads within the suburb. Traffic entering and leaving the shopping mall should not interfere with the flow of other vehicles. The shopping mall and parking lot should not be separated.

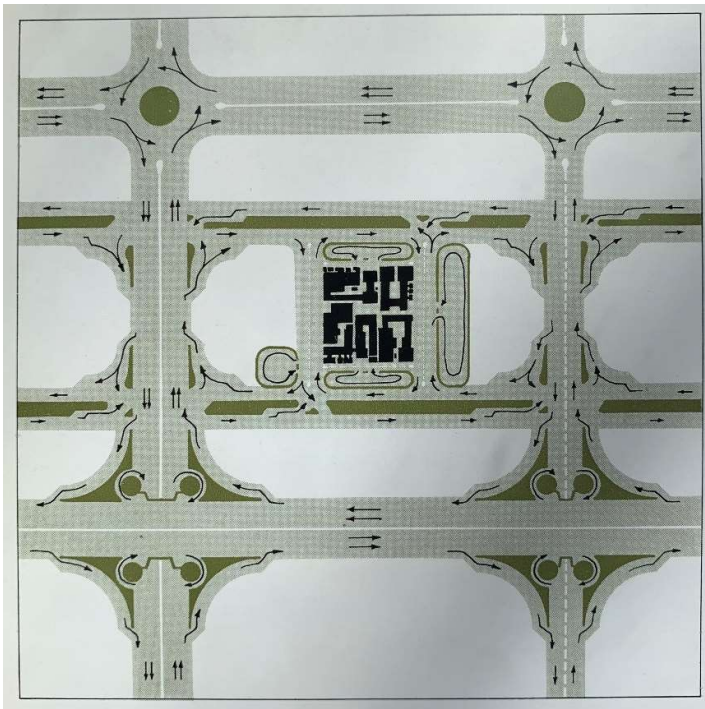


Fig. 1.3 Diagram illustrates the traffic flow around the shopping mall (Amsterdam: Raad voor het Grootwinkelbedrijf, 1970)

### 3. *Layout*

A pivotal point should be two-sided shopping, where blind walls, especially near entrances, should be avoided. The supply areas should be completely invisible to visitors. The shops should be as concentrated as possible, with a maximum walking distance of 300 meters. The passages should have a minimum width of 8 meters and a maximum of 12 meters. It is recommended that the mall starts with only one layer of shopping.

### 4. *Positioning stores*

According to the Raad voor het Grootwinkelbedrijf (1970), large and popular stores, such as department stores and large clothing brands, should be evenly distributed throughout the mall to create a field of tension. In cases where such big names are lacking, supermarkets should be positioned near the borders of the mall. Smaller establishments can then fill in the gaps between these larger stores.



Fig. 1.4 Diagram illustrates the positioning of popular stores in the shopping mall (Amsterdam: Raad voor het Grootwinkelbedrijf, 1970)

#### 5. Unloading points

An important consideration for a shopping mall is the need to have unloading points that are not visible to visitors. This means that trucks and goods, as well as waste and other containers, should be kept out of sight. By ensuring that the unloading areas are not visible to visitors, the aesthetic appeal of the mall is maintained.

#### 6. Parking

Parking is a critical aspect of a shopping mall, and it needs to be designed as a cohesive whole, rather than as separate parts. The ratio of mall space to parking space should be determined based on the car density in the area, with a ratio of either 1 to 3 or 1 to 4 being preferable. In addition, the parking lot should not be too deep, with a depth of no more than 200 meters being ideal. Designing parking spaces under a 60-degree angle can help to enhance traffic flow and ensure that the parking lot is easily accessible for visitors.

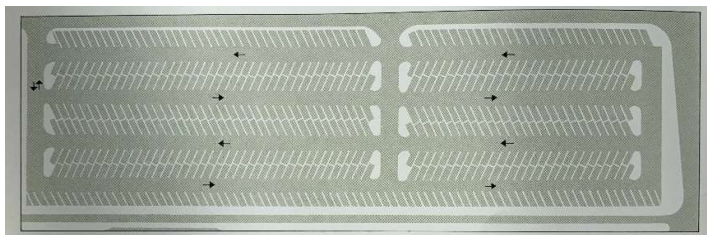


Fig. 1.5 An example of angled parking (Amsterdam: Raad voor het Grootwinkelbedrijf, 1970)

#### 7. Amenities

Providing amenities such as canopies for protection from bad weather, small squares, street furniture, flowers, and public toilets can greatly enhance the overall experience for visitors. Passages should be designed with orientation that obtains maximum sunlight and should not be too long, with corners being a favourable



feature. Variations in storefront designs can add interest and draw attention to different stores within the mall.

*8. Design/Appearance*

The mall should stand out within its context to catch the eye of potential customers. However, expensive materials should be avoided in order to reduce maintenance costs. Instead, durable materials should be chosen for their longevity and ease of upkeep.

## Chapter 2: The design of Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk

### 2.1 Introduction to the design of winkelcentrum Schalkwijk

Schalkwijk is a sizeable urban expansion of the municipality of Haarlem, Netherlands, constructed after the Second World War. The commercial hub of this new city section is the Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk, which occupies a central location amidst four distinct neighborhoods: Europawijk, Boerhaavedijk, Meerwijk, and Molenwijk. Notably, the shopping mall stands out as a vital feature of the urban landscape, given its pivotal connection to the key thoroughfare of Europaweg, which directly links the mall to Haarlem and other urban centers.

Following the Second World War, the city of Haarlem faced severe challenges in accommodating its growing residential population. In response, the municipal administration formulated the "structure plan Haarlem 1962," which identified Schalkwijk as the sole viable option for expansion, given that the surrounding natural areas, such as the dunes, are protected.



Fig. 2.1 Structuurplan Haarlem 1962

The urban design concept for Schalkwijk was Tabula Rosa, which entailed ignoring or entirely erasing historical layers. This approach enabled the creation of a modernistic functional separation of living, working, leisure, and traffic areas, without any interference between them. Each neighborhood was developed with a unique identity, such as high-rise or nature-oriented living, among other features. In total 13,340 new housing units were constructed.

Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk, designed by the architecture firm Spruit, was intended to be subservient to the city center of Haarlem, in keeping with the prevailing philosophy of the "detailhandelsapparaat." This approach aimed to ensure that the shopping mall would not compete with the established commercial centre of Haarlem. To facilitate future growth or contraction of the shops, the shopping mall was designed with a flexible layout. Notably, the mall's architecture is characterized by a restrained modernism that emphasizes a minimalist aesthetic.



Fig. 2.2 Impression, one of the entrances of the mall (circa 1970. Illustratie uit Blijsta, p.248)

## 2.2 Timeline and interventions

Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk, also known as Schalkwijk Shopping Centre, has undergone significant changes since its original construction in 1970. Over the years, the mall has seen various expansions, additions, and renovations, resulting in its current form. This timeline presents four illustrations that depict the mall's evolution through different stages.

**Stage 1:** The original design of the shopping centre in 1970, featured outdoor passages and squares with no roof covering.



Fig. 2.3 Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk first layout, 1970-1978 (own illustration)

**Stage 2:** This stage illustrates the addition of several small buildings to the right side of the mall, including a bowling alley, a car wash, a small police outpost, and an information kiosk. These additions provided more convenience and services for shoppers, thus enhancing their visit to Schalkwijk.



Fig. 2.4 Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk additional buildings, 1983-1987 (own illustration)

**Stage 3:** In 1990, the mall underwent a significant renovation and expansion. The entire shopping centre was transformed into an indoor building, with all the passages covered and entrances added. Additionally, a garage building with three layers of parking was constructed in the parking lot. These changes were ought to improve the mall's functionality and comfort.

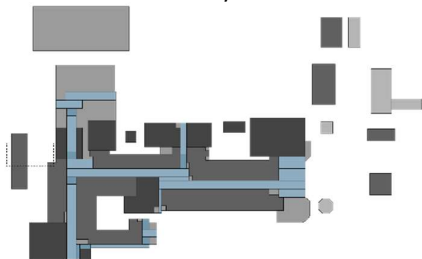


Fig. 2.5 Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk renovation, new roofing, additional buildings, 1990-1993 (own illustration)

**Stage 4:** This stage represents the current situation of the shopping mall, where a small part of the new master plan has been completed. A cinema is now attached to the mall, and large apartment buildings have been added to the top side. However, it is expected that most of Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk will disappear in the coming ten years due to further development in the area.

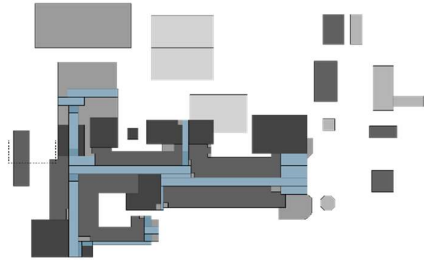


Fig. 2.6 Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk first part of the masterplan by JCAU, 2018-2020 (own illustration)

### 2.3 Checklist Raad voor het Grootwinkelbedrijf

To examine the rise and fall of Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk, an assessment can be conducted utilizing the checklist devised by the "Raad voor Grootwinkelbedrijf". While the preceding chapter provided a general overview of the key elements of this checklist, this chapter will delve into how each criterion applies to the situation of Schalkwijk in 1970.

#### 1. Situation

At the time, Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk was without a doubt the epicenter of four distinct neighborhoods and was regarded as the heart of the community. Accessible via Europaweg, an important road connecting Schalkwijk to Haarlem and Heemstede, the mall was situated in a manner that did not subordinate it to the surrounding area nor allow it to be obstructed by residential buildings. This strategic placement facilitated Schalkwijk's isolation from adjacent neighborhoods, and also follows the checklist. Moreover, the checklist stipulated that expansion possibilities for the mall and adequate parking facilities must be available. Schalkwijk ultimately expanded and added more parking levels, indicating that these elements were indeed functional for Schalkwijk. Finally, the checklist highlighted the necessity of linking multiple entrances with public transportation. However, Schalkwijk did not fulfill this criterion as it had only one bus stop on the Europaweg side.

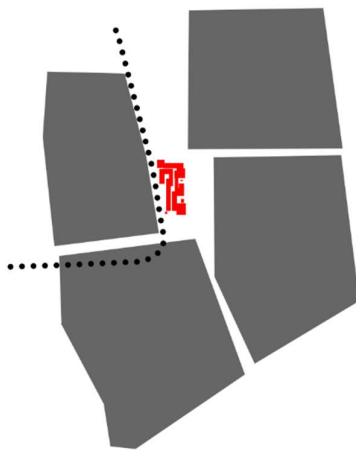


Fig. 2.7 Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk in red, Neighbourhoods in grey, Europaweg marked as dotted line (own illustration)

#### 2. Access roads

According to the checklist, an optimal mall configuration would entail complete encirclement by access roads. However, such an ideal layout is not evident at the Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk. Instead, the mall is flanked by only two major roads, with the remaining sides adjacent to a small canal. Furthermore, the flow of incoming

and outgoing traffic is not as seamless as the example provided by the 'Raad voor Grootwinkelbedrijf'. In this regard, for this criterion, the mall satisfies solely the criterion of being highly accessible from the parking lot.

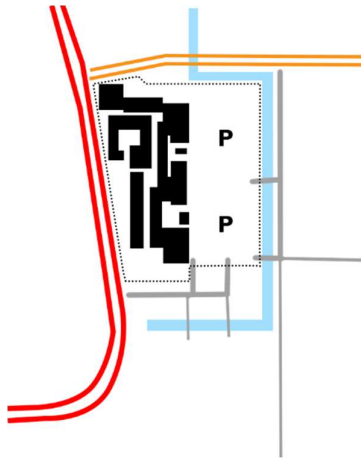


Fig. 2.8 Traffic layout around Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk, Red=Europaweg, Orange=Amerikaweg (own illustration)

### 3. *Layout*

In accordance with the checklist, the presence of two-sided shopping is a crucial point. The layout of Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk, as depicted in the illustration below, demonstrates that there is a two-sided passage present throughout the entire mall. Notably, the mall's design has no blind walls, thanks to the implementation of a grid structure(kolomstructuur) that allows for all facades to be transparent and open. Additionally, the supply areas are hidden from visitors in designated service areas known as "diensthoven". The numeric requirements of this criterion are adequately met by Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk, with a maximum walking distance of 300 metres being specified. Upon measuring the mall's archival drawing from its outermost point to the other end, a total of 350 metres is obtained. The checklist also mandates a passage width of 8 to 12 metres, and the majority of the passages in Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk are 10 metres wide.



Fig. 2.9 Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk storefronts indicated in red (own illustration)

### 4. *Positioning stores*

Concerning store placement, Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk has demonstrated a commendable adherence to the checklist guidelines. The mall features three prominent stores; C&A, Hema, and V&D, which have been strategically positioned on the two outer ends and one in the middle, as illustrated below. Additionally, sizable stores are located in close proximity to the entrances on the upper sides, while smaller establishments are situated in between the popular stores and entrances. This layout aligns favorably with the recommendations set forth by the 'Raad voor Grootwinkelbedrijf'.



Fig. 2.10 Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk anchor stores in black, Optanol anchor stores in dark grey, regular stores light grey (own illustration)

### 5. Unloading points

In order to ensure unobstructed pedestrian flow and a clutter-free environment, Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk has positioned unloading points out of sight. As indicated in the accompanying illustration, marked in blue, are the regular unloading points, located behind the mall. Additionally, the mall's three larger popular stores have been granted their own unloading area, which is marked in red. V&D, in particular, boasts the most extensive work terrain, complete with its own parking lot. In this regard, it is evident that Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk meets the criteria established by the checklist.



Fig. 2.11 Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk, blue=unloading area regular stores, red=unloading area anchor store (own illustration)

### 6. Parking

The parking lot at Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk adheres to several recommendations established by the 'Raad voor Grootwinkelbedrijf'. Firstly, the parking area is efficiently linked to the shopping mall, affording convenient and safe access to visitors. Furthermore, the parking lot is a single entity and not divided into multiple lots surrounding the mall, which aligns with the checklist criteria. Another criterion is that the depth of the parking lot should not exceed 200 meters, and Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk falls well within this limit, with a depth of only 80 meters. However, the mall has not adopted the option proposed by the 'Raad voor Grootwinkelbedrijf' to position parking spots at an angle to enhance efficiency.

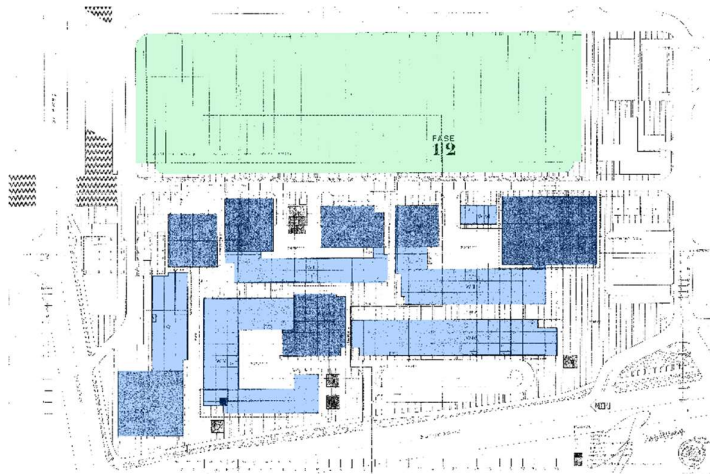


Fig. 2.12 Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk parking, indicated in green (own illustration)

### 7. Amenities

The orientation of the main passage in Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk is aligned north to south, ensuring maximum exposure to sunlight. To enhance visitors' experience, the mall's passages are not overly lengthy and are interspersed with squares to create visual interest. Moreover, canopies are in place to shield shoppers from bad weather, and street furniture is provided for resting purposes. The mall also regularly hosts events such as concerts and circus shows for children, thereby offering added value to visitors. However, Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk does not have public toilets available, which is the only part of this criterion in the checklist that remains unfulfilled.



Fig. 2.13 Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk entertainment for the visitor (*Optreden Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk, 1990*)

### 8. Design/Appearance

Regarding design and appearance, Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk was distinctive and noteworthy when it was built in the 1970s. The mall's aesthetic style was either retro or futuristic, depending on one's interpretation. The materials utilized in the mall's construction were durable and long-lasting, resulting in lower maintenance costs, and most of the facades have never required replacement.

## Chapter 3: Reactions and Articles on Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk

### 3.1 Bad reputation after opening

Upon its completion, Schalkwijk enjoyed widespread popularity as the new shopping mall in the area, attracting considerable attention from residents of the area of Haarlem. In fact, it was observed that immediately following the opening of Schalkwijk, the number of parked vehicles in Haarlem's parking garages notably decreased, indicating that many individuals were drawn to the new shopping destination. Schalkwijk swiftly became the focal point of interest in the region, signalling its initial success. However, this surge in popularity was short-lived, as within a few months, the parking garages in Haarlem resumed their usual level of activity.

Subsequently, Schalkwijk was heavily utilized by the surrounding communities, until a 'destructive chapter' emerged in the 1980s when Panorama, a news magazine headquartered in the office tower of Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk, published a critical article about Schalkwijk and the mall. Specifically, the magazine highlighted the nuisance caused by the youth of Schalkwijk, documenting instances of robbery, rape, and vandalism. The article posited that such disturbances were unsurprising given the lack of recreational facilities, such as cafes, cinemas, or discotheques, which would otherwise offer youths under 20 years old alternative means of entertainment. In the absence of such amenities, some young people resorted to engaging in criminal behaviour. (Folgering, 2022)

### 3.2 News articles

The popularity of Schalkwijk during its glory days was widely reflected in the newspapers, as evidenced by the extensive coverage devoted to the shopping mall. This can be seen when searching for the term "Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk," with the number of articles published each year serving as a proxy for the level of public interest in the mall. As illustrated in the graph below, a small spike in articles can be observed in 1966, coinciding with the early stages of planning and design for Schalkwijk. The second, much larger peak occurs between 1970 and 1975, which correspond to the opening years of the mall. However, this trend is not sustainable, as evidenced by the decline in the number of articles thereafter. Notably, a slight increase in activity occurred in 1990, which coincided with the large renovation of Schalkwijk.

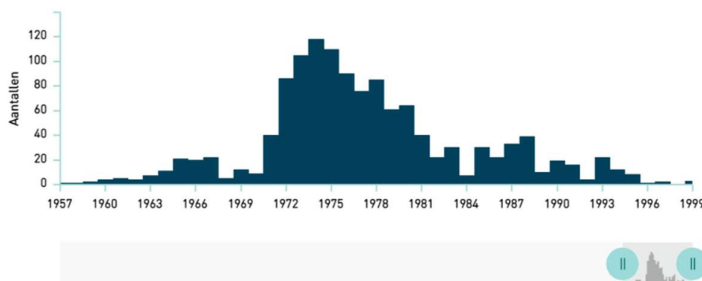


Fig. 3.1 frequency of 'Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk' mentioned in news articles (Delpher, n.d.)

A more detailed analysis of the content of news articles about Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk reveals a returning pattern of topics. As shown in the illustration below, the most prevalent theme among the articles is related to the construction or renovation of the shopping centre, accounting for 28% of the total coverage. However, it is noteworthy that the second most common topic is the occurrence of criminal activity within and around the mall, which comprises 22% of the articles. In addition, a considerable portion of the news coverage, 11%, pertains to problems with the youth in Schalkwijk.



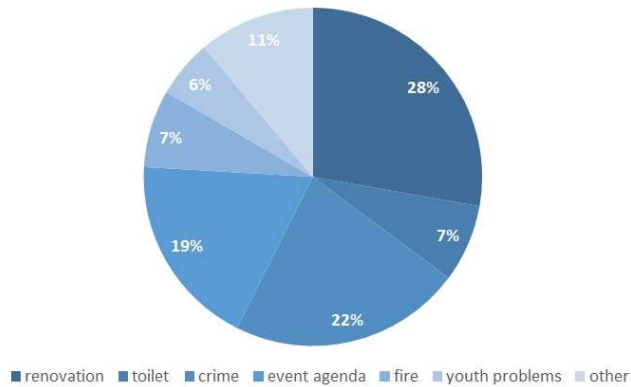


Fig. 3.2 frequency of topics mentioned in a Schalkwijk-related article, 1970 - 1995 (own illustration)

### 3.3 Highlight of specific articles

#### *Lack of toilets (1971, 1993)*

Shortly after the opening of Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk, a significant issue emerged. Despite the mall's elegance and comfort, it completely lacked any public restrooms, causing frustration among visitors. This issue came to a head when a German guest approached Hema personnel for access to a restroom and was denied entry. Another try at a different store was also unsuccessful, prompting the visitor to seek assistance from a police officer who ultimately escorted them to a nearby bank building. (Tubantia, 1971)

Upon resolving the initial lack of public restrooms, Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk once again garnered media attention. However, this time a news article published two decades later brought to attention that the mall does not have a disabled toilet. (De Nijs, 1993)

#### *Robberies & Arson (1973, 1974, 1979, 1981)*

As previously mentioned, Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk has been plagued with vandalism and robbery issues. Instances of arson and shoplifting have been frequent occurrences, with several major incidents making headlines. The illustration below highlights seven instances of damage inflicted upon the shopping mall. Notably, two cases stand out due to the extensive damage caused, both of which resulted from fires that resulted in losses of at least f 1.000.000 each. One of these fires was a result of arson, while the other was caused by mechanical failure. The remaining five incidents were all cases of robbery, with the most significant amount stolen occurring during a jewellery robbery in 1981, where f 500.000 was taken.

Year	Article	Specification	Damage
1973	Robbery	Clothing	f 20.000
1973	Robbery		
1973	Robbery		
1973	Robbery		
1974	Robbery	Clothing	f 200.000
1974	Robbery		
1979	Robbery	Juwelery	Caught
1979	Arson		f 1.000.000
1979	Arson		
1979	Arson		
1979	Robbery	Persian Carpets	f 80.000
1980	Fire		< f 1.000.000
1980	Fire		
1980	Fire		
1980	Fire		
1981	Robbery	Juwelery	f 500.000

**Fig. 3.3** Robbery and fire damage mentioned in news articles with specifications, note that articles between two black lines are the same cases in different papers (own illustration)

The full list of found articles can be found in the appendix.

*Problems with Youth (1983, 1984, 1990, 1992)*

The lack of available activities for the youth in Schalkwijk led to a persistent nuisance in the area, which in turn resulted in a tarnished reputation for the neighbourhood. As a consequence, the police often overreacted when receiving calls regarding issues in Schalkwijk, dispatching three or four full squads to manage the problem. Regrettably, this approach often exacerbated the situation, leading to confrontations between the youth and the police, and perpetuating a negative spiral of events.

At a certain point, Schalkwijk had become comparable to the Bijlmer, which was considered one of the shadiest areas in the Netherlands at the time. In response, Haarlem initiated an experiment aimed at restoring peace to Schalkwijk and reducing crime rates. The police established a new police station in the heart of Schalkwijk and created special district teams. The outcome of this initiative was positive, as local police officers became familiar with the area and the youth, enabling them to react appropriately and more effectively to incidents. Furthermore, several community activities were implemented to keep the youth occupied and prevent them from loitering on the streets. This resulted in a drastic decrease in unemployment and truancy rates. (Bommels, 1984) (Het Parool, 1992)

## Chapter 4: What's now, What's next?

### 4.1 A general downfall in the retail

The Netherlands is currently facing a challenge with regards to its shopping malls, as high vacancy rates and a drop in popularity have become increasingly problematic. The decline in popularity of shopping malls occurred quite rapidly the last 2 decades. The first major blow was dealt to shopping malls during the financial crisis in 2008, as consumers began to cut back on discretionary spending and limit purchases to necessities. Given that the primary purpose of shopping malls is to attract consumers to make purchases, a financial crisis can have a significant impact on their viability. This was directly followed by the strong rise of e-commerce, which has become the primary competitor for shopping malls as more and more consumers prefer the convenience of online shopping from the comfort of their own homes. Finally, the Covid-19 pandemic dealt another blow to shopping malls as many were forced to close fully or partially, causing consumers to realize that online shopping can be seen as a total alternative to traditional in-person shopping.

As a result of these factors, shopping malls are becoming increasingly abandoned and investors are becoming increasingly concerned about their future. The question now is whether there is still a future for shopping malls in the Netherlands. According to De Volkskrant, there is only one viable option left for shopping malls, and that is to pursue an extreme luxury strategy. This strategy has been successful for some malls, such as Hoog Catharijne in Utrecht and Westfield in The Hague, as they have managed to survive and even thrive despite the crisis. However, this success has primarily been limited to newly built or renovated super-luxurious malls, while traditional post-war malls continue to disappear. (van den Eerenbeemt, 2021)

Another factor contributing to this phenomenon is the fact that shopping is now more about the overall experience, which includes the opportunity to relax with a drink at a terrace or cafe. Consumers prefer the city centre over shopping malls for this type of shopping experience. This is also partly due to the fact that people strongly dislike the post-modern architecture of traditional shopping malls. According to a study cited in Trouw, 69% of people would not mind tearing down post-modern architecture to make way for modern projects. (Van Dijk, 2020)

### 4.2 Current Schalkwijk and Future Ambition

Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk is an especially poignant example of a post-war mall that is dying. In a reportage about the mall by NHNieuws, the mall is described negative terms, with phrases like "endearing sadness," "touching ugliness," and "stepping 20 years back in time." The only people left are elderly loiterers", and "the pavement is dangerous and poorly maintained".

Efforts to repurpose Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk have been ongoing since 2003, with planners and designers working on a masterplan for the mall. Jo Coenen Architects & Urbanists (JCAU) is responsible for the masterplan, and their latest analysis of the mall is from 2022. The firm's assessment of Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk is not positive either. The mall's design is outdated, they say, and it was designed primarily for cars, while Haarlem has become a bike-friendly city and public transport is convenient in the area. The building itself is described as an introverted and dull ensemble with a lack of appearance. Furthermore, JCAU sees the current layout of the mall as contributing to a low quality of life, and the area is reportedly unsafe at night. The only positive point mentioned is the mall's good connection to Haarlem and Amsterdam via public transport.

The architect's focus on addressing the deficiencies of Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk is not unexpected, given that this is a helpful approach for the transformation of areas. However, an independent evaluation of the built components of the mall was conducted by the Monumenten advies Bureau in 2014. This evaluation involved an analysis of all the different building components using a five-criteria ranking system. The resulting ranking, as presented in the matrix below, reveals that the first three criteria, which relate to the original concept of the mall, received positive or neutral evaluations. Conversely, the final two criteria, which pertain to design and appearance, received mostly neutral or negative evaluations. The matrix displays pluses for positive evaluations, zeroes for neutral evaluations, and minuses for negative evaluations. The implication of this ranking is that the original concept of the mall holds significant historical value, whereas the appearance of the buildings is generally not valuable enough to be preserved. There are some exceptions; for instance, the office building, which has served as a landmark for a considerable period of time, received high rankings across all criteria.

	Crit.1	Crit.2	Crit.3	Crit.4	Crit.5	Waarde
1.Winkelcentrum, oors.	++	+	0	-	0	A
1.Winkelcentrum, later	0	0	-	-	0	G
2.C&A	++	+	0	0	0	A
3.HEMA	++	+	++	+	+	P
4.V&D	+	0	0	+	0	A
5.Kantoortoren	++	++	++	++	+	H
6.Woontoren	++	++	+	0	0	P
7.Kiosk met torenspits	0	+	0	0	+	A
8.Politiepost	0	0	+	+	0	A
9.Postkantoor	++	+	+	+	+	P
10.Sporthal	+	0	0	-	0	G
11.Trafohuis	0	0	0	0	-	G
12.Politiebureau	0	0	0	0	0	G
13.Bowlingbaan	0	0	-	-	-	G
14.Wasstraat	0	0	0	0	-	G
15.Parkeergarage	-	-	0	0	-	G
16. Trafo parkeergarage	-	0	0	-	-	G
17.Brug Aziëweg	0	0	-	-	-	G
18.Floridabrug	++	+	++	++	+	H
19.Californiëbrug	++	+	++	++	+	H
20.Brug bij Wasstraat	+	0	+	0	-	A
21.Brug bij Politiebureau	+	0	+	0	-	A

Fig. 3.1 value assessment Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk measured in 5 criteria: 1. Original urban concept, 2. Part of current streetscape, 3. Original functional concept, 4. Authenticity total shape, 5. Design & use of materials (Frank & De Jong, 2014)

In the future plans for Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk proposed by JCAU, the mall will be almost entirely disappear. The floorplan of the new design, as illustrated below, shows the current mall's outline projected onto the plan. Notably, the original shape of Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk is absent from the new design, with the exception of the office tower, which was previously identified as the most valuable component of the mall by the Monumenten advies bureau.

The new design aims to create stronger connections between the Schalkwijk neighbourhoods and the city center, with retail being deemed less relevant. As such, the number of shops will be reduced to probably just one large supermarket in the new design, and the mall will be replaced by high-rise apartment buildings that can reach up to 76 meters in height. The plan explicitly indicates that anything is better than having a retail space at the location of Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk. (Jo Coenen Architects & Urbanists [JCAU] et al., 2022)

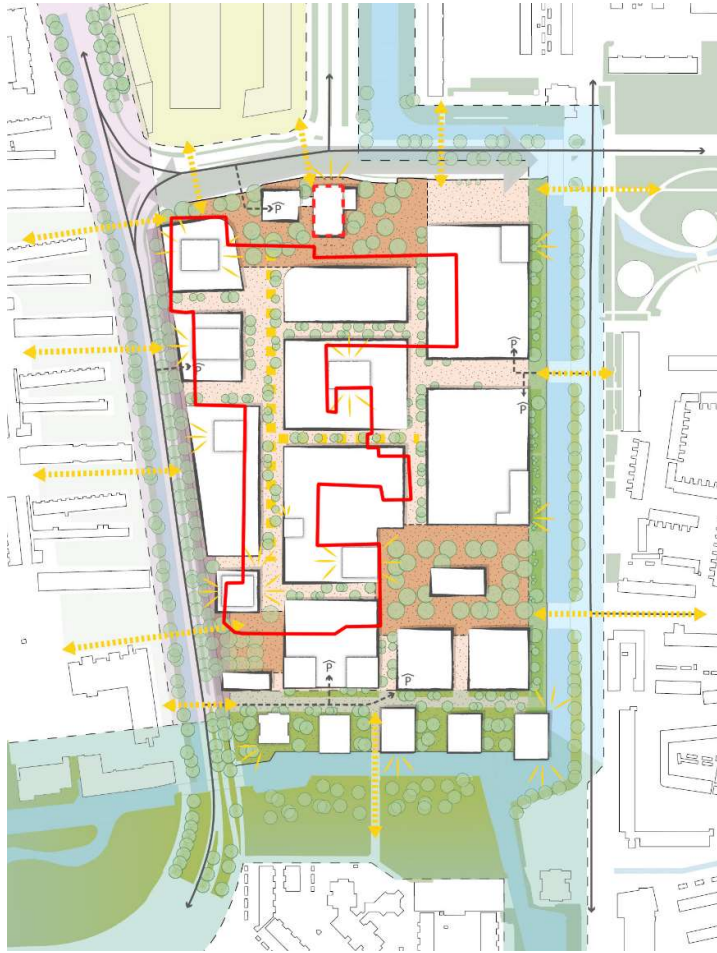


Fig. 3.2 Outline of the current mall drawn on the future floorplan made by JCAU (2022) (own illustration)

## Conclusion

The rise of shopping malls in the Netherlands was a direct influence of the United States, where shopping malls had become a popular trend in the mid-20th century. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Dutch urban landscape witnessed a rapid expansion of shopping malls, which were built at a rapid pace due to the pressing demand for modern retail spaces. To ensure that these malls were built to meet the specific needs of Dutch cities and neighborhoods, the Raad voor het Grootwinkelbedrijf created a checklist to guide the construction of the perfect shopping mall.

Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk, built in 1970 as part of the shopping mall boom, was the centerpiece of the urban expansion of Haarlem. Upon applying the Raad van Staten checklist to Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk, it becomes clear that the mall fulfilled almost all the criteria listed, in terms of design and location.

Despite its successful planning and design, Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk quickly gained a negative reputation due to the high rate of crimes, including youth that terrorised the mall and the surrounding neighbourhoods. While the mall functioned well as a retail center, its reputation remained far from ideal.

In an effort to modernize the mall, the entire complex underwent a renovation that included covering the open spaces, which erased the original architectural essence of the height differences and set-backs designed by Architect Spruit. Despite the fact that the architectural essence of the mall disappeared, the mall also had to survive the various crises that ensued in subsequent years, such as the financial crisis of 2008, the rise of e-commerce, and the COVID-19 pandemic. These crises have had a significant impact on many shopping malls, including Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk, which has experienced increasing vacancy rates since then. Nowadays, it seems that most people would not be concerned if the mall were to completely disappear, as per the ambitions and developments of JCAU.

Schalkwijk has never truly been a success, even though it functioned well, it never got the good reputation it always wanted. So to speak about the rise of Schalkwijk may already sounds too positive. It did however saw several downfalls, in fact from the moment it was built the mall was in a constant downfall to this moment. Now it lays on the edge of it existence, and after 50 years of Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk this mall will disappear and soon all memories about the shopping mall will slowly make way for the futuristic high-rise by JCAU.

## **Reflection**

The present research study could be extended to include a more comprehensive examination of various aspects related to the history and decline of Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk. For instance, while the study offers insights into the media's portrayal of the mall, a more nuanced understanding of the public's perceptions and experiences of the mall is necessary. This could be accomplished by conducting interviews with individuals who resided in the area during the mall's construction and early years of operation, allowing for a more authentic and personal representation of public reaction to the mall.

Additionally, the study could explore the decision-making processes and motivations of JCAU in their plans to exclude the mall in their future design. An investigation into the factors that led to this decision, including whether financial considerations played a significant role or if the mall's lack of attractiveness was a primary factor, could provide valuable insights into the broader issues and challenges faced by shopping malls in contemporary society.

Overall, a more extensive and detailed research study would provide a richer understanding of the history, decline, and eventual demise of Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk.

### **Personal reflection**

I must say that I really enjoyed writing this thesis about the mall. From Reading all the old books on shopping malls to the archival drawings and the future plans. It constantly felt like making fun connections trough the lifespan of Winkelcentrum Schalkwijk. After this thesis I will certainly continue to follow the developments in Schalkwijk.

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[keuze~b7fdb4f0/?referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F](https://www.volkscrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/luxe-of-leegstand-veel-winkelcentra-staan-voor-een-zware-keuze~b7fdb4f0/?referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F)

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[doen-zegt-deze-architect~be283cfe/](https://www.trouw.nl/cultuur-media/moet-de-wederopbouwarchitectuur-tegen-de-vlakte-niet-doen-zegt-deze-architect~be283cfe/)

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[hollandsarchief.nl/](https://noord-hollandsarchief.nl/)

Year	Article	Specification	Damage
1971	Gas Warning		
1971	Gas Warning		
1971	Gas Warning		
1971	Hema		
1971	Hema		
1971	Hema		
1971	Opening New Store(s)		
1971	Opening New Store(s)		
1971	Restrooms		
1971	Restrooms		
1971	Restrooms		
1971	Covering Passages Idea		
1971	Covering Passages Idea		
1972	Mall vs City		
1973	Robbery	Clothing	f 20.000
1973	Robbery		
1973	Robbery		
1973	Robbery		
1974	Opening New Store(s)		
1974	Robbery	Clothing	f 200.000
1974	Robbery		
1975	Theater	Agenda	
1975	Concert	Agenda	
1978	Chess Tournament	Report	
1979	Robbery	Juwelery	Caught
1979	Arson		f 1.000.000
1979	Arson		
1979	Arson		
1979	Robbery	Persian Carpets	f 80.000
1980	Funfair	Agenda	
1980	Liberation Festival	Agenda	
1980	Fire		< f 1.000.000
1980	Fire		
1980	Fire		
1980	Fire		
1981	Robbery	Juwelery	f 500.000
1982	Funfair	Agenda	
1983	Church Tower		
1983	Police Forces		
1984	Proeftuin		
1985	Church Tower		
1985	Church Tower		
1985	Church Tower		
1985	Church Tower		
1986	Funfair		
1986	Funfair		
1987	Funfair		
1989	Big Renovation	Covering Passages	
1990	Youth Problems		
1991	Big Renovation	Covering Passages	
1992	Youth Problems		
1993	Market	Agenda	
1993	Restrooms	No Disabled Toilet	
1993	Market	Agenda	

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- RENOOI:
- b beheer/af
  - c containers
  - tr trafo
  - cv centrale verwarming
  - p parkeren
  - r rijwielen
  - vertical transport
  - winkels
  - grootwinkelbedrijven en warenhuizen



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