

# Living in V&D Department Stores

**A Dive into the History to Research the Transformation and re-use of V&D Department Stores to residential buildings.**



AR2A011 Architectural History Thesis (2022/23 Q3)

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# 1. Introduction

For decades, Vroom & Dreesmann (V&D) was a staple of Dutch shopping culture, offering a wide range of products and services to generations of consumers. Vroom & Dreesmann was a family-owned company from Amsterdam and had its first department store in 1887 in Amsterdam. Till 31 December 2015, the department store company had 62 stores at mostly A-locations in 59 large and medium-sized cities. V&D experienced its most significant growth during the mid-20th century, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s. During this period, V&D was one of the largest department store chains in the Netherlands, with over 30 stores across the country. The post-World War II period was a time of economic growth and increasing consumer demand for a wide range of products, and V&D was well-positioned to capitalize on these trends.

However, in the early 21st century, changing consumer habits and economic pressures forced the company to declare bankruptcy, leaving behind a network of vacant department stores in prime urban locations.

## Cultural heritage through innovative architecture

To some extent, V&D has provided the modernization of inner city centers. Designs by for example architects F.M.J. Caron and Jan Kuijt ensured that conjoined small storefronts were replaced by high-rise buildings with renewed insights for department stores. The facades of these modern storefronts were richly decorated with a combined style of the Amsterdam School, Art Déco and New Objectivity. The V&D buildings are considered cultural heritage as “image-defining” and “of general importance due to its architectural-historical and cultural-historical values.” (Fischer et al., 2021)

## Housing shortage

That there is a housing shortage in the Netherlands is now a well-known fact. Various factors have led to years of long queues for social rental housing and the supply on the housing market being scarce with enormously high prices. The demand for housing is related to various factors. For example the rising of young households and the stagnation of new construction housing due to the crisis measures of 2009-2013. (Jonkers, 2022)

## Vacancy versus transformation

To meet the demand for housing, it is very important to come up with creative and sustainable solutions. With the decreasing desire for physical stores and the increased demand for inner-city housing, the vacant V&D properties may provide a solution. Unfortunately, a transformation of Dutch heritage is proving to be no easy task. Besides the fact that the heritage must meet monument requirements, the requirements of the building code sometimes do not always match the given size and shape of the V&D properties. In addition, redevelopments are often held back by management and economic factors and legislation. Keeping a transformation profitable is a complicated process. (Schijven, 2022)

## Case studies

When in 2016 V&D got bankrupt, the Canadian warehouse company Hudson Bay took over 15 stores in cities, but the other cities were left with a big building on A+ locations. Some of these buildings are already transformed and others are still waiting for new use. Hudson Bay is now also leaving the Netherlands. So 15 cities face renewed vacancy problems.

For this history thesis, two cases will be studied. The cases that will be studied are the already transformed V&D store in Bergen op Zoom and Hoorn. The study is focused on the transformation of department stores to residential buildings. In a lot of cities, the V&D department stores a transformed into mix-used buildings with offices and smaller department stores. In the cases of Bergen op Zoom and Hoorn, the transformation also holds a department store on the ground floor. Mixed-used buildings are in some way unavoidable in city centers to make it profitable.



Figuur 1.1.  
Promotion material Vroom  
& Dreesman (Fischer et al.,  
2021)

This thesis explores the history of the department store, in particular department store Vroom & Dreesmann. Insight is given into how a small manufactory shop was able to grow into a national department store chain and then leave the Netherlands with heritage buildings in big and small cities. The architecture of the department stores is set out.

In a second part of the thesis the complex process of converting these iconic buildings into modern, sustainable living spaces has been studied. By analyzing two case studies and conducting an interview with architect Arnée Peeters, this study sheds light on the challenges and opportunities presented by the repurposing of commercial real estate in a changing urban landscape. This study is based on completed projects and those buildings who has potential to be transformed and developed.

The main research question is:

***In what ways has and can V&D heritage contribute(d) to housing densification in inner-city areas?***

Sub-questions for this research are:

- What is the history of the department stores and how were department stores originated?
- What innovations and architecture characterize a department store?
- Who are the founders of Vroom & Dreesmann and how did the retail chain develop?
- From which period does Vroom & Dreesmann's heritage architecture come from?
- What is the architecture of Vroom & Dreesmann?
- Who were Vroom & Dreesman's best-known architects?
- To what extent is a department store suitable for transformation?
- How were the former V&Ds from Hoorn and Bergen op Zoom transformed?
- What are the problems today that hold back transformations of V&Ds?

## 2. History of the Department Stores

Before outlining the history of department stores, the history of stores in the Netherlands is briefly outlined. Until about the middle of the nineteenth century, there were no storefronts as we know them today within city centers. Products were sold on the street, at home, in halls, in markets and on bridges. During the nineteenth century, sales shifted more and more to stores, and so consumers were moving indoors. Indoor shopping increasingly became the norm. The number of stores grew rapidly, while direct trade between producer and consumer in the marketplace declined. The market was increasingly used for brokering.

Changes in retailing caused this shift. Previously, stores were driven by small shopkeepers and artisans with a small assortment with no stock and fixed prices. As a customer, you were expected to buy something upon entering. The Dutch saying “look, look, don’t buy” was out of the question, nor was exchanging or returning something. In the stores, however, there was more room to negotiate about the price and you could pay afterwards.

The arrival of department stores within Europe changed consumer behavior and retailers’ sales methods. The first department stores first appeared in Paris in the 1960s. Department stores came with a wide variety of products with fixed prices and free admission. This movement accompanied industrialization.

Free entry at stores and department stores meant that customers had to be lured into the store. The appearance of storefronts and facades started to play a role in this. Window displays exposed customers to the finest products. The architecture and content of the shop windows formed a business card of the shopkeeper. The interior of the stores also changed. How previously curtains hung in front of the windows for customer privacy and goods were kept in drawers, this method and approach changed to an open and more competitive sales method.

In 1870, as purchasing power increased, recreational shopping became more prevalent and people increasingly flocked to the department stores of Vroom & Dreesmann and others as an getaway. Shopping was increasingly seen as a recreational activity and this was associated with the increasing consumer society. Jan-Hein Furnée describes the term “shopping” in an article on consumer culture in the nineteenth century: “It constituted the expression of a form of urban leisure activity that was new in its style, coherence and scale, cultivated in the course of the second half of the nineteenth century by ever larger groups of people: the viewing and visiting of stores, with or without the intention of buying something -a form of recreation of which social pleasures such as seeing and being seen (...) were inseparable parts.”

Figure 2.1.  
Kalverstraat in Amsterdam  
round 1900.  
(Mielle, 1992, p.21)



There was a shift in shoppers, regular customers changed from buyers to viewers. In large cities like Amsterdam and The Hague, wealthier women in particular took the time to stroll past the illuminated shop windows. This group of consumers was also known as the “slipper parade” (pantoffelparade). Developments in consumer behavior translated into the public spaces and architecture of cities. The streetscape within the city changed with the rise of stores and department stores. More and more houses had to make place for new premises or the first floor was no longer inhabited. To get to the upper apartments, separate entrances were made.

With the introduction of department stores within cities, “shopping on the story” was introduced. Two-story storefronts with large windows appeared in the streetscape. (Lenferink, 2010)

## 2.1. Department Stores in Europe

Shops like department stores sprang up where large concentrations of the population represented ample purchasing power. Within Europe, Paris is a city that met this condition. In the 1950s, the inner city of Paris was completely restructured. The population composition of the city changed. In the urban plan of Georges-Eugène baron Haussmann (1809-1891), thousands of less wealthy Parisians were expelled from the impoverished middle-aged neighborhoods. These neighborhoods were demolished and in their place came wealthy citizens. Streets were widened into wide boulevards lined with luxury new-build flats. (Miellet, 1992, p.10) These urban planning interventions made the inner city more accessible for people and goods. People from the province could reach the city much better with the development of railways. (Jan Kuijt, p.13)

Besides the improved housing situation of the Parisians, a number of shopping palaces of enormous size and luxury were built in just a few decades. Paris was the birthplace of the first 'one-stop-shopping' character shops, or department stores.

Paris was for that time an exception in the concentration of population of wealthy people. In other cities within Europe, population growth occurred mainly as a result of industrialisation. The Netherlands had late industrialisation and as a result, during the 19th century, there were insufficient resources for the emergence of capitalist-led retail enterprises. (Miellet, 1992, p.10)

## 2.2. The Term and Concept of “Department Store”

The precursor of the department store was the bazar. Here, different products from different industries were sold interchangeably. The interior of the shops was cluttered. The bazars are seen as the first form of modern shop operation. Around 1830, the first bazars emerged in Paris. (Miellet, 1992, p.42) The bazars were the first retail establishments that had divided its sales areas into different sections. However, this was not always done consistently. The department stores that emerged later did do this division into departments consistently. The organisation, administration and personnel policy, was derived from the departmental division. That is why the term 'department store' is used to refer to this shop type. In Dutch, the word 'warenhuis' is used. This originates from Germany. This designation came about because the first department store was established in the Netherlands in 1914, Magazijn De Bijenkorf, through collaborations with German department store operators. In Paris, the first department stores were referred to as 'Grand Magasin de Nouveautés', or 'Grand Magasin' for short." (Miellet, 1992, p.46)

## 2.3. Au Bon Marché - Paris

The inventor of the department store is from Paris. French entrepreneur Aristide Boucicaut (Bellême, July 14, 1810 - Paris, December 26, 1877) set up the first department store within Europe, Le Bon Marché in Rue de Sèvres. The store was originally founded by brothers Paul and Justin Videau as Au Bon Marché in 1838, but hat merchant Aristide Boucicaut and his wife Marguerite converted the store to a department store in 1852. They are the originators of the modern concept and phenomenon of department store as it is known to this day.

Figure 2.2.  
Au Bon Marché, Paris 1972  
(Miellet, 1992, p.47)



The original store had 300 square meters of retail space with only twelve employees and sales of 500,000 francs. Eight years later, the Au Bon Marché had a sales of five million francs a year. The sales method and entrepreneurship was completely new and innovative. The marketing plan in which fixed prices, exchanges, refunds and guarantees were key. There was a varied range of products,

with large stocks. Au bon Marché's assortment by the late 60s of the 19th century was so large with several unrelated branches that a modern department store had been established. (Miellet, 1992, p.47). The current building still stands on Rue de Sèvres and was opened in 1872. By 1877, the department store had more than 50,000 square meters of retail space, with about 1,800 employees. The display window of the department store was as long as 45 meters. (Web, n.d.)

The building that opened its doors on April 2, 1872, was 45x35 meters and had 5 stories with a souterrain and basement. On the top floor, there were rooms for employees. There were kitchens and dining rooms on the third floor where staff could eat with 300 people at a time. (Miellet, 1992, p. 47). The architect of the building was Louis Charles Boileau (1837-1914) and the engineer Gustave Eiffel (1832-1923).



Figure 2.3. Au Bon Marché now. Left photo is second building form 1911-1913 (Le Bon March Paris, n.d.)

A second building was built in 1911-1913. This building was built in the architectural art déco style. The building was at the corner of rue de Sèvres and rue du Bac and built by the Ateliers Moisant-Lauren-Savey. After a fire on December 22, 1915, the building was destroyed and eventually rebuilt in 1924 by the architect Louis-Hippolyte Boileau. (Le Bon March Paris, n.d.)

All neighbouring buildings were bought up, including Hospice des Petits Ménages and Assistance Publique, to enclose the entire block between rue du Bac, rue de Sèvres, boulevard l'Enfer, rue Babylone and rue Velpeau in the shopping palace. Architects Boileau and Gustave Eiffel were commissioned to make the adjoining buildings a unit. Gustave Eiffel, known for the Eiffel Tower, was a structural engineer ahead of his time. Eiffel provided Le Bon Marché with a modern iron-glass cocoon (figure 2.4 (FvdV, z.d.)).

## 2.4. Innovations in Architecture Department Stores

The emergence of large department stores is considered the driver of modern architecture. The type of department store can be seen as a total art, architecture, applied art and the first experiments of techniques such as steel structures were combined in this development. (Beekum, 2018, p.13)

The industrial revolution and growing success of department stores led to innovations in the architecture and interiors of retail shops. In the shops, the emphasis was on selling clothes and fabrics. Lighting was only given in the form of gas light in the nineteenth century. To judge the fabrics for colour and quality, it was important to have as much natural daylight as possible. The buildings were therefore equipped with huge domed light halls. The downside was that it took up a lot of space within the building, but it also gave brilliant view through the entire building.

To make shopping on the floor accessible, the stairs had to be spacious and easily passable. Great department stores are characterised by lavishly decorated staircases. The stairs often stand in the middle of the space to invite shoppers to take a look upstairs. They form a graceful interplay of lines in the transparent architecture. The construction of the stairs could be made slimmer by the then new technology in steel structures. (Miellet, 1992, p.49) Also innovations in ventilations were made (Beekum, 2018, p.13). The stairs and light halls became unnecessary when electric lights, hydraulic lifts and escalators were introduced in shops. These inventions allowed the light halls and stairs to make way for the expansion of the retail space. (Miellet, 1992, p.49)

The facades of department stores were often ornamental in the eclectic architectural style or art déco. The facade was often non-bearing as steel load-bearing structures were used. The facades and shop windows were illuminated by electric light.

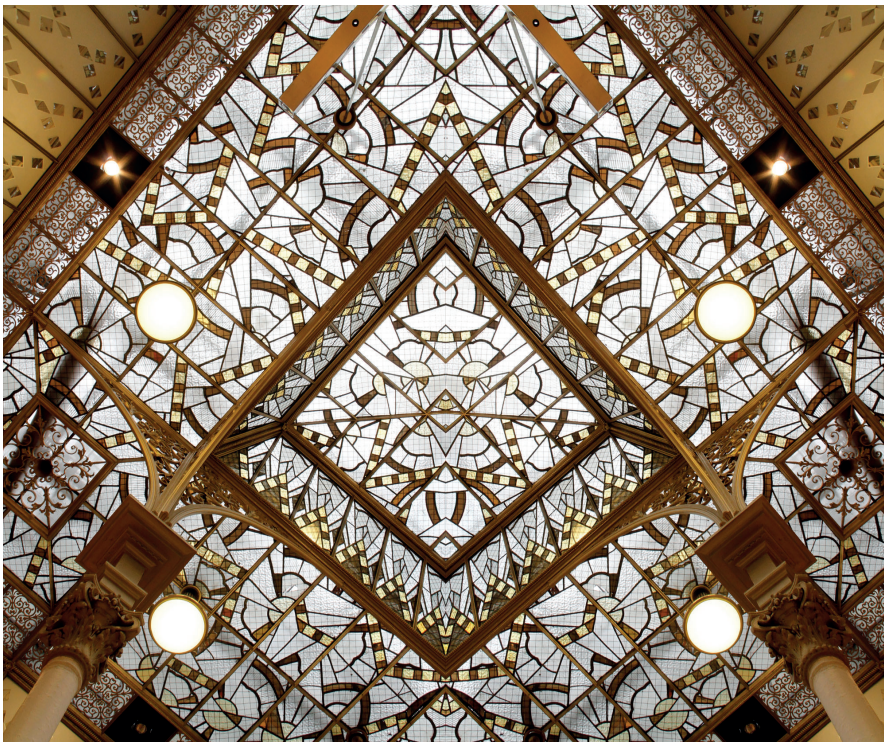


Figure 2.4.  
Design of Gustave Eiffel.  
(FvdV, z.d.)

Figure 2.5.  
Eye-catching staircases with  
Gustavo Eiffel's skylights  
above.  
(Miellet, 1992, p.48)



Figure 2.5.  
Hydrolic lifts in A la Ville de  
Saint-Denis, 1969.  
(Miellet, 1992, p.48)



## 3. Vroom & Dreesmann

### 3.1. Founders

The two men behind the Vroom & Dreesmann stores were Willem Vroom and Anton Dreesmann.



Figure 3.1.  
Anton Dreesmann  
(Miellel, 1992, p.81)

Anton Caspar Rudolph Dreesmann (1854-1934) was born into a German family in the town of Haselünne (Westfalen). His parents, Anton Dreesmann and Antonia Kerkhoff, owned a large manufactory shop in their hometown. The strict Roman Catholic family had eight children, of whom Anton was the oldest. At the age of 16, Anton Dreesman left for Amsterdam, partly to avoid military service in the Prussian Army. He started working for the Buhrs family in manufactory Albert Buhrs. This shop was on the Nieuwendijk, corner of Nieuwstraat. He lived with the Buhrs family for five of the seven years. In those days, it was normal for staff members to live in-house. In 1875, he received an offer to become shop manager for a new shop on Tuinstraat and moved there. Anton Dreesman started his own manufactory shop in 1878. This shop and residence was at 143 Rozenstraat, corner of Tweede Rozendwarsstraat. Later, the shop was expanded with an annex on the opposite side of Rozenstraat (number 145). Anton Dreesman married Helena Tombrock in 1879. She was a 19-year-old daughter of a Franeker retailer of manufactures. In his memoirs, he wrote the following about his method of buying and selling:

*“From the beginning, I applied myself to buying up the leftovers in various warehouses, where I was well known. With this, I had extraordinary success, as I sold my clientele for cheaper prices better than many others and could make a much larger profit margin myself.”*



Figure 3.2.  
Willem Vroom  
(Miellel, 1992, p.81)

Willem Hermanus Vroom (1850-1925) was from Veendam and had also grown up in a strict Roman Catholic family. His parents ran a textile goods shop. His career began as an apprentice in a Groningen manufactory shop Alofs-Vroom and later in his parents' business. At the time, he mainly went into the countryside to seek out customers outside the city. At the age of 30, Willem Vroom left for Amsterdam to start a manufactory shop in 1881. His shop and home was on Leliegracht, corner of Keizersgracht.

Anton Dreesmann and Willem Vroom came into contact through Willem Vroom's cousin, Hendrick Johannes Vroom. He was the owner of the shop Vroom & Co. The two men became good friends and eventually Willem Vroom married Helena Tombrock's sister, Francisca Trombrock.

Despite the fact that Willem Vroom's shop did make a profit, Anton Dreesmann advised him to buy over a manufactory shop with stock at 9 Wittenburgergracht. This was because Vroom's shop offered few prospects. Willem Vroom wanted to get rid of the stock as soon as possible and decided to experiment with heavily discounted items, fixed prices and cash-only sales. It appealed to customers and so the system of 'low profit - high turnover' was born. He also introduced a system nowadays called 'loss-leader'. Some items are used as bait items and sold at purchase price or lower. After this success, Willem Vroom started applying this system to his other shop on Leliegracht as well.

Anton Dreesmann also began applying this form of exploitation to his shops. Together with Hendrick Vroom, the entrepreneurs occasionally bought batches together. The brothers-in-law only started working together when they began jointly running the manufactory shop 'Magazijn De Zon' at 70 Weesperstraat. The shop was opened on 1 May 1887 with Anton Dreesmann's brother as manager. On 12 December 1889, an agreement was made that from 1 January 1890, Willem Vroom and Anton Dreesmann would merge all their shops under one partnership. The Vroom & Dreesmann company then had five shops in Amsterdam at once. (Miellel, 1992, pp. 80-82)

### 3.2. Extending of Company Vroom & Dreesmann

In 25 years the 'Vroom & Dreesmann - De Zon' shop had expanded across the country with 15 subsidiaries, 34 shops in nine of the eleven provinces. Each subsidiary operated under the name: N.V. Manufacturenhandel van Vroom & Dreesmann, followed by the place name of the branch. Vroom and Dreesmann both owned 50% of the stock of the Amsterdam shops and 25% each of the other companies. The remainder belonged to the directors and co-founders of the outer branches. From 1895, the Central Purchasing Office was established on Prinsengracht in Amsterdam.

From here, batches were purchased for the shops all over the country. The founders of the outer branches were either the married relatives of one or both of the brothers-in-law. Company Vroom & Dreesmann became a block formation whose descendants took over the business or helped expand it further. (Miellet, 1992, p.83)

A defining aspect of the new shops' locations was location. In each city, the family was well aware of the market in retail properties, but consideration was given to the expandability of the properties. The shops had to be in easily accessible locations, often a central location in the city center. There was also an interest in an existing shopping area with a lot of competition nearby. Neighbouring plots were bought to expand. Renovation was then done and a new facade made it a whole. (Beekum, 2018, p.49).



Figure 3.3.  
Interior V&D Lange Veer-  
straat, Haarlem circa 1900  
(Miellet, 1992, p.82)



Figure 3.4.  
First Vroom & Dreesman  
store at the Rozenstraat, 1890  
(Miellet, 1992, p.80)



Figure 3.5.  
Magasine De Zon in Middel-  
burg, 1902  
(Miellet, 1992, p.82)

### 3.3. Transition from Manufactory Shop to Department Store

The Vroom & Dreesmann shops were far from having the character of a department store yet. Customers did not need to be enticed with special architecture and extravagances. (Beekum, 2018, p.22) Gradually, however, sales areas and warehouses were expanded, so there were continuous renovations in the shops. Assortments were widened or a new department was added. The textile range was expanded to include curtains and carpets. Furniture was also added to the range. The luxurious image of department stores in Paris, for example, contrasted sharply with the image of Vroom & Dreesmann: inexpensive and decent, not fashionable. This suited the kind of consumer the shop attracted from the working-class neighborhoods. A deliberate decision had been made not to become a fashion boutique, but traits of a department store were slowly beginning to form.

In 1912, a shift took place due to an expansion in the product range. The new shop on Kalverstraat started selling mainly home furnishing articles in addition to textiles. The shop was large, occupying a totally of four plots (two on Kalverstraat and two on Rokin). Due in part to its location, the shop was going to tailor its presentation and commercial strategy to a wider audience. The shop was comfortably laid out and attracted a lot of attention. The shop was spacious and bright, partly



Figure 3.6.  
First Department Store of the V&D, the extension on the Rokin street. (Miellet, 1992, p.85)

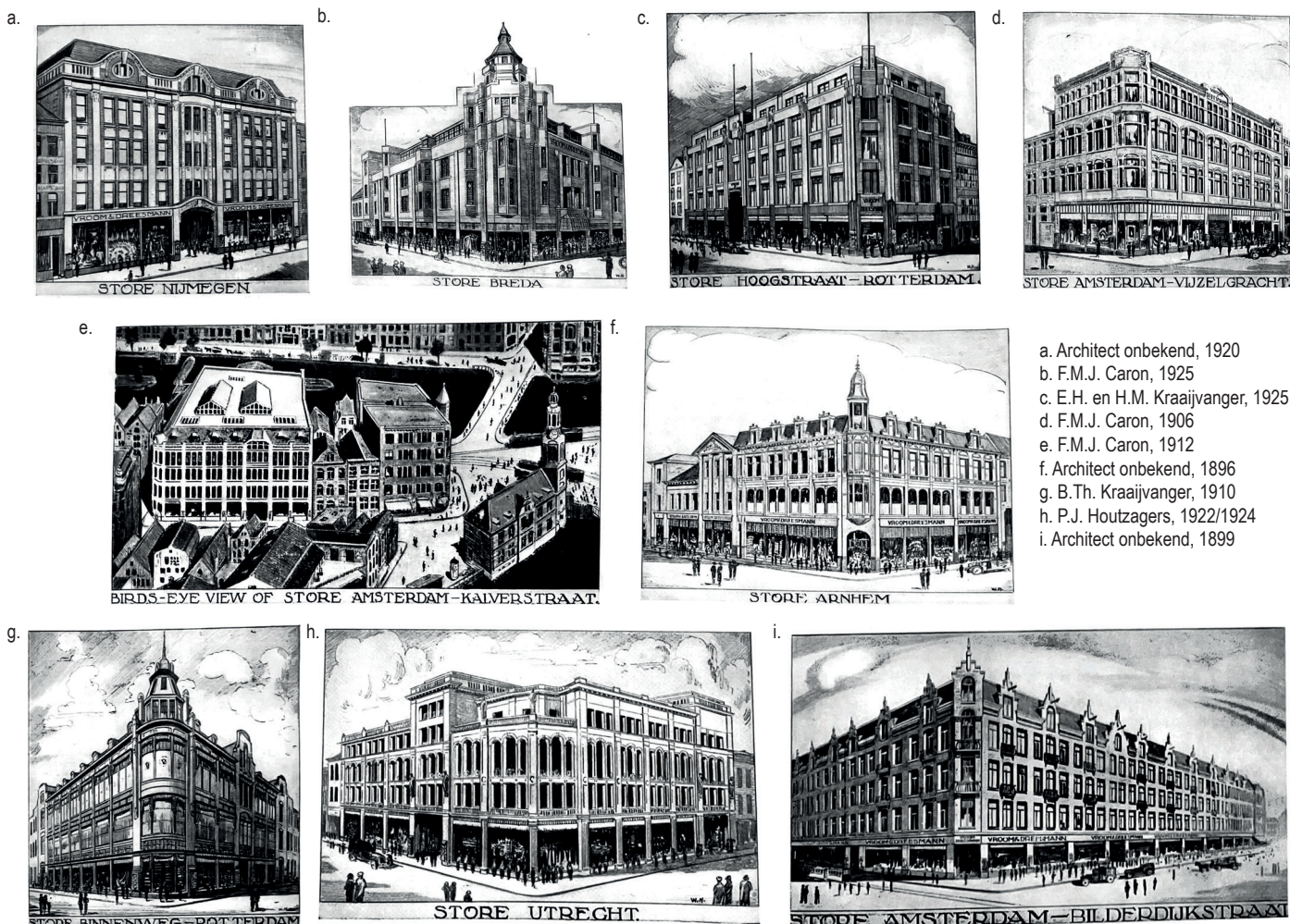
due to white light bulbs on the ceiling and a light hall in the center of the building. There were two elevators and a grand staircase adjacent to this light hall. The pavement in front of the building was covered, allowing the displays (shop windows) to be pleasantly admired by passing city dwellers. (Miellet, 1992, p. 85) (Beekum, 2018, p.50)

Vroom & Dreesmann's modest shops developed into landmark buildings within cities in the '20s and '30s. This period also saw the conversion to department stores. When expansion of the buildings was no longer possible, a new shopping palace was built elsewhere in the city. Municipal buildings were bought up and demolished. The shops were characterised by imposing light halls, allowing daylight to infiltrate all floors and departments. In the 1920s, toys, household goods and stationery were added. The 'one-stop-shopping' character was emphasised all the way after (dry) food was sold and lunchrooms were set up in the department stores. By the 50th anniversary of V&D, in 1937, the empire had some 50 shops in 30 Dutch cities.

After WWII, the transition to department store was completed. The goal was to be the largest department store everywhere in the established cities. In the 1960s, V&D became a lead for the modern department store. As an example, the 1950 V&D in Rotterdam with its sleek design and The Hague was home to the very largest department store complex in Europe. In the northern Netherlands, the shop, from 1958, in Groningen was the largest. In medium-sized cities, V&Ds moved into new shopping malls.

### 3.4. V&D Architecture and Architects

The building task for V&D shops in the early 20th century was different for each location, because in shops were independent and had their own requirements. Budgets were not high, so architects sometimes had to compromise. Gradually, as Vroom & Dreesmann experienced enormous growth, the realisation dawned that architecture could make a contribution in terms of name recognition and legacy. In 1925, they therefore proudly showed nine branches in illustrations (Amsterdam 3x, Rotterdam 2x, Arnhem, Nijmegen, Breda) in an English-language brochure on the city of Amsterdam. (Beekum, 2018, p. 22) Each store played on its own signature, capitalising on the



- a. Architect onbekend, 1920
- b. F.M.J. Caron, 1925
- c. E.H. en H.M. Kraaijvanger, 1925
- d. F.M.J. Caron, 1906
- e. F.M.J. Caron, 1912
- f. Architect onbekend, 1896
- g. B.Th. Kraaijvanger, 1910
- h. P.J. Houtzagers, 1922/1924
- i. Architect onbekend, 1899

competition in the neighbourhood to create a contrast. The Vroom & Dreesmann ultimately tried to present itself as one retail company by matching in architectural design in the cityscape. The plinth of the ground floor was as open as possible with glass shop windows and above it came a brick façade with strips of window frames interrupted by wall dams. Later, full-width glass windows were introduced. The smaller stores had also developed a typical V&D façade style over the years.

Within the architectural history of V&D, a number of architects are known to have contributed to its leading buildings. Several modern architectural movements come together in the V&D property: art nouveau, rationalism, expressionism, art deco, Amsterdam School, and new business.

The architect of the first V&D department store on Kalverstraat (1912) was F.M.J. Caron (1866-1945). The architecture and appearance of the building suited the character of V&D at the time. It marked the beginning of the transition from retail chain to department store chain. The original art nouveau architect F.M.J. Caron now faced the challenge of designing a rationalist building. Nevertheless, this building did take forms of a decent and comfortable department store and was the first step towards the more luxurious V&D department stores that emerged later.

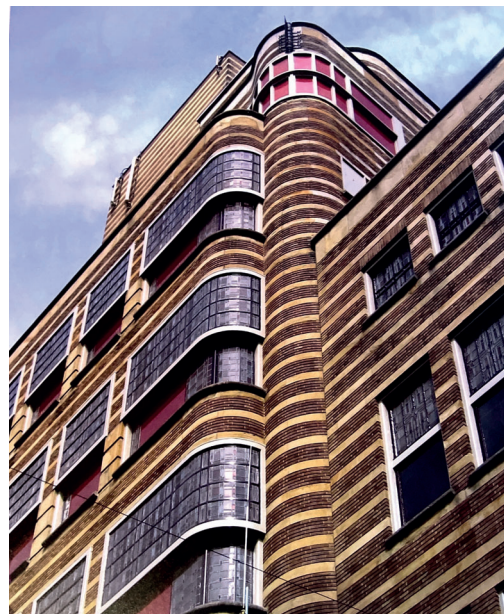
In the designs for the Alkmaar and Breda stores (1925), Caron had in fact shown expressionist works in Amsterdam School and art deco style. He applied his art nouveau style for the design in Deventer.

Architect Jan Kuijt (1884-1944) is considered a progressive Catholic architect because, unlike his fellow Catholic architects, he broke with traditionalism and instead incorporated elements of the Amsterdam School (expressionism), art deco and new business in his architecture. The idiom Jan Kuijt developed is called business expressionism. His designs included the buildings in The Hague (1930) and Haarlem (1934). Apart from a few new buildings, his designs for Vroom & Dreesman mainly consisted of the transformation and expansion of existing premises. In the 1930s, Jan Kuijt designed more austere forms, due to influences from the Nieuwe Bouwen movement and the economic crisis. Jan Kuijt's style evolved from sober architecture to somewhat more decorative and expressionistic style to sleeker design with glass outer walls. His later buildings are also characterised by the use of load-bearing concrete skeletons with flat roofs, light partitions and glass outer walls. (Beekum, 2018, p.51)

B.Th. Kraaijvanger (1869-1944) and his sons E.H. Kraaijvanger and H.M. Kraaijvanger are known for the V&D designs in Rotterdam. L. van der Laan and son J.A. van der Laan designed the monumental building in Leiden.

At the V&D store in Haarlem (1934), it can be seen that window sections became larger and larger and had horizontal articulation. There is an alternation of brick, window sections and layers of natural stone. (Beekum, 2018, p.55)

Figure 3.8.  
V&D Haarlem, built in 1932.  
Jan Kuijt, (Beekum, 2018,  
p.55)



After the WOII, reconstruction period, the architecture of the V&D building changed. The new build were built in the modernist style. The façade frames were defined by large closed surfaces, often in concrete or brick, above a transparent plinth. Windows were situated at function related places in the façade (form follows function), for example restaurants and offices. Cheap and functionality placed a roll, it was an end of an era for the pretty light halls, atriums and voids. The need for more retail space was increasing and daylighting was no longer a priority. Buildings were erected that were envisioned as concrete giants. (Keijzer, 2023)

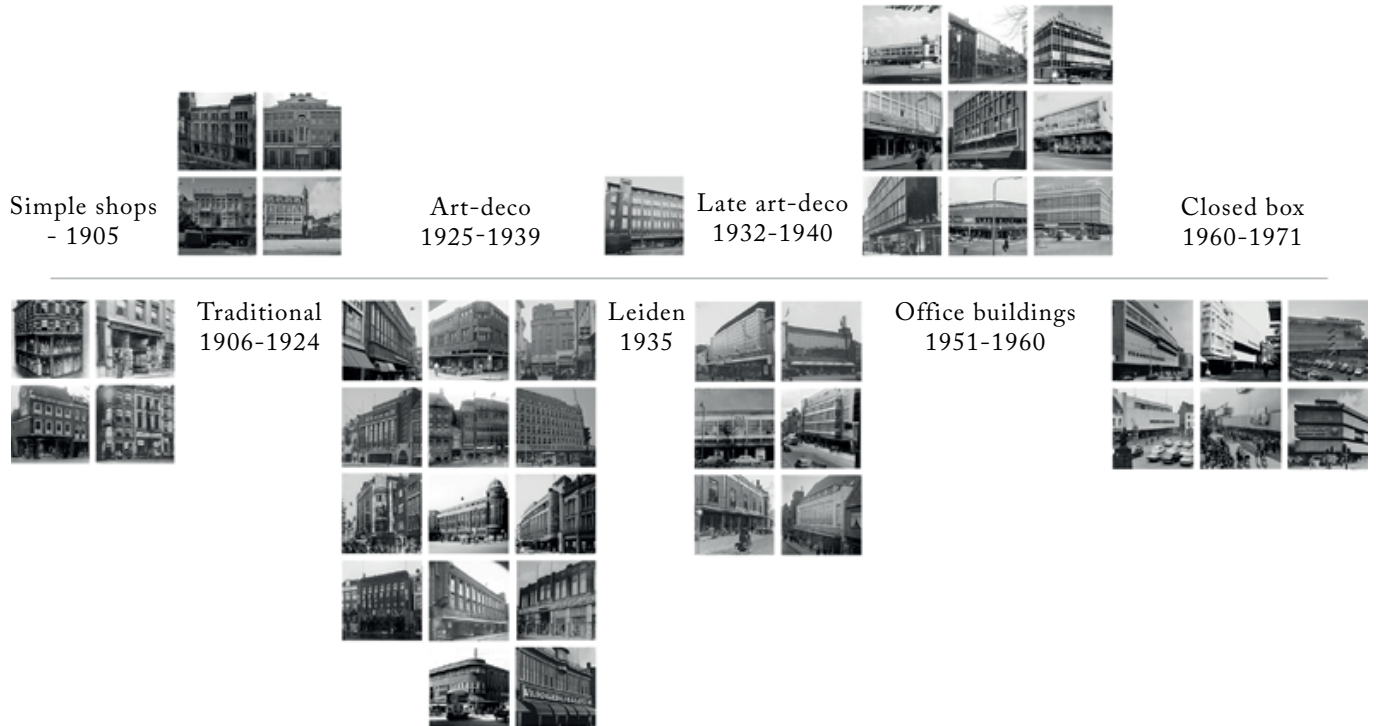


Figure 3.9. The annex contains collected images of (former) V&D real estate and architecture. The variety of images shows the scale of heritage V&D left behind after its bankruptcy.  
 Timeline with style groups  
 (Made by Alexander Witkamp)  
 (Fischer et al., 2021, p.614)

## 4. Transformations of department stores

### 4.1. Typologies

On 31 December 2015, the 128-year-old Vroom & Dreesmann came to an end, the firm went bankrupt. The department store had been locked in the collective memory of the Netherlands due to its rich history. The department store had been a fixture in Dutch shopping centers. The bankruptcy shook the country, as thousands of employees lost their jobs and customers mourned the loss of a beloved institution. The changing consumer habits of the last 15 years, where online shopping became the norm, resulted in less and less customers in physical shops. More people began to shop online or at smaller retailers, the sheer size and scale of department stores became a liability rather than an asset. Additionally, the high overhead costs of operating such large spaces made it difficult for these retailers to compete on price with online competitors.

The bankruptcy of V&D had a significant impact on the retail landscape in Dutch cities. Besides the V&D other retailers also left the city centers. The closure of these stores left many large retail spaces empty, creating vacancies in prime locations that were difficult to fill. A shift is taking place where the city center is losing its commercial activities. The vacancy is creating a desolate image (Fischer et al., 2021, p. 7). That's why it is urgent to give research the possibilities for these vacant properties and give them a new purpose. (Van der Velden, 2020)

The Heritage & Architecture (HA) department of the TU Delft has done research to find indicators for the building typologies of the V&D department stores in historic centers. They wanted to use this information to generate general concepts for revitalization. They searched for common spatial characteristics and qualities in the V&D buildings. The V&D buildings in historic centers are mostly monuments and therefore transformations have to go in a delicate way to retain the historic values.

The research of TU Delft is a study of V&Ds in eight cities: Amsterdam, Alkmaar, Haarlem, Dordrecht, Maastricht, Leiden, Amersfoort, Enschede. For each city, they explore the city scale, urban block, building object and facades and roofs. Notable and similar conclusions on these research topics are set out below.

#### City scale

The density in the different city centers is similar. The V&D buildings are located at a public square or at busy shopping streets. However, in some cases, the vacant V&D building caused a shift in the retail landscape. The lack of consumer flow made circumstances for the surrounding retailers more difficult, resulting in more vacancy. (Fischer et al., 2021, p. 568, p.569)

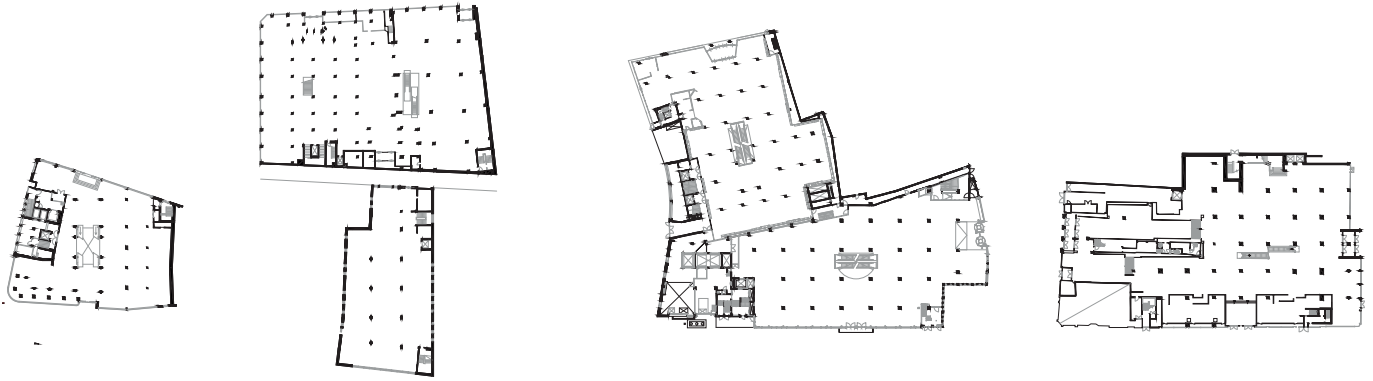
#### Urban block

The introduction of the V&D buildings had an impact on the urban block. The Footprint of the building was often already a lot bigger than the surrounding parcels. Smaller neighboring parcels were bought together to build a large building. When business continued to improve, expansion was pursued. More adjacent parcels were bought and new designs were realized. Composition of small and narrow parcels was merged into a rectangular plot. Sometimes, open courtyards were removed to close the mass and expand the building. The buildings are placed prominently, at the corner of an urban block or directly located on a busy street or square. That's why the V&D usually is the largest player in the urban block. (Fischer et al., 2021, p.582)

#### Building object

The main typology of the floorplans is the open plan defined by the free-standing columns and façade with in the floorplan an escalator in the middle. The grid of the columns is rhythmic, allowing open spaces to appear. The rhythm in the extensions is sometimes different than the original grid and in the zones where the extension meets the original building, the grid is irregular. The load-bearing construction is mostly made out of concrete. A vertical visual connection is made by a void in the center of the building, this void includes staircases and elevators. Evacuation staircases are positioned in the corner of the side of the building. Skylights and the atrium provide daylight to infiltrate all floors and departments. The ground floor of the V&D's is always the highest floor with big openings towards the outside. The basement is the lowest floor and the other floors share a similar floor height. The V&D buildings have multiple entrances at different sides of the building.

The V&D buildings are not symmetrical. Most of the buildings do not consist of one unit, all the extensions disturb the balance in the spaces. (Fischer et al., 2021, p. 599)



*Figuur 4.1.*  
Floorplans  
V&D from left to right:  
Amsterdam, Alkmaar,  
Maastricht, Leiden  
(Fischer et al., 2021,  
p. 588)

### Facades and roofs

The facades and roof landscape shows the different historical layers. The roofs nowadays have a combination of flat roofs and smaller gabled roofs. The large flat roofs are belonging to the modern commercial parts and are provided with installations. The contrast of roof scale with the surrounding buildings is hardly unremarkable. The V&D's roofs are recognizable by the use of skylights. Out of the façade composition, there is usually one main façade. The main façade is usually the one that stands out in its length or height (or both). (Fischer et al., 2021, p. 582)

The V&D buildings have often a common spatial configuration. The building can be divided into three vertical parts: the plinth, the intermediate volume, and the top floor with the roof. Because of the different expansions over the years, the façades of these parts are varying horizontally. The plinth with big shopping windows and other spatial characteristics blend in with the surrounding shopping area. The intermediate volume is often the eye-catching façade part. (Fischer et al., 2021, p. 599)

The focus is on one main facade that is representative and richly decorated. Those decorations are cornerstones, sculptures, and accentuations in more expensive materials. Some buildings have “a protruding tower-like structure, that attract the attention of pedestrians and form a point of recognition in the urban fabric.” The façades distinguish in two types: “the traditional department store in which windows are placed in the front facade surface following a rhythm”, and the department store in which “the window surface is dominant and of which the window front comprises a large surface area of the façade” (curtain wall shopfront). (Fischer et al., 2021, p. 610)

*Figuur 4.2.*  
Facade analyse V&D Facade Alkmaar  
(Fischer et al., 2021,  
p. 135)



Despite the similarities in the architecture, the use of elements is so different that each building has a unique look, making each building one-of-a-kind. But the inside of the building are almost all the same: large, deep and dark (Keijzer, 2023).

## 4.2. Transformation strategies

For the transformation to housing, it is good to address the aspects that are problematic for this transformation and the aspects that provide a fit. Floortje Keijzer wrote for platform 'de Architect' the following:

*“In planning transformations, it is clear that the pre-war properties offer far more opportunities than the post-war ones. Daylight is essential for residential construction and the buildings with long horizontal and vertical window strips in the façade are ideal for this purpose. Moreover, voids and light courts can be restored, allowing daylight to return to the heart of the building. New programmes can therefore be fitted almost invisibly behind the old façade.”*

To adapt to the housing function the building needs to change into an open block to balance the amount of floor space, function, and daylight. To accomplish this, various interventions can be made in the façade, roof, and floors. Opening up the building should not affect the valuable elements of the façade that emphasize the original department store. Therefore, the main representative façade often has to be preserved.

The depth and size of the former V&D buildings define the possibilities in housing types. The combination of deep floors with semi-closed façades gives not enough daylight for housing requirements. The atrium can be used for traffic spaces and daylight infiltration, but the atrium is sometimes too small to give enough space for the requirements. Making the atrium bigger results in smaller apartments, which also can be a negative effect for financial feasibility. As a reaction of lost floor space real estate magnates want to compensate the rental space by placing an extra floor atop. Often this façade is set back so the monumental façade is not touched.

The open plinth with large showcases are mostly suitable for a public function. That's why the former V&D buildings are a better fit for a mix-used function, where private functions are combined with public functions.

The transformation task for the post-war buildings is a lot more complicated. First of all, because the buildings are not loved by the public. “The shape of the façade ‘follows’ the shop function, after all, and if the function changes, the façade has to be radically altered.” The concrete giants are simply too big to be perceived as pleasant in the urban structure. Bringing back the human scale is necessary, which is why smaller facades are often laid on the big block. A balance between the heritage value and the developer's requirements should be distinguished. (Keijzer, 2023)

One advantage of repurposing a department store building for housing is that these buildings are often large and spacious, with wide-open floor plans and high ceilings. This can make them ideal for conversion into loft-style apartments or condominiums. The large windows that are characteristic of department store buildings can also provide abundant natural light, making them attractive living spaces. The non-representative facades can provide circulation to the houses above the public plinth.

Another advantage of using former department store buildings for housing is that these buildings are often located in urban centers or other desirable locations. This can make them appealing to developers and investors looking to create high-end or luxury living spaces in areas with high demand for housing.

However, there are also challenges to repurposing department store buildings for housing. These buildings may not be up to modern building codes or may require extensive renovation or structural modifications to make them suitable for residential use. Additionally, the cost of converting a department store building into housing may be prohibitively expensive in some cases.

Overall, repurposing former department store buildings for housing is a trend that has gained momentum in recent years, as developers and investors seek to create unique and desirable living spaces in urban areas.

Figure 4.3.  
“Form follows function” in  
these concrete giants.  
V&D Rotterdam, built in  
1950. Photo from 1950.  
Photo city archive Rotterdam  
(Keijzer, 2023a)





## 5. Case study: De Grote Noord – Hoorn

The first case study on transformation of a V&D property into a residential building is in Hoorn. The V&D in Hoorn is a pre-war department store, estimated around the 1920s. One of the first photos the building was spotted in is from 1936. The architecture was decent and sober, matching the Vroom & Dreesmann character of the stores. The building stands in the middle of the old city center in one of the main shopping streets, Grote Noord. The building contrasts in style with the classic small Dutch buildings in the street. Round 1950 the store was expanded at the back of the building and later a extra floor was added on top of the original building.

The front of the building has an open character with shop windows on the ground floor and upstairs windows overlooking the shopping street. The pavement is partly covered because of an overhang from the façade. The rear of the building has a closed character with much smaller windows in a red/brown brick wall, this façade almost has a more industrial character. All floors were used as retail spaces.

The load-bearing structure of the building is a combination of concrete and steel. The grid within the building varies, but is mostly around 6x6 m. The column structure on the first floor ensures that the spaces can be arranged freely. The second floor and atop is constructed in a steel structure. The building has overall dimensions of 31.7 x 33 x 28.4 x 29.4 m.



circa 1936



circa 1944



circa 1950



circa 1976

Figure 5.1.  
Historical images. Different  
renovations can be  
recognise  
(Presentation TPAHG  
Architecten)

### 5.1. Transformation

The architect of the transformation is Arnée Peeters. Information about the transformation is gathered out of a personal interview and documents provided by his architecture firm, TPAHG Architecten in Hoorn (A. Peeters, personal communication, April 4, 2023).

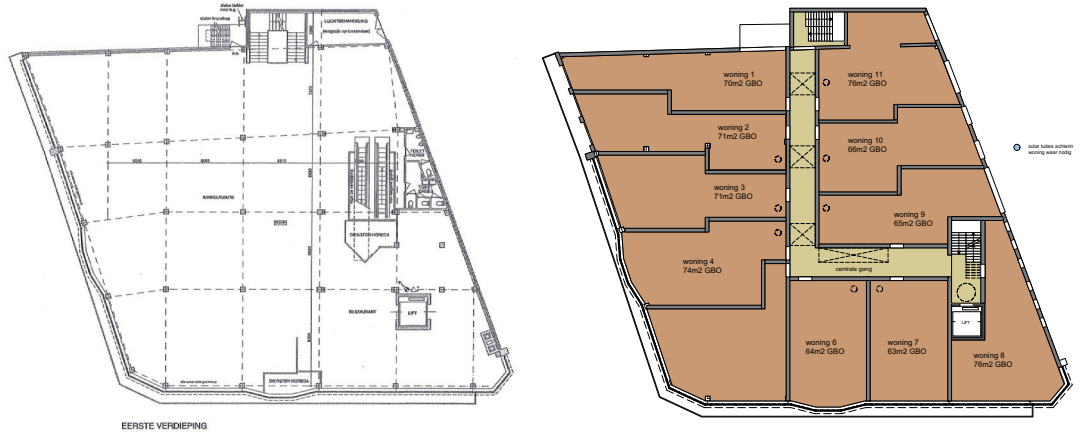
The building is compact, but has the benefits of three façades with windows. The façade on the Grote Noord is the main representative façade. However this façade is renovated to make the building more readable. The upper façade part is removed and a duplication of the first-floor façade is made. Stores on the Grote Noord and Nieuwsteeg are placed in the plinth. What is striking about the renovation is that while transforming the upper floors, the stores in the plinth were still open. To make this possible a double floor was placed on the first floor where installations, electricity and waterpipes were running.

The housing type that is implemented in this building is studio/loft apartments and normal apartments. The houses and basement with storages are accessible by an entrance on the back of the building, the Nieuwe Noord street. The compact homes feel spacious due to the floor height. The main structure was used as separation for the dwellings, avoiding odd connections on the facade.

The original void in the center of the building with staircases is removed, to close of stores on

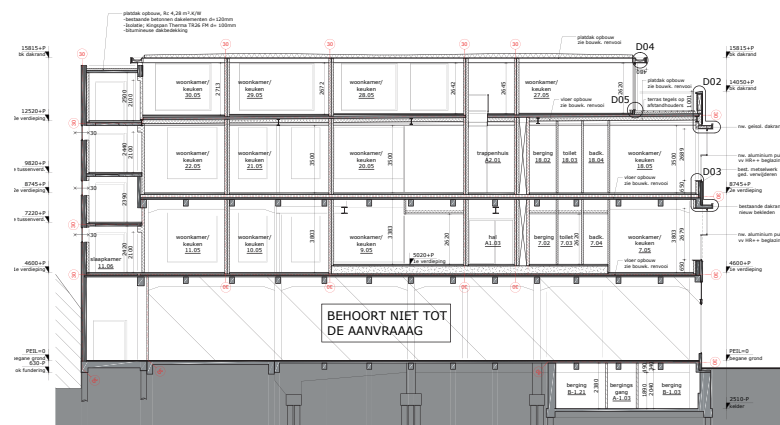
the ground floor, but also to create a wide corridor in the center of the building. The corridor stretches from the main entrance to the emergency stairwell. Due to the deep building, natural daylight infiltration in the center of the building is limited. A corridor enclosing the dwellings runs through the center of the building. This corridor is brightened by skylights placed on the roof of the elevation. With the help of voids, daylight also diffuses through to the floors below. The voids on the second floor and the top story are closed off with window frames, which has to do with fire resistance.

Figuur 5.2.  
Floorplan first floor before  
(left) and after  
(Presentation TPAHG  
Architecten)

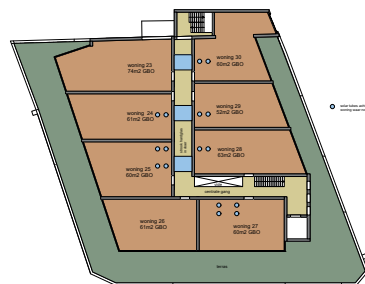


The owner of the building wanted to add an extra floor with apartments on top. To achieve this, the facade of this elevation was not allowed to be visible at street level. The façade was therefore pushed back and roof terraces were realized.

Figuur 5.3.  
Section  
(Presentation TPAHG  
Architecten)



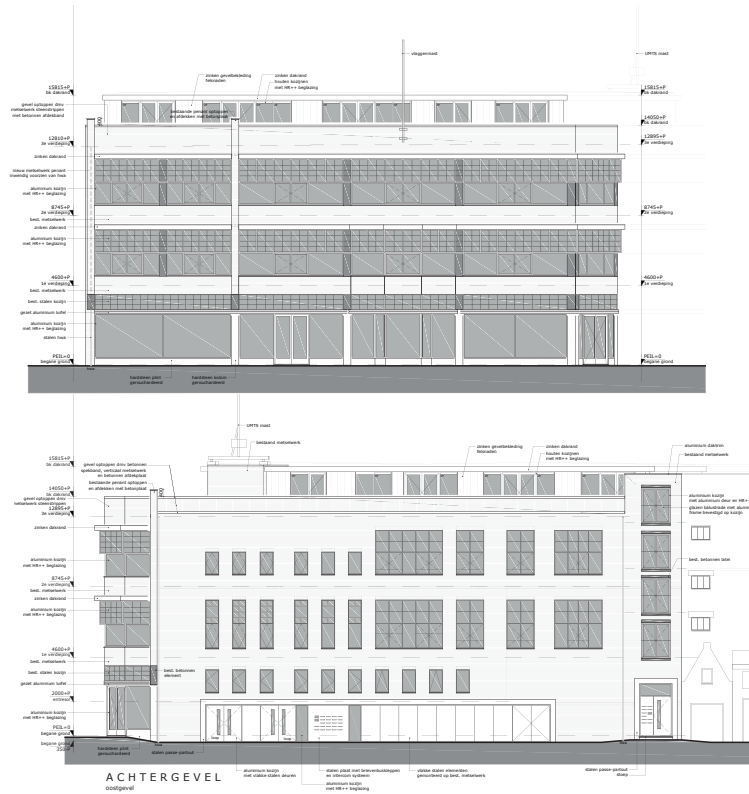
Figuur 5.3.  
Floorplan third floor  
(Presentation TPAHG  
Architecten)



Figuur 5.3.  
Render interior  
(Presentation TPAHG  
Architecten)



Figuur 5.4.  
Elevations new facade. Gro-  
te Noord (left) and Nieuwe  
Noord (right)  
(Presentation TPAHG  
Architecten)



“The building had a stacked  
structure and we added ano-  
ther layer on top. To make  
the main facade more reada-  
ble and less cluttered, the  
architecture of the first floor  
was copied to the second  
floor.” - Arnée Peeters

## 5.2. Conclusion

The windows and three facades made the former pre-war V&D in Hoorn suitable for a residential function. The choice of studio housing gave freedom as regards daylight and room layout. Dwellings could be placed on all facades enclosed by a corridor through the centre of the building. The open plinth granted itself to the original public commercial function. The architecture of the V&D was restored by cleaning up the main facade.

Figuur 5.5.  
Renders transformation  
design  
(Presentation TPAHG  
Architecten)



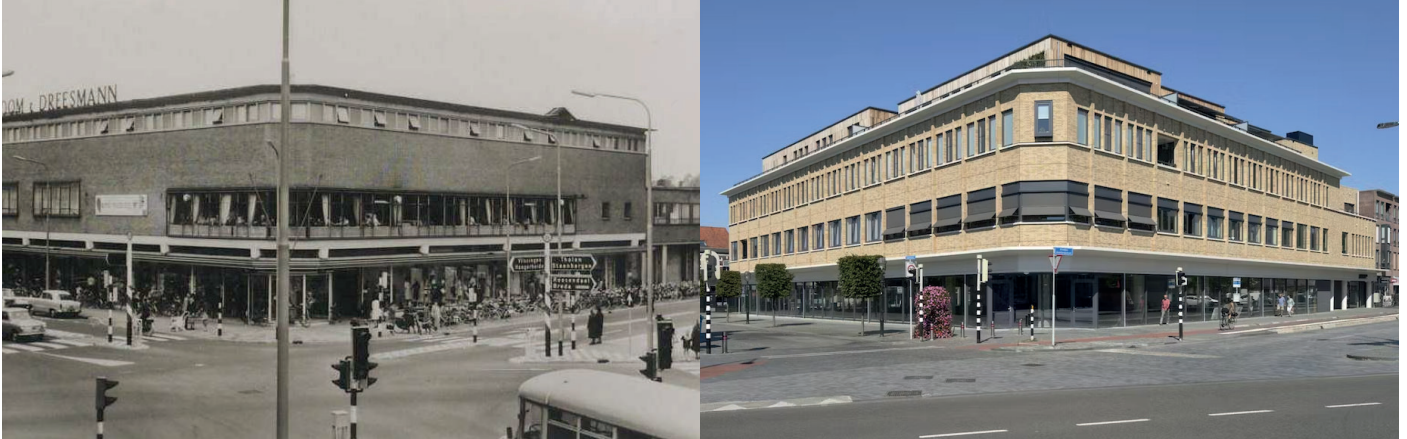
Figuur 5.6.  
Exterior  
(Photo taken by me)



## 6. Case study: Anno 52 - Bergen op Zoom

An example of a former post-war V&D building transformed into housing is ANNO52 in Bergen op Zoom. The modernistic buildings of this era hide out under the slogan “form follows function”. This is also implemented in the transformation of the former V&D building to a residential building.

The V&D of Bergen op Zoom opened its doors in 1952. The department store is located in the center of Bergen op Zoom, on a spot a German bomb was fallen. The former V&D had a transparent plinth with a block volume on top. Windows in the façade were placed for the restaurant and offices on the upper story. The architecture of the Bergen op Zoom V&D was not exceptional for its time, just like other post-war V&D's in Den Helder, Amstelveen, Den Haag and Zeist.



Figuur 6.1.  
Vroom & Dreesmann Bergen  
op Zoom before transfor-  
mation  
(BVR VastgoedOntwikkeling,  
n.d.)

Figuur 6.2.  
ANNO52  
(Keijzer, 2023b)

### 5.1. Transformation

The architecture firm of the transformation is Grosfeld Bekkers van der Velde Architecten. The building is now called ANNO52, named after the opening year. In the transformation the open plinth was designed for a commercial public function and on the stories 36 apartments were built. To realize this, the building was stripped down to the concrete casco, and a whole new façade was designed. The old façade was used as a reference. The plinth was copied and the eaves and canopy were redesigned and replaced. Keijzer (2023a) described “The old windows directly under the eaves were normative for the new façade. Across the entire block, the windows have been extended between a rhythmic series of piers in yellow brick. The main volume has thereby been radically transformed. The asymmetrical modernist composition with many closed horizontal surfaces has given way to an open, unambiguous and symmetrical composition.”

To break up the concrete giant to let sunlight go in an inner court was created. The old lift shaft had been removed and a wide staircase was added in that spot to give access to the courtyard. The courtyard is not very large, but spacious enough to be perceived as pleasant. A parking garage has been built in the basement of the former V&D building. (Keijzer, 2023a)

The floor height of the former department store is roughly four meter, so this gives the possibility to install the pipes and electricity on the floors. The architects wanted to expose the raw concrete ceilings and columns. The new layout contrasts with the old construction and often stand apart from each other.

Figuur 6.3.  
ANNO52 innergarden  
(Keijzer, 2023b)

Figuur 6.4.  
ANNO52 corridor first floor  
(Keijzer, 2023b)





Figuur 6.5.  
Floorplan after transformation  
(BVR VastgoedOntwikkeling,  
n.d.)

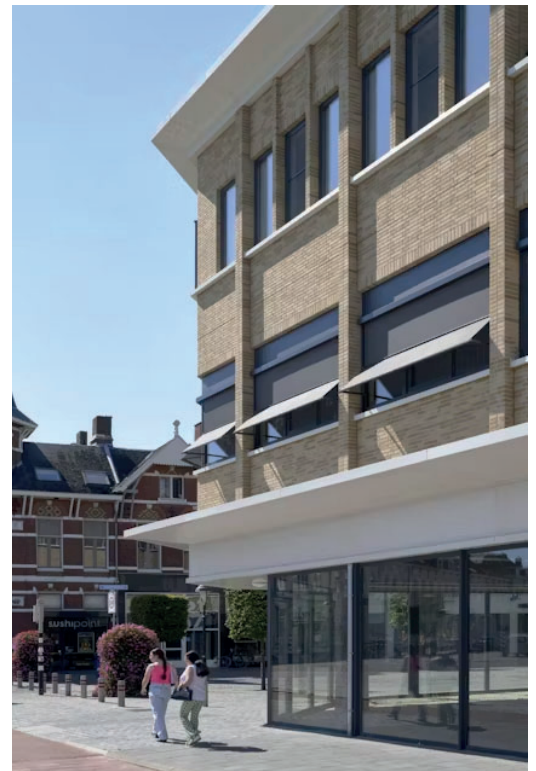
The apartments variate between the 70 till 120 square meters. A corridor in the center and along the court yard gives access to the city orientated flats and the courtyard orientated flats. On top of the building nine roof apartments with terraces were placed. The architects created a stand-alone sphere on top of the building, where private outdoor space is created in the center of a city (Muis, 2022).

## 6.2. Conclusion

The post-war modernist buildings of the V&D have a monolithic character and were built and designed solely for a department store function. The buildings are embedded in the collective memory and urban planning structure, but are not very popular among the public. Transforming these properties into housing requires drastic changes in façade and form. A thorough investigation of the heritage value is necessary to refer to the V&D architecture. "Form follows function was once leading for these V&Ds and this is also the case in their transformation: in the new design in Bergen op Zoom too, function dictates the façade." (Keijzer, 2023b)



Figuur 6.5.  
Exterior ANNO52  
(Keijzer, 2023b)



## 7. Conclusion

In the first part of this thesis the history of the department store, in particular department store Vroom & Dreesmann was studied. The history of the department store does not originate in the Netherlands, but in Paris.

Paris was the frontrunner in urban development compared to other European cities. The concept of the department store was a further development from the Bazar shop form. The inventor of the department store is French entrepreneur Aristide Boucicaut, who left legacy ideas with the first department store Au Bon Marché (1852, opening current building 1872). Department stores are characterised by luxurious and richly decorated architecture. Impressive facades in Art déco and eclectic styles took their place in the urban landscape. In the interior, wide staircases and large light halls had both practical and aesthetic function.

About 15 years after the opening of the extension of Au Bon Marché, the Vroom & Dreesmann company was born with their first joint shop in Amsterdam in 1887. Brother-in-laws Willem Vroom (1850-1925) and Anton Dreesmann (1854-1934) both had their own manufactory shops and, after adopting each other's sales techniques, decided to join forces. In 25 years the 'Vroom & Dreesmann - De Zon' shop had expanded across the country with 15 subsidiaries, 34 shops in nine of the eleven provinces. The founders of the outer branches were either married relatives of one, or both, of the brothers-in-law.

The transition from manufactory shop to department store began to take its greatest shape with the opening of the new branch on Kalverstraat/Rokin (1912) in Amsterdam. This shop is called Vroom & Dreesmann's first department store, but it did not yet have the luxurious look of department stores in Paris. It suited the look of V&D: inexpensive and decent, not fashionable.

In the '20s and '30s the transition to department stores was made real and landmark buildings were built or renovated in several cities. Vroom & Dreesmann experienced enormous growth, the realisation dawned that architecture could make a contribution in terms of name recognition and legacy. Several modern architectural movements come together in the V&D property: art nouveau, rationalism, expressionism, art deco, Amsterdam School, and new business. Famous architects of the V&D buildings are F.M.J. Caron (1866-1945), Jan Kuijt (1884-1944) and B.Th. Kraaijvanger (1869-1944). Despite the similarities in the architecture, the use of elements is so different that each building has a unique look, making each building one-of-a-kind. The V&D buildings have often a common spatial configuration. The building can be divided into three vertical parts: the plinth, the intermediate volume, and the top floor with the roof. Because of the different expansions over the years, the façades of these parts are varying horizontally. The plinth with big shopping windows and other spatial characteristics blend in with the surrounding shopping area.

After the war, the transition to department stores in medium-sized cities continued. The architecture of this era was modernistic, with the credo "form follows function" leading. Concrete giants were built at central locations in cities.

### ***In what ways has and can V&D heritage contribute(d) to housing densification in inner-city areas?***

The V&D buildings have embedded themselves in collective memory and the urban landscape. After the bankruptcy in 2015, 63 V&D properties became vacant. The decreasing demand for physically large shops in cities and the increasing demand for housing can meet each other to save the vacant V&D heritage from demolition. The scale, architecture and many sustainability concerns encourage transformation.

The case studies from Hoorn and Bergen op Zoom have shown that former V&D properties can be a basis for transformation into housing. In most cases, the open transparent plinth remains suitable for a public commercial function. The upper floors with open floorplan are suitable for transformation.

It has been found that pre-war properties lend themselves better to transformation into housing. These V&D properties often have horizontal and vertical window sections in the facades that can be suitable for housing. The transformed V&D in Hoorn was such a pre-war building. The window arrangements in that facade were almost completely preserved, which also preserved the architecture. Other buildings from this era are characterized by voids and light halls. Natural daylight

entry was more necessary in those days to display sales goods. Original voids and light halls can be brought back to encourage more daylight infiltration.

The monolithic and closed facades of the post-war V&D properties complicate the transformation assignment. The modernistic architectural style has been implemented in which the department store function is literally translated in the façade, allowing few other functions. For these buildings, a change of function has a major impact on the architecture. This could also be seen at the former V&D in Bergen op Zoom. Façades have to be drastically altered, causing heritage values to increasingly disappear. The fact that the original post-war V&D architecture is not loved by the public adds to the urgency for transformation, but the importance of heritage preservation decreases.

Looking at the typologies of V&D buildings, they often have one thing in common: big, deep and dark. But above all, the property also offers a lot of potential for transformation. The buildings are often in a central location in the city, which makes the location very popular and vacancy can have negative consequences. This increases the urgency towards transformation. The V&D buildings often have a main façade that is representative and therefore automatically has the most heritage value.

The V&D buildings are spacious and have an open floor plan with free-standing columns. The supporting structure with columns gives a lot of freedom for the layout of the spaces. To bring light into the deep, dark buildings, the building is broken open or the light halls are enlarged. The construction of columns granted this intervention well. The light halls will provide enough daylight entry in some cases, but in some cases there is still not enough daylight for the new function.

V&D buildings often consist of several extensions, resulting in multiple facades. The representative main facade should often be retained, but other facades, sometimes in modernist style, therefore have a lower heritage value and can be used to enclose housing or open up for extra daylight.

Returning to the research question vacant V&D buildings frequently occupy significant amounts of space in prime city center locations. Transforming these sites into something profitable like housing is an attractive solution, as evidenced by successful case studies in Bergen op Zoom and Hoorn, whereby transformation into residential housing was implemented. Preservation of the heritage value of the facade of pre-war V&D buildings with a fenestration is feasible, whereas the viability of the post-war V&D buildings for residential purposes is impeded by the need for significant architectural interventions, thereby compromising their original design features.



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Beekun, R. (2018). *Architect Jan Kuijt Wzn. 1884-1944. Bouwen voor Vroom & Dreesmann*. Stokerkade cultuurhistorische uitgeverij.

Besides the works of well-known V&D architect Jan Kuijt, this book also describes the works of the other well-known V&D architects F.M.J. Caron and B.Th. Kraaijvanger. It also describes the history and rise of V&D. This book was therefore used for the history section on V&D and images were taken from this book.

Lenferink, M. (2010). *De historische winkelpui in Utrecht, 1850-2010. Ontwikkeling, betekenis en huidig beleid*. [Masterscriptie]. Universiteit van Amsterdam.

The history of the rise of storefronts in the Netherlands is described in this master's thesis. Used to gain insights into the growth of retail shops and V&D department stores in the Netherlands.

Miellet, R. (1992). *Honderd jaar grootwinkelbedrijf in Nederland*. Catena.

This book has described the history of the rise of chain stores and thus department stores until 1992. V&D is described as one of the pioneers of chain stores in the Netherlands. The history of V&D is discussed in detail in this book and therefore also forms a basis for the history part on V&D in this thesis.

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TU Delft's Heritage & Architecture department conducted a study on the typologies of V&D department stores. This research has formed a basis for gaining insights into the architecture of the V&D properties. These insights were later used to link to the transformation possibilities to housing.

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This internet article by the magazine De Architect, Floortje Keijzer writes about the similarities in the various V&D properties that hindered transformation. She writes about the difference in pre- and post-war V&D architecture and how cities struggle with transformation opportunities. Many images from city archives are also included in this article.

Van der Velden, L. (2020, October 28). *Waarom lege winkels nooit meer winkels (moeten) worden*. FD.nl. Retrieved March 13, 2023, from <https://fd.nl/specials/1361146/waarom-lege-winkels-nooit-meer-winkels-moeten-worden>

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This source reveals that recent legislation is delaying the transformation process of the monumental V&D property in Alkmaar.



## Images department stores and V&D buildings

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## Annex A. Collected images V&D buildings

The following pages contain collected images of (former) V&D real estate and architecture. The variety of images shows the scale of heritage V&D left behind after its bankruptcy.

Figure A.1  
V&D Rotterdam, built in  
1950. Photo from 1950.  
Photo city archive Rotterdam  
(Keijzer, 2023a)

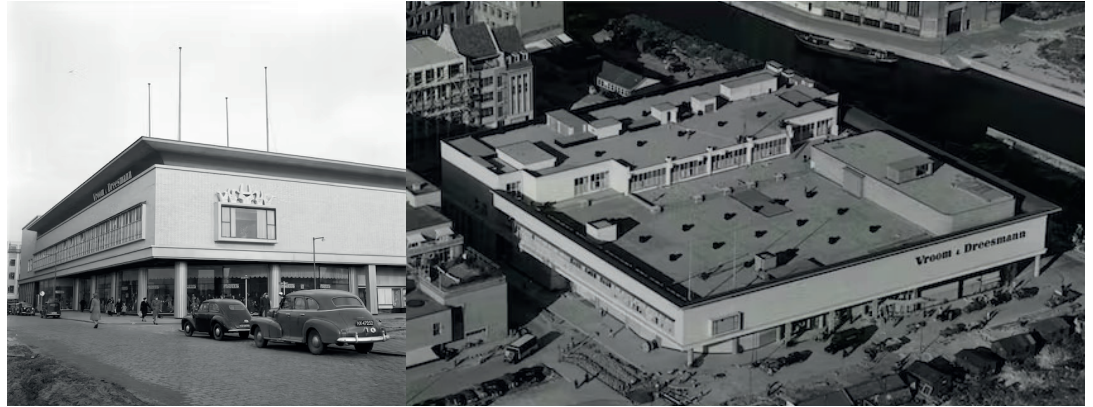


Figure A.2  
V&D Dordrecht built in  
1932, photo taken in 1939.  
Photo from regional archive  
Dordrecht. left (Keijzer,  
2023a), right (Beekum,  
2018, p.71)



Figure A.2  
V&D Arnhem built in 1931.  
Photo from regional Gelders  
Archive (Keijzer, 2023a)



Figure A.3  
Vroom en Dreesmann-  
Amstelveen built in 1971.  
(Keijzer, 2023a)



Figure A.4  
V&D Den Helder built in 1963. Photo from regional archive Alkmaar. (Keijzer, 2023a)



Figure A.5.  
V&D Den Haag, Grote Markt. Photo from 1981. Photo from Haags Gemeentearchief. (Keijzer, 2023a)



Figure A.6.  
V&D Amstelveen. Photo from 1971. (Keijzer, 2023a)



Figure A.7.  
V&D Rokin Amsterdam, built in 1912, renovated in 1930. Photo from 1932. Photo city archive Amsterdam. left (Keijzer, 2023a), right (Beekum, 2018, p.50)

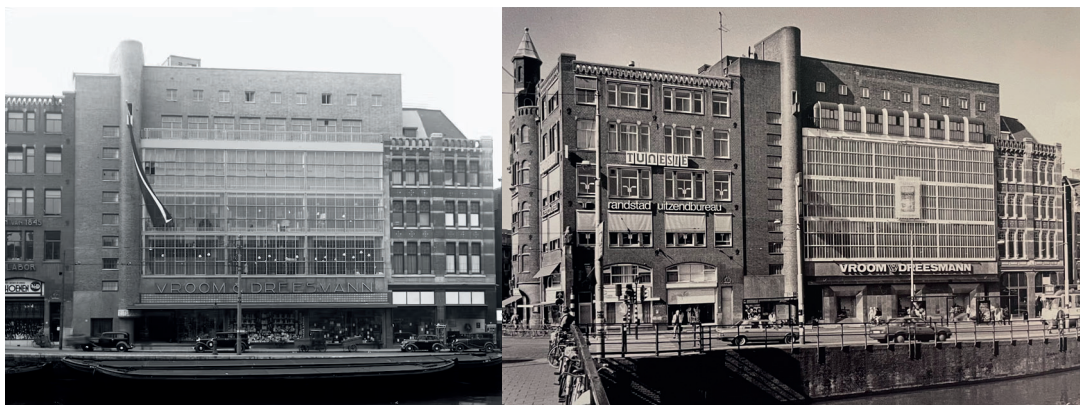


Figure A.8.  
V&D Den Bosch, built in 1929. Oscar Leeuw (1866-1944), left (Visser, 2021), right (Beekum, 2018, p.27)

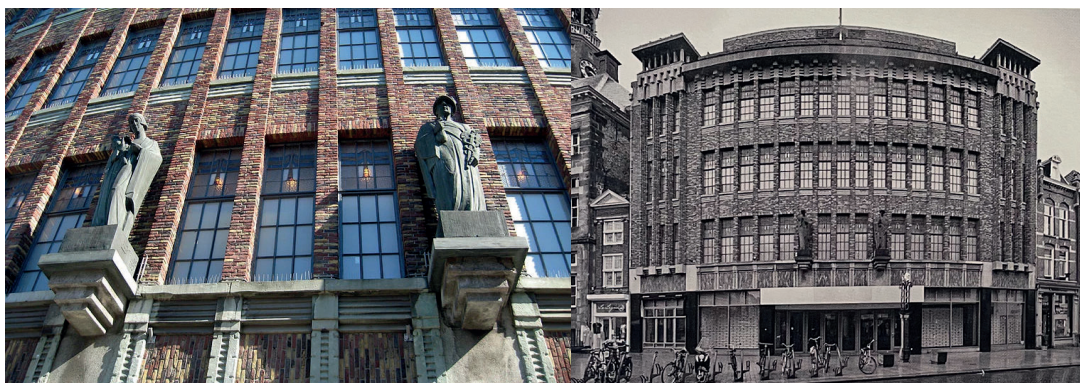


Figure A.9.  
V&D Leiden, built in 1936. L.  
van der Laan and J.A. van  
der Laan, (Beekum, 2018,  
p.27)



Figure A.10.  
V&D Alkmaar, built in 1927.  
F.M.J.Caron, (Beekum,  
2018, p.27)



Figure A.11.  
V&D Venlo, built in 1929-  
1930. F.J.O Leeuw,  
(Beekum, 2018, p.27)



Figure A.12.  
V&D Heerlen, built in 1920-  
1931. Jan Kuijt, (Beekum,  
2018, p.26)



Figure A.13.  
V&D Haarlem, built in 1932.  
Jan Kuijt, (Beekum, 2018,  
p.55)



Figure A.14.  
V&D Den Haag, built in  
1930. Jan Kuijt, (Beekum,  
2018, p.60)



Figure A.15.  
V&D Utrecht, built in 1940.  
Jan Kuijt, (Beekum, 2018,  
p.60)



Figure A.16.  
V&D Den Helder, built in  
1918. Jan Kuijt, (Beekum,  
2018, p.56)



Figure A.17.  
V&D Damstraat Amsterdam,  
built in 1927. Jan Kuijt,  
(Beekum, 2018, p.58)



Figure A.19.  
V&D Utrecht, built in 1930.  
Jan Kuijt, (Beekum, 2018,  
p.56)



Figure A.20.  
V&D Utrecht, built in 1930.  
Jan Kuijt, (Beekum, 2018,  
p.90)



Figure A.21.  
V&D Maastricht, built in  
1932. Jan Kuijt, (Beekum,  
2018, p.72)



Figure A.22.  
V&D Hilversum, built in  
1940. Jan Kuijt, (Beekum,  
2018, p.98)



Figure A.23.  
V&D Enschede, built in  
1939. Jan Kuijt, (Beekum,  
2018, p.94)



Figure A.24.  
V&D Deventer  
(Visser, 2021)

