

Around the Window, Re-Imagining Sex Work Spaces in the Wallen Area

Final Research Report
and Design

Amber Sikkema
5251729
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TU Delft, Master Track Architecture, Programme Architecture
Explore Lab Studio
Mieke Vink, Stavros Kousoulas, Jan van de Voort

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This work is dedicated to the sex workers of the Wallen area
and Bob Sikkema.

Introduction

Key words: Sex work, Amsterdam, Windows, Visibility, Feminism

The relationship between sex work and the city centre of Amsterdam 'the Wallen' area, also known as the 'Red Light District', already dates back towards 1350 (Majoor 2020, 46). While sex work in most cities happens on the periphery, in Amsterdam it traditionally exist in the heart of the city center. Despite the historical connection between sex workers and the district, they now fear being displaced by the municipality to towards the outskirts of the city into the Erotic Center. Several years ago I became resident of the Wallen area and while living above the sex working spaces I have become familiar with the ways how sex work is part of everyday life. While observing the interactions between sex workers and clients below my window the complexity of the relationship between the profession and the urban structure of Amsterdam fascinated me. It also revealed why spatial interventions in the area should be treated with delicacy. Since I believe sex workers to be essential care givers, who contribute to the diversity and safety of this neighborhood, the intention for this research is to examine how they could remain part of it in the future and to counter the plans that will lead to the gentrification of this neighborhood.

To the plans of the municipality the sex workers out of the area have reacted with the message: *"don't save us, save our windows"*, a note that is revealing how the area is dealing with a material and social problem at once. This message is also very relatable to this research, since I will be approaching it through the window. The architectural element of the window has an high symbolic value and reveals a lot about societal norms and values. Therefore, to explain a wide range of developments that took place over the last two centuries, this research begins with examining historical photographs that display the windows of sex workers and are carefully analyzed through hand drawings. These studies will be supported by theoretical resources which elaborate on prevailing societal norms and values that concerned sexuality.

What this research will illustrate is how sex work is often concerned with moral questions, like the issue of (female) body determination. As a result, sex work became a familiar topic within historical feminist debates, having either a liberative or oppressive effect on the profession. Since the goal for this research is to imagine the future of sex work spaces in the Wallen area, it will navigate through these debates in order to take a position in the contemporary feminist debate myself. Hoping to find a appropriate design approach which will challenge the strategy of the municipality.

Breaking Down the Window

Through an examination of windows, with this research I intend to describe the relationship between sex workers and the Wallen, but before I do this, I want to start by shortly contemplating about what a window actually is, following from what it can do.

From a technical perspective, we could say that the window is a structure in the facade that holds glass. It is an element, object or device that connects spaces and people to each other through vision. It is framing and filtering what is on the other side, and while it can expose or reveal, it can also simply be used to let in daylight or regulate the climate. Windows this way could be perceived as architectural elements within facades that serve to both separate as connect. Situated on both sides of the facade the window this way intervenes in the relationship between public and private. As a result window spaces act as a 'moment' within architecture and by observing how these spaces are arranged and people behave differently around them, this reveals a lot about societal norms and values.

The window exist on the boundary between public and private, inside and outside. Historically the private sphere was belonged to women, who were predominantly assigned to domestic domains, while the public was represented to men, because it was associated with the working spheres. This way, we could say that historically the window existed on the boundary between the 'two' gendered spaces. Nowadays the concept of 'two' gendered spaces has been faded. At the same that windows in contemporary architecture started to take over complete facades. *"In the 20th century, the growth in size of panes of glass, and then the invention of the glass curtain wall, generalizes the window: it is now everywhere and nowhere, its profile ambiguous, even anonymous (Di Robilant & Maak, 2018)"*. It seems that transformation of the window and the facades, have been blurring the boundary between the inside and outside. This ultimately changed the dynamic between public and private, happening at the same time the societal distribution of men and women was also transformed. This multitude of events that collide is something that I wanted to shortly emphasize on, because it reveals the dynamic between materiality and immateriality.

From the position of the window we should notice several things, while vertically placed windows are more likely to frame singularities, horizontal windows are more common to use to frame landscapes. In Amsterdam, just like most cities, many windows on the ground floor are used for commercial purposes. However, unlike most cities the windows in the Wallen area are used to display sex work and sex workers are allowed to represent themselves behind them too, a phenomenon which started to emerge around the beginning of the twentieth century which will be elaborated on broadly in this research. As a result, the windows in the Wallen area are used to negotiate between sex workers and the client. While protecting sex workers from direct physical contact, it allows them to communicate through vision.

History Sex Work
Wallen Area



Sex worker with the devil on her side, 1681
(source liefde te koop)

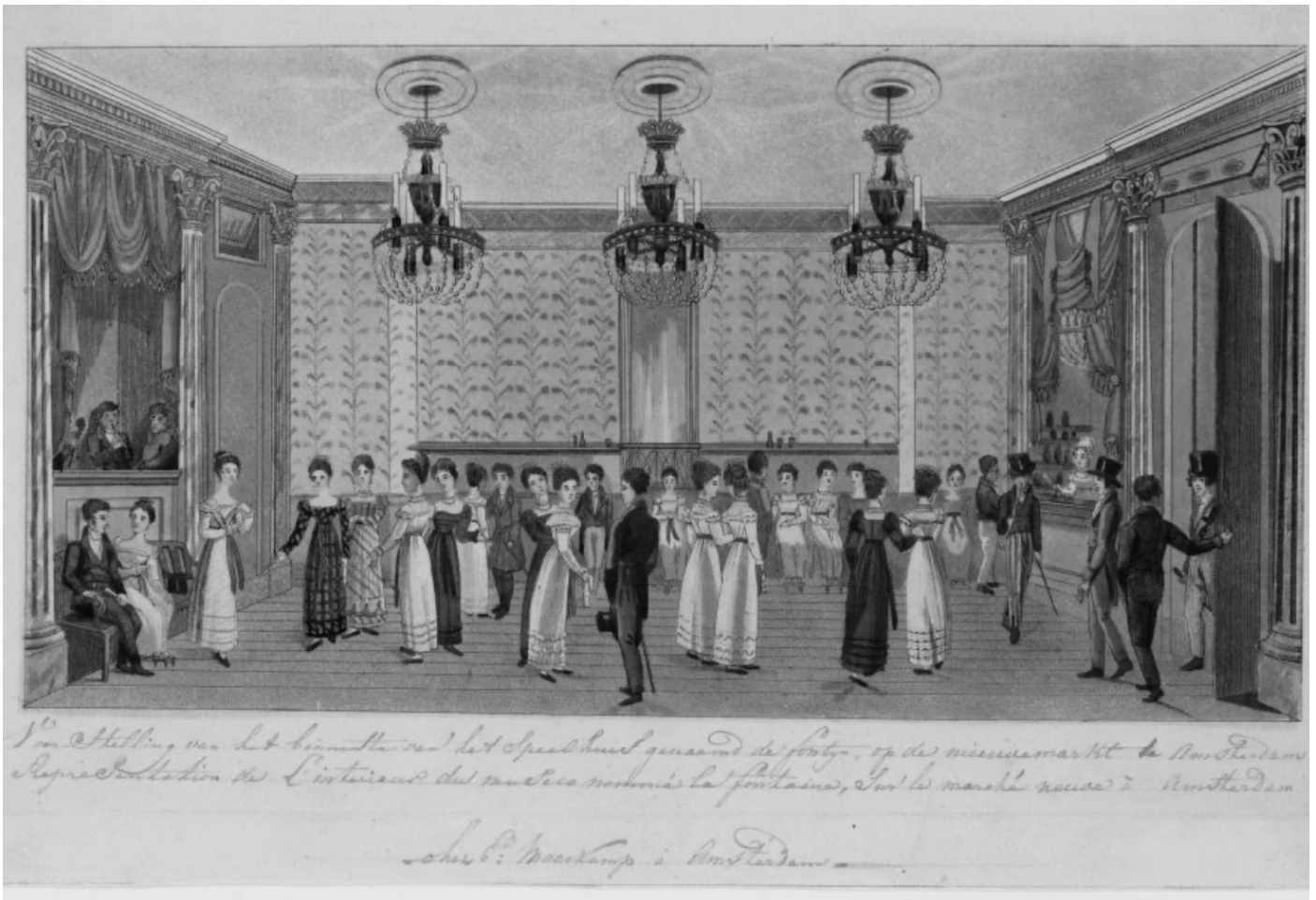
Religion

In order to explain the relationship between sex work in the city of Amsterdam we have to move to an era where photography was not part of life. At the end of the sixteenth century, Amsterdam was built as new port city which naturally attracted a lot of sex work. Many visual notions of this can be derived from various paintings and drawings, like this drawing from 1680, where a sex worker is portrayed alongside the devil. In the back we can notice another devil who sits next to a drooling sex worker in her bed and suffers from a venereal disease.

The connection between a religious figure and the sex worker suggest that morals were based on religious belief systems. Around this time 'harlotry', as it was called back then, was perceived as 'necessary evil' and although it was allowed only on the outskirts of the city, there was no clear evidence that it was forbidden (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 41). The earliest forms of regulations date from a sanction out of 1413, which pointed out that 'pimping' was not permitted. (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 41). Until regulations which followed the Catholic church, prohibited harlotry in Amsterdam from 1578 till 1809. The term harlotry however, mostly indicated all forms of sexual encounters out of wedlock. Since adultery was considered a great sin most affairs only got prosecuted when marriage was involved. What we can observe is how the honor of women was determined by her sexual behavior (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 7-8). This way sexuality and identity got related to each other. In Amsterdam, the local enforcement of regulations differed from national laws and the city tolerated sex work in specific areas and different times of the day. It seemed that morals could change, as long as those activities remain away from the visibility of the public. In light of this, it also makes sense that sex workers were mostly active during the night, because the darkness enabled them to be kept out of sight of both public and police, despite the inherent dangers. In 1680, oil lamps were placed in the city with the intention to secure more safety. However the 'nightlife' benefited from this too, because these lamps provided just enough light to attract the clients, while it still allowed them to hide from the police (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 55). Around this time, sex work in the city did not only took place on the streets outside but also inside, brothels disguised as 'playhouses' were a well known part of Amsterdam and became, just like nowadays, an attraction visited by many tourists, particularly sailors, from all over the world (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 9).

In his book, *History of Sexuality*, Michel Foucault explains the relation between the State and marriage by describing that to constitute a population that was economically valuable, laws needed to govern sexual practices. Marriage was the most discussed, prescribed and constraint relation, which was under constant surveillance (Foucault 1976, 36). During 'the Age of Reason' the discourse on sex followed morality and rationality both, one had to speak of sex and it had become a police matter, not in the form of repression but out of collective and individual forces (Foucault 1976, 24). Following Foucault, the governmental recognition of collectivity characterizes the eighteenth century. Instead of perceiving people as merely subjects, innovations in the techniques of power was a result of the awareness of populations from which they could political and economical benefit (Foucault 1976, 27).

What we should notice from the seventeenth- and eighteenth century is how sex work belonged to both the inside and outside of the window. However the relationship between sex workers and windows like we are familiar with nowadays is not visible yet. Sex workers dependent on space to hide and cover themselves and regulations or not, this determined the form of the profession; when, where and how it had to take place. During this period of time norms and values were based on religious moral belief systems, which in their turn constituted the law. Sex work was a moral question and because fornication was a sin, the identity of sex workers got related to the devil. Besides this, we can observe how the government during this time slowly started to realize that taking power over the collective through controlling marriages and families through regulating sex, could provide economical welfare for the country. Sexuality this way got linked to productivity, one sexual encounter (marriage) is more productive than the other (prostitution).



Depiction of the interior of the playhouse called the Fontijn, on the Nieuwemarkt in Amsterdam in 1808
 (source: stadsarchief Amsterdam)

Playhouses

Prostitution had been banned for over two centuries, but at the beginning of the 19th century licensed brothels in Amsterdam became officially part of the city again. On this image we see the interior of brothel that was called "de Fontijn". It was situated at the Nieuwmarkt and went under the disguise of a salon/ballroom. In 1830 the brothel was visited by traveler M. Lepeintre who described the place as followed: *'A big ballroom, with seats on the side-walls, where twelve women, in dresses, giving them a youthful appearance, danced with each other while spreading their grace. Many among them spoke multiple languages.'* (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 59). In the drawing it is noticeable that most women are accompanied by other females, while men are walking through space alone, illustrating the social norms around this time. Looking at the behavior of people in this space it does not seem that this brothel openly housed illegal activities like prostitution, but provided opportunities for letting the contacts between sex workers and clients emerge.

Around the time of the Fontijn prostitution in the city became visible again. It was mandatory for sex workers to be registered, which was as a result of the French dominance that took place between 1810 and 1813. During this moment, prostitution regulations followed the French law, who separated morals from regulations and centralized public health, because of venereal diseases that made thousands of victims. They introduced Code Penal, which ensured that sex workers had to be registered and medically checked upon twice a month. In Amsterdam around 800 sex workers were registered at this time. The health check ups needed to be personally financed and costed about fifteen penny per visit, when being diagnosed they had to stop working and move to an 'recovery house' which was funded by the government. Sex workers however, did not seem to have a lot of appreciation towards these French regulations (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 25). Probably because the mandatory check ups seemed to mostly bother them with extra expenses and this obligation deprived them of their personal autonomy. This feeling towards authorial interference is an ongoing frustration which will stay noticeable through the upcoming centuries. When the French withdrew in 1813, medical examinations were abolished, but during the first half of the nineteenth century prostitution remained tolerated, because it was considered to be a "normal" effect of male sexuality (Boutellier 1991, 202).

Throughout the nineteenth century, morals remained separated from the law, which was in conflict with feminist debates that started to emerge in the second half of this century. In 1851, to stop the spreading of venereal diseases the regimentation law obligated local communities to regulate public morality themselves (Boutellier 1991, 203). In other words, this gave cities, governed by men, the freedom to decide about sexual issues. This act happened around the first feminist wave movement and was also protested by the abolitionists who objected against this form of regimentation. It should be kept in mind however, that feminism and abolitionism were two different discourses with a complex relation, while both playing a central role in discourses related to sexuality. In her essay, feminist writer Petra de Vries (2008), explains how the image of prostitution functioned as example to oppression and gender inequality, that inspired following generations of feminism to pursue this (de Vries 2008, 258). In abolitionism we can distinguish between two positions, which each emphasize on a different 'cause' of prostitution. One based itself on a moralistic belief system and the sinful nature of men, this movement voted for a different kind of masculinity, for 'the New Man' who did not visit prostitutes. *"Was it true that men needed sex and that the state should provide this safely?"* (de Vries 2008, 260). The other side of abolitionists, obtained a more socialists perspective on prostitution and believed that gender inequality was a result of capitalism and poverty and they took the sex worker as symbol for this oppression. *"The prostitute's body reflected the social body, the wretchedness of the prevailing social order: the exchange of sexual love for money, the immoral character of the State, the power of medical expert knowledge and the totality of woman's sexual, legal and political oppression. Prostitution was the tragic outcome of female struggling on the downward road"* (de Vries 2008, 267).

Following Foucault again, he explains that during the nineteenth century, a bourgeois, capitalist, industrial society emerged that put machinery into operation which produced 'true' knowledge about sexuality (Foucault 1976, 67). The relation between knowledge and power is becoming more clear from the moment that prostitution laws got influenced by medical discourses. *"Imbedded in bodies, becoming deeply characteristic of individuals, the oddities of sex relied on a technology of health and pathology. And conversely, since sexuality was a medical and medicalized object, one had to try and detect it - as a lesion dysfunction, or a symptom - in the depths of the organism"* (Foucault 1976, 44). We can observe how regulations were not only based religious moralities anymore, but that it was now science that produced the 'true' knowledge'. What is interesting about this is how the medicalization of sex also started to shape and distribute space differently. Foucault explains that 'the truth about sex' manifolded the sexuality of the home, the school and the prison, because children needed to be kept away from sexuality, it changed the composition of the family and separated children from the bedroom of the adults, resulting into a spatial segregation between boys and girls (Foucault 1976, 46).

In the previous century, the government started to understand how to benefit from collective forces and it seems that during the 19th century they started to perceive society as machine more and more. The medical regulations around sex work illustrate how scientific knowledge became a form of power. However not everybody agreed on the pragmatic grounds that made up the prostitution laws. The abolitionists started to bring awareness on social injustices as a result of gender inequality and took sex workers as the symbol for this. We can observe how both abolitionists positions were each concerned by a different sex. From the notion of the 'New Man' that does not go to prostitutes, two things should be noted. First, we can observe how sexuality gets related to identity again, but opposed one century before it is not the woman who portrayed next to the devil it is now men who are sinful. The second, which follows from this, is how feminist discourses at this time, tried to take and change identity of men to resignify the identity and position of women.



Peeskamer, 1910
by Fotopersbureau Spaarnestad

The Attic

Moving towards the first photograph which was taken in 1913, we are presented with the interior of a working room. At first glance the room appears to be located in a dirty attic, where the only connection to the outside seems to be the small window that is directed towards the sky. Which indicates that the room must have been invisible for the public. Underneath the window we can observe a single bed with a chair next to it, which was probably used for taken on or off ones clothing. There is also a table with an oil lamp and we can see a part of dressing table. With dirty sheets on the bed, a used towels hanging on a line and a small empty bottle underneath the bed, the space appears badly maintained and the hygiene poorly. From the appearance of this space this reveals what sex work looks like when it is hidden away from the public.

In 1911 after national commotion, The Public Morality Act of 1911 caused the prohibition of brothels and rendez-vous-houses. Prostitution itself stayed legal and sex workers could not be convicted since they were believed to be victims. The act was a result of pressure from christian puritans, socialists and feminist and only prohibited to give the opportunity for prostitution and (Boutellier 1991, 204). However, after the prohibition on brothels, the owners simply changed their interior into hotels and registered the sex workers as maidens (Arnoldussen& de Wildt 2002, 12-20). During the most of the twentieth century brothels were forbidden but prostitution itself stayed allowed, also because it was too difficult to monitor each sexual interaction (Arnoldussen& de Wildt 2002, 8). As a result the profession naturally moved outside and street prostitution was common in shopping streets, sex workers disguised as ordinary shoppers would try to get the attention of men and lure them into a quiet canals or streets. They made themselves known by the way they dress. Despite the restrictions on brothels, sex work stayed part of city and moved into public spheres. Doing so the government tried to intervene through re-structuring space. Back in the days small alleys of the city provided the opportunity for the sex worker to hide themselves when police approached. However when most of the small alleys were closed off and became only accessible for residents this robbed sex workers from their work (Arnoldussen& de Wildt 2002, 67). Prostitution faced many challenges during this time as result of regulations and the dirty attic reveals visually what happened to the working conditions when sex work had to be concealed. The negative impact of this was not affecting the sex workers but the clients too. Back in the days robbery and prostitution formed a regular combination and special hatches were built-in in some of the brothels to steal wallets from the clothes which were hanging on a bracket (Arnoldussen& de Wildt 2002, 65). When something has to be hidden, it is not surprising that the criminal activities within it become invisible too, such as robbery but also other forms of violence. Which also clarifies the often difficult relationship that sex workers obtained with their pimps, the lover or a husband of the sex worker who was usually exploiting them (Arnoldussen& de Wildt 2002, 24).

Overall, the Public Morality Act intended to protect sex workers who were considered to be victims. However after taking a closer look at the attic, this space shows how the act probably created more victims than it saved. The prohibition on brothels contributed to a difficult entanglement between prostitution and criminality. Additionally, the idea that sex workers have to be "saved" seems somehow contradictory when we read about the ways how they secured their own well-being and made money. It is interesting how space played a specific role in doing this. Like how they made use of the existing urban structures to hide from the police and made interventions into walls to steal wallets. Personally I believe that is important to recognize this, because it reveals how deeply the security of the sex workers depends on the urban structure and about the autonomy of sex workers when using the structure.

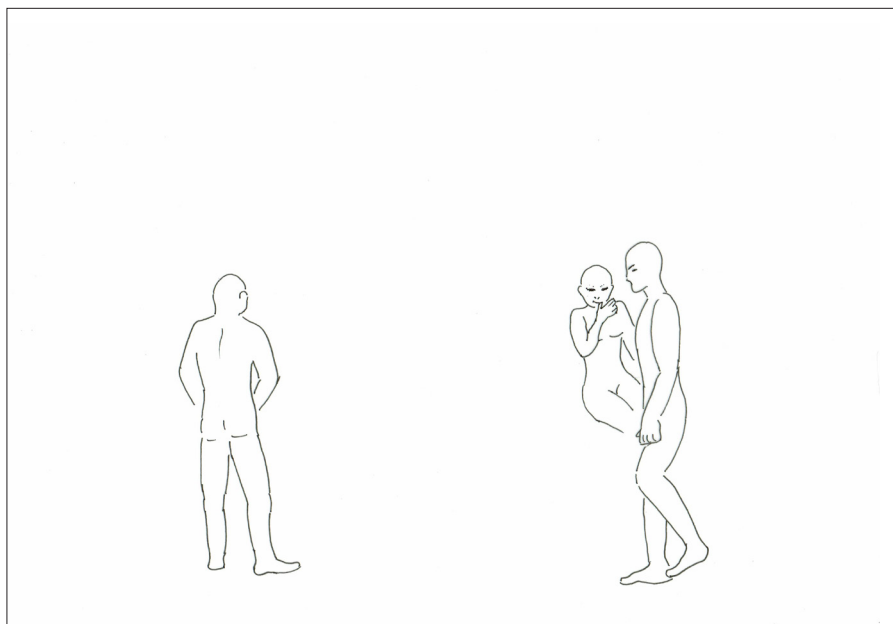


Sex worker behind a window of a disguised brothel, 1935
(source: liefde te koop)

Disguisements

In the next picture, taken around 1935, we can spot a woman behind a window almost completely hidden behind laced curtains. Apart from her upper body the rest of it remains invisible for the public and it would not be clear that a woman is a sex worker if it weren't for a few signs. The first indication is that she seems to be tapping against the window to the man who passes by. At this time tapping a finger or a ring against the glass was forbidden. However police confiscated a lot of rings, because soon after the prohibition on brothels the government experienced how difficult to dismantle brothel (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 24). This explains the second indicator as well, because above the house on the hanging sign, we can see it has 'woonhuis' written on it (translated as 'living house'). Which seemed to be an attempt, although a very obvious one, to disguise this brothel as an ordinary house, that was a common thing to do for brothels at that time.

This is the first photograph where we can observe a relationship between sex workers and the window like we know nowadays. Since brothels and playhouses were prohibited, sex workers had to think of other ways to perform the profession and moved to their doorsteps. This way, within the facade of an apartment, the window functioned as disguise to cover them for the police. According to statistics of the municipality the amount of sex workers and spaces even doubled and in 1936 there were more or less 4000 sex workers in the city (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 23).



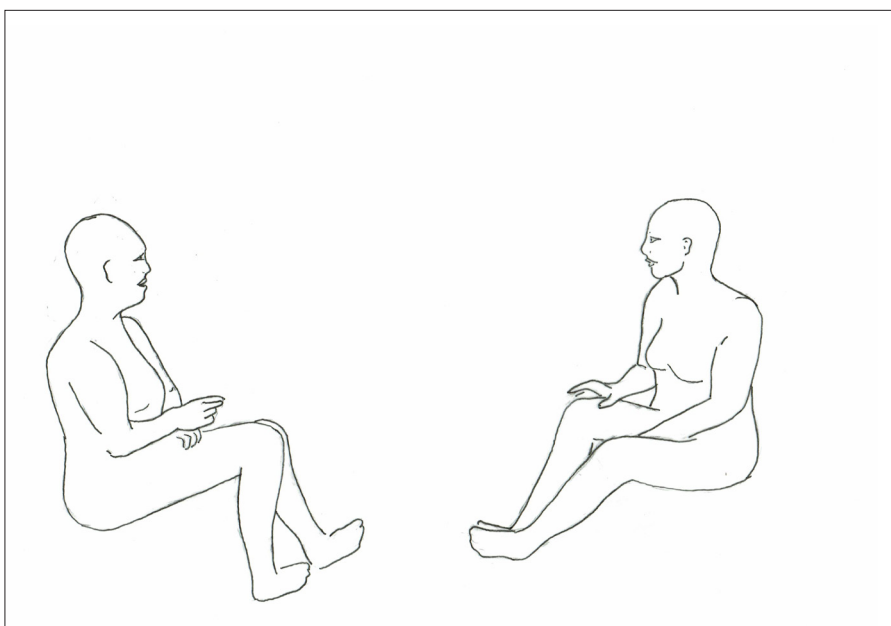


Two sex workers sitting together behind the window while having tea together, around 1940
(source: liefde te koop)

Sitting Together

On the other side of the window we can observe how the disguise of sex work continued. In a picture taken five years later, we become part of a setting where two women sit in front of a window while having tea together. This too looks like an ordinary setting without any suggestion of sex work, nevertheless we are looking at two 'decently' dressed sex workers who needed to have their breast, legs and arms covered, to avoid the police from intervening (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 31). Just like the clothing, the way in which they have positioned their bodies seems discreet too. During the 40's, sitting together like this was common and around this time one third of the sex workers worked in 'disguised houses' that were supervised by a brothel owner. To properly enforce regulations the government had to tolerate window prostitution on specific parts of the city, one of them was the area around the Oude Kerk. However as a result of the economical crisis after the First World war street prostitution remained the most prosecuted form of sex work, since no customers showed up in front the window (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 24).

During the beginning of the twentieth century we can observe that although brothels were legally forbidden they got tolerated in the Wallen, because the government realized that there was no way around it. Both buildings and sex workers did not have to be completely invisible, but needed to disguise themselves. Even though this form of 'regulated tolerance' lasted until the end of the 20th century, over the following decades we will observe how sex work slowly became more and more tolerated and less disguised.

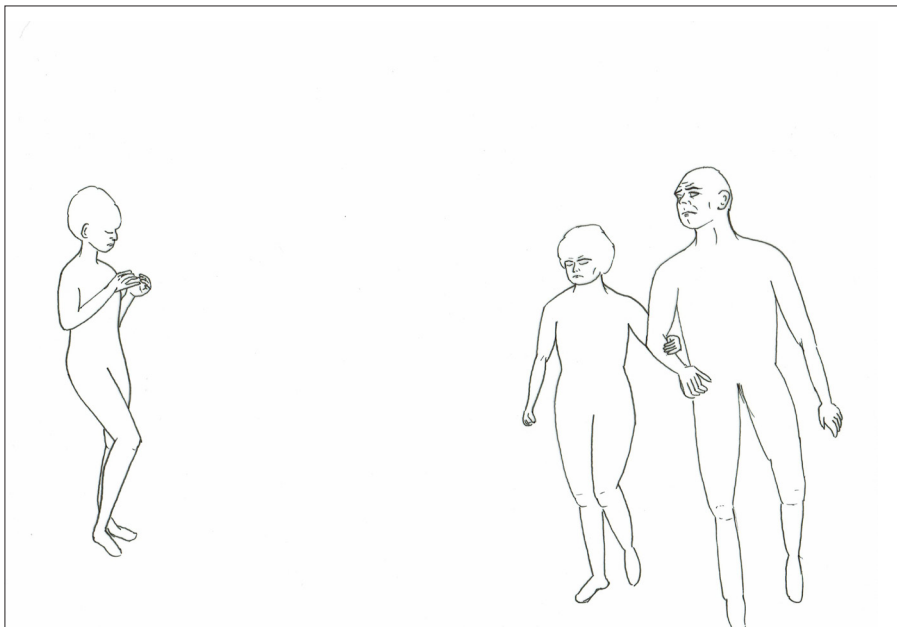




Oudekerksplein, 1967.
by Cor Jaring

More Visibility

Prior to 1948, sex workers covered their body parts, but their clothing started to become more bold from this point on (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 29). We now jump all the way towards 60's, where a lot of photographs can show us how prostitution at the Wallen looked like. We will note how 60's was a particularly interesting period in time both for the neighborhood, emancipation of women and human rights battles concerned sexuality in general. Starting with this picture, we see a couple that are on the left we see a sex worker standing in front of the door instead of sitting behind her window. She looks at her hands with a somehow unbothered attitude, while she also seems to be purposely looking away from the couple passing her. From the disapproved and concerned facial expressions of the couple, we already could figure out more or less what the general the public opinion on sex work would have been. Neither the prohibition on brothels or societal norms and values stopped sex work of occurring at the Wallen and considering the fact that the sex worker stands outside of the brothel house instead of behind the window, it seems that the need for sex workers to hide themselves slowly started to disappear and the profession became more visible.





Corner at the Oudekerksplein, 1967.
by Cor Jaring

During the 60's societal opinions about sex work started to change, it became less moralistic and more pragmatic. The prostitution act of 1911 could never be properly be enforced and sex workers started to plea for self regulation. Around the 60's we can observe how a certain fascination about the Wallen and sex workers started to emerge and that the neighborhood changed as a result. During this time a lot of hair dressers were part of neighborhood, which were visited by sex workers in the morning before the start of their working shift (Arnoldussen& de Wildt 2002, 30-31). The owner of a hairdresser salon Anuska Snoek (Arnoldussen& de Wildt 2002, 74), describes that many of the sex workers disguised themselves by wearing wigs. When the women would start a fight, something that happened a lot, the first thing they did was ripping the wigs off of each others heads. Anuska tells how she is left with beautiful memories about her business during this time, but she also explains how she had to endure a lot. Sometimes clients walked in while still holding a beer and spitted out cherry pits on the ground. However, it was just a manner of getting used to this mentality. The neighborhood was one big theatre she explains, which was reflected in the hairdo's of the sex workers as well. Since it is was all about the image for the sex workers, and the way she looked while standing in the red lighted window, this meant that red hair had to be popping red, black hair needed to blue-black and blonde needed to be bright blonde. Besides the pimp who a lot to say about the way they looked, Anuska explains how this was also a result of the fact that sex workers were very superstitious. If they made money one day with a a special curl, the following day they needed that exact one and the same applied for the color. Another interesting point Anuska mentions is how the whole neighborhood worked like one big business, if the girls made good money everybody got payed: the butcher, de hairdresser, the cabs, the cleaners (Arnoldussen& de Wildt 2002, 76). Which in a way is complementing her notion about how the neighborhood functions like theatre too.

We can observe a special connection between sex workers, hairdressers and the Wallen and from the explanation of the owner of the salon it comes clear how the neighborhood was connected to each other as a result of sex work. In 1960, the neighborhood got a lot of public attention after the murder on the sex worker 'magere Josje'. An event that had impact on both people working and living the neighborhood. Towards society it made clear how much the prohibition on brothels was violated. However after the murder, the fascination about the neighborhood only grew more. As a result, the growing publicity probably influenced the way how sex work was being looked upon by society and in 1959 the national newspaper 'Het Algemeen Handelsblad' even stated that the oldest profession in the in the world should be legislated (Arnoldussen& de Wildt 2002, 30).

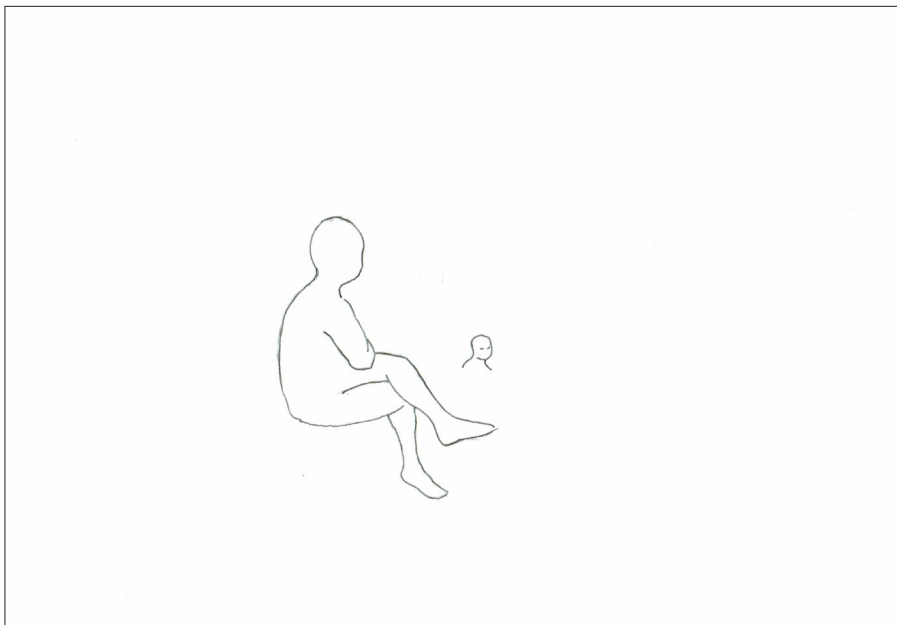
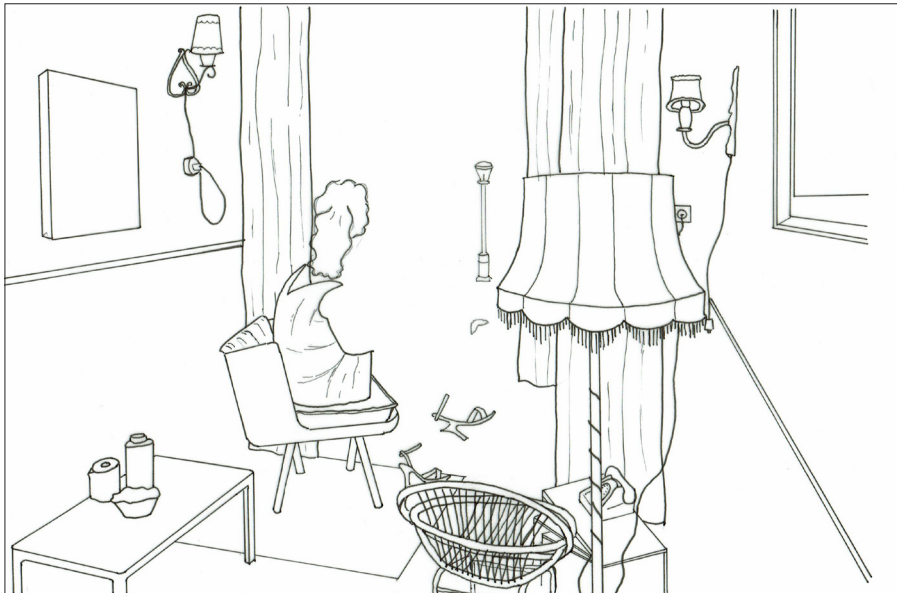


Parijse Leen, Oudezijds Achterburgwal and Zeedijk, 1966
by Cor Jaring

Parijse Leen

Taking a look at the next picture, this shows how the open attitude of society affected the interiors of the working spaces. The aesthetic of the interior still feels domestic. With a cushion on the armchair, a small carpet underneath it, flowered curtains and lampshades made out of fabric, this all makes the room appear to be very soft. Besides this we can again spot a tea pot on the table, adding to the inviting character of the space. In the past sex workers used to make great efforts to stay anonymous, but in light of the growing fascination about the district, there is a lot known about the identity of this sex worker.

Her name is 'Parijse Leen' and in the 1968 documentary 'Rondom het Oudekerksplein', film-maker Roeland Kerbosch makes a visit behind her window. Here she openly explains to him how she ended up there: as result of her 'natural sensation seeking character' she married a Canadian. However, since he wanted to move back to his home country she wanted to get a divorce, because she had no intention in following him towards here. She needed a lawyer that could help her with this and in order to pay for him, this led to her decision to start working behind the window. From this point on 'she kept playing the hooker' which she has been enjoying to do so for about twenty years. About her job she mentions something quite interesting, that clients do not only pay her to have sex, but that they also just like to talk to her. According to her, 'having a good mouth' is one of the best qualities that a sex worker could have. At one point the film maker brings up the closure of brothels by the municipality and he asks Parijse Leen what would seem the best solution to her. She suggests that all sex workers working behind a window should be registered, and that their working rooms are supervised in being cleaned properly, otherwise the municipality has no good reason to close the brothels down.





Parijse Leen in the documentary *Rondom het Oudekerksplein*, by Roeland Kerbosch 1968.

The film does not necessarily portray an all rose-colored image of the area and sex work. A lot of stories about violence and the presence of the Penosa are part of the film. Concerning this image of the neighborhood, I think this is also why the film maker asks several sex workers how they feel about the dangerous aspects of the profession. One sex worker brings up the murder of one of the sex workers which shocked her and make her more scared about some of her own clients. Nevertheless she says she is not scared very often but it just can be like that sometimes.

What I believe to be special about this documentary is that the sex workers are asked about their perspectives on the job and the district. It is valuable to cover their stories because it allows for a deeper understanding on what the profession is about. As a result of the stigmatization on sex work, most sex workers rather stay anonymous or just want to do their jobs, this way recording their opinions naturally does not happen very often. However there are many sex workers who do take part in activism to help create more awareness towards the profession. Personally I find the perspective of Parijse Leen about the interior of her working space particularly interesting. Her remark on how sex work is not only about physical intimacy complements to the domestic-like environment and softness of the room. It seems that the soft- and tenderness of their work is quite often overlooked, just like the the social and emotional aspect of the profession. Overall what we can observe during the 60's as a result of changing norms and values and globalization the profession became more visible. The relationship between sex worker and the public changed and they started to made use of the door instead of the window.



Molensteeg, 1968
by Gerard Wessel

Globalization and Emancipation

In following picture we see two sex workers standing outside of the brothel on the left, now together. Their outfits are matching in way, a flower dress, strappy sandals and while they are showing the skin of the legs their shoulders remain covered with a similar jacket. The window seems to be next to the door passage and we can spot similar laced curtains like we did in previous decades. Looking more closely, in the back, we can spot another sex worker, which we can tell from the way she is dressed, standing next to a men, who might have been her pimp. On the right, the facade of a building that seems to be badly maintained and besides that we can spot the sign of the 'old sailor hotel', a cafe which still exist today.

From the 60's on we can observe how Amsterdam became known as a swinging city and that besides window prostitution all kind of other sexual entertainment settled in the Wallen. While the neighborhood used to be dark and mysterious, it now started to transform into a bright-lighted 'neon-theatre' (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 32). Just like the urban surfaces of the Wallen, so did the sex industry and the early 1970s are considered to be the peak of the prostitution within the area. Not only did it receive a lot of international attention, it also attracted international sex workers. In a newspaper article from 1987 a brothel owner describes how during the 70's the emergence of international woman was a relief for him, since Dutch women became too difficult to 'keep under control' in comparison towards 'exotic women' who did not speak the language, which he linked to a change in attitude as a result the emancipation of Dutch women (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 33). Although it is an very blunt and offensive explanation of the situation it indicates that a certain change started to emerge in the attitude of the sex workers. Considering the fact the second wave in feminism started around this time, their change in attitude could indeed be related to women emancipation. In Amsterdam this wave is marked by the Dolle Mina's, which was a leftist radical feminist action group that started in 1969, and fought among others for the right on anti conception and abortion under the slogan 'Baas in Eigen Buik' (translated as Masters of our Own Belly).

One of the members of the Dolle Mina's was Petra de Vries and was mentioned earlier on in this research as writer of the essay on Dutch abolitionism (2008). In different essay of hers, *Wat Mag het Lichaam voor Geld?* (translated as "What Can the Body Do for Money?") de Vries (2006) explains how during the seventies and eighties the sex work debate in the Netherlands gradually shifted towards a policy which perceived sex work as labour. The second wave in feminism fought for women's rights for body determination, which included the right of abortion and accessibility of the birth control pill. Their argument was comparable to that of pro sex work feminist, who advocated for the right of sexual self determination and the right to engage in sex work without being stigmatized by society. Throughout history we have observed how the identity of the sex worker has been targeted by governments and either depicted as 'evil' or 'victim'. What de Vries mentioned earlier on was that abolinists in the ninetieth century took sex workers as symbol of sexual repression and inspired next generation of feminist to do so (de Vries 2006, 19) and a conflict started to emerge within feminism as a result of this. Which is why two different positions on sex work in feminism were taken: one that considered sex work to be sexual violence and the other as labour. De Vries explains that *"The body of the prostitute became a battlefield for topics like autonomy, gender and sexuality. Is the prostitute a victim or a strong women? Object or subject?"* (de Vries 2006, 38)

Overall feminist movements played a big part in shifting the policy around sex work. Besides advocating on the abandonment of the prohibition on brothels, one of their main arguments was that identity of the sex worker should be changed, into that of a person with an own will and the right to be involved in the conversations that revolve around their own societal position. What de Vries also mentions is how the fight for sexual self-determination right was accompanied by the battle of human rights for sexual minorities. Until 1971 homosexual contact was legally forbidden, but after a change in the law, male prostitution became part of Amsterdam too. It was usually hosted in clubs and the boys working in this industry were as much a tourist attraction as the girls working behind the windows. However the earnings out of male prostitution was low, since there was more supply than demand (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 108-109).

In the second half of the twentieth century we can observe that women sought power by gaining control over their bodies. This happened at the same time other human rights movements started to gain control about sexuality in general. Considering 'the history of sexuality', Foucault explains that we can observe two 'ruptures' within the 'mechanisms of repressions', the first occurred during the seventeenth century which was characterized by prohibitions, and the second that happened during the twentieth century, where the mechanisms of repression loosened their grip (Foucault 1976, 115). Which we could also see unfolding in the debates on sexuality around this time. In his work Foucault introduces the concept of 'bio-power' which describes the way in which bodies are regulated and controlled in society. Although the word power does not refer to a group of institutions or mechanisms (92). He instead perceives power as a multiplicity of forces that constitutes its own organization: *"power is not an institution, and not a structure, neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society"* (Foucault 1976, 93). Bio-power, he explains, is an 'indispensable part' within the development of capitalism, since capitalism would not have been possible without control over bodies in order to put them into economic processes (Foucault 1976, 141). Since capitalism needs the growth of both these factors, sexuality got actively managed, regulated and controlled, which is what Foucault describes as 'the deployment sexuality'.

Governments became aware about the relationship between sexuality and economical welfare. Since sex has access to both the individual as the collective life, this led to the emergence of new forms of power and control, one of them being psychoanalysis. At the end of the nineteenth century, Foucault describes that sexuality was being analyzed into the smallest of details and that it encouraged individuals to think and speak about sexual behavior: *"the task of the truth was now linked to challenging of taboos"* (Foucault 1976, 130). Since it was discovered that sex has the agency and power to dominate us, psychoanalysis aimed to relieve sex from repression by trying to expose it. What he describes is how the West in response created an 'imaginary element that is sex' that constituted sex itself as something desirable, to have it, to discover it or to liberate it (Foucault 1976, 156). The desirability for sex constitutes a lack within ourselves and a whole economy has been built around this lack. Therefore, the aim of Foucault's work was to challenge the idea that rather than perceiving sexuality as something repressed that should be liberated, we should consider it as something regulated and controlled. *"We must not think saying yes to sex, one says no to power: on the contrary, one track along the course laid out by the general deployment of sexuality. It is the agency of sex that we must break away from, if we aim - through a tactical reversal of the various mechanisms of sexuality - to counter the grips of power with the claims of bodies, pleasures, and knowledges, in their multiplicity and their possibility of resistance. The rallying point for the counterattack against the deployment of sexuality ought not be sex desire, but bodies and pleasures"* (Foucault 1976, 157). It seems that rather than increasing pleasure, the science behind sex, devoted itself to examine and analyse desires. This way it seems that Foucault advocated on broadening the knowledge around pleasure instead of desire, so rather than examining desire (external), the internal should be explored.

Overall from the early sixties on till the end of the seventies the Wallen got transformed as a result of globalization and emancipation and we can witness a shift in attitude towards woman's agency and the recognition as sex work as labor. Feminist movements played a crucial role in shaping these possibilities for sex workers and at the same time psychoanalysis started to produce true knowledge within society, aiming to broaden the knowledge about sexuality. However its aim was not to broaden the knowledge on sexual pleasure or how to increase this, but just how to set it free from repression by trying to expose it. This period in time could be marked by a change in the size and shape of windows as well: *"Postwar domestic architecture mirrored in its large glass windows and glass doors the spirit of the time. Modernity was hailed for its honesty and openness in matters of life, notably sexual matters. In the same period of sexual liberation, Dutch window prostitution developed its notorious exhibitionistic character. The prostitute's act of standing or sitting close to the window demonstrates the violation of the female boundary between honor and shame."* Dutch Windows: Female Virtue and Female Vice," *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space*" (Di Robilant & Maak 2014, 733) However the Wallen, just like psychoanalysis, aimed to set sex free by displaying it behind the window. It became more visible and for society sex seemed to be less repressed. However just because sex is visible and is becoming more visible behind the window does not mean that sex was free from repression. Since we should recognize that it probably was never actually repressed, it seemed that it is now just regulated and controlled differently.

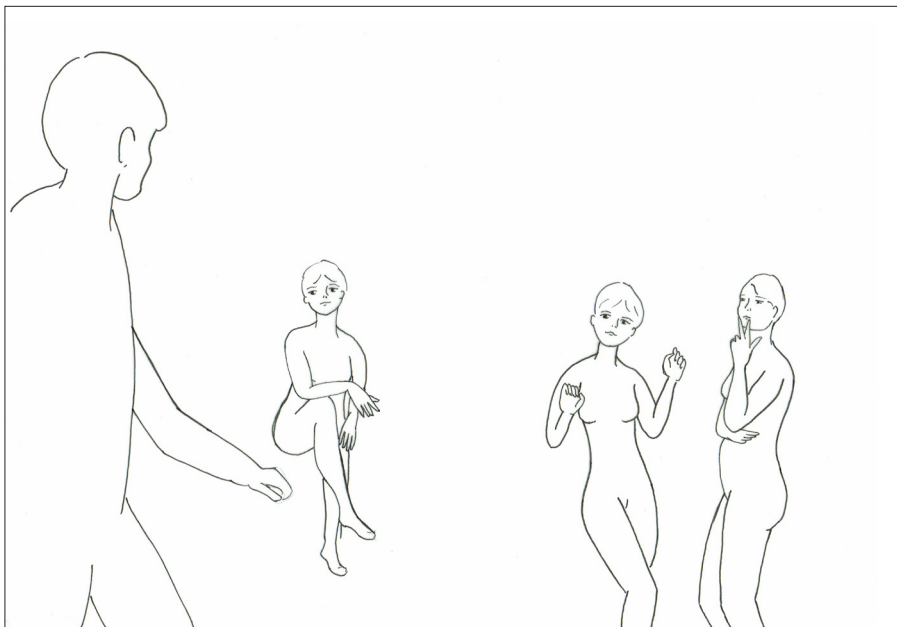
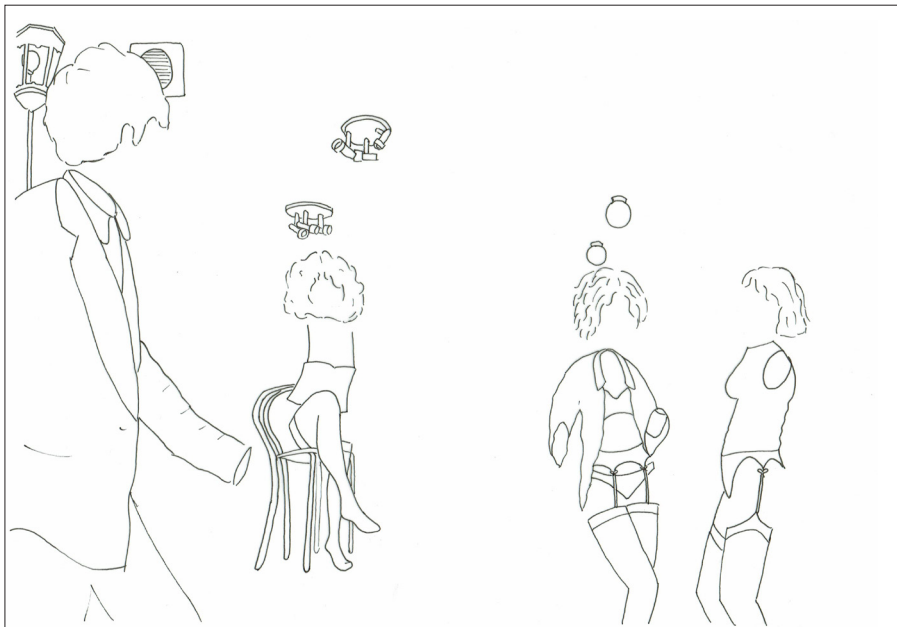
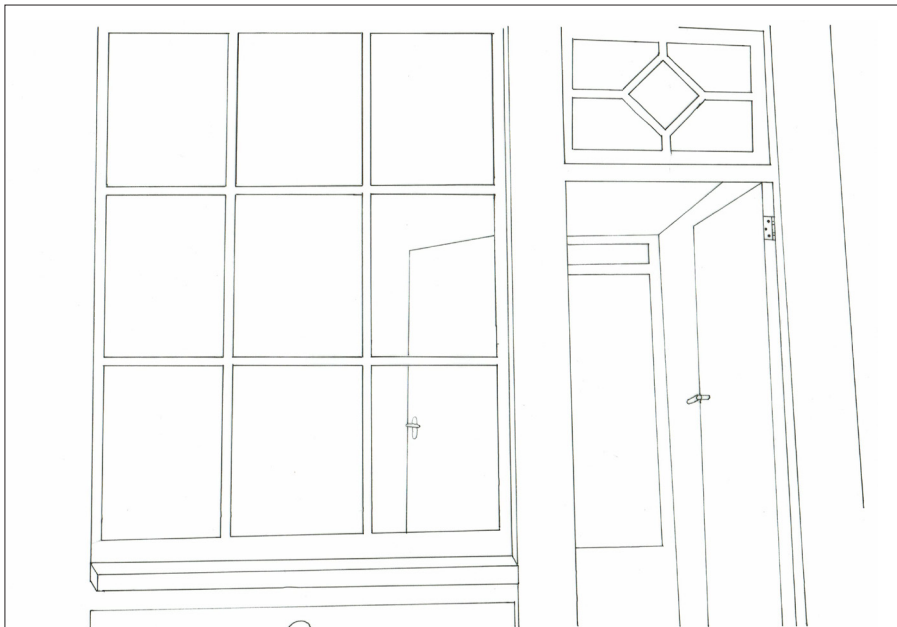


Oudezijds Achterburgwal, 1991
by Floris Leeuwenburg

Open Character

Moving on to the 90's. In this photograph, taken in 1991, we see three sex workers around their window looking at the passing man. The sex workers clearly reflect a difference attitude than the sex workers at the beginning of this century. The two smoking women in front of their door are wearing considerably less clothing and is for the first time that we can note that they are showing their lingerie. Their hair seems to be undone giving them an overall wild appearance. Also, if we take a look at the way how they have positioned their bodies in the doorway, it seems like they are confiscating it and suggesting a certain kind of ownership over the space. Seeing them in front of the window like that they don't appear to feel vulnerable or in need of the protection of the window. Considering all of this, the look of their clothing, hair and body positions the sex workers seem to be expressing a certain kind 'freedom', because it seems that they determine what they want to make visible (and what not), obtaining an attitude which was not there yet at the beginning of the century. Considering the amount of visibility, they made clear for the public what they do for a living and we can see how sex work did not need to be hidden anymore.

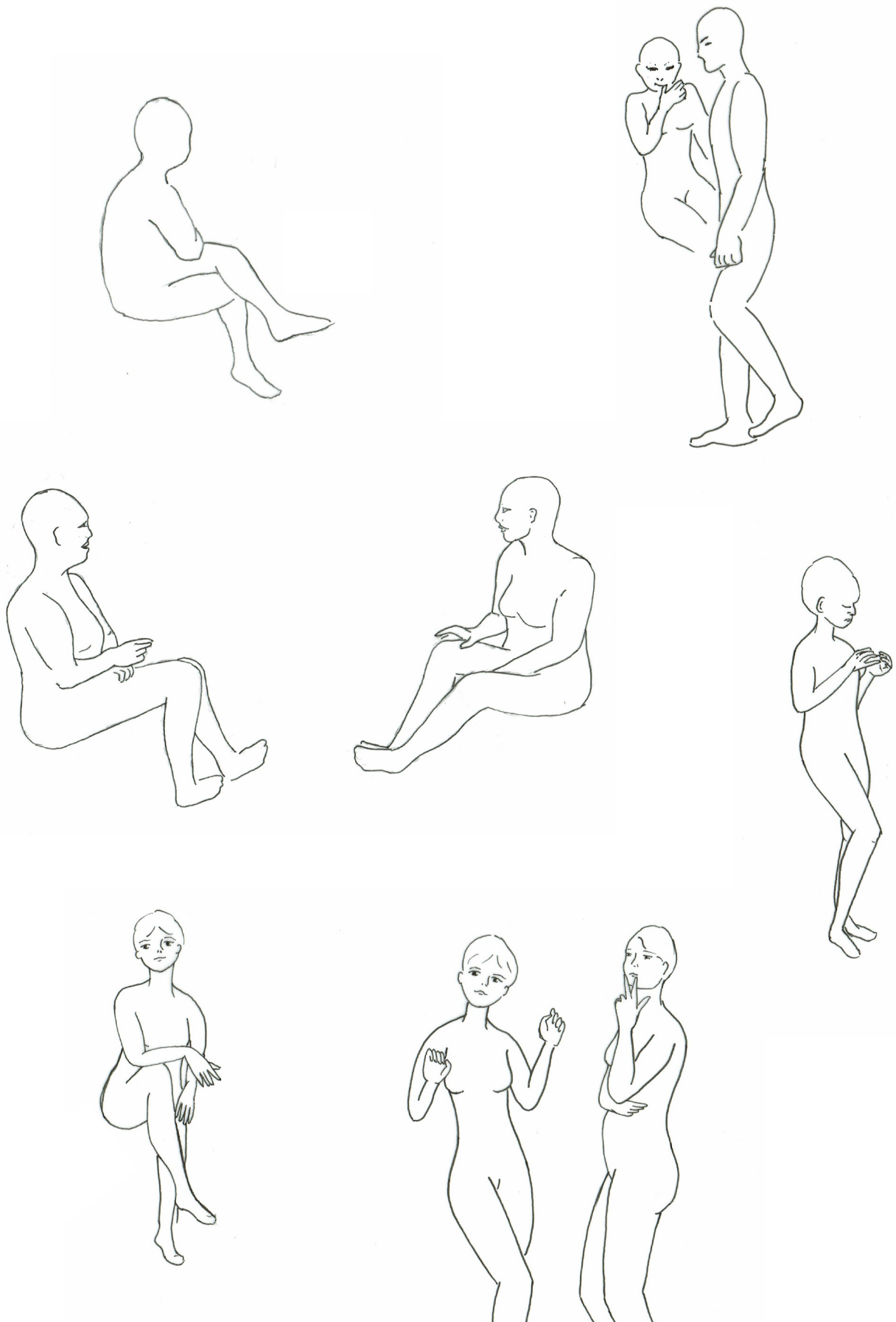
The three sex workers in the photograph seem to be sharing many characteristics, but besides aesthetics they also share expressions in the positioning of their bodies. Like the way they hold their cigarette and are pushing their legs together similarly. It seems that in order to attract the attention of the passing client, the sex workers bodies have become an integral part of their performance and use them to express female sexuality. In her text 'Throwing Like a Girl', Iris Young (1990) explores the reasons behind the existence of female bodies by observing how it moves through the world. The body in general she describes, moves with an intention towards an aim but there is a difference however between the way men and women are doing this. The feminine body, she explains, mostly refrains from throwing itself completely into motion when moving towards a task: "when trying to lift something in attempting to lift something, women more often than men fail to plant themselves firmly and make their thighs bear the greatest proportion of the weight". Besides refraining itself during a movement women generally tend to be more closed with their body too: *"Though we now wear pants more than we used to and consequently do not have to restrict our sitting postures because of dress, women still tend to sit with their legs relatively close together and their arms across their bodies"* (Young 1990, 6).



If we take a look at all of the bodies of the sex workers, we can indeed note how their body positions tend to be more closed off. From the way they are pushing their legs together, or crossing them over each other while seated and how they keep their arms relatively close their chests. In her essay Young explains that while performing a task the attention of the brain gets divided into a part that completes a task and another that tries to save itself from harm and suggest that the fear of getting hurt, which is greater in women than in men. This way it seems that vulnerability can be linked to feeling free to move your body and if we take a look at the sex workers again, they indeed tend to specifically close off their female body parts and maybe protect them in a way. What is interesting is that Young explains that if there are particular feminine body performances, it is also likely that there are also particular modalities of feminine spatiality. She refers to a famous study by Erik Erikson (1996), where boys and girls had to depict famous movie scenes out of toys. He explains that girls tend to visualize indoor spaces with high walls, while boys more often constructed outdoor scenes. The interpretation of this research by Erikson was that: "girls depict "inner space" as the projection of the enclosed space of their wombs and vaginas; boys depict "outer space" as a projection of the phallus (Young 1990, 7). Not surprisingly Young questions the legitimacy this psychoanalytical claim, but she does however interprets his research as a reflection of how each sex lives and moves their bodies in space. She describes that women experience their bodies as rooted and enclosed, which is reflected in the way how she uses and inhabits less of space than is physically available to her. Moving away from Eriksons premise, Young explores different sources of feminine body modalities, like how the female body gets conditioned from an early age on and acquires habits such as *"walking like a girl, tilting her head like a girl, standing and sitting like a girl, gesturing like a girl. The girl learns actively to hamper her movements. She is told that she must be careful not to get hurt, not to get dirty, not to tear her clothes, that the things she desires to do are dangerous for her. Thus she develops a bodily timidity that increases with age. In assuming herself to be a girl, she takes herself to be fragile"*. What Young describes, is how at the root of this women live their bodies as both object and subject, which is as result of the patriarchal society that defines woman as objects. *"An essential part of the situation of being a woman is that of living the ever-present possibility that one will be gazed upon as a mere body, as shape and flesh that presents itself as the potential object of another subject's intentions and manipulations, rather than as a living manifestation of action and intention"* (Young 1990, 9). This objectification, Young explains, could keep her in place, because it accounts for a self-consciousness and the spatial modality of 'keeping their limbs closed around themselves', to open her body in a free, active way could be an invite for objectification.

What Young gives insight to is how gender, sexuality and space are related. It becomes clear how embodied subjects become sexed and that space could be encouraging (or reinforcing) them to become so. It appears that feeling safe in your body affects the way you move your body in space and that there is difference in the way women and men do this. Since women might have a different sense of vulnerability it withholds them from fully participating in space. This as result keeps the feminine body in her place.

Body postures of sexworkers throughout time.

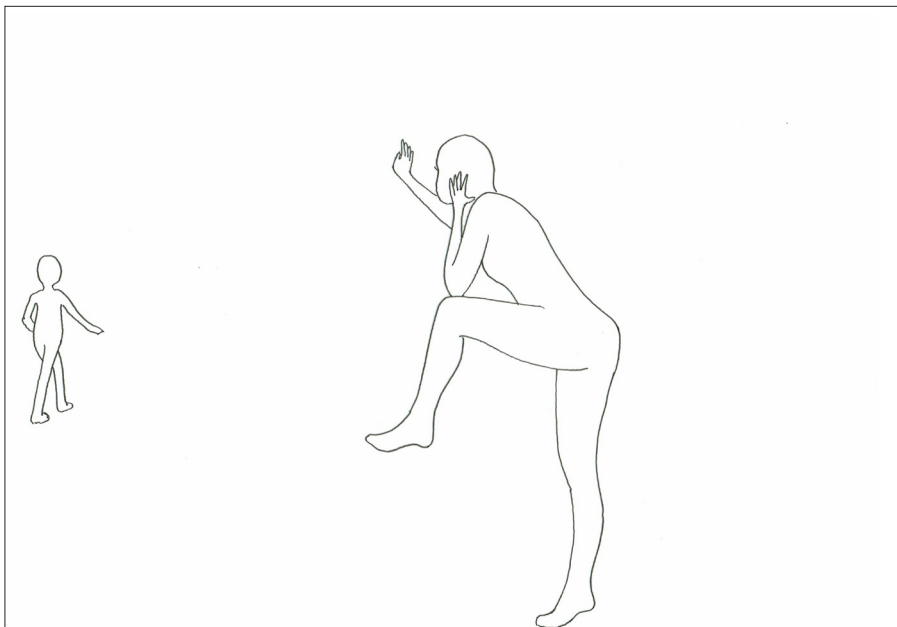




Sex worker holding the window sill in her working space situated across the church on the Oudekerksplein, 1995.
(source: de Wallen in Beeld)

Brothel Regulations

In this photograph, taken just before the legislation on brothels we see a sex worker behind the window on Oudekerksplein. She is standing relatively close to the glass, while holding the window frame and placing her foot on top the window sill. Looking at her standing behind the window like this, it seems that she is trying to make her whole body as much visible for the public. She is wearing a glitter top and shiny high heels. What also stands out is the dildo placed on the window sill and the picture on the wall with a naked women. It is the first time that we can observe such obvious references towards sex work like sex toys in one of the photographs. Besides this many of the soft elements, apart from the elevated armchair and the curtains seem to be removed.





Brug Oudezijds Voorburgwal bij lange Niezel, 1986
Gerard Wessel

The idea that prostitution was first and foremost an essential need got a grip again in the eighties. In 1990 the prohibition on brothels was canceled and during this time Amsterdam followed a 'gedoogbeleid' (translated as tolerance policy) (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 37). The brothels, still not allowed to be called like this, were started to get supervised and mapped out. It was also insisted that the brothel owners established some form of organization and watched over housing rules concerning fire safety and hygiene. From this time on we can observe how the domestic rooms, like that of Parijse Leen, started to be replaced by white and red tiles. In continuation of these events after a long period of debates, in 2000 sex work was legislated and during this time the city of Amsterdam permitted around 180 brothel licenses. It was also the moment that sex work disappeared from the streets and moved almost completely indoors. Not all sex workers were happy with these transitions though. Since human trafficking was listed as a top priority for the municipality this entailed that police officers were allowed to inspect the papers of sex workers, which was in conflict with their desire to perform their jobs anonymous and the anonymity of the clients as well. This of course is a result of the stigmatization which still prevails over the profession (Arnoldussen & de Wildt 2002, 35)

It appears that sex workers use their sexuality for visual self presentation and that there is a dynamic between the aesthetics that clients prefer and the way sex worker use this preference for representation. While they do have agency in determining their appearance they do not determine the sexual visual preference of the client. In "This Sex Which is Not One" (1995) Luce Irigaray, describes how "female sexuality has always been conceptualized on the basis of masculine parameters (Irigaray 1995, 23)". In her work, she explores how subjects become sexed and problematizes the dynamic between masculine and feminine sexuality. Like Foucault, Irigaray criticizes psychoanalysis 'the science of desire', and Freud in particular. The sexual feminine desire of within psychoanalysis is not being explored because it only adopted that women was 'lacking a penis' and she explains how: "The 'feminine' is always described in terms of deficiency or atrophy, as the other side of the sex that alone holds a monopoly on value: the male sex. Hence the all too well-known 'penis envy.'" How can we accept the idea that woman's entire sexual development is governed by her lack of, and thus by her longing for, jealousy of, and demand for, the male organ?" If men are defined by their biological sex organ and if women are defined by a lack of that, this constitutes a society where masculine modes of living are dominant, in other words the patriarchy. Without exploring female sexual desires, women are not represented within society. Also, if female sexuality is only a reflection of masculine sexuality and without discovering an expression that is of her own this implies that there is only one sex: "*Psychoanalytic discourse on female sexuality is the discourse of truth. A discourse that tells the truth about the logic of truth: namely, that the feminine occurs only within models and laws devised by male subjects. Which implies that there are not really two sexes, but only one*" (Irigaray 1995, 86).

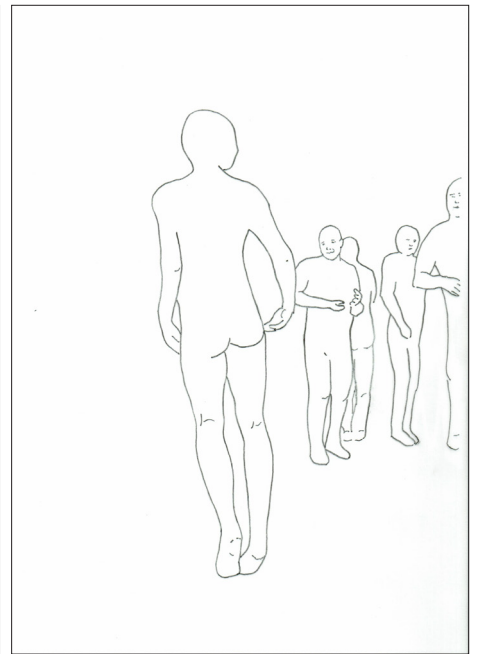
What is interesting about Irigaray's theory on sexuality is that it can be related to space as well: "*The one of form, of the individual, of the (male) sexual organ, of the proper name, of the proper meaning ... supplants, while separating and dividing, that contact of at least two (lips) which keeps woman in touch with herself, but without any possibility of distinguishing what is touching from what is touched.*" (Irigaray 1995, 26). Here the male sexual organ to her represents an external form and if sexual pleasure only follows this masculine external boundary of the 'phallus', this allows for phallogocentric logic that creates (spatial) segregation. The female sexual organ on the other hand here represents an internal space. It represents 'touch' and connects instead of separates. "*She is neither one nor two. Rigorously speaking, she cannot be identified either as one person, or as two. She resists all adequate definition. Further, she has no "proper" name. And her sexual organ, which is not one organ, is counted as none*" (Irigaray 1995, 26). Since female sexual pleasure is not reducible to one sexual organ, it is always 'double' a multiplicity, but as a result her pleasure is not taken into account.



Oudekerksplein, 2004
by Nadine Sidré

Visibilty and teasing

In this picture we see a sex worker in front of her window standing in front of a group of men. She is wearing a wig, high heels and a dress which is slightly to short to cover her complete butt. We can observe how this sex worker is playing with visibility through the amount of what she decides to reveal in order to create an certain desire within the men in front of her. It is the first picture that shows sex work after brothels were legislated. What is interesting is that she is standing outside and in front of the window, which is something that does not happen anymore.



After the legislation of sex workers (explain how you can become a sex worker and that they are entrepreneurs renting a window etc and then move on to female expressions:) In her book "Als Seks Werken Wordt" (translated as: if sex becomes a job) ex-sex worker Mariska Majoor (2015) explains what should be taken into account when becoming a sex worker yourself. If you choose to work behind the window, she explains, your posture and appearance are very important. Unlike other forms of prostitution where the client has more time to get acquainted he now only has the first impression, which means that you won't get a very busy day if you are sitting lazy on your chair or if you look grumpy. If you sit on your chair, you should sit relaxed and not too close to the window. Also pull your shoulders a little to the back and push your breast forward, if a client approaches that you would like to invite in, then seductively look at him (Majoor 2015, 12). Mariska explains that although high heels might look appealing it might not be very good for your back, which is why she chooses to work barefoot and only wears heels if the client requests this. Besides that, since clothing is less important than personal self-care and your attitude, she explains that you should make sure that what you are wearing feels good, whether that is a string, dress or jeans. In the Wallen sex workers are considered to be entrepreneurs who rent a window from the building owner. Mariska explains sex workers themselves are in charge and determine which actions they want to perform and which not. If you choose to work behind the window she explains that you need the following necessities: work clothing, make up, condoms, lube, kitchen paper, massage oil, at least one bath towel, soap, washcloths. In almost every brothel the bed is made with a clean fitted sheet, you place a clean bath towel over this yourself (Majoor 2015, 12).

Contemporary Sex Work Spaces Documentations and Analyses



Disruptive Tourism

© Amaury Miller / Het Parool

Contemporary Situation and Problems

In this picture (Miller, 2020), from a news article in the Parool taken during the pandemic, the window has almost completely disappeared behind a stream of mass tourism. We have more or less arrived at the present time and this photograph presents the situation that has become problematic for the neighborhood. Like many cities today, the Wallen faces problems due to destructive mass tourism, when in the evening, crowds of people are swarming through narrow alleys, along with the excessive use of alcohol and drugs.

It has become clear how throughout history the government used spatial interventions to regulate sex work and what we can observe is how the reasons behind these interventions keep changing. Whereas initially the concern was about public morality based on religious belief systems, this was later followed by concerns about medical issues as a result of a belief system that based itself on science. Nowadays it seems like economic advantages are driving the decision making processes and is regulating sex work in the city a different way. Since the seventeenth-century canal ring of Amsterdam is part of UNESCO World Heritage the city attracts many tourists each year. The Wallen belongs to this area as well, but since it offers different kind of 'entertainments' than other parts of the canals it attracts different kind of tourism, the wealthy and 'good type' and the noisy and disruptive 'bad type'. The problem with this is that two kind of images of Amsterdam are being internationally portrayed that have trouble merging together. Since one of them might be more economically interesting than the other, over the last couple of years the municipality has been trying to change the 'quality' of the neighborhood.

The economical advantages that may driven the municipality becomes even more plausible when drawing a line between the time the plan of the Erotic Center was put in motion and the ending of Project 1012. Project 1012 was a failed experiment that was executed by politician Lodewijk Asscher who attempted to economically upgrade the Wallen by closing down the windows under the guise of criminality and human traffic. Majoor social researcher at the University of Amsterdam, Laurens Buijs, explains how during this time we could observe a clear sign of neoliberal politics and describes how Asscher's policy tried to achieve its goals through market forces by generating an image of the city that was dangerous and completely out of control (Majoor 2020, 8). Considering the picture from the newspaper, it becomes clear how this image is still being portrayed. It becomes clear that municipality's main concern does not seem to be about mass tourism in general but on upgrading the kind of tourism that the Wallen attracts. What is interesting about this policy is how they are deciding between "a good versus bad tourism" and what this does reflects that the policy of the municipality is follows binary thinking processes and that the municipality considers that the city belongs to certain people and to others not.

Another important point Buijs mentions is that Project 1012 seemed to be about 'man saving women' decreasing the size of the area would help cure these problems more easily which is why the sex workers were painted off as human traffic victims (Majoer 2020, 9). The concern about saving the sex workers indeed becomes clear from statements made by the mayor of Amsterdam, Femke Halsema. According to Halsema, to her there seem to be a few things at stake at the Wallen (Majoer 2020, 42-44). First she explains that she is worried about the fact that most of the window sex workers come from a foreign country and that she does not know how they have ended up here or that they are entirely free. Besides that the Wallen has become an international attraction and she sees how the women behind the window are being insulted and photographed a lot. At last she explains how profession is also still intertwined with criminality. Halsema therefore states that we should look for opportunities that 'strengthens female rights' and combine this with reducing the nuisance in the city and cut off the relationship with criminality.

Despite the legislation of sex work in the Netherlands, social prejudices remain persistent, and it seems that the effort that has been taken to decriminalize sex work has not been enough to get rid of stigmatization. Following Halsema's arguments, in order to protect the sex workers from insults, or stigmatization by the public, they have to be moved away from the visibility of the public. However according to Red Light United, 93% of the prostitutes have stated having no interest in working in a different neighborhood (Majoer 2020, 6) and they point out arguments that contradict the ones given by the municipality such as: their feelings of safety as a result of existing social relationships in the neighborhood, the possibility to quickly go up in the mass after a working shift, or the opportunity to work on the first floor which feels less vulnerable than working on street level, and the distance the Amsterdam canals create between sex worker and client which helps reading them before letting them in (Majoer 2020, 7). What the approach of the municipality reflects once again is how sex workers nowadays are victimized and how spatial interventions are used in order to regulate sex work.







Wallen Area

The canals in the historical city center of Amsterdam are part of UNESCO world heritage. The oldest historical canals belong to the core/actual heritage, while the rest of the historical inner city functions as a bufferzone to this core. The bufferzone includes the Wallen area.



Sex Work Spaces Wallen Area

Clustering of Sex Work Spaces

Although quite some sex work spaces have already disappeared from the area, nowadays sex work spaces remain located around the old church, the oldest building of Amsterdam. What we can notice how the spaces are most likely clustered. Which it is to provide more collectivity among certain groups within sex work.



Documentation of Sex Work Windows

In Amsterdam there is a clear difference between the facades in the Wallen area and the facades on the canals elsewhere in the historical city center. These 'sex work facades' are characterized by the well known red lights, which is why the area is also known as the Red Light District. Besides that the red curtains, which are closed when it is not allowed to take pictures of the facades when sex workers are working here. Which is why these photos were taken before the morning shift started.





LED lights

Most noticeable might be the LED light strip that are attached above and often also around the windows.

Camera's

Camera's are attached to the facade to communicate to the window manager who is nearby the working spaces.



Ambient Light

Besides LED lights other lights for ambience are installed as well.

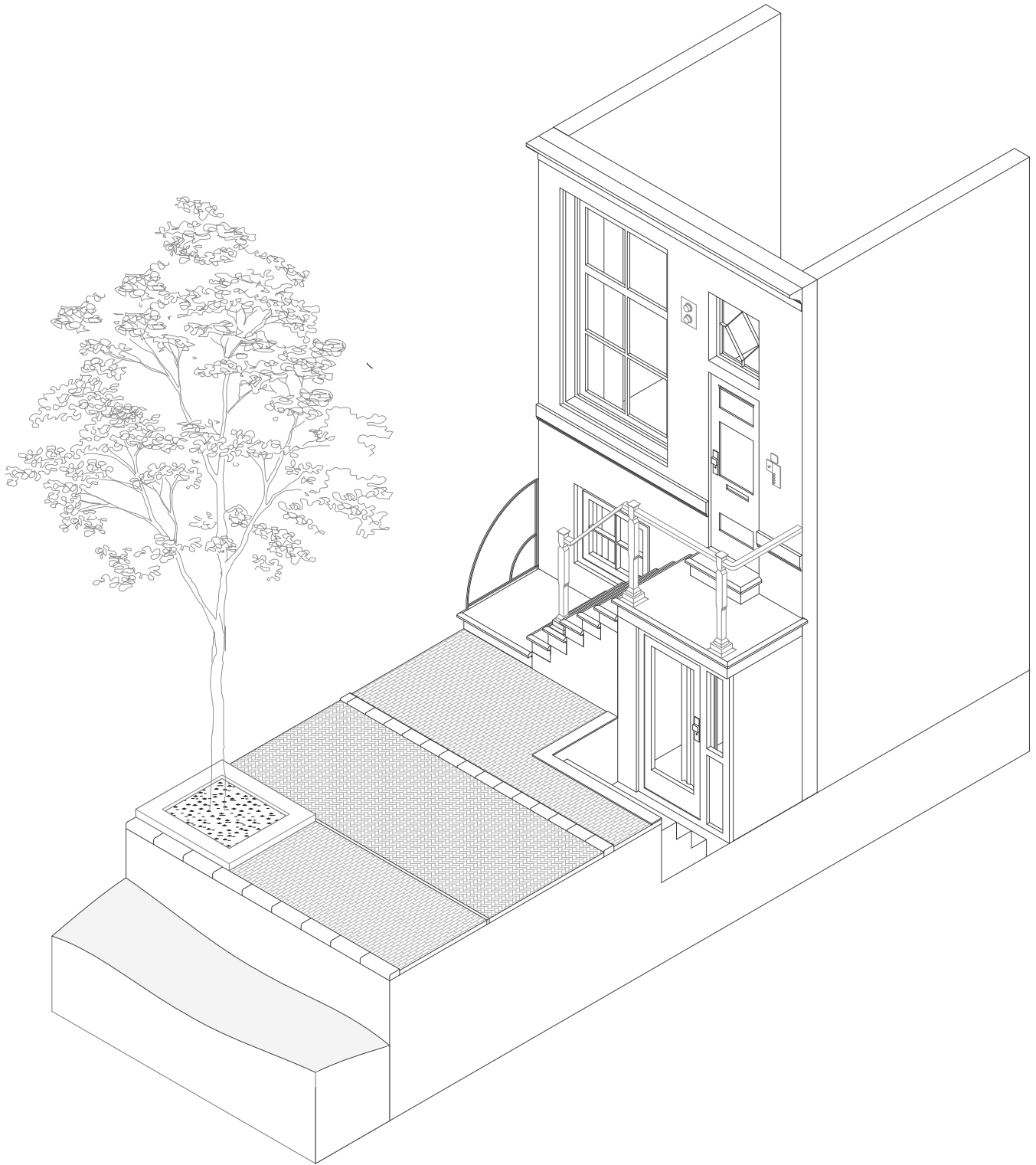


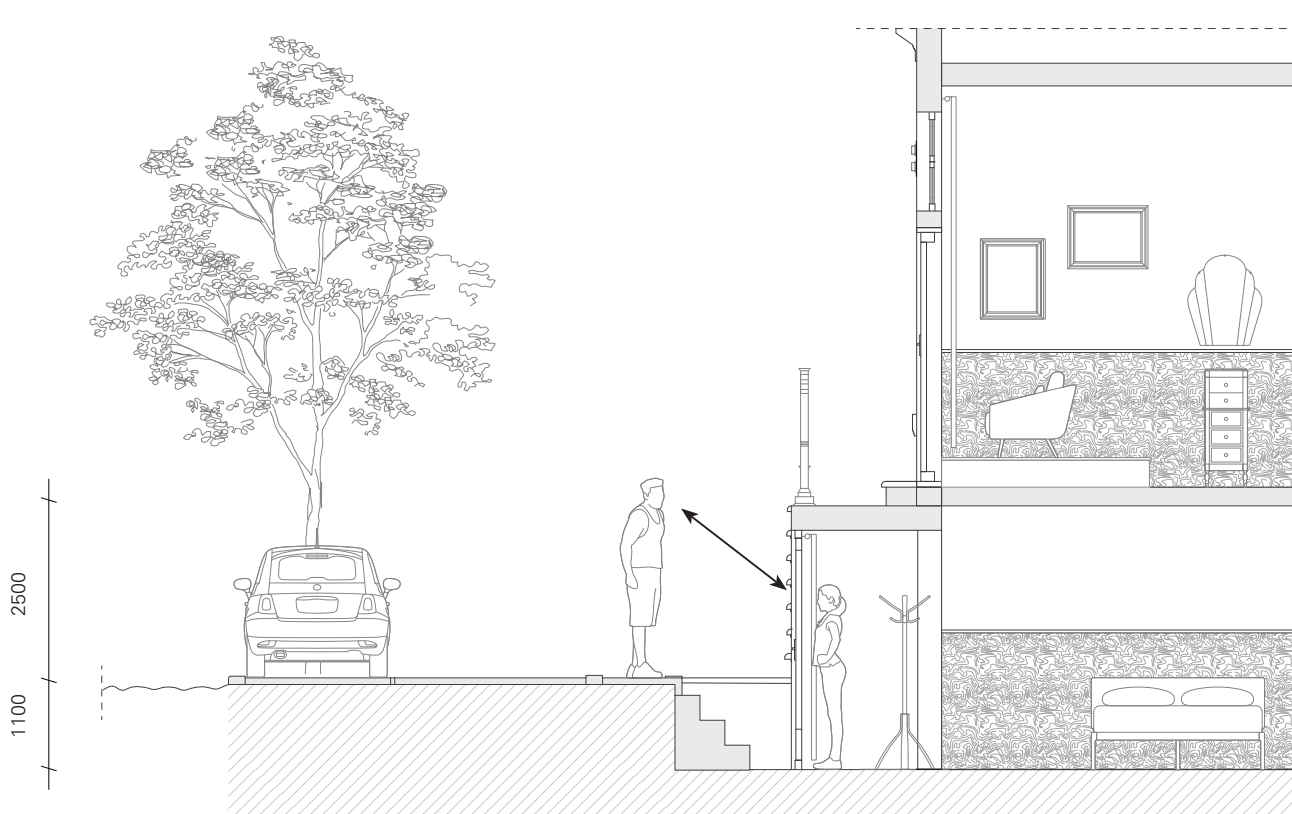
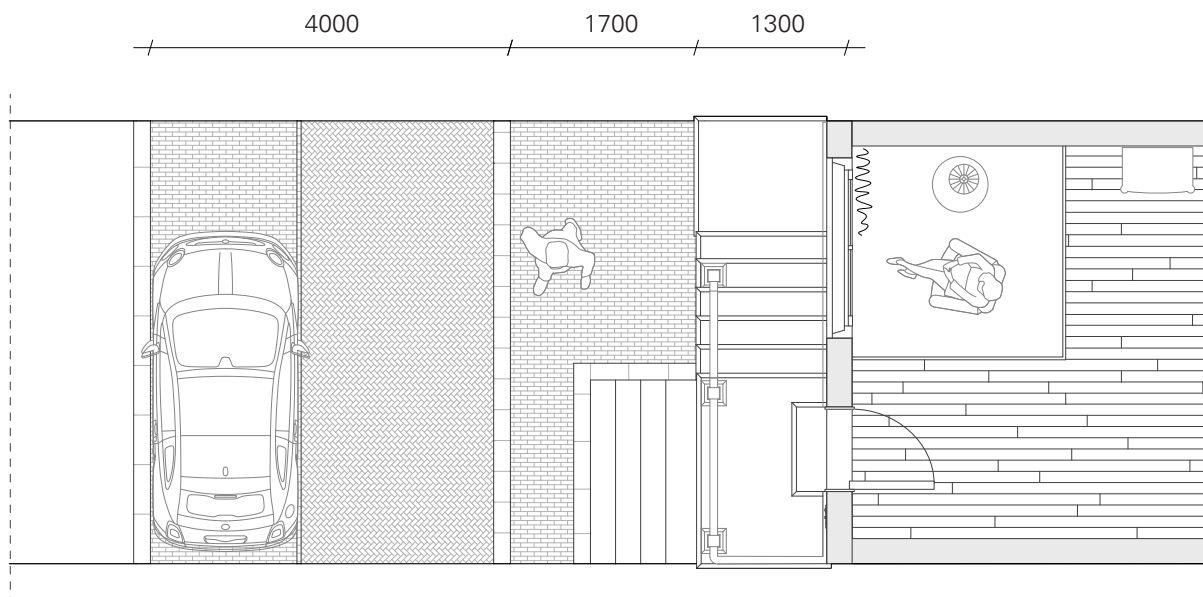
Shutter

To keep the sun out of the sex workers faces or for the client to take rain shelter



Oudezijds Voorburgwal 83



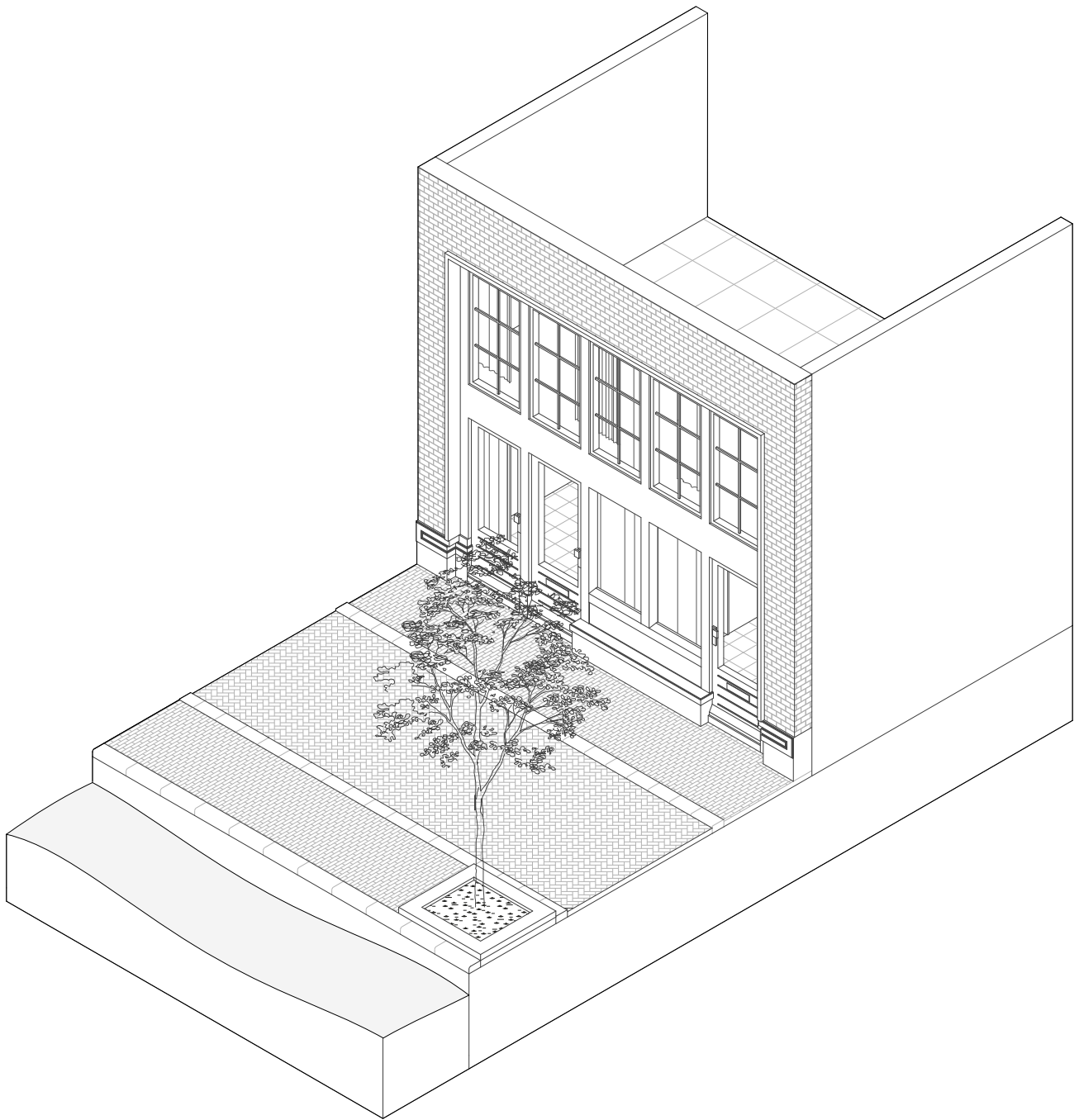


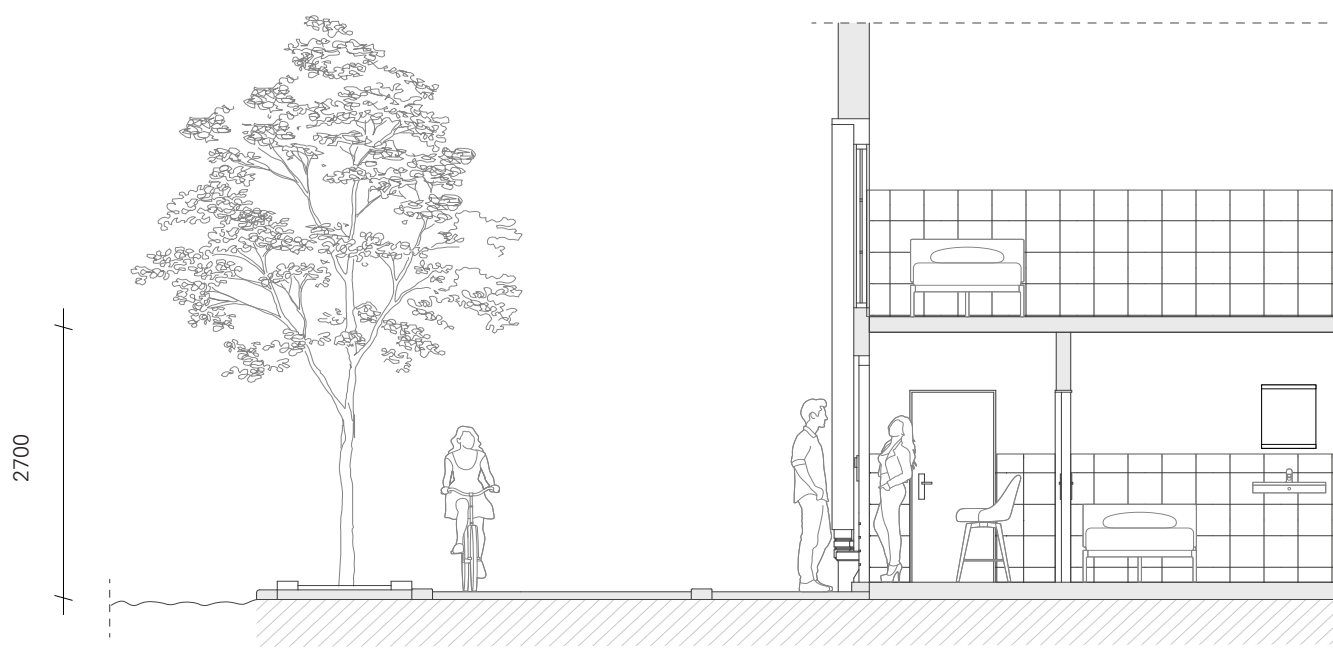
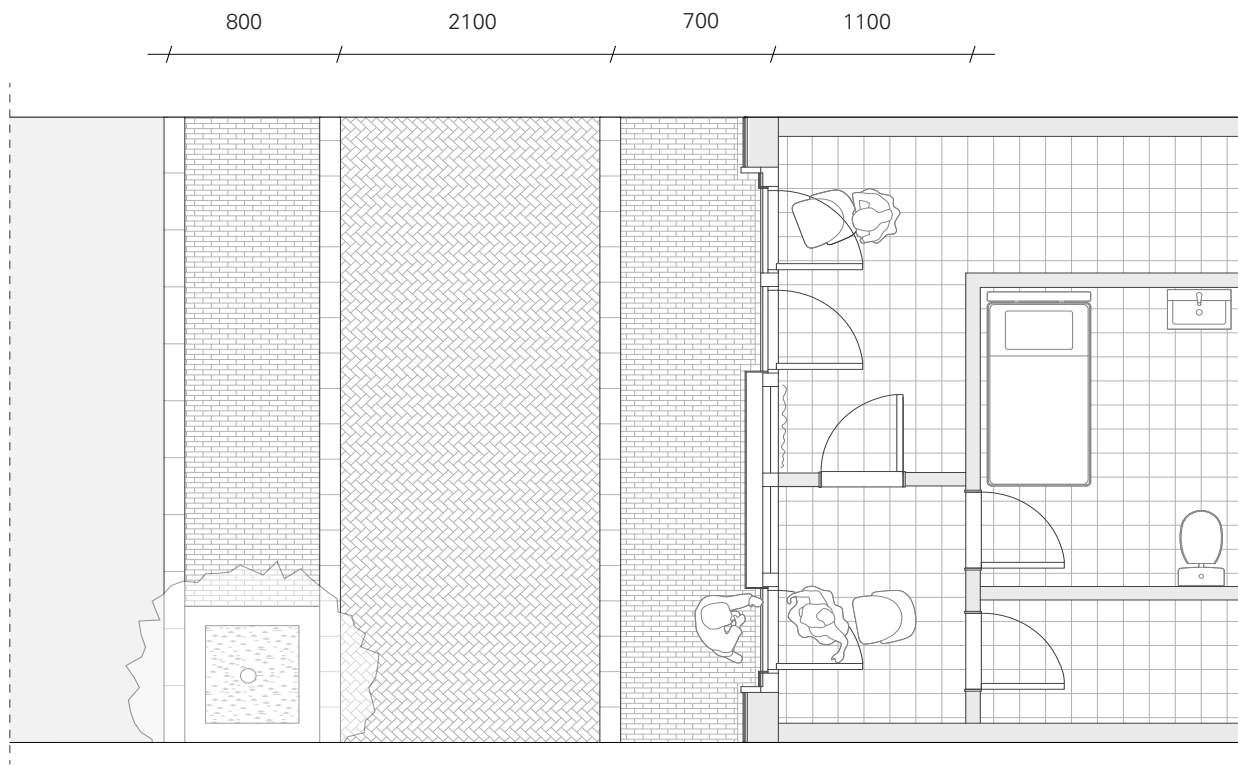
Oudezijds Voorburgwal

In this facade we can see how the stairs provide distance in order to read the client before letting them in. This reading time is essential in order to calculate the mental status of the client, like whether he sober or not. Besides this I could also see how it might play a role in to the sexual preferences of the client.



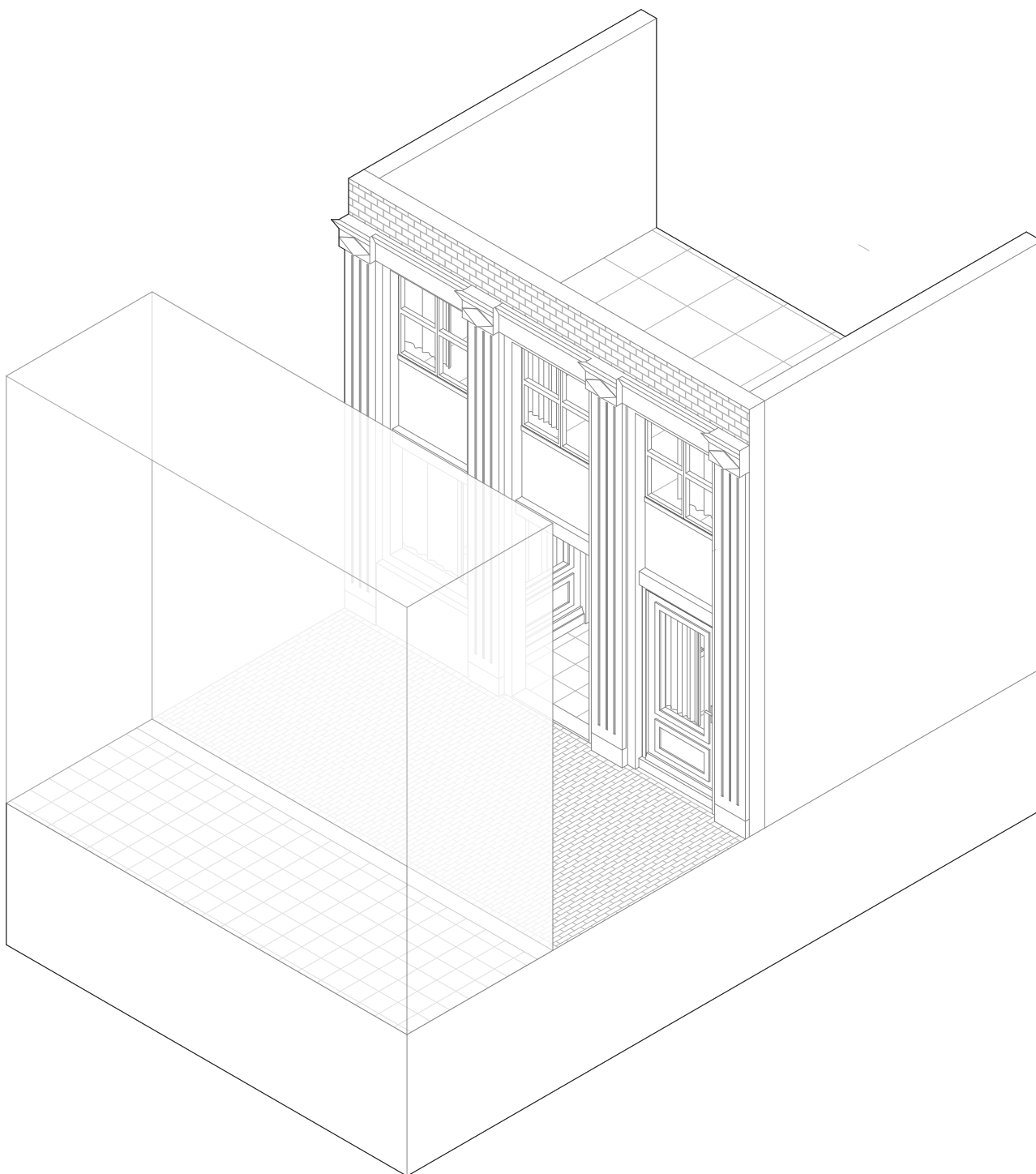
Oudezijds Achterburgwal 74

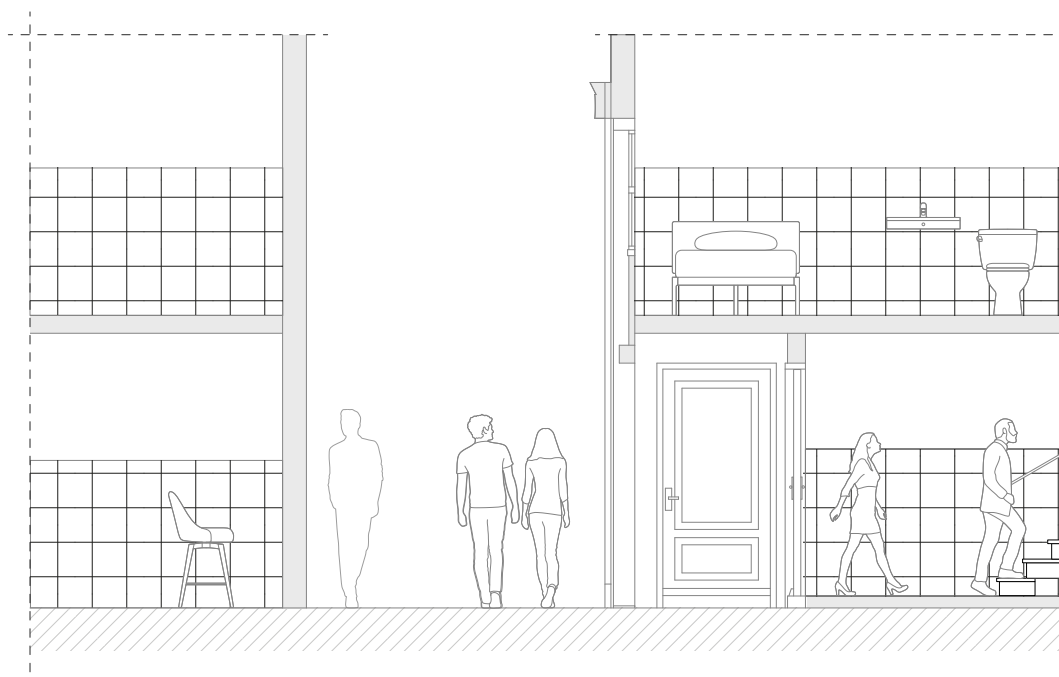
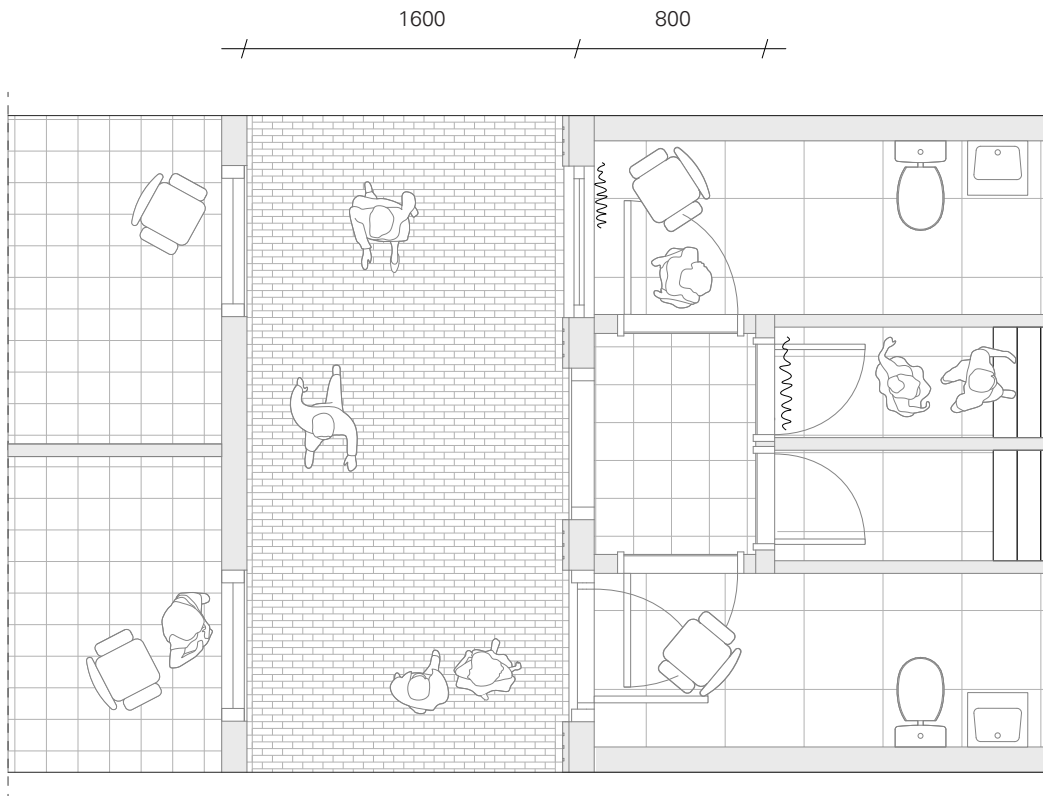






Stoofsteeg







© Jasper Juinen / The New York Times

Stoofsteeg

The stoofsteeg, like many other alleys in the area is a very narrow alley, which is overcrowded by tourists many of the evenings.





Kamerverhuurbedrijf Munnink

68

© Eva Roefs / Studio Trompettersteeg

Sex work spaces kamerverhuur bedrijf Munnink

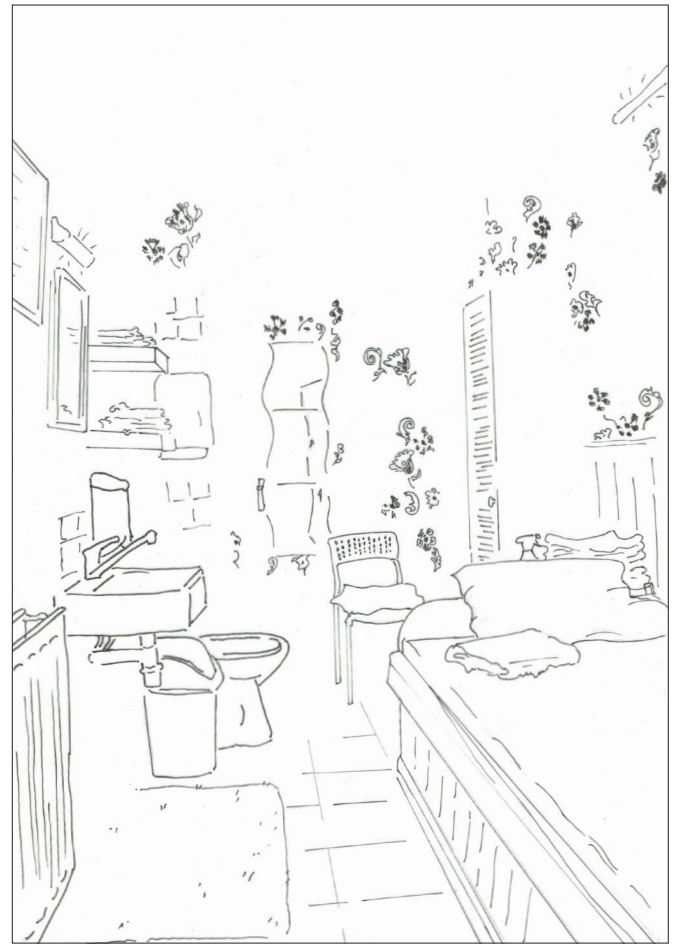
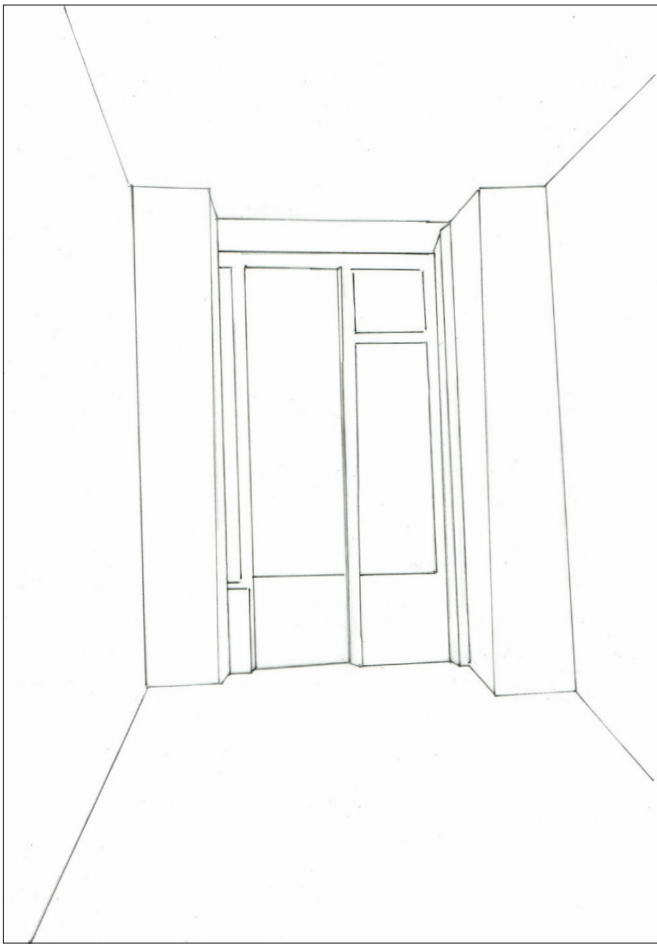


© Eva Roefs / Studio Trompettersteeg



Interior Window Space

On this picture we stand behind the window of a sex work space. see a pink toned room. The paneling and curtain is pink and the carpet on the floor is light red. In order to make the sex worker behind the window visible the bar stool is elevated from the floor on a platform with a radiator placed on it. Even-though this radiator is not visible from outside it is also colored in pink. On the right we see an electric fireplace, in front of what seems to be a frame from what was once a chimney.



Interior Bedroom

The first that can be noted from this room is that it has no window. It is pretty dark. The overall tone in the room is red, the bed is covered in this colour and the flowered wallpaper on the wall as well. The ceiling is painted black, which matches the black stone floor. The only thing what makes the room light comes from the wooden beige paneling. It is a small bedroom. Toilet, bed and sink are in the same room and placed very closed to each other. The single bed is purely functional. Meaning that there is no space for laying next to each other, or that form of intimacy.



© Eva Roefs / Studio Trompettersteeg



Documentation of Entertainment Windows



The Wallen
Observations and Documentations



Documentation of Windows

In the Wallen it is a clear mix of businesses, neighbors, cafe's for locals,





Documentary 'Around the Window' - Night Time

In december 2022 a fellow student of mine, Guus de Hoop and I wanted to document the different kind of rhythms within the neighborhood. The recordings of this was edited by Guus and resulted into a small documentary named 'Rondom het Raam'. Showing how the Wallen changes from morning towards the night and the diversity of people that make up the neighborhood.







Window Manager

On the photo's above we stand inside a sex entertaining business. The woman who hands out a flyer to one of the customers is running the 5D porn cinema while also making sure that the women that are working behind the windows are safe. She keeps an eye on the camera's, checks in when a alarm goes off, to stop people of taking photo's of the sex workers and also to welcome the sex workers at the beginning and ending of their shift. In the Wallen area you see many window managers. However this women, who is also my neighbor, does not only keep an eye on the sex workers but on everything that happens in the street.



Documentary 'Rondom het Raam' - MorningTime

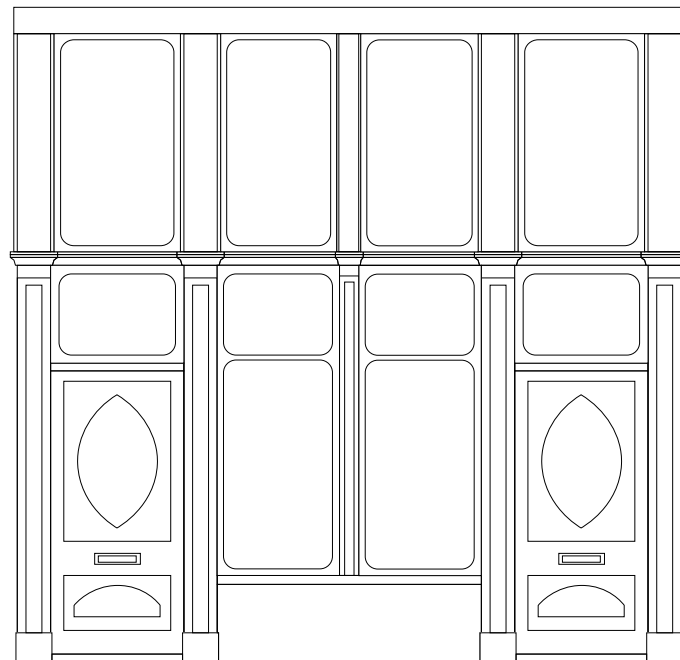
In the early morning, garbage that is left over from the night before is being cleaned by big noisy sweep machines that drive through the narrow alleys and over the small canal bridges. At the same time erotic shops begin to prepare for the day and the sex work spaces are being cleaned. It is important that there is no dirt on the windows when the sex workers start their morning shift.

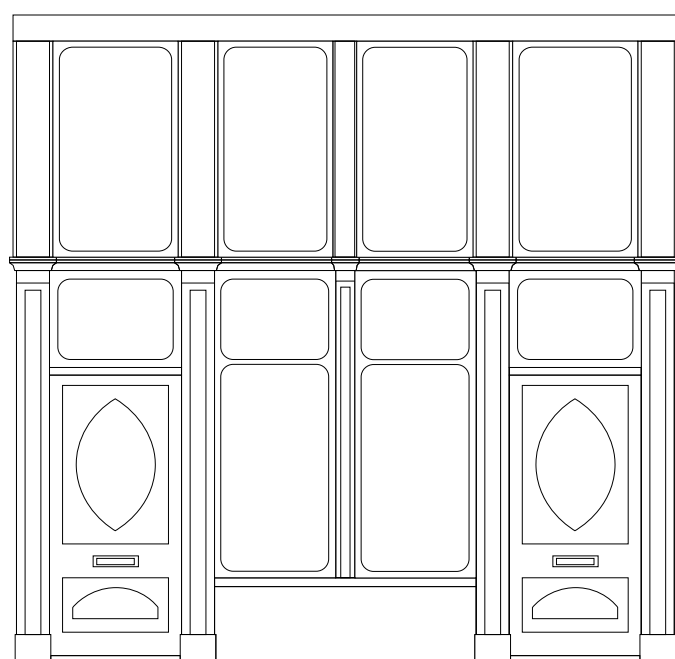


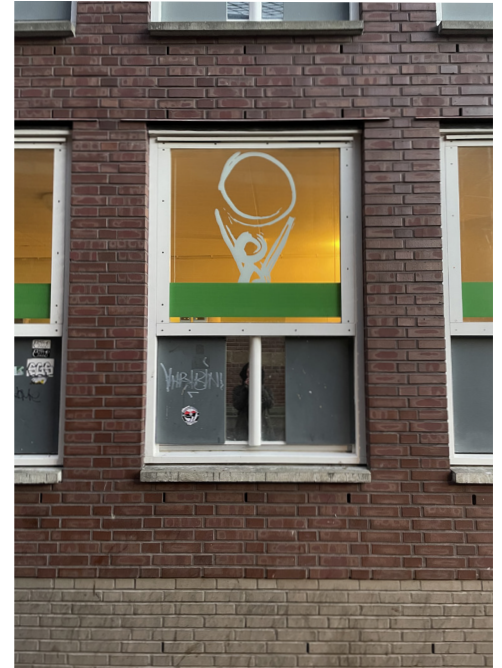


Documentary 'Rondom het Raam' - MorningTime

Long before sex workers start their morning shifts, many businesses in the Wallen Area that are not sex related are already opened up. Like the local flowerist Jemi, who starts displaying the flowers every morning before 8 am.







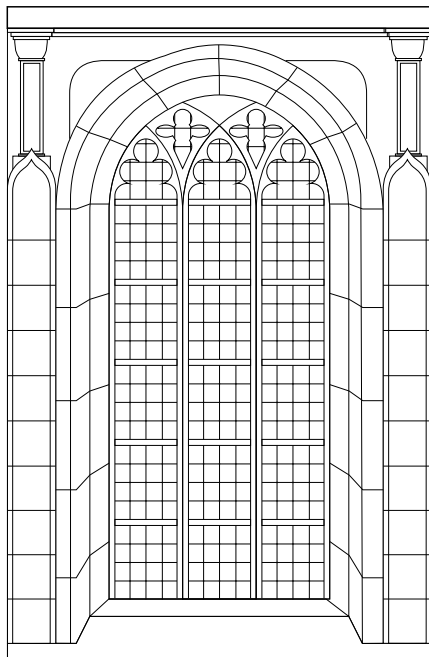
Documentary 'Rondom het Raam' - MorningTime

At the same moment the flowerist opens, parents by bicycle drop off their kids at the childcare center in the street right behind his store. This childcare center lays in the middle of many sex work spaces and one of the busiest parts of the neighborhood. At the back of the building there is a private playground for the children.



Shots from my Window

From my window I can observe the interaction between the sex workers who work under my house and the clients that come to visit them. Something that I see happen commonly, is that a client stands in front or against of the red door from the old church in the photo above before entering the sex work spaces. The client stays here for a couple of minutes before entering one of the sex work spaces. Which is a phenomenon which I believe to be a certain kind of foreplay.





Entrance

The entrance of my house is on this courtyard, which can be entered through the alley. It is protected by a fence next to a sex work window. Before project 1012 this courtyard and the ground floor of my apartment belonged to sex work. Back then, the courtyard was a public space and in order to make sex work visible from the other side of the alley, a fake door was created. Since there is no space behind the door, today it is also covered with advertisements of the offices that share the courtyard.

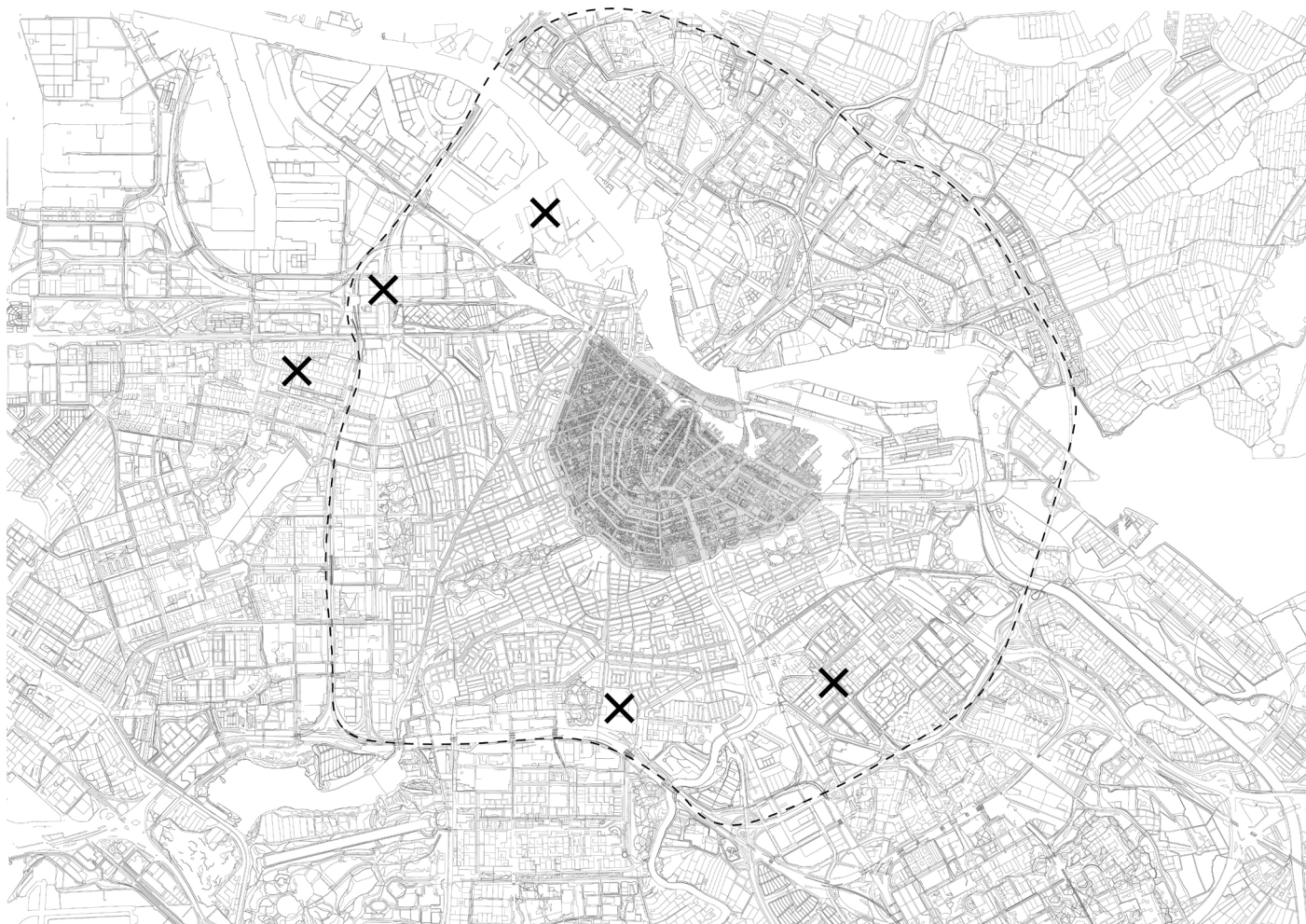
Contemporary feminist debate

In order to situate the contemporary debate, looking to the picture with the stream of mass tourism again, what stands out to me is how the tourist do not seem to show much interest in the sex workers behind the windows. In the hand of the female tourist in the front another type of framework can be noticed, the smart-phone. Just like the window in the facade, what makes this technology special is that it enables an individual to move between public and private domains. The intimate parts of the society that used to be private are now openly accessible to almost no extend. This way sex has become visible for everybody that has access to internet or a smart phone. We could therefore assume that the visible sex industry has already reached the tourist minds before their visit to the Wallen area and since they are probably already pretty familiar with sex, we could assume that it changes the experience of the neighborhood and their encounter with the sex workers. Technology this way, seems to have redefined where and when the public and the private take place. The blurring between public and private spheres was already important within historical feminist debates, because like I explained the social and cultural position of women was shaped by this boundary.

Today technology takes up an important position in feminism, because it enables women to escape spatial segregation in a new way. In her book *Posthuman Feminism*, Rosi Braidotti (2021) discusses this technological turn in feminism. She emphasizes on the emancipatory capacities of technology, because it is capable of changing the embodiment of the subject, since it can literally reject the flesh of the body. A women behind her screen, or any human being for that matter, can become anything and escape (spatial) gender dichotomies. In order to remove these boundaries in feminism we can observe a turns towards queerness because in a queer perspective, as Braidotti states, 'the key political agenda is to abolish gender' (Braidotti 2021, 166). While Braidotti unravels a wide range of feminist positions that are all contributing a new understanding of sexuality that goes beyond gender and the body. Since sex/gender are binary social reductions that separate subjects from each other, sexuality goes beyond those fixed identities because it is driven by flows of desire. Sexuality is not gender Braidotti explains, because sexuality already comes before gender. "Posthuman feminist tell different stories, also about what kind of subjects we can become" (Braidotti 2021, 21). In her work the 'becoming' of subjects, is a central topic, and feminism today leaves us with the question how can full subjectivity be acquired, without being a reflection of 'the other' sex? Which is why Braidotti explains how sexuality relocates itself from the dialectical opposition of the two sexes as a process of differing and why feminist today are moving beyond Foucaults and Irigaray's gender and sexuality dichotomy.



© Jasper Juinen / The New York Times



Future of Sex work and the Wallen

To 'relieve' the pressure on the historical city center the municipality of Amsterdam suggests to close down the sex windows in the Wallen area and to move the sex workers towards the outskirts of the city, into an Erotic Center. According to the municipality's website the building will provide around a hundred new safe sex work spaces while it will also reduce criminality and nuisance within the Wallen. Several location proposes have been made.

Design of the Erotic Center

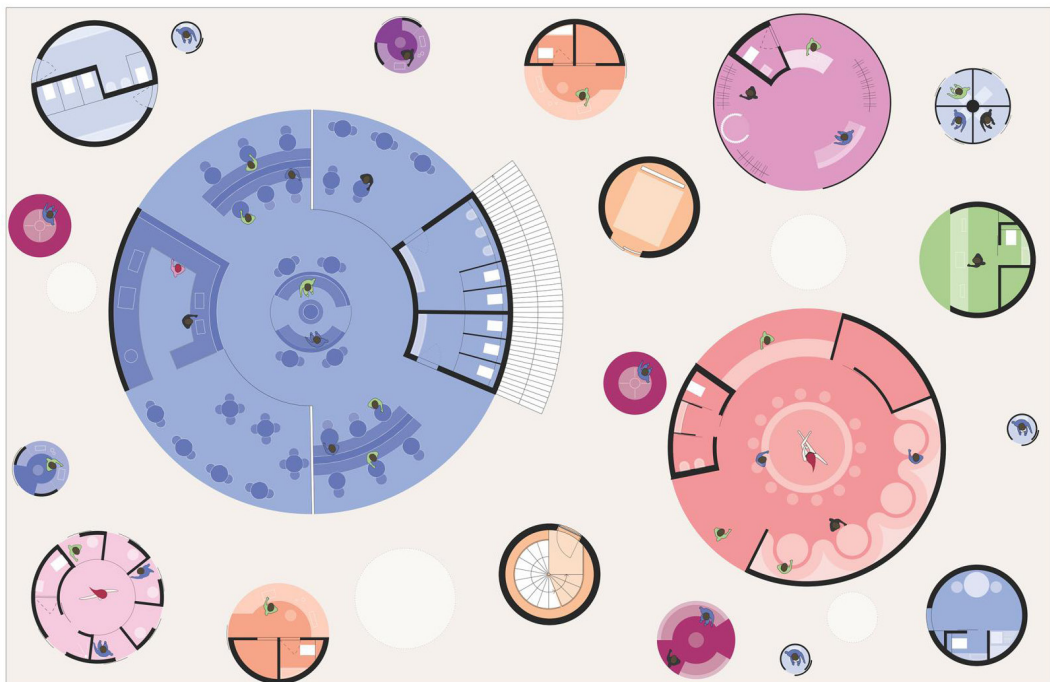
On the website of the designers, Moke Architecten, the architects state that the design consists out of two towers which are embraced by slopes from top to bottom, enabling the visitor to stroll around the chambers of the women who are presenting themselves. The design will revolve around more than just prostitution alone and to offer this broader experience, the visitors will be able to wander around just like in a regular neighborhood while encountering different types of enjoyment like cinemas, restaurants and shops. In order to reflect deeper on the design of the Erotic Center the contemporary feminist debate should be situated.

With the perspective of the contemporary feminist debate in mind, we could say that the Erotic Centre is anti-feminist for a number of reasons. First the verticality of the building will most likely create a great division between public and private and spatial separation instead of connection, since the program happens behind the facade and blocks any possible connections between sex workers and the surrounding neighborhood. A high rise tower will also contribute inequality, since top floor of this building will be the most private and most difficult to access and who gets to decide the position of the sex workers? Speaking about connections, the sex workers windows are facing the outside of the building and away from each other that does not provide any collectivity among the sex workers. The homogenous program that the building offers is problematic because, while the public streets in the Wallen are used by a variety of people, the Erotic Center will mostly only attract a homogeneous public. Besides this sex workers as well as the clients are different human beings, with different needs and wishes and I argue that factors like this might be difficult to incorporate into a generic building like this.

It is unlikely that a generic building like the Erotic Center is capable of reproducing the same existing qualities as the Wallen area especially the qualities which are essential to the sex workers. Without improving the working conditions of sex workers, I argue that the Erotic Center will improve the position of sex workers in society. The problem seems that the municipality considers this innovation as improvement, without a critical judgement, or understanding of the consequences that comes along with this spatial intervention.



© Thijs Wolzak Amsterdam / Erotic Center





note on window Prostitution Information Center

Demonstrations

What the approach of the municipality reflects once again is how victimizing sex workers is doing them more harm than good. Which is the sex workers their response states "don't save us, save our windows". The plans of the Erotic Center is rejected by sex workers and residents of the Wallen area (like myself) and there have been several demonstrations against it. However these protest focus primarily against the forced replacement of sex workers out of the Wallen area, rather than the Erotic Center on its own. Since the exact plans of the building are still in process the



me participating at the demonstration on October 19th

Conclusions and Discussion Research



Material and Social Fabric of the Wallen

In this research I took the window as element and structured a historical narrative around this about the relationship between sex work and the Wallen area. Whereas sex workers at the beginning of the century were forced to work without windows on the streets or in attic spaces with tiny windows, they slowly became more visible towards the 30's when they were allowed to hide themselves behind the windows of disguised working spaces. Not long after this, around the 60's as a result of globalization and international attention the sex workers became more and more visible and even stood outside in front their windows. This change towards visibility also meant more insights and understanding into their needs of requirements. Towards the turn of the century more regulations resulted into creating 'better' and 'safer' working spaces, improvements that were taken in the context of inclusivity a topic that became relevant within the contemporary society. This ultimately changed the appearance of the window. The future developments will bring these regulations and control to the next level with the construction of the Erotic Center and hereby the 'over' regulation of the windows.

As result of taking the window as starting point, one of the returning topics was visibility and I became to understand what relevance it has towards the profession and how this theme was easily relatable to other very important topics such as safety, sexuality, collectivity and inclusivity.

For example, if we take the relation between visibility and safety. How much visibility is desirable in order to be or feel safe? What I explained in this research was how street prostitution came with many risks. It seems that even though there is a lot of visibility within public spaces, they provided insufficient protection and safety for the sex workers. On the other side, the same could be applied to spaces in private interiors that were too far away from the public, like the sex work space in the attic which had not enough visibility. To me this makes clear why sex workers benefit the most from a working space that exist on exactly the right boundary between public and private, like they do now behind the windows in the Wallen area. It also explains why the design of the Erotic Center is alarming because it intervenes in the boundary between public and private, by moving windows far away from the public street.

What particularly interested me at the beginning of this research was how the dynamic between sex workers and their windows could be connected to the relationship between sexuality and our western society. Since sex work gets regulated as an outcome of societal opinions about visibility, what is allowed to be visible for the public and what has to remain private, this debate is automatically being reflected on the surfaces of the Wallen area. Where it seemed that the most noticeable changes happend around the 60's, a moment when sex work started to be expressed more open behind the windows and a whole economy started to built around sex. Throughout history sex became more and more visible, it started to be openly displayed at the Wallen and later on it became accessible to everyone with internet and smart phones. Technology is capable of changing the visibility of many layers in our society, and like Braidotti explained this affected sexuality as well. Which aligns with Foucault's explanation why we should not consider sex as something repressed, but as something that it is just regulated and controlled differently.

Another theme in relation towards visibility was the topic of collectivity. This topic became clear to me over the years through my observations as a resident but also by moving around the neighborhood with a camera. Which gave me even more insight into the rare social structures that are embedded within the neighborhood like the unique intertwining between sex workers, entrepreneurs, neighbors and tourist. It seems to me that all of these different kind of identities and the collective use of the space this is letting the neighborhood function in its very own specific and unique way. These embedded social structures together with specific material aspects, such as the position, location or size of the window, is securing the well being of the neighborhood. Each component within the complex urban fabric must be understood as part of whole, material or immaterial and the disappearance of one component may result into a disbalance.

The last and very important theme within this research became the topic of inclusivity. Instead of visibility, this theme might be more relatable to the topic of invisibility, to those who are not seen, heard or not mentioned. In this case the sex workers who were not included throughout history nor today. Since the municipality continues their top bottom approach and is not willing to listen to the sex workers needs and demands of remaining active within the Wallen area. Sex workers who are also care givers to those who are invisible. Like the disabled people that have trouble being included in our society. Not only on a social level but also material as well.



Discussion

Visibility revolves around connecting. Whether this is connecting the material or social, like people to people, people to spaces and spaces to spaces. Personally I believe that sex is about making a connection and that sex workers help people doing this and that we as society should take care of these people and offer them the space to do this safely. The Wallen area is a reflection of the way in which our society is thinking about sex and sex workers. Dislocating the sex workers out of their historical habitat is an expression of our societal norms and value as well.

Considering the window, the biggest change throughout history compared to nowadays is that the windows of the sex workers have become doors. In comparison to a window, a door does a better job when it comes to framing bodies. These doors follow from a capitalist necessity, what is the most efficient and productive shape and what could be eliminated what is 'unnecessary'? What is left over is the body of the sex worker and what is eliminated is the space around it. Alongside that, the ability of the sex worker to move her body within in this small frame has also been reduced. This is something that I find problematic, the inability to move her body behind her window, this reinforces the objectification of women bodies. The feminine body is being kept place again. It relates to the notion of Young earlier on in this research, about how a skirt contributes to this. Since the legs of women in a skirt are being hold in a closed position, the tight skirt constrains a women to move freely, thus constraining her into an object rather than a free moving subject. If we would relate the notion of that skirt to the window/doors of the sex worker, it becomes clear how this element could have the same effect. Standing behind a window, the sex worker is only able to move within certain measurements of frame.

It seems that the ways in order to express sex work are being challenged. What it reveals is how apparently society today is under the believe that sex, or sex work revolves around just bodies. Beside capitalism I also believe this to be a reflection of a society that is very image focused. Sex and sex work is about the body, it is about the climax instead of the experience or the feelings. Which is something Foucault mentioned earlier on by stating: "The rallying point for the counterattack against the deployment of sexuality ought not be sex desire, but bodies and pleasures" (Foucault 1976, 157).

For this reason I advocate on giving sex workers more space. Behind their windows in the Wallen area by offering more facade space but also creating more working spaces in the city. The Erotic Center might be a good experiment, as long as its construction does not mean that the sex work spaces in the Wallen area have to be removed.



Reflection

On this image, you can see a Vedute that I built for the first assignment of the Explore Lab graduation studio. For this assignment, students were asked to build an abstract material representation of their project theme and fascination. The only requirement was the size: 44x32x7cm. The first depiction of my fascination before I started my graduation project was a red window with a mirrored curtain, a symbolization of sex work in the Red-Light District of Amsterdam. As a resident of this neighborhood I walk pass those windows daily and it fascinated me how I mostly felt like the one being observed, making me wonder who the actual observants of this neighborhood are. My interest towards the window sex workers resulted from of a frustration towards new plans of the municipality for the construction of an Erotic Center on the outskirts of the city and the relocation of window sex work. The intention of my graduation project was to expand this research, by examining how sex work is historically related to the 'De Wallen' neighborhood and how it is part of it's core today. Aiming to find a way for the Red-Light windows to remain part of this area in the future. While the existing plans from the municipality to relocate the sex workers out of their habitat will lead to more gentrification within this neighborhood. What my graduation project shows is an alternative on how to deal with social and spatial challenges with care and respect towards the heritage of Amsterdam, whether this is material or immaterial.

The ambition for my graduation project as stated in my Research Plan written at the beginning of the process was to “create safe and sensual working spaces that help to improve the current working conditions for sex workers”. Reflecting back on this plan, it becomes clear that my interest in this topic stems from a personal position within the feminist sex work debate and my opposition towards the relocation of the sex workers from my neighborhood. However, it was during the design process that the actual intention of my graduation project became apparent to me. If I had to reformulate my personal statement again now, it is that I believe sex workers are essential care givers who contribute to the diversity and safety of the city. Aiming with my graduation project to save the windows in the district for this reason instead of solely improving the working conditions. Therefore saving the windows became the starting point for the design. Although I still advocate on elevating the societal position of sex workers by improving their working spaces and it remains true that the appearance of the neighborhood will benefit from this as well.

What became more clear to me now is how this understanding must be reevaluated as a loop that has no beginning or end. Meaning that solution to the problems between the city and the sex worker also lays between both. Since the goal of the project changed from improving the working conditions of sex workers towards saving the windows, this meant that I had to divide my attention between the city's and sex workers demands. In the end what my design reflects, is where their problems could meet to potentially strengthen each other. The design phase was the moment when my ambition met reality, which reshaped my intentions and provided the project with more depth.

Moving back to my fascination for the play of actors and spectators in this neighborhood, I became particularly interested in the role of materiality, in this case the window. Throughout my graduation project I held onto this architectural element using it as starting point by layering questions around it. These questions concerned topics as sex work, space and sexuality and the outcome was translated into a socio-spatial research “Around the Window”. To incorporate the demands of the sex workers and the city in this research I used various methods (figure 1) to make architectural and urban reflections. For instance photographs that display the windows of sex workers and the spaces around them were researched and through analyzing them in terms of form, use and value and combining this method with theoretical and empirical research. Together this helped me to construct a narrative about the ways how sex workers became historically embedded in ‘De Wallen’ area and to reflect on the ways how sex work has been shaped today. The combination of using multiple methods has given insight in the both the material and immaterial heritage of the city. While it also provided me essential theme's for approach of the design such as visibility, collectivity, safety, sensuality and inclusivity. These topics helped me to find a balance within this design which was often difficult to navigate through, since it demanded very different requirements from multiple parties. For example, the relationship between the client and the sex workers is made out of two completely different interests. While for the sex worker the theme of safety is important for the client this is sexuality, the feelings of arousal. In my project, I could play with the topic of visibility and was able to figure out the right balance between them.

Within my graduation project I tried to avoid the more obvious moral questions that sex work is often concerned with. However I believe that it's necessary to underline the fact that I'm designing for sex workers, with emphasis on the word ‘work’, which is done ‘voluntarily’ and not under the criminal act of forced labor. Situating the contemporary feminist debate in the research and taking a position in here myself helped me to find a proper design approach and it showed how, I as a designer could navigate through this spatial assignment which is morally charged. This personal ethical approach to the situation is one that, like I mentioned before, counters the approach of the municipality of Amsterdam. While the plan of the Erotic Center enhances gentrification processes and the exclusion of individuals, my project sought diversity and inclusion with respect towards the historical value of many embedded structures in the city. Which is a result of incorporating themes like collectivity and inclusivity.

It's important to note that sex work spaces have been functioning in the historical city of Amsterdam for over more than seven hundred years. Since this study specifically focuses on sex workers located within the UNESCO city center of Amsterdam, the applicability of this project to a different context is both unlikely and undesirable. However when designing spaces for sex work, the overarching theme's that followed from the research I believe to be fruitful to take into consideration. Besides this, my project is a response to the global issue of neighborhood gentrification within cities. Throughout the graduation proces, I began to question whether improving the situation might not enhance this process even more. Reflecting on the outcome of my project I wonder when aiming to improve material aspects which are a result of gentrification, how could we ensure that this effort does not contribute to reinforcement of this proces? Another realization was that my project shows is a careful approach of redesigning sex workers spaces. It demonstrates that in order to improve the situation for both the sex workers and the city the construction of a new building is not necessary. What brings me to the following and that is that I think what we should ask ourselves is not only what new innovations and technique is bringing us but also what it takes away?

Project Site





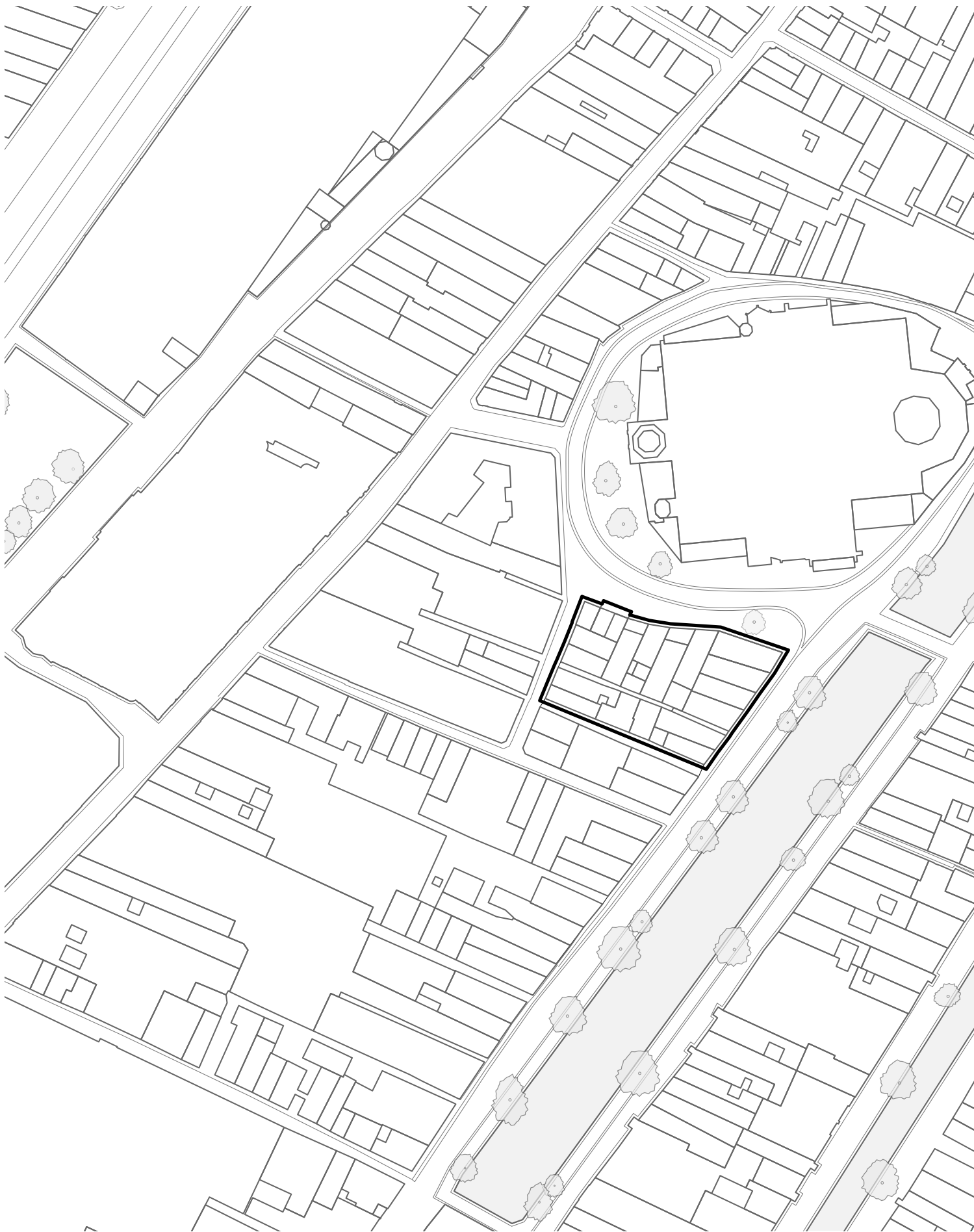
Amsterdam City Center

1: Central Station, 2: Dam Square, 3: Oudekerksplein, 4: Nieuwmarkt.



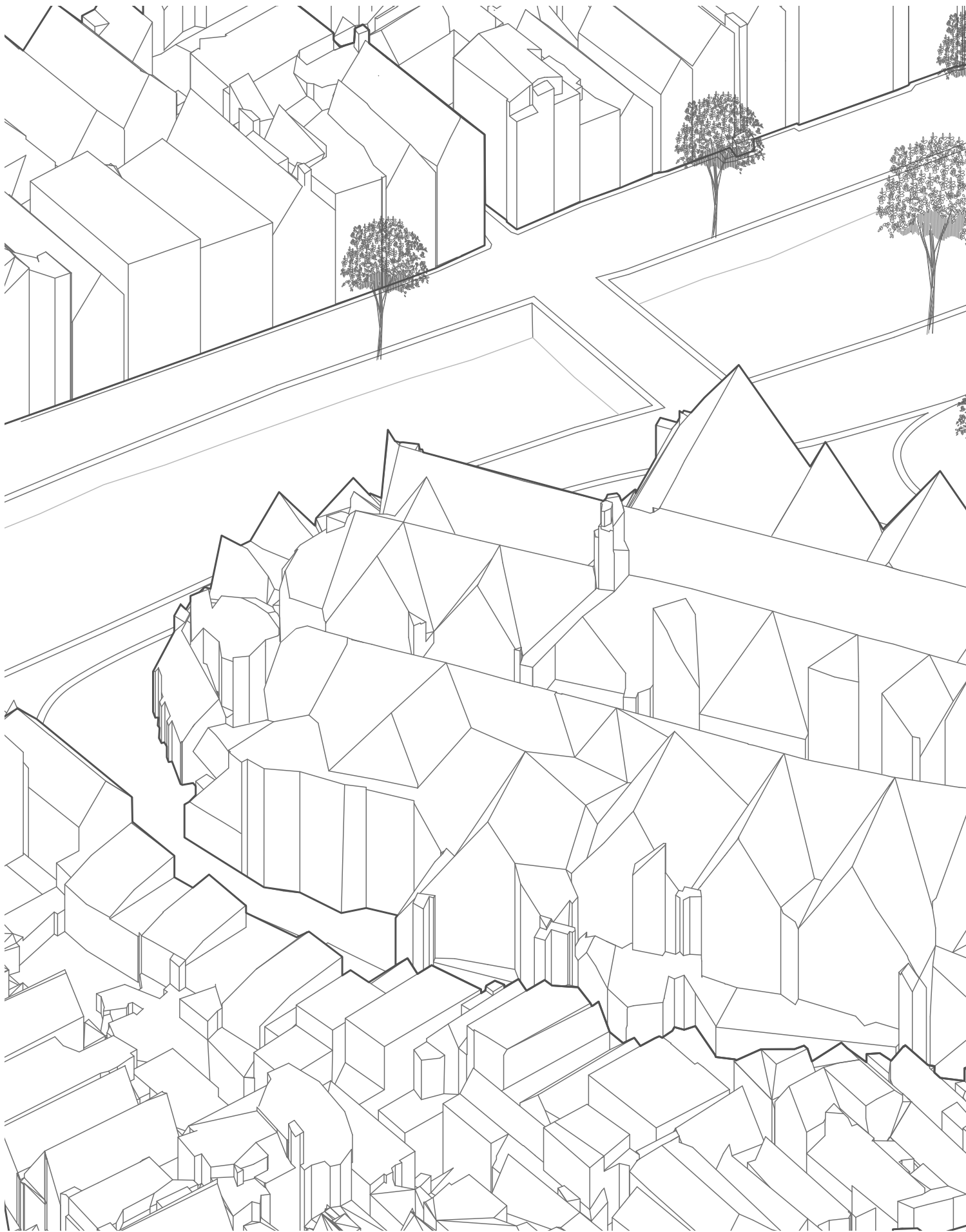


Oudekerksplein





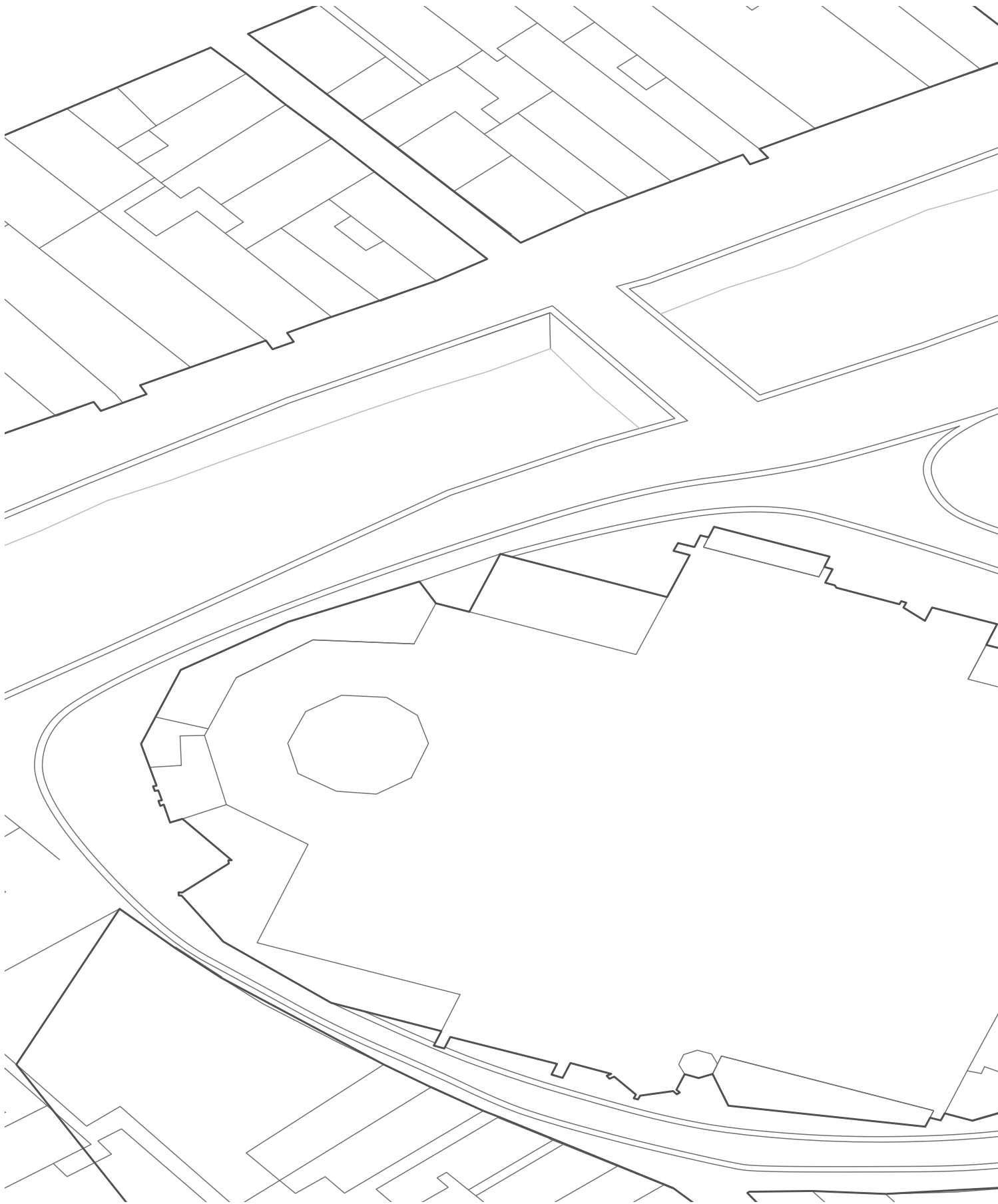
Wallen Area

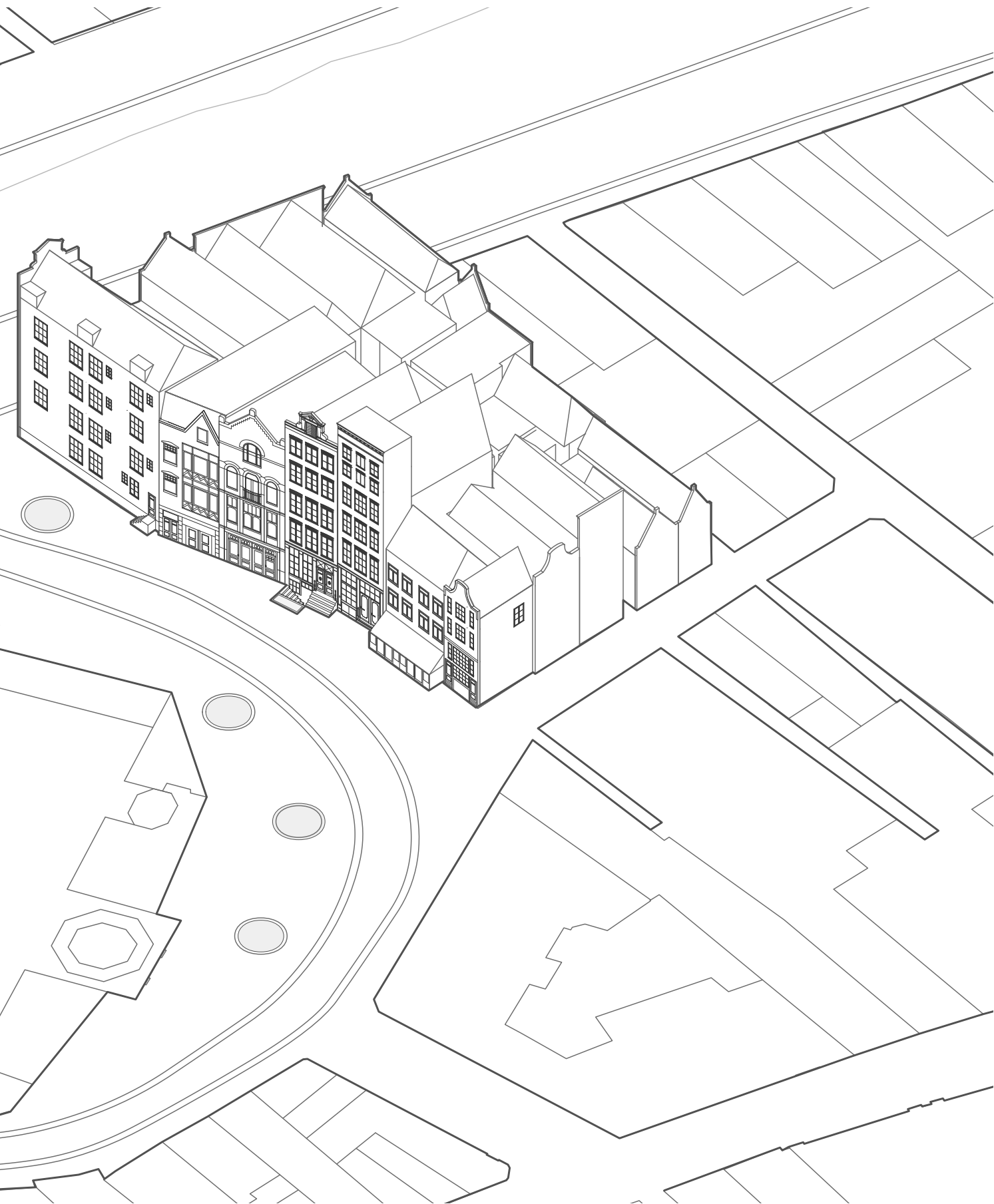




Oudekerksplein and SexWork Area

The Oudekerk is the oldest building in Amsterdam.





Project Site

To redesign sex work spaces I wanted to explore the possibilities within this building block, that was built around 1800.



Existing Building Blcok Model





Project Site





Existing Building Model

Program and Activity



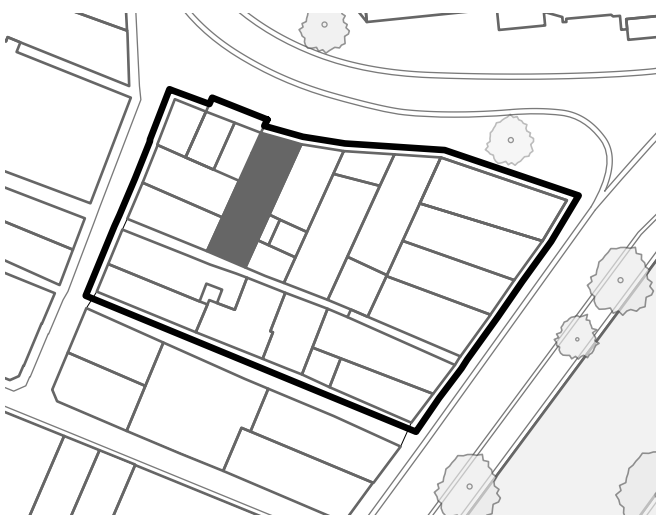
Bars

Pizza Pasta Bar. A touristic diner spot.

Opened: 11:00 - 01:00 (Mon - Sun)

The Old Church Bar. A bar visited by mostly tourist.

Opened: 12:00 - 01:00 (Mon - Sun)

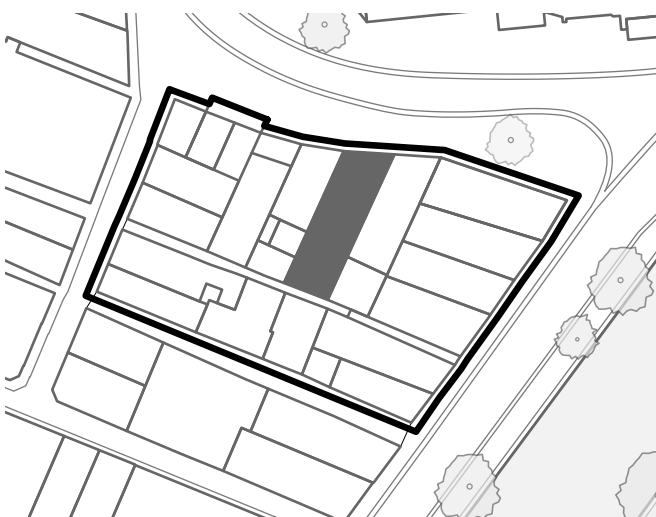


Ziggy's bar, visited by tourist but also locals from the neighborhood.

Opened: 11:00 - 01:00 (Mon - Sun)

The Bulldog, a famous coffeeshop chain. This the first location that they opened around 45 years ago.

Opened: 08:00 - 01:00 (Mon - Sun)



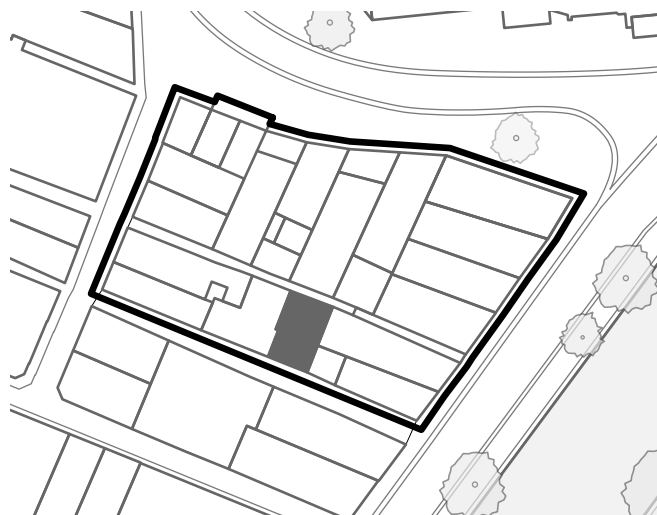
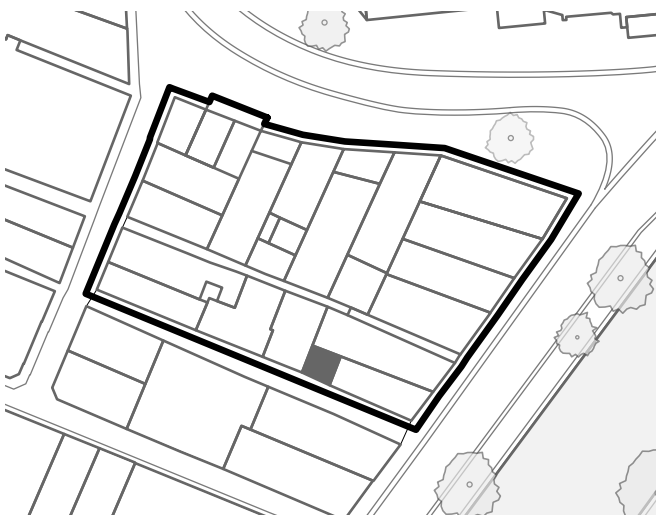
Store's

'La Familia', Tattoo Shop

Opened: 11:00 - 20:00 (Mon - Sun)

'Het Zwarte Fietsen plan', bike store which rents bikes to tourist and fixes bikes of locals.

Opened: 08:30 - 18:30 (Mon - Sun)



'Warrior Sports Shoes', shoe brand founded and produced by locals.

Opened: 12:00 - 18:00 (Wed - Sun)

'Glazed', Nail Salon.

Opened: 09:00 - 20:00 (Tue - Sat)



Store's

'Glamcult', fashion and design concept store.

Opened: 12:00 - 18:00 (Wed - Sun)

'Pop Trading Company', clothing brand for skaters, founded and runned by locals.

Opened: 12:00 - 18:00 (Mon - Sun)



'Order Tattoo Shop', founded and run by locals.

Opened: 11:00 - 19:00 (Mon - Sun)



Vacancy

Unknown activity.

Temporarily workplace for building maintenance.

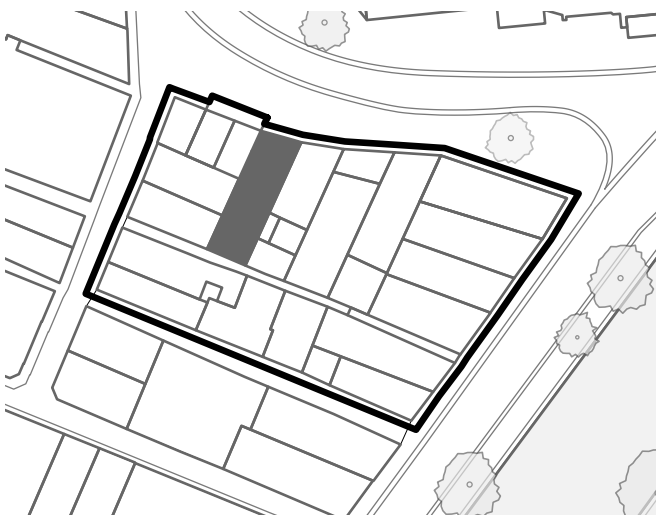


Vacant sex work space

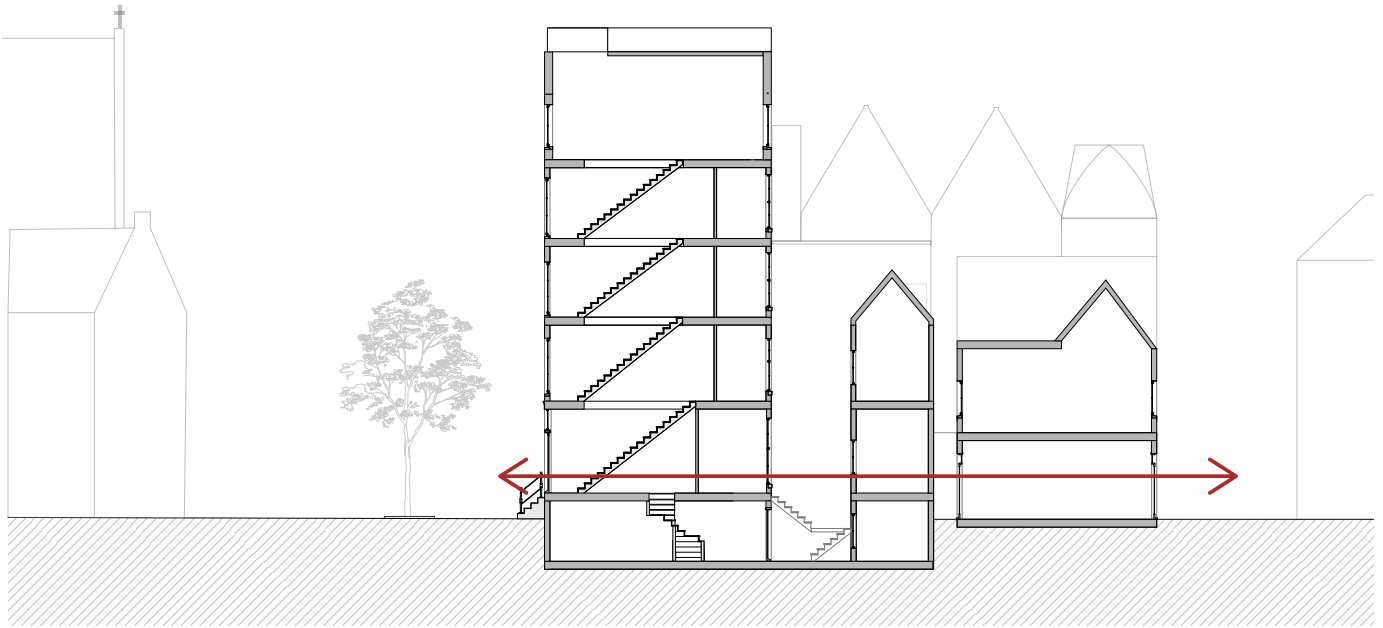
Vacant sex work space temporarily a artwork space

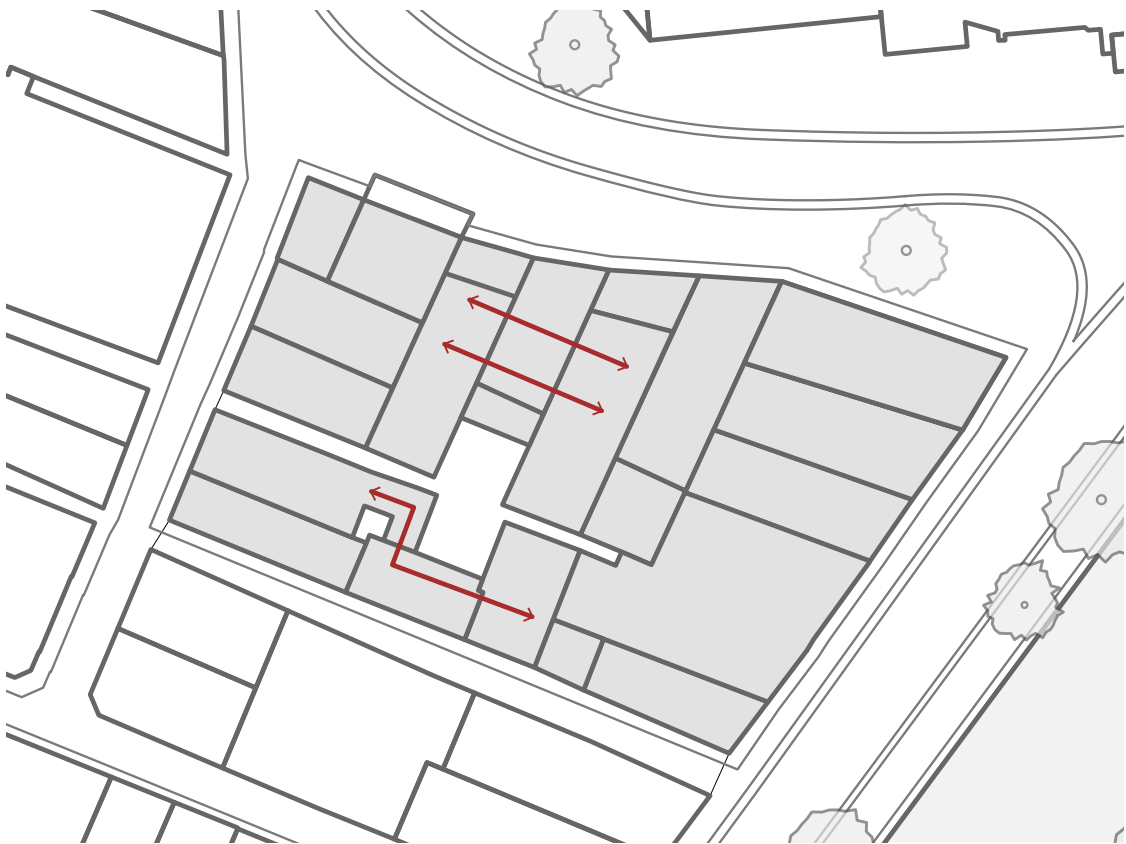


Housing



Existing Materialisation







Oudekerksplein

The historical facades that face the Oudekerkplein are UNSECO protected heritage. They are richly decorated with ornaments, especially on the ground floor. The building consists out of a soutterain and the ground floor that can be reached with outside stairs on the Oudekerksplein.



Oudekerksplein Pavement

The pavement of the Oudekerksplein is historical as well.



Around the square of the old church there two sex work tributes can be found, to honor and respect the sex workers all over the world. The copper breast, named 'Borstplaat' was placed in anonymity and made by a unknown sculptor in 1993. The sculpture of Belle on the right made by Els Rijerse. It was initiated in 2007, by the founder of the Prostitution Information Center and writer of the books that were used in this research: Mariska Majoor. It was also a direct response to the murder of a sex worker



Trompettersteeg

The Trompettersteeg is crossing the building block. It is the narrowest alley of Amsterdam and it is only 900 meters wide.



Trompettersteeg 19

Before project 1012 the alley belonged to the sex work. But back in the days it seems that they made the alley efficient and safe by making some adjustments. To create more visibility small mirrors called 'spionnetjes' were attached to the facade to watch over the alley. Besides this, it also seems they were also hanging outside the window with only the upper parts of their bodies. These specific door types that can open half up are also called 'farmers doors' and are common in other parts of the city as well.



Entrance Alley Oudezijds Voorburgwal

At the Oudezijds Voorburgwal the alley displays a graffiti work.



Entrance Alley Sint Annendwarsstraat



Materialisation Trompettersteeg

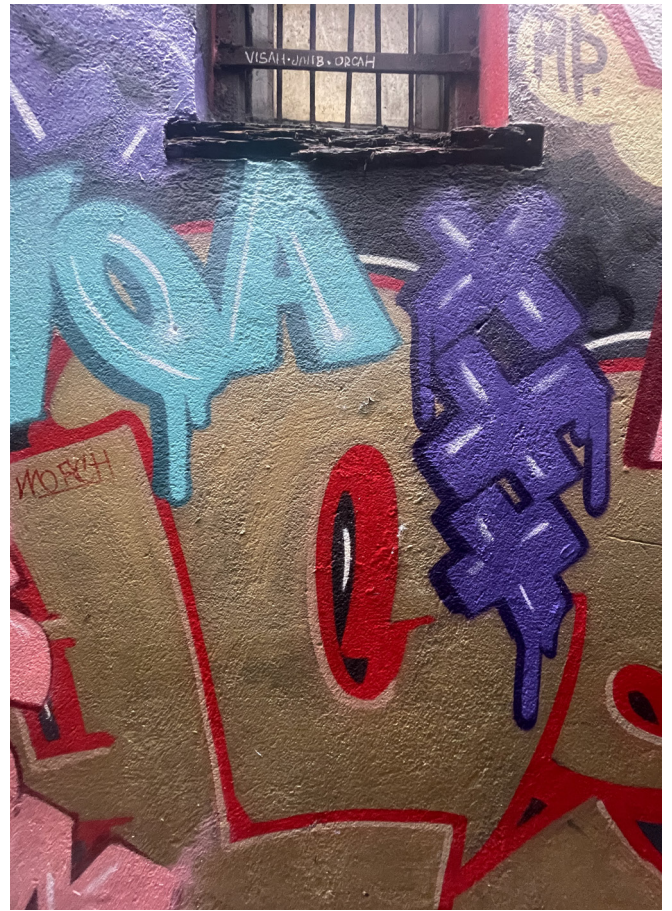
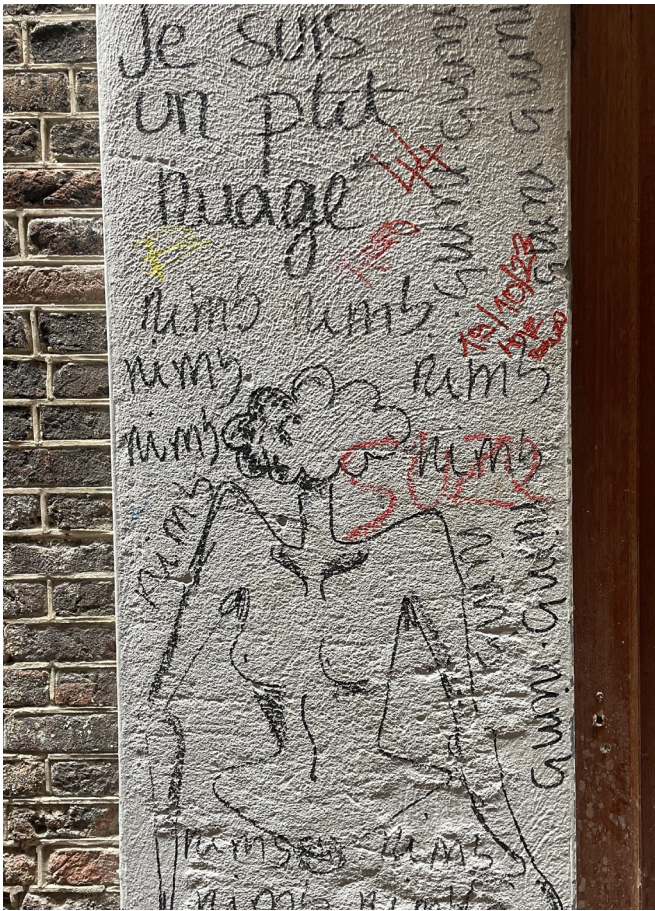
The buildings are made from bricks. The most traditional building material in Amsterdam's historical buildings. In the Trompettersteeg you can see how the buildings have been renovated by the appearances of the joints in the brickwork.





Graffiti

Almost every empty spot in the alley is covered with graffiti, apart from the brickwork. Some graffiti work, like at the entrance of the alley are created after commission. Most of them are not.





Materialisation Trompettersteeg

The graffiti becomes problematic when it is sprayed on the window glass. When the sex worker is starting their shift the glass has to be clean. For this reason protection screens are attached to the facades that cover the doors, that close at night.





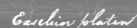


Dollebegijnensteeg

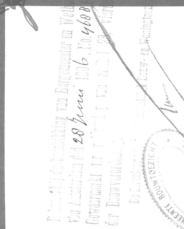
On the other side of the building block there is the Dollebegijnen steeg.

Archive Drawings, Historical Building Floorplans,
Sections, Elevation and Details

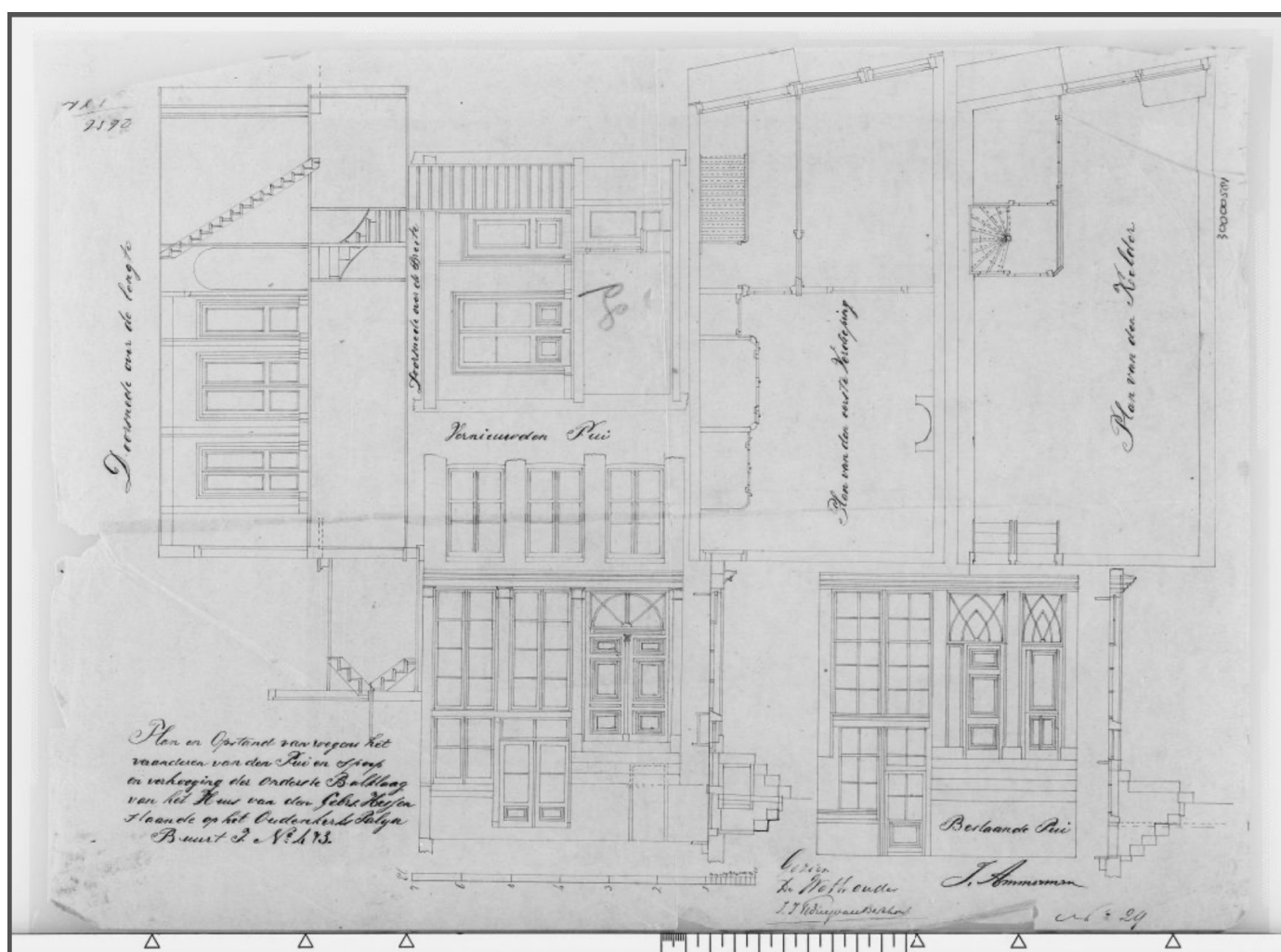
I



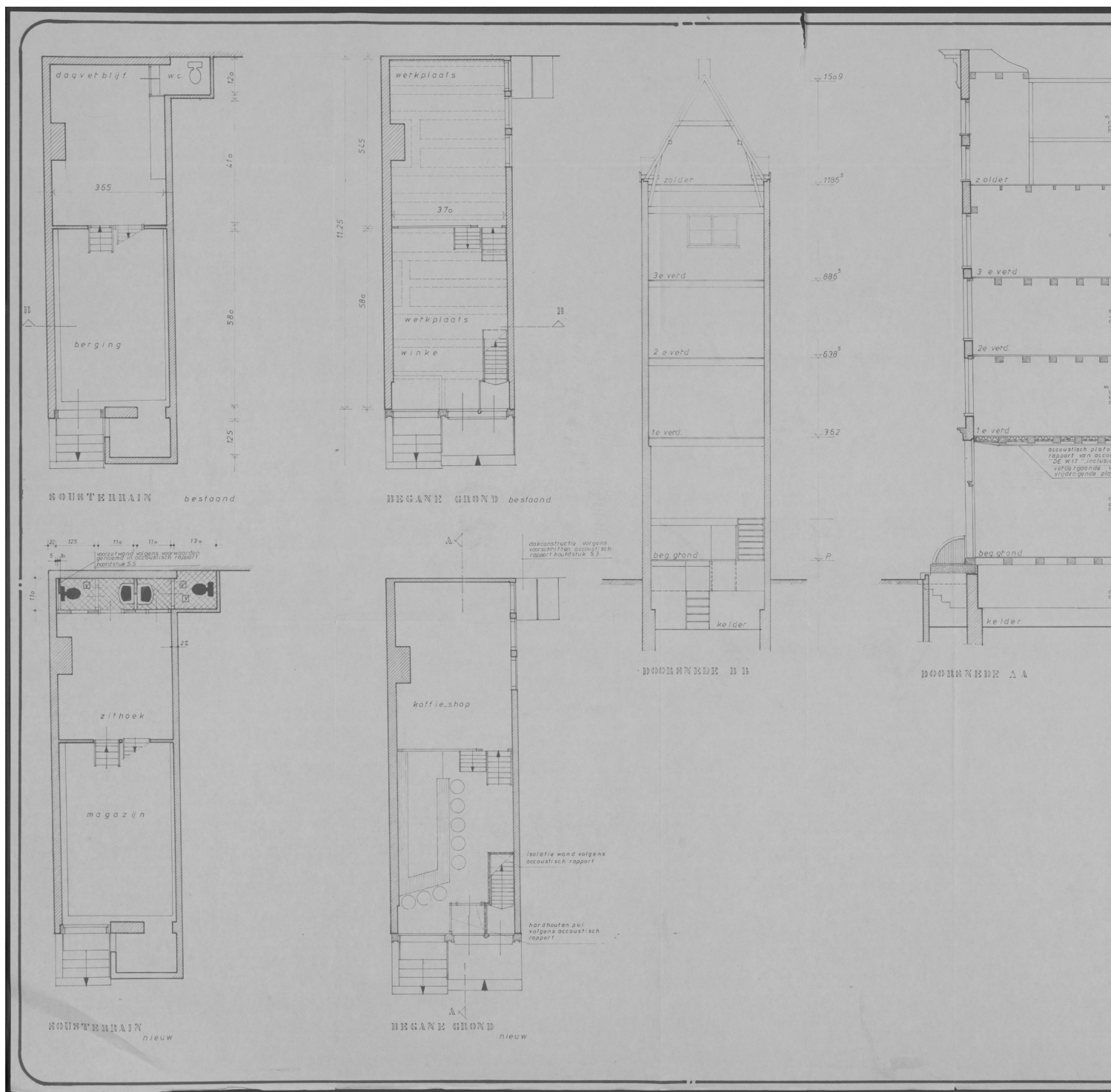
Schaal 2 à 100



G. D. Clausen
Baukünde

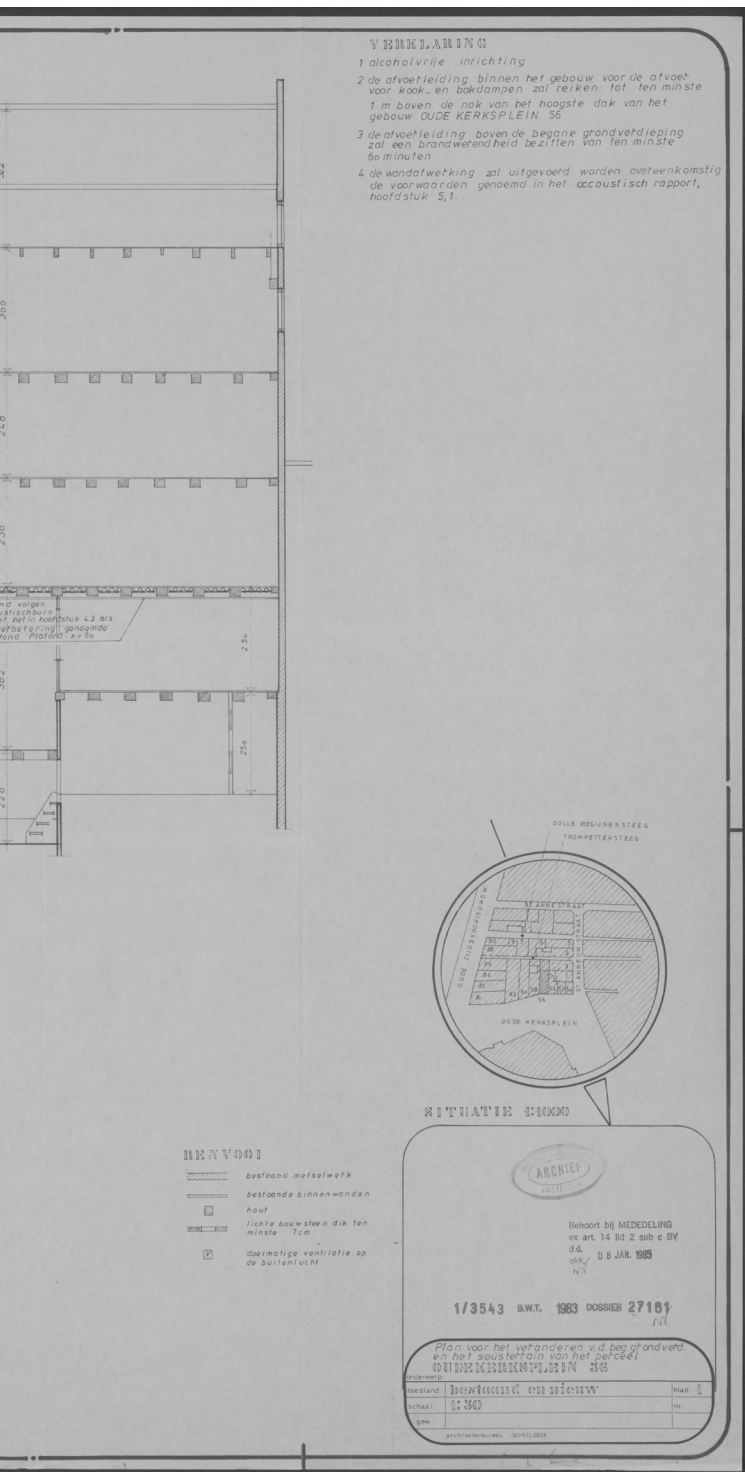


Oudekerksplein 58 Floorplan and Plint of Facade



Oudekerksplein 56 Floorplan and Section

On this historical drawing from 1983 you see a historical building



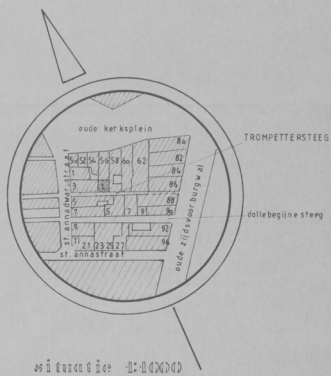
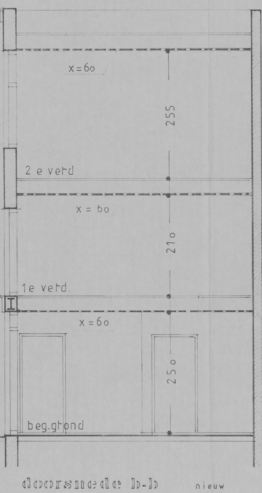


Trompettersteeg 1 Historical Building Floorplan and Elevations

On these drawings out of 1988 show a typical sex work space. There are three doors, two of them are directly connected to the bedroom space and the other to a stair. What can also be noticed how there are doors between the rooms. These doors can be closed when the sex worker have a client over or when they have other businesses to do. What you sometimes see is how sex workers are on the phone and are having phone sex while standing behind the window, outside of the peak hours.

verklaring

1. Alle plafonds en de onderkant van de trappen zullen worden bekleed met een materiaal wat een brandweerstand bezit van ten minste 60 minuten. (cementwerk op metselgoot)



renovoi

- best. metselwerk
- nieuw metselwerk
- best binnenwanden
- lichte bouwsteen dik ten minste 7 cm
- doelmatige ventilatie op de buitenlucht

19017 B.W.T. 1900 DOSSIER 56713

Onderhonds bij de
Commissie voor de Gede Sted
Ingerhonds bekeering

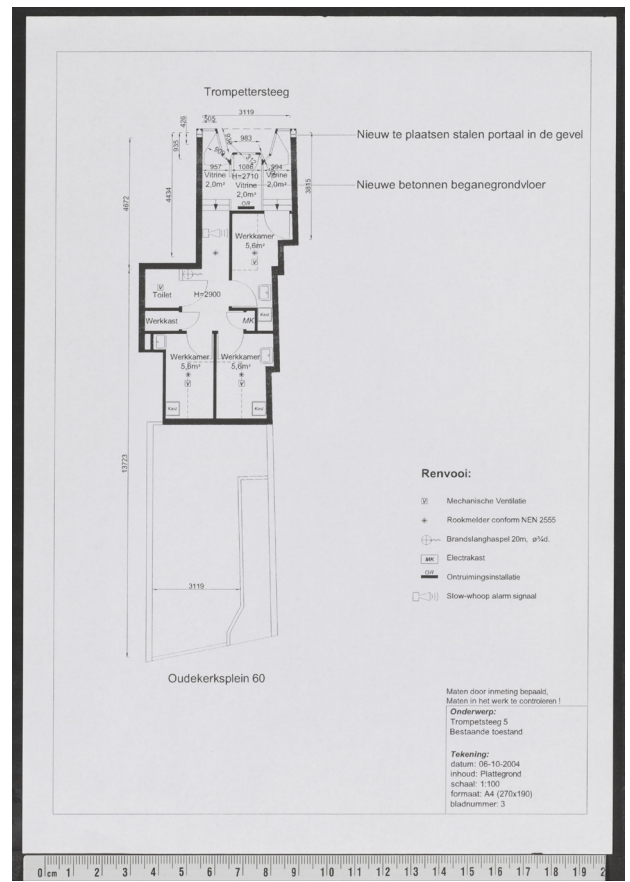
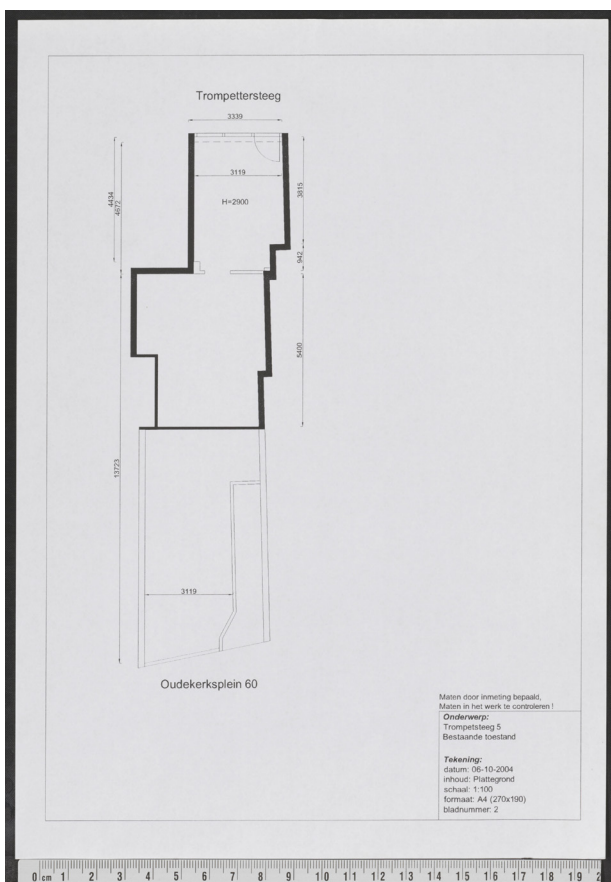


Plan voor het herstellen en veranderen van het
perceel gelegen aan de
TROMPETTERSTEEG 4

architectenbureau SCHEELBEER postbus 1308 amsterdam tel: 265145-136983

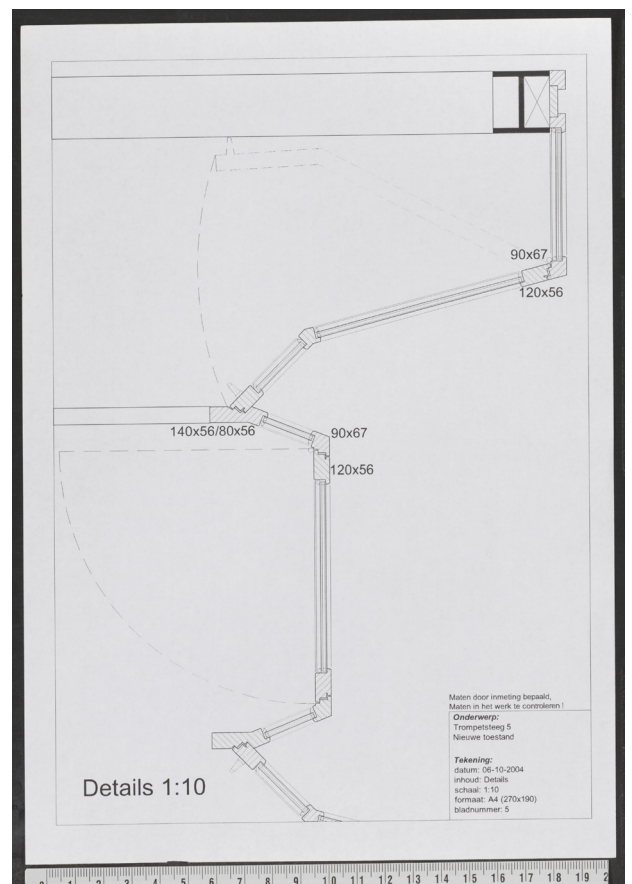
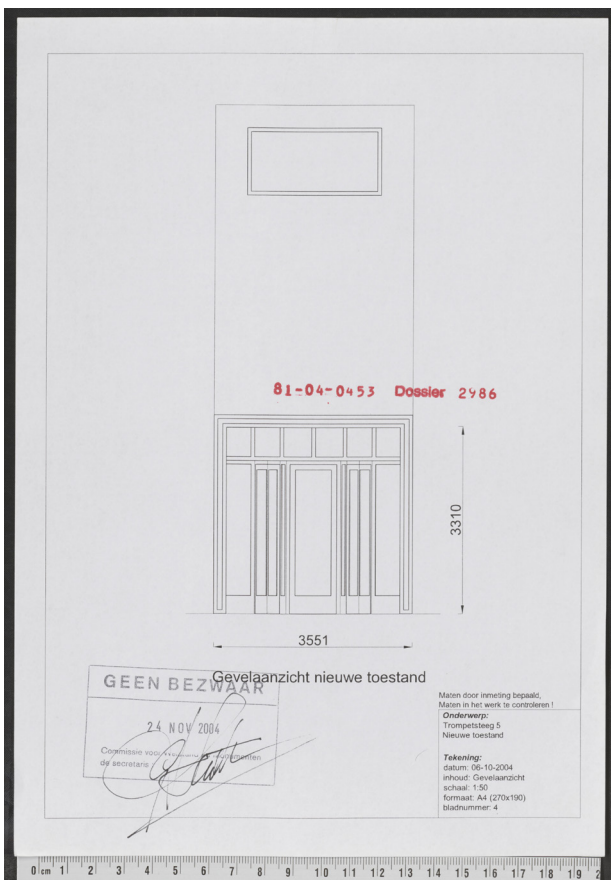
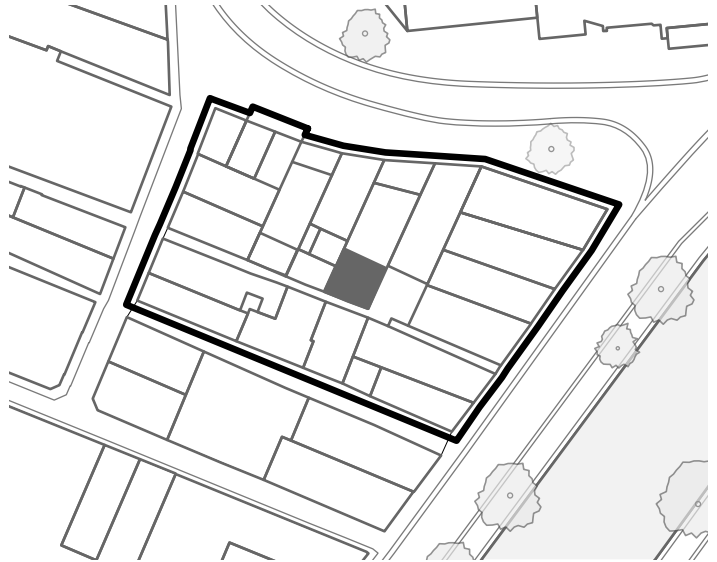
toestand	bestaand	nieuw	stad
schaal	1:500	d.d.	
gew.	5.10.87	10.11.88	na:





Sexwork Space Trompettersteeg 5

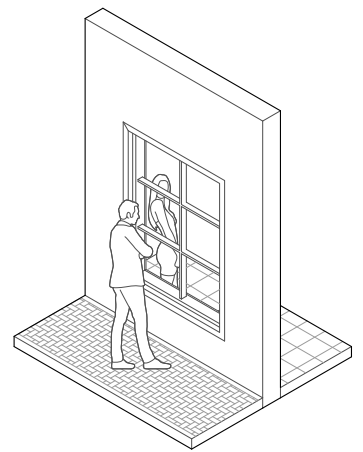
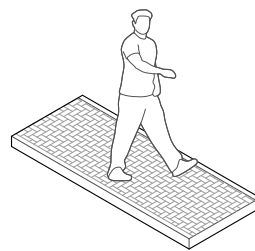
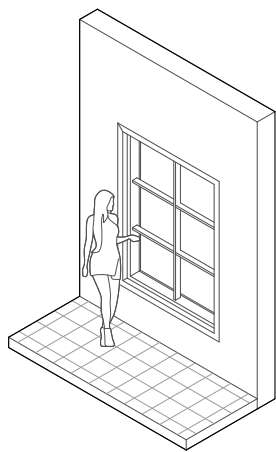
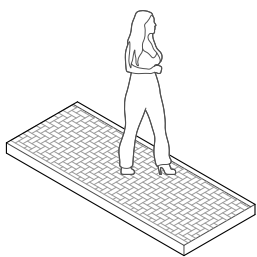
From the drawing of Trompettersteeg 5 it can be noticed how it was originally the rear house of Oudekerksplein 60, before it became sex work spaces. This space includes 3 working spaces that are 5,6 m² each, that share one toilet.



Sexwork Facade

On these drawing you see the details of a existing sex work door facade. The facade jumps inside the building. The Trompettersteeg is a very narrow alley, so giving the facade an off set backwards this creates space fot client and sex worker to have a conversation, while others can still pass.

Design Interventions

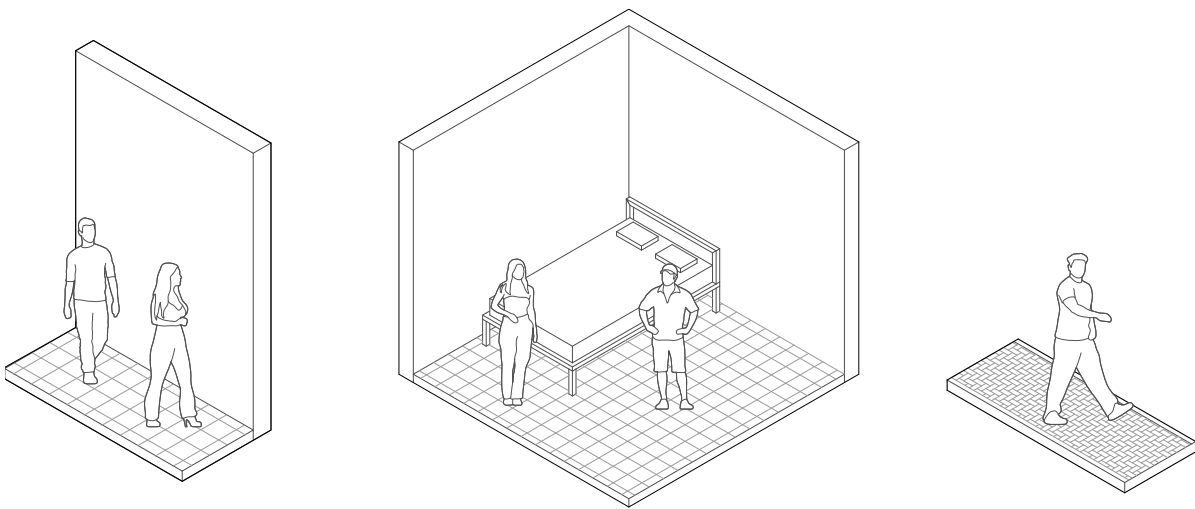


1. Arrivel of sex worker

2. Space behind the window

3. Arrivel of client

4. Space around the window



5. Space behind the Window

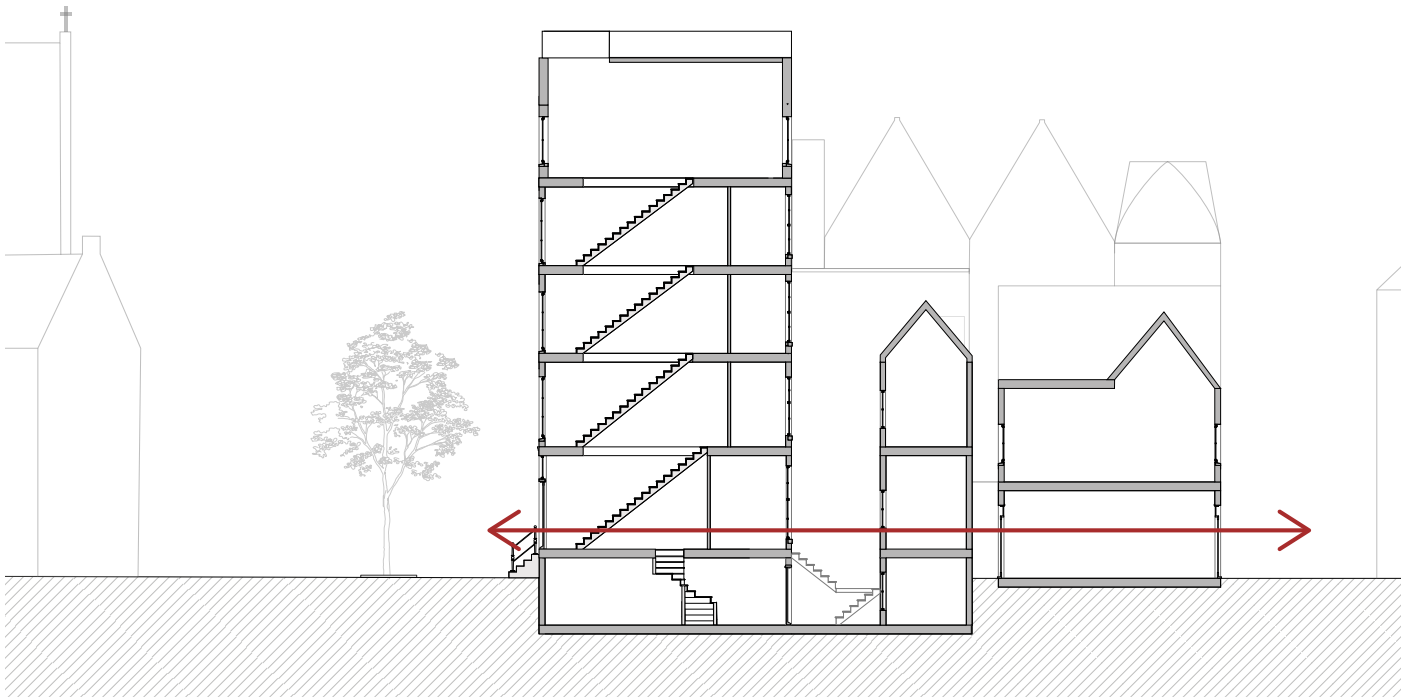
6. The bedroom space

7. Space behind the Window

Intervention Scales

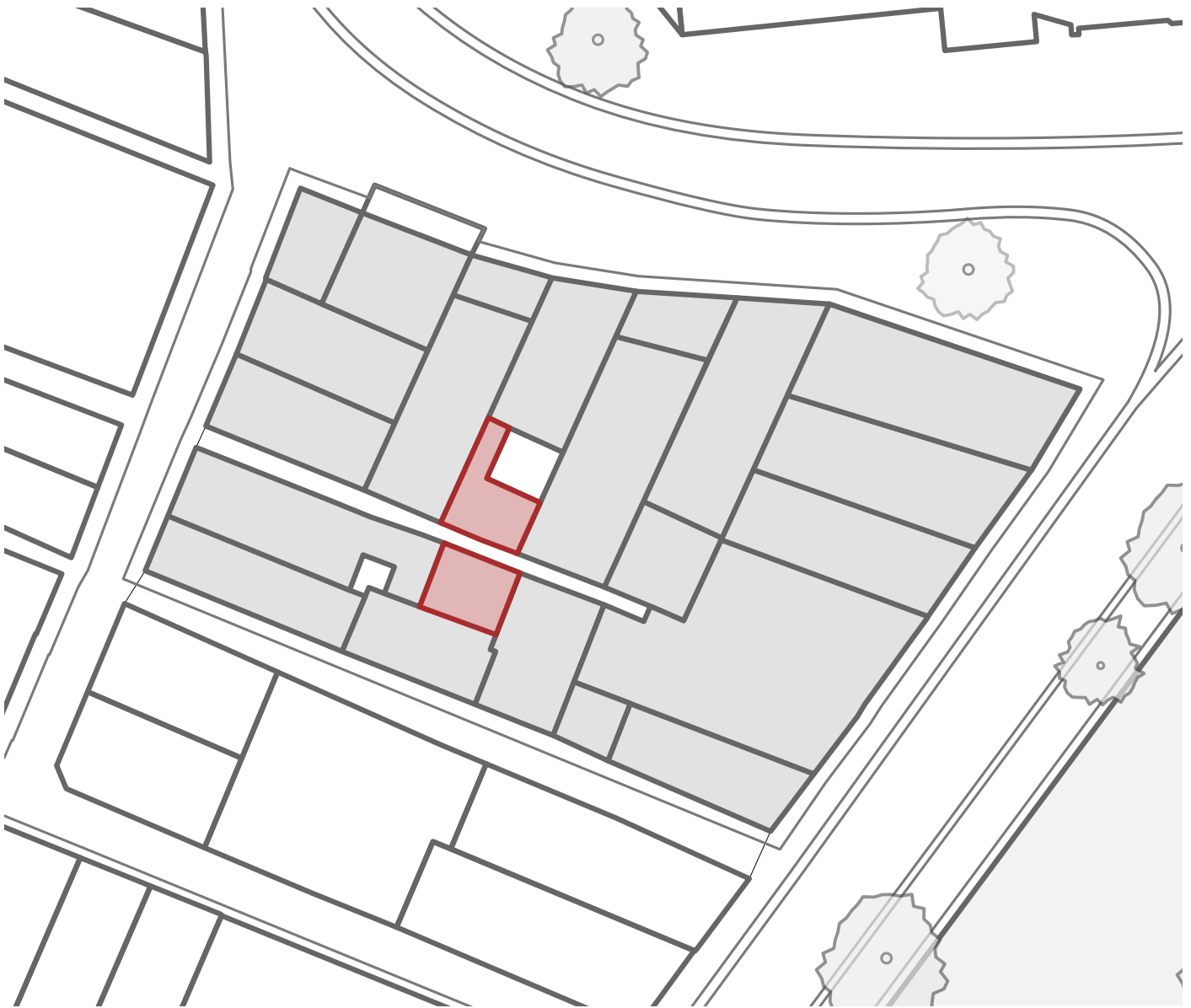
The design focusses on the experience of both the client and the sex worker. This resulted into 7 the intervention scales. Beginning with how the sex worker arrives before the working shift? (1) Secondly is her space behind the window (2), what are her needs of requirements? Moving on to the client, how does he arrive (3), what is he attracted by? After his attraction, how is this negotiation space around the window materialised(4)? And how do they, after finding an agreement, find their way (5) towards the bedroom(6)? Last but not least how is the client leaving the space? (7)





Changing Fronts and Backs

The first thing that I became interested in doing if sex work what to be brought back into the Trompettersteeg is what would happen if I would make a new connection through the building block.

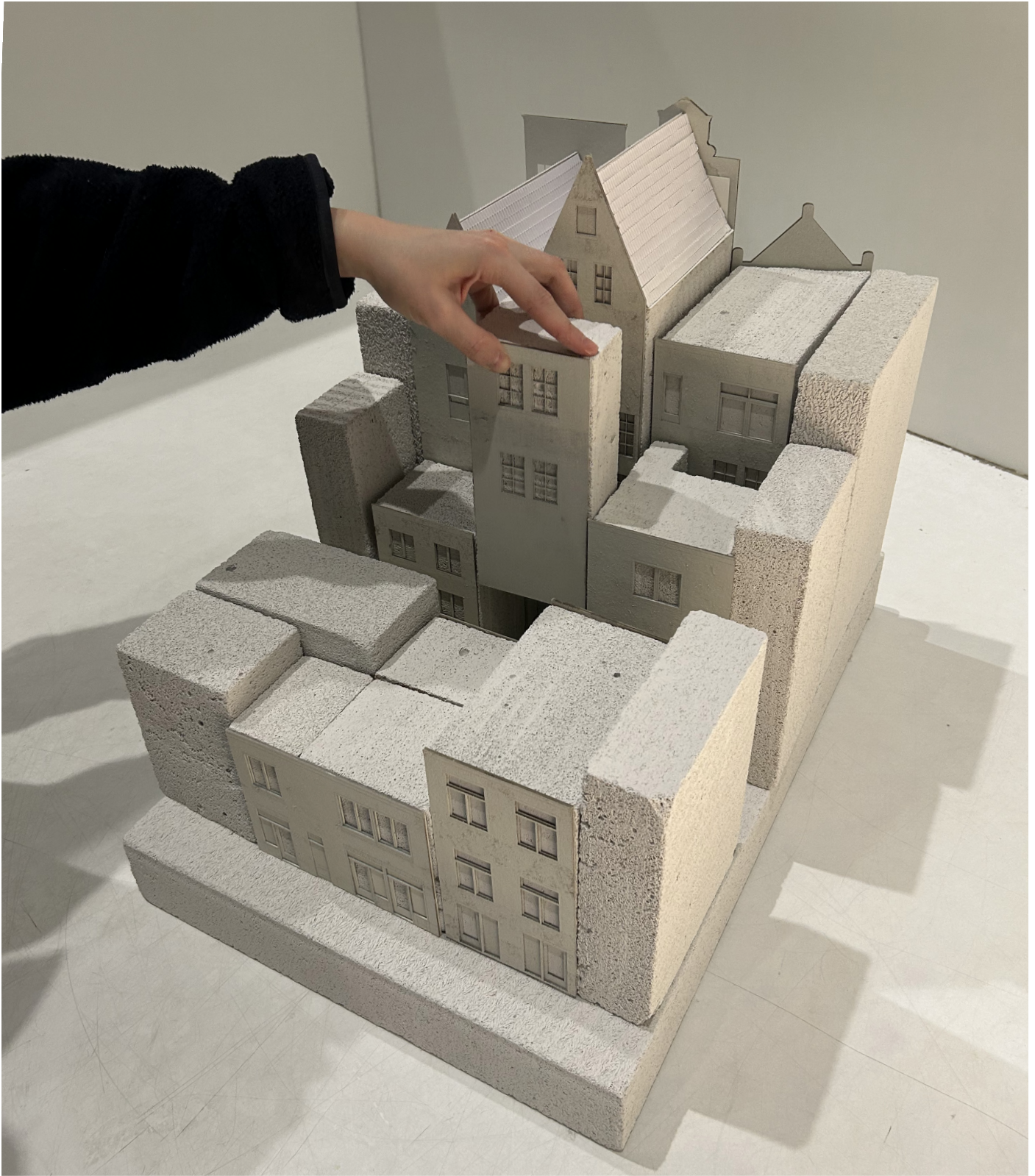


Removing Rear Houses

New connetion through the building block



Existing Situation



Removing Rear House 1



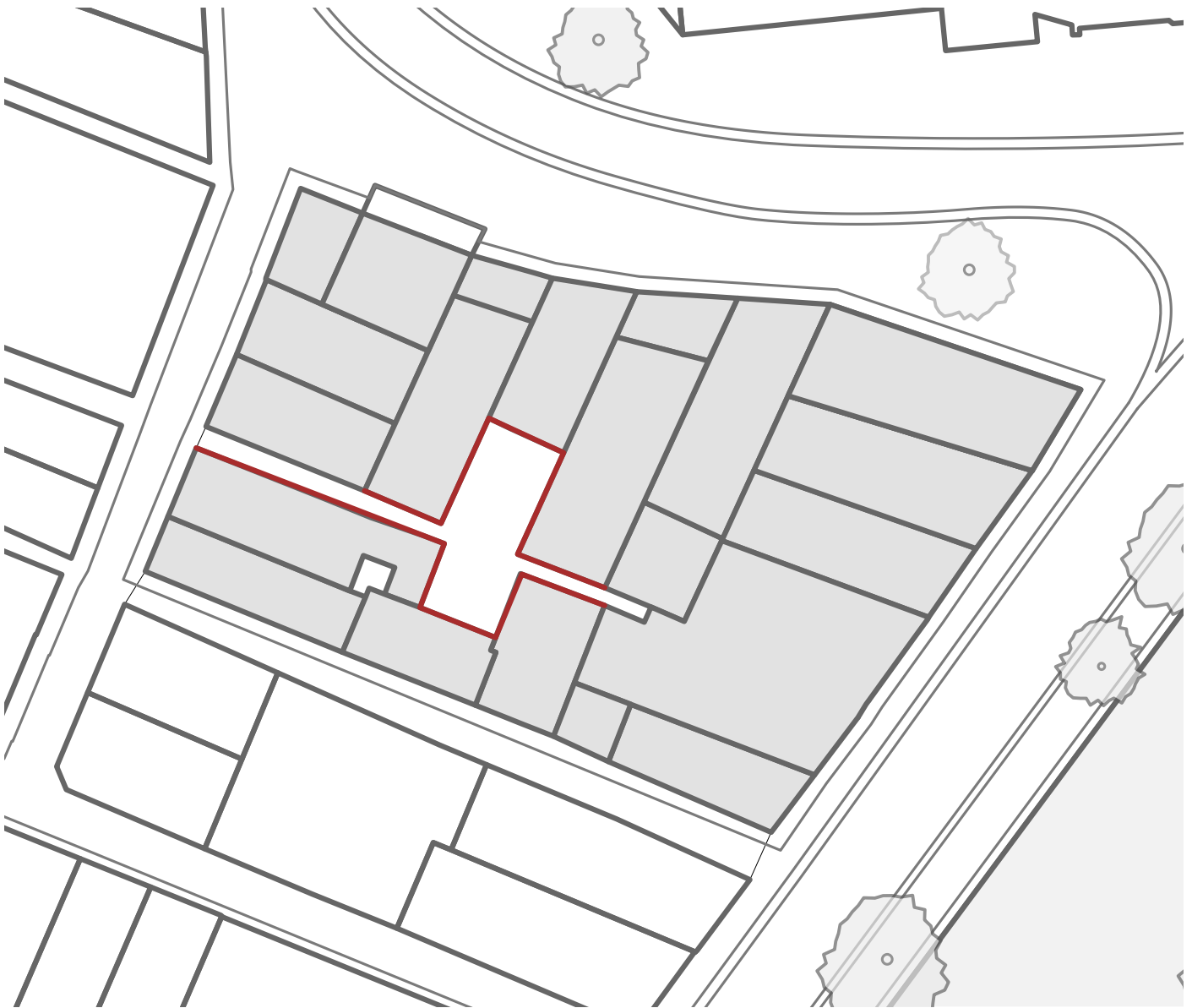
Rear House 1 Removed



Removing Rear Houses 2



New Situation



Renovating Existing Facades

Since most of the existing facades have these typical sex work doors. The next intervention is to renovate or replace the existing facades. Also on the facade that face the intimate square



New Facade Trompettersteeg 5

Since I changed the doors into windows again, I instead made 1 collective entrance to enter the building, located in the middle of the square where it is visible for all the sex workers who enters the building.



New Facade Trompettersteeg 5



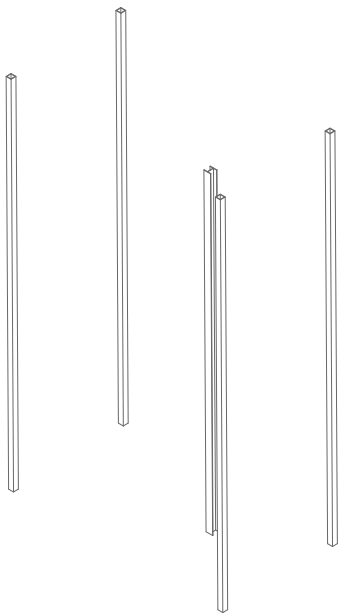
New Windows

With integrated LED lamp in the cavity and mirrors to watch over the alley.

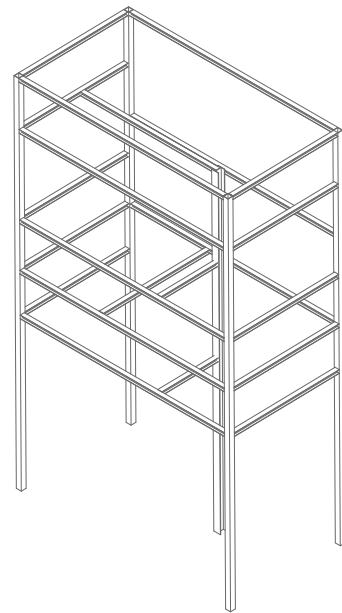


New Stair Case Construction

The stair case is a point in the project where a lot of my intentions for the project come together. It is about tensions building between client and sex worker but also about the collective life in the city and how all the neighbors live their lives next to each other.



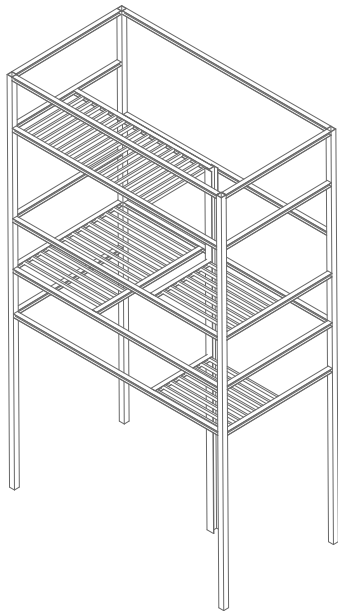
Columns



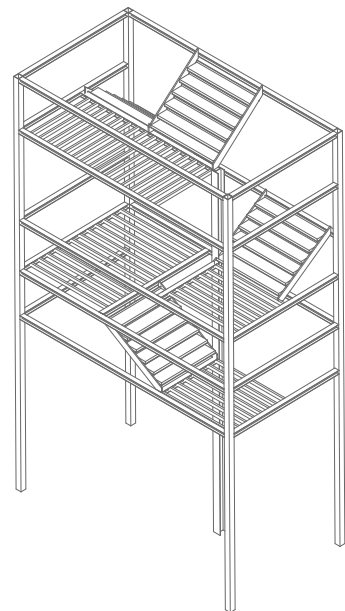
Steel Beams

Construction of Staircase

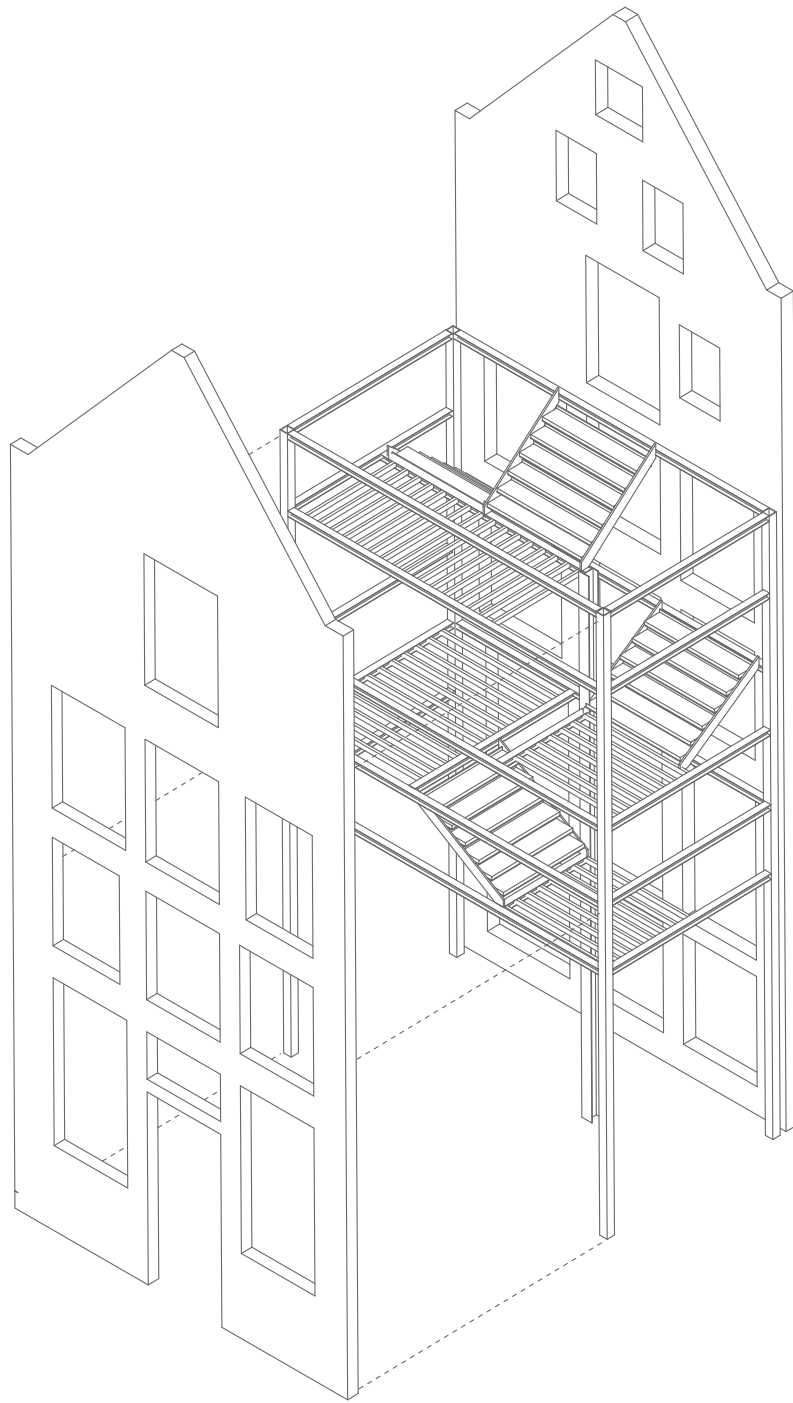
The construction of the staircase exist out of 5 steel columns. Between this vertical construction horizontal steel beams are constructed with timber beams, that togheter create a platform. To these platforms a steel stair construction is attached.



Wooden Beams



Steel Stair



Facade Staircase

The facade of the staircase is attached to the steel construction of the stair case. It is a offset of the historical back facade and made out of bricks.



Construction of Staircase

This form study shows the glass in the facade plays with visibility. While the sex workers and client are going up only the shape of their bodies will be visible.

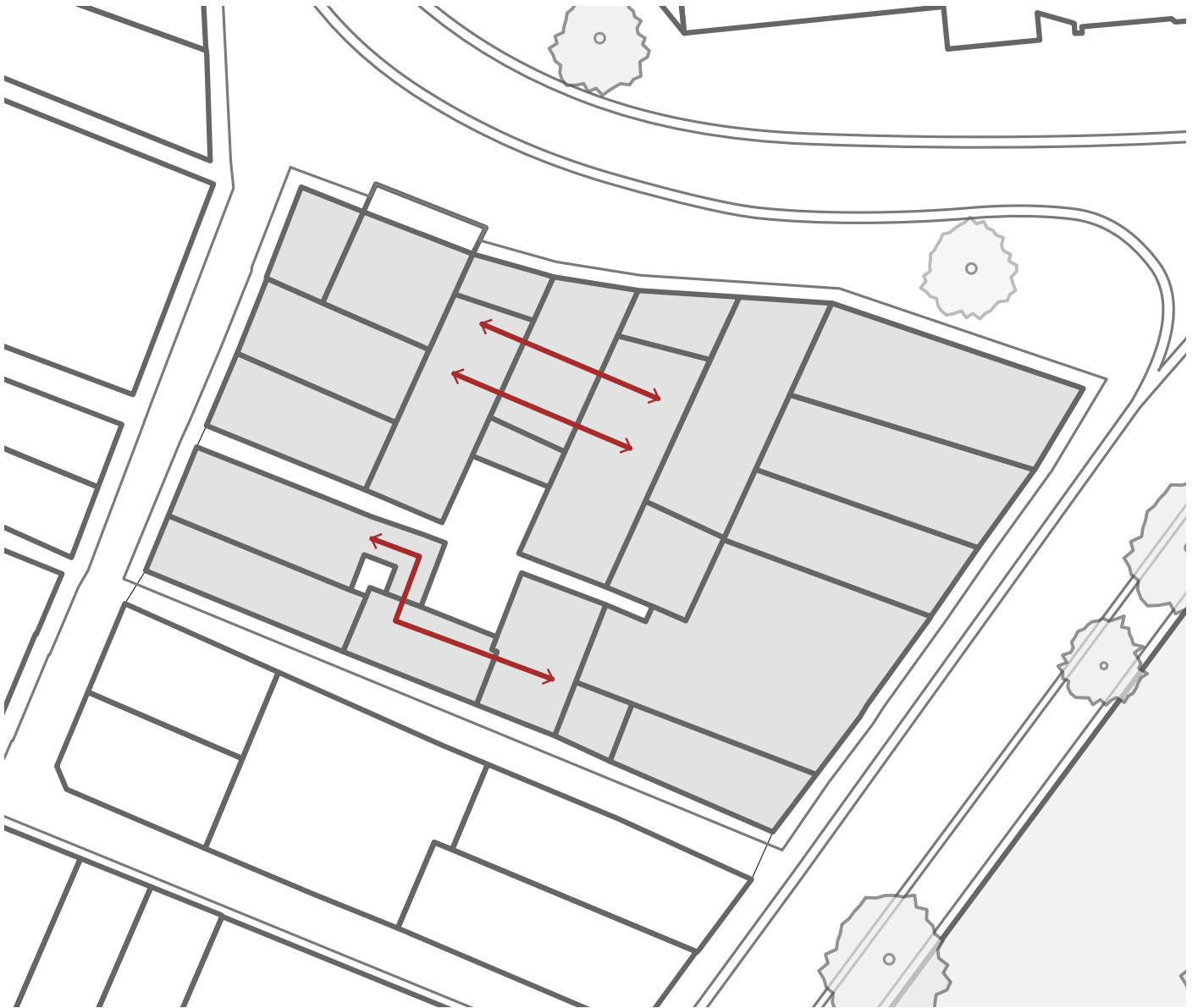


The stairs spiral around on the boundary between inside and outside. While the sex workers are taking their client up and built this bond, they should both feel safe but also excited there. I played with windows and visibility to create this feeling. I needed to open it but not too much. The openness also allows for a hydraulic platform, that can be used by disabled clients to reach the bedroom floors.



Construction of Staircase

This form study shows the glass in the facade plays with visibility. While the sex workers and client are going up only the shape of their bodies will be visible.

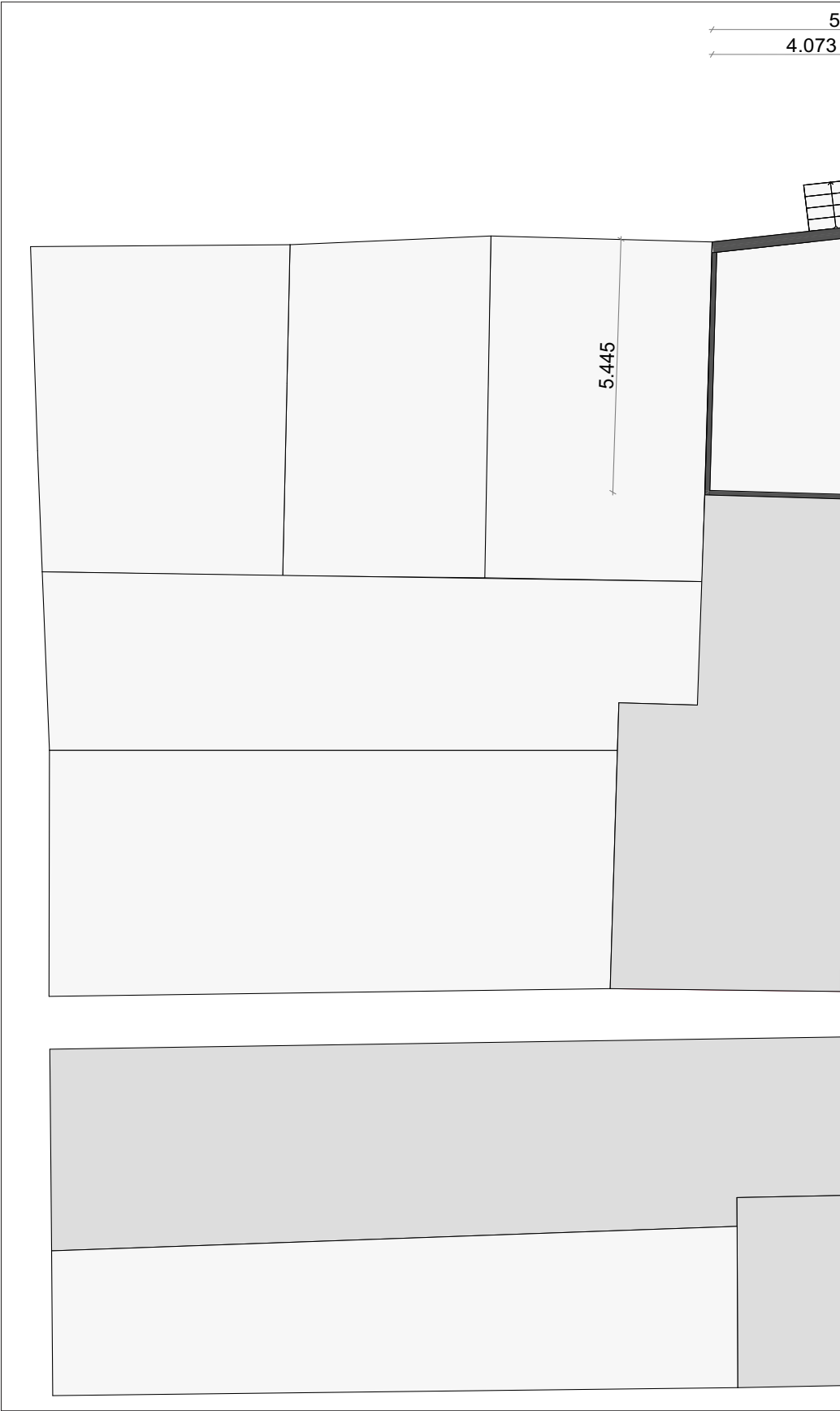


Cutting Side Walls



Cutting Side Walls

Floorplans





Floorplan

Soutterain
Collective Space

Scale 1:100





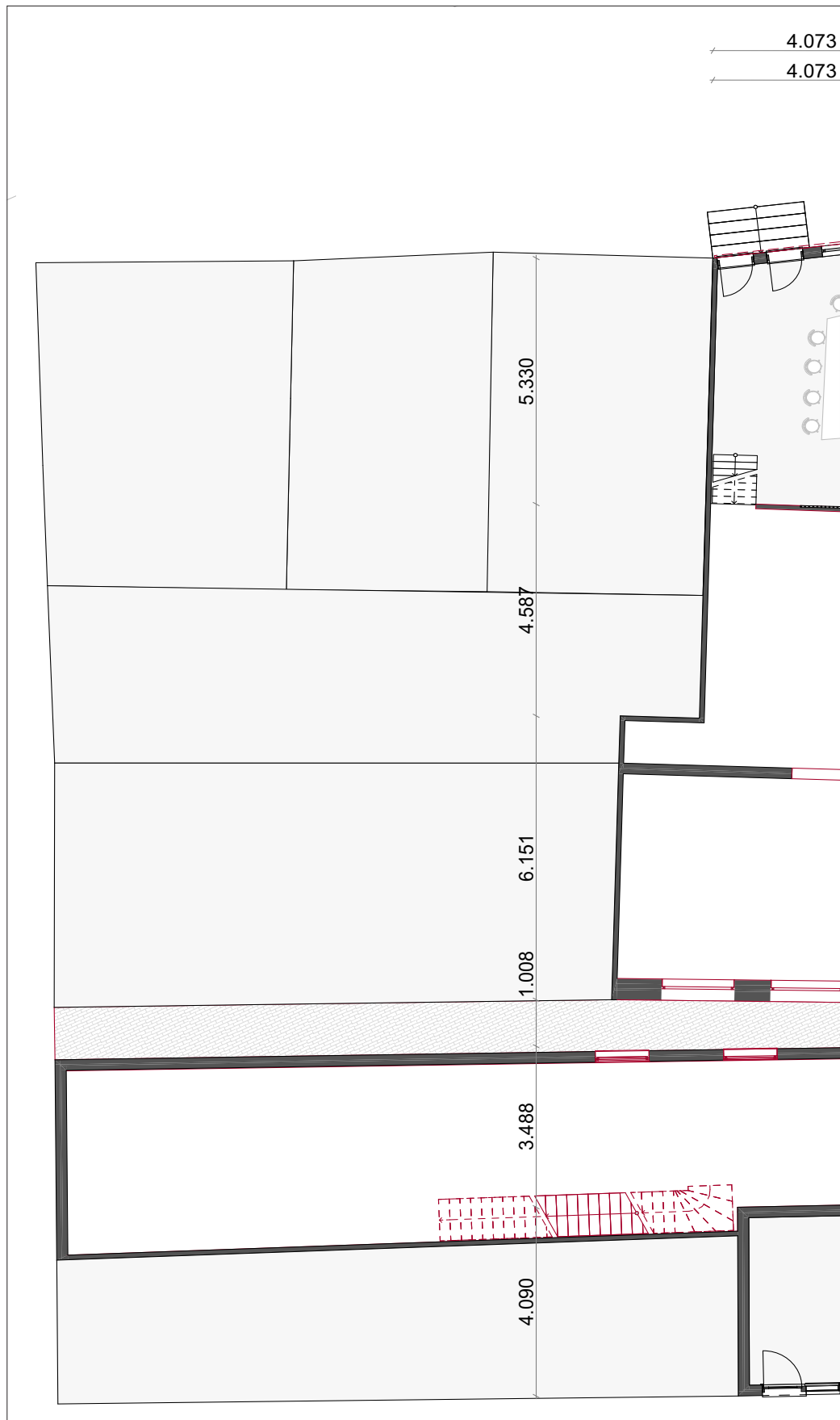


Floorplan

Ground Floor
Window Spaces and Tattoo Shop

Scale 1:100







Floorplan

First Floor
Entrance and Bar

Scale 1:100





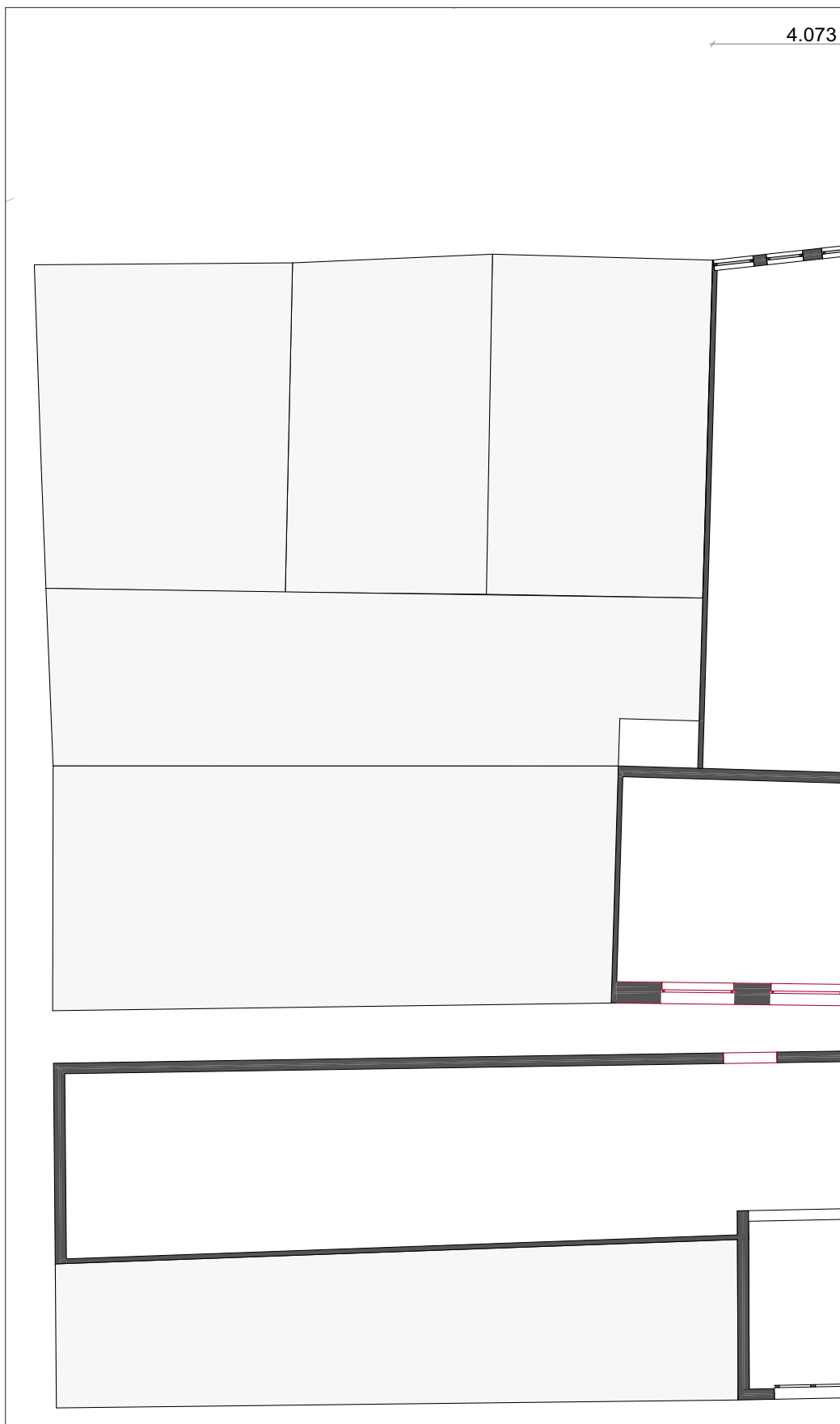


Floorplan

Second Floor
Bar

Scale 1:100







Floorplan

Third Floor
Apartment

Scale 1:100







Floorplan

Fourth Floor
Sex Work Spaces

Scale 1:100







Floorplan

Fifth Floor
Apartment

Scale 1:100





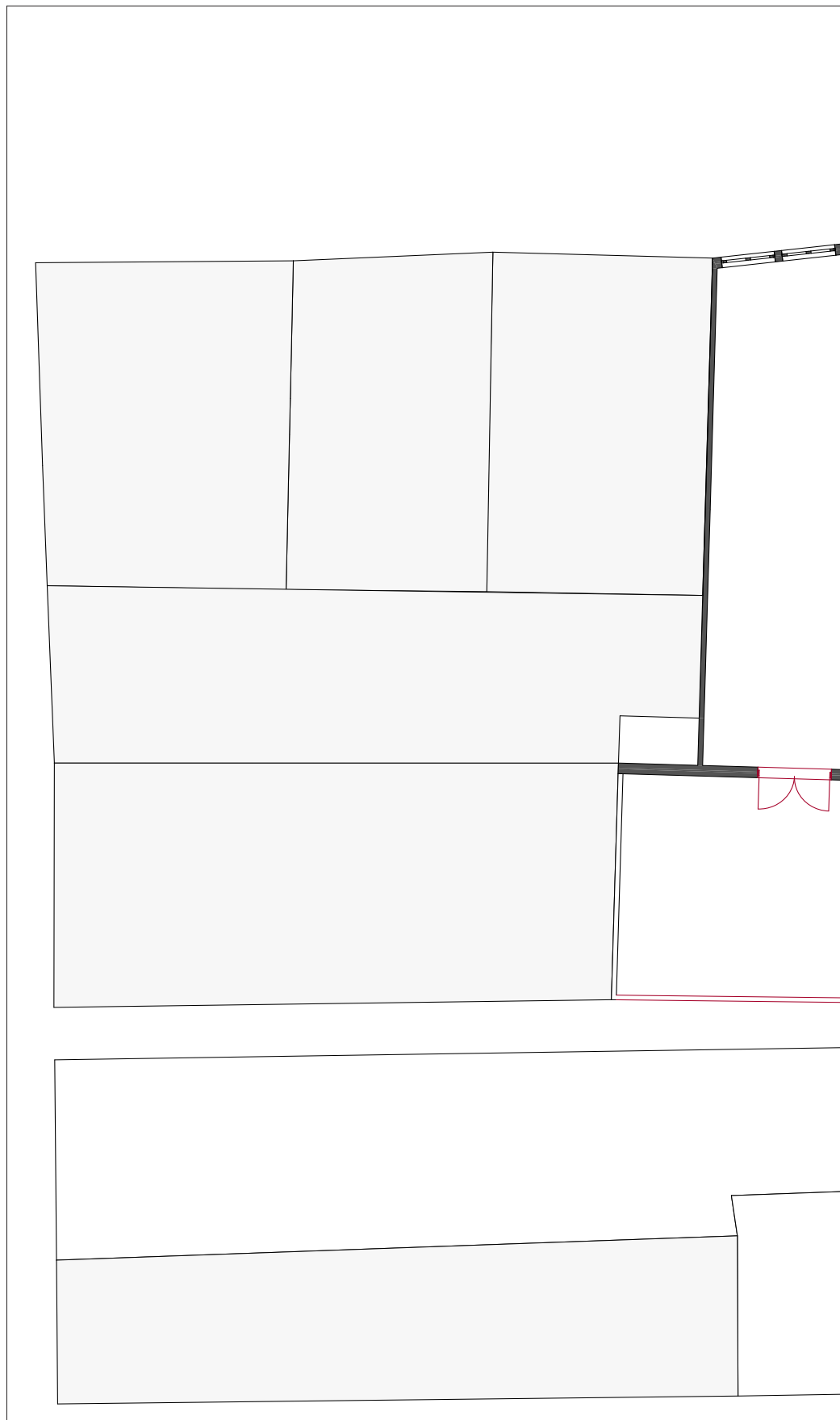


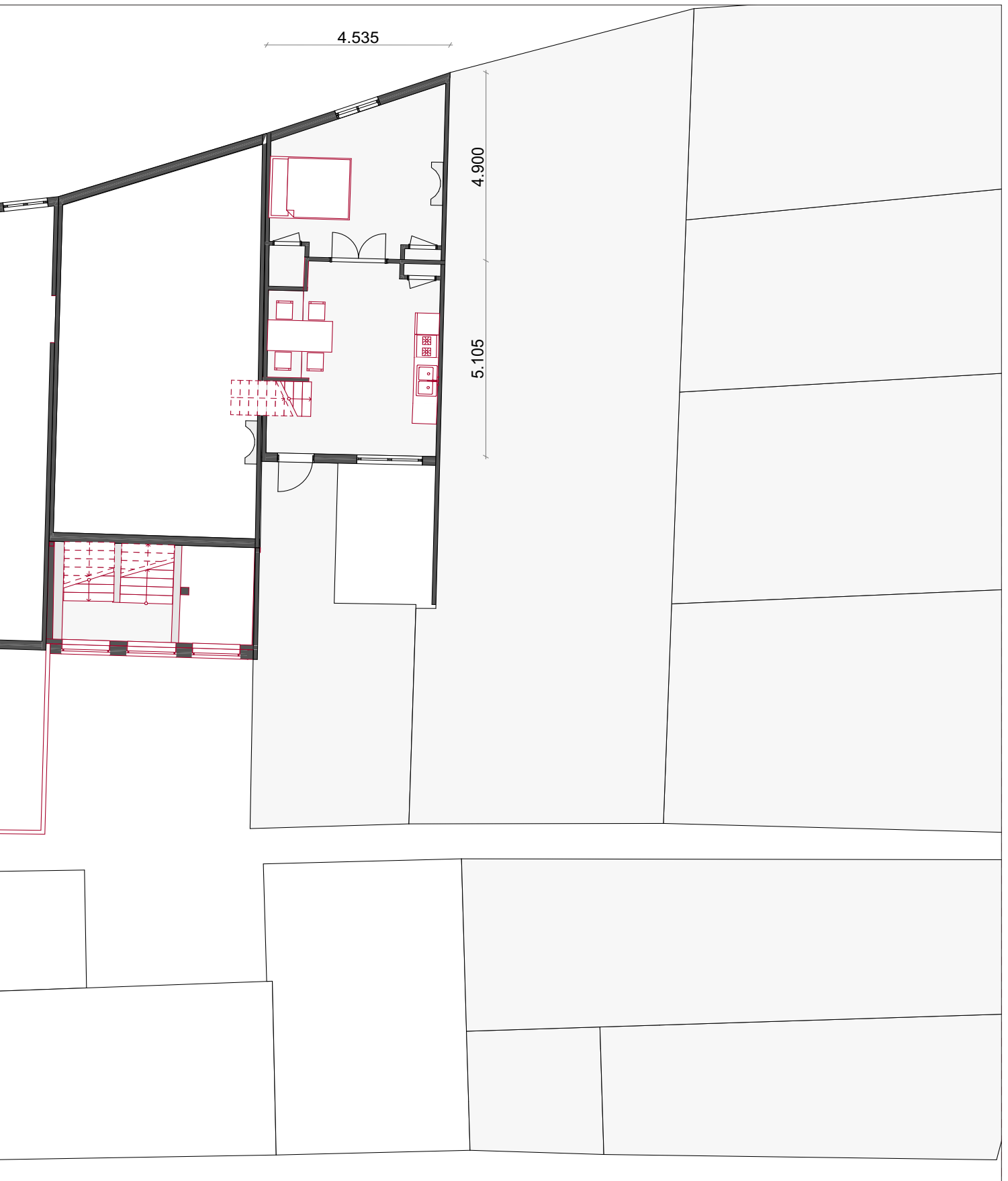
Floorplan

Sixth Floor
Apartments

Scale 1:100





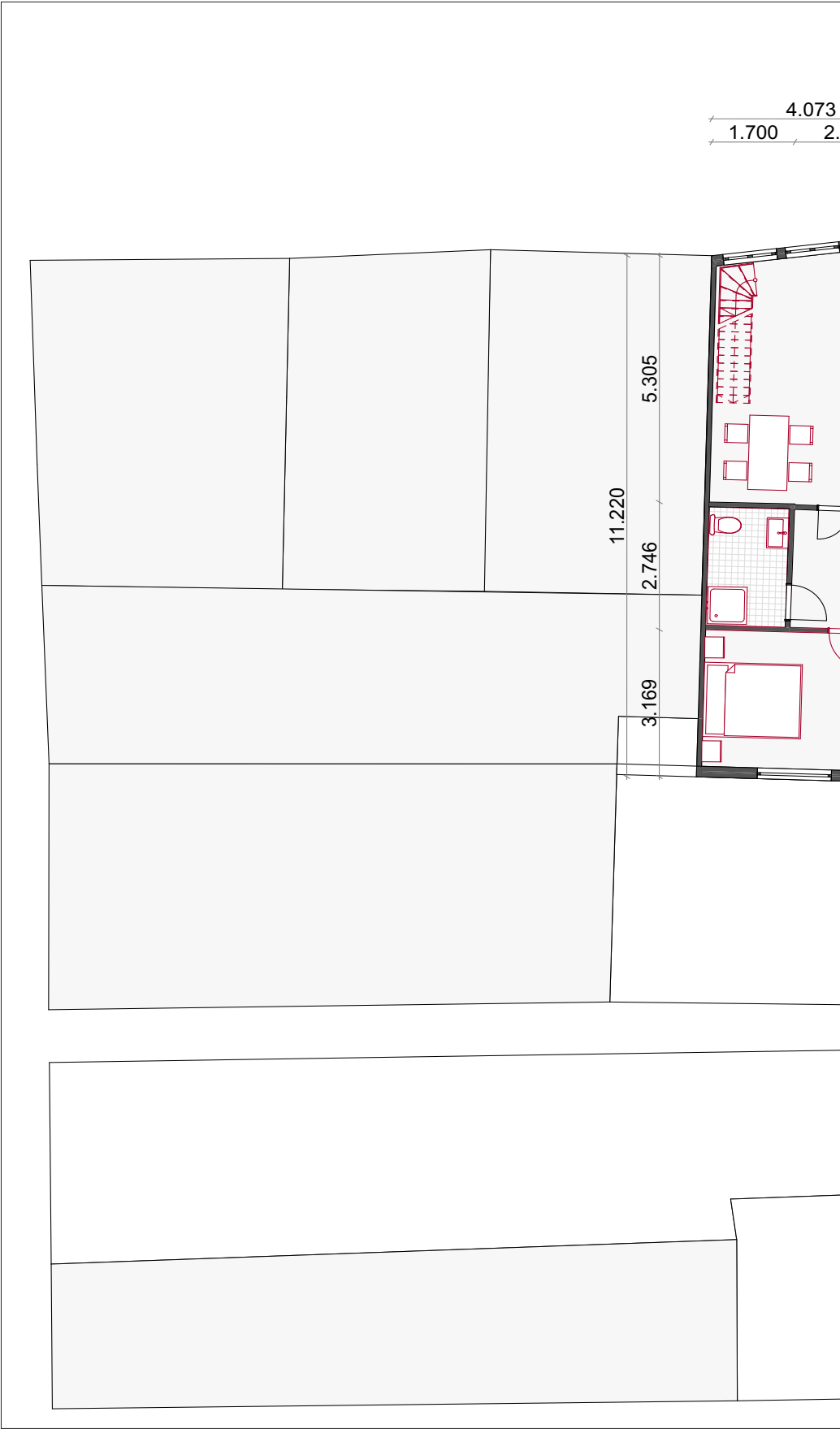


Floorplan

Seventh Floor
Apartment

Scale 1:100





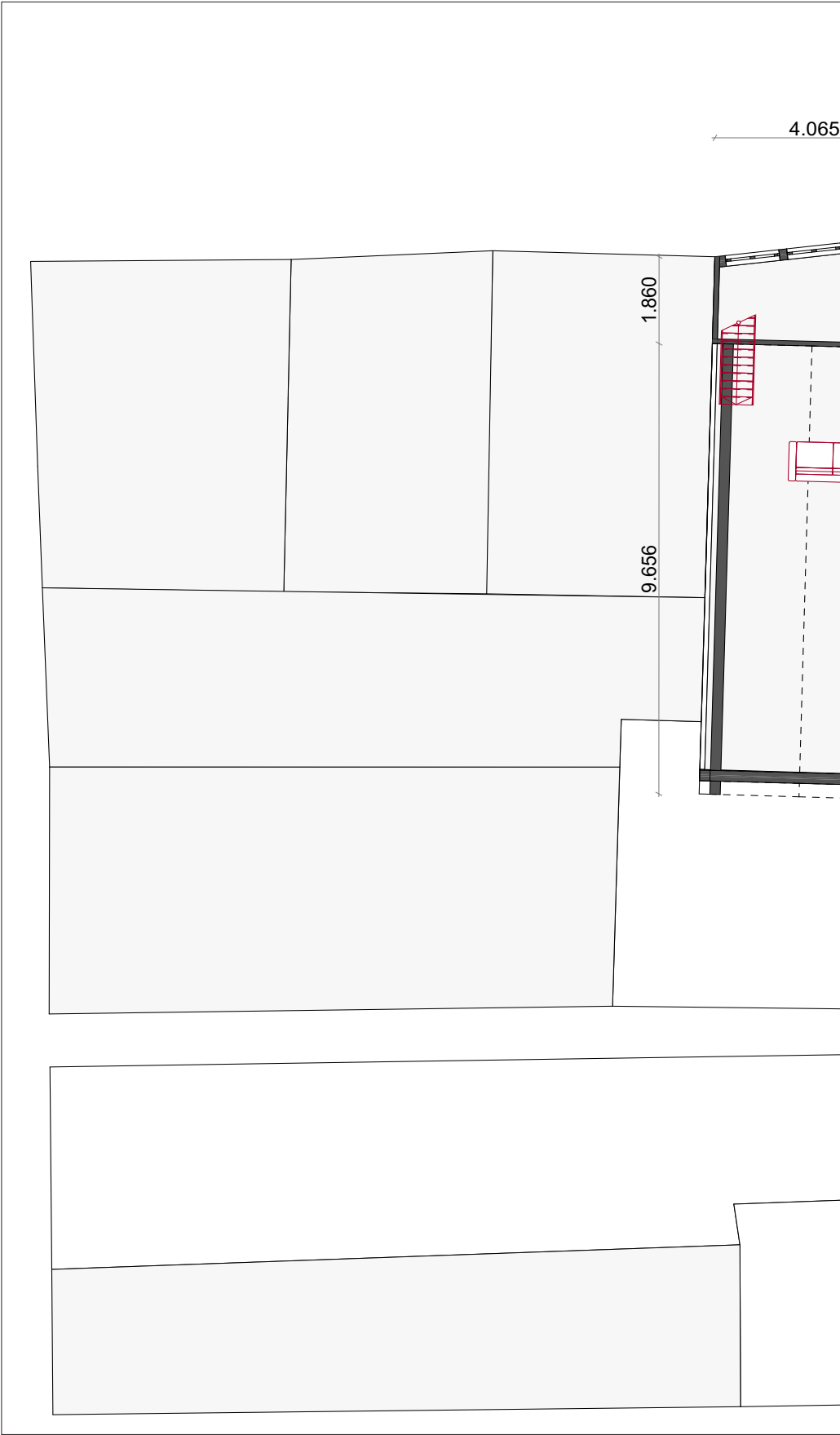


Floorplan

Eight Floor
Apartment

Scale 1:100







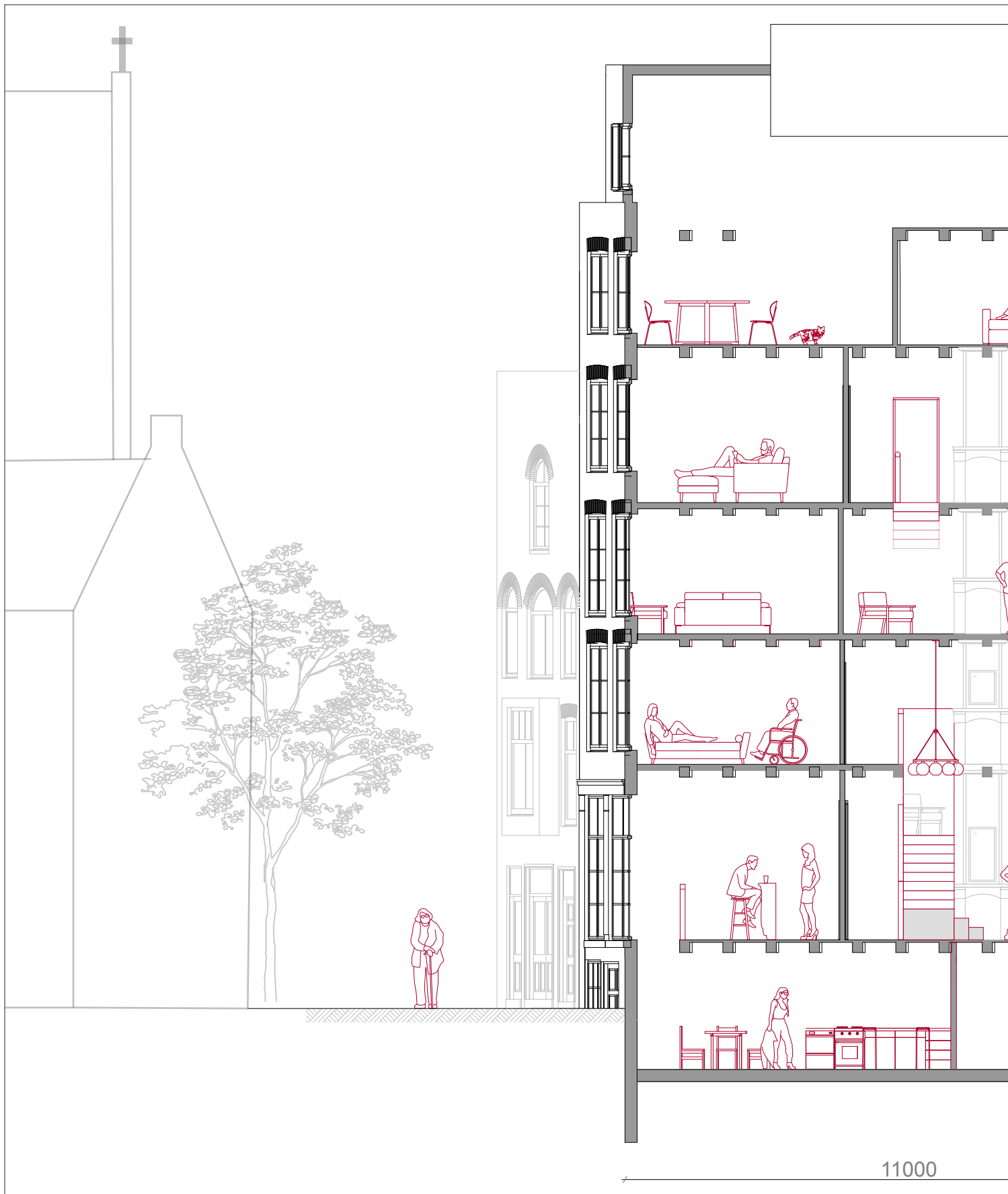
Floorplan

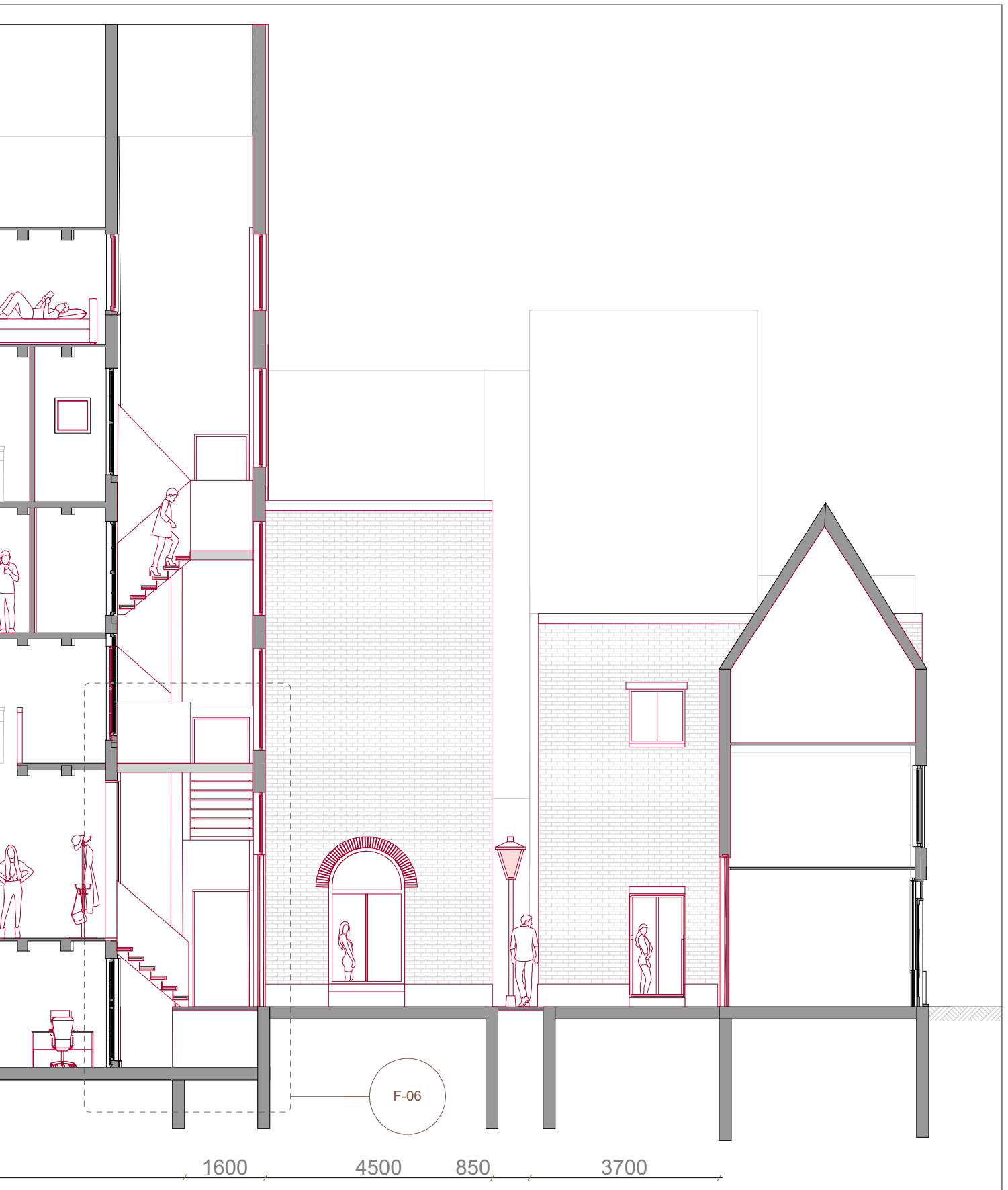
Ninth Floor
Apartment

Scale 1:100



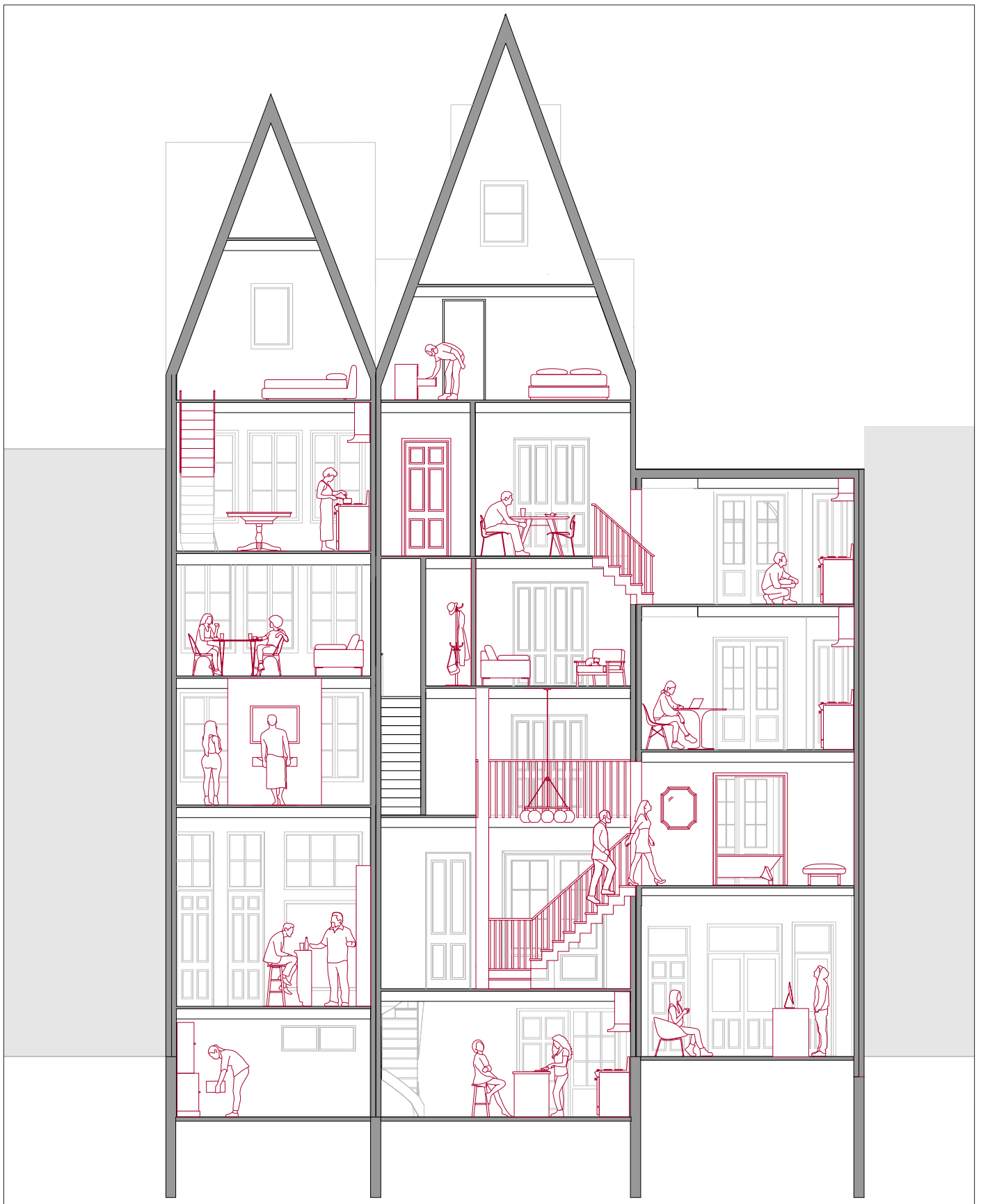
Sections





Section AA

Longitudinal Section
Window Spaces, Apartments and
Sex Work Spaces
Scale 1:100



Section BB

Cross Section
Apartments and Sex Work Spaces

Scale: 1:100

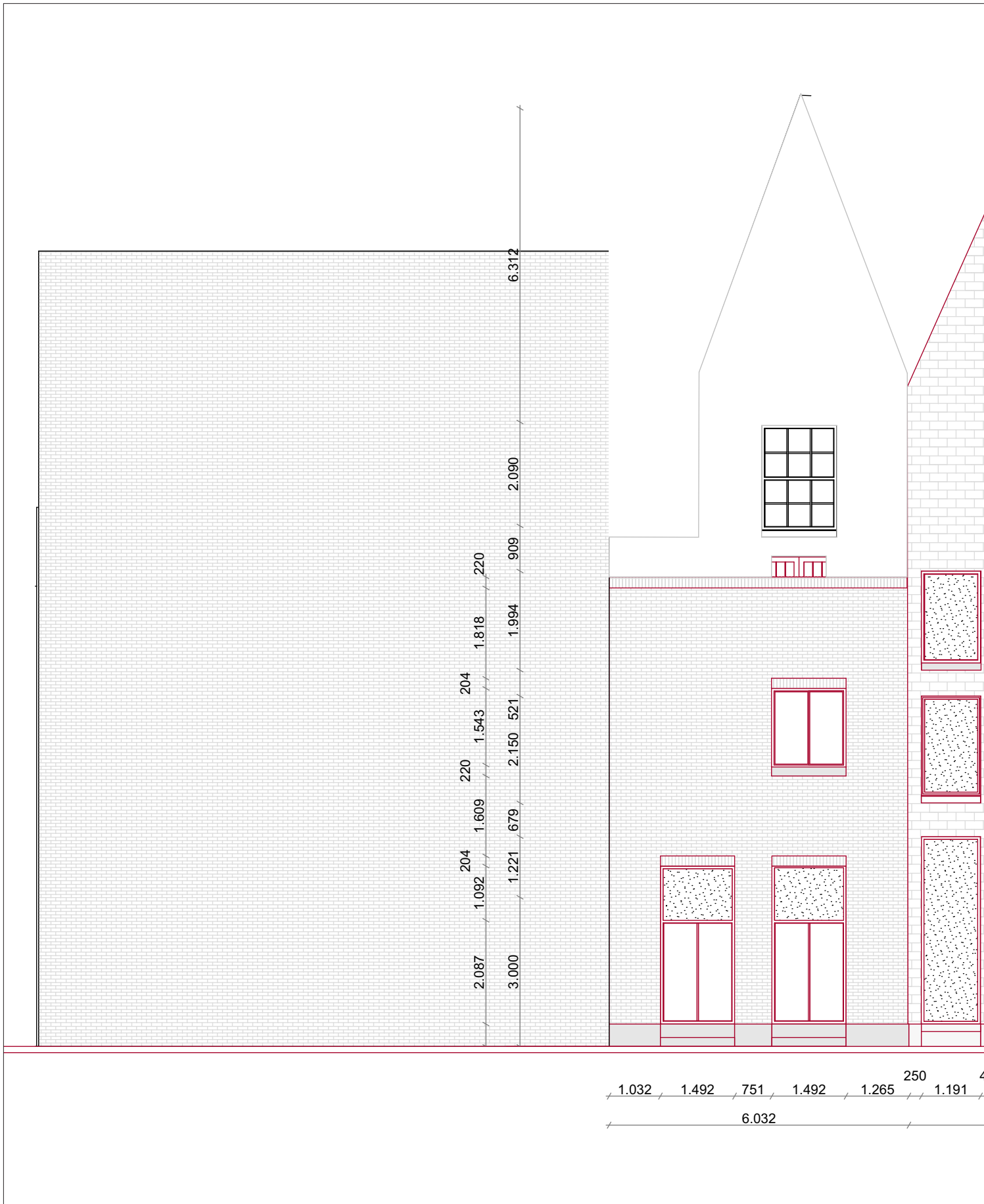


Section CC

Cross Section
Window Spaces

Scale 1:100

Elevations





Elevation

Elevation South Facades
Sex Work Windows

Scale 1:100

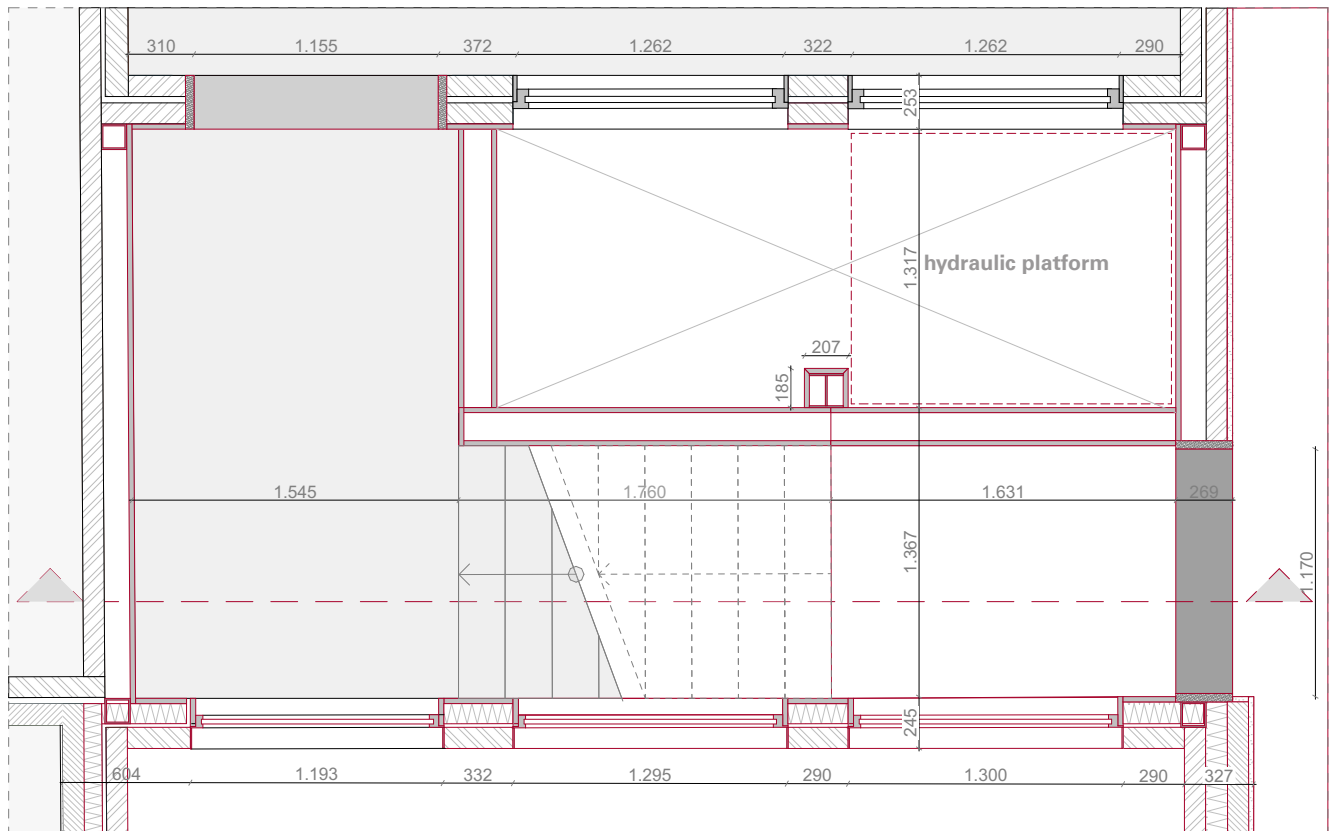


Fragments



Section DD

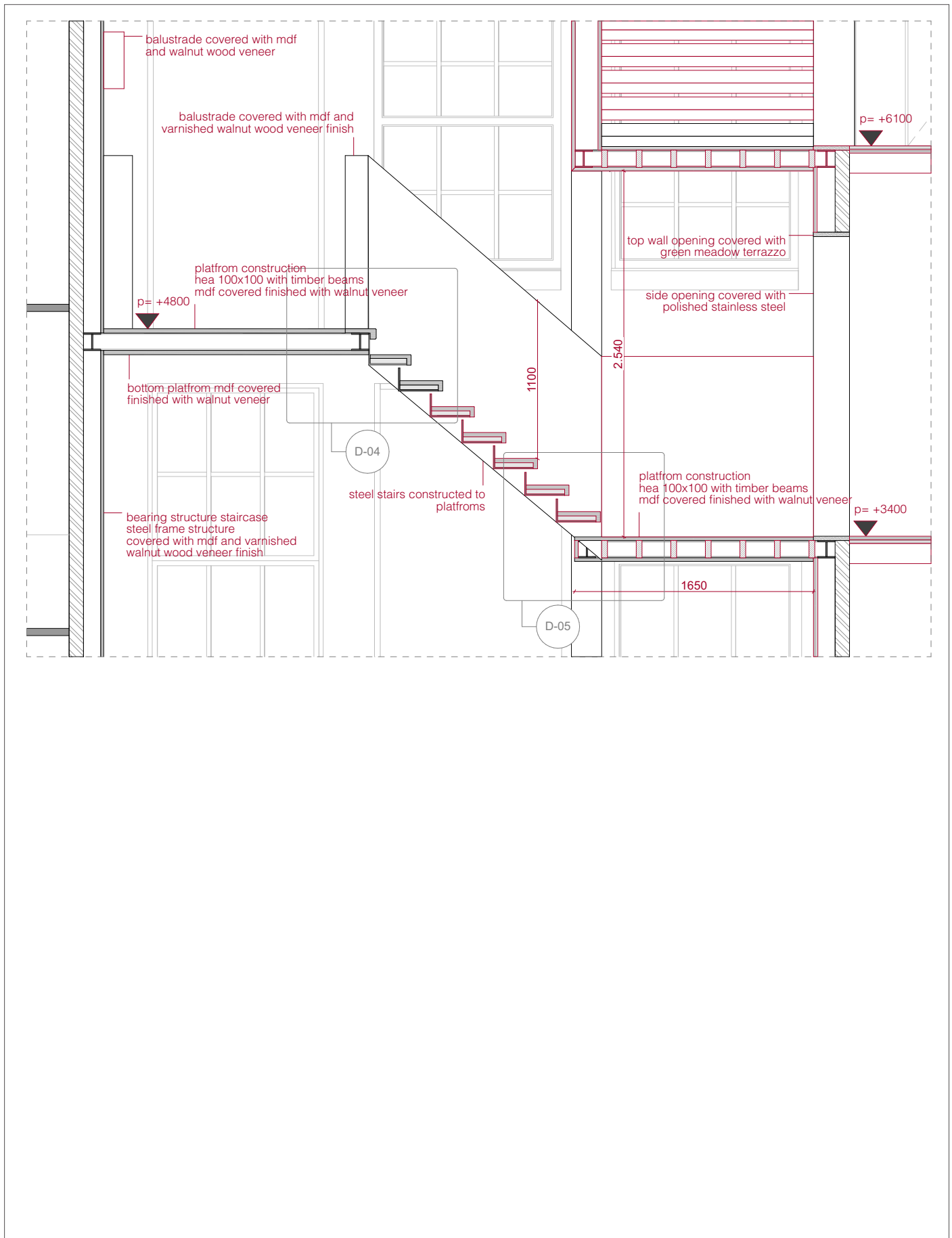
Fragment
Staircase



Fragment 01



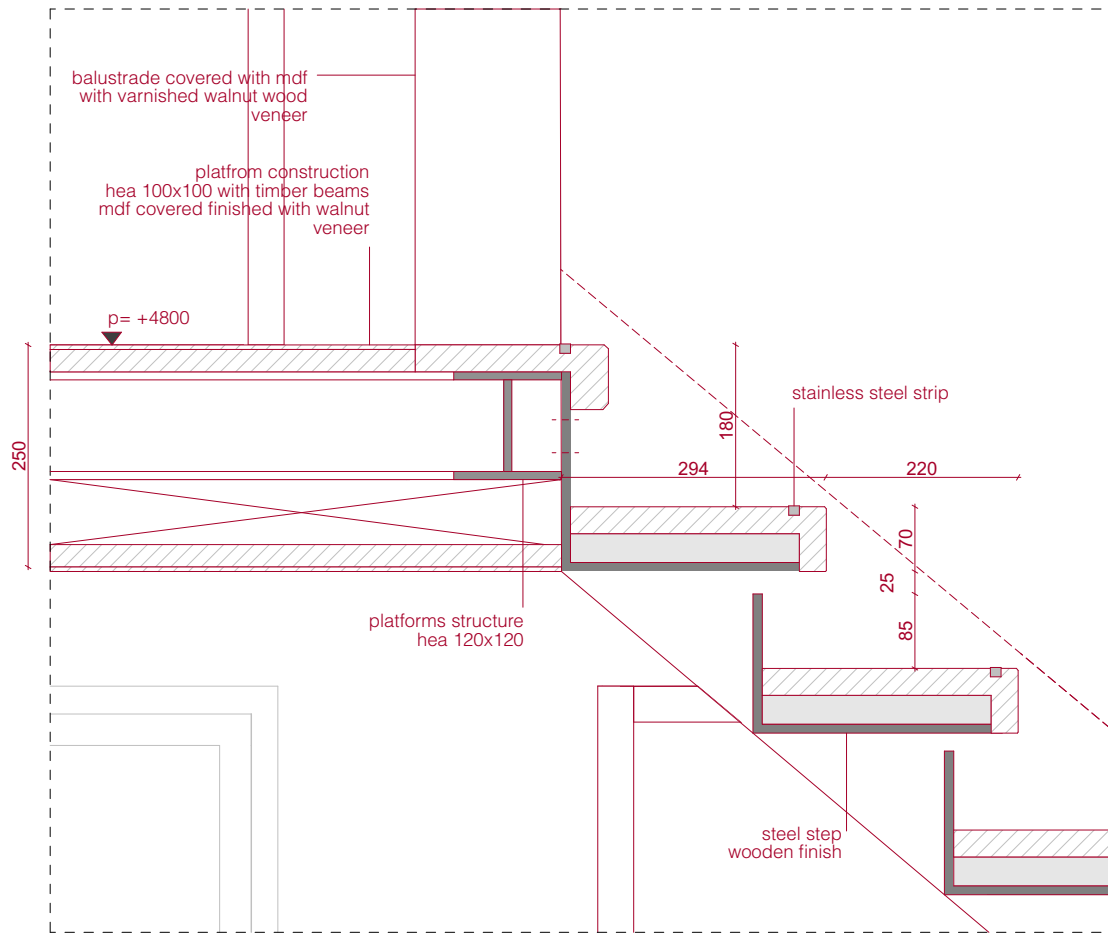
Floorplan
Staircase



Fragment 01

Section
Staircase

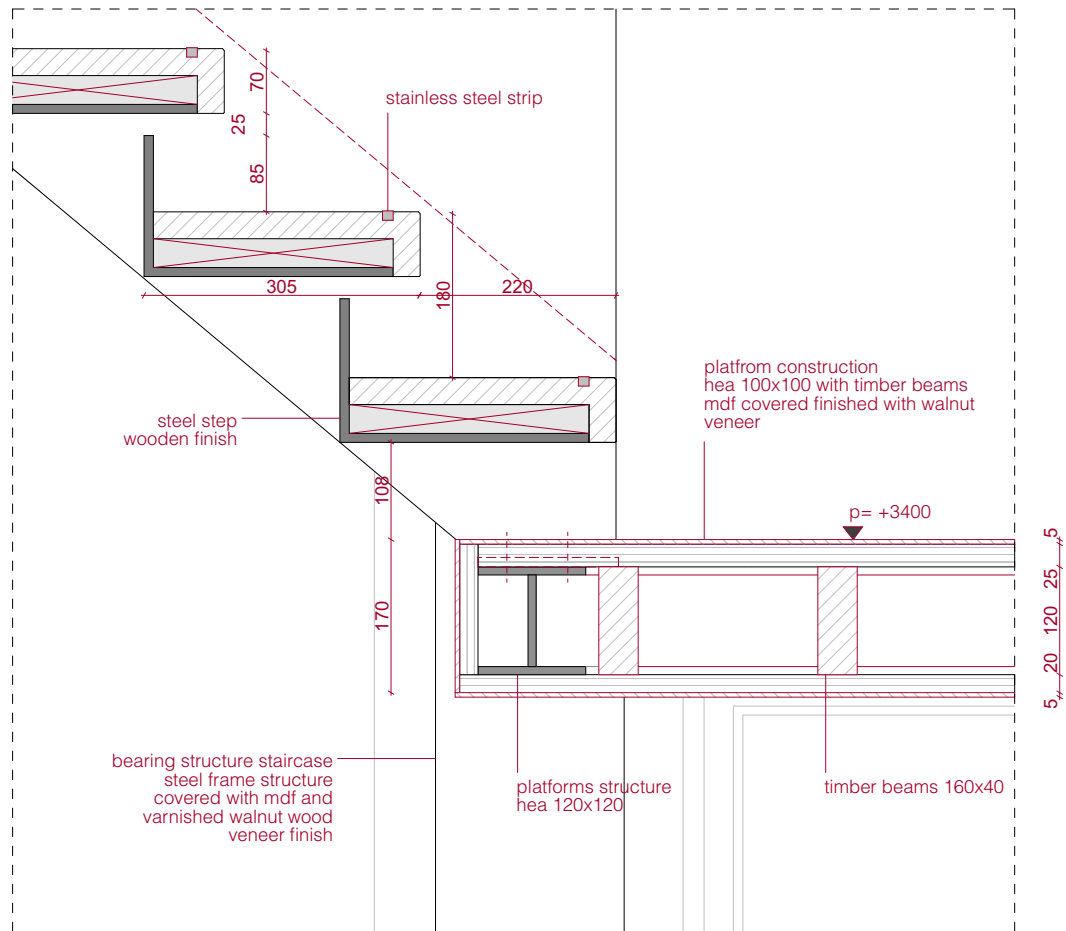
Details



Detail 01

Staircase Stair Step

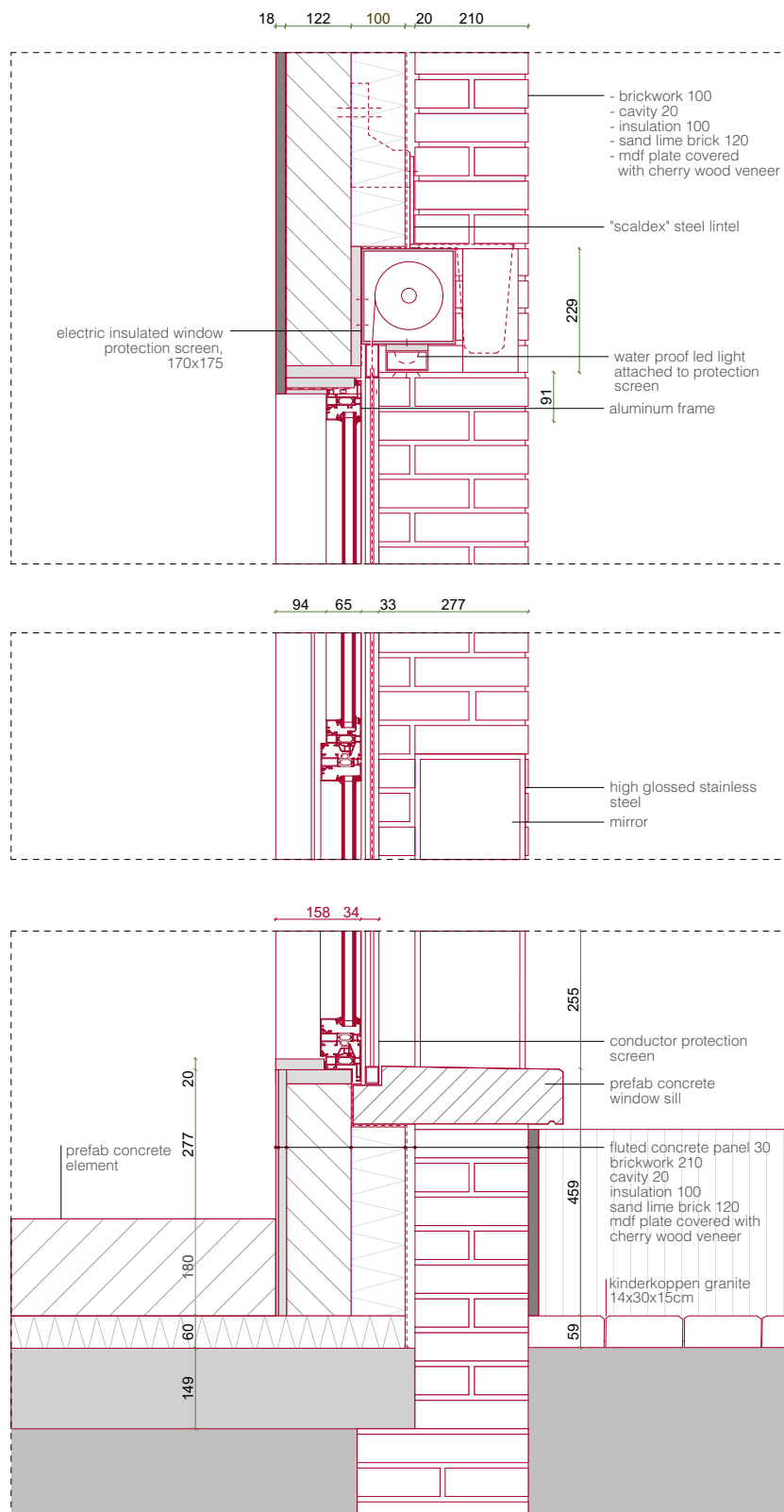
Scale 1:100



Detail 02

Staircase Stair Step

Scale 1:100

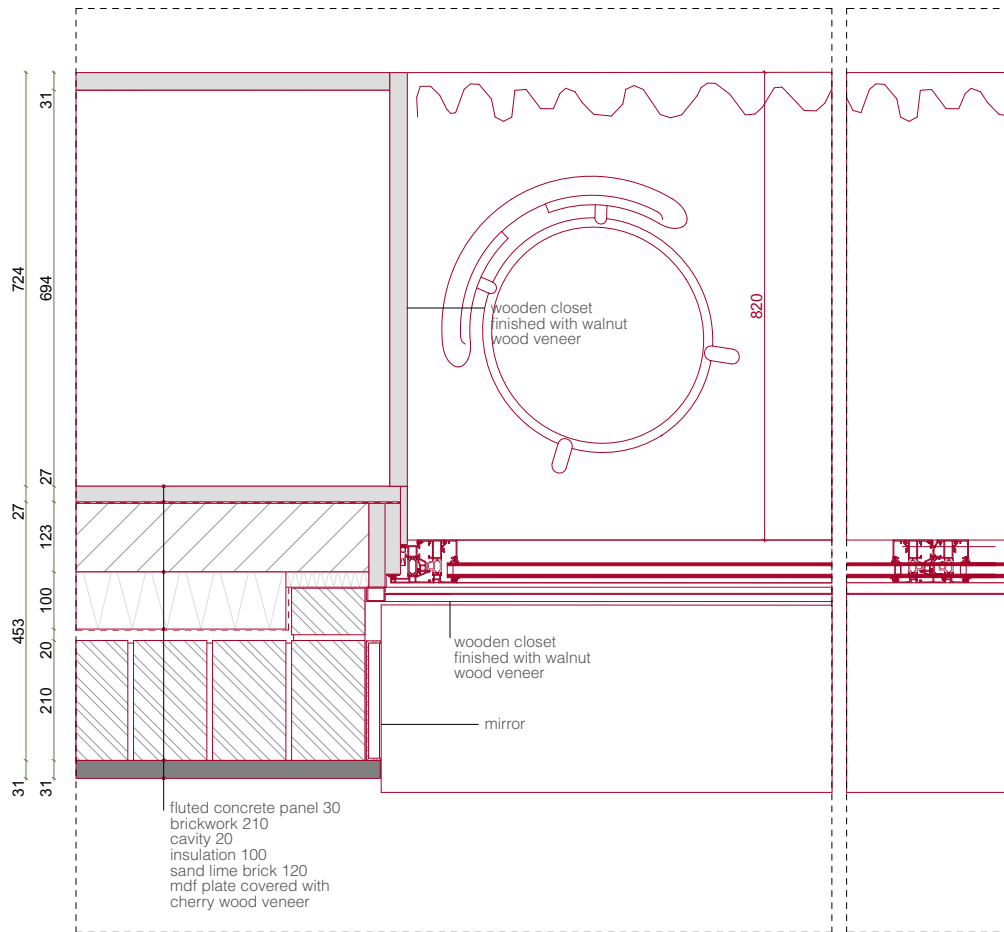


Detail 03-04

Vertical Window Detail



Scale 1:5



Detail 05

Horizontal Window Detail



Scale 1:5

Visualisations



Trompettersteeg



Behind the Window



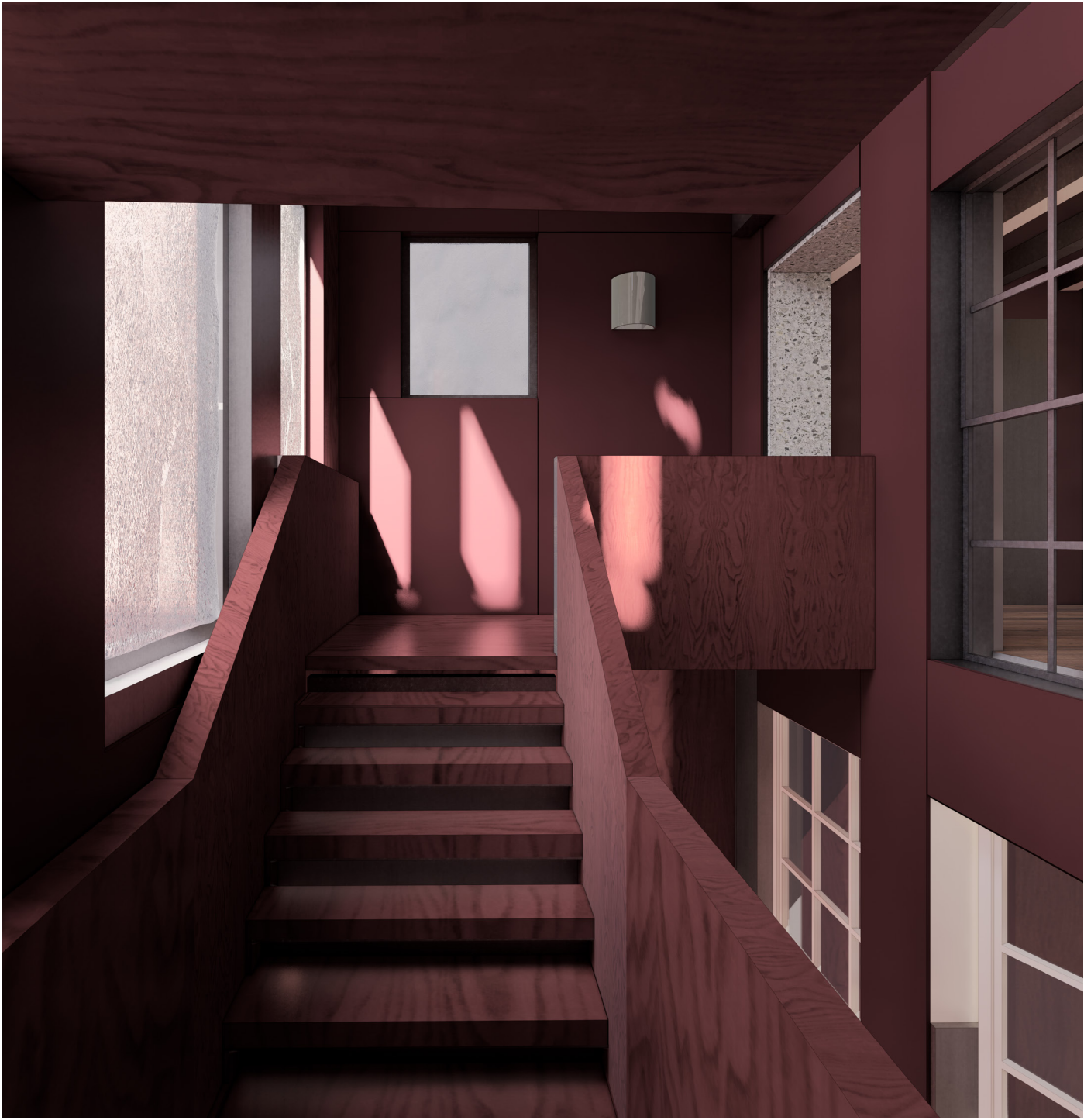
Entrance



Intimate Square



Foyer



Stair Case



Bed Room

Acknowledgements

This project was made possible through the help of my tutors:

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Wessel, Gerard. (1986). Brug Oudezijds Voorburgwal bij Lange Nieuwstraat. www.gerardwessel.nl