Master Thesis

Female Residents’ Experience and Behaviour in Amsterdam’s Red Light District

Figure 1. Amsterdam’s Red Light District, Zeedijk. 
Source. Photo by author.

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ABSTRACT

Amsterdam’s Red Light District (RLD), de Wallen, is more than an accumulation of sex businesses and window prostitution. It attracts tremendous amounts of tourists who want to visit a unique neighbourhood. Not forgotten however should be that the RLD also functions as a residential area. De Wallen embodies the intersection of urban space, sexuality, consumption and recreation, and is therefore a multi-use space. Recently, this has been further stimulated by gentrification. Due to its high number of sex-related businesses and male-focussed services, de Wallen counts as gendered and sexualized. This means that specific constructs and rules related to gender are established there. Literature has shown that gendered and sexualized spaces tend to be experienced differently by various genders, especially by women. In this thesis, a knowledge gap was identified of how females experience living in a multi-use RLD like de Wallen. Hence, this study investigated the experience and behaviour of female residents in Amsterdam’s RLD as a gentrifying, multi-use sexualized space. Data was collected with the help of in-depth interviews and focus groups with female residents, as well as observations in de Wallen. The results indicated that female residents experience de Wallen as multiverse space, consisting of the tourist, sexualized, resident, gentrified and public sphere. Spatial confidence of female residents is based on when, where and with whom they use space. Surveillance, police, tourism, sex workers and homeless people have an impact on this. Female residents normalize prostitution and its nuisances through familiarity, yet they acknowledge the obscurity of de Wallen. Older residents seem to barely experience sexual attention and tend to disdain sex workers. In contrast, younger residents are more likely to ally with sex workers. Moreover, they are harassed and objectified frequently by men. In response, coping mechanisms such as bold-dressing and -countering are used. A new form called ‘on-the-go’ harassment was identified. These new insights show that power relations between genders are produced and constructed continuously. In addition, it was found that gentrification project 1012 is partially perceived as counterproductive. Nevertheless, there is a potential to ‘genderfy’ and feminize de Wallen, in other words to tailor consumption and aesthetics of shops more to female residents. Generally saying, this study shows that female residents living in Amsterdam’ RLD feel safe, spatially confident as well as proud and protective of their neighbourhood.

Keywords: Female Resident, Amsterdam’s Red Light District, De Wallen, Gendered Space, Sexualized Space
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1 Introduction

The beautiful historic brick buildings mirroring in the canals shifted my thoughts to somewhere else. The reflection made it seem like there is another whole world there, a second world, one that is blurrier, and perhaps even more charming.

While this snippet from my field notes could describe any part of Amsterdam, it is about de Wallen, Amsterdam’s Red Light District (RLD). Little did I know that the outcomes of my study on female residents centred around the impression that I had that morning; the impression of different worlds within de Wallen, perceived as blurry, captivating, and yet so real. Amsterdam’s RLD is located in the heart of the Dutch capital. The scenery is impressive, with its historic buildings arraying along the canals, divided by pretty, little bridges. In the early mornings, one would think of de Wallen as an ordinary neighbourhood, but soon enough it becomes lively and crowded. Locals and visitors fill the streets, the flower shop opens its door, restaurants set up their terraces, families take their children to the day care centre, right next to where the first sex workers open their windows.

The Netherlands is known world-wide for its sex industry. Amsterdam’s RLD is “locally and internationally significant as one of the oldest venues for visible and legal urban prostitution” (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p. 112). According to Weitzer (2014), spaces in cities, where sex establishments are clearly visible, are characterized as RLDs. What can be found there are “strip clubs, porn shops, bars offering sex, peep shows, massage parlors, and brothels” (p. 703). Sex establishments are often clustered in areas for consumption and recreational purposes (Collins, 2006). In contrast to single-use RLDs, in de Wallen sex establishments merge with other businesses like bars, shops and cafes. This makes it a multi-use RLD (Weitzer, 2014). Once a no-go area full of crime and drugs, the neighbourhood has developed into a tourist attraction. It converted into a ‘must-see’ destination for around 2.5 million visitors per year (Van Liempt and Chimienti, 2017). What is often forgotten is de Wallen is also a residential area. For residents, compared to visitors, it is the space they move in daily. De Wallen is their home. The recent gentrification project 1012 aimed at improving the neighbourhood. The goal was to increase the liveability for residents, who suffer from the side effects of prostitution and tourism, and to release it from its negative, immoral image (Van Liempt and Chimienti, 2017).

In sexualized spaces like de Wallen, where sex work is visible, people tend to assign certain conducts and behaviours related to sexuality and gender to the setting (Green et al., 2010). Urban spaces enable people to construct and internalize social norms and rules, which influence their behaviour and experience. In the academic world, sociologists have been increasingly studying sexualized urban spaces such as RLDs. This has not only to do with the immorality and obscurity that is often associated with them (Hubbard 1998; Hubbard & Sanders, 2003; Tani, 2002; Persak &
Vermeulen, 2014). It is also connected to the social norms and gender relations residing there, which influence the way different genders behave and interact (Nelson & Seager, 2005).

So far, scholars have examined tourists’ behaviour and experience while visiting de Wallen (Chapuis, 2017; Hubbard & Whowell, 2008; Sanders-McDonagh, 2017). Others took into account residents’ voices and analysed the implications of the recent gentrification project 1012 in de Wallen for residents (Van Liempt & Chimienti, 2017; Aalbers & Sabat, 2012). Additionally, clients’ interactions with sex workers were investigated, as well as sex workers themselves, aiming at tackling sex trafficking and exploitation (Aalbers, 2005). Those studies revealed that specific power and gender relations are constructed in de Wallen and RLDs in general. In their studies on prostitution areas in Helsinki, Koskela and Tani (2005) have found that especially women amend their behaviour according to spaces. They develop strategies related to their gender to feel more comfortable and confident. Reviewing the literature on RLDs, specifically de Wallen, brings to light that there is a gap in academia of how female residents experience RLDs.

This research on the experience of females living in de Wallen is academically relevant for the following reasons. Although research in de Wallen on residents’ experiences is available, the nuances between experiences of different genders have been neglected. Studies focusing on single-use RLDs demonstrated that female residents in sexualized spaces adapt their behaviour (Koskela & Tani, 2005). However, de Wallen has more to offer than solely sexual services targeting men (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012). Its multi-use has been even more stimulated by gentrification processes (Van Liempt & Chimienti, 2017). Hence, it is relevant to investigate how women make usage of their residential, gentrifying area in everyday life. It is unknown whether female residents of de Wallen avoid spaces in their neighbourhood, and whether they change their behaviour according to the space they are situated in. This research is socially relevant, as looking at different genders continues to be neglected when considering theories to shape cityscapes (Droogleever Fortuijn, Horn & Ostendorf, 2004; Beebejaun, 2017). Living in a time where, at least in Western societies, gender equality and feminist geography are widely discussed, limitations for women in terms of spatial confidence and usage of space in cities should not be a norm.

The purpose of this research is to discover how staying in a gentrifying, multi-use and sexualized space influences female residents’ living experiences. This includes how female residents behave in their neighbourhood. This thesis will gather knowledge on how female residents experience the RLD in their everyday life, and hence contributes to existing studies on women in urban spaces and prostitution areas. In this paper, I seek to answer the following research question: *How do female residents experience and behave in Amsterdam’s Red Light District as a gentrifying and multi-use sexualized urban space?* The methods that were used to answer this question were 11 semi-structured in-depth interviews and two focus groups with female identifying residents, supplemented by observations collected in de Wallen. Research participants were found via purposive and snowball sampling. The interviews and focus groups were audio and video-recorded as well as transcribed.
Observations were captured in form of field notes. All data was analysed by using open, focus and axial coding.

The structure of this paper looks as follows. Firstly, the literature review allows the reader to be introduced to the research topic by starting off with gender constructs and performances. Those are partly created in public, sexualized spaces like RLDs and dominated by specific gender rules. I will elaborate and characterize RLDs in general to provide a better understanding of the research site of this research, de Wallen. There will be a critical review of how female tourists and locals experience RLDs. Theories on gentrifying RLDs will be discussed to clarify why and how those areas are renewed, as this has been happening in de Wallen recently. The notion of ‘genderfication’ and feminization will give an insight into gentrification in relation to deconstructing gender roles and constructs in neighbourhoods. Next, the knowledge gap will be defined. In the third chapter, the method and research design will be discussed. This will be followed by the fourth chapter, where findings are presented and linked to existing literature. In the last chapter, the conclusions will be presented. The research question will be answered and research limitations and suggestions for further research will be demonstrated. This paper will end with a reflection on my personal role and development as a researcher throughout the research.
2 Literature Review
This literature review is divided into six sections. The first section deals with a description of gender performances and gender constructs, which forms the base of this study which emphasizes on constructs of femaleness. The second section relates to those constructs, where I discuss the notion of gendered and sexualized spaces. Gender relations that exist in those spaces will be outlined, especially how women experience them. Subsequently, the phenomena of RLDs will be explored in regard to their location, characteristics and role in society. This will be followed by a closer examination of how RLDs as gendered and sexualized spaces are experienced by the actors moving there. I will highlight female sex tourists, visitors and residents. The fifth section discovers the intersection between RLDs and gentrification, as well as gentrification related to gendered spaces. It will be focused on women’s experience specifically, keeping in mind the purpose of this research. Lastly, the knowledge gap will be defined, followed by the research question that guided this research project.

2.1 Gender Performances and Gender Constructs
In order to comprehend females’ experience and behaviour in RLDs later on, it is vital to understand the meaning of gender performances and constructs in general. According to gender theorist Butler (1990), gender is not part of our nature, but rather an act that is performed. From early childhood on gender is imposed on us, meaning that we are taught to behave, act, speak and think in a certain way dependent on the biological sex we were born with. Therefore, gender and the perception of sex is socially and culturally constructed (Butler, 1990). Gender is part of our habitus, which Bourdieu (1984) defines as norms and dispositions adopted by living in a particular society. Gender performativity means to adopt a role that fits to socially formed gender norms (Butler, 1990). Similarly, Meyerhoff (2015) refers to gender performativity as the understanding of how gender is positioned “in relation to others through repetition and enactment” (p. 2). Gender performativity is produced and reproduced in society and explains the way different genders behave (Butler, 1990; Meyerhoff, 2015).

An ongoing debate on gender equality and rights has shaken up our society. Through feminist waves and social movements such as #metoo, social groups have raised their voices to challenge the status quo and deconstruct the rules bound to gender, especially to femininity. Bolich (2007) argues that masculinity is still privileged, which generally speaking makes men benefit from “distinction, separation, and advantages” (p. 85). Women have been seen as subordinate or even belonging to men, rather than being an equal entity. This idea is often criticized in the debate on RLDs, considering that sexual services are offered mainly by women and consumed by men (Aalbers, 2005). Feminist movements have confronted this societal and political issue of gender hierarchy and inequality. More recently, also other genders such as transgender and intersex people fight for equality, and their genders are increasingly accepted and acknowledged (Farris, Davis, & Compton, 2014).
2.2 Urban Spaces and Gender
According to Nelson and Seager (2005), urban spaces create room for socially and culturally produced gender constructs and performativity. Urban geographers and policy makers have been attempting to make spaces available for various genders, to seek gender equality and to minimize gender exclusion. This relates especially to gendered and sexualized spaces, where gender performances and constructs are more obvious, such as in RLDs. In the following two sections I will discuss the concepts of gendered and sexualized spaces. I will argue that women specifically struggle in those spaces, which will be explained by discussing their experiences in urban (sexualized) spaces.

2.2.1 Gendered Public Spaces
The term public space is defined as a space that is available and accessible to anyone (Fyfe & Bannister, 1996). This definition suggests a democratisation of public spaces, in reality though carries a rather idealistic meaning. According to Atkinson (2003), it should be a universal right for people to access public spaces without limitations. However, some spaces restrict access due to safety and security reasons. In addition, Fenster (2006) claims that religious and cultural norms as well as economic benefits can result in limited access to public spaces. Mowl and Towner (1995) argue that spaces are created through social constructs and make people ‘perform’ in line with these constructs. Citizens tend to be aware of the rules prevailing in public spaces. Hence, when moving in public spaces, they negotiate daily about “concepts and practices of citizenship, exclusions, and prejudice” (Beebeejaun, 2017, p. 325) and behave accordingly. These negotiations oftentimes comprise gender constructs and performativity. The ways public spaces are experienced oftentimes differ between men and women (Miranne & Young, 2000). Recent queer studies have indicated that this difference is not only witnessed among men and women, but also intersex and transgender people. Some gender groups feel like they need to constraint their behaviour due to particular social norms ruling the space (Doan, 2010). According to Koskela (2005), “the interplay between public space and (gendered) social relations is crucial for understanding both how space is produced and how gender is constructed” (p. 257). This shows that public spaces often become gendered.

2.2.2 The Structure of Gendered Public Spaces
According to Droogleever Fortuijn, Horn and Ostendorf (2004), the structure of gendered spaces includes the presence and absence of specific gender groups. This refers to genders’ usage and avoidance of space. The in- and exclusion from spaces is partially reliant on authority structures. The structure of gendered public spaces often determines power relations and therefore how space is experienced by people. Their feeling of comfort and inclusion depends on the characteristics of the space and the agency they perceive to have or not. Gendered public spaces, as Droogleever Fortuijn et
al. (2004) state, reflect gender inequalities through selected structures opportunities that are provided. For example, RLDs focus on the consumption of males (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012). Naturally there are more opportunities for men to make use of this space than for women.

Research from Longhurst in 1999 already suggested that public spaces tend to be designed for men, creating a privilege for men on women’s costs. He was for instance referring to spaces where women were harassed. Spaces are used by social groups to fulfil their own needs. Along with this, the needs of other social groups can be dismissed. This was confirmed by Rosewarne (2007), who said that spaces are created to satisfy the needs of men. Hence, they are primarily used by men, while other genders feel left out. In general, many urban scholars have indeed implied that power relations in public spaces have been dominated by patriarchal structures (Hubbard, 2005; Koskela, 2005; Spain, 2014; Sanders-McDonagh, 2017). As a result, women have limited power to influence those spaces. Another indicator for patriarchal spaces is the idea that women should not move in public spaces alone, or that they need disguise their sexuality. This affects how women make use of their surroundings, which will be discussed in more detail later on.

2.2.3 Sexualized Public Spaces
Public spaces mirror and fabricate gender norms and values, also connected to sexuality (Koskela, 2005; Bryant & Livholts, 2007). For the purpose of this research, it is necessary to look at the relationship between space and sexuality. Green et al. (2010) define sexualized spaces as urban areas where erotic forms and practices rule the setting. People assign certain conducts, constructs and behaviours to this setting and behave accordingly. For instance, sexualized spaces allow citizens to express their sexual identity and desires. Collins (2006) argues that gendered public spaces are oftentimes sexualized because of an increased focus on sexual liberation and tolerance of various sexual identities. This can be visible in Western cities, where urban policy makers have embraced sexual variety, consumption and activities. Spaces were created in public areas to offer sexual services to meet the needs of inhabitants’ various sexual lifestyles. There is a growth of sexual freedom to enhance the quality of life of non-heterosexual social groups, such as homosexuals and transgenders (Fisker et al., 2019). Nowadays, sexual activities are part of a globalized city, driven by consumption and recreational purposes for both residents and tourists (Collins, 2006, Chapuis, 2017). The issue of sexualized spaces is that they tend to meet the needs of selected genders. Consequently, public places become less accessible to some gender groups than they should. Reminiscent of Rosewarne (2007), scholars claim that sexualized spaces tend to be male-dominated, meaning they are targeted at male consumption and aim at pleasing male’s sexual needs (Hubbard, 1998; Sanders & Hardy, 2012; Sanders-McDonagh, 2017). They seem ‘off-limits’ to women. Especially clustered sexual entertainment spaces, such as RLDs, target male visitors (Hubbard & Whowell, 2008, Hubbard, 2012, Sanders-McDonagh, 2017).
2.2.4 Women in Gendered and Sexualized Public Spaces
Koskela (2005) argues that women’s experience in gendered and sexualized spaces is heavily based on their perceived spatial confidence. Feeling spatially uncomfortable can mean that women feel excluded or fearful and thus avoid spaces. Fearfulness is a quality often associated with women. It is not an intrinsic quality but rather a learned, socially constructed feeling. Women are for instance taught not to walk alone in a park at night. Therefore, women tend to negotiate where, when and with whom to visit particular public spaces. Being able to estimate a space and its safety makes women more spatially confident. Due to being constantly attentive to their environment, Koskela (2005) argues that women are highly sensitive and capable to read urban semiotics. These findings were based on research on women’s daily experience in a street prostitution area in Helsinki, a gendered and sexualized space. Koskela (2005) pointed out three types of public spaces that amend the way women experience cities and alter their spatial confidence and fearfulness.

Firstly, ‘elastic’ spaces describe urban areas where “temporality and spatiality are intertwined” (Koskela, 2005, p. 259). According to Koskela (1997), temporality means that women’s feeling and behaviour changes throughout day and night-time. Spatiality is about estimating spatial structures and characteristics present in the space. The variations of temporality and spatiality influence the way women experience spatial confidence and fearfulness and make a space ‘elastic’. Secondly, ‘tamed’ spaces are areas that are routinized by women daily. In other words, women visit ‘feared’ spaces repeatedly. Their frequent presence increases their spatial confidence and makes space available for other women. Thirdly, ‘suppressed’ spaces are areas with a high level of video surveillance to maximize security in general. This potentially benefits women, as generally speaking, they experience more fear than men. On the one hand, surveillance makes them feel more secure. On the other hand, it can be a ‘sign of danger’, which means that women expect the space to be threatening. I argue that the constant negotiations that women (and other gender groups) must go through are reflected in their sense of belonging to urban spaces, including the emotions, level of security and familiarity they attach to it.

2.3 Red Light Districts in Public Spaces
RLDs count as highly sexualized urban spaces due to their aggregation of sexual services and sex businesses (Sanders-McDonagh, 2017; Koskela & Tani, 2005). In the following section, I will firstly elaborate on the concepts and kinds of RLDs in general. Secondly, I will highlight the reasons for RLDs commonly being marginalized and the stigma that is put on sex work and sexual establishments.
2.3.1 The Definition of Red Light Districts

According to Hutchison (2010), whenever certain parts in cities or towns are themed around sex, they are called RLDs. Sexual services in these districts can both be visible and invisible. Areas with many sex-related businesses (sex toys, clothing stores, sex video stores etc.) are considered RLDs as well. Weitzer (2014) argues that the definition of RLDs excludes “places where prostitution is confined to street-level transactions or where indoor businesses are scattered across the city” (p. 703). RLDs are usually quite visible and recognisable as such, speaking for instance about window prostitution, sex shops and strip clubs. Many windows are lit in red, which explains the name and allows people to identify areas as RLDs (Hutchison, 2010). RLDs can entail indoor services like brothels and outdoor services, for instance concentrated street prostitution (Weitzer, 2014). Hutchison (2010) adds that RLDs are often placed around business and transportation districts. In a few cities RLDs are part of the city centre, such as in Hamburg, Amsterdam and Bangkok. Generally saying though, RLDs are usually located outside the centre (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, Weitzer, 2014), which will be discussed more in depth later on.

2.3.2 Red Light Districts as Single or Multi-use Spaces

Boels and Weitzer (2015) define two environments that RLDs can be situated in: single- and multi-use environments. Single-use RLDs are frequently located in separated urban spaces focusing on a local clientele, window prostitution or dense street prostitution areas. Examples are the RLDs in Ghent and Antwerp, Belgium. In comparison, multi-use RLDs evolve around sex work and related businesses, such as peep shows, sex shops, bars and cafes. Single-use RLDs can be distributed over the city. In comparison, multi-use RLDs are characterized by their offers and entertainments built around sex, together with other businesses like hotels and bars. Such RLDs are rare and can be found for example in Hamburg and Amsterdam. Single- as well as multi-use RLDs have long been associated with vice zones, defined as disorganized neighbourhoods with a high rate of crime, poverty and drug trade (Reckless, 1933). At the same time, several scholars (Ashworth, 1988; Chatterton & Hollands, 2003; Evans, 2009) argue that multi-use RLDs are built for entertainment in order to boost the economy. Sexualized spaces are created for the purpose of urban entertainment, especially urban nightlife. In doing so, multi-use RLDs increasingly attract tourists instead of local city-dwellers.

2.3.3 Marginalization and Stigmatization of Red Light Districts

RLDs are often marginalized, which means that they are segregated from central parts of cities and located on the outskirts of urban scenes (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, Weitzer, 2014). The marginalization has to do with two main factors, firstly the stigmatization of sex work and secondly the side effects of prostitution.
To start with, a huge stigma is put on the profession of prostitution. According to Hubbard and Whowell (2008), sex work was and sometimes is still not tolerated and morally accepted. Sampson and Raudenbush (1999) for example claimed that sex work is a social disorder in public spaces and does not belong to civilized societies. Hubbard and Whowell (2008) state that therefore prostitution counts as an activity to be marginalized. Additionally, consuming sex is often considered shameful. In many countries, offering and making use of sex work is socially and politically rejected. In those societies, sex work is not considered a ‘normal’ profession and is therefore illegal. Consequences for sex workers include for example the lack of labour rights. According to Sallmann (2010), prostitutes are constantly labelled and degraded. Furthermore, discrimination takes place during the employment as a prostitute, and even exceeds it. This means that sex workers are often stigmatized for a lifetime and feel excluded from certain social circles.

According to Nelson and Seager (2005), another reason for prostitution being stigmatized is that it fosters the objectification of women. In other words, the sex industry promotes gender inequality as women are portrayed as objects who are submissive to men. On the one hand, the patriarchal domination in the sex industry and in RLDs is criticized. One solution would be to eradicate sex work from our society. On the other hand, sex work should be socially accepted and above all decriminalized. Female sex workers fight for their rights and for being treated equally to any other profession. Feminists advocate for the emancipation of sex work as a form of liberation and therefore endorse the legalization of prostitution. Similarly, Comte (2014) argues that prostitution should not be removed or denied but rather be included in our society. Relocating RLDs to peripheral urban areas decreases the visibility and hence minimizes the control over human trafficking and violence.

Sex work alone is not the only cause of marginalizing RLDs. Symanski (1981) was one of the first to call RLDs in the Western territory immoral landscapes because of the side effects of prostitution. Physical disorders such as litter, cigarettes and condoms in public contribute to RLDs being labelled as immoral (Hubbard 1998; Persak & Vermeulen, 2014). In addition, social disorders, including harassment, crime, drug use, diseases and alcohol consumption, are associated with RLDs (Persak & Vermeulen, 2014). According to Tani (2002), these social disorders are associated with immoral lifestyles. Finally, Hubbard and Sanders (2003) state that immorality also refers to children’s exposure to sex. To protect children from the obscenity of sexual venues however means that children are taught that sex work is something ‘bad’. By keeping it invisible, children never get in touch with prostitution. To conclude, I argue that the immorality of sex work is socially constructed and passed on intergenerationally.
2.4 Experiencing Red Light Districts
Given that sexualized urban spaces are socially constructed, scholars have investigated how RLDs are experienced by its social actors. This included mainly sex workers, sex businesses owners and clients (Hubbard, 1998; Hubbard, 2004; Aalbers, 2005; Weitzer, 2014). Furthermore, researchers aimed at discovering visitors’, tourists’ and locals’ experiences in RLDs. These experiences will be discussed in the following section, followed by examining studies on residents living in RLDs. Keeping the purpose of this research project in mind, I will focus mainly on women when reviewing literature.

2.4.1 Experiences as Female Sex Tourist and ‘Onlooker’
As discussed in aforementioned sections, genders experience sexualized spaces differently. Whereas male behaviour and interaction with prostitutes in sexualized spaces has been widely discussed in academia (Aalbers, 2005), there seems to be little focus on how women specifically deal with sexual encounters and the erotization of urban places. This gap was also recently identified by scholars, whose studies I want to draw attention to in the following paragraphs. I begin with discussing women’s experiences as sex tourists, which will be followed by talking about female visitors as onlooker. Finally, I will explore women’s reactions to harassment in RLDs in more detail.

RLDs are considered to target men, which results in a clientele consisting of mainly men. A response to this is Sanders-McDonagh’s book (2017) based on ethnographic research in the Netherlands and Thailand, in which she identified a deficiency of research on female sex tourists. The researcher stated that generally, public sex performances are accessible for women as well. Nevertheless, they are not as frequently visited by them compared to men. Female sex consumers were usually attracted by the ‘otherness’ of prostitutes. While female tourists tended to be less interested in actual sexual services like visiting a prostitute, they did enjoy the engagement in sexual spaces. This included for example window-watching and visiting peep shows (Sanders-McDonagh, 2017). This way of consumption allowed female sex tourists to fetishize and objectify sex workers to fantasize about sex. Yet, Sanders-McDonagh (2017) found that most women tended to avoid performances at sex venues and solely passed the windows. In addition to Sanders-McDonagh (2017) outcomes, Chapuis’ (2017) ethnographic research among international visitors in Amsterdam’s RLD showed how men’s experiences differed from those of women. Men struggled with finding a balance between expressing their masculinity and capitulating their desires and fantasies. Everything that was present and identified as feminine seemed to be associated with sexuality and fantasies of men. In other words, in RLDs femininity converts into sexuality (Chapuis, 2017; Koskela, 2005). One could argue that the sexualization of woman stimulates the experience of men in RLDs even more.

Chapuis (2017) also stated that RLDs target male more obviously than female visitors. Consequently, women are usually not considered or expected to be consumers there. They tend to consume RLDs symbolically. They do not actually make use of the sex services but rather take on the
role as ‘onlooker’. The author found that female visitors generally felt anxiety and out of place. They struggled with setting moral boundaries and feel like de Wallen is “a place where ‘good girls’ should not go” (2017, p. 626). They have internalized to belong to the weaker gender and struggled with identifying with sex workers. Even though some were driven by curiosity and the “thrill of desire” (Chapuis, 2017, p. 616), most women experienced Amsterdam’s RLD mainly as a disruptive space. In general, their experiences excluded sexual desire and pleasure.

These studies show that in RLDs, women are inclined to think according to rules and norms attached to their gender (Butler, 1988). As discussed prior, RLDs as sexualized spaces often imply the sexualization of femininity, which refers to women being automatically seen as something sexual. Women’s tactics to cope with this for instance include the choice of dressing. As an example, Chapuis (2017) witnessed female tourists contemplating about whether their clothes are too revealing. They were trying to balance between looking attractive but also legitimate enough to reject offers from men. Women tended to feel threatened by being approached by men for the wrong reasons or even by being harassed. Besides down-dressing, some women in Chapuis’ study made sure not to drink too much alcohol or not to visit the RLD on their own. Anxiety was made explicit through taking precautions by adapting their own behaviour. This shows that gender performances are translated into several reactions and tactics that female visitors apply.

Regarding their reactions to sex workers, female visitors seem to deliberately distinguish themselves from prostitutes and communicate this in various ways (Chapuis, 2017; Sanders-McDonagh, 2017). According to Chapuis (2017), some were not able to look sex workers in the eyes. In order to feel empowered, female visitors took photos with windows in the background and posted them on social media with funny captions. Besides using irony, some women tried to identify themselves with window workers, asking themselves and other women whether they could imagine doing this work. Moreover, their language also represented their feeling and pity towards sex work. The words they used to describe prostitutes were mostly devaluing, calling prostitutes ‘whores’, ‘ sluts’ and ‘disgusting’. This links to Douglas’ (1966) theory on taboos, arguing that prostitutes are considered disgusting because they are considered the ‘Other’ by women. Feeling disgust and derision implies superiority over the ‘Other’. Similarly, Chapuis (2017) and Sanders-McDonagh (2017) argue that the process of ‘Othering’ reflects women’s self-perception in terms of status and social hierarchy. Prostitution areas, like RLDs, allow women to maintain their social position, which they perceive to be ‘higher’ than that of prostitutes (Sanders-McDonagh, 2017). To sum up, their responses such as disgust, irony, derision and pity, imply the act of ‘Othering’.

Researchers raised the lack of knowledge on how women perceive RLDs and therefore provided insights into female consumption in those areas. However, I criticize the focus on sex tourism that seems to dominate existing literature. Moreover, the emphasis on ethnographic research might exclude certain age groups. In the case of collecting ethnographic data while staying in hostels
(Chapuis, 2017), one could assume that findings are limited to a sample of younger age groups. Age might play a role in experiencing sexualized spaces.

### 2.4.2 Experiences as Locals/Residents

Whereas tourists visit RLDs one time only or occasionally, residents in RLDs experience the space on a daily basis. Sex establishments became more and more part of residential areas, for instance due to the increasing liberation and commercialization of sex (Collins, 2006). The way residents experience RLDs might differ from tourists and clients. Residents may use it for different purposes. For example, tourists visit RLDs for sightseeing and entertainment (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012). Traveling to a city as a ‘foreign’ person gives different impressions than consuming a city in everyday life. Of course, both tourists and visitors can be clients of sexual offers, be it visiting a sex worker or attending a sex performance show. However, the symbolic consumption of the two groups might vary. Whereas tourists are indeed driven by the desire to see an immoral cityscape, residents unavoidably pass windows and prostitutes as a daily routine.

Boels and Verhage (2016) criticized the relatively little research available on residents’ experiences of prostitution and its side effects in their neighbourhood. Therefore, they researched the impacts of sex work on residents in Ghent’s single-use RLD and concluded that residents experience a lack of safety in this area. This has to do with the nuisances linked to prostitution, such as drunk tourists, drug use and vandalism. Residents also complained about the noise, which derives mainly from window-watching. The latter refers to groups of people standing in front of windows looking at and discussing sex workers. To cope with the noise, some residents have for instance closed their windows during the night or relocated their bedroom to the back of the house. Another nuisance is the litter in the neighbourhood, including garbage, bottles and used condoms. Similarly, Van Liempt and Chimienti (2017) found that residents in Amsterdam’s RLD feel disturbed by the noise and litter. They blame sex tourism for the growing irritations and feel like they lost their neighbourhood to tourists. It becomes clear that secondary effects of sex premises in a neighbourhood seem to be a crucial issue for its residents.

According to Boels and Verhage (2016), not only the side effects result in residents feeling uncomfortable in their own neighbourhood. The visibility of sex activities also leads to concerns among locals. Men were complaining about prostitutes trying to seduce them while passing their windows, for instance by pulling up their bras. This has also been found by Weitzer (2014) in a study in Brussels’ RLD, where residents were bothered by prostitutes’ scanty clothing. Nonetheless, Prior and Crofts (2012) indicated that negative perceptions of sex work among residents in neighbourhoods with sex establishments depend on their familiarity with it. Their qualitative study is based on residents living near sex businesses in New South Wales, Australia. The authors argued that the more residents are used to sex premises, the more acceptance they show and the less they believe negative
secondary impacts arise. This might imply that it is just a matter of getting used to it, as Van der Geest argues: “What is always there is hard to explain, simply because it is always there. It does not ask for an explanation. It’s normal, natural” (2015, p. 86).

2.4.3 Experience as Female Residents
Experiencing RLDs is subjective, considering that various genders and individuals see them through different eyes. Therefore, I believe that a distinction between gender has to be made. Two of the very few researchers focusing on female residents are Tani (2002) and Koskela (1997, 1999, 2005), who argued that women are often more excluded from urban spaces than men. Thus, they investigated women’s experiences in gendered and sexualized spaces, mainly street prostitution areas in Helskini, Finland.

Tani (2002) held in-depth interviews with locals about their personal experience in a street prostitution district. She found that female residents felt mainly threatened by kerb-crawling, which led them to initiate a movement called ‘Prostitution Off the Streets’. Their aim was to create a peaceful neighbourhood and to win back their district as they felt like they lost it to kerb-crawlers and prostitutes. Social activism is not entirely unknown among locals residing in street prostitution areas. According to Tani (2002), (female) residents have fought for a ‘better’ neighbourhood, for instance in Manchester and San Francisco, with the goal to eliminate sex clients from ‘their’ area. Women unwillingly converted into “a sign of a prostitute” (Tani, 2002, p. 348), meaning that they felt harassed and sexualized by men looking for sexual services. In order to avoid harassment, they adjusted their personal behaviour. For example, they would dress down to prevent looking too feminine, which aligns with Chapuis’ (2017) findings on female tourists. Another tactic to feel safer was to pretend speaking on the phone (Koskela & Tani, 2005). RLDs are active during night-time, which enforces women’s fear. This would mean RLDs change based on temporality, which turns them into an elastic space (Koskela & Tani, 2005).

Fearfulness is experienced by residents as well as tourists and is the cause of adapted behaviour such as down-dressing. In contrast to this, Koskela (1997) identified another strategy that women use when moving in prostitution areas. In order to diminish spatial constraints, female residents apply so-called ‘bold-walking’. This term refers to women’s body language that assists in “talking possession of space” (Koskela, 1997, p. 310). For instance, instead of avoiding eye contact with others on the street, women keep their head up. This makes them seem fearless as they constantly communicate that they are confident with the help of their appearance. As Koskela (1999) argued, women tend to feel the need to control their behaviour in sexualized spaces. They cannot behave completely naturally. Instead, they have to negotiate how to behave best to feel safe and comfortable. Ultimately, this shows that sexualized spaces such as RLDs can result in gender exclusion and gender inequality, for example due to receiving unwanted attention from kerb-crawlers.
2.5 Gentrification in Red Light Districts
Residents are frequently bothered by the secondary effects of prostitution in their area. Consequently, sex work is an easy target for urban policy makers who aim at restructuring anti-social parts of cities (Sanders, 2009). According to Van Liempt and Chimienti (2017), the goal is usually to ‘clean up’ the areas for its residents, which means to reduce crime, social and physical disorders and to add more police control. This gentrification is usually led by (local) governments, which fund the restructuring and ‘makeover’ of urban areas. Taking into account the stigma of sex work and RLDs as immoral cityscapes, the increasing gentrification of RLDs is not surprising. In this section I will discuss how gentrification is part of re-urbanization in RLDs. I will draw attention to the ‘genderfication’ and feminization of spaces, talking about making space more available for different gender groups. This section will end with an explanation of Amsterdam’s RLD (de Wallen) and recent developments there, as it serves as the case study for this research paper.

2.5.1 Gentrifying Red Light Districts – Why and How
The initiators of gentrification are often residents, who wish to improve the liveability of their neighbourhood. Sasajima (2013) stated that in the city of Yokohama in Japan, citizens signed a petition to fight for the removal of sex work in their residential area Kogane-cho. For instance, they asked for improving the neighbourhood for their children and reducing crime. Additionally, city authorities strived for a label as creative city and were therefore planning to transform the area into an art district. The government invested in the renovation of former brothels, which turned into art spaces. Similarly, in other cities, residents have been protesting against prostitution and the nuisances attached to it. This resulted more and more in gentrification (Tani, 2002; Boels & Verhage, 2016; Kuenkel, 2017). In Zurich, the gentrification of the street prostitution district Langestrasse aimed at increasing police control and enhancing the image of the neighbourhood. Moreover, in Antwerp’s RLD, residents complained about prostitution. They emphasized that the secondary effects of sex venues are the issue, rather than the sex workers itself (Van Liempt & Chimienti, 2017).

Further, creative, gentrified and liveable hubs in cities appeal to higher social classes. Sex establishments often accumulate in poor urban areas. Oftentimes people with less economic income move to these areas as they cannot afford to live anywhere else. While improving and ‘cleaning up’ these poor neighbourhoods, land rents rise (Hubbard, 2004; Loopmans & Broeck, 2011). What happens is that rents become too pricey for locals. A higher quality of life attracts another social stratum, the creative class. This new type of residents belongs to upper and middle class, for example young families and wealthy urban professional (Kuenkel, 2017). For the middle and upper classes, sex work is often an issue. They tend to depreciate sexual activities in their neighbourhood (Kuenkel, 2017; Aalbers & Sabat, 2012). Sex work does not fit with their idea of “modern city living and leisure” (Sanders, 2009, p. 511). According to Kuenkel (2017), “prostitute bodies, sexuality and
deviance get too close to the homes of the well-to-do” (p. 734). Gentrification also pushes away sex workers and sex entrepreneurs. Establishments become too expensive. Hence, brothel owners locate their businesses in other, more affordable areas (Hubbard & Whowell, 2008).

2.5.2 ‘Genderfication’ and Feminization of Spaces
Lees and Phillips (2018) argue that urban planners acknowledged that gentrification could also be used to avoid gender exclusion, and to foster emancipation and gender equality. According to Berg (2014), “space is not only produced for more affluent users, but also for specific gender relations” (p. 164), labelled as ‘genderfication’. ‘Genderfying’ sexualized spaces like RLDs can reduce patriarchal structures and deconstruct gender relations (Kern, 2010; Lees & Phillips, 2018). Lately, scholars have talked about feminizing cityscapes, which refers to making urban spaces more accessible and comfortable for women specifically (Lees and Phillips, 2018).

Kern (2013) researched gentrification in a neighbourhood in Toronto. She claimed that placing more boutique shops there challenge the masculine industrial urban landscape. Businesses such as franchise and independent cafes and organic food shops created a more feminine space. The author calls this “feminized consumption landscape” (Kern, 2013, p. 510), which attracts women. Another example in Rotterdam was discussed by Berg (2014). A city campaign in 2008 has used femininity to rebrand the city’s masculine image. Rotterdam has been associated with the harbour and the ‘rough’ men working there. The aim of the campaign was to replace the male harbour workers with “bourgeois, feminine inhabitants that lounge in cocktail bars” (Berg, 2014, p. 153). This was implemented by producing more space targeting women, by ‘feminizing’ cityscapes. Similar to Toronto, this related mostly to consumption. For instance, shopping lady’s nights and hosted events like dance parties or fashion shows were organized in Rotterdam. In general, Kern (2010) argues that postmodern cities are increasingly restructured in a way that allows women to blend into the space. For example, pubs are transformed into wine bars and cafes look like living rooms. Public areas are cleaned up to appear safe and welcoming to unaccompanied women. By feminizing spaces, women are more inclined to move alone confidently. This would translate into a higher spatial confidence that women tend to struggle with (Koskela, 2005). ‘Genderfication’ can balance gender hierarchies and power relations between genders in urban places. Since RLDs are often blamed to be male-dominated and to target the consumption of men rather than other genders, feminization and genderfication as part of gentrification is interesting to consider in this research.

2.5.3 Case Study De Wallen, Amsterdam
Amsterdam’s RLD (de Wallen) is a multi-use environment and therefore famous as it distinguishes itself from other (mostly single-use) RLDs in the world. The high visibility and exposure of window
prostitution and sex businesses is one of the reasons why the city of Amsterdam decided to gentrify the RLD. According to Aalbers and Sabat (2012), the act of gentrification had the potential to solve the issue of obscene actions associated with sex work. Furthermore, it assisted in creating a society without disorders. A project called 1012, initiated by the political party PvDA, has started in 2007 and supported the gentrification in the centre of Amsterdam, including Spui and the Damrak. Project 1012 focused on de Wallen, where the goal was to substitute windows and coffee shops with new businesses, like art galleries and restaurants. The aim was to enhance the liveability for its residents by closing down or relocating windows. Buildings have been bought by private investors as well as housing associations in collaboration with the city of Amsterdam. Galleries, high-end restaurants, hotels and boutique shops were placed in de Wallen to improve Amsterdam’s image. Project 1012 also strove for lesser standardized restaurants and souvenir stores. By providing higher quality, the city of Amsterdam hoped to attract another type of tourists that shows more respect towards the city and its inhabitants. At the same time, the city wanted to attract affluent residents to de Wallen and Amsterdam in general, the so-called ‘creative class’. Gentrifying de Wallen was needed to alter the capital’s reputation. Once considered a liberal city celebrating sexuality and progression, nowadays Amsterdam is frowned upon for creating a commercialized playground for adults. Some argue that the transparency of sex work in de Wallen represents patriarchy dominated by the power of money. This goes along with the suppression of female sexuality because sexual offers for women are missing (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012).

2.6 Knowledge Gap and Research Question
To conclude, literature suggested that the way women behave in gendered and sexualized spaces is heavily influenced by their gender and its constructs. Gendered public spaces can make women feel excluded due to the norms and practices that are established there. In general, women are more concerned with fearfulness in urban spaces and spatial discomfort than men. Sexualized spaces, such as RLDs, are still quite male-dominated. Research has shown that women adapt their behaviour in RLDs according to their spatial confidence. Furthermore, in general, residents in RLDs were able to raise their voices. Nevertheless, a specification concerning gender and spaces has rarely been made. The studies presented earlier are of high relevance for this research paper since they have revealed women’s experiences and behaviours in sexualized spaces. They also introduced tactics and strategies that women apply in response to sexual attention. However, scholars have either focused on female tourists in multi-use RLDs (Chapuis, 2017; Sanders-McDonagh, 2017) or female residents in single-use RLDs (Tani, 2002). Consequently, questions about the intersection of female residents and multi-use RLDs arise.

In the special case of Amsterdam, sex work is highly visible and located in the city’s heart in a public, multi-use neighbourhood. De Wallen offers sexual services and is therefore considered a
sexualized space. These services are mainly targeting men (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012). Moreover, the neighborhood has gone through a gentrification process in recent years. Taking into account the increasing feminization and ‘genderfication’ of urban spaces, one wonders how this is perceived by women in highly sexualized spaces like RLDs. I conclude that female residents’ experiences and perceptions of RLDs situated in multi-use, gentrified urban spaces in academia are neglected. Moreover, there seems to be a lack of research on how women perceive the gentrification process of sexualized spaces, considering that they tend to negotiate behaviour there more than men. This research seeks to find out how de Wallen is experienced by female residents. This includes how they experience gentrification, and possibly ‘genderfication’ and feminization. The aim is also to discover female resident’s feelings and perceptions towards sex workers. In this research, I address the gap of the perspective of female residents experiencing multi-use RLDs in everyday life, which has not been discovered before. This leads to the following main research question: How do female residents experience and behave in Amsterdam’s Red Light District as a gentrifying and multi-use sexualized urban space?
3 Research Methods
In order to answer the research question of this study, qualitative research methods were applied. The goal was to investigate experiences, perceptions and behaviour, which are linked to social constructs by social actors. To understand these constructs, I as a researcher was asked to have an empathic understanding of human behaviour and social interactions (Babbie, 2013). As Hesse-Biber suggests, qualitative research allows the researcher to reach the “goal of empowering and giving voice to respondents’ experience” (2010, p. 455). Therefore, the primary methods that were used in this research project were in-depth interviews and focus groups. This was complemented by observations collected in de Wallen. Applying three methods enriches the data collection, because the topic that is studied can be viewed from various perspectives (Morgan, 1997, Hesse-Biber, 2010). The following section will elaborate on the choices of methods. This will be followed by a description of the unit of analysis and the sampling techniques that were applied. Further, the concepts used to collect the data will be operationalized, followed by an explanation of the data collection and analysis process.

3.1 In-depth Interviews, Focus Groups, Observations
According to Bryman (2012), interviews are conducted to aim at the respondents’ views on values, beliefs, stories, emotions, places, relationships and behaviour. As the research question aimed at female residents’ experiences in a specific place, including their subjective opinions and perspectives, the method of interviewing was the most fitting to collect this data. Literature suggests various types of interviews, such as structured, unstructured and semi-structured interviews. The latter was chosen for this research project mainly because it allowed me to be more flexible during the conversations (Bryman, 2012). As I researched some sensitive topics such as sexuality, prostitution and harassment, it was necessary to be more flexible and to follow up on specific topics. Prior to the data collection, an interview guide was created, including a list of questions, concepts and topics to be discussed (Bryman, 2012). The goal was to follow some sort of structure as the aim of the interview was to firstly start with more general questions about de Wallen and then dive more into more sensitive topics such as window prostitution. Pre-set topics were inevitable since the research project focused on three main aspects, de Wallen as sexualized, multi-use and gentrified space. A structured interview would have felt too forceful and unnatural, especially because I talked to women with different cultural and educational backgrounds and ages. A rigid structure would have limited to dig deeper if necessary, considering the fact that experiences among female residents varied extremely. Unstructured interviews would have had too little frames to collect the specific data that was needed to research the matter and the three main aspects. As a result, interviewees might have gone off topic.

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1 Interview Guide to be found in Appendix B.
Compared to interviews, focus groups are group interviews focusing on in-group discussions guided by the researcher (Morgan D., 1997). As Bryman (2012) argues, the method of focus groups is chosen as they show how participants view a topic as a member of a group. Focus groups take place to look at group dynamics and processes within the group, which are for example not visible in an in-depth interview. In the literature review, it was indicated that behaviour and gender performance is a constructed act. Spaces are a construct dominated by the social actors moving in those spaces. Focus groups allowed me to discover how female residents’ perceptions and opinions on experiencing de Wallen were altered and formed through interaction. Kiefer et al. (2005) argue that focus groups make sense in communities as participants can come up with strategies together, resulting in action and change. This related to this research, which highlights a specific case, Amsterdam’s RLD, a neighbourhood formed by a community. I chose to conduct focus group with already existing groups, namely female residents living together in an apartment. Firstly, this decision was taken based on practical reasons, as it would have been challenging to organize a group of strangers to meet at the same time at a specific location (Peek & Fothergill, 2009). Additionally, the advantage of taking existing groups was that discussions occurred more naturally. Conducting a focus group in a friends group means that the participants are comfortable with each other, especially when sensitive, personal topics are discussed (Peek & Fothergill, 2009), which was the case in this research project ². Being familiar with each other comforted the participants, which ultimately led to being more open and sharing (Peek & Fothergill, 2009).

Regarding the size of the focus groups, a small focus group (three women) and a larger focus group (five women) were conducted. In the case of dealing with emotional and controversial topics, where participants are personally involved, it is recommended to form smaller focus groups (Morgan, 1998). Therefore, for this research purpose relatively small focus groups were more suitable. According to Morgan (1997), the setting of small groups is beneficial as it allows each participant to share more insights and speak out more. In contrast, in larger groups, outspoken participants tend to control discussions and leave little room for others to raise their voice. Comparing the two focus groups of this research, in the larger group (Focus group 2), there was indeed a slight imbalance among women. Two women had strong opinions and were more outspoken than others. By interfering and asking more stimulating questions to the others, I attempted to overcome this issue. In comparison, in Focus group 1, one woman was slightly more dominant, however, all three women had an equal chance to speak. An explanation for allowing those women to be more dominant could be that they lived in de Wallen longer and therefore were considered by others as more ‘experienced’.

Lastly, alongside interviews and focus groups, the method of participant observation was chosen in de Wallen as my site selection (Angrosini, 2007). According to Bryman (2012), observations entail watching, talking and listening to people in the field, which also includes observing

² List of topics (Focus group Guide) to be found in Appendix B.
people’s behaviour. However, the validity of this research could have been threatened by observing female residents, as it would have been hard to identity women moving this cityscape as such. Therefore, I focused on talking to both male and female residents and people who were working in de Wallen, such as employees from the Oude Kerk\(^3\) or volunteers at We Live Here\(^4\). I chose the overt role as researcher, which according to Bryman (2012) means that people are aware of the ethnographer conducting a research. This was decided based on ethical reasons. I engaged in conversations with them on topics of interest, which were partially sensitive and personal. Being open about my role as researcher meant that I did not violate their privacy (Bryman, 2012). Participant observations allowed me to immerse in the culture of residents living in de Wallen (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). As a female touring this space regularly during the data collection phase, it seemed natural to keep track of my own impressions of de Wallen in form of field notes. The notes mirrored my subjective experiences in the area as a woman. Observations and field notes contributed to the quality of the data. This is because by experiencing de Wallen myself for days, I received more understanding of how it feels like to live there. Ultimately, this enhanced understanding aided the process of analysis and grasping nuanced experiences shared by research participants.

### 3.2 Sampling

Purposing and snowball sampling were used to find research participants. Purposive sampling is used to select interviewees with specific characteristics to assure that the research group consists of the most useful and representative participants (Babbie, 2013). The unit of analysis and hence research participants for this research were female residents chosen based on the following requirements. First of all, beforehand it was checked with them verbally whether they identified themselves as female. Second, all participants had to live in de Wallen, which is the designated area in Figure B1 in Appendix B. As sensitive topics were to be discussed, it was decided to set a minimum age of 18. There were no requirements in terms of socio-cultural or socio-economic status such as income, education, professional or cultural background. Most of the women were Dutch, other nationalities included Australian, French and American. As more women were willing to participate than needed at some point, a more detailed selection process was applied. In order to collect nuanced experiences from women with diverse lifestyles, I decided to select them based on age, duration of residency and marital status. That way I refrained from an over-representation of a specific group and lifestyle. The sample consisted of women aged between 21 and 74 with a duration of residency from 2 months up to 42 years. The lengths of residency were divided into short-term (0-4 years), middle-term (5-14 years)

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\(^3\) The Oude Kerk is a museum inside the Old Church in de Wallen, collecting and exhibiting art, and hosting music events and for religious services.

\(^4\) We Live Here is a local campaign that has been initiated by residents of de Wallen. The goal is to create awareness among visitors that people live in de Wallen. By being informed in form of posters or beer mats, tourists are asked to take residents into account and behave respectful towards the neighborhood (We live here, n.d.)
and long-term (15+ years). Women’s marital status ranged from being single to being married and windowed with and without children. Additionally, snowball sampling was convenient in order to use the contacts of research participants I have found already (Bryman, 2012). This was especially efficient since I was researching a group of people who live in the same neighbourhood. My personal network as well as the network of residents such as their neighbours, friends, acquaintances, work colleagues etc. was beneficial. Different techniques were used to look for initial research participants. I started off with posting a request on my personal Facebook page to attract the attention of my personal network. Next, I approached community centres in de Wallen and people involved in Project 1012, all contacted via e-mail. Whenever I visited the RLD, before and during my data collection phase, people were approached at various venues. Leaflets with a description of the research project and contact details were distributed.

3.3 Operationalization
Three concepts dominated this research project, namely the concepts of sexualization, multi-use and gentrification related to urban space. To discover the role these features played in female residents’ everyday life and living experience as women, an operationalization was inevitable. Operationalizing concepts helps to turn the research question into measurable entities in form of interview questions (Babbie, 2013). The goal of focus groups and interviews was to receive valid data giving insights about the behaviour and experience of female residents. Experiences and behaviour referred to women’s perceptions, feelings, opinions, attitudes and their own behaviour related to de Wallen. Experiences and behaviour in this research focused on how everyday life was experienced by women. It was measured by where, when and how they move in de Wallen as a sexualized, multi-use, gentrifying space. Those three concepts will be operationalized in the following paragraph.

To measure spatial arrangements in de Wallen better, two maps of de Wallen were used during interviews and focus groups. One showed streets in general, the other one indicated where window prostitution is located. De Wallen as an urban space was measured by looking at women’s sense of belonging, control and general feeling in the neighbourhood. This included their relationship and interaction with other residents and their emotions towards the area. Moreover, their perception of advantages and disadvantages of living in this area contributed to how the space is experienced. The concept sexualized space was divided into two measurable entities. It firstly embodied the visibility of window prostitution and sex-related venues and shops. For example, this includes describing one’s feelings towards sex workers and interaction with them, as well as one’s judgements of sex shops and

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5 Detailed overview of research participants to be found in Appendix C.
6 Overview of the network to be found in Appendix C.
7 Figure B1 and B2 to be found in Appendix B.
peep shows. Secondly, sexualized spaces indicate a higher presence of men than women and related matters such as (sexual) harassment towards women. This was measured by asking about whether the women have experienced harassment and how they behave and react in these situations. This concept also included the notion of fear and threat and to what extent these emotions are experienced by women, as well as how they reflect and react on them.

Multi-use spaces were measured by asking questions about restaurants, cafes and public spaces in general. To be more specific, in order to find out how the multi-use space is experienced, women were asked about their leisure time and which places and venues they make use of or deliberately avoid. Lastly, de Wallen as gentrifying space was measured by asking specific questions about the gentrification project called Project 1012. It was operationalized by whether they were aware of gentrification and which changes were witnessed in the neighbourhood. For instance, they were asked about their opinion on the removal of the windows and the type of new shops that occurred in recent years. How the gentrification is experienced was measured by asking about the perceived benefits of those changes and new venues.

### 3.4 Data Collection

This research paper draws on data from around 14 hours of interviewing in form of 11 in-depth interviews and two focus groups. In addition, around 20 hours of observations were gathered in the research location. Data was collected between April 2\(^{nd}\) and 29\(^{th}\), 2019. The two first interviews counted as pilot interviews and questions were amended afterwards. All interviewees took place in de Wallen at interviewees’ homes or cafes. One interview was conducted via Skype as the interviewee went on a holiday. Some interviewees did not feel comfortable meeting at their home and preferred a public place. On the one hand, homes provided a quiet and familiar, comfortable environment for the interviewees. On the other hand, meeting in cafes seemed to trigger their memories and inspired them to talk about the neighbourhood. Considering research ethics, all interviewees stayed anonymous in this research paper (Bryman, 2012). To ensure their privacy, consent forms were provided, which also included an overview of the purpose of the research. The in-depth interviews were audio-recorded and the focus group interviews were video-recorded, both in accordance with the interviewees on the consent form. The interviews were conducted in English and Dutch and took between 40 to 80 minutes. Observations were collected in between, before or after interviews and focus groups. Taking field notes right in the situation might have seemed suspicious to people (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, I took mental notes, which were usually written down at the end of the day on my way back to Rotterdam. At the same time, those jotted notes allowed me to reflect on experiences and

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\(^{8}\) Detailed operationalization to be found in Table A1 in Appendix A.
conversations I had during the day (Bryman, 2012). Sometimes I recorded field notes verbally on my phone. All observations and notes were translated into full field notes on my laptop.

3.5 Data Analysis

Prior to analysing the interviews, the audio- and video recordings were transcribed verbatim. The online website Otranscribe was used to simplify this process. While transcribing the interviews, additional notes were taken separately, which already contributed to the analysis of the data. However, the proper coding was done after transcribing all interviews. To ease the coding process, the coding system ATLAS.ti was used. Each interview and focus group transcript was coded separately. The coding process was based on literature by Charmaz (2006), which suggests applying open, focused and axial coding to data. Open codes were added in an unrestricted way in the first interview. Subsequently, those open codes were added to the following interviews in a focused manner. In addition to this, new codes were assigned to the transcripts. Working with open codes in an unstructured way enabled me to gain a holistic understanding of the data. In the second phase, focused codes were added to all the interviews, keeping in mind the research question and its three key aspects (sexualization, multi-use and gentrification). Subsequently, so-called axial coding allowed me to identify categories among open and focused codes and seek connections and relationships between them. By clustering the codes, Babbie (2013) claims that analytical skills are already applied. Therefore, group codes were formed among all the open and focused codes. Lastly sub-categories were formed within these group codes to rely on a more detailed analysis. This step provided a more transparent structure and eased the process of analysing and drawing conclusions.

\[^9\] Code Book to be found in Appendix E.
4 Results
In this chapter the findings taken from interviews, focus groups and observations will be presented. In general, it has been found that through the eyes of female residents, de Wallen is a multiverse space, where different spheres seem to operate. Female residents seemed to separate the public, resident, sexualized and tourist sphere. The public sphere refers to authority figures such as the police and spaces that are public to anyone. The resident sphere describes the world of female residents, de Wallen as their home and the places that belong to the residents. The sexualized sphere has to do with sex workers, the red lights and sex-related businesses like sex shops. The tourist sphere is connected to tourism, tourists and businesses targeting tourists. Although female residents express clear distinctions between the spheres, de Wallen is perceived as authentic because those spheres merging together.

The first section will start with an analysis on female residents’ experience of belonging, ownership and pride attached to de Wallen, and what exactly leads them to feel this way towards their neighbourhood. Subsequently, it will be discussed how female residents experience de Wallen as suppressed and (non-) tamed space, related to surveillance, tourism and homeless people. Moreover, I will highlight the normalization and abnormality of de Wallen and how female residents seem to struggle between the two. It turned out that female residents use ‘Othering’ towards sex workers and tourists, which will be explored in more detail in the fourth section. Female residents seem to be part of the sexualized sphere by being objectified in de Wallen in form of harassment and unwanted sexual attention. Their experiences as well as behaviours connected to this will be analysed. Lastly, I will talk about the gentrification process more in depth. It appears that de Wallen’s authenticity is at risk as standardization and tourism seem to take over. This perceived issue influences female residents’ living experience. This section includes whether de Wallen is experienced as a ‘genderfied’ and feminized space. All sections will be linked to the public, resident, tourist and sexualized sphere.

4.1 De Wallen as ‘buurtje’: A Matter of Belonging, Pride and Ownership
To begin with, I will analyse how de Wallen is experienced as a public and multi-use space. Afterwards, I will elaborate on private space (home) embedded in de Wallen. All interviewees have in common that de Wallen feels like a ‘buurt’ to them. It feels like home, which is based on different aspects that translate into a sense of belonging, ownership and pride. Even though the following experiences might not only apply to females but also other genders, this section is relevant as I refer back to sense of belonging, pride and ownership in coming sections.

Firstly, all interviewees addressed the central location and its historic buildings like the houses, the Old Church, the canals and bridges. The historic value of Amsterdam’s RLD is therefore highly appreciated. Female residents feel special to live there. It seems like they feel ‘chosen’ and proud to live in de Wallen, which is indicated by Woman 1.3 (26):
Still, it’s very cool to say to people like, I live in the Red Light District […] It keeps being nice, I live here for six years now and every time I have a new job now and people say ‘where do you live’ and I’m like ‘in the middle of de Wallen’ and they’re like ‘wow, how’s that?’

This quote indicates that de Wallen being a sexualized space plays a role in the sense of pride. Striking is that when being asked about the advantages of living there, sex-related businesses were almost never mentioned. However, their existence is essential to feel pride as the quote shows. The sexualized sphere is part of de Wallen’s unique identity. Living in a RLD makes them proud, as it is unlike the ordinary.

Moreover, several interviewees mentioned that the Wallen feels like a village. The way this can be interpreted is that in a village, residents usually have an overview of the population that lives there. Rather than individualistic and anonymous lifestyles, which tend to occur in cities, there is more interaction and unity among residents in villages. A difference could clearly be seen between short/middle- and long-term residents. Long-term residents such as Interviewee 1, 2, 3 and 10 judged their relationship with other residents positively and feel well-connected in de Wallen, especially with other long-term residents. Short/middle-term residents, in contrast, live more anonymously. Yet, they do grasp this feeling of belonging and social cohesion that is present in de Wallen. Although short-term residents have lesser interaction with other residents, they witness other (long-term) residents interacting with each other and being involved in the neighbourhood. This means that the sense of belonging and pride is contagious among residents. Some interviewees have compared their experiences with other neighbourhoods, where they lacked contact with residents. Hence, I argue that this perceived social cohesion is specific to the Wallen.

The sense of belonging and pride can be linked to the sense of ownership. The fact that others stand up for de Wallen and that social cohesion is lived in a transparent way makes short/middle-term residents feel more at home and engaged. By feeling at home and part of the neighbourhood, female residents developed a sense of ownership that is associated to controlling and claiming the area for themselves. Women 2.5 (23) said: “[…] Don’t be shy or insecure, it’s your city, your street”. This quote was taken out of a conversation about the increasing tourist crowds that claim de Wallen for themselves. I argue that de Wallen as multi-use RLD enhances the feeling of ownership. Without the tourism, residents might not create such a cohesion and strong feeling of ownership. Interviewee 8 (23) described this feeling of cohesion as “joint force against the tourists”.

Whereas some interviewees do not act upon their ownership, others take initiative and ‘join forces’. For instance, they contribute to the local newspaper and raise issues concerning the liveability of de Wallen. Tani (2002) claimed that social activism among residents commonly occurs in prostitution areas. We Live Here is an example of such activism. The community-driven campaign enables volunteers, like Interviewee 5, to get in touch with other residents, which she lacked beforehand. Creating a space for residents, where opinions are shared and collective goals are set up,
develops an even higher feeling of home, belonging, ownership and control of space. Those feelings are socially constructed.

This study has also revealed that de Wallen as multi-use and sexualized space also leads to negative experiences. Interviewees have amended daily routines to adapt to tourism. For example, when doing grocery, they choose selected routes and times to firstly be faster and secondly to avoid crowds. Interviewee 9 (26) explains:

Because before 12, like noon, it’s very quiet because yeah, everybody is late to wake up, de Wallen is later, if I do my groceries before noon, it’s usually fine. And it also depends on the season, but if I go out sometimes at like 7, it’s awful. In the evening at night, it’s really awful. At Albert Heijn, it’s really packed. It’s just annoying to walk places.

This shows that de Wallen is elastic, as experiences of female residents depend on spatiality and temporality. Koskela (2005) connected elasticity to the experience of women, which is not the case here. Whether sense of ownership, pride and belonging and selecting routes is specific to only women could only be investigated by comparing this experience to that of other genders. However, the fact that women are engaged in de Wallen in an activist role means that they are not restricted in raising their voice. It seems like female residents are aware of the opportunities and influence they (can) have in de Wallen. The perceived feeling of responsibility is an indicator for feeling included. This indicates a low level of male dominance and power inequalities in de Wallen, at least in terms of the involvement in the community.

Finally, besides experiencing de Wallen as public home, their private home is also of importance in terms of belonging, pride and ownership. Many interviewees mentioned their house or apartment to be a crucial factor of feeling at home in de Wallen. In fact, one of the main reasons of remaining in de Wallen is being content with their private home. Interviewees feel privileged and proud to live in a typical Amsterdam area. Interviewee 1, 8 and Focus group 1 mentioned that their house is unique, historic and beautiful. This thought was supported by Interviewee 2 (66), who said: “Every house has a specialty, or a special atmosphere. The house is from 1624, it’s also very attractive for me.”

### 4.2 De Wallen as Suppressed and (non-) Tamed Space

The previous section already indicated that tourism has an impact on the living experience of residents. How this relates specifically to female residents will be investigated in this section. De Wallen is experienced as suppressed, tamed and non-tamed space by women.
4.2.1 De Wallen as Suppressed Space

Video surveillance can suppress public spaces and increase the perceived safety of women. In contrary, it can also serve as a sign of danger and produce more fear (Koskela & Tani, 2005). In this study, I have found that video surveillance tames the public sphere of de Wallen for female residents as it creates a higher sense of security. Interviewee 11 (60) experienced the cameras to be highly effective, as she explains in the following quote:

They've basically solved more problems, for us at least. I think there’s a camera now at the end of the street or maybe it's just not there anymore. But that one was there for a while and that really helped us with our problems with junkies, some dealers.

Junkies and dealers tend to non-tame spaces, which will be discussed later on. Camera surveillance can suppress dealers. In the case of de Wallen, another tool should be included into the concept of suppressed space, namely the presence of authorities such as the police. These actors have an agency in creating a secure space for women. For example, Woman 1.2 (26) felt safe in de Wallen because she witnessed a high number of policemen around her. She compared her feeling of safety with Amsterdam East, which she perceived as less controlled and therefore more threatening. Many interviewees had alike experiences. Interviewee 7 (27) explains:

There are cameras everywhere, two police stations, a host, police on bikes, on horse, by food all over the place. I really don't think it's unsafe. The only risk is a random person, but that's not a higher risk here than somewhere else. I don't feel unsafe.

To conclude, I argue that surveillance in form of police and cameras increases females’ spatial confidence and does not only suppress but also tames the space.

4.2.2 Taming de Wallen by Tourism

De Wallen is not routinized or tamed by women specifically, as the definition suggests (Koskela & Tani, 2005). Female residents experience de Wallen as tamed by tourism. I refer to tourism here as an umbrella term for tourists as well as people, who are present in de Wallen for tourism, such as shop owners and employees.

Regardless of being annoyed by tourist crowds, de Wallen as a space feels safer for female residents with people around. De Wallen allows females to move confidently during day and nighttime. The consequences of being a multi-use and sexualized space is that there are many touristic businesses, which makes it a busy area. The buzz of tourists, party goers and employees of sex and non-sex related enterprises tame space for women. Without the high demand for tourism, de Wallen
would be a more isolated space. For female residents, the desertedness of spaces makes them feel more fearful and spatially insecure. This can be linked to the claim that women’s fear is a construct. Beebeejaun (2017) claimed that people negotiate about concepts and practices in spaces. Women are taught not to move in spaces alone at specific times, at night for instance. This ‘habitus’ can indeed be identified among the research participants. Spatial confidence is extremely dependent on temporality and spatiality, and whether space is tamed or not, which the quote from Woman 2.1 (26) below indicates:

  […] Something in the night, sometimes at 5:30, there is some point where de Wallen, everything is closing here and everybody is going out of this area, tourists at least, they don’t sleep here and then it can be a little bit, when there’s nobody around, it can be a little bit more, I don’t know, of a bad vibe.

Lastly, Woman 1.1 (26) compared her experience during crowdedness and facing drunk tourists in de Wallen to that of her boyfriend. He apparently feels unsafe passing tourist crowds as for him, intoxicated crowds of men are a sign of danger. Male groups, according to Woman 1.1 and her boyfriend, would rather get into a fight with a man than a woman. This demonstrates that space is experienced differently by men and women. De Wallen might be tamed for men when it’s less crowded, but non-tamed when there are many other males around. An explanation could be that they act more provocative towards the same gender, or even see each other as rivals. In comparison, women experience it to be exactly the other way around.

4.2.3 Non-Taming de Wallen by Tourism and ‘Cuckoos’
Tourism can also non-tame de Wallen. Dealers mostly approach tourists and are therefore considered to belong to the tourist sphere. Nonetheless, they are feared by some interviewees, because they sell unknown drug, are known for carrying knives with them and move in dark, hidden places. The reason why this seems like a threat could be that females struggle with estimating dealers and their spaces. As a result, women feel less spatially confident and safe. This can be linked to Koskela (2005), who argues that women learn to be sensitive to their environment to be more spatially confident.

Another cause for a non-tamed space are the spatial arrangements of de Wallen. Narrow alleys with window prostitution get too crowded with people. Some of the interviewees were afraid to get stuck in those crowds and considered this unsafe. Interviewee 1 (74) commented: “And imagine, if you have lots of people crowded in the ally, and something happens […], you can have a fight, what’s going to happen, you know. It’s uncontrollable.” Interviewee 3 (54) suggested *handhaving* to take care and to spatially control crowded alleys. In her opinion, this would add to her feeling of safety.
Secondly, female residents mentioned that homeless people in the public sphere of de Wallen add a relatively high level of unsafety to their daily experience. Focus group 1 discussed the following scenario:

W1.1 And then this guy went walking slower, slower and I sneaked behind the little stairway here and then I went inside and I ran up the stairs and I looked out the window and actually saw this guy like looking around like ‘where did she go out’ and then he turned back and then I thought this is the first time I felt a bit unsafe. So there is a small moment, like a small window here, where there's actually no people around. I don't know.

W1.3 And then sort of the crazy people, exactly
W1.1 Exactly. And they’re never like the drunkies that walk around like this. It's like the people who are on drugs or

W1.3 Yeeaaah, and you have some schizophrenic people, I think there are couples of Leger des Heils in the neighbourhood.

Homeless people are especially present in de Wallen because of the Leger des Heils that is located there. Female residents can neither allocate nor estimate homeless people’s behaviour properly, they perceive them as ‘cuckoo’. Women 2.4 (26) is “more scared from all the psycho people than the tourists”. Several interviewees believed that the homeless are more threatening because they are perceived to be mentally ill. Similar to drug dealers, women get spatially insecure as they cannot estimate ‘cuckoos’. Interviewee 3 (54) talked about a ‘cuckoo’ who she saw breaking into a boat. The man she was with ran after the homeless and screamed at him. She explained that she would not react the same way, because she is a woman. According to her, women rely on their intuition in those situations. They do not seek a fight and therefore do not react. This aligns with what Woman 1.1 (26) and boyfriend discussed, that men might react more violent to other men, whilst women seem harmless. The ‘small window’ means that Woman 1.1 considered this to be a specific time and circumstance that limited her in terms of being alone as a woman and lowered her feeling of safeness. This tells that de Wallen can occasionally be a space where females feel restrictions.

4.3 Contemplating Normalization and Abnormality
As addressed earlier, sex work is considered to be part of de Wallen’s identity by many female residents. Yet, female residents seem to be torn between morals and values attached to the sexualized sphere. This section will analyse female residents’ friction between normalization and abnormality concerning de Wallen as RLD.
4.3.1 Romanticizing de Wallen as a Child

Interviewee 8 and 10 grew up in de Wallen, whereas Interviewee 4 is mother of three daughters aged between 7 and 10. Moreover, Interviewee 11 raised two sons in de Wallen, who are now in their 20s. A pattern could be recognized in the way these four interviewees dealt with de Wallen as a space in childhood. This is interesting to investigate as it shows that experiencing a RLD as an adult is influenced by social constructs that are learned in adolescence and adulthood.

Interviewee 8 and 10 were not directly taught about sex work. Likewise, Interviewee 4 and 11 did not inform their children in detail on window prostitution was really about. They all claimed that as a child one pays little attention to the workers. Children growing up in de Wallen are aware of the sex workers but consider it normal to be there. They are exposed to it daily and thus ‘used to it’. However, when interest was shown by Interviewee 8 and 10 as children, or by the children of Interviewee 4 and 11, the red lights were romanticized. For instance, children understood sex work as a service to cuddle or to touch belly buttons. Moreover, names for them were created by the children, such as the ‘kusmevrouwen’ or the ‘cuddling ladies’. Interviewee 4 (41) said: “[...] my daughter said ‘yes, but she is sooo beautiful’ (laughs). So, I have never heard them say anything negative or, I have only heard positive things, reactions about prostitutes.”

During my observations, I met a woman talking about her daughter growing up in de Wallen. In my field notes from April 11th, 2019, I wrote: “The woman told me that when her daughter was little, she said that she wanted to be like the prostitutes, because they get to wear their bikinis all day long”. What is interesting about these quotes is that they show how children sugarcoat sex workers and the profession itself, which has to do with their naivety and unawareness of sex in general. This leads to the conclusion that immorality and shame related to prostitution, sex and nudity is socially constructed, learned and taught.

The influence of parents on how sex work is seen is huge. In Focus group 2, the women were discussing whether prostitution is a ‘normal’ job. The excerpt below indicates how education played a role in forming an opinion about this:

W2.5 But you said when you were younger, you saw it as a profession?
W2.1 Yeah because my parents said this is their profession, this is what they do, but also they wanted to let me see it. Give an image and not making me afraid of it or seeing it as something of, ‘oooh forbidden’.
W2.5 Because I never saw it as a profession, I just saw it as hookers and they are in Amsterdam and they’re standing
W2.1 But what do you think they do then?
W2.5 No, of course, they are hookers, I know what a hooker was, but then I didn't really see it as a profession.
This excerpt also gives insight in terms of the interaction between women in focus groups. The way the women questioned each other shows that they challenged each other’s opinions. Nevertheless, both stayed with their own opinion, rather than coming to a consensus together. Their arguments were not strengthened by further explanation; Woman 2.1(26) based her opinion on what she was told by her parents, Woman 2.5 (23) based on the stigma of ‘just being hookers’. This indicates that she perceives ‘hookers’ to be lower than other professions. In general, interviewees’ opinions varied about prostitution. Interviewee 8 (23) found the red lights exciting as a child. She felt adventurous when walking home from school and being able to choose the routes herself. Compared to Interviewee 10 (21), who claimed that she did not even look at the women anymore when walking home from school, Interviewee 8 still remembers it to be more special to pass the windows than talking another route.

To sum up, in general, the sexualized sphere is experienced by (female) children as normal through the process of familiarization. I argue that children as well as their parents romanticize sex work by softening the job as a prostitute. This creates a rather naïve attitude among children who grow up in de Wallen. De Wallen is constructed by their parents and by children themselves as an innocent, safe space. How sex work is experienced changes throughout adolescence and adulthood, where the sexualized sphere becomes a separate one to other spheres. This conclusion creates a bridge to the next section, which entails an analysis of how sex work and prostitutes are experienced by female residents nowadays.

4.3.2 Normalization through Familiarity and Acceptance
RLDs are often considered immoral and obscure environments (Hubbard 1998; Hubbard & Sanders, 2003; Tani, 2005; Persak & Vermeulen, 2014). Some interviewees were aware of the abnormality of de Wallen, for example in relation to prostitution. Woman 2.1 (26) talks about prostitution and reflects on de Wallen as sexualized space: “[…] There's gonna be a point that we look back at this and that we think what the fuck was that.” This quote shows one of the moments of realization during the interviews, where female residents consciously thought about the spheres in de Wallen and how the combination makes it an ‘atypical’ space. Those realizations showed their contradicting opinions. One the one hand, they were claiming that they consider de Wallen a normal neighbourhood and that they are used to windows prostitution and tourism. On the other hand, while getting deeper into the conversation, I could see some interviewees contemplating about this normalization that was expressed earlier. Suddenly, de Wallen was seen as an irregular space, especially when reflecting on how others experience their own neighbourhood. Woman 2.1 (26) shared the following:

It's sometimes hard when an international for instance asks you how Sintaklaas works or the same for me with de Wallen. Explain to an international why this is here and why you still have this.
This demonstrates that the morality of Amsterdam’s RLD is still questioned by her, despite having accepted and normalized de Wallen and its spheres. It could mean that people in de Wallen find it difficult to justify visible prostitution in Amsterdam. To overcome this, they simply accept, normalize and even ignore the immorality. It is accepted because it is seen as part of Amsterdam’s culture. Woman 2.1 compares it with Sintaklaas, a Dutch holiday and tradition. The RLD might be seen as ‘tradition’, hence in daily life interviewees take it for granted. They do not pay attention anymore because of the recurrent exposure. It almost seems like they reconciled with the ‘abnormality’ that happens right next to them. The ‘ordinary’ does not ask for explanation, because it is always present (Van der Geest, 2015). Only while being asked directly or discussing it with others, they rethink values and norms.

Generally saying, I found that short/middle-term residents were much more aware of the obscurity of the environment. What this could mean for female residents’ living experience in de Wallen is that they reached a level of acceptance that can increasingly be expanded. The threshold rises continuously, which reminds of the research conducted by Prior and Crofts (2012) in Australia. They argued that residents’ negative feelings towards sex work and its side effects were determined by their familiarity with it.

4.3.3 The Mystery and Stigma of the Red Lights
Reflecting on the abnormality of prostitution in de Wallen has to do with its social stigma. Although female residents have familiarized with the red lights, the sexualized sphere stays blurry to them. I argue that normalization and acceptance translate into detaching themselves from the sexualized world. The red lights are considered to belong to another world. Interviewee 8 (23) called it an ‘alternative reality’, one that is non-transparent and therefore tends to be misunderstood and not graspable. Many interviewees indicated that the sex industry seems like a distant, inaccessible world to them. Interviewee 6 (69) explained: “In mijn dagelijks leven heb ik daar niks mee te maken. […] Ja nou ik lees erover in de buurt blad en in de parool en ja. Ik heb natuurlijk persoonlijk niet met de prostitutie te maken.” When being asked about brothels and sex work, most interviewees were quite careful in how they formulated their opinions. The majority of female residents believed that human trafficking, exploitation and violence towards prostitutes is taking place regularly. Nevertheless, they kept stressing that this information might be incorrect. They were unsure to what extent crime is occurring in the sexualized sphere. Many interviewees claimed that they have nothing to do with this world, because they believe it is targeted at tourists rather than locals. A suitable example that the red lights are a mystery for ‘outsiders’ is a quote by Interviewee 9 (26), who works as a sex worker herself:
I’ve lived here for over a year now, uhm, when I first moved there, it was really kind of a mystery to me, and yeah, living in there is such an advantage because it means that I have, uhm, really an insider’s perspective now.

4.4 ‘Othering’ in de Wallen
The research participants see sex work as part of another sphere that they little know of. One would assume that they distinguish themselves from window workers. Whereas past literature highlighted the concept of ‘Othering’ towards sex workers, here I find that female residents tend to be protective of workers and use ‘Othering’ much more towards tourists.

4.4.1 Sex Workers – The ‘Others’ or Allies?
Female residents’ have various perceptions and interactions with prostitutes. Some see them as the ‘Other’, others treat them like allies. Part of the stigma assigned to sex workers is the stereotype of worker being Eastern European and not being able to speak English. Many interviewees addressed the (by them identified) Eastern European women working behind the windows. Indicators for being Eastern European, for example for Interviewee 1 and 4, was their appearance, described as dressed “skimpy” with “heavy make-up” or being “omgebouwd”. For Interviewee 6, the sexualized sphere including the actors in this world, such as foreign sex workers, should not belong to de Wallen. This can again be linked to the sense of ownership of the area, seen in a quote by Interviewee 6 (66): “Nou, dan denk ik van wat moeten die hier allemaal midden in ons stad in het raam zitten, vrouwen uit Roemenië of de Dominicaanse Republiek. Vreselijk. Daar is Amsterdam toch eigenlijk niet voor bedoelt.” This quote represents resentment towards sex workers and shows that ‘Othering’ takes place between some female residents and prostitutes.

Nevertheless, females’ interaction with sex workers is not primarily based on ‘Othering’ as suggested by other researchers (Tani, 2005; Chapuis, 2017; Sanders-McDonagh, 2018). Generally saying, interviewees showed great respect towards sex workers, without creating much of a hierarchy or distinction. Older interviewees tended to judge the profession as shameful and made derogative comments about sex workers. In contrast, younger female residents developed a more neutral relationship with sex workers, less on a distinctive but more an accepting, tolerating level. An explanation could be that younger generations might support sexual liberation more. Some interviewees, like the women from Focus group 1, spoke about trying to interact with the prostitutes, mostly without any success. Both focus groups shared with me that they usually feel uncomfortable when looking at the women. They assured me that this is not because women are naked or because of the job itself. Rather, they did not want to convey wrong messages, such as giving the impression to feel better than the sex workers or judging them negatively. Interviewee 7 (27) for instance worked...
right next to some windows and told me that she usually smoked with prostitutes outside. She considers them as normal neighbours and did not want to distinguish them from other people working in the area. Respect was also implied in form of language. In another recent study among female visitors, sex workers were called degrading names like ‘whores’ and ‘sluts’ (Chapuis, 2017). Females residents in this study mostly referred to them as ‘prostitutes’, ‘sex workers’, ‘the girls’, ‘the women’ or ‘the ladies’. Let us take into account the perspective of a sex worker, Interviewee 9 (26), who commented on the relationship between women and sex workers:

[…] A woman is supposed to be your ally, like we’re all living under this constrictive patriarchy. I’m not telling you that you have to do my work, if you want to be a housewife, I’m not saying that you’re being oppressed and that you need to go get a job. I don’t care what you do. As long as you choose it. And the fact that some women are so horribly disrespectful, they really are some of the most hoer-ophobic people, it’s like they come to this district to make themselves feel better.

Two points stick out in this quote. Researchers who have observed female tourists concluded that the latter create hierarchy and distinction (Chapuis, 2017; Sanders-McDonagh, 2017). This is also perceived by Interviewee 9 (‘to make themselves feel better’), however, she refers to female ‘onlookers’ and not residents. Additionally, the statement ‘a woman is supposed to be your ally’ links to female residents standing up for sex workers. To conclude, compared to female tourists, residents tend to show more respect and might identify with the role of an ‘ally’ rather than that of the ‘Other’.

4.4.2 Tourists as ‘The Others’

Generally saying, I suggest that female residents ‘other’ themselves from tourists instead of sex workers. The overall attitude towards tourists is rather negative among female residents. De Wallen has become an extremely touristic area. The consequences of tourists’ behaviour harm residents and give them the feeling that they are losing their neighbourhood to tourism (Van Liempt & Chimienti, 2017). Similar outcomes could be found in this study among female residents. The following section investigates the ways residents distinguish themselves from the tourist sphere, which is closely linked to the concept of ‘Othering’.

Firstly, some interviewees made distinctions between different type of tourists and assigned specific patterns of behaviour to them. The types of tourists that were defined by the interviewees were tourist groups (including guided tours), couples, families with children and (male) stag night groups. Tourists are usually identified as foreigners. Interviewee 10 (21) claimed that she has never witnessed any female residents from Amsterdam in the RLD, which would mean that (female) citizens of Amsterdam avoid De Wallen. Whereas others, like Focus group 1, mentioned that Dutch people might
visit the area as well, the majority tended to label tourists as non-Dutch. They believe non-Dutch people to consider the area more obscure than Dutch people, which is shown in the following excerpt from Woman 2.3 (22): “And sometimes you also forget kind of that for tourists it's so abnormal. That it’s so weird that the girls are selling themselves behind the windows.” However, Interviewee 1, 9 and some women in Focus group 2 thought it was immoral to bring children to RLDs to look at prostitutes (Hubbard & Sanders, 2008). Couples were judged for the same reason. It becomes clear that female residents are torn whether to defend the existence of prostitution or reject it.

Past literature has outlined the nuisances that residents experience due to tourists, mainly bachelor party groups, such as alcohol and drug consumption, litter and noise (Boels & Verhage, 2016; Van Liempt & Chimienti, 2017; Weitzer, 2014). All these side effects are indeed experienced by female residents as well, hence I will not elaborate on those aspects. According to all interviewees, the bad behaviour of tourists ranges from clogging the alleys and harassing residents to being harmful towards sex workers, such as insulting and taking pictures of them. The quote below shows female residents from Focus group 1 judging tourists:

W1.3 They are drunk. They throw their rubbish away. When you close your bike in the streets, they will leave their trash on your bike, you feel like this is purposely destroying things. They scream and make a lot of noise.

W1.1 If you wanna pass them, they won't move for you. If you're there walking on the street and you ring your bell because you want to go pass them and they deliberately stay in the street shouting at you. Super annoying.

W1.3 And then of course it's sometimes a bit like a zoo, like we watch the windows because there are sort of monkeys behind it, which are people also.

W1.1 Sometimes I feel sorry a bit for the prostitute, I know it costs a lot of money to be behind those windows because here it's like the prime, the a-location and then all those tourists just come by, they point at them, they laugh at them and then I sometimes, if I'm on my bike I actually hit them in the calves with my front wheel because I'm super annoyed that they just don't do anything. Like at least go in and pay the lady, but then just don't laugh at them, making fun of them, sometimes even taking pictures.

What we see is that the women are annoyed the side effects as stated in previous literature (Van Liempt & Chimienti, 2017). I especially want to point out tourists’ behaviour that does not directly affect female residents. This behaviour deals more with the sex workers than the interviewees itself. Both Woman 1.1 and 1.3 empathize with window workers and blame tourists for their disrespectful behaviour, mainly window-watching. By stressing that tourists treat sex worker like monkeys, whereas she (1.3) believes they are ‘people also’, a distinction is made how they view sex workers compared to tourists. In contrast to previous studies, where women felt pity for sex workers for having the
profession and standing in the window (Chapuis, 2017), here we can see that female residents express sympathy without judging them. This implies that tourists are perceived as immoral by female residents, which is linked to how they interact with the sex workers, their allies.

Considering tourists’ communication with sex workers as immoral and disrespectful might also be connected to female residents’ sense of belonging, pride and ownership. Residents want to distinguish themselves from tourists in the sense that they do not want to be associated with the impolite behaviour. Hence, they do not want to belong to the tourist sphere. This does not mean that female residents are indifferent or detached from tourists, though. To some extent, they care about what tourists do, not because of the tourists themselves but because of the sex workers. Stepping in and correcting tourists’ behaviour shows involvement and action-taking. It could be analysed as an empowerment created by female residents to stand up for their gender and to treat women with respect. This behaviour shows that female residents are protective of their space. Even though they have weak ties with the sex industry and sex workers, they somewhat defend them for the sake of their neighbourhood.

Finally, previous literature suggested that female tourists see prostitutes as entertainment and as ironic consumption (Chapuis, 2017). In this study I have found that some female residents act similarly towards tourists. Focus group 1 and Interviewee 7, 8, 9 and 10 talked about tourists being an entertainment for them. They all would sit next to their windows to watch tourists passing by. They make fun of tourists, which Interviewee 7 (27) elaborated on:

[…] We would turn off the light and just be at the window and look at people and try to guess how drunk they are, we’re playing kind of games, ‘ah they look lost, super lost, or they had a fight’. We would just, really, like we would be watching TV, real life TV. So tourists are also fun (laughs).

Tourist-watching is a unique experience specific to de Wallen. Chapuis (2017) argued that female visitors express their anxiety towards sex workers in form of disdain and irony. Not only ironic consumption can be found in the behaviour of female residents towards tourists. Interviewee 9 (26) for instance has difficulties with using irony, because the feeling of disdain for tourists and their interaction with sex workers is much higher. Referring to tourists and their interaction with sex workers, she said: “I worked all day and I come here to relax and I sit outside to people watch, I sometimes can’t handle it, because people are so disrespectful”.

4.5 The Objectification of Female Residents
Window-watching and the objectification of sex workers causes controversy in the discourse on window prostitution in RLDs. In this study, I claim that not only prostitutes, but also female residents
get objectified in RLDs. The following two sections elaborate on harassment and (unwanted) sexual attention in de Wallen, how it affects female residents’ living experience and how they deal in those situations.

4.5.1 Female Residents in a Sexualized Space
Persak and Vermeulen (2014) argued that RLDs are often associated with a high level of harassment. I link harassment to extremely explicit sexual comments (catcalling) and physical sexual harassment to women. (Unwanted) sexual attention describes the less obvious sexual innuendoes like staring persistently at interviewees or making a sound when they walked past. The differences among female residents in de Wallen are striking, as they range from very rare to frequent experiences with harassment and unwanted attention.

Starting off with harassment, it needs to be pointed out that some interviewees, especially the older ones, rarely or never experience harassment in de Wallen. In comparison, especially the interviewees in their 20s experienced harassment regularly. This perhaps traces back to the fact that sex workers are in the same age category. Consequently, this would mean that age is a factor in the objectification of women. Tani (2002) argues that women are signs of prostitution in RLDs, meaning that any woman moving in this space becomes a sexually available target for men, whether being a sex worker or not. This indeed has also been found in this study. Interviewee 7, 8 and most of the women of both focus groups have experienced to be identified as a prostitute by men. Interviewee 7 (27) shared the following: “In summer, they would ask ‘Are you finished, are you going to work, which one is yours, which window?’” Similarly, Woman 2.1 (26) said:

[...] Yeah but then he was like ‘how much to spend the night?’ and then I was like ‘well I'm a student, so sorry, I’m a student, I just live here’ and he was like ‘oh that’s such a shame, you should really do this, you can make a lot of money’.

Besides the ‘sign of prostitute’, other harassment takes place in the women’s lives. Interviewee 7 and Woman 1.1 talked about men invading their personal space. Men would come too close or surround them in a circle. Whether intended or not, these situations imply a certain extent of weakness of female gender, as they might feel less powerful in this situation than their male opponents. Moreover, Interviewee 4 was recently asked by a man ‘Why don’t you come here and give me a blowjob?’ Physical harassment happens less but has also been experienced by one research participant, Woman 1.3 (26): “I once had that I was walking over a bridge there and then someone was on a bicycle passing me by. And he really hit me in the ass very hard.”

In addition, female residents experience unwanted sexual attention regularly. Usually, these evolve around “just like a creepy ‘hey’” (Interviewee 9, 26) and “gross looks” (Woman 1.3, 26).
Moreover, both focus groups shared experiences of men making various sounds. Those ranged from smacking and kissing sounds to what Woman 2.4 called ‘sissing’, which is making an ‘sssss’ sound. Another significant aspect to consider is who exactly harasses women in de Wallen. Whereas some female residents believed that mostly (male) tourists behave disrespectful and sexist towards them, others claimed that the ‘cuckoos’ are more threatening. Moreover, whereas the sign of a prostitute is specific to de Wallen as a RLD, Interviewee 4, 9 and 10 claimed that catcalling/ harassment takes places anywhere.

4.5.2 Avoidance, Boldness and Hypersensitivity – Coping with Harassment and Sexual Attention

This previous section described female residents’ experiences with harassment, but neglected how women respond in those situations. Several tactics to deal with harassment as a woman have been addressed in previous research (Koskela, 1997, 1999; Tani, 2002, Chapuis, 2017; Sanders-McDonagh, 2017). Some of those strategies are used by female residents in de Wallen as well. Nevertheless, new strategies could be identified and contribute to existing knowledge.

There are differences in the feelings that harassment evokes in the research participants. Woman 2.5 (23) for example claimed that sexual comments and attention do not affect her, whereas Interviewee 3 (54) sometimes even feels flattered and complimented: “It always goes two ways. If a guy is asking, even though you’re not in the profession, it still gives you kind of an appeal, it does, doesn’t it? You still have attraction (laughs).” Most of the women, who experience harassment, however, do feel bothered, annoyed and/or uncomfortable. They do not seek attention as they think it is unnecessary. Interviewee 4 (41) indicated that women have an influence on whether situations can escalate or not. In order to cope with harassment, they developed prevention strategies. For example, Koskela’s (1997) concept of ‘bold-walking’ has indeed been used by female residents. Interviewee 11 suggests the strategy of walking confidently in the street pretending she has everything under control. Moreover, Chapuis (2017) and Tani (2002) discussed the idea of ‘down-dressing’ to not seem approachable. Focus group 1 had an interesting discussion about this:

W1.3 Yeah. Sometimes when you have like a party and you're really dressed up, then sometimes I'm almost afraid to go out, because you know you will get more comments than normally and always it’s like that, if you were wearing
W1.1 Heels or something
W1.3 Yeah, heels or a skirt or more makeup or anything, you will get comments on it, always
W1.2 And it's also when I'm walking on Saturday morning with no makeup and my
W1.3 Yeah then still
W1.2 and my shabby trousers on. Then early in the mornings, you also get comments so it's
W1.3 Yeah. I once had
W1.1 It almost doesn’t matter, you're just a girl.

It is intriguing to look at the flow of this conversation. It seemed like the three women together came
to a conclusion, that is no matter what to wear, being identified as a female is reason enough for men
to harass. Just like Chapuis (2017) and Koskela (2005) argued, it shows that femininity in de Wallen
may convert into sexuality. Being ‘just a girl’ seems to entitle men to harass female residents, which
means that they are objectified. Compared to other studies, where women seem to negotiate way more
what to wear, in this study, many residents claimed that they would wear whatever they wanted and
seemed comfortable in any type of clothing. Interviewee 7 (27) for example shared with me that she
likes to wear her jogging pants in the neighbourhood. In general, harassment does not hinder women
in dressing up, therefore I argue that the concept of down-dressing in de Wallen does not define
females’ behaviour accurately. Female residents do dress up, but they negotiate how they wear it. To
avoid receiving comments when being dressed up, women from Focus group 1 covered themselves up
with a coat or a scarf until they moved outside de Wallen. Furthermore, they wore sneakers when
leaving the house and put on their high heels at the location afterwards. This means the female
residents do not feel restricted in what they wear, but where and how it is worn. Still, they wear their
outfit with confidence. Hence, their behaviour is rather ‘bold-dressing’ than ‘down-dressing’.

Besides bold-dressing, other tactics connected to body language are used to prevent being
approached. Examples are avoiding eye contact or looking grumpy and irritated. Looking men in the
eyes gives them the impression that they could approach women. Woman 1.1 (26) explained:

I do feel, always when I get into this neighbourhood, when I'm thinking at night like on a
Friday or Saturday or at night, I realize that my face is changing. So I was walking a bit like
this (makes angry face), because if people want to make eye contact with me, I don't want to
be like too happy or nice, too approachable.

This quote implies that Woman 1.1 negotiated about her behaviour in de Wallen taking into account
temporality. This might be based on the construct of night-time being more dangerous for women, or
even that people are more ‘in the mood’ for sexual encounters on a Friday or Saturday evening. Again,
this proves that some female residents experience de Wallen as an elastic space (Koskela, 2005). Their
behaviour is based on negotiations that contain gender constructs and performativity (Beebeejaun,
2017).

Next to taking preventive action, female residents also established tactics that are used in the
case of harassment. One the one hand, disregard is one of the responses, which is used by many
interviewees. Ignoring comments and unwanted attention is a frequent coping mechanism. For instance, when being asked by a man to give him a blowjob, Interviewee 4 (41) decided not to respond and just walk on. On the other hand, some female residents prefer to react verbally to the harassment. They swear to men and get loud. Woman 2.1 (26) for example told someone that his comment was rude; similarly, Woman 2.4 (26) replied to a sexual comment with “No fuck you”. I argue that this mechanism is used to communicate confidence, and therefore I label it as ‘bold-countering’. Being bold also related to involving third parties in the situation. Woman 1.1 (26) explained that it helps her to draw the attention of other people, to become noisy and make others aware of her presence. This relates closely to how I argued before that people tame spaces.

In both focus groups, woman discussed that they feel prepared to react to harassment at any time in their neighbourhood, because they expect it to happen. The issue is that sometimes men harass them and leave as fast as they can. This made the women from the focus group angry, because even though they were prepared to react confidently, for example with ‘bold-countering’, they did not get the opportunity to do so. I define this type of harassment as ‘on-the-go’ harassment. Even if women are spatially confident, able and willing to deconstruct the power and gender relations in an urban space, they are not given the possibility to. A rather surprising outcome in this study is that most female residents feel safe in de Wallen, often even in situations of harassment. Why this is the case might be explained by the following excerpt from Focus group 1:

W 1.1  […] I sometimes wonder like what if I would turn around now. What would he do? I think they would all chicken out.

All    Yeah.

W1.1   There’s big talk but still it's annoying, but if you already know you’re not going to do really anything with it, why even bother doing it, just leave me alone.

This shows that female residents might not feel seriously threatened by men in de Wallen because they do not expect them to take further action. Moreover, at most times of the day, female residents experience space to be tamed by people.

Koskela and Tani (2005) concluded that woman have been developing hyperawareness and intuition-based behaviour in urban spaces, which assist them in estimating safety and threat in sexualized spaces. In this research, especially in both focus groups, I found females to be reflective and aware of their living space, while discussing tactics with each other to find out which strategy worked best. It shows that some women consciously think about coping mechanisms concerning harassment. The quote by Woman 1.2 (26) shows that it almost seems out of her hands how to react best:
I've tried all kinds of strategies but nothing really (pause). Just ignore it and keep on walking or don't look at them, look at the ground, look happy, look sad. Doesn’t matter. I just maybe curse back at them, doesn't work because they were even more angry and curse back again.

Trying out various tactics demonstrates that female residents’ awareness of gender rules and power relations between men and women in de Wallen as a sexualized space. Women learn to be alert; a quote by Interviewee 11 (60) is reminiscent of this idea: “You develop, at least then, developed a perhaps oversensitive sense about what might happen rather than just being sort of young and stupid about it like ‘nothing is going to happen to me’ (laughs).” Being ‘young and stupid’ might refer to women’s naivety and unawareness of what could happen to them and how to prevent it. Interviewee 11 performs according to gender rules that she has acquired as a female. To be more specific, she understands her role as a female to be sensitive and careful.

To sum up, despite the awareness and discomfort that is experienced, most women highlighted that they still do not feel unsafe or threatened. This contradicts with statements about women feeling more fearful in urban spaces than men (Koskela, 2005). Based on the emotions and tactics analysed from the interviewees, I argue that there is a low level of feeling unsafe and threatened, but a high level of discomfort and irritation. The tactics that are applied indicate that women may act upon their gender performativity and constructs when moving in de Wallen. Tactics such as bold-countering and bold-dressing are used to deconstruct gender and to balance out gender inequalities in urban spaces. Nevertheless, without actively trying to do so, female residents are likely to be part of the sexualized sphere.

4.6 The Authenticity, Aesthetics and Gender in de Wallen
The previous section has shown de Wallen being a multi-use RLD has an impact on how women experience their neighbourhood. The gentrification project 1012 has nurtured the multi-use offers. This last section of the results chapter will discuss the influence of gentrification on interviewees’ living experience in de Wallen. Authenticity, diversity and aesthetics are what many female residents search for, however, this seems to be challenged by gentrification, standardization and tourism. While this is a gender-neutral analysis, finally I will also investigate the impacts on females in particular, focusing on de Wallen as ‘genderfied’ and feminized space.

4.6.1 The Authenticity of de Wallen
Places that are experienced as authentic and ambient are usually preferred by female residents over ‘tourist traps’. Cafes such as Ivy & Bros, Quartier Putain and the Koffieschenkerij were mentioned for their ‘nice vibes’ and great coffee and cakes. Most interviewees mentioned Nieuwmarkt as one of their
most comfortable places to visit. Interestingly, Nieuwmarkt is experienced as part of de Wallen, whereas technically, it is located just outside this neighbourhood. This means that female residents extend space in their mind. De Wallen is experienced as a ‘buurtje’ for its vibe; Nieuwmarkt seems to fit this atmosphere. Authenticity in de Wallen means old-fashioned, vintage places that represent the soul of the neighbourhood, like Café Bern, which has been there for ages. Interviewee 10 (21) mentioned that de Wallen is authentic because it does not have hip cafes yet, like other neighbourhoods. She values that restaurants and cafes fit the area.

Besides restaurants, cafes and bars, I want to point out some businesses as outcomes of Project 1012 that were recognized positively by interviewees. Any woman shared that they benefit from more diversity in the neighbourhood. Interviewee 6 (69) explained:

Nou, gewoon een jonge, met een pop up, met platen, of er is een mevrouw met allemaal sjaals en modeontwerper hebben al jaren geleden in panden gezeten die de gemeente heeft gekocht van de seksondernemers, ja. Dus die variatie die wordt steeds leuker.

Especially clothing stores on the Zeedijk, for instance Pata, seem to be popular among female residents. Moreover, some mentioned the Red Light Radio 10 and the Upcycle 11 to be interesting outcomes of Project 1012. Whereas the Red Light Radio was perceived as authentic, the Upcycle was criticized for not fitting into the neighbourhood, for being too upscale. I argue that this has to do with the identity that research participants attach to de Wallen. The Upcycle could be placed in any gentrified cityscape. In contrast, Red Light Radio sets up its window like a prostitute window. In my field notes on April 11th, 2019, I wrote:

I was looking for the Red Light Radio for a while. From the outside you can barely recognize it, because it’s placed in between prostitution windows. When I looked inside, a DJ was playing right in front of the window. He looked at me and I did a little dance. Funny actually, because they look just like a sex worker. Even the lights in there are red. To get in, I had to ring a bell at the gate. They opened it for me and inside there was a shabby looking little courtyard. There’s a small record store I wanted to check out.

This might explain why some female residents experience the radio to fit into the neighbourhood. It adopts the identity of de Wallen, which Interviewee 9 (26) described as “grimy, kinda dirty”. The

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10 Red Light Radio is an online radio station located in de Wallen at Oudekerksplein. “Since 2010 RLR broadcasts daily shows of local and international artists, does parties & concerts and collaborations with festivals, museums & other cultural partners all over the world” (Red Light Radio Radio, n.d.)

11 The Upcycle is a store that sells sustainable products created out of waste. This includes design items, jewellery, accessories etc.
radio setting seems like a copy of a sex window, it is in line with the sexualized sphere. That is perhaps why female residents perceive it as authentic.

4.6.2 Authenticity at Stake – Standardization and Homogeneity

Although interviewees make use of few places, they mostly avoid businesses in de Wallen. Most interviewees prefer to spend their leisure time outside de Wallen and believe that most restaurants, pubs and shops there belong to the tourist sphere. Interviewee 1 (74) stated that there are many tourist traps in the neighbourhood and not many places where she thinks “ah that’s nice to go”. Here she referred to steak houses, waffle shops etc. Through standardization and homogeneity, the authenticity of de Wallen seems to be at stake. Interviewee 8 (23) commented:

And that was what I kind of feared, it was at a lot of places here, where it’s just all those very local places, but now the bakeries have come, all the Nutella stores, the Nutellafication is how we call it (laughs). Uhm, but it’s such a shame if that all disappears.

The notion of Nutellafication reoccurred in almost all interviews. There appears to be a discrepancy between the intended effects and perceived outcomes of Project 1012. This would imply that Project 1012 is counterproductive and perceived negatively by female residents. Rather than experiencing the gentrifying Wallen as more liveable place, they feel gentrification only aims at tourists, to boost the economy (Ashworth, 1988; Chatterton & Hollands, 2003; Evans, 2009).

The aversion of homogeneity has also to do with maintaining culture. Woman 1.1 (26) for instance would prefer “micro economy, small clothing shops, boutique shops, not like big chains”. Likewise, Woman 1.2 (26) prefers ‘Dutch’ shops, referring to local, specialized stores run by locals. ‘Boutique’ shops in this case are shops that have unique products, unique to a place and a country. This finding may link to the sense of ownership that was discussed in the beginning of the chapter. Losing one’s neighbourhood might be associated with losing one’s culture, one’s pride. The standardization targeting tourists creates friction in de Wallen as an authentic, historic area. Woman 2.3 (22) commented: “I'm like, this is so unnecessary, there is a beautiful historical building and it's a fucking weed museum.” This could mean that culture is perceived to be at stake. Pride is a feeling I linked to the sense of ownership earlier, where it had mainly to do with feeling proud of living in a unique area. Pride can also be connected to the culture and identity of de Wallen, challenged by tourism and gentrification.
4.6.3 The Need for Aesthetics

Besides restaurants and shops, one can find an accumulation of sex shops in de Wallen. Most female residents indicated that they are not bothered by those stores. Similar to sex work, they have gotten used to the shops. They normalized them and do not pay much attention to them anymore, although they also could easily dispense with them. As discussed by Interviewee 1, 10, and Focus group 2, these shops target mostly tourists and therefore they have negative associations with them. This shows that experiencing sex stores in their neighbourhood is linked to their aversion towards the tourist sphere. In contrary, Interviewee 8 and 9 enjoy the stores and show interest in the products, perhaps due to their curiosity about the sex world in general. They feel like the stores belong to de Wallen and are part of the neighbourhood. Compared to other interviewees, they showed more tendency to believe that the sexualized sphere belongs to the resident sphere. For them it is part of the authentic experience of living in de Wallen. This could be because rather than linking sex shops to tourism, they link it to the liberation of sex in society (Collins, 2006).

Moving on, many interviewees had a common opinion about the aesthetics of the shops. Interviewee 3 (54) criticized the “vulgar”-looking windows, “showing big dildos and older silly stuff”. Similarly, Interviewee 6 (69) finds sex shops “smakeloos”. Strikingly, rather than proposing the elimination of sex stores, most interviewees suggested a more aesthetic portrayal, such as Interviewee 11 (60):

Done tastefully I notice I don't have a problem with it. The one just on the corner here with the vibrators in the window, it’s a tasteful window. I have a lot more problems with the funny little shops, the ones where you've got, I don't know if he still has them, but basically magazines where nothing's left to the imagination.

4.6.4 The Potential of a ‘Genderfied’ and Feminized Red Light District

De Wallen is often criticized to communicate immoral gender roles. Therefore, it could be argued that removing windows contributes to what Berg (2014) calls ‘genderfication’, to reduce the ‘objectification’ of women. I argue that gentrification could potentially turn de Wallen into a somewhat feminized and ‘genderfied’ rather than male-dominated RLD.

To start with, the consequences of Project 1012 contribute to de Wallen being an elastic space. The developments that were part of de Wallen changed the circumstances, temporality and spatiality of the neighbourhood. The removal of windows led to a higher concentration of windows in selected streets. Therefore, in terms of spatiality and temporality, this is a disadvantage for female residents. For example, Interviewee 11 (6) believed that removing windows is ineffective, as tiny alleys get even more crowded now. Moreover, Interviewee 9 (26) talked about a colleague’s experience of safety connected to the removal of windows:
She feels less safe if she’s walking home at like 1 in the morning for example, because there is less people watching her on the street, there is now more drug dealers gathering there, because those windows, there’s more creepy places.

This quote links to the fact that people tame de Wallen for women. Reducing windows means taking away people, especially during the night, which decreases women’s perception of safety. A consequence of gentrification may therefore be that public spaces are less tamed for females.

When being asked whether the interviewees perceive the changes in de Wallen as feminization of spaces, most female residents indicated that this was not the case. Even though I argue that the interviewees were not consciously aware of the feminization, in some statement it became clear that it is perceived to some extent. Interviewee 8 (23) shared: “Next to my house for a long time there was this coffee shop called Coco, and it was this typical concept store, hip place with the best coffees and completely aimed at women or trendy things.” Interviewee 3 had a similar opinion, stating that new places like the café where I interviewed her, Ivy & Bros, is more likely to be attractive to women. By creating more consumption targeted at women, spaces are feminized and give women more the feeling of being included (Lees & Phillips, 2018).

Moreover, I could identify the demand for the feminization of de Wallen. During my observations, I found that public toilets can (technically) only be used by men and found this to be an obvious way of gendering space. Interviewee 9 (26) raised the same issue, wishing for “something for women who really need to pee desperately”. While asking interviewees what type of stores they would benefit from in the future, they prioritized specialized, local stores, lunch spots and clothing stores. This aligns with Kern (2013), who argued that cafés, boutique stores etc. challenge male-dominated spaces by evoking femininity and consumption targeted at women. Interviewee 9 (26) talked about a shop run by “a woman who has her art studio there and she makes necklaces out of vulvas […].” Although it might not have been the interviewee’s intention, I would argue that this example contributes to balancing genders in de Wallen. It changes the perception of gender roles. To be more specific, the visibility of vulvas confronts the dominance of penises displayed in de Wallen. Vulvas are not understood anymore as immoral, but aesthetic, at least when exhibited in a respectful, artistic manner. Interestingly, upgrading the display of female sexuality has also been mentioned by Interviewee 8 (23):
I’ve also been in sex shops in other cities and it’s funny now how there is this shift in how sex shops look like and it’s getting more and more designed, the Lelo brand with the vibrators, it’s like this high designed thing and if you come in there it’s like oh my god, this looks so fancy and I don’t know, it’s completely trendy to use this.

Although this quote is not about de Wallen, it shows that some women do pay attention to the feminization of spaces and appreciate this development. A tasteful looking vibrator store targeting women has the potential to balance male-dominated gendered spaces. Where else would it fit, if not in a sexualized space in a liberal city like Amsterdam?
5 Conclusion and Discussion
The final chapter of this thesis is seeking to answer the research question of this study and to demonstrate new insights that contribute to existing research. This thesis aimed at comprehending how female residents of de Wallen experience and behave in Amsterdam’s RLD as a gentrifying and multi-use sexualized urban space. Firstly, I will conclude how de Wallen as a space in general is experienced, then address each characteristic (multi-use, sexualized, gentrified) separately. I will make explicit how those experiences are specific to females and de Wallen and what the implications are in terms of the intersection of gender, sexuality and space. Afterwards, I will guide the reader through the research limitations and give suggestions for further research. Finally, I will reflect on my role as researcher and participant observer in de Wallen.

5.1 Research Question
To start with, female residents expressed positive attitudes towards de Wallen as a home. In general, these women feel included, comfortable, safe, happy in and proud of their neighbourhood. Through the eyes of female residents, de Wallen is experienced as a multiverse space. This means that they live in their own world (the resident sphere) and recognize other worlds (the public, sexualized, tourist and gentrified sphere) and social groups to be moving in those worlds. Female residents tend to detach themselves from other spheres. They either do not want to be associated with them or perceive them as blurry. Participants in this study showed interest and respect towards the other worlds (the sexualized sphere), as well as disdain and resistance (the tourist sphere). The characteristics and happenings in other spheres and the people associated with them have an influence on how female residents experience de Wallen. In some cases, characteristics and people of certain spheres impact female residents’ spatial confidence and the way they behave and perform their gender. De Wallen is experienced as ‘elastic space’, where research participants’ experience and behaviour vary based on circumstances, temporarily and spatially (Koskela, 1997).

Firstly, de Wallen being a multi-use space means that the neighbourhood attracts many visitors, who make use of sex businesses as well as restaurants, bars and coffee shops. One the one hand, female residents feel antipathy to tourists, because they behave disrespectful in regard to the sexualized and resident sphere. As de Wallen is shared among social groups, the fact that they live there enhances female residents’ sense of pride, ownership, belonging and social cohesion. Female residents ‘other’ themselves from tourists. This is expressed by judging their behaviour as immoral, avoiding them spatially and by seeing them as entertainment in an ironic way. Moreover, homeless and drug-dealing people in de Wallen are more feared by female residents than others. They non-tame space for females; as a result, their spatial confidence and perception of safeness mitigates. On the other hand, benefits of living in a multi-use space for women is that the constant presence of people (sex workers, tourists, locals, employees) tames de Wallen at most times of the day. Similar, the
presence of police and video surveillance tame and suppress space for female residents. Consequently, women are less likely to feel fear and more likely to be spatially confident.

Secondly, de Wallen as a sexualized space is romanticized by some females, especially those who grew up there. Through familiarity they accepted and normalized the high visibility of sex, which is reminiscent of past literature (Prior & Crofts, 2012). Especially younger female residents (aged below 40) were tolerant of sex-related matters, whereas older female residents expressed more disregard towards sex work and shops. Empathy was shared with how sex workers may be treated, although the red lights in general remain a mystery. Whereas some use ‘Othering’ towards sex workers, others consider them as allies. They stand up for prostitutes and their profession, as they perceive them to be an essential part of de Wallen. This contrasts with what Sanders-McDonagh (2017) and Chapuis (2017) argued, namely that women create social hierarchies between them and sex workers. Moreover, female residents were not bothered by sex shops, however, did criticize the vulgar aesthetics of the window displays.

Additionally, this study revealed that residents indeed established a hypersensitivity and awareness as females to increase their spatial confidence (Koskela, 2005). This hypersensitivity led them to develop prevention and coping strategies connected to harassment and unwanted attention by men. Strikingly, female residents reported zero to regular harassment in their neighbourhood based on their age. I found that in de Wallen as sexualized space, not only prostitutes (Nelson & Seager, 2005) but also female residents are objectified and sexualized. Younger residents (aged below 30) were likely to be identified as sexual objects and ‘signs of a prostitute’ than older residents. Femininity converts into sexuality (Chapuis, 2017; Koskela, 2005). Hence, I conclude that de Wallen is experienced by some as sexualized urban space, where erotic practices rule the setting (Bryant & Livholts, 2007; Green et. al, 2010). Men seem to feel entitled to sexualize (and hence also harass) young women, as to them it might seem as ‘part of the deal’ there. The way women respond to harassment slightly deviates from past literature. In the case of de Wallen, rather than ‘bold-walking’ and ‘down-dressing’ (Koskela, 1997; Tani, 2002, Chapuis, 2017), female residents use ‘bold-dressing’ and ‘bold-countering’. Problematic is also a new form of harassment, which was defined as ‘on-the-go’ harassment; it refrains women from reacting to men, as the latter disappear shortly after harassing. Women do not get the chance to respond, even though they feel confident, powerful and prepared to do so. In general, research participants felt bothered, however not seriously threatened or harmed by the attention of men in de Wallen.

Thirdly, de Wallen was defined as gentrifying space, enhancing the multi-use of the area. Some females appreciated the changes, including new shopping stores and coffee places. These link with Kern’s (2013) idea of increasing femininity in masculine spaces by placing boutique stores and local cafes there. Other interviewees did not recognize any benefits for them personally. They perceive de Wallen’s authenticity and identity to be challenged by the increase of standardized tourist businesses and decrease of local, specialized shops. The removal of windows as part of gentrification
meant more crowdedness in streets with windows and more remoteness in streets without windows. This ultimately harmed female residents’ spatial confidence as spaces are perceived as uncontrollable or less tamed. Female residents are in favour of businesses that fit de Wallen, such as Red Light Radio, and are more aesthetic. In general, there is a demand for ‘genderfying’ and feminizing de Wallen to make it even more inclusive and enjoyable for women.

Lastly, let us analyse what the findings of this thesis imply in terms of the relation between gender, sexuality and urban public spaces. Some experience in de Wallen that were analysed are specific to women. Therefore, it can be concluded that genders experience public urban spaces in different ways (Miranne & Young, 2000; Doan, 2010). I conclude that power relations in de Wallen are not only constructed by men through objectifying, sexualizing and harassing women (Hubbard, 2005; Koskela, 2005; Spain, 2014). Through responding and behaving in bold ways or being involved and protective of their neighbourhood, women also communicate self-confidence and ownership of space. They appear to be active in deconstructing gendered hierarchies and power relations, rather than having internalized to be the weaker gender (Chapuis, 2017). Sadly, some men claim public spaces in new ways (e.g. through ‘on-the-go’ harassment) to perhaps dominate the female gender. Generally saying, I argue that female residents do not feel excluded or restricted in de Wallen to a great extent. They avoid spaces not because they are female, but because they are annoyed with tourism. Through the eyes of female residents, living in a multi-use RLD creates more perceived safety, inclusion, tolerance and gender equality than living in a single-use RLD. This has mostly to do with the fact that multi-use areas are more likely to be tamed, suppressed spaces. These factors increase women’s spatial confidence and sensitivity and minimize their fearfulness.

5.2 Research Limitations and Further Research
Whereas this research was seeking to discover how female residents experience living in the Wallen and how they behave in this sexualized multi-use space, it left out the perspectives of other genders such as non-binary or trans genders. Literature presented in this thesis emphasised on the experience of cisgender individuals. Recent literature raises an important point, namely that not only women as a social group face the issue of spatial confidence and fear. LGTB communities, for instance, are also afraid of violence in urban spaces, for example in homophobic areas (Doan, 2010, Beebeejaun, 2017). All interviewees in this thesis identified as female and are therefore considered cisgender. Hence, the outcomes of this study are limited to individuals born as women and identifying as females. Another fact that has not been taken into account was participants’ sexual orientation. There may be differences in how sex work or harassment is experienced based on hetero-, homo-, bi- or asexuality.

Regarding the research design, the sample of 19 female residents consisted of a range of ages, however, the majority was either aged below 30 or above 50. A pattern per age group could be identified in the experiences related to harassment and unwanted sexual attention. Whereas the group
of women below 30 years dealt with these matters more frequently, women above 50 hardly
recognized the issue. Finding research participants aged 30 to 50 turned out to be rather difficult. The
ones that were approached could not be interviewed in the given time period, mostly because they had
a family to look after. Especially this perspective of mothers would have contributed to this study. In
addition, the focus groups both consisted of women in their 20s living together in a house. Ideally, the
focus groups would have consisted of two different groups, for example adolescence versus seniors or
existing group versus strangers. This would have enabled me to compare group dynamics more
meticulously. It would have also allowed to examine how opinions on sensitive topics such as
prostitution are constructed in different groups. Finding research participants and organizing mixed
groups appeared to be extremely challenging considering the time limits of this research project.
Another issue that occurred while sampling the data was the realization that I heavily relied on
networking and snowball sampling. This means that many interviewees knew each other and referred
me to other interviewees. Using interviewees’ networks limited this research in the sense that many of
the samples were involved in the neighbourhood. Therefore, they might have a biased view on how
their experience de Wallen, for instance because they have lived there so long that happenings appear
‘normal’ to them. Furthermore, some participants were prioritizing specific issue such as tourism and
hence the interviews were leading towards those topics.

The limitations of this thesis are a stimulation for further research that could be conducted on
the topic. Considering the limitations on the experience of various genders, not only females, I argue it
to be necessary to investigate more in-depth how sexualized and gendered spaces, RLDs in particular,
are experienced by other genders. Past research focused on men and women’s behaviour. Given the
fact that more acknowledgement and labelling has been assigned to other genders and sexualities such
as queer groups, transgender people and so forth, their experience and behaviour should be more
defined. Researching variant genders’, such as transgender, perceptions in public and private spaces
has been discovered by Doan (2010). Examining their perception of sexualized spaces, especially
RLDs, which are often viewed as male-dominated, could built up on the author’s research. The
outcomes of this thesis rely on experiences of cis-gender women, which creates questions about how
transgender women perceive this neighbourhood. Literature generally highlights the notion of
masculinity and femininity in RLDs. Yet some people want to be identified neither feminine nor
masculine and live by less rigid gender rules. Lastly, during the observations I collected data on men,
which I finally was not able to analyse in this research paper. Further research could compare female
residents’ experience to those of male residents. For example, I found that they contemplated as well
how to behave in terms of windows and sex workers, dealing with power relations and the fact that
they are considered potential clients of sex work.

A point that lacked in-depth analysis in this paper is the notion of growing up in de Wallen and
how this experience affects one’s sexuality and attitude towards sex work. De Wallen provides a
unique environment as it is a RLD where many families live. Further research could explore how
children experience de Wallen, how romanticizing de Wallen, as I have identified it, impacts women nowadays. Another aspect that needs more attention in the future is Project 1012 and its effects. Many residents indicated that the gentrification had only positive short-term effects. Its overall (long-term) effectiveness could be tested. Lastly, this research project aimed at comprehending a specific space, de Wallen, placed in the Netherlands, which is famous for its liberal and tolerant culture. It can be argued that gender equality is more developed here than in other countries, and that women are not necessarily oppressed in society. The level of patriarchy is relatively low in general, which has an influence of how women experience daily life in this country. Comparisons to RLDs or gendered and sexualized spaces in countries with a high level of patriarchy could give interesting insights into the extent that cultural values and dimensions influence the experience of its population in urban spaces. Gender hierarchies can also depend on religion, which has not been addressed in this thesis. In many countries, religion is the belief system that cultural values and norms are grounded on, which also defines exclusion and inclusion of spaces of gender, or gender performativity, for instance the way women dress.

5.3 Reflexivity as Researcher

According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), a research in the social sciences can never be entirely objective, as the researcher’s character can be essential in influencing it. This does not mean that studies are always biased; however, it needs to be taken into account that researchers can have an agency in the situations they study. To overcome observer bias, Angrosini (2007) suggests to combine observations with other techniques, which was done by merging my personal impressions with findings from interviews and focus groups. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) state, “there is no way in which we can escape the social world in order to study it” (pp. 15-16). In this research, this statement was of great importance to me. I used to live in Amsterdam myself. Back then, I avoided de Wallen, as I did not want to be confronted with what I considered the ‘objectification of women’. While working in a hotel in Amsterdam during night frequently, I got into contact with sex workers, who were mostly Eastern European; I found myself struggling with the norms and values I attached to sex work. This research enabled me to dive more into this world. It provided a clearer image of what it means for women to be confronted with prostitution daily, exactly what I avoided when living in Amsterdam myself. I believe that it is important to discuss my role as a researcher in this particular study, as I could identify with many of the research participants. As the majority of women who I interviewed was younger than 30, I admit that being a female in my 20s made me identify with them a lot. Even though I was not a resident myself, observations in de Wallen assisted me to understand female residents’ experiences and behaviour. As a woman, I felt responsible to raise the issue of gender inequalities in public urban spaces. I am aware that identifying this as an ‘issue’ is bound to the location we are finding ourselves in: A highly developed, Western-European capital city, where people
would not expect females’ experiences in space to be a problem that should be prioritized. Exactly for that reason, it was close to my heart to dive into this matter.

Reflecting on my own role during the research, I realized that I went through different stages in terms of how I saw de Wallen, especially after talking to women with many different opinions. This has probably influenced my behaviour during interviews and focus groups. It surely had an impact on how I observed de Wallen, and what I focused on. In the beginning, I described de Wallen more as a neighbourhood. I paid attention to the shops there, the cafes, restaurants, I tried to find my way around, figure out where most windows were located and so forth. Basically, I was spending most time making sense of the space I was dealing with. After a while, and especially after the first in-depth interviews and focus group, I paid much more detailed attention to how others behaved. During interviews and especially focus groups, it became more challenging not to take part of discussion and to refrain from sharing my own opinion. It seemed difficult not to engage with female residents and show more empathy and compliance. Towards the end of my observation time, I noticed that my thoughts centred around my own behaviour. I constantly caught myself contemplating about my own reactions, the way I would dress, how I would look at sex workers and the way I felt towards residents and tourists in de Wallen. I started to make distinction myself, asking myself questions like ‘What is my relationship to the residents?’ and ‘What would I do if someone harassed me now?’ In fact, I started to identify with female residents, I spent time in cafes and walked around during different times to ‘be like them’. And if someone asked me before this research project whether I could imagine to ever live in Amsterdam’s RLD, I would surely have said ‘no’. Now, having finalized this research, I definitely changed my mind to ‘yes’.
References


Hesse-Biber, S. (2010).Qualitative Approaches to Mixed Methods Practice. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(6), 455-468.


We Live Here (n.d.). About. Retrieved June 8, 2019, from We live here Website: https://welivehere.amsterdam/about/

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Operationalization of Concepts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concept</th>
<th>Operationalization</th>
<th>Measurability (Interview Questions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Multi-use Space</strong></td>
<td>Sense of belonging to de Wallen</td>
<td>- How is your relationship/interaction with other residents?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- What is your general feeling like towards the neighbourhood?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- How do you feel you fit into this neighbourhood?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advantages and Disadvantages of living in de Wallen</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Why do you like living here?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Why do you not like living here?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- What are advantages and disadvantages of living here for you as a woman?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Comparison to non RLD neighbourhoods</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Which differences do you experience between living in de Wallen and other areas you lived in before?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Usage of facilities (restaurants, cafes, shops)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>- De Wallen has to offer many pubs, cafés, museums, etc.; which facilities are you often making use of and for what reasons?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spatial Exclusion and Inclusion</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Where do you spend your leisure time in Amsterdam?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Where do you feel most comfortable/uncomfortable in your neighbourhood? Why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Which places are you avoiding in de Wallen? When and why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Do you think there are any limitations in visiting places, streets, pubs, bars, etc. for you because you are a woman?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perception of safety</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>- How safe do you think de Wallen is?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- What is your perception of the surveillance here in the area?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Effects of tourism</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>- How does tourism affect you here personally?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gendered Space</strong></td>
<td><strong>Spatial Exclusion and Inclusion</strong></td>
<td>- Are there places or areas where you do not feel welcome or expected in de Wallen because you are a woman?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Do you feel like you have to change your behaviour as a woman in certain places, locations? If yes, explain, give examples?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sense of control over oneself</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>- How much control over yourself and the area do you think you have?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perception of safety</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>- How safe do you think your neighbourhood is?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fear</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Have you ever felt fear in your neighbourhood and if yes, can you give me some examples?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a) How did you behave in these situations?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Sexual) harassment, unwanted (sexual) attention</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Have you ever felt (sexually) harassed in your neighbourhood and if yes, can you give me some examples?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What do you do to prevent yourself from being harassed or from feeling threatened in this neighbourhood?

**Sexualized Space**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perception of high visibility of sex work and sex workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do you feel when passing by the windows?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) What exactly do you do when passing by?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception of sex-related businesses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex-related business are very present in de Wallen— what is your perception of it?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effects of prostitution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do you think prostitution affects you here personally?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male-dominated space</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The majority of visitors in RLDs is male – do you perceive this to be the case here and how does it affect you as a woman living here?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gentrified Space**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Awareness of gentrification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which changes did you witness in the last 10 years in de Wallen?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judgement of Project 1012</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do you think are the consequences of this project for you?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many windows have been removed – how did/does this affect you personally?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived benefits of Project 1012</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do you think can/could you benefit (or not) from these changes/new facilities?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do you think these changes fit into the neighbourhood?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What else should be improved in this neighbourhood? And how?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Genderfication’ and Feminization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How would you describe these new facilities/what are the characteristics of the new places?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you feel that these changes/new facilities welcome/target women specifically and if yes, in what ways?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do you feel these places could make you feel more included in the neighbourhood?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Experience**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Memories, stories, events related to experiencing de Wallen on a daily basis, including past and recent experiences; feelings, opinions, attitude, perceptions, emotions attached to those experiences</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Behaviour**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interaction, communication, responses, reactions, tactics related to the experiences in de Wallen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A1: Operationalization of Concepts
Appendix B: Interview Guides

The appointments for the interviews and focus groups were organized via email and WhatsApp. Prior to conducting the (group) interviews, all residents were asked whether they identified as a female. Moreover, their nationality, age, profession, marital status and duration of residency was noted down. A list of the research participants and this information can be found in Appendix C. This interview guide includes a list of topics and questions that I used during the interviews. Choosing the method of semi-structured interviewing, I aimed at following the structure but showing flexibility when needed. In order for me to receive a better understanding of the spatial arrangements in de Wallen as well as to stimulate female residents’ spatial understanding, I provided two maps of de Wallen. Figure B1 shows de Wallen and its surroundings, and indicates clear spatial boundaries of the streets that belong and do not officially belong to de Wallen. The goal of showing this map was to locate de Wallen in the centre of Amsterdam and also to be aware of the general setting in a broader picture. Figure B2 gives a clearer impression of where the red lights are located in spatial relation to the neighbourhood. The interviewees were invited to use these maps while answering the questions, sometimes they were asked explicitly to indicate places they were talking about.

Figure B1. Map of de Wallen (We Live Here, 2018)
Figure B2. Amsterdam’s Red Light District (Majoer, n.d.)
a) In-Depth Interview Guide

**Neighbourhood, Sense of Belonging**

1. Why do you like living here?
2. Why do you not like living here?
3. Which differences do you experience between living in de Wallen and other areas you lived in before?
4. What are advantages and disadvantages of living here for you as a woman?
5. What is your personal relationship with the neighbourhood?
   a. How do you feel you fit into this neighbourhood?
6. How is your relationship/interaction with other residents?

**Spatial Exclusion/Inclusion & Spatial Confidence**

7. Where do you spend your leisure time in Amsterdam?
   a. During the day? During the evening/night?
8. De Wallen has to offer many pubs, cafés, museums, etc.; which facilities are you often making use of and for what reasons?
9. Where do you feel most comfortable/uncomfortable in your neighbourhood? Why?
10. Which places are you avoiding in de Wallen? When and why?
11. Do you think there are any limitations in visiting places, streets, pubs, bars, etc. for you because you are a woman?
12. Are there places or areas where you do not feel welcome or expected in de Wallen because you are a woman?
13. Do you feel like you have to change your behaviour as a woman in certain places, locations? If yes, explain, give examples.

**Harassment, Fear**

14. How much control over yourself and the area do you think you have?
15. How safe do you think your neighbourhood is?
16. Have you ever felt fear in your neighbourhood and if yes, can you give me some examples?
   a) How did you behave in these situations?
17. Have you ever felt (sexually) harassed in your neighbourhood and if yes, can you give me some examples?
18. What do you do to prevent yourself from being harassed or from feeling threatened in this neighbourhood?
19. What is your perception of the surveillance in the area?

**Prostitution & Sexualized Space**

20. How do you feel when passing by the windows?
   a) What exactly do you do when passing by?
21. How do you think prostitution affects you here personally?
   a) How does sex tourism here affect you personally?
22. Most visitors in RLDs is male – do you perceive this to be the case here and how does it affect you as a woman living here?
23. Sex work and sex-related business are very present in de Wallen – what is your perception of it?

**Gentrification**

24. Which changes did you witness in the last 10 years in de Wallen?
25. Have you heard about Project 1012 and if yes, what do you think are the consequences of this project for you?
26. How do you think can/could you benefit (or not) from these changes/new facilities?
27. Do you feel that these changes/new facilities welcome/target women specifically and if yes, in what ways?
28. How do you feel these places could make you feel more included in the neighbourhood?
29. Many windows have been removed – how did/does this affect you personally?
30. How do you think these changes fit into the neighbourhood?
31. What else should be improved in this neighbourhood? And how?

**Extra Questions for Mothers**

32. How suitable do you think de Wallen is for children?
33. How safe do you think de Wallen is for children?
34. What are your children’s reactions to window prostitution?
   a. And to sex-related businesses?
   b. And to tourism/tourists?
b) Focus Group Guide

Before the focus group started, the women were informed about the purpose of the focus group. They were told that there are no right or wrong answers, that preferably one person speaks at a time and that they do not necessarily have to agree with each other. Moreover, they were asked to turn off their phones. I informed them that rather than participating in the discussions, I would guide the interview and ask questions from now and then. Lastly, I introduced all topics to them which I aimed at talking about, which were de Wallen and their sense of belonging, safety, harassment, prostitution, de Wallen as multi-use area and gentrification. Below

General/Sense of Belonging
- Advantages and disadvantages of living here
- General atmosphere and the residents

Spatial Confidence
- Leisure time Amsterdam and in de Wallen
- Behaviour in de Wallen (e.g. towards visitors)
- Limitations in visiting places, streets, pubs, bars as women
- Tactics to feel safer/more comfortable

Safety, Fear
- Perception of safety
- Experiences with fear/threats

(Sexual) Harassment
- Experiences with sexual harassment
- How do male tourist groups here in de Wallen affect you?

Prostitution & Sexualized Spaces, Multi-use
- Views and Experience on window prostitution and prostitutes in de Wallen
- On sex-related businesses here
- On non-sex-related businesses here (restaurants etc.)

Gentrification
- Perception of recent changes/gentrification (Removal of windows; shops, galleries, businesses)
- What could be improved in this neighbourhood for you?
## Appendix C: Research Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Residency in de Wallen</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Duration Interview</th>
<th>Extra information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Photographer/Journalist</td>
<td>42 years (long-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>1h 23 mins</td>
<td>Lives with husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>TV programmer, documentary maker</td>
<td>21 years (long-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>48 mins</td>
<td>Lives alone, 1 son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Project manager, city planner</td>
<td>21 years (long-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>1h 03 mins</td>
<td>Lives with husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Drug store Assistant (part-time)</td>
<td>19 years (long-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>1h 15 mins</td>
<td>Lives with husband and 3 daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Children day care centre</td>
<td>11 years (middle-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>40 mins</td>
<td>Lives alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Translator</td>
<td>42 years (long-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>54 mins</td>
<td>Lives alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Embassy</td>
<td>1 year (short-term)</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>1h 03 mins</td>
<td>Lives in a community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>23 years (long-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>1h 06 mins</td>
<td>Lives with parents, only-child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Sex worker &amp; Host</td>
<td>1 year (short-term)</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>1h 40 mins (extra)</td>
<td>Lives alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Student (Media &amp; Communication)</td>
<td>21 years (long-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>44 mins</td>
<td>Lives with parents and 2 siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Glass artist</td>
<td>30 years (long-term)</td>
<td>Australian/Dutch</td>
<td>55 mins</td>
<td>Lives with husband and 2 sons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C1: Overview of In-depth Interviewees
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women of Focus Groups 1 and 2</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Residency in de Wallen</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W 1.1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Developer in Tech. Company</td>
<td>2 years (short-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>1h 15 mins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W 1.2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Doctor in Hospital</td>
<td>6 years (middle-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W 1.3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Psychologist</td>
<td>6 years (middle-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W 2.1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Student, Freelancer</td>
<td>6 months (short-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>1h 07 mins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W 2.2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Student European Studies</td>
<td>2 years (short-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W 2.3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Student, works in Cultural Sector</td>
<td>2 years (short-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W 2.4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Student, Environmental Studies</td>
<td>5 years (middle-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W 2.5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>2 months (short-term)</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table C2: Overview of Focus Groups Participants
Appendix D: Consent Form Templates

CONSENT REQUEST FOR PARTICIPATING IN RESEARCH
(Focus Groups)

FOR QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY, CONTACT:
Astrid Mörk, a.s.moerk@gmail.com, 0645617491

DESCRIPTION
You are invited to participate in a Master Thesis research about female residents who live in de Wallen and how they experience this neighbourhood as residents. The purpose of the study is to understand how female residents experience and behave in Amsterdam’s Red Light District as a sexualized, multi-use and gentrified space.

Your acceptance to participate in this study means that you accept be part of a focus group. In general terms, the questions of the focus group will be related to your sense of belonging to your neighbourhood, the way you might feel included or excluded from certain places there, how you perceive window prostitution and sex-related businesses, and how the gentrification affects you.

Unless you prefer that no recordings are made, I will use a video recorder and audio-recorder for the focus group.

You are always free not to answer any particular question, and/or stop participating at any point.

RISKS AND BENEFITS
As far as I can tell, there are no risks associated with participating in this research. Yet, you are free to decide whether I should use your name or other identifying information not in the study. If you prefer, I will make sure that you cannot be identified, by referring to you with a pseudonym and by only providing general information such as age and gender about you.

I will use the material from the focus groups and my observation exclusively for academic work, such as further research, academic meetings and publications.

TIME INVOLVEMENT
Your participation in this study will take approximate 2 hours. You may interrupt your participation at any time.
PAYMENTS
There will be no monetary compensation for your participation.

PARTICIPANTS’ RIGHTS
If you have decided to accept to participate in this project, please understand your participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty. You have the right to refuse to answer particular questions. If you prefer, your identity will be made known in all written data resulting from the study. Otherwise, your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.

CONTACTS AND QUESTIONS
If you have questions about your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact—anonymously, if you wish—the department of Arts, Culture and Society at Erasmus University: info.acs@eshcc.eur.nl

SIGNING THE CONSENT FORM
If you sign this consent form, your signature will be the only documentation of your identity. Thus, you DO NOT NEED to sign this form. In order to minimize risks and protect your identity, you may prefer to consent orally. Your oral consent is sufficient.

I give consent to be audio/video-taped during this study:

Name  Signature  Date

I prefer my identity to be revealed in all written data resulting from this study:

Name  Signature  Date
CONSENT REQUEST FOR PARTICIPATING IN RESEARCH
(Interviews)

FOR QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY, CONTACT:
Astrid Mörk, a.s.moerk@gmail.com, 0645617491

DESCRIPTION
You are invited to participate in a Master Thesis research about female residents who live in de Wallen and how they experience this neighbourhood as residents. The purpose of the study is to understand how female residents experience and behave in Amsterdam’s Red Light District as a sexualized, multi-use and gentrified space.

Your acceptance to participate in this study means that you accept to be interviewed. In general terms, the questions of the interview will be related to your sense of belonging to your neighbourhood, the way you might feel included or excluded from certain places there, how you perceive window prostitution and sex-related businesses, and how the tourism, prostitution and gentrification affects you as a woman.

Unless you prefer that no recordings are made, I will use an audio tape for the interview.

You are always free not to answer any particular question, and/or stop participating at any point.

RISKS AND BENEFITS
As far as I can tell, there are no risks associated with participating in this research. Yet, you are free to decide whether I should use your name or other identifying information not in the study. If you prefer, I will make sure that you cannot be identified, by referring to you with a pseudonym and by only providing general information such as age and gender about you.

I will use the material from the interviews and my observation exclusively for academic work, such as further research, academic meetings and publications.

TIME INVOLVEMENT
Your participation in this study will take approximate 2 hours. You may interrupt your participation at any time.
PAYMENTS
There will be no monetary compensation for your participation.

PARTICIPANTS’ RIGHTS
If you have decided to accept to participate in this project, please understand your participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty. You have the right to refuse to answer particular questions. If you prefer, your identity will be made known in all written data resulting from the study. Otherwise, your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.

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If you sign this consent form, your signature will be the only documentation of your identity. Thus, you DO NOT NEED to sign this form. In order to minimize risks and protect your identity, you may prefer to consent orally. Your oral consent is sufficient.

I give consent to be audio-taped during this study:

Name  Signature  Date

I prefer my identity to be anonymous in all written data resulting from this study:

Name  Signature  Date
## Appendix E: Coding Book

(Codes with * belong to various coding groups)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODE GROUP</th>
<th>CODE NAME</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION OF CODE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>City Authority and Legal Matters</strong></td>
<td>Action city of Amsterdam</td>
<td>Talking about the Gemeente, City of Amsterdam etc. and their action-taking concerning de Wallen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camera surveillance</td>
<td>Discussing camera surveillance in the neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Handhavers</td>
<td>Their perception of the handhaving, their opinion and judgement of it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hosts</td>
<td>Discussing hosts and their efficiency, the role they (should) have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laws on prostitution in other countries</td>
<td>Discussing laws and regulations on prostitution (areas) in other countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>Talking about their perception of the police in the neighbourhood, e.g. its effectiveness and consequences for their own safety etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Project 1012</td>
<td>Discussing project 1012, their opinion on this, the changes they have witnessed, whether it was beneficial for them etc. Talking about the short-term effects of it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public information on RLD</td>
<td>Discussing the public information that is provided on de Wallen and the situation, e.g. in the newspaper or any media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Schouw *</td>
<td>Talking about the Schouw program, which is a group of residents and authorities (e.g. police) measuring the nuisances in de Wallen, connected to tourists, drug dealers etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vergunning</td>
<td>Talking about the vergunning (allowance) that is given by authorities to rent real estate in de Wallen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>De Wallen as Public Space</strong></td>
<td>Atmosphere in de Wallen</td>
<td>Describing the general atmosphere in de Wallen, e.g. the sphere, the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Authenticity</td>
<td>Talking about the authenticity of de Wallen, restaurants etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comparison to the past *</td>
<td>Talking about (their experience of) de Wallen in de past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comparison to other neighbourhoods</td>
<td>Comparing de Wallen to other neighbourhoods in the Netherlands and other countries, in regard to safety, business, harassment etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic value of de Wallen</td>
<td>Talking about their appreciation of the historic value of de Wallen in terms of history, buildings, the church etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure time outside de Wallen</td>
<td>Telling about spending leisure time outside de Wallen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location of de Wallen</td>
<td>Considering the central location of de Wallen as beneficial</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nieuwmarkt</td>
<td>Mentioning the Nieuwmarkt as a space and their feeling/usage towards it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oude Kerk</td>
<td>Talking about the Oude Kerk as a space and their perception and usage of it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OZ Achterburgwal</td>
<td>Talking about the Oudezijds Achterburgwal as a space, their experience and perception of it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriarchy</td>
<td>Perception of patriarchy in de Wallen and in society in general</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception of cleanliness</td>
<td>Talking about their perception of cleaning and cleanliness in de Wallen, also compared to other neighbourhoods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public toilets in de Wallen</td>
<td>Discussing the public toilets in de Wallen and the fact they only men can use them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense of ownership of neighbourhood *</td>
<td>Talking about their neighbourhood, who it belongs to, particularly connected to tourists who use the same space</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatiality</td>
<td>Everything that is related to space (streets, squares, alleys, venues), how and when this space is used, how this space is elastic based on people (mainly tourists), how spaces are experienced and perceived exactly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporality</td>
<td>Everything related to times, timing, pointing out specific days, weekends, times of the years, times on a day, evenings, mornings etc. and how those times are experienced, how they change their behaviour according to time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeedijk</td>
<td>Talking about the Zeedijk as a space, their experience and usage of it, related mostly to shops there, gentrification etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gentrification</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptians</td>
<td>Mentioning Egyptians who invest in real estate and establish tourist restaurants/cafes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurship</td>
<td>Talking about entrepreneurship in de Wallen in form of new shops, also related to gentrification and Project 1012</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminizing spaces *</td>
<td>Indicators of feminization of spaces, whether certain venues are made more suitable/attractive to women etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher concentration of windows</td>
<td>Mentioning the higher concentration of windows as a result of Project 1012 and how they judge those consequences</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing rents</td>
<td>Discussing the increasing rents in de Wallen and the consequences of this for them and others (residents, local shop owners, etc)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment in real estate</td>
<td>Discussing investments into real estate located in de Wallen, who invests, who influences the investment and the consequences of this</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judgement of new shops *</td>
<td>Discussing their opinion on shops that have recently arrived in de Wallen, tourist shops as well as shops related to gentrification project 1012</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>Talking about the importance of money considering the real estate in de Wallen, especially mentioning their perception of black money and money laundering</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removal of local shops *</td>
<td>Discussing the removal of local shops in recent years, mainly related to gentrification, higher rents and the perceived money laundering</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removal of windows</td>
<td>Talking about the removal of the windows as part of Project 1012 and their opinion on this, consequences for sex workers and themselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop diversity *</td>
<td>Talking about the shop diversity in de Wallen in terms of restaurants, cafes, shops, grocery stores, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We live here campaign *</td>
<td>Discussing and judging effectiveness of the We live here campaign</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetics of non-sex related shops *</td>
<td>Judging the aesthetics of non-sex related shops e.g. tourist souvenir shops</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol consumption</td>
<td>Talking about visitors who consume alcohol in de Wallen and their drunk behaviour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee shops</td>
<td>Talking about coffee shops where you can buy drugs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison to the past *</td>
<td>Talking about (their experience of) de Wallen in de past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Wallen as entertainment *</td>
<td>Talking about de Wallen seeming like an attraction parc or zoo in regard to how visitors behave in the neighbourhood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs usage</td>
<td>Discussing drug use in the neighbourhood and talking about junkies back in the days and nowadays</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiences as a child</td>
<td>Talking about their childhood, their experience of growing up in de Wallen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling at home</td>
<td>Talking about feeling at home in de Wallen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminizing spaces *</td>
<td>Indicators of feminization of spaces, whether certain venues are made more suitable/attractive to women etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Football events</td>
<td>Talking about the public viewing football events frequently organized in de Wallen in bars and pubs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery stores</td>
<td>Talking about doing groceries and the tactics they apply in terms of spatiality and temporality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judging Horeca</td>
<td>Talking about everything that counts as horeca (hotels, restaurants, cafes) in de Wallen and their perception of it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judgement of new shops *</td>
<td>Discussing their opinion on shops that have recently arrived in de Wallen, tourist shops as well as shops related to gentrification project 1012</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutellafication</td>
<td>This term describes not only the increasing emergence of Nutella shops, but also includes other tourists shops e.g. waffle, ice cream shops.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removal of local shops *</td>
<td>Discussing the removal of local shops in recent years, mainly related to gentrification, higher rents and the perceived money laundering</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop diversity *</td>
<td>Talking about the shop diversity in de Wallen in terms of restaurants, cafes, shops, grocery stores, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking about own home *</td>
<td>Discussing their own home, their feelings towards their own home and the usage of it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We live here campaign *</td>
<td>Discussing and judging effectiveness of the We live here campaign</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Residents' Perspective**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acceptance</th>
<th>Accepting certain happenings in de Wallen, e.g. nuisances of tourists, unwanted sexual attention, window prostitution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activities with children</td>
<td>Describing the activities done with children, inside and outside de Wallen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison to the past *</td>
<td>Talking about (their experience of) de Wallen in de past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curiosity about RLD</td>
<td>Talking about curiosity about the red lights, the sex shops and sex industry in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience of others</td>
<td>Discussing how other people experience de Wallen, e.g. children, friends,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>family, boyfriends etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiences with harassment</td>
<td>Talking about their experience and perception of (mostly sexual and racial)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>harassment, unwanted (sexual attention) of men etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeless people</td>
<td>Discussing the homeless people, often connected to Leger des Heils and their</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>perception of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement in neighbourhood</td>
<td>Own involvement into the neighbourhood, own active behaviour in order to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>solve problems in the area e.g. related to We Live Here campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needs/Wishes of residents</td>
<td>Own wishes what should happen to the neighbourhood, their needs to improve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the liveability there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normalization</td>
<td>The normalization and familiarity with de Wallen, being used to the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>happenings and things there, especially relating to high visibility of sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>work, tourists' behaviour etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own behaviour towards tourists</td>
<td>The way the interviewees react on tourists’ behaviour, their interaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and tactics they developed to deal with crowds and ‘disturbing’ behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception of crimes</td>
<td>Their perception, experiences and judgement of crime in de Wallen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception of safety</td>
<td>Talking about their perception of safety, related to tourist crowds, crime,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sex work and in particular safety as a woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship with residents</td>
<td>Talking about their relationship with other residents in de Wallen and how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>it contributes (or not) to their feeling of belonging to the neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense of ownership of</td>
<td>Talking about their neighbourhood, who it belongs to, particularly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neighbourhood *</td>
<td>connected to tourists who use the same space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tactics as a woman</td>
<td>Talking specifically about the tactics they use, for instance in people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>crowds, harassment, unwanted attention, based on their gender (being a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking about children</td>
<td>Mentioning children, whether they would want to live here with their</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>children in the future, judging de Wallen as (un-)suitable for children and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>why</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Talking about own home *
Discussing their own home, their feelings towards their own home and the usage of it

Talking about Dutch culture
Talking about the Dutch culture and the norms and values they believe are dominant, talking about what is 'normal' in the Netherlands

The Schouw *
Talking about the Schouw program, which is a group of residents and authorities (e.g. police) measuring the nuisances in de Wallen, connected to tourists, drug dealers etc.

Tourists as entertainment
Considering tourists as an entertaining themselves, referring to watching them from their homes

Type of residents
Judging the different types of residents living in de Wallen (old residents, families, YUPs - young urban professionals)

Way of dressing
Talking about the way they dress (unconsciously, and consciously to avoid unwanted attention), related to their gender as females

Sex-related

| Aesthetic of sex-related businesses | Judging the aesthetics, mostly the window display of sex-related shops, e.g. sex toys shops |
| Exploitation of sex workers | Discussing about whether sex workers are exploited in the sex businesses |
| Human trafficking | Discussing human trafficking in relation to sex workers, their perception and knowledge of this |
| Insider perspective | Discussing the insider perspective and gaining access into the sex industry (brothels, etc.) |
| Judgement of brothels and brothel owners | Talking about brothels as well as brothel owners and their role in the neighbourhood |
| Judgement of sex work | Their attitude and values towards sex work, judging the profession as a prostitute, judging the legalization of sex work |
| Perception of 'Eastern-European' sex workers | Talking specifically about sex workers they identify as 'Eastern-European' and their associations and experiences with them |
| Red Lights as a mystery | Considering the red lights (sex business) as mysterious, having little facts about it and only assuming what it is like |
| Relationship with people from sex industry | Talking about their relationship with people from the sex industry (sex workers, brothel owners etc.) |
| Sex workers back in past | Discussing sex workers in the past, mostly talking about Dutch sex workers and their interaction with them |
| Sex-related businesses | Judging sex-related businesses (sex toy stores, peep shows, etc.), their opinion on it |
| Comparison to the past * | Talking about (their experience of) de Wallen in de past |
| Window-watching * | Talking about the act of window-watching, mostly done by tourists, interviewees judging this behaviour finding it disrespectful, immoral etc. |
| Talking about sex workers | Discussing sex workers, their perception of them and their interaction with them. Related mainly to how they experience window prostitution |

Tourists

<p>| Behaviour of tourists | Describing and judging everything related to the behaviour of tourists that they witness in the neighbourhood. This includes tourists' behaviour |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comparison to the past *</td>
<td>Talking about (their experience of) de Wallen in the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crowds of people</td>
<td>Talking about the amount of people and the crowdedness of the area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Wallen as entertainment *</td>
<td>Talking about de Wallen seeming like an attraction parc or zoo in regard to how visitors behave in the neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families with children</td>
<td>Talking about their opinion on tourists visiting with their families and children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of ambulance</td>
<td>Mentioning the amount of times the ambulance is needed in de Wallen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noise</td>
<td>Discussing the noise in de Wallen, usually generated by tourists, and their perception of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture-taking *</td>
<td>Judging the act of picture talking of sex workers, usually done by tourists, as disrespectful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The English</td>
<td>Judging the English tourists visiting de Wallen and their behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist destinations</td>
<td>This refers mainly to restaurants, shops that are geared towards tourists, interviewees perception and usage of the shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist groups and guided tours</td>
<td>Discussing tourist visiting in groups, especially guided tours and tour guides, their experience with groups and reactions towards them, judging them overall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists taking over</td>
<td>Specifically talking about tourists taking over de Wallen, loosing their neighbourhood to tourists etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of tourist</td>
<td>Judging the different type of tourists that visit de Wallen (couples, families, groups of men, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Window-watching *</td>
<td>Talking about the act of window-watching, mostly done by tourists, interviewees judging this behaviour finding it disrespectful, immoral etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table E1: Coding Book