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Sexing the city: designing a haven for Hillbrow sex workers

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2014-10-09
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Sexing the City



Designing a haven for Hillbrow sex workers

Yolande Kluth

DECLARATION

I, Yolande Kluth, student number 0709753G am a student registered for the course ARPL7003 in the year 2013. I hereby declare the following:

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The commencement of this year, daunted upon me for quite some time. As a student who was unsure about where her passion and capability in architecture lies, I truly felt overwhelmed with the idea of writing an architectural dissertation. I remember visualizing this final moment as a naïve, bright eyed first year, not fully comprehending what this degree expected of me, and now, 7 years later, after all the all-nighters, breakdowns and panic attacks I am experiencing a bitter-sweet moment when writing my final words as a Witsie.

I would never have been able to write this dissertation if it weren't for all the support I have received through my academic career, therefore, I must start at the beginning.

To Jonathan Noble, thank you for being such an inspiring and enthusiastic first year design lecturer. My first experience with architecture was truly tremendous and has taught me the principles I still use today. Your interest in my dissertation has sparked my enthusiasm for it, allowing me to continue my passion for this topic throughout the year.

To Kirsten Doermann, the best supervisor I could have ever hoped for! Thank you for constantly pushing me to produce my absolute best and continuing to believe in my ability even in my stages of low confidence. You have taught me so much this year and your influence has nurtured my mental and architectural growth.

To my parents Armin and Marianne Kluth, for all the love, much needed pep-talks, holiday getaways and financial support you have granted me in my student years. I wish to continue making you proud by living by the morals you have instilled in me and aspire to become a true reflection of you.

Charnelle and Carla, thank you for enduring my tantrums in times of stress and assisting me with architectural models into the early hours of the morning. Thank you for all the laughs and sisterly support through this year.

To Cara and Ryan, thank you for believing in me when I couldn't myself. Your motivation and encouragement has carried me through some very hard-hitting times. Thank you for accepting my absence in many cases and tolerating my wining and tears. I hold you dear to my heart.

Finally, to all my friends, Suzie and Tarryn for all the laughs and craziness in studio and a very special thanx to everyone who helped me through the last stretch!

Love you guys!

ABSTRACT

Many choose sex work as a profession due to the financial advantage it offers even though circumstances are often undesirable and inhumane. My thesis aims at creating a safer more comfortable environment for Hillbrow sex workers where they are respected, dignified and empowered.

In a criminalized environment, many forms of abuse and exploitation take place. By legalizing the trade in South Africa and creating spaces in our urban landscape that allow for this business form, we can assist sex workers with the current socio-cultural conditions of rape, physical abuse and access to health and socio-economic issues of exploitation, one-sided business hierarchies and economic dependency they face. My research pertains to these socio-economic and socio-cultural issues within the industry as well as understanding the physical environment of the Hillbrow sex industry.

My design intervention stretches from an urban- to building scale. A proposed secondary night-life network connects taverns, bars, night clubs, strip clubs and brothels. A building where sex workers can live and work was my main focus, and act as a major node within this network.

The proposed building is situated on the corner of Esselen Street and Claim Street. This site forms part of the Hillbrow red-light district that I have identified through a range of mapping techniques. The building houses programmes that respond to the socio-cultural and socio-economic issues found within a legal sex industry and it signifies desired outcomes of respect, dignity and empowerment.

Visibility was chosen as a main theme and was explored through spatial arrangements, materiality and light. This theme was applied in four, systematic design phases which resulted in achieving a final design. The manifestation of a series of paradoxes along with the obscure nature of the sex industry produced a complex, dynamic thesis.

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0.1

RESEARCH AND THEORY

A REVEALING SEX WORK:

A study of the socio-economic and socio-cultural effects on a physical environment of sex work in both a legal- and illegal context.

Abstract

Sex work has always formed part of society, whether classified as legal or illegal. This essay explores the socio-economical and socio-cultural differences it takes on when placed in these two opposing contexts to discover what effects these differences have on the physical environment in which it occurs. Furthermore, my research has also demonstrated that the relationship this industry has with the law, also plays an important role in the way in which society views sex work. 'Legal' and 'illegal' generates an association with 'moral' and 'immoral' in the eyes of the general public, allowing for 'moral' and 'immoral' spaces to appear within our cities. Through the use of readings, interviews and films, I was able to acquire a deeper understanding of the operation of this trade, allowing me to decide in which context I would like to place my design as well as analyse where there is space for intervention through a physical gesture.

Introduction

The debate about legalizing sex work seems to be extensive, but history has proven that it always has been in existence within our global society. As long as socio-economic problems of unemployment and poverty persist, sex work might be the only option for many as a means of survival. This essay is not aimed at creating an argument on whether or not sex work should be legalised, but rather to compare and understand the differences between the socio-economic-, socio-cultural- and physical environments within a legal and illegal context, ultimately aiding me in making a decision in which context my thesis design would be placed.

When referring to 'socio-cultural' aspects of sex-work, I am analysing how the 'social' aspects of the profession influence the 'cultural' aspects of sex work. This notion is explored by considering social- and cultural backgrounds of people involved in the industry, the social- and cultural environments in which sex work is performed and the social- and cultural qualities of the society at the time. These traits include rituals, traditions, perceptions and beliefs.

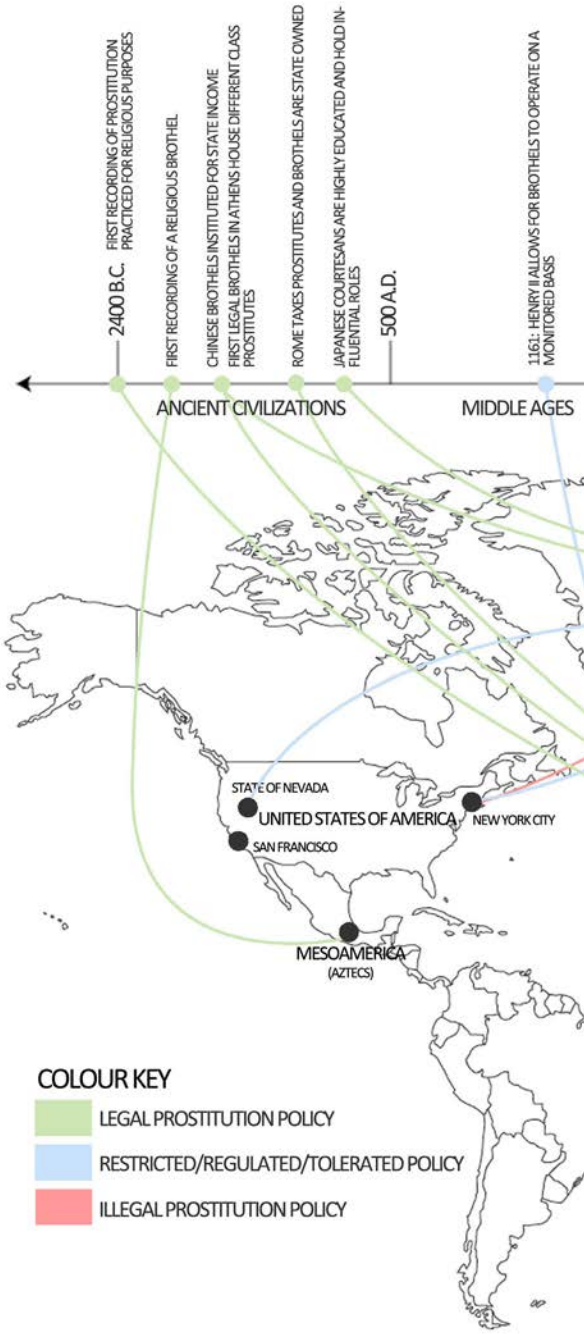
The 'socio-economic' aspects of sex work refer to the economic activities involved in the trade and the implications these activities have on the social environment of this profession. Socio-economic factors include economic backgrounds of people involved in the trade, the way in which sex-work establishes itself as a business form, and the impact of the global and national economy on different communities within our society.

I will concentrate on the operation of sex work within Hillbrow, and if need be, how a change in the current legal system of South Africa could imply changes in the physical environment in which sex work takes place.

I also feel it necessary to distinguish the differences between the terms of 'illegality', 'legality', 'decriminalization' and 'tolerating' the act of sex work. These terms describe very different relationships between the sex industry and the law, and thus provide very different outcomes. Through my research, I have discovered that where sex work is 'decriminalized', one might face a form of punishment through fines or penalties when engaging in the act, but because sex work is not considered a 'criminal' act, one would not be prosecuted in terms of criminal law. In other instances, where sex work is 'illegal', it is often 'tolerated' by authorities and the law when the act is not visible to the public eye. For me, this phenomenon has opened yet another curtain of the sex industry within the city which would influence design decisions.

To understand the complex relationship between the law and the sex industry, it is necessary to explore it through a historical eye. We need to understand how the concept of 'selling sex' came about and how its relationship with the law has developed over the years to explain the reasons for its current stance. It is evident that sex work has been present in most cultures since the ancient times, but reasons for the profession, and society's view of it has changed over the years.

(See figure 1.1)



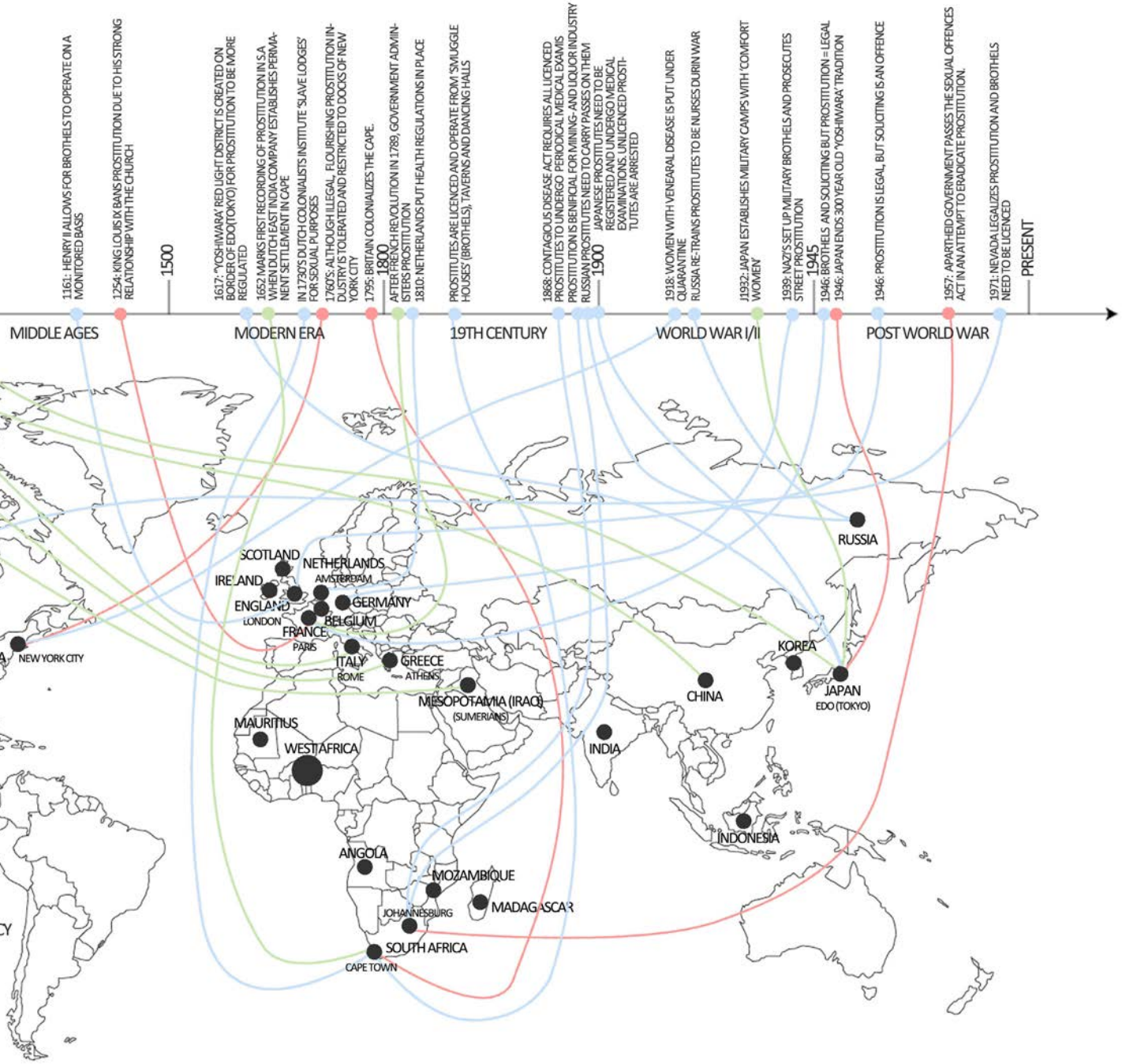


FIGURE 1.1 :A GRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE HISTORY OF SEX WORK

A global timeline of sex work

Ancient Civilizations (2400 B.C. – 500 A.D.)

Prostitution dates back to 2400 B.C. where the Sumerians considered it to be a profession of the same social standing as a doctor, barber or cook. Prostitution amongst women was exercised as a religious temple act whereas male prostitutes were used for entertainment purposes. *(See figure 1.2)* In ancient civilizations, laws were governed by religion, allowing the act of prostitution to be exercised within the legal system. (Lerner, 1986)

The first recorded 'brothel form' was introduced by the Aztecs from Mesoamerica. They initiated 'Cihuacalli', which were 'Houses of Women', monitored by politicians and religious authorities. *(See figure 1.4)* These closed compounds consisted of rooms facing onto a courtyard, housing a statue of Tlazolteotl, 'the goddess of filth', who provoked sex and cleansed the soul in chorus.*(See figure 1.3)* The compound housed a 'lounge room' where men met women and also allowed spaces for prostitutes to perform erotic dances. Prostitutes were only permitted to operate from premises protected by Tlazolteotl. (Fanni, 2013)

In the 600's B.C. stateman-philosopher Kuang Chung legalized Chinese brothels to provide further income for the state. Brothels were state owned and were situated in specific parts of the city where they could be closely monitored and regulated. (Bullough & Bullough, 1978)



FIGURE 1.2: ANCIENT SUMERIAN TABLET DEPICTING 'INANNA'

Inanna had temples dedicated to her and sacred prostitution was a means of celebrating and worshiping her.



FIGURE 1.3: TLAZOLTEOTL, AZTEC GODDESS OF FILTH

Tlazolteotl, is honoured through sacred prostitution. She has black around her mouth as she eats filth and sins while cleansing the soul in chorus.

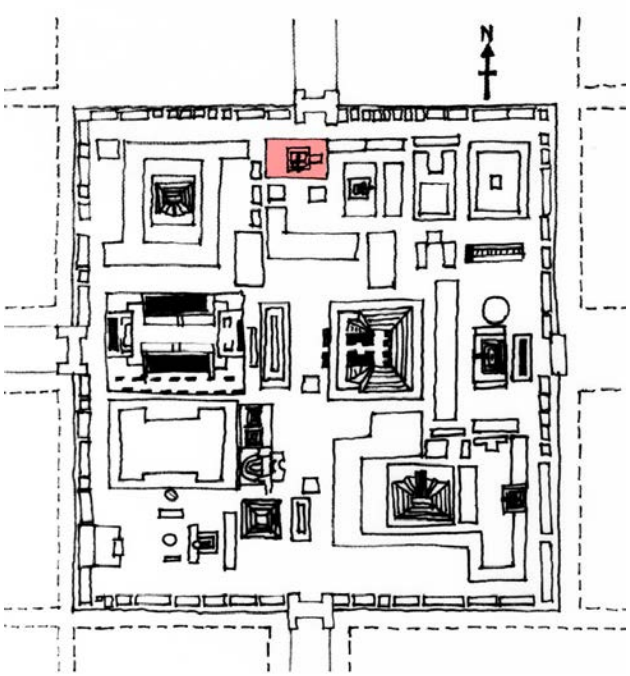


FIGURE 1.4: ANCIENT AZTEC VILLAGE IN MESOAMERICA

Red block indicates position of temple of 'Tlazolteotl', 'Goddess of Filth'.



FIGURE 1.5: HETAIRA GREEK PROSTITUTES

Image depicting 'Hetaira', high end prostitutes in Ancient Greek civilizations. These women were highly respected by society and often held very influential political roles.

The first legal brothel in Athens was instituted in the 6th Century BC, and income generated from it was used to build a temple for the goddess, Aphrodite Pandemos. Brothels were state owned and prostitutes had to pay taxes. Their earnings were equivalent to an ordinary worker's day salary. (Valley, 2006) Both women and boys participated in sex work. Prostitutes were categorized into different statuses and distinguishable by wearing certain markings.(*See figure 1.5*) High-end prostitutes, also known as "Hetarai" were more educated and cultivated than the rest of the women in the Greek society and often held very influential political positions. (Vivante, 1999)

In Japan, 'courtesans' were a favourite amongst the Japanese aristocracy. These women were considered to be highly skilled in a range of different art forms, and were greatly respected within the community. They were also highly educated to uphold sophisticated conversations with their clients, and could select the clients they wished to entertain. Along with fashion and art, these women had a major influence in literature, theatre and music. (Chennai, 2004)

In 180 B.C. Rome regulated prostitution through state-owned brothels. *(See figure 1.6 - 1.11)* Prostitutes had to pay rent when operating from brothels and had to register their profession with the government. Failing to do so, meant severe punishment which included scouring and exile. (Firebaugh, 1922) Men from all income brackets were invited to participate in the act without facing immoral judgement from society. (Garland & Dillon, 2005) The sex workers however, were considered shameful and low class, and were often slaves or of slave descent. These prostitutes also played an important religious role, especially during the month of April, when the god of love and fertility was celebrated. (Edwards, 1997)

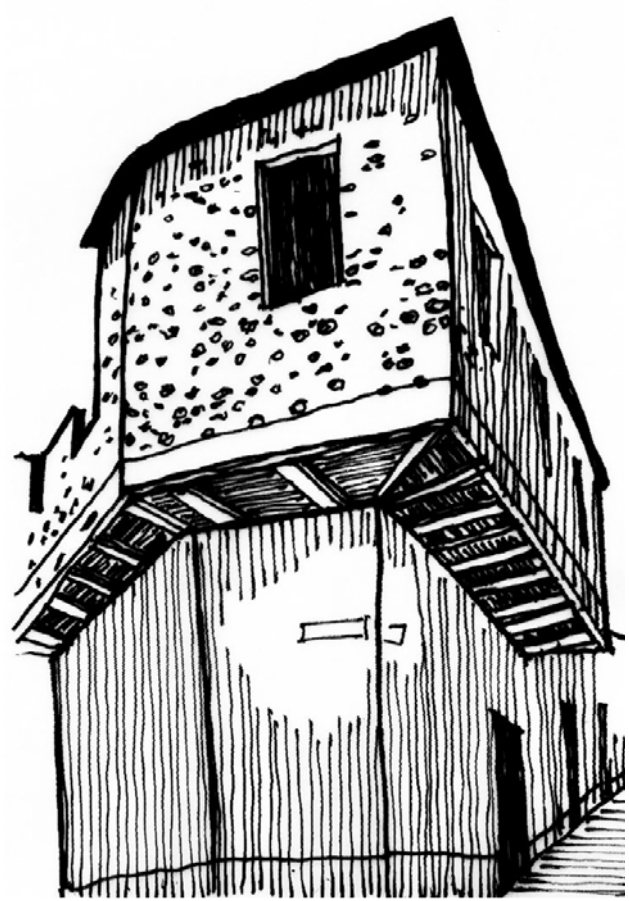


FIGURE 1.6: EXTERIOR OF POMPEII BROTHEL



FIGURE 1.7: MAP OF THE CITY OF POMPEII, ANCIENT ROME

Red block indicates position of brothel in the urban setting. Brothel is located close to center and in close proximity to main entry/exit routes.

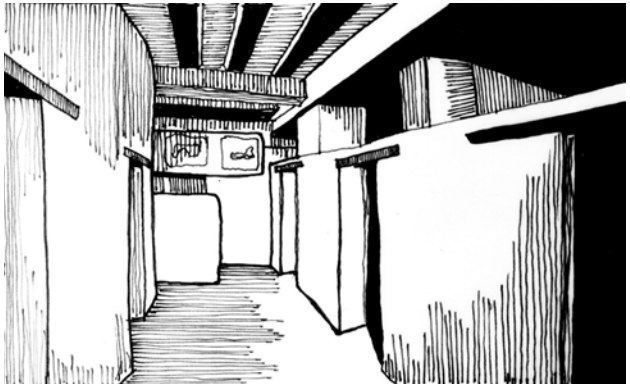


FIGURE 1.8: INTERIOR OF POMPEII BROTHEL IN ANCIENT ROME

Brothels were marked with erotic grafitti to advertise their purpose.

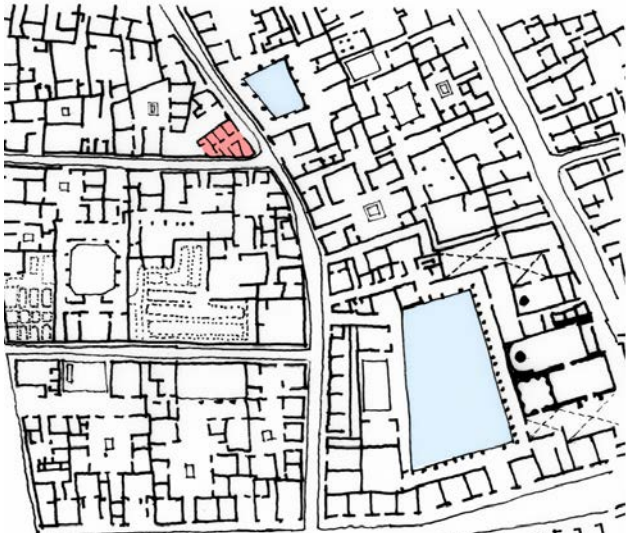


FIGURE 1.9: MAP SHOWING POMPEII BROTHEL LOCATION

Map of Pompeii showing brothel in red and public bath houses in blue. Brothel is in close proximity to bath houses. Bath houses are sometimes decorated with erotic plaques as seen in brothel interior.



FIGURE 1.10: ANCIENT ROMAN BROTHEL TOKEN

Ancient Roman brothel tokens depicted erotic scenes and is believed to be the means of gaining access to brothels and paying for services provided. Brothels are state owned and generates an income for the government.

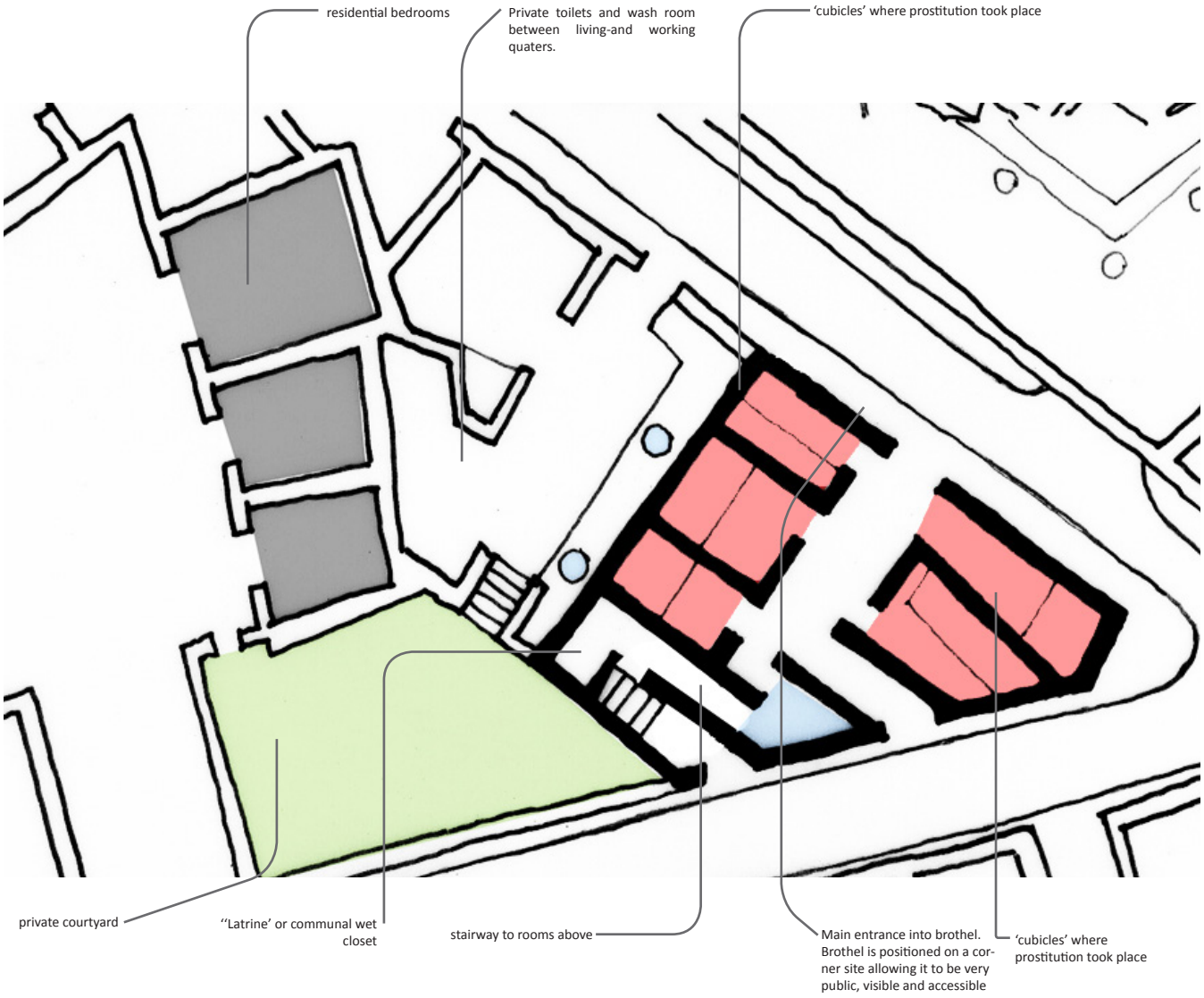


FIGURE 1.11: GROUND FLOOR PLAN OF BROTHEL, POMPEII

Prostitution during the Middle Ages (501 – 1500)

The laws of European countries during the early Middle Ages were heavily influenced by religious views of the Church, resulting in a ban of prostitution and severe punishment of the parties involved. It was only until 1161, when Henry II made radical changes to the English Law and allowed for brothels to operate on a monitored basis. Mandatory weekly visits by law enforcement were instituted to prevent forced prostitution. (Evans, 1979) Italy instituted municipal brothels for the purpose of generating an alternative income for the state. (Ringdal, 2004)

In France however, due to his strong relationship with the Church, King Louis IX expelled prostitution from all French cities. Prostitutes were driven away from religious establishments and forced to solicit outside city walls. (Rossiaud, 1988)

The role of the prostitute had changed. Sex work had now become more and more apparent in urban settings, and although illegal in some contexts, it was tolerated when not performed explicitly and/or outside the areas of town jurisdiction. Prostitution was no longer an act of sacredness or a symbol of offering, but rather a means of generating an income whether it be for personal reasons or for government. During these times, laws imposed on prostitution was either determined by the 'immorality' it bears according to the Church, or in other cases was tolerated due to the financial gain it offered the state.

With the outbreak of syphilis in Europe in the 1490's, society's view of sex work changed. *(See figure 1.12)* This caused many European countries to illegalize the sex trade, and often prostitutes were discriminated against through laws that forced them to distinguish themselves through attire and certain markings from the rest of the public. (Bullough & Bullough, 1978)



FIGURE 1.12: SYPHILLIS OUTBREAK

The outbreak of syphillis in Europe in the 1490's, changed society's view of prostitution. Many European countries illegalized the trade after the outbreak.

Modern Era Prostitution (1501 - 1800)

While prostitution in Europe received much criticism due to the syphilis outbreak, Japan created red-light districts where sex work could be regulated and closely monitored.*(See figure 1.13 - 1.16).* These areas were located on the edges of major cities, away from major city traffic, allowing sex work to be less explicit and more controlled. The 'Yoshiwara' district that existed on the edge of Tokyo is a well-known example of one of these areas. (Figal)



FIGURE 1.13: GEISHAS BEHIND TREALLISES IN YOSHIWARA

The higher the trellises surrounding the room, the more prestigious the Geishas inside.

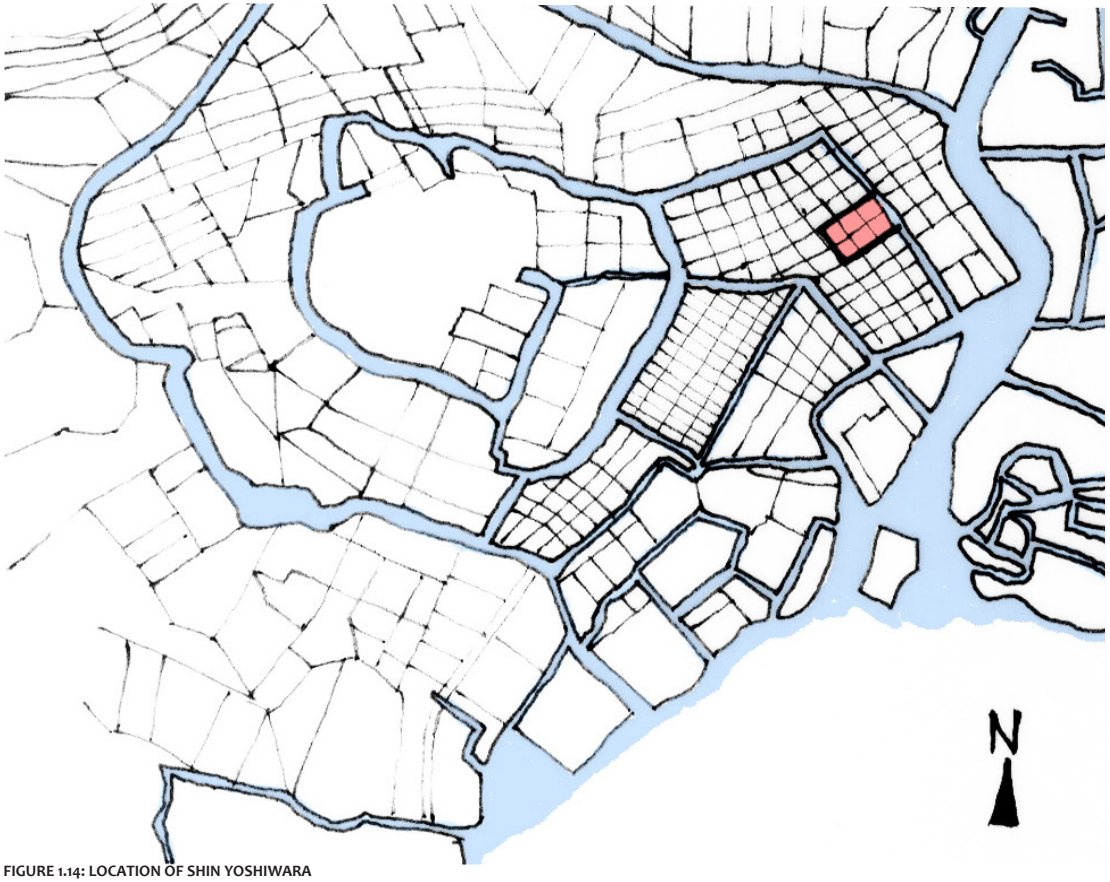


FIGURE 1.14: LOCATION OF SHIN YOSHIWARA

'Shin Yoshiwara' on edge of Edo(Tokyo) Entry to 'Shin Yoshiwara' is restricted by one access point and the pleasure quater is walled on three sides to have controlled access.



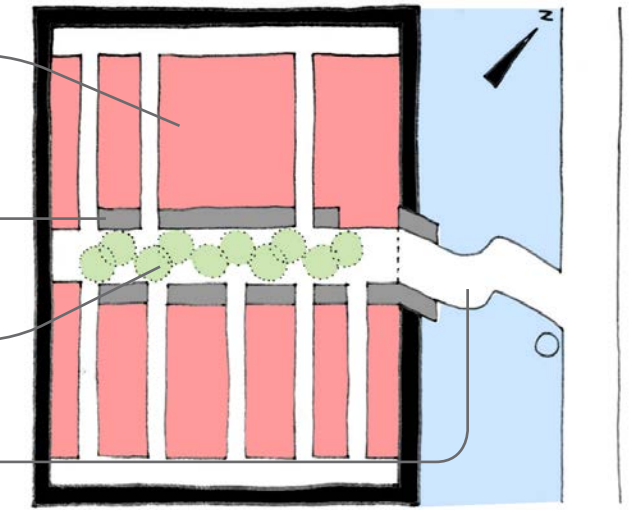
Shin Yoshiwara Pleasure district is surrounded by a water body

'Shin Yoshiwara' (New Yoshiwara) Pleasure District houses Japanese Geishas.

Yoshiwara is located on the edge of Edo(Tokyo) and surrounded by rice fields.

Yoshiwara's close proximity to religious temples shows its relationship with Japanese religion and tradition.

FIGURE 1.15: SHIN YOSHIWARA PLEASURE QUATER, 1656



Pleasure houses house Geishas and allow for sexual interactions

Pleasure houses are paired with traditional religious Japanese teahouses.

Cherry blossom trees provide a green promenade

The pleasure district is only accessible from one entrance. To enter, one must cross over a water-body

FIGURE 1.16: PLAN OF SHIN YOSHIWARA, 1656

The 1650's mark the first recordings of commercial prostitution in South Africa when the Dutch East India Company established a permanent settlement at The Cape of Good Hope. *(See figure 1.17)* The prostitution market consisted of predominantly of 'local' women, who earned a global reputation of their skills in socializing and interacting in a range of different languages to cater for their seamen clientele. (Trotter, 2008)

When the settlement at Cape Town grew, prostitution boomed. In the 1730's prostitution became more established as 'Slave Lodges' were provided for sexual purposes. These prostituted slaves consisted of West African-, Angolan-, Mozambiquean-, Madagascaran-, Mauritian-, Indian- and Indonesian women. (Trotter, 2008) *(See figure 1.18)*

When Britain colonized the Cape in 1795, prostitution became and offence but was still tolerated on the docks.

The Modern Era regulates prostitution on a 'moral' basis. Law responds to societies' 'moral' views of the profession by either banning it from social sectors or allowing it to happen in designated areas.

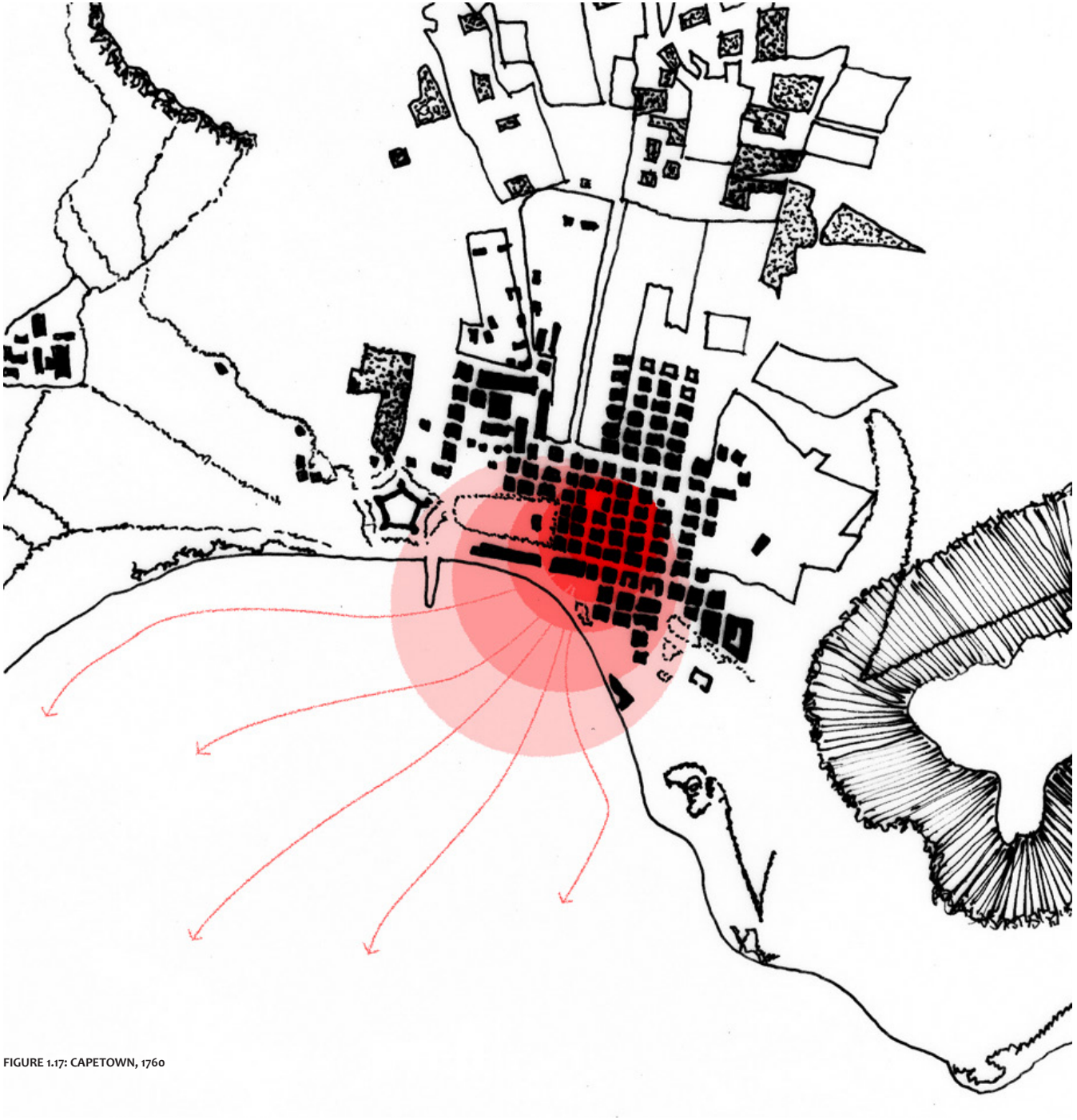


FIGURE 1.17: CAPETOWN, 1760

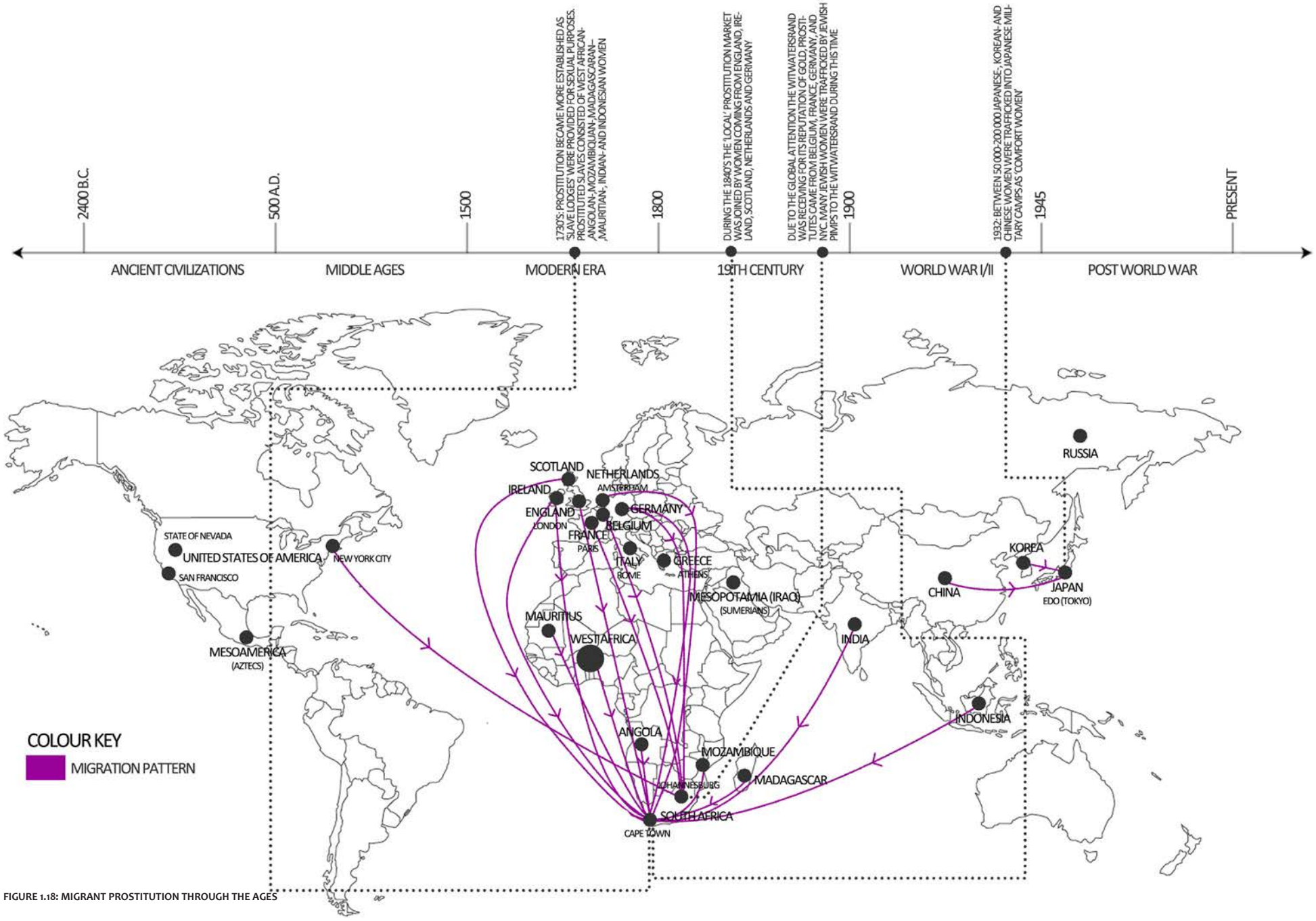


FIGURE 1.18: MIGRANT PROSTITUTION THROUGH THE AGES

Prostitution in the 19th Century (1801-1899)

After the French Revolution in 1789, prostitution in Paris once again became legal and was administered by a department in government. These administrative methods were then replicated by the rest of France. (Luker, 1998) During this time, the Netherlands also had a regulation system in place that focussed on preventing the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. (Boutellier, 1991)

Japan regulated sex work by forcing prostitutes to register with the government. Unlicensed prostitutes were arrested and underwent compulsory medical examinations. (Garon, 1993)

Feminists argued that although sex work was legalized and brothels became government owned, prostitutes experienced discrimination due to mandatory weekly medical examinations they had to undergo. In Russia, they were also required to carry specific passes that revealed their profession to authorities. (Tolstoy, 1899)

In the U.S. however, regulation systems were put in place to target sex slavery and protect women's and children's rights. The U.S. banned the import of women for prostitution purposes and responded to the influx of prostitution by focussing on housing, health care and increasing women's wages. (Fifteen, 1912)

For the first time in the history of prostitution, we see how different governments respond to the socio-cultural issues related to sex work. Rather than considering the profession to be a moral issue, laws deal with the health risks and human rights correlated within the industry. Still widely tolerated, prostitution is more closely monitored by introducing health management systems and laws preventing human slave trafficking and, to some extent, the empowerment of women

Cape Town in the 1840's saw a majority of prostitutes being local, 'mixed-race' 'coloureds', but during this time English, Irish, Dutch, Scotch and German women joined the market. *(See figures 1.18-1.19)* Prostitutes had to be licenced, and operated from 'smuggling houses' (brothels), taverns and Dancing halls. (Trotter, 2008)

Due to the health risks that prostitutes were posing to the British colonized areas of South Africa, the Contagious Disease Act was passed in 1868 which required all prostitutes to be registered and licensed and undergo periodical medical examinations. (Trotter, 2008).



FIGURE 1.19: CAPETOWN, 1884

'Local' prostitutes are joined by European prostitutes. Prostitutes are licenced and operate from 'smuggling houses', taverns and dancing halls.



The discovery of gold in the 1880's, created a global migration to the Witwatersrand in South Africa. *(see figure 1.20)* When miners were separated from their families and forced to live together in 'hostels' a middle class culture of drinking, gambling and participating in prostitution arose. The implementation of The Contagious Disease Act in the Cape colonies drove many 'coloured' prostitutes inland to Johannesburg. Most of these prostitutes worked as 'bar maids' or operated from rented rooms at the back of drinking dens. *(See figure 1.21).* The state did very little to regulate prostitution as it provided a service to its most significant income generating industries; the mining industry and the liquor industry. (van Onselen, 1982)

In 1894, the prostitution market, which consisted predominantly of 'local' women, was now met by an influx of European women when the infrastructure between the Witwatersrand and industrial coastal towns was introduced through a railway system. *(See figure 1.18).* German, French and Belgian prostitutes came from Europe and dozens of Russo-American women and their pimps came from New York City. (van Onselen, 1982) European Jewish pimps also trafficked thousands of poor Jewish women to South Africa to cater for the influx of people migrating to the Witwatersrand. (Trotter, 2008)

The picture of prostitution in the Witwatersrand had now changed. The market now consisted predominantly of 'continental' women, and where prostitution was practised out of view in the past, prostitutes now openly solicited their client through the help of their pimps. (van Onselen, 1982)

When the Kruger government learnt of the spread of venereal disease and the 'white slavery' happening in the mining town of Johannesburg, laws were passed to eradicate prostitution but the government had no success due to the bribing of the 'Morality Police' and the powerful economic influence former New York pimps held. It was only after 1899 when the Kruger government reformed the police force that they managed to control the organized crime sector on the Witwatersrand. (van Onselen, 1982)

During the Anglo-Boer war, most 'foreign' pimps and prostitutes migrated back to coastal cities, but soon returned to Johannesburg when the war ended. It was during this time, that the Paul Kruger Government implemented 'The Immorality Act' which prohibited any form of prostitution. Police however, mostly targeted white prostitutes offering sexual services to black mine workers. (van Onselen, 1982)

In 1906, more middle-class families moved to the Rand which resulted in a decline of organized prostitution. On the other hand, due to the influx of working class women in the city centre, paired with the economic depression at the time, Johannesburg witnessed an influx in prostitution in poorer and older working class centres. (van Onselen, 1982)



FIGURE 1.20: JOHANNESBURG, 1880'S

Early photograph of Johannesburg establishing itself as a mining town.

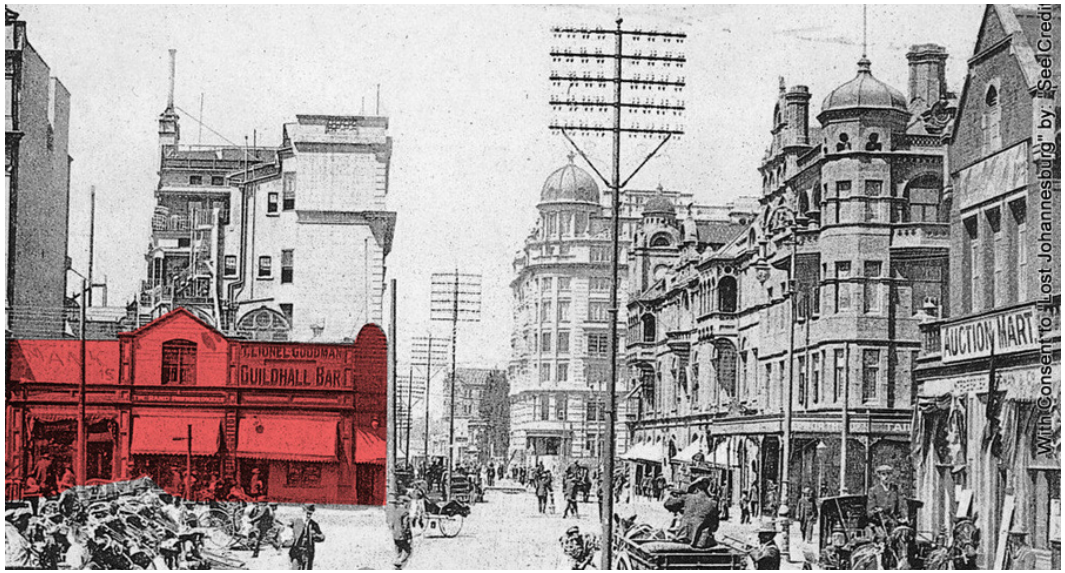


FIGURE 1.21: SCENE IN THE TOWN OF JOHANNESBURG

Prostitutes would work as 'bar maids' in places like 'The Guildhall Bar'. Prostitution proved to be very advantageous for the liquor industry as it drew customers to these areas. Often, prostitues would rent 'back rooms' in drinking halls to do business.

Prostitution during times of war (1915 - 1945)

During 1918, the American government allowed for women with Venereal disease to be put under quarantine as they posed health threats to the much needed U.S. Army soldiers. (Connelly, 1980) Russia however, was more concerned about the socio-economic issues that lured women into prostitution and therefore re-educated and re-trained sex workers to become nurses during the war and have alternative ways of generating an income. (Evans, 1979)

In Japan, the government established military brothels which serviced Japanese soldiers during the war. *(See figure 1.22)* It is estimated that between 50 000 – 200 000 Japanese-, Korean- and Chinese women were trafficked into these camps. (Morris-Suzuki, 2007) *(See figure 1.18).* In 1939 The Nazi's prosecuted street prostitutes but allowed for and regulated prostitution within brothels as this was a means of providing leisurely activities for soldiers at war. (Roos, 2002)

The two World Wars saw an increase in prostitution due to a rise in sex trafficking and sex slavery and the economic depression at the time. Many women turned to prostitution as a way of earning an income to provide for their families while their partners were fighting at war. (Evans, 1979) Contrary to the 19th century, it seems as though it was political agendas more than socio-economic- and socio-cultural issues that influenced the laws regulating prostitution. Governments either banned or legalized prostitution as a strategic move to indirectly advance their political stance in the war.



FIGURE 1.22: COMFORT WOMEN FOR JAPANESE SOLDIERS

Military brothels set up by the Japanese government serviced Japanese soldiers.

'Sex work' today (1950- present)

After WWII, Japan ended its 300-year old 'Yoshiwara' brothel district in Tokyo by banning all brothels and other forms of prostitution. (Kamiyama, 2006) France banned brothels and the act of solicitation, but prostitution remained legal. (Corbin, 1990) In Britain, prostitution remained legal, but soliciting was an offense according to the 'Street Offence Act of 1959'. (Unknown, Off the Streets, 1959) The state of Nevada began to formally regulate brothels in 1971 through a licencing system which allowed the sex industry to be more closely monitored. (Symanski, 1974)

White prostitution in South Africa declined and the market once again became predominantly 'coloured'. The Apartheid government passed 'The Sexual Offences Act of 1957' which prohibited intercourse between Whites and Non-Whites which they believed could assist in eradicating prostitution. (Trotter, 2008) Since then, the act has been revised to further aid in the prevention of trafficking and exploitation of women and children, and sex work still remains illegal.

The 1970's was the starting point of prostitutes' rights movements and activism when international prostitution organizations were established. (Jenness, 1990) It was in 1987, when the sex worker activist 'Carol Leigh' also known as 'Scarlot Harlot' invented the term 'sex worker' which now is the more accepted reference used for people participating in the sex industry. (Delacoste & Alexander, 1991)

The global debate that exists around sex work today, does not only address the health- and economic issues pertaining to this profession, but most significantly is has attracted attention as a serious human rights matter. A study on 100 countries and their prostitution policies indicates that 50% of the studied countries have adopted legal prostitution systems, 11% allow for limited legality, and 39% of these countries have banned any form of sex work. Furthermore, where sex work is legal, 27% of the population participate as sex workers, 35% of the population performs sex work where legalities are limited and 38% of the population form part of the sex industry where the profession is illegal. (Kurtz, McNall, S.Z.-Markoff, Shimohara, & Markoff, 2011) *(See figure 1.23)*

Sex workers form part of a world where sex trafficking, different forms of abuse and the state of their working conditions have become major concerns for governments all over the world. Governments have implemented different types of legal systems to address these issues in an effort to gain a degree of control over this growing business form.

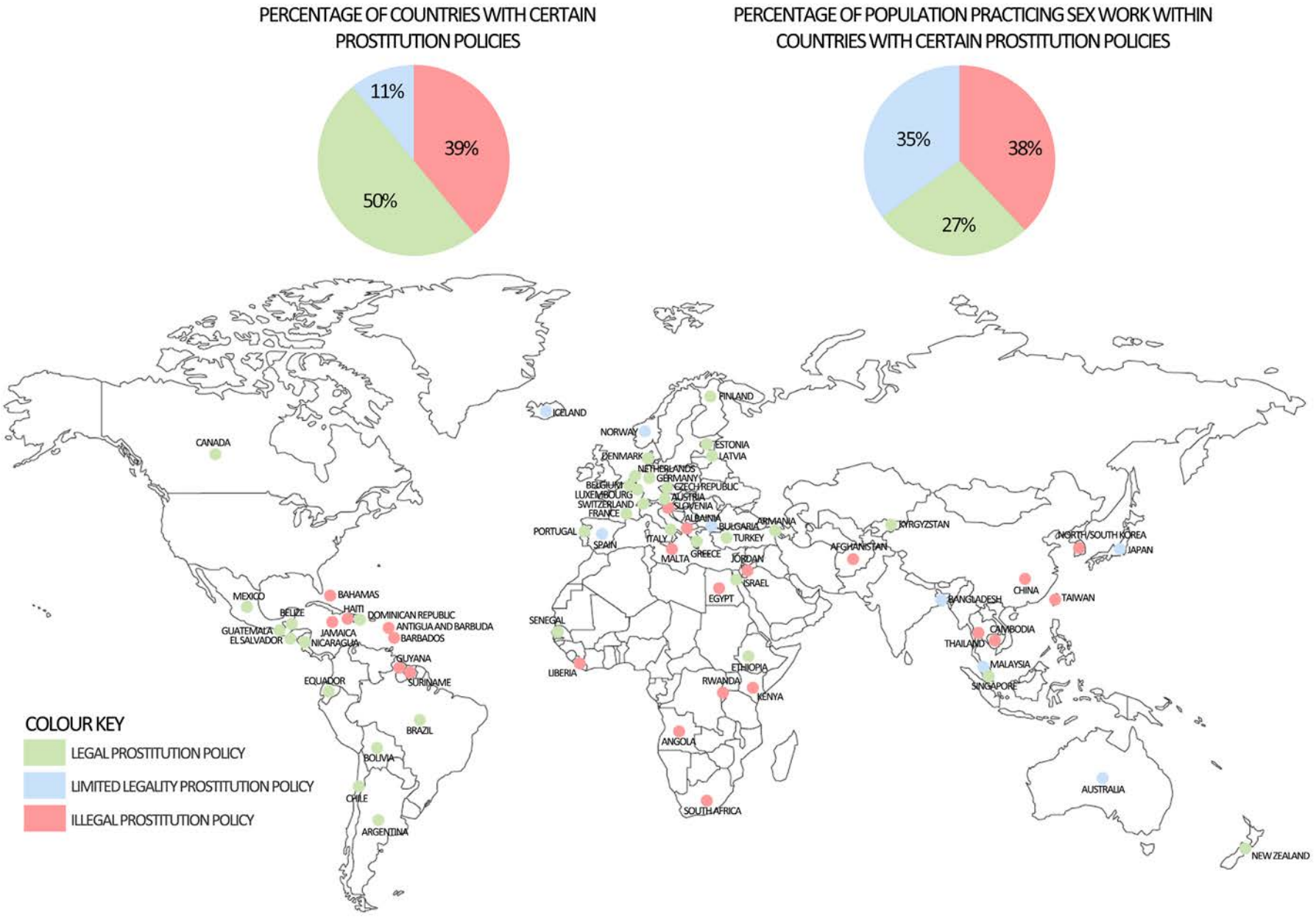


FIGURE 1.23: 100 COUNTRIES AND THEIR PROSTITUTION POLICIES

A socio-cultural analysis of the sex-industry

This socio-cultural analysis will be based upon studying the backgrounds of persons entering the sex trade, the typical socio-cultural aspects found within respective legal- and illegal sex industries and the socio-cultural views of societies within these opposing contexts. Finally, the above mentioned conditions will be examined architecturally by ways in which they implicate the physical environments in which sex work takes place.

What are the socio-cultural backgrounds of people entering the sex industry?

Many studies have been conducted to explain why people enter into sex work. The economic advantages sex work offers, is a highly persuasive factor, but many researchers believe that there are certain common backgrounds of individuals that influence their decisions in entering the industry.

Shyann Child explores the idea of categorizing sex workers into four different groups to give reason for their involvement within the sex business. *(See figure 1.24).* She states that one category is that of 'forced prostitution' which exists due to a demand in sex work because of wide spread economic growth and modernization. (Child, 2009)

This phenomenon is further elaborated in the article "Routes of Recruitment into Prostitution" where the authors explain techniques adopted by 'pimps' to entice individuals into the trade. These methods include creating emotional attachments with vulnerable individuals, indebting prospective sex workers, crafting a dependency on drugs and manipulating a person into the industry due to the position of authority the family member/ so-called 'pimp' holds. (Kennedy, et al., 2007)

Secondly, sex work often lures 'the homeless woman', normally runaway teenagers escaping from problems at home who then ultimately turn to prostitution for survival. These are people who find themselves trapped within this lifestyle and commonly come from abusive backgrounds. Child explains that a very strong relationship exists between abuse and sex work. (Child, 2009)

"girls in particular, are much more likely to enter into high-risk activities, including prostitution, than girls who have not been abused in some manner. It is important to underscore that abused children often become more vulnerable to high risk situations than children who have not been abused. Promiscuous behaviour is one of the outcomes of sexual abuse." (Child, 2009, p. 13)

A study on sex workers in Nevada indicated that:

"Seventy-three per cent of the women reported experiencing childhood sexual abuse as measured by the Childhood Trauma and Abuse scale." (Kennedy, et al., 2007, p. 11)

The third category is that of 'the drug-addicted prostitute' who turns to sex work to cater for a substance dependency, entering a vicious cycle of drug abuse and sex work. (Child, 2009)

'Addiction to drugs and/or alcohol resulted in some women working in street prostitution in order to finance their habits. As discussed above, 16% of the prostituted women interviewed identified drugs as the reason that they became involved in street prostitution."
(Kennedy, et al., 2007, p. 9)

Lastly, a percentage of persons enter the sex industry by 'free will'. This decision is made easier especially when individuals are normalized or have social interactions with sex workers from a young age. In their study, Kennedy, et al. stated that 18% of the sex workers they interviewed entered sex work by free choice. Their decisions were predominantly motivated by seeing how much money established sex workers were making. (Kennedy, et al., 2007)

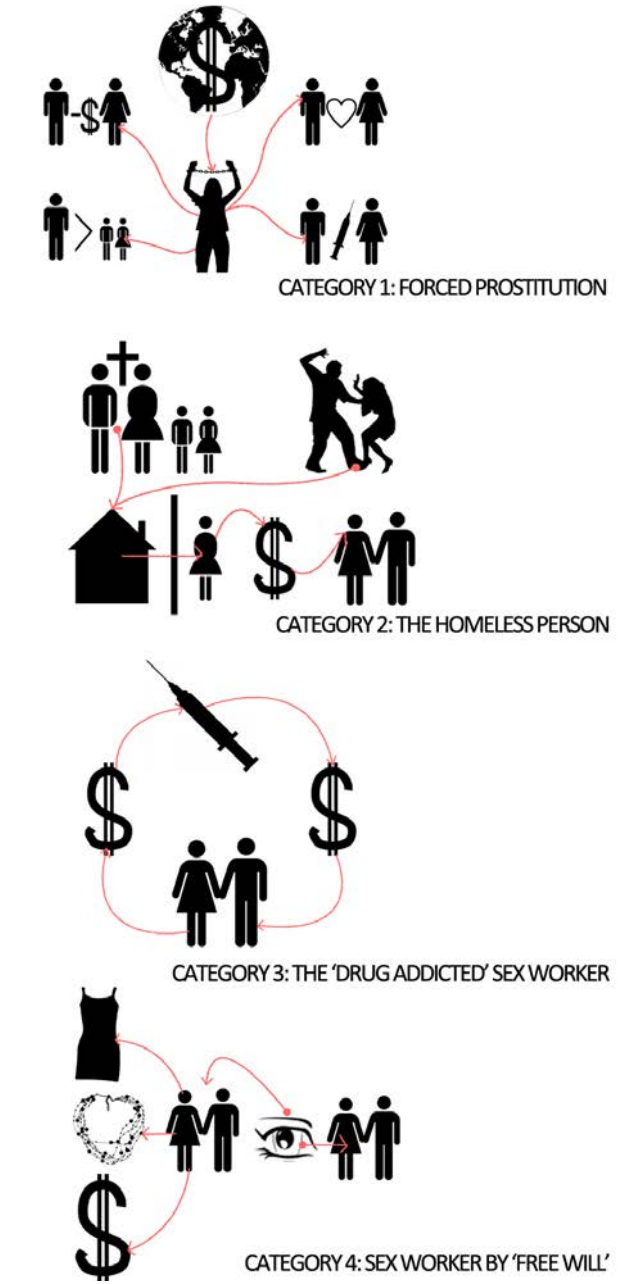


FIGURE 1.24: BACKGROUND CATEGORIES OF SEX WORKERS

What are the typical socio-cultural conditions found within respective legal- and illegal sex industries?

This section of my essay will explore typical behaviours of and relationships between sex workers, their employers, clients and law enforcement when sex work is practised legally or illegally. Health regulations and access to health facilities will also be studied. The red light district in Amsterdam will be used as a case study for a legal context as soliciting, brothel keeping and pimping are all legal. I will compare these findings to the socio-cultural conditions of the Hillbrow sex industry, as prostitution of any form is considered illegal in South Africa.

According to The Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2005 document titled "Dutch Policy on Prostitution: Questions and Answers" sex work was legalized to end abuses in the industry and reflect everyday reality. Illegal substance abuse could now be monitored and physical- and sexual abuse could be dealt with in a legal manner. (Unknown, Dutch Policy on Prostitution: Questions and Answers, 2005)

Police presence is increased in Amsterdam's red light district and the relationship between pimps, sex workers and law enforcement is strengthened. Brothels undergo weekly check-ups by police which facilitates actions against sexual violence, abuse and human trafficking. (Unknown, Dutch Policy on Prostitution: Questions and Answers, 2005)

From a health perspective, sex workers undergo mandatory medical examinations to counter the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS. Sex Workers also have unlimited access to medical care as medical centres are located within the district and have a 24h trading system. (Unknown, Dutch Policy on Prostitution: Questions and Answers, 2005) *(See figure 1.25)*

Where sex work is illegal, sex workers regularly get raped by police officers or bribe them with sexual favours to avoid arrest. *(See figure 1.32)*. In Johannesburg, a sex worker's march was held in March 2013 to expose exactly this occurrence. *(See figure 1.26 - 1.28)*. The sex workers protested against the criminalization of sex work to escape sexual harassment from officers and to be able to lay sexual harassment claims against clients without being prosecuted for committing an illegal sexual act. (Snowy, 2013)

'Tsharanang', a legal counselling association for sex workers submitted a report to 'The South African Law Reform Comission' stating that:

"Sex workers in Hillbrow and surrounding areas frequently report that the police would extort money from them or search their rooms and steal their money or other assets. These activities occur even though the police have no evidence of any crime being committed and no intention of opening a criminal case against the sex workers. Where sex workers refuse to comply with such extortion, they are called names, assaulted or taken to the police station and assaulted there"(TLAC, 2009, p. 9)

The report further states that a survey conducted by the 'Institute for Security Studies'(ISS) and the 'Sex Worker Education Advocacy'(SWEAT), revealed that 63% of sex workers in Cape Town have been verbally abused by police, 47% have been threatened with violence, 12% have been raped and 28% have been asked for sex in exchange for release from custody. (TLAC, 2009)

Sex work in an illegal setting encourages police corruption and subverts the human rights values within the police force; therefore, legalizing it would rule out this occurrence. The survey further states that when police and sex workers enter into a respectful relationship with each other, sex workers willingly report cases of child prostitution and other criminal activities. (TLAC, 2009)

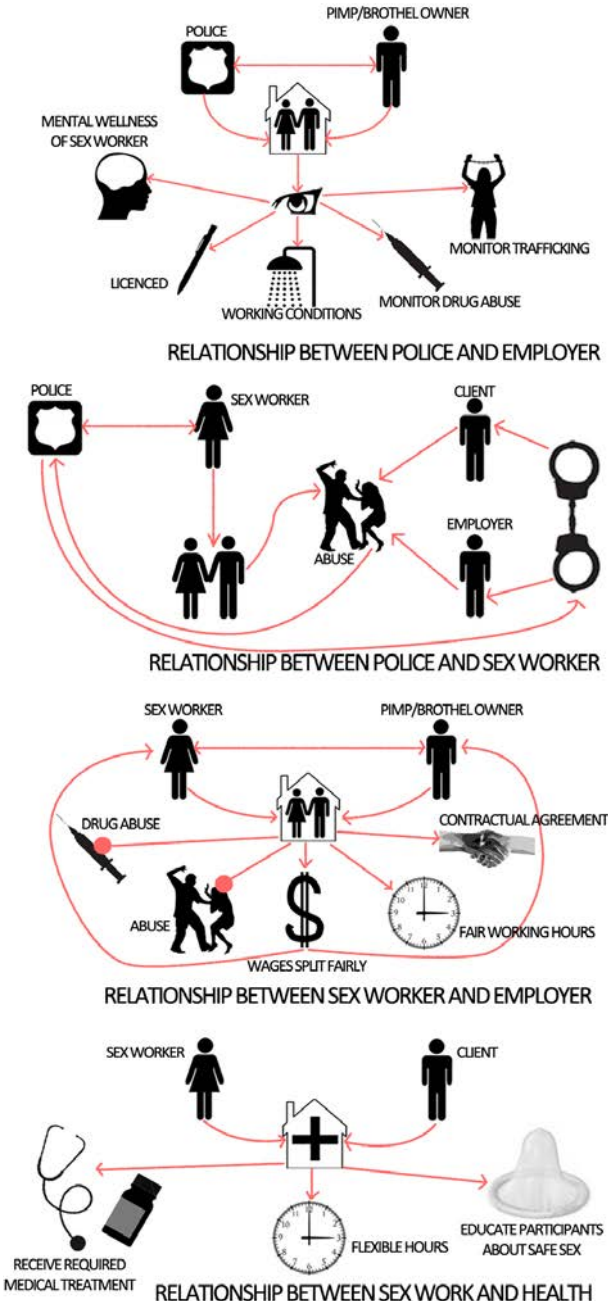


FIGURE 1.25: SOCIO-CULTURAL CONDITIONS FOUND WITHIN A LEGAL SEX INDUSTRY



FIGURE1.26: SEX WORKERS WEARING MASKS TO HIDE IDENTITY



FIGURE 1.27: SEX WORKERS' MESSAGES TO THE PUBLIC



FIGURE 1.28: SEX WORKERS MARCHING THROUGH THE STREETS OF JOHANNESBURG

Documentaries like "Hooking in Jo'burg" have proved that physical and sexual abuse occurs on a regular basis between sex workers and their clients, often because of refusals from sex workers to have unprotected sex with clients, and clients getting agitated with the sex worker's request for payment of the service provided. (Katbamma, 2010) *(See figure 1.32)*

'Muchaneta', a Johannesburg based sex worker, origionally from Zimbabwe discloses in her letter 'Regrets rot the Heart' how she was persuaded by a client to complete a sexual transaction at his residence. When they arrived, they were met by six other men also residing in the house who then gang raped her without using condoms. (Muchaneta, 2009)

Suzan who is a street sex worker in Hillbrow was abducted by a man who took her to a secluded location where she was raped by three individuals (one of which was a police officer) (Suzan, 2009)

'Buzie' a 26 year old sex worker from Pretoria says:

"One day I found a client who wanted the whole night at his place, so I didn't refuse because of the money he was offering. When we got to his place we had sex afterwards he brought his dog to have sex with me." (Buzie, 2009)

SWEAT states in their submission to The South African Law Reform Commission that:

"It is commonly accepted that, worldwide, sex workers are exposed and vulnerable to violence, rape and assault, particularly in the hands of clients. The vulnerability that sex workers have is at least exacerbated by criminal sanctions because of the difficulty of a criminal charge. By revealing their identities and coming forward to lay charges, sex workers both incriminate themselves and expose themselves to prosecution." (Harper, Massawe, & Mentor-Lalu, 2009, p. 15)

Another relationship that runs the danger of becoming abusive in an illegal context is that between the sex worker and his/her employer, which includes pimps, brothel owners and hotel managers. *(See figure 1.32)*. In South Africa, the indoor sex sector is larger than the outdoor sex sector. It is also largely invisible and underground due to its illegal status, allowing for exploitation to happen easily. (Harper, Massawe, & Mentor-Lalu, 2009) *(See figure 1.29 - 1.31)*

"Common complaints received by SWEAT relate to excessively long working hours (for example 21-hour shifts), unfair commissions (for example between 40 – 60%), unfair deductions and fines, working under duress and inability to leave the premises. High fines may be imposed for example by breaking a 'house rule' such as developing a personal relationship with a client." (Harper, Massawe, & Mentor-Lalu, 2009, p. 11)

Although some brothel owners and managers operate with the sex workers' interest at heart by ensuring safe and hygienic working conditions, the illegal nature of the industry does not allow for unemployment insurance or employment benefits and a sex worker has little power in negotiating with his/her employer. (Harper, Massawe, & Mentor-Lalu, 2009)

Substance abuse forms a large part of the world of illegal sex work. *(See figure 1.32)*. Through interviewing sex workers, I was made aware that drug- and alcohol abuse was a common means of coping with the lifestyle and mentally preparing oneself to do the job. Illegal sex workers often have to operate in vulgar, inhumane conditions and use substances to escape these circumstances and take on an unconscious state of mind.



FIGURE 1.29: MATRESS FOUND IN HILLBROW BROTHEL

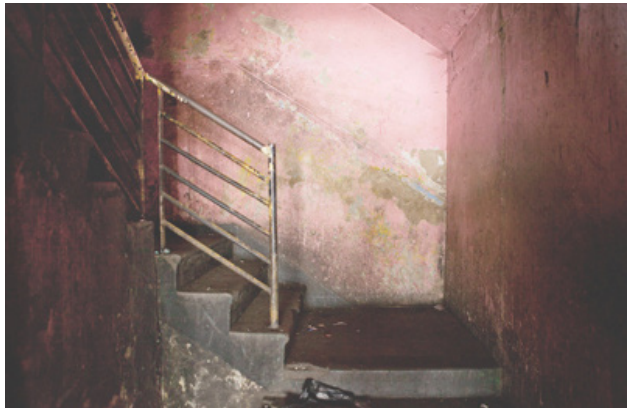


FIGURE 1.30: ENTRANCE LOBBY TO HILLBROW BROTHEL



FIGURE 1.31: SEX WORKERS SHARING ROOM IN HILLBROW BROTHEL

When analysing this research, it appears that there are more opportunities for abuse to take place when sex work occurs illegally. *(See figure 1.32)* Within a legal context, harassment by police is reduced, human trafficking can be monitored more closely, substance abuse can be more controlled, and sex workers can operate more freely as brothels would be licenced and adhere to a set of standard conditions. *(See figure 1.25)*

Public health is another major point of debate when arguing the legalization of sex work. The criminalization of sex work is heavily motivated by the belief that sex workers contribute a significant percentage to the spread of STD's and HIV/AIDS. (TLAC, 2009)

Sex workers in an illegal sex industry pose higher health risks than persons participating in a legal industry. *(See figure 31)*. A key intervention for this problem would be to increase access to health care and health education. In South Africa, it often happens that illegal sex workers have limited access to health care due to their profession. (TLAC, 2009)

"Sex workers have reported situations to SWEAT where health care officials refuse treatment, provide inadequate treatment and make very abusive remarks when discovering or even suspecting the person is a sex worker." (TLAC, 2009, p. 25)

Most sex workers in South Africa are well educated about the health risks they are exposed to. When interviewed, the majority of sex workers used condoms to reduce the chances of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, but it was often the case that clients forced sex workers to have sex without protection by either offering them more money or raping them without using condoms. (Katbamma, 2010)

"In a criminalized environment, sex workers are vulnerable to HIV. Criminalization of sex work increases the vulnerability of sex workers to sexually transmitted infections, including HIV. The reason is two-fold; lack of access to health and welfare services, including condoms; and negotiation of condom usage is difficult due to clients offering more money for unprotected sex, violence from clients and paying sex workers to partake in drugs or alcohol whilst having sex." (TLAC, 2009, pp. 17-18)

The Law Reform Commission's extensive research regarding the intersections between sex work and HIV/AIDS indicates that:

"There has been increasing recognition that sex workers' ability to practise safer sex and their ability to access their human rights are inextricably linked. Furthermore, there has been growing a acceptance that the on-going criminalization of adult sex work directly impacts on sex workers' ability to protect themselves against HIV and other STI's" (TLAC, 2009, p. 25)

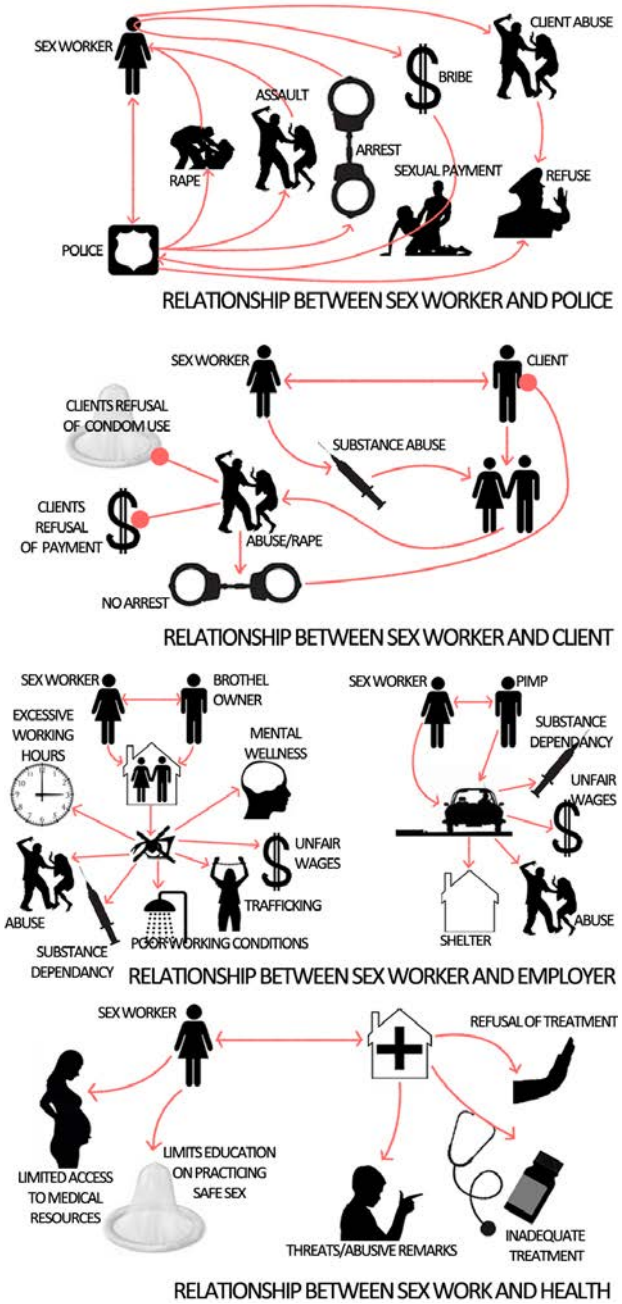


FIGURE 1.32: SOCIO-CULTURAL CONDITIONS FOUND WITHIN AN ILLEGAL SEX INDUSTRY

What are the socio-cultural views of societies around the world?

Even though, sex workers provide a service to society, they are commonly discriminated against and judged by the very people they provide a service for. In the Birmingham Evening Mail, 27 July 1995, sex workers are viewed as 'the human scavengers polluting our streets' and 'street scum'. (Hubbard & Sanders, 2003)

This notion is not uncommon in the rest of the world. Society often finds the act of sex work repulsive and offensive, not wanting to be associated with it, frequently forcing sex work to operate within controlled sectors out of the public eye. The 'red light district' is a space where sex work can be pratised which is only noticeable by society when visited. These areas are also a means of law enforcement on the industry. (Barthes & Genini, 2008)

Where sex work is legal, these districts are monitored by authorities and controlled by borders to not infiltrate the rest of the city. Where illegal, these spaces are 'tolerated' when not explicit to the rest of the community. Authorities allow for these 'immoral' spaces to develop around city edges and often turn a blind eye while heavily patrolling and regulating the city centres, where traffic is higher and transfer more frequent. (Barthes & Genini, 2008)

Janice Raymond, former Co-Executive Director of the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW) explains that:

'Tolerence zones are treated as quick fixes to the spread of the sex industry and advocated as protected zones for prostituted women. But problems with tolerance zones are many. The biggest is the NIMBY (Not in My Back Yard) problem. No neighbourhood wants prostitution to be zoned there, so it gets pushed into backwater or industrial areas, areas that are dangerous for women to be in, or poorer districts of the city where residents don't have the financial and political clout of more economically advantaged areas." (Raymond, 2004)

When exploring society's view on sex work, it often becomes a debate of 'morality'. People don't want to be associated or confronted with the act by participating in a space where different forms of sex work occur. Bathes and Genini explains that law is one of the most powerful means used by society to control behaviour. (Barthes & Genini, 2008)

"Jurisdiction seeks to regulate and control prostitution expressing a moral condemnation of it as well as supposedly offering some degree of 'protection' to those engaged with it. Clearly on the legal aspect, cities and governments (and to a certain extent civil society) have an impact on where and how prostitution should be practised, if legal or not, if tolerated or not, and how this relates to its migrations. Therefore, contemporary vice laws are crucial to geographies of prostitution. Moral control and special ordering generate a spatialized moral order." (Barthes & Genini, 2008, p. 4)

As Barthes and Genini mentions, law often has a major influence on how society views 'morality'. Initially, laws that were put in place to criminalize sex work were largely informed by arguments concerning 'morality'. (TLAC, 2009)

The 1957 'Sexual Act' of South Africa that prohibits any form of prostitution was enforced by a government that was motivated by religion and discrimination, yet the South African Constitution today is based on the values of human dignity, equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms. (TLAC, 2009)

SWEAT argues that the very constitution that is meant to protect all members of the South African society, excludes sex workers by causing discrimination against them due to their 'criminalized' status. (Harper, Massawe, & Mentor-Lalu, 2009)

"The stigma that is associated with sex work attaches mostly because various religious and other groups believe that sex work is inherently immoral. Yet, by labelling sex workers as 'criminal' this stigma is exacerbated and reinforced. There are physical, emotional and psychological consequences associated with this stigma, and almost no support to assist in coping with these negative aspects of their work." (Harper, Massawe, & Mentor-Lalu, 2009, p. 19)

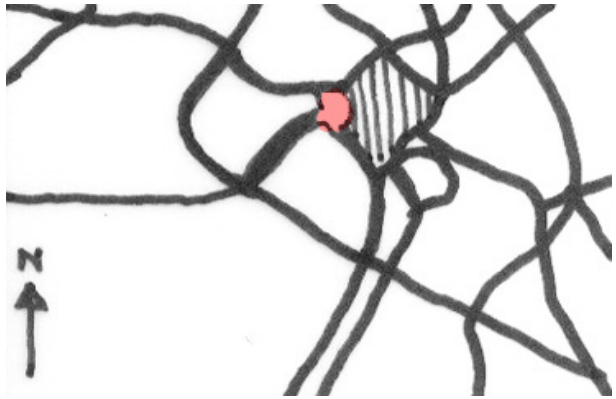


FIGURE 1.33: BIRMINGHAM RED LIGHT DISTRICT LOCALITY MAP

When analysing the locality map, we see how the red-light district of Birmingham(indicated in red) is allowed to exist on the edge of the city center (shaded area)



FIGURE 1.34: BIRMINGHAM RED LIGHT DISTRICT

Roads act as boundaries of this district and prevent it from 'spilling out'. This is also a means for authorities to monitor and restrict sex work.

How does the physical environment in which sex work takes place assist/bring about the above mentioned socio-cultural conditions?

In order to understand how a physical environment can affect the socio-cultural conditions of the sex industry, it is important to compare legal- and illegal contextual environments at macro- and micro scales. This section of my essay aims at analyzing the Amsterdam 'red-light district' as a legal precedent and comparing this environment to the illegal Hillbrow 'red-light district'. Comparisons are made at precinct scale, urban scale, street scale and building scale; specifically focussing on location and proximity to city centers, support health and safety programmes found within the districts, access and connectivity to and between sex businesses, spatial ananlysis of the legal and illegal street scape and layouts and circulation and programming of buildings used for sexual transactions.

Amsterdam as a precedent for a legal sex industry



FIGURE 1.35: A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF THE AMSTERDAM RED LIGHT DISTRICT AT A CITY SCALE

The Amsterdam Red Light District is situated in the city center. A harbour an train station is located North of the red light district, allowing it to be in close proximity of major transpotation routes.

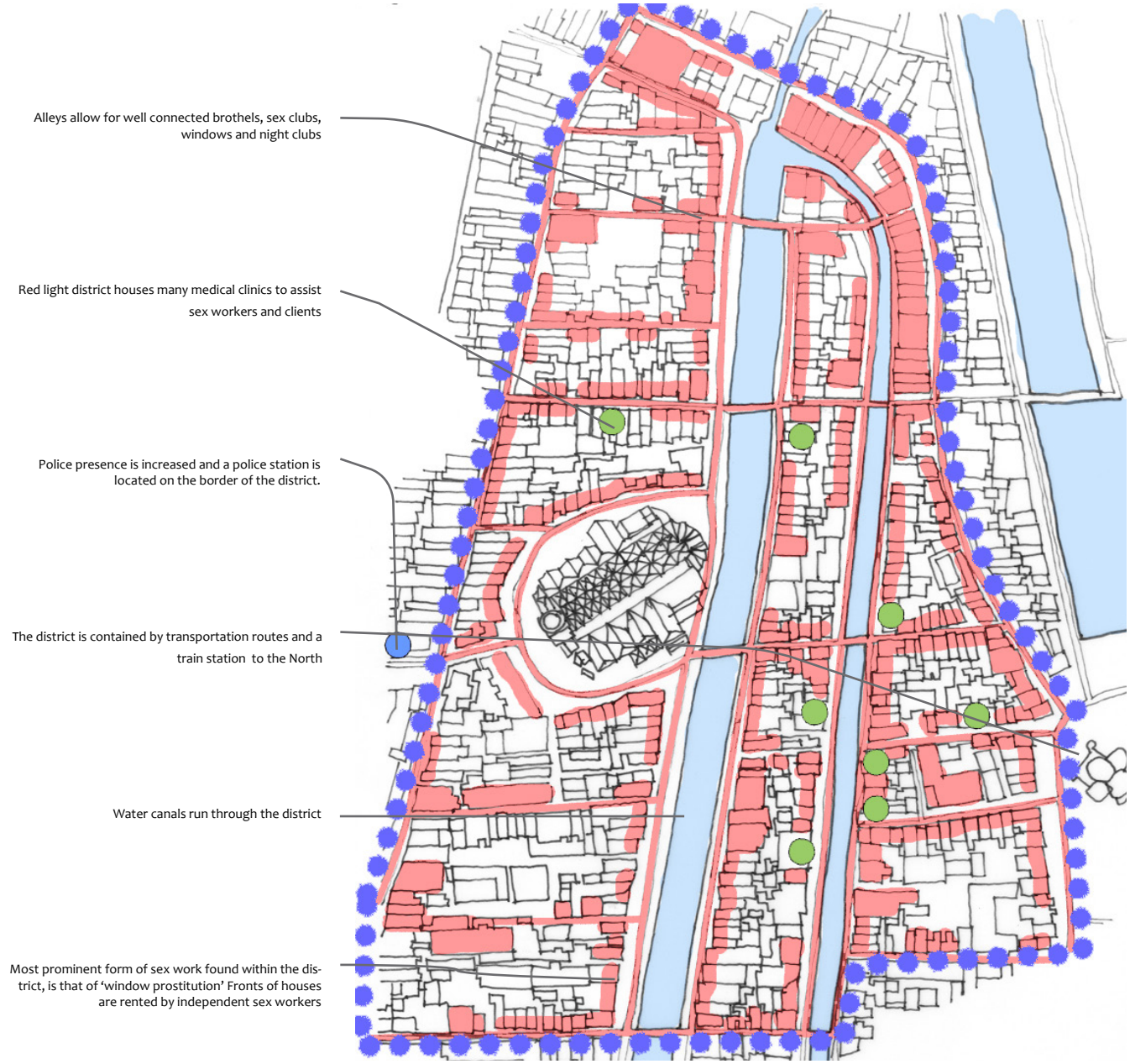
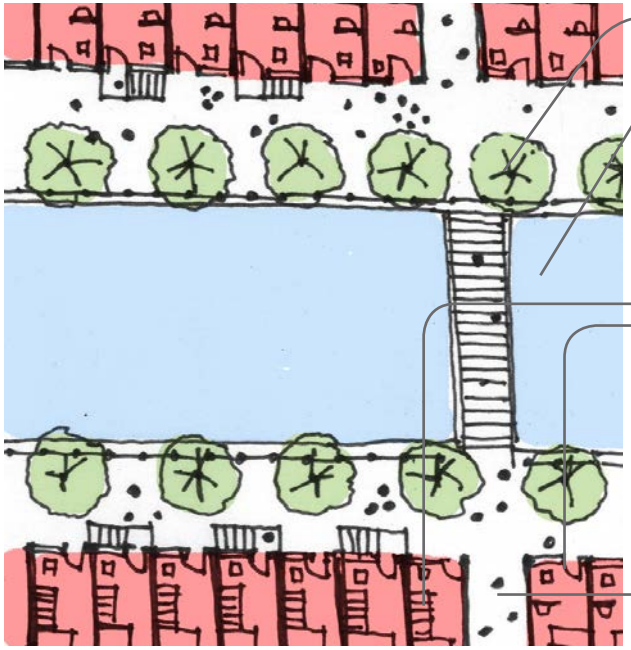


FIGURE 1.36: A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF THE AMSTERDAM RED LIGHT DISTRICT AS AN URBAN SETTING



Trees provide greenery and pause spaces for tourists

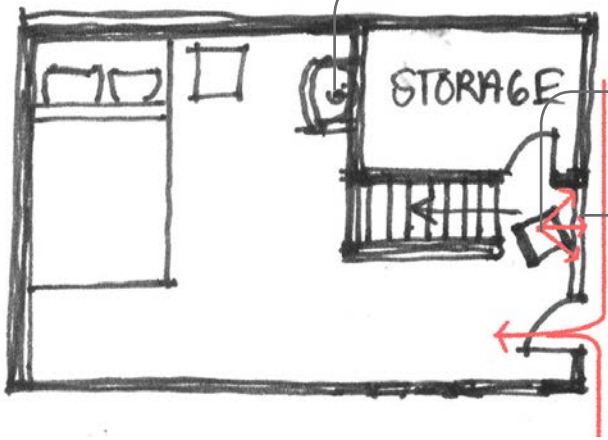
Water body forms part of district

Stairs to higher level working rooms allow for one access point into building, creating a safer environment

Working rooms are very visible from street allowing for safer environment for sex workers

Very public street with high pedestrian traffic allow for a safer environment

FIGURE 1.37: A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF THE AMSTERDAM RED LIGHT DISTRICT STREET



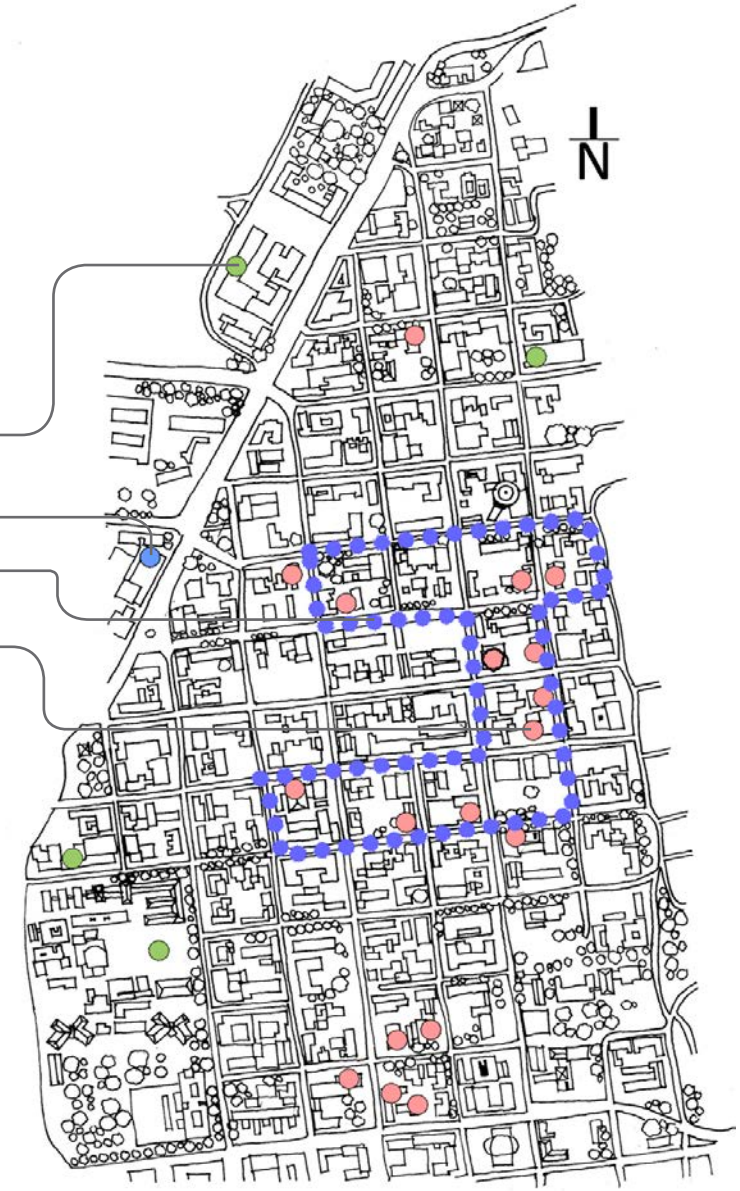
Wash hand basin provides more hygenic working conditions

Sex workers can choose their clients from their seating position inside the working room

Windows make sex workers more visible allowing for a degree of safety

FIGURE 1.38: A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF THE AMSTERDAM RED LIGHT DISTRICT WORKING ROOM

Hillbrow as a precedent for an illegal sex industry



Medical clinics have introduced mobile clinics to go into brothels and hotels.

1 police station caters for a dangerous, over-populated area

Red light district houses high concentration of hotels, clubs, bars and restaurants and has main transport routes running through it

Sex work in Hillbrow is predominantly indoor, due to crime in the area. This makes it less visible and more dangerous

FIGURE 1.39: A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF THE HILLBROW RED LIGHT DISTRICT AS AN URBAN SETTING

The image below shows sex workers in a street in Johannesburg. Both sides of the street is lined with brothels and sex workers sit in rows on the pavement. Some sex workers are found sitting on the staircases inside the buildings. This street offers a mixture of indoor brothel sex work, and outdoor street workers. Vehicles either pass by to pick up sex workers and take them to a seperate location or park, or clients enter brothels. Pimps and brothel owners are also seen on the street pavements. Sex workers know each other and operate in groups as a safety measure.

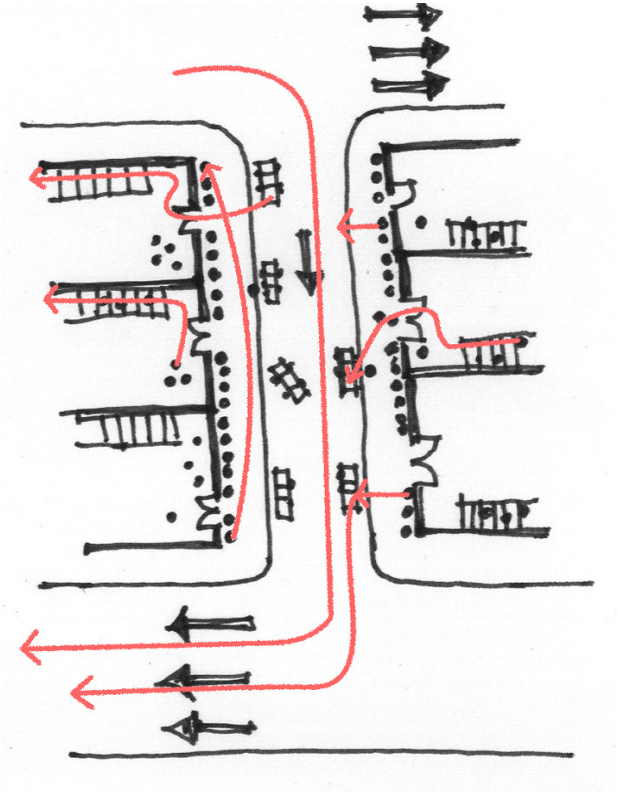


FIGURE 1.40: A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF THE HILLBROW RED LIGHT DISTRICT AT STREET SCALE

This brothel in Troyville has a security controled entrance and the street facade is unassuming. Brothel houses few sex workers and rooms are seperate to the entertainment area. Clients have the option of socializing with sex workers in the entertainment area or to go directly to the working rooms upon entrance. The brothel owner is present in the bar area. Sex workers living in the brothel share a bathroom with clients. Sex workers have access to a private outdoor patio and have a seperate back entrance into the building.

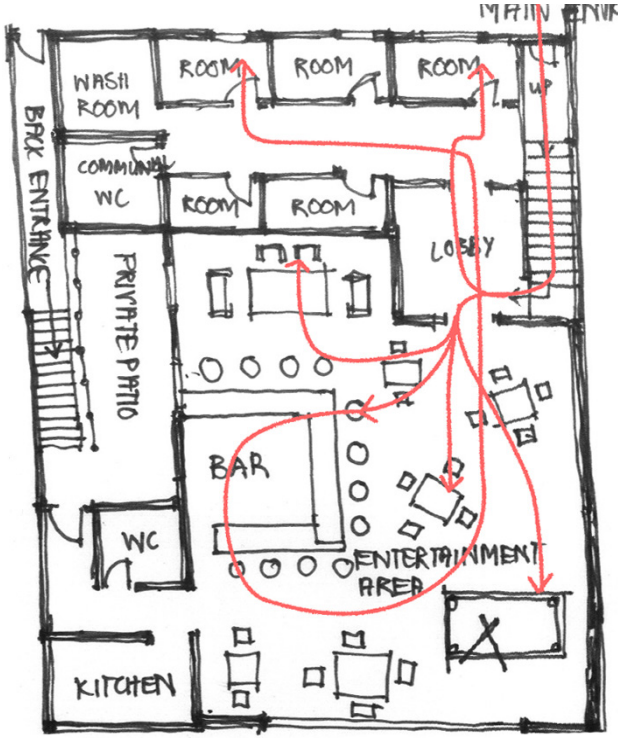


FIGURE 1.41: A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF A TROYVILLE BROTHEL

Upon entry into the sex club, one goes through a security check. There is an entertainment area which houses a stage for exotic dancers. For a private show, one needs to pass through another threshold were private rooms can be rented. For sex, a client needs to go upstairs where sex workers' rooms are located. The entertainment area serves as the main area for sex workers and clients to meet.

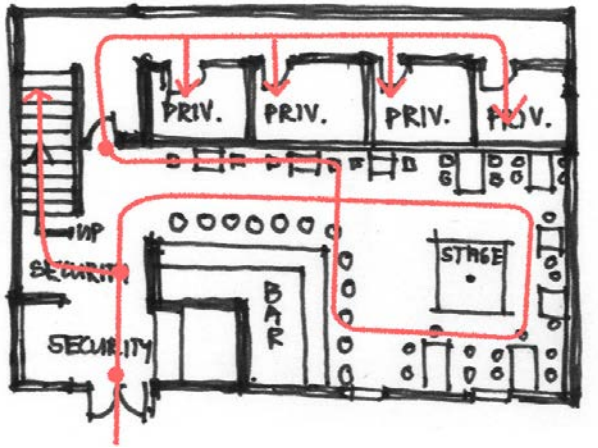


FIGURE 1.42: A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF A HILLBROW SEX CLUB

A socio-economic analysis of the sex industry

A socio-economic study of sex work requires us to understand the financial luring capability of the trade, the way in which sex work operates as a business and how the sex industry can be an economic generator for the community in which it occurs.

These findings will allow for the design of successful business spaces that incorporate the respective processes found in sex work while being economically viable for the neighbourhood in which it occurs.

Why do people choose to do sex work?

Most of the sex workers operating in Hillbrow are interestingly enough, not originally from the area. Many originate from Zimbabwe or other parts of South Africa and chose to come to the City of Gold for employment opportunities. Sadly, their expectations of finding work were not met, and thus they turned to sex work as a means of feeding families back home and surviving the merciless city of Johannesburg. (Katbamma, 2010)

Stats SA in 2009 estimated that in the first quarter of the year, 23.5% of the population was unemployed, whereas the last quarter of the year saw a decline to 21.9% They further estimated that 25.7 million people, which equated to more than half the population at the time, lived below the poverty line. (Harper, Massawe, & Mentor-Lalu, 2009)

In Edlunds' and Korns' essay, "A Theory of Prostitution", they state that:

"Prostitution is a multibillion dollar business that employs millions of women worldwide." "Prostitution has an unusual feature: it is well paid despite being low-skill, labor intensive, and, one might add, female dominated. Earnings even in the worst-paid type, streetwalking, may be several multiples of full-time earnings in professions with comparable skill requirements." (Edlund & Korn, 2002, p. 182)

Due to a poor educational background or a lack of sustainable financial support, many turn to sex work as it is a profession that requires low skills and a substantial amount of money is made relatively easily and rapidly.

"sex workers from South Africa argue [that] sex work is a relatively highly lucrative livelihood in which educational or vocational qualifications are not directly relevant. Given that many sex workers have a lower level of education, the difference between what somebody would earn in a 'normal' job and what they can earn in the sex industry, is vast." (Harper, Massawe, & Mentor-Lalu, 2009, p. 26)

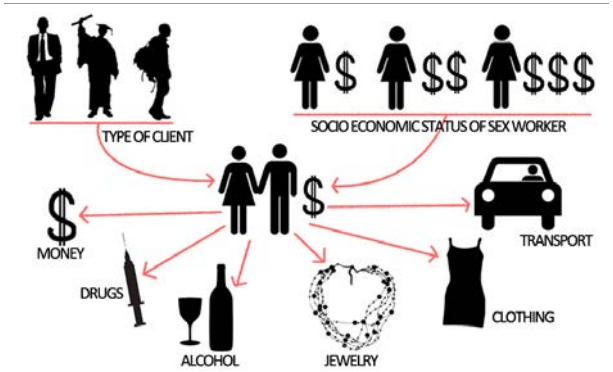


FIGURE 1.43: INFLUENCES IN EARNINGS FROM SEX WORK

How does one generate an income from sex work?

A study conducted by Luiz and Roets indicated that the amount that a sex worker charges for a service depends on the type of client and the sex worker's socio-economic status. (See figure 1.43). Payments are cash, but can vary from clothing, jewellery, work-related rewards and transport to drugs and alcohol. (Luiz & Roets, 2000)

Ms G, a sex worker interviewed by SWEAT entered sex work because of the amount of money she could make relatively quickly and easily. (Harper, Massawe, & Mentor-Lalu, 2009)

"Ms G has been in the industry for seven years and is in the process of leaving the sex work…..She is leaving sex work having made enough money to buy a house and a car and put her children through school." (Harper, Massawe, & Mentor-Lalu, 2009, p. 23)

A sex worker undergoes between 1-2 to 15-18 sexual transactions per day depending on her needs. It was found that the South African sex market varies considerably as high-end sex workers can earn more than R10 000/month where sex workers operating from taverns and shebeens charge R20 per session on average. (Luiz & Roets, 2000)

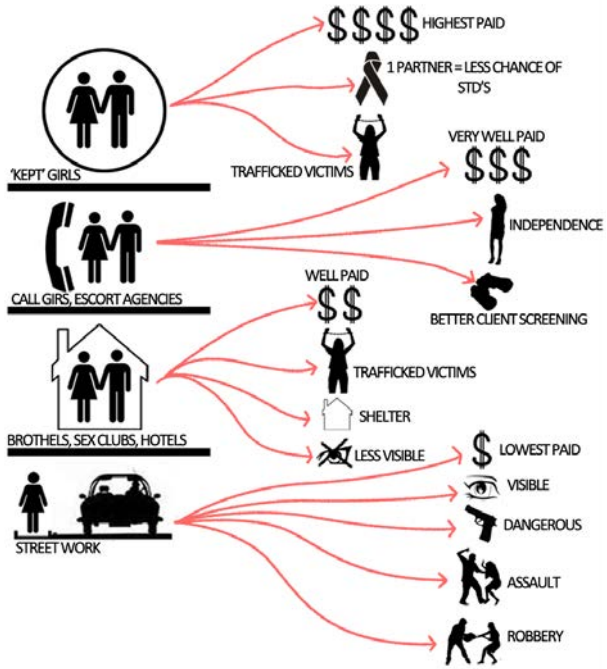


FIGURE 1.44: INFLUENCES IN EARNINGS FROM SEX WORK

What is the market structure of sex work?

Edlund and Korn explore the market structure that exists within the sex industry. *(See figure 1.45)*

"At the bottom we find street prostitution, followed by brothels, bars, and clubs. Call girls and escort agencies occupy the middle to high slots and kept women the top rungs. Higher end prostitutes are better looking, younger and healthier; charge more per client; and spend more time with each. Typically, both earnings and working conditions are better more upmarket: clients are fewer, venues more agreeable, and client screening more selective." (Edlund & Korn, 2002, p. 187)

Luiz and Roets explain the demographics of these different forms of sex work in more detail:

a) *Brothels (in various guises) wherein prostitutes sometimes reside and are supervised by a 'madam' with sufficient social contacts to make them viable. The supervisor takes a percentage of the prostitute's earnings (anything from 20 per cent to a staggering 80 per cent).*

b) *Escort agencies – a variation of this theme, where the agency provides clients with an 'escort' for a fee, with sex being a 'private' matter between the escort and the client.*

c) *'Call girls' – prostitutes with their own residences and whose customers are provided by the operator of the calling system who screens prospective clients. Alternatively, these women operate independently and advise their services through newspaper classifields They will normally meet their clients at their hotel rooms or at their own residences.*

d) *Street prostitutes, who share their revenue with either their pimps or others who facilitate their livelihood, such as hotel employees, bartenders or taxi drivers.*

(Luiz & Roets, 2000, p. 25)

Edlund and Korn further argue that the demographics of this market structure changes when placed in legal and illegal contexts. When 'tolerated' or 'legal' working in brothels tends to take preference above street work, as brothels provide more comfortable and secure environments for sex workers and their clients, avoiding the problems of robbery, assault and harassment related to street work. (Edlund & Korn, 2002)

There appears to have been a range of different sex trades happening in Hillbrow in the 90's, ranging from escort agencies, to brothels and strip clubs to street workers. Most sex workers that worked the streets entered the business to sustain their drug addictions. They were forced to operate on the streets as escort agencies and brothels would not accept them. The circumstances the street workers had to work in also differed greatly to those working in brothels and agencies. (Morris, 1999)

"Everybody tries to harass me. I'm not a fighter. People try and take your drugs off you by force. It's getting bad out here. Girls are being killed on the streets. You get terrible clients. I got arrested for loitering by the bastard police. I'm not even loitering and they just throw me in the van." (Morris, 1999, p. 261)

Today, most sex work occurs internally from within the walls of hotels, brothels and strip clubs. Tshepho, an interviewee residing in Hillbrow said:

"You don't find ladies working on the streets very often anymore. I haven't seen them in a long time." (Tshepho, 2013)

The most obvious reasons for this would be the harassment experienced by police, robberies by criminals, and overall lower earnings as street workers. Instead, sex workers find their clients in neighbouring bars and clubs. These entertainment spots are in close proximity of, or attached to the brothels and hotels where the sexual transactions take place. These 'trading spots' are often hard to identify as the illegal act of sex work is kept highly under cover.

What process is followed in different forms of sex work?

Different forms of sex work entails differences in the way in which a transaction takes place allowing for a variety of processes and different spaces to be utilized. *(See figure 1.45)*. The following diagram indicates how respective forms of sex work require different meeting spaces, transaction spaces and final destinations. Payment for the service also occurs at different times within these respective processes.

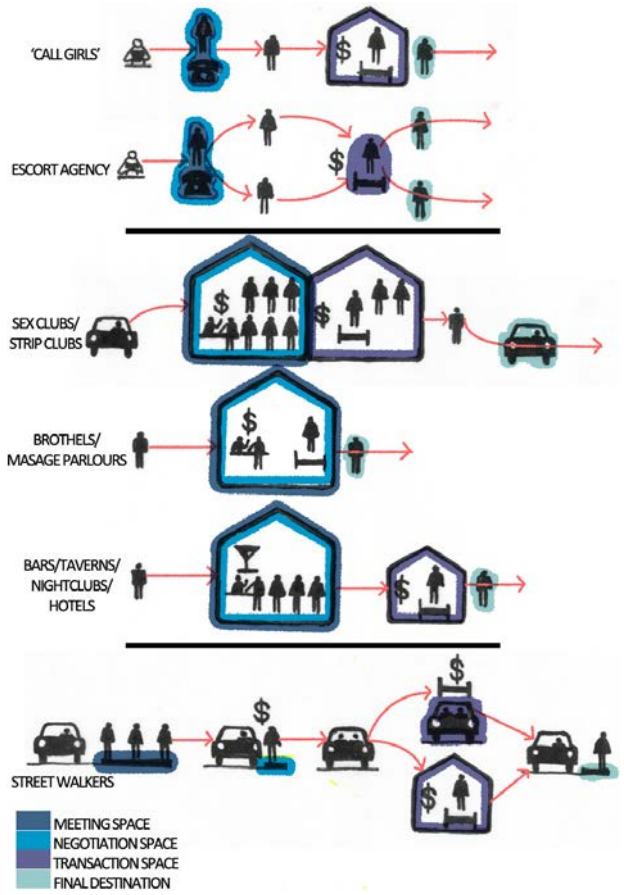


FIGURE 1.45: THE PROCESS OF SEX WORK AND TRANSACTIONS

What are the different hierarchies in the sex industry?

As within any business, there also exists a hierarchical system within the sex industry, both within the realm of the individual sex workers, as well as between clients, the sex workers and their employers. *(See figure 1.46).*

Sex workers get preference over areas to work in, depending on how long they have been active in that particular area. Workers have higher status according to experience and knowledge of the operation of the street scene, and they tend to work in more profitable areas. Often, sex workers choose to work in groups or pairs. Although this increases competition, this strategy is used as a safety measure to protect each other from abduction or harassment by the police. (Hubbard & Sanders, 2003)

The sexual act that happens between a sex worker and a client is often referred to as a 'transaction' or 'exchange'. The sex worker thus sits at the bottom of this hierarchical system as he/she is the service provider. To his/her employer, the 'pimp', he/she is the income generator, once again placing the sex worker at the bottom rank. (Edlund & Korn, 2002)

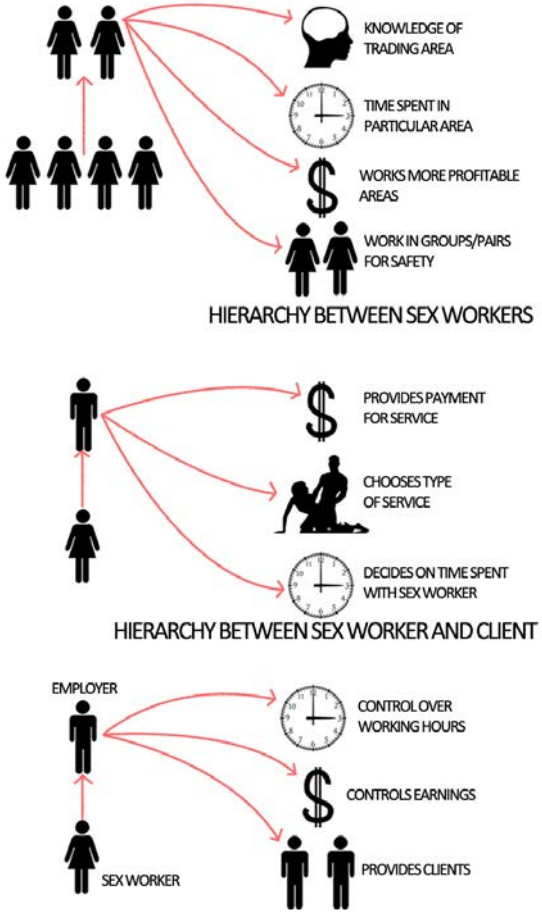


FIGURE 1.46: HIERARCHIES WITHIN THE SEX INDUSTRY

How does law implicate the socio-economic factors related to sex work?

It seems that law does not influence the socio-economic standards of the sex worker as much as it does the socio-cultural aspects. Perhaps in legalized situations, street sex workers could earn slightly more due to the exclusion of bribes they have to pay officers in illegal situations.

If brothels are more institutionalized, their operational standards could be more standardized, allowing for a more reasonable money distribution system between sex workers and their employers, but taxes would then be enforced and rent might be charged for usage of facilities. A legalized system could also influence the amount a sex worker charges for a service. Fees will become uniform, providing a less competitive market. On the other hand, when legalizing the trade, power will be taken from its current owner, an illegal syndicate consisting of a network that stretches worldwide. This motion could cause heavy uproars and invite political battle, and if not managed correctly, call for further corruption to occur within the government.

How can sex work be a socio-economic generator for its community?

Contrary to typical belief, the sex industry regularly creates opportunities for other businesses to open in the area, more specifically catering in night life entertainment. *(See figure 1.46).* A case study done in Balshall Heath, Birmingham, proved that the sex industry opened a window of opportunity for restaurants, bars, hotels, conference centres and night clubs. (Hubbard & Sanders, 2003) Carter and Cutter (2000) explain the relationship between the sex- and entertainment industry as:

"the spatial coexistence of both economies functioning off each other complementarily. Anecdotal evidence from sex workers also suggest that patrons of various nightlife spots and hotels in the area visit the red-light district at weekends, with the commercial sex industry in the new red-light district being kept alive by the passing trade that spills over from the entertainment strip." (Hubbard & Sanders, 2003, p. 84)

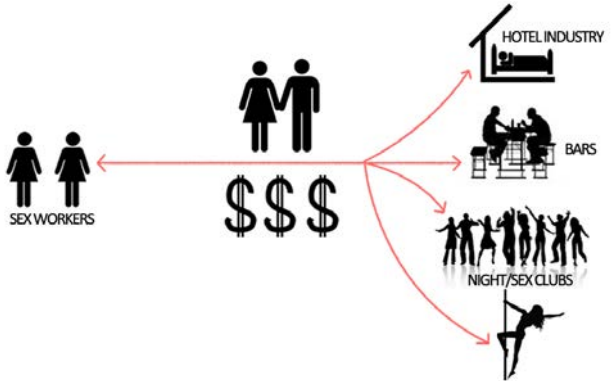


FIGURE 1.47: SEX WORK AS AN ECONOMIC GENERATOR FOR ITS COMMUNITY



FIGURE 1.48: NIGHT SHOT OF HILLBROW LOOKING NORTH-WEST

The sex industry in Hillbrow, has a history of being one of the leading aspects of business in this area. Through the years, it has brought a large amount of business to this neighbourhood by operating from hotels and allowing opportunities for nightclubs and bars to open. By the 1990's, due to the racial shift that occurred in Hillbrow, the commercial industry experienced major changes to accommodate its new community.

"Overall however, there had been a substantial increase in the number of fast-food outlets, and shops selling basic items, especially food. Discount food stores were also common. The sex industry (prostitution, massage parlours, strip-tease joints and peep shows) had grown dramatically. Linked to their growth, some of the night-clubs and bars were booming." (Morris, 1999, p. 250)

The development of the nightlife entertainment scene was closely dependent on the sex industry. Alan Morris estimates that 90% of hotel clientele in Hillbrow were sex workers. Furthermore, as bars and clubs provided establishments for sex workers to work in, the sex workers, in turn, brought customers to these locations. (Morris, 1999)

One of the most significant ways in which sex work establishes itself as an economic generator would be the potential it has of becoming a tourist attraction for the area. In a legal context like Amsterdam's red light district, the sex industry caters for a global market as thousands of tourists flock to this area every year. This tourist attraction accounts for a substantial amount of Amsterdam's yearly income.

"Despite the Tourist Board of Amsterdam's efforts to attract an older, more sophisticated visitor, Amsterdam and the Red Light District remain popular tourist destinations for younger travellers and backpackers, with about sixty per cent being under the age of thirty years (Dahles 1998), and sex work is the major cash cow among this group (Outshroonn 2007) in that it brings so many tourists to the Red Light District for the purposes of both voyeurism and sexual exchange" (Koski, The Effects of Space on Sex Worker Experience: A Study of Amsterdam's Red Light District, 2007, p. 29)

Conclusion: Developing a programme

Although sex work bears many forms of abuse and to most, is not a desirable profession to participate in, many people involve themselves within this business due to the economic advantage it offers.

The aim of my design would be to provide a setting for sex workers in which they can comfortably work and or live in. This environment should assist them in evading the cycle of substance abuse by providing spaces that offer a form of counselling or reflection, where they can participate in an environment rather than using a substance to escape the lifestyle. This setting should also offer more protection against physical abuse and harassment, and should be placed tactfully for the sex workers to receive less judgement from the public. Most importantly, this environment should allow them to work independently, permitting them to create a sustainable financial support base to give them the option of leaving the industry if they wish to. This space should address the current working conditions these people operate in by becoming more pleasant and secure.

The first step to achieve this would be to place my design in a legal context, where substance abuse, physical abuse and sexual abuse can be monitored and dealt with. To avoid judgement from the public and make the business more acceptable, this intervention must form part of a district which is outside the public eye that can be classified as an 'immoral' space within our city. The public is then given the option of being exposed to it only when they wish to be. Finally, as sex work is a form of business, and the leading aspect to why people choose to join the profession is for its economic advantage, this space needs to be designed to be economically viable in all instances.

A change in the legal system will generate changes in the socio-cultural and socio-economic outcomes of the sex industry. My design will house programmes that successfully respond to these outcomes. These programmes will focus on health, hygiene, business, entertainment, therapy and living.

For health, I will introduce a public boxing gym and connectivity to existing medical clinics. For hygiene, my building will house public-, communal- and private bath houses where individuals will be able to participate in daily and weekly cleansing rituals.

Business and entertainment will be addressed by incorporating meeting- and transactional spaces for indoor- and outdoor sex work and a new police office will play the leading role in ensuring the safety of these sex workers and their clients. A bus stop will bring clients to the site and my building will become a major node in a secondary night-life network.

Therapy is addressed through counselling rooms, a skills development centre and a private green space.

Finally, my proposal will house residential units and a children's night care facility to accommodate sex workers and their families.*(See figure 46)*

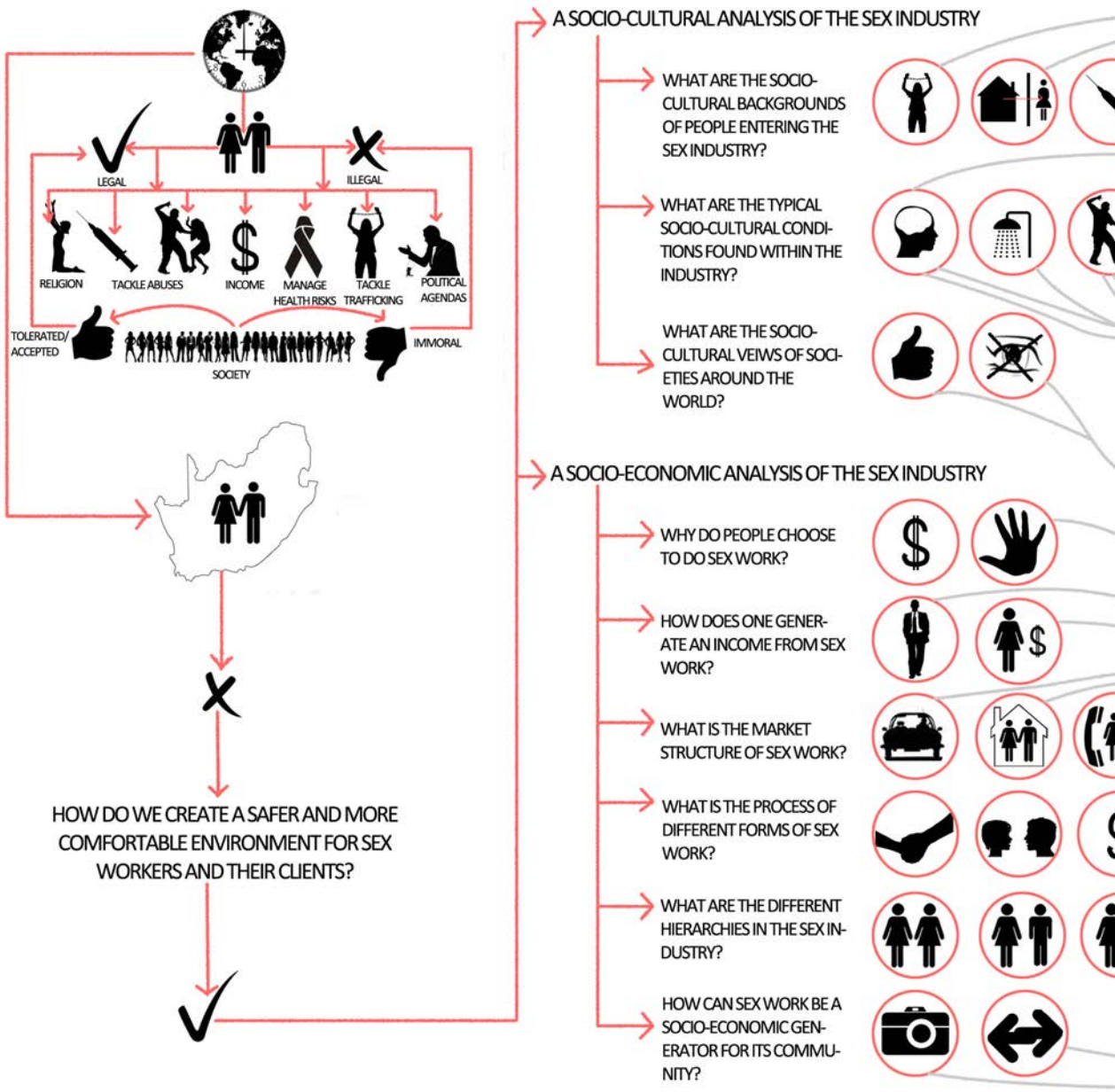
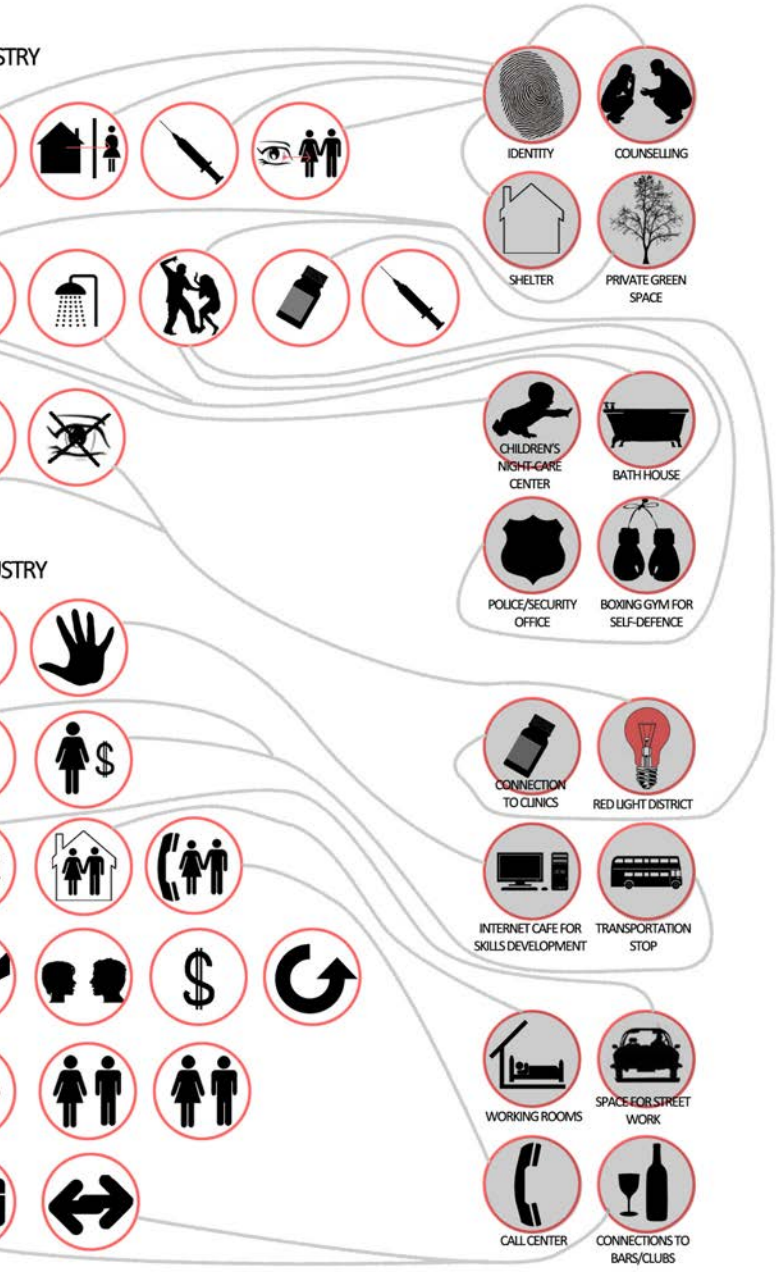
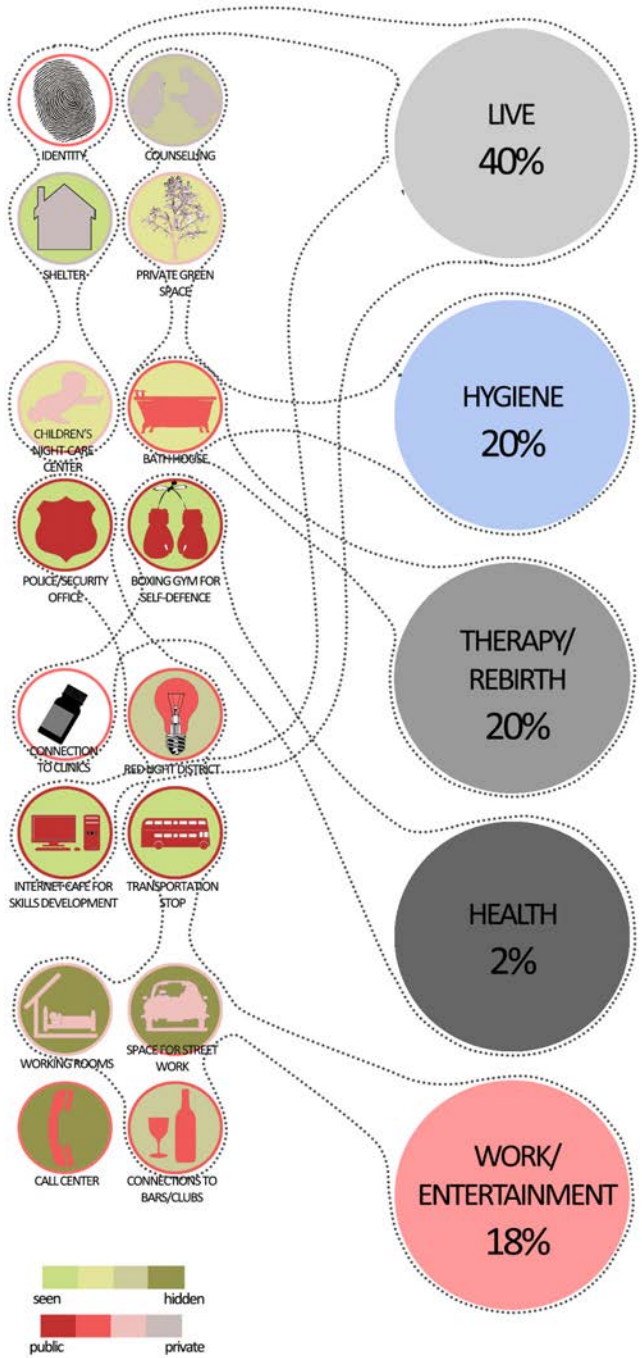


FIGURE 1.49: DEVELOPING A PROGRAMME





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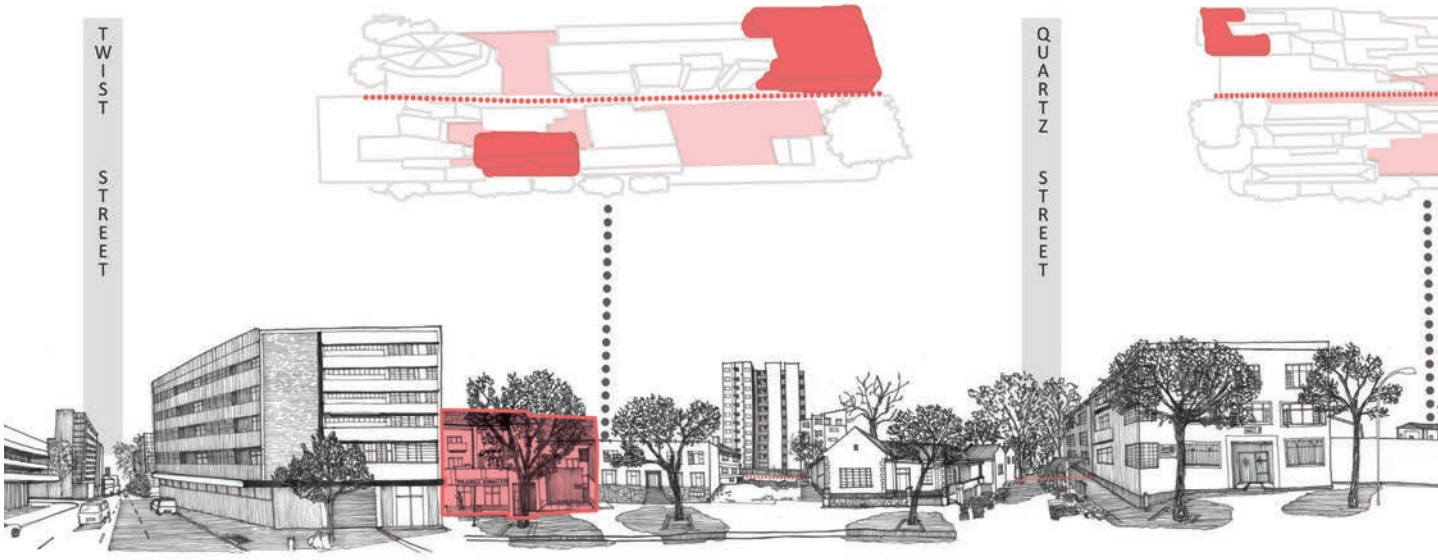
HEALTH			145
BOXING GYM			145
HYGIENE			1217
PUBLIC BATH HOUSE			
	FEMALE BATH HOUSE		720
		ENTRANCE LOBBY	
		COMMUNAL WARM BATH	
		STEAM ROOM	
		PRIVATE WET FACILITIES	
		DISPENSARY COUNTER	
		GARDEN	
		WAX/HAIR SALON	
		CHANGING ROOM	
	MALE BATH HOUSE		466
		CHANGING ROOM	
		PRIVATE WET FACILITIES	
		ENTRANCE LOBBY	
		DISPENSARY COUNTER	
		COMMUNAL WARM BATH	
		STEAM ROOM	
		GARDEN	
	PUBLIC TOILETS		31
ENTERTAINMENT/WORK			1069
OUTDOOR SEX WORK			161
BARS/CLUBS			330
SECURITY			38
INDOOR SEX WORK			540
	CLIENT CIRCULATION		
	24 WORKING ROOMS		
THERAPY/REBIRTH			2262
COUNSELLING			64
RESIDENTIAL PRIVATE COURTYARD			170
RESIDENTIAL COMMUNAL BATH HOUSE			1014
	FEMALE BATH HOUSE		309
		PRIVATE WET FACILITIES	
		CHANGING ROOM	
		CIRCULATION	
		COMMUNAL WARM BATH	
		STEAM ROOM	
	MALE BATH HOUSE		294
		PRIVATE WET FACILITIES	
		CHANGING ROOM	
		CIRCULATION	
		COMMUNAL WARM BATH	
		STEAM ROOM	
	SEX WORKER'S BATH HOUSE		411
		CIRCULATION	
		PRIVATE WET FACILITIES	
		CHANGING ROOM	
LIVE			2408
CHILDRENS NIGHT CARE CENTER			627
	OUTDOOR PLAY AREA		
	TODDLER PLAY AREA		
	SLEEPING AREA		
	STUDY AREA		
	TEENAGERS' PLAY AREA		
	BATHROOMS		
	KITCHEN		
INTERNET CAFÉ/SKILLS DEVELOPMENT			56
RESIDENCE			1725
	20 RESIDENTIAL UNITS		
		MASTER BED	
		BEDROOM FOR 2 CHILDREN	
		DINING AREA	
		KITCHEN	
		BATHROOM	
		LOUNGE	
		PATIO	
		ENTRANCE LOBBY	
	CIRCULATION		
TOTAL			7101

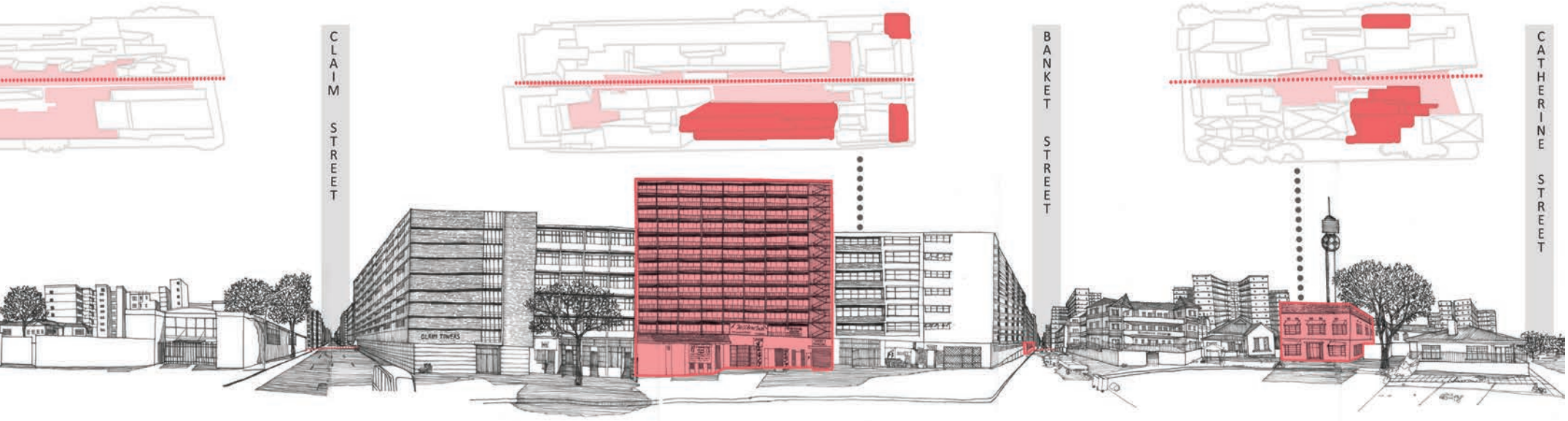
0.2



INSERT A: A PANORAMIC OF A SECTION OF VAN DER MERWE STREET, HILLBROW

Panoramic shows night-life activities being housed between residential and commercial buildings. The red, dotted lines indicate the position of the service alleys that run through the city blocks. Red blocks indicate buildings that house night-life activities. Pink indicates negative space between buildings.

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS


CLAIM STREET
BANKET STREET
CATHERINE STREET

A
UNCOVERING HILLBROW:

An analysis of the physical environment of Hillbrow, Johannesburg.

A brief introduction to Hillbrow

Hillbrow, the notorious Johannesburg neighbourhood commonly known for its high levels of crime, is a densely populated area which widely lies in poverty and decay. Its inhabitants predominantly stem from different parts of South Africa and the African continent. This mixture of cultures and the urban regeneration strategies set in place, makes this area a very unique and exciting site for my design proposal.

While researching this environment, I noticed that Hillbrow had a vibrancy and life of its own. The history is unveiled through peeling building facades, and the manners in which buildings are occupied. Luscious trees are seen lining almost every street, pedestrianized areas make appearances where they are required and the streets are constantly bustling. Perhaps the most fascinating characteristic of Hillbrow, is that of the networks found within, both visible and invisible, legal and illegal. The more I delved into my research, the more I realised that I was merely starting to scratch the surface.

Along with research conducted by Alan Morris and my own mapping of the area I recognized potential sites for my design proposal. Historical service alleys in Hillbrow posed an opportunity for my thesis to incorporate an urban aspect that I will later further elaborate on. *(See insert A at beginning of chapter)*

An analysis of the urban environment

My first attempt at understanding the physical environment of Hillbrow, was to map its urban characteristics. Firstly I overlaid a possible secondary pedestrian route on to the existing pedestrian routes. (*See figure 2.2*). I then explored degrees of visibility on building facades and roofs depending on their heights and orientation. (*See figure 2.3*) .The street scape was analysed through public and private areas by comparing access and use frequency (*See figure 2.4*), and finally I mapped where residential, commercial and commercial-residential activities were taking place. (*See figure 2.5*)



FIGURE 2.1: LIVE MODEL IN A SEX SHOP

Photograph by Allan Morris from his book titled 'Bleakness and Light'

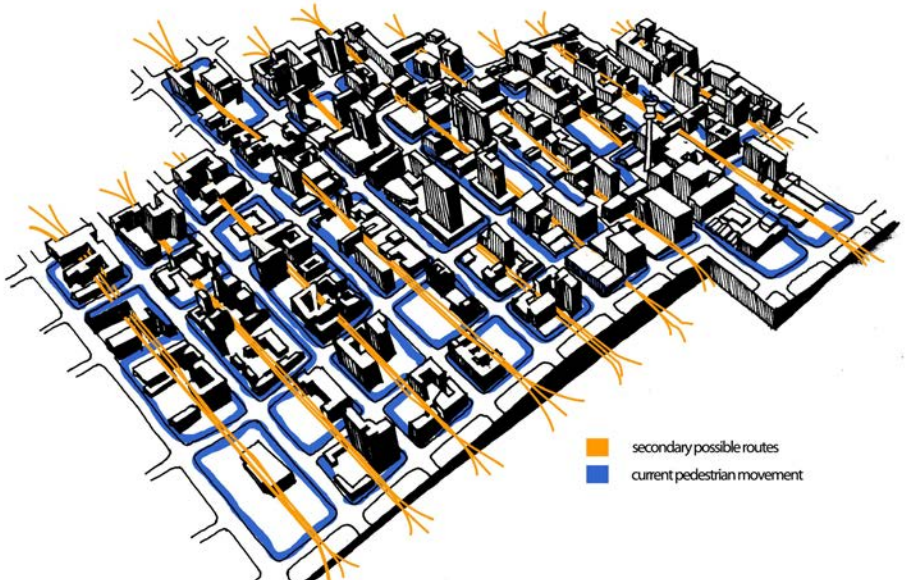


FIGURE 2.2: COMPARING PEDESTRIAN MOVEMENT

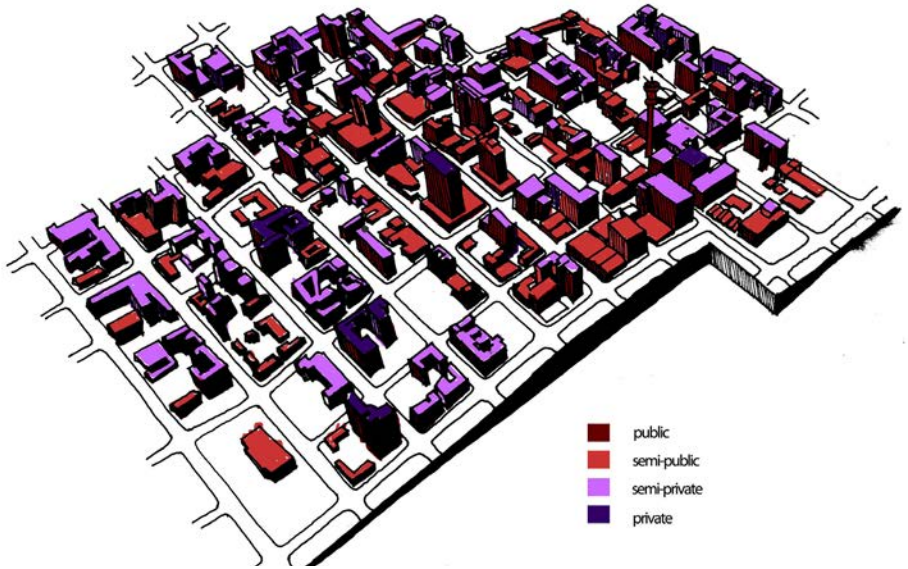


FIGURE 2.3: MEASURING PRIVACY THROUGH DEGREES OF VISIBILITY

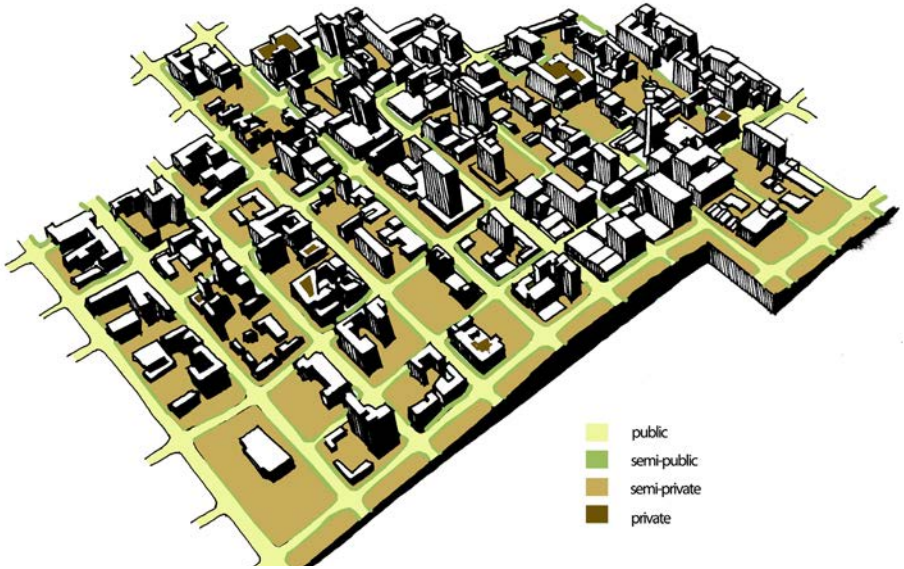


FIGURE 2.4: MEASURING PRIVACY THROUGH DEGREES OF ACCESSIBILITY

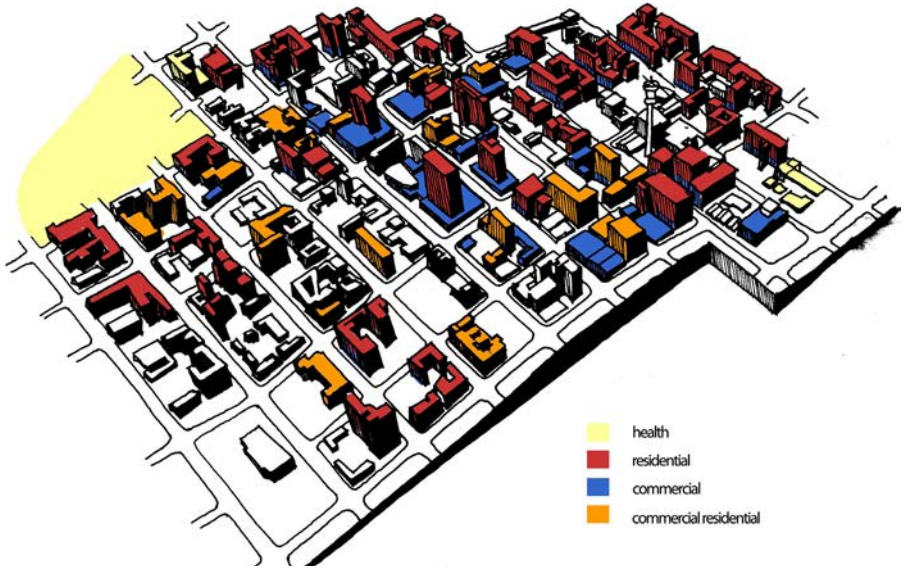


FIGURE 2.5: LAND USE

Discovering Hillbrow's red-light district

From research conducted in chapter 1 I understood the type of environments where sex work would most likely occur. Therefore, by mapping all restaurants, bars, night clubs, strip clubs, hotels and known brothels, I could I recognise the spaces the sex industry occupies. A concentration of these activities happened within 10 city blocks stretching from Goldreich street to Esselen street, allowing me to identify the red-light district of Hillbrow. *(See figure 2.6 and 2.8)*

Interestingly, these city blocks sit on the outskirts of the most commercial part of Hillbrow, Pretoria street, where transfer is very high and very frequent. The district's close proximity to main commercial activity in the area makes reason for socio-economic advantages, However, its precise location on the outskirts, allows for the sex industry to be more acceptable by the public as it is not too explicit.

Major transport routes run through the district, with Claim street being a major connection between Hillbrow and the inner city. The red-light district is surrounded by bus stops and taxi ranks, allowing for it to be very accessible by night-life entertainment seekers. *(See figure 2.7)*

Service alleys within the red-light district are currently dangerous or blocked off. The urban aspect of my thesis will make use of these alleys, by creating a secondary night-life network for pedestrians which will enable parties participating in the night-life scene to move between destinations within the district along these alley routes. *(See figure 2.8)*

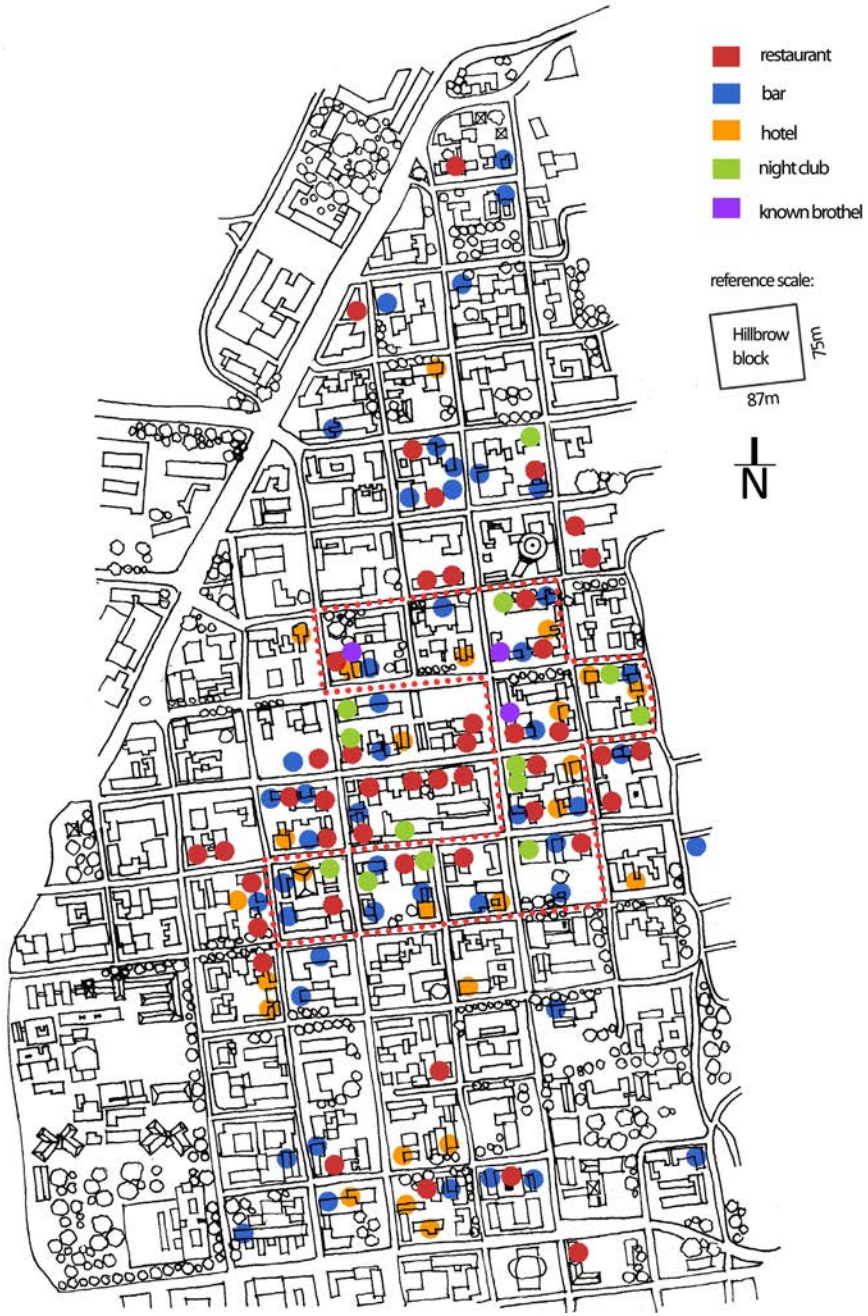


FIGURE 2.6: RELEVANT LAND USES

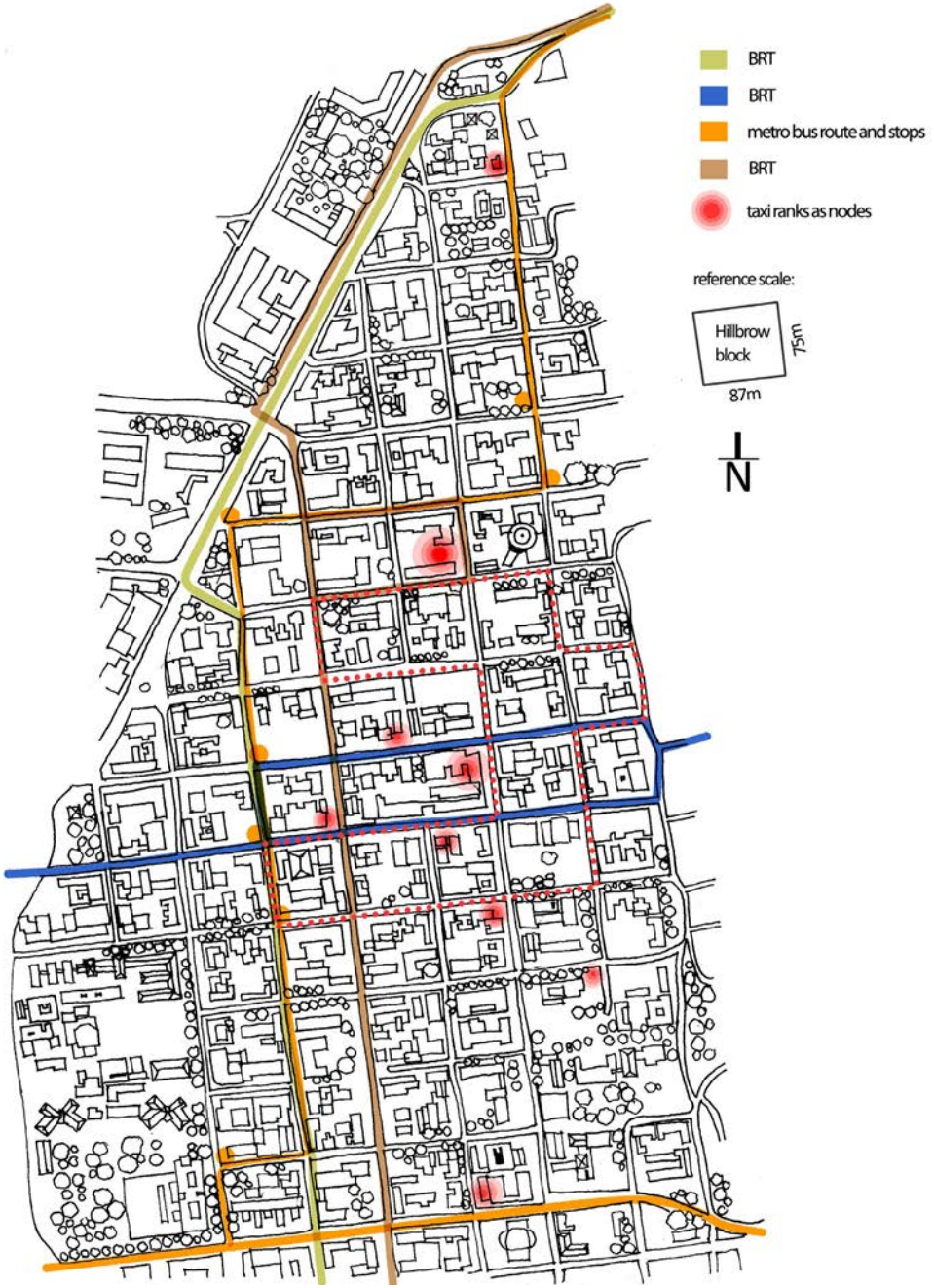


FIGURE 2.7: TRANSPORTATION ROUTES AND NODES

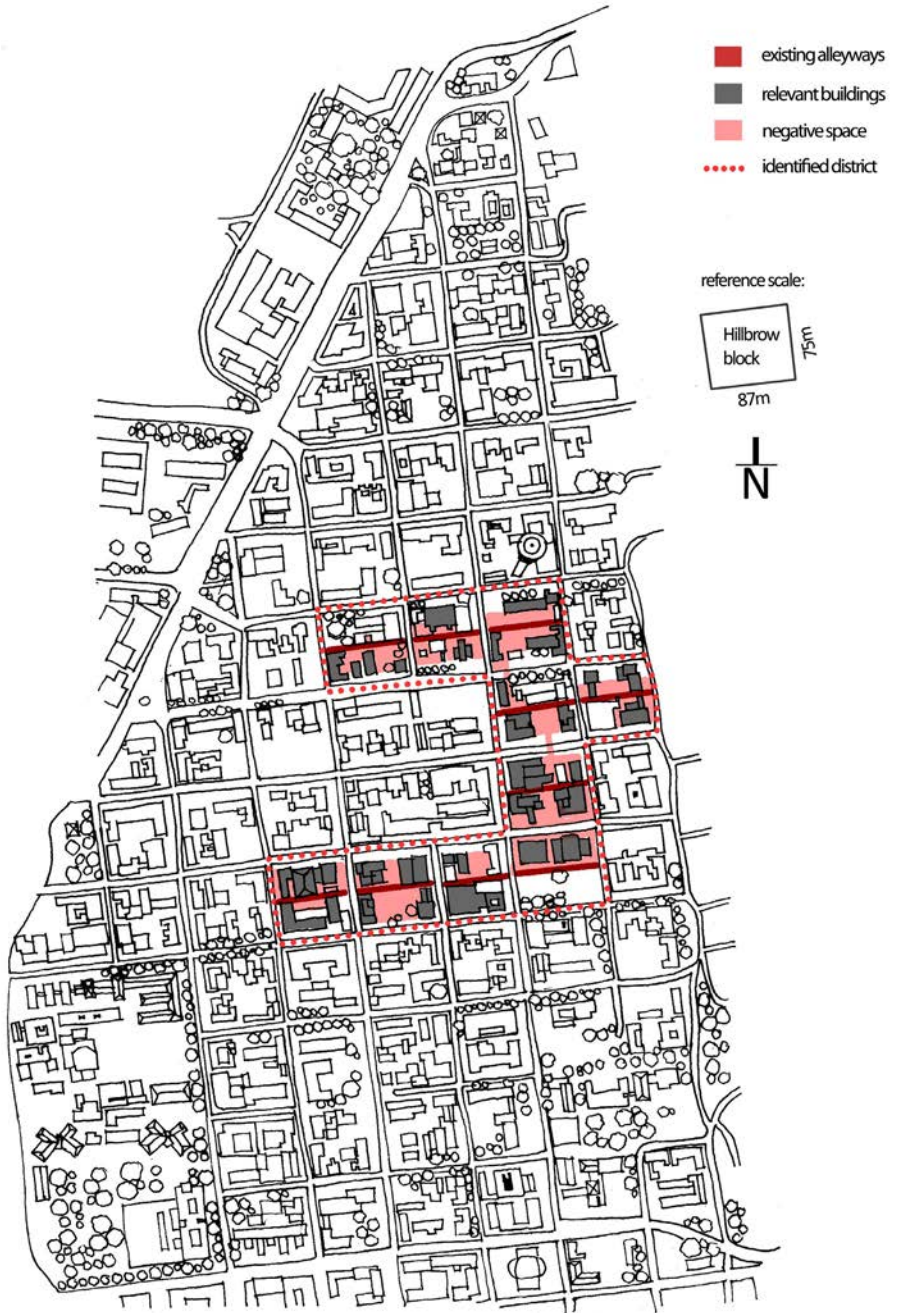
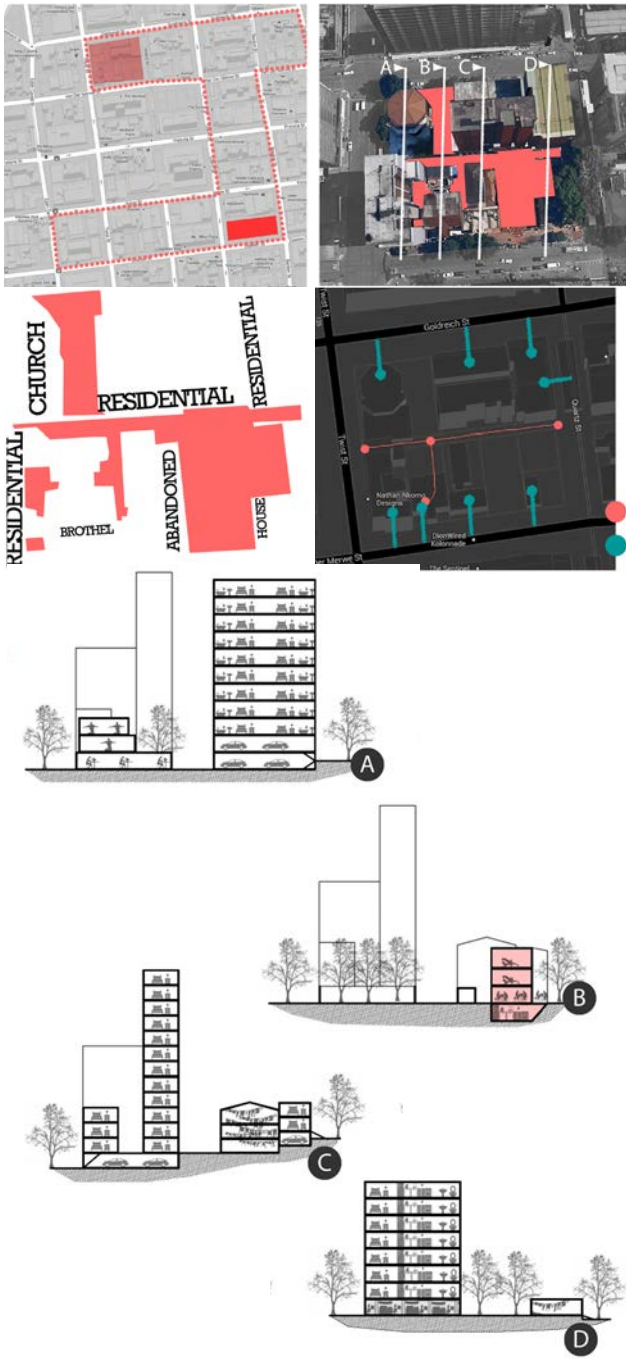


FIGURE 2.8: THE SECONDARY NIGHT-LIFE NETWORK

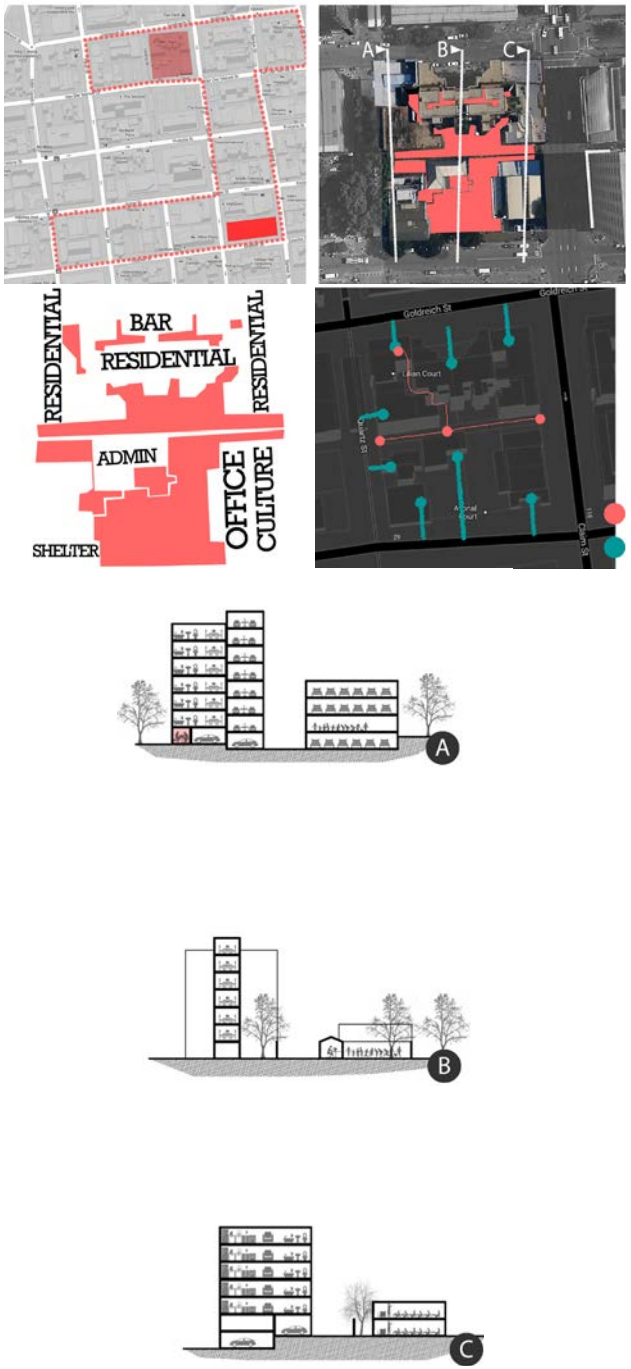
Discovering Hillbrow's red-light district

Sections through these city blocks identified as part of the red-light district, allowed me to inspect how the negative spaces, namely the alleyways and courtyards in-between the building were used. This exercise also revealed how buildings housed a variety of densely populated programmes, ranging from doctors' offices, public gyms, and internet café's, pre- and primary schools, night clubs, bars and brothels. By using the in-between space, connections can be made to the relevant night-life entertainment programmes. *(See inserts B-K)*

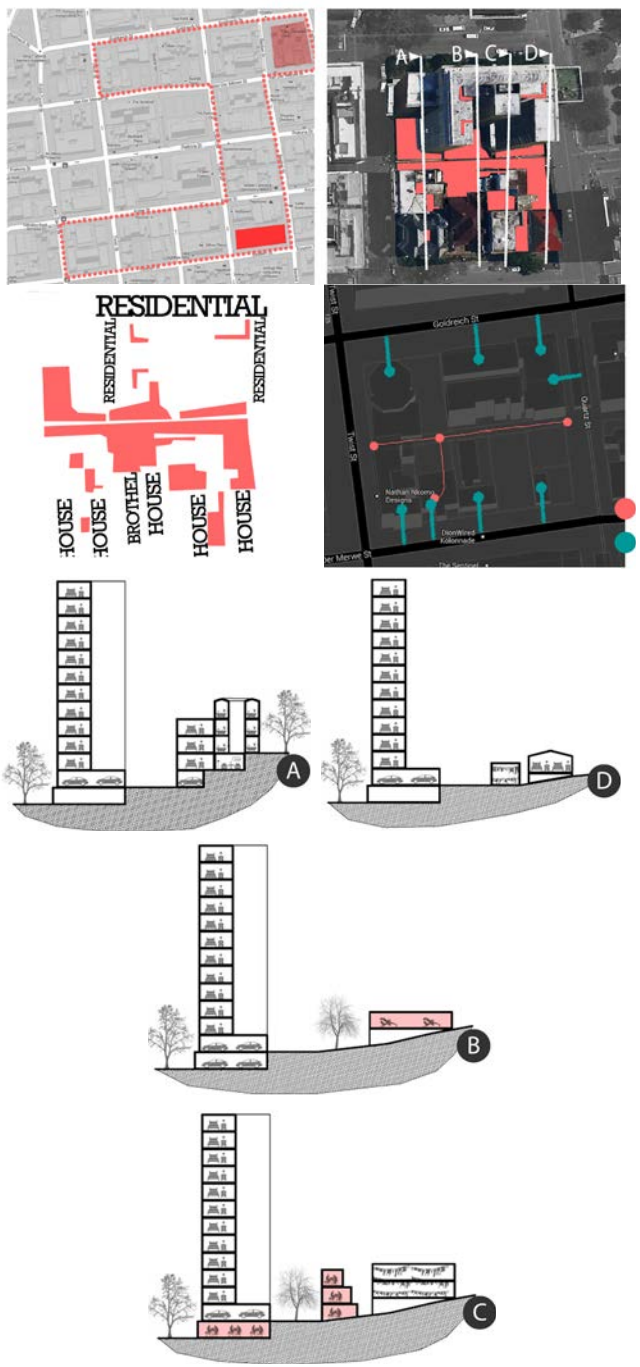
Furthermore, I could now identify a site for my design proposal (Indicated as a red rectangle). By observing where there was space for intervention within already established networks, I located a suitable site for my building where its position would allow for it to be a major node within the proposed alley network without disrupting other established networks. *(See insert H)*



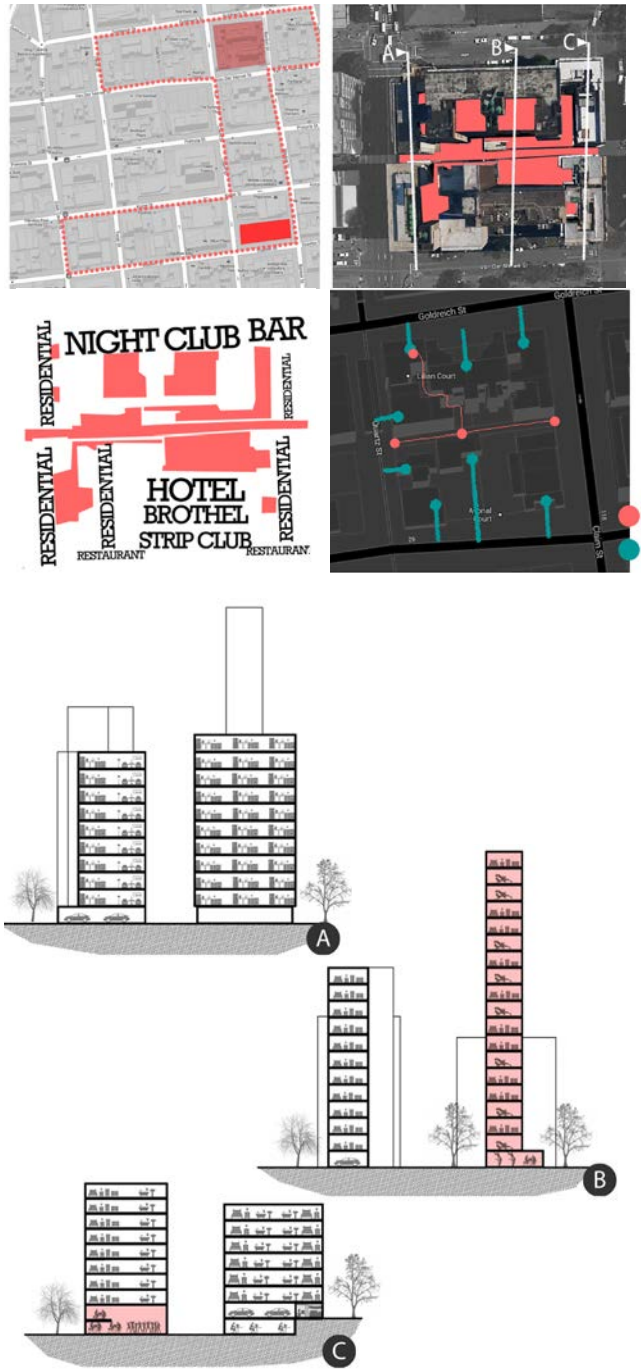
INSERT B: SECTIONS THROUGH BLOCK 1 OF THE HILLBROW RED LIGHT DISTRICT



INSERT C: SECTIONS THROUGH BLOCK 2 OF THE HILLBROW RED LIGHT DISTRICT

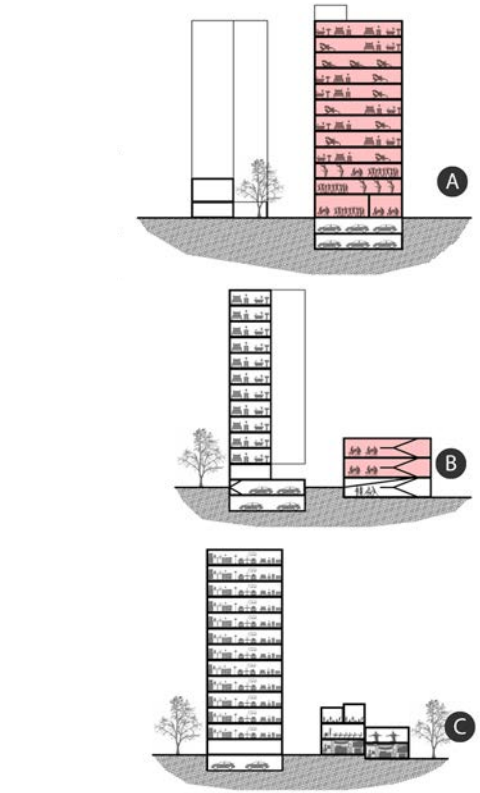


INSERT D: SECTIONS THROUGH BLOCK 3 OF THE HILLBROW RED LIGHT DISTRICT

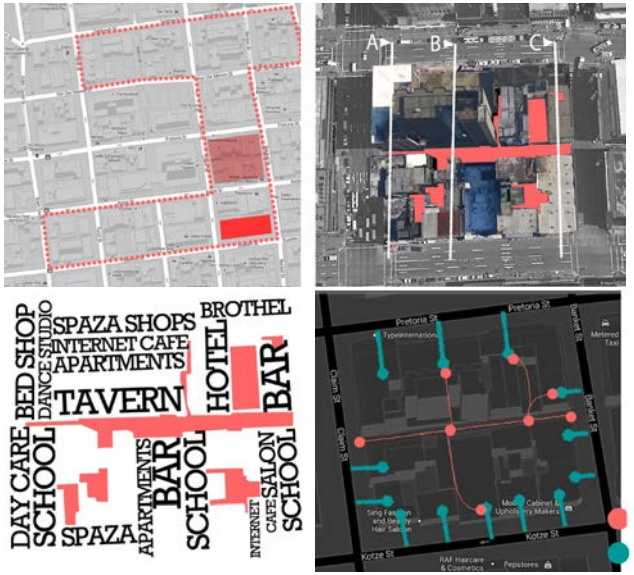


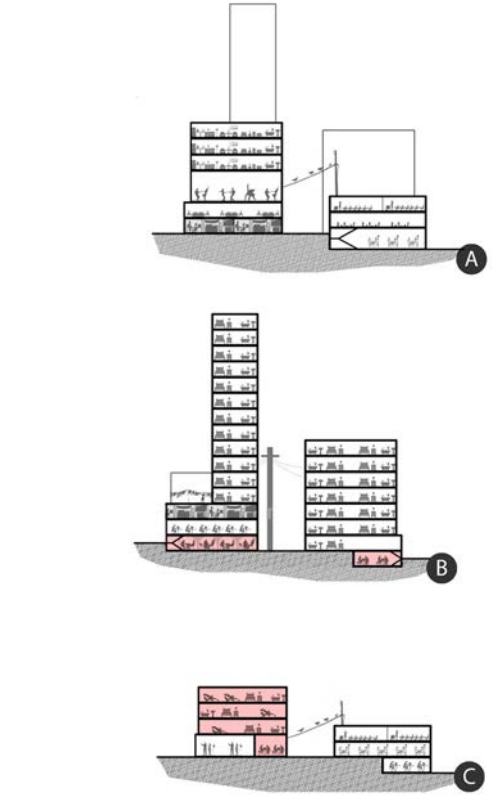
INSERT E: SECTIONS THROUGH BLOCK 4 OF THE HILLBROW RED LIGHT DISTRICT





INSERT F: SECTIONS THROUGH BLOCK 5 OF THE HILLBROW RED LIGHT DISTRICT





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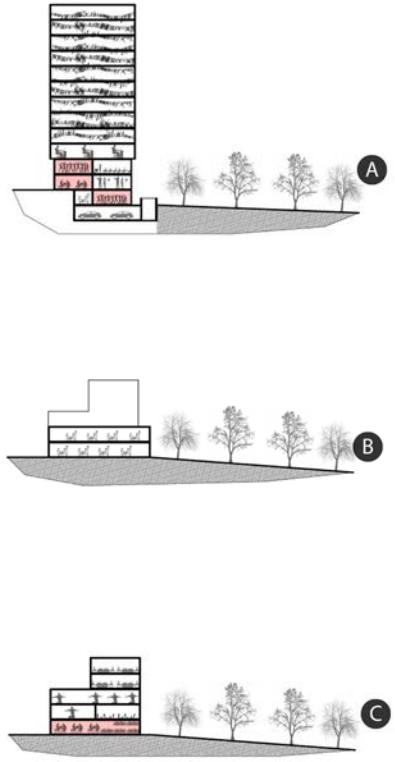
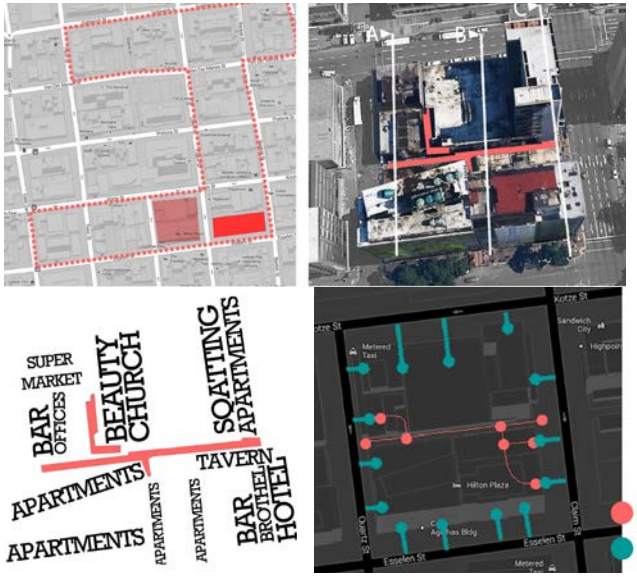
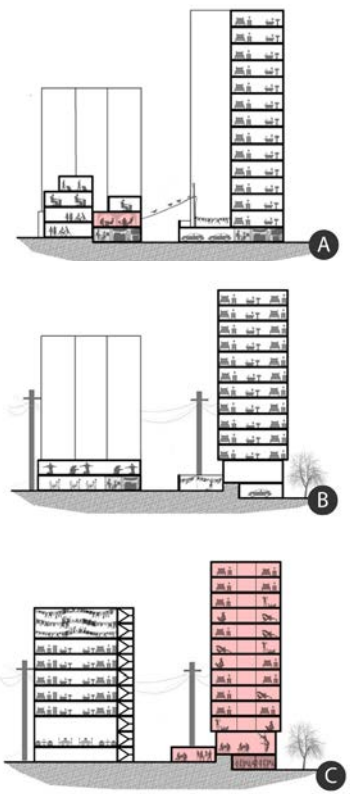
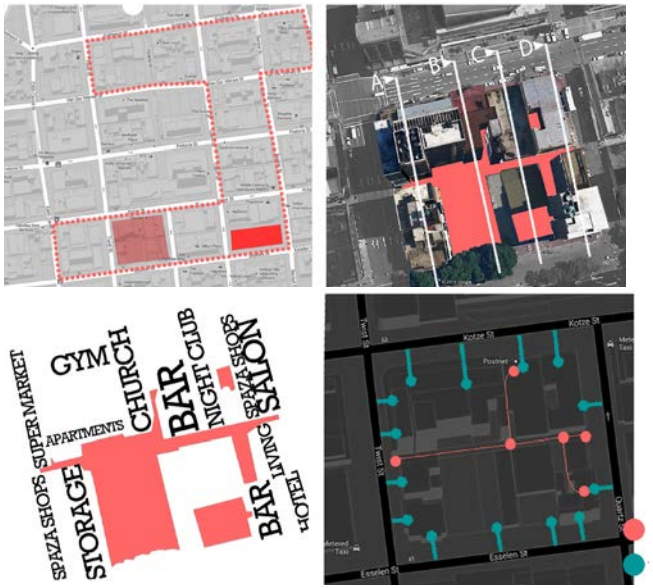


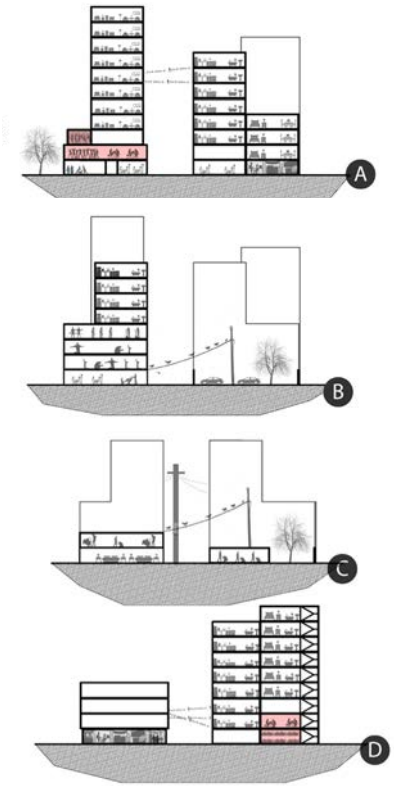
INSERT H: SECTIONS THROUGH BLOCK 7 OF THE HILLBROW RED LIGHT DISTRICT



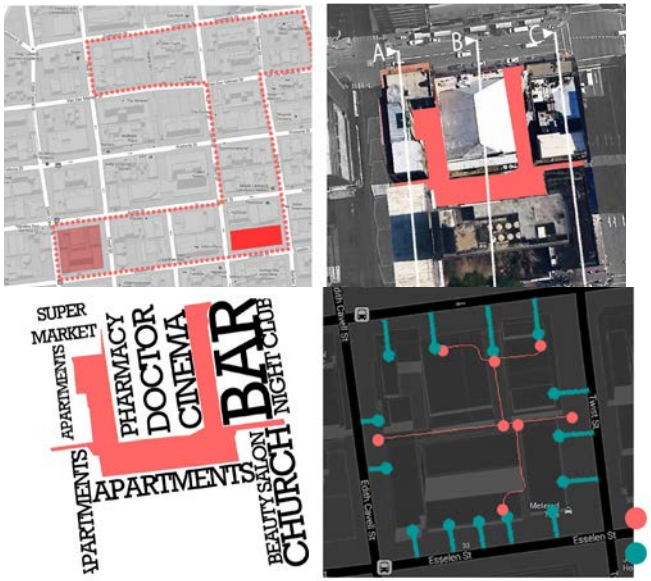


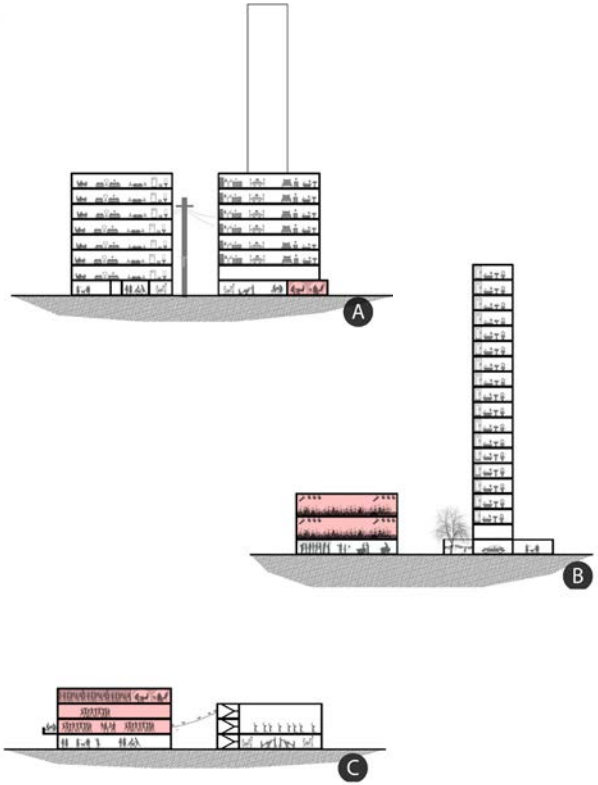
INSERT I: SECTIONS THROUGH BLOCK 8 OF THE HILLBROW RED LIGHT DISTRICT





INSERT J: SECTIONS THROUGH BLOCK 9 OF THE HILLBROW RED LIGHT DISTRICT





INSERT K: SECTIONS THROUGH BLOCK 10 OF THE HILLBROW RED LIGHT DISTRICT

Creating the Alley Network

A pedestrian route which provides access and connections to all night life activities within the red light district is created by using service alleys for movement in a horizontal direction and existing arcades running through buildings in a vertical direction. By combining these systems which are currently seperate, a successful, well connected network can be created.

This network can be accessed at multiple points and routes range from public, to more private, allowing for relevant activities to happen along the way. Where movement routes intersect, nodes can be experimented with by introducing program specific insertions. These insertions could be public or private, visible or hidden. My design proposal will be the major insertion in this alley network and will function as a major access point and destination along this secondary night-life route. *(See figure 2.9)*



FIGURE 2.9: THE SECONDARY NIGHT-LIFE NETWORK PROPOSAL

Existing access points into buildings are indicated in blue. The proposed network is indicated in red and functions off existing service alleys and arcades running through buildings. Nodes appear where movement routes intersect, with my design proposal, located on the corner of Claim street, Esselen street and Banket street being a major node within this pedestrian network.



FIGURE 2.10: PANORAMIC OF CHOSEN SITE

The chosen site

The site is situated on the corners of Esselen street, Claim street and Banket street. It takes up half a city block with an alley bordering it at the North. It is currently used as a loading lot, where individuals load goods bought from the CBD and transport them to Zimbabwe and Mozambique. On the perimeter of the site, one will find women's hair dressers, where men's hair dressing happens within the alley.

The site has potential of becoming even more active as it is surrounded by a range of different activities housed in neighbouring buildings. It is well connected to the rest of Johannesburg with a main transport route, i.e. Claim street running along the Eastern edge. *(See figures 2.10-2.12)*



FIGURE 2.11: CONTEXT MODEL OF CHOSEN SITE AND SURROUNDING BUILDINGS

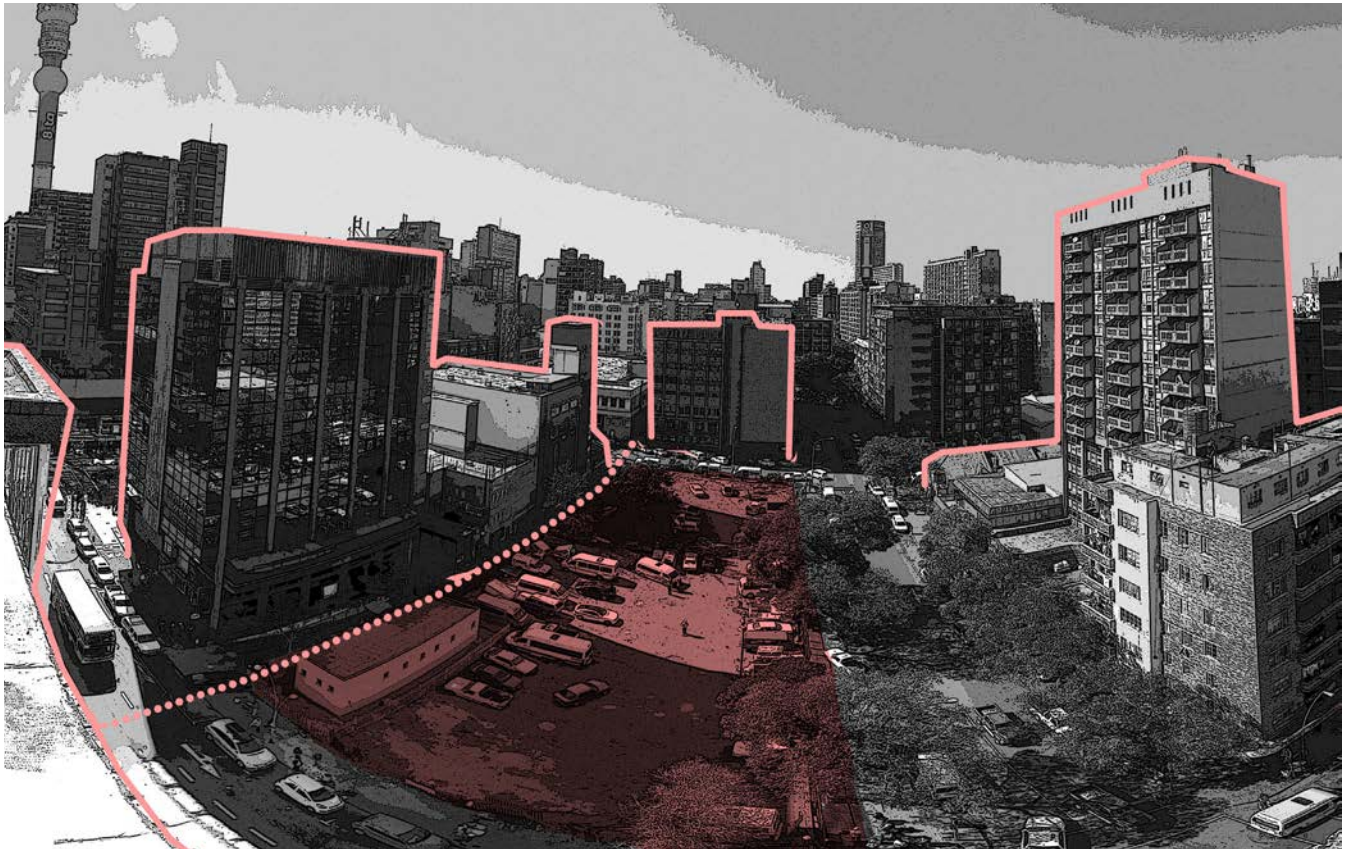


FIGURE 2.12: AERIAL OF CHOSEN SITE

Photograph taken from west end looking east

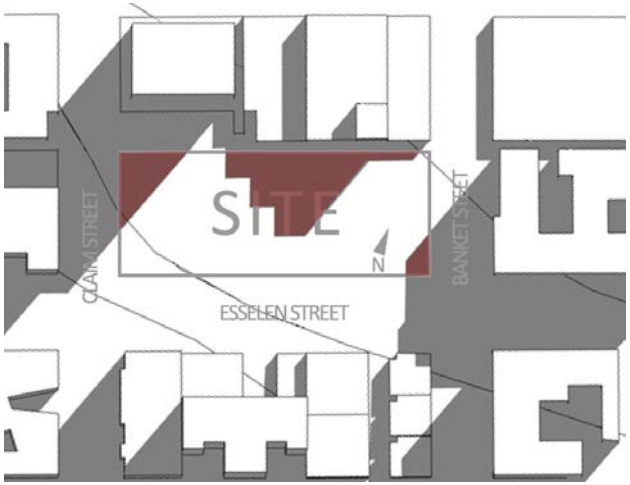


FIGURE 2.13: SHADOW STUDY- SUMMER 9A.M.



FIGURE 2.14: SHADOW STUDY- SUMMER 12 P.M.

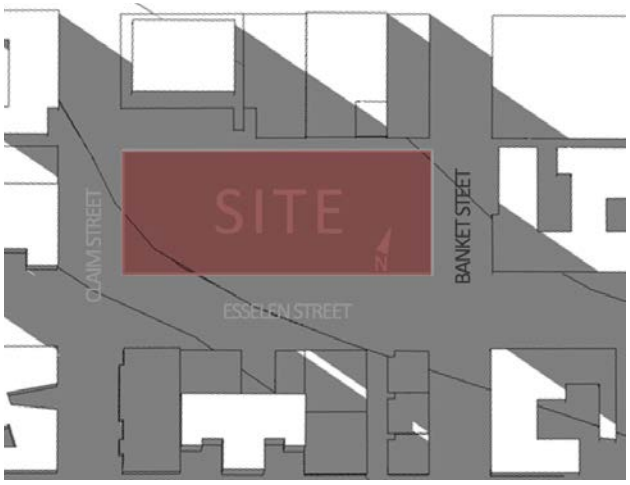


FIGURE 2.15: SHADOW STUDY- SUMMER 5 P.M.

A shadow study of the chosen site

The study depicted in figures 2.13 - 2.24 demonstrate the shadows cast from surrounding buildings onto the site during the morning, mid-day and late afternoon at 4 different times of year. For most of the day, the site receives much sunlight, but during the late afternoon, it is predominantly cast in shadow.

Natural- and artificial light are major informants for my design. These features will allow me to manipulate certain spaces, enhance a user's experience of the space and allow for the space to acquire characteristics that alter from day to night. This occurrence will be discussed in further detail later on.

FIGURE 2.16: SHADOW STUDY- AUTUMN 9 A.M.

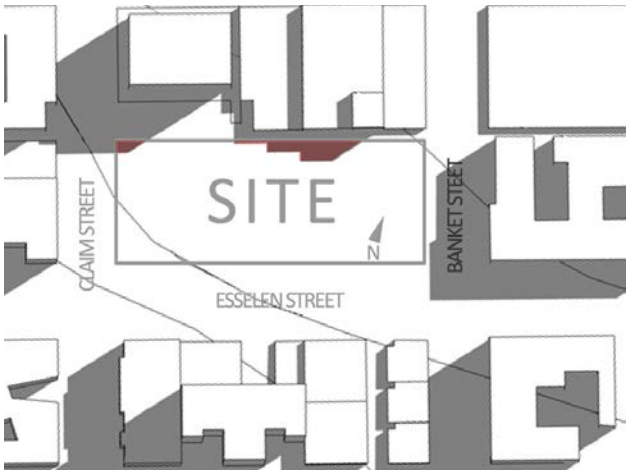


FIGURE 2.17: SHADOW STUDY- AUTUMN 12 P.M.



FIGURE 2.18: SHADOW STUDY- AUTUMN 5 P.M.





FIGURE 2.19: SHADOW STUDY- WINTER 9A.M.

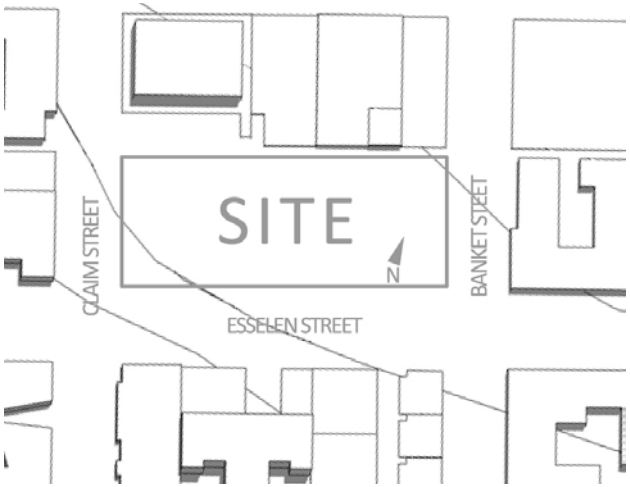


FIGURE 2.20: SHADOW STUDY- WINTER 12 P.M.



FIGURE 2.21: SHADOW STUDY- WINTER 5 P.M.

FIGURE 2.22: SHADOW STUDY- SPRING 9 A.M.

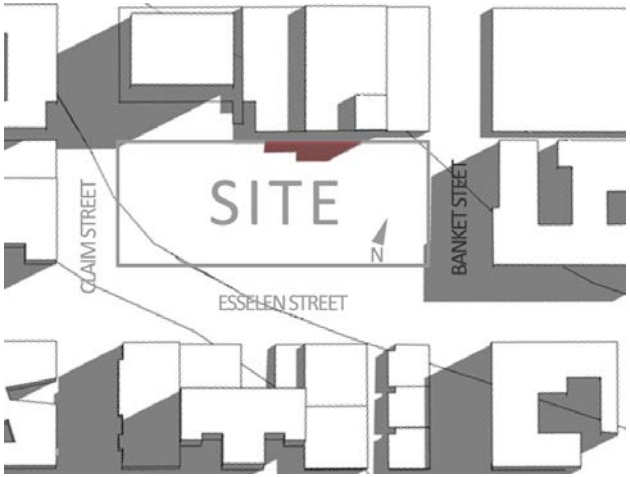


FIGURE 2.23: SHADOW STUDY- SPRING 12 P.M.



FIGURE 2.24: SHADOW STUDY- SPRING 5 P.M.



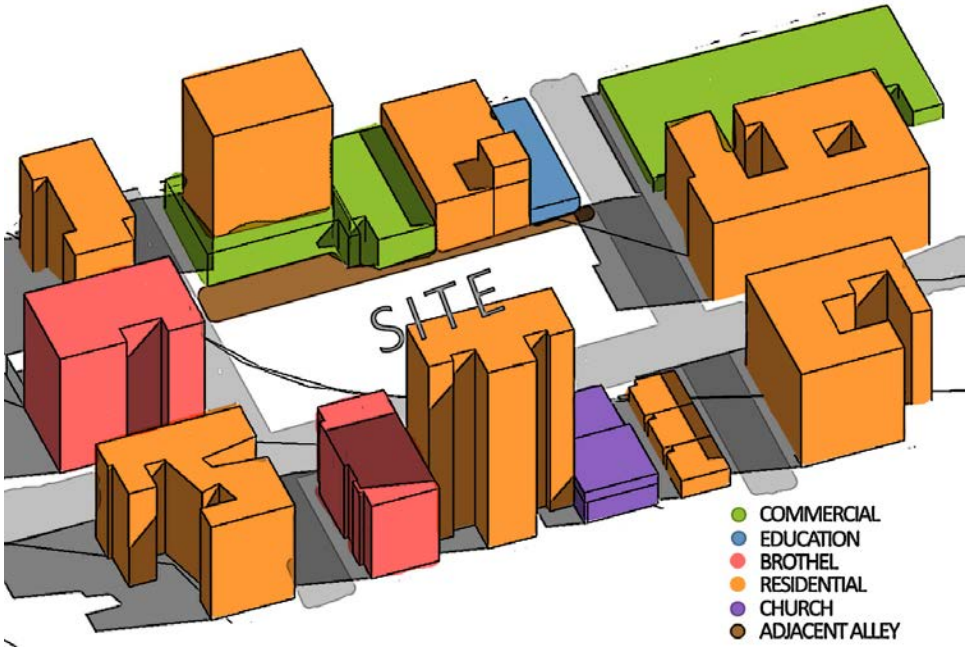


FIGURE 2.25: PROGRAMME DIAGRAM OF CONTEXT SURROUNDING SITE

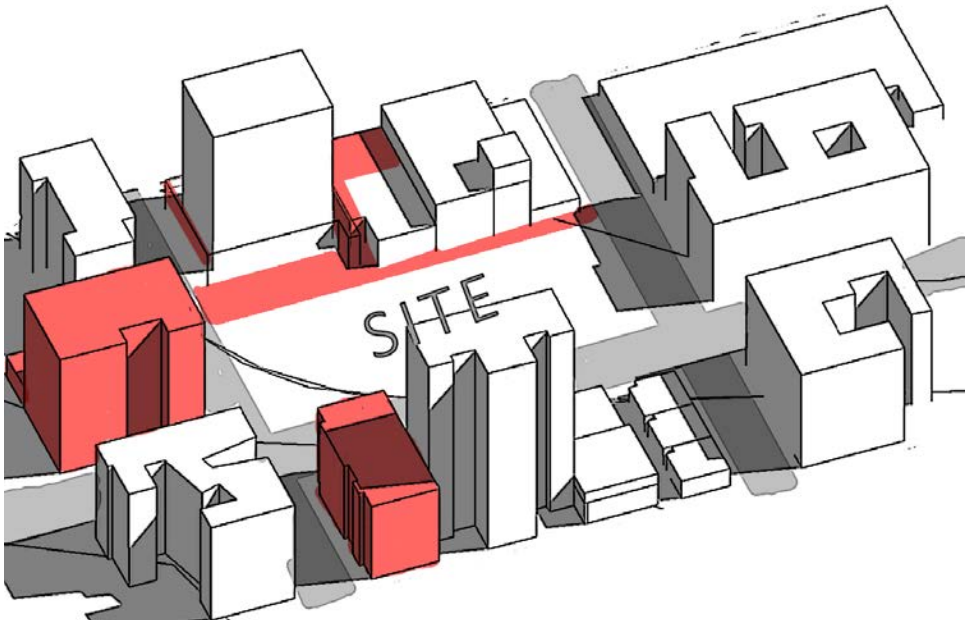


FIGURE 2.26: EXISTING PROGRAMMES, FUNCTIONS AND ACTIVITIES TO USE AS INFORMANTS

Design indicators

With multi-storey residential buildings, educational and religious facilities and commercial activities surrounding the site, this space calls for a 'breathing' space to cater for the range and volume of different individuals that would potentially use this site. *(See figure 2.25)*. User groups would include children, night-life entertainment seekers, sex workers, residence and the general public. In order for my building to successfully become a major node within the proposed alley network, I would need to incorporate spaces that could be utilized by these different user groups.

Existing programmes on and around the site could be used as links to my proposed design. *(See figure 2.26)*. Access to the Northern alleyway is crucial as it can connect to the night clubs and bars housed in the buildings north of my site and when linking to the existing arcade, it will become an entry point to the alley network. My design would need to provide access from existing brothels on the South Western edge and also attach to the alley west of my site. *(See figure 83)*

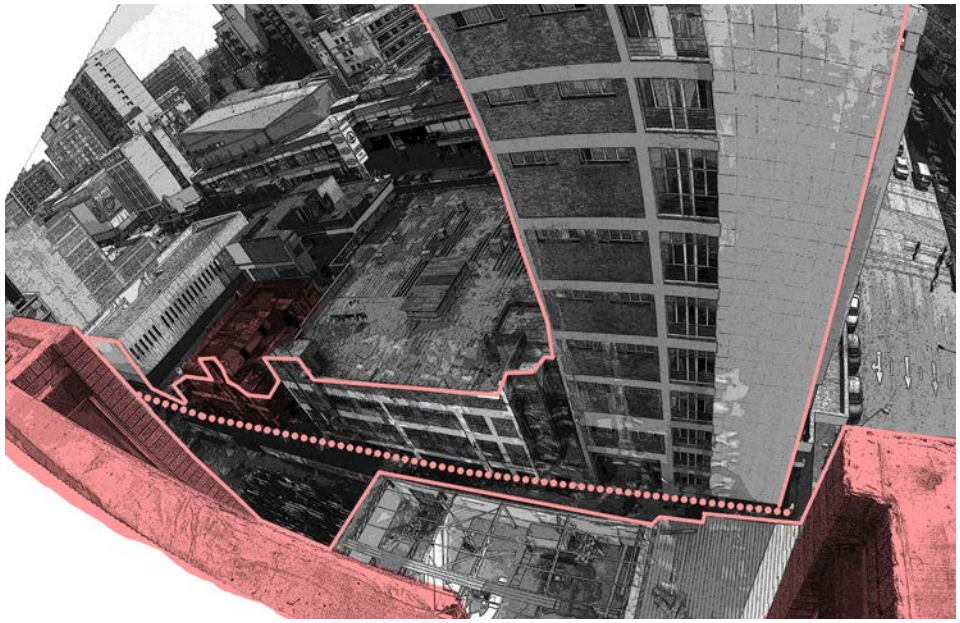


FIGURE 2.27: AERIAL VIEW OF SERVICE ALLEY TO WESTOF THE CHOSEN SITE.

This alley will link to the service alley on my site and will connect the Moulin Rouge Hotel to the proposed night-life network

0.3

DESIGN DEVELOPMENT

A
DESIGN CONCEPT:

Allowing for a comfortable space for sex work.

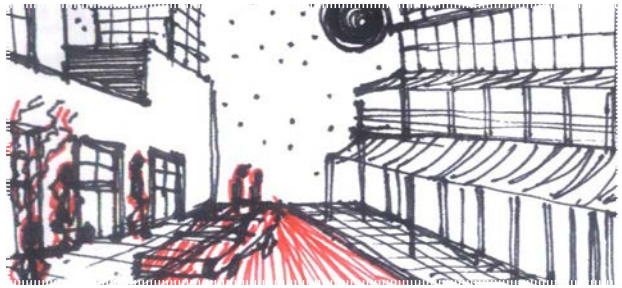


FIGURE 3.1: SEX WORK EXPOSED

Initiating the design process

Very often, sex work is quite visible and exposed. For an act that is considered very private, it appears to be quite public when practised on the street. *(See figure 3.1).*

My aim is to create an environment which is safer and more comfortable for sex workers and their clients, still being very accessible by the parties involved, but at the same time, making it invisible to the public eye.

By taking sex work in its current exposed state *(see figure 3.2)*, and internalizing the idea of 'the street'*(see figure 3.3)*, it allows for the act to be less explicit, already offering a layer of protection against judgement from the public. This is achieved by allowing the existing service alley, to become the 'street' for sex work. By having buildings that house nightlife activities operating inwards towards the alley, a selected user group enters the alley. *(See figure 3.4)*. The alley becomes a threshold, allowing the act of sex work to become more private, yet still easily accessible.

Outer parts of the buildings operate outwards towards street edges. These parts are exposed and accessible to the general public. *(See figure 3.5)*.

Plugging in secondary programmes along these outer exposed edges, create layers or 'screens' which disguise what happens internally. These secondary programmes benefit the general public, while at the same time create a more comfortable space for parties participating in the sex industry.

This interesting phenomenon creates a setting for a range of dualities to take place. With 'back house spaces' and 'front house spaces', some parts of the building are public, and others extremely private, some seen, some hidden, some for the general public, some for specific user groups, and most importantly, it becomes a space where sex workers can not only work, but also live. *(See figure 3.6)*.

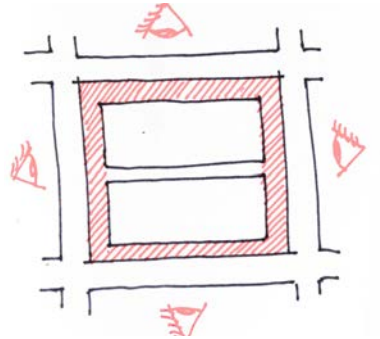


FIGURE 3.2: EXPOSED STATE OF SEX WORK

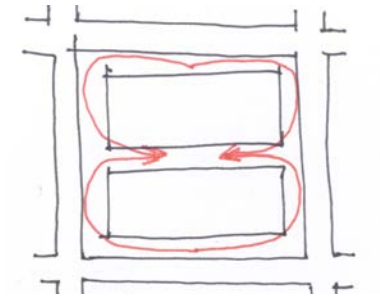


FIGURE 3.3: INTERNALIZING THE STREET OF SEX WORK

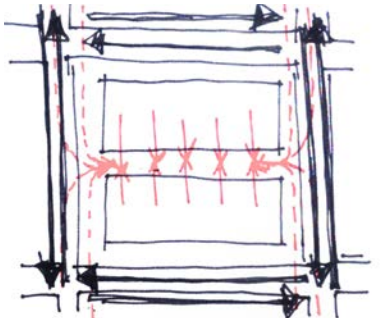


FIGURE 3.4: SELECTED USER GROUPS ARE EXPOSED TO SEX WORK

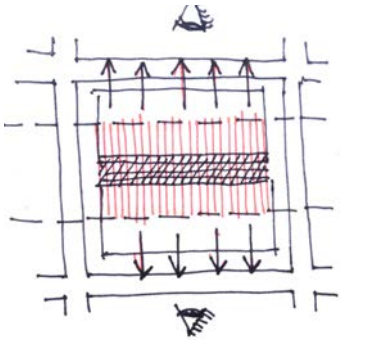


FIGURE 3.5: OUTER PROGRAMMES DISGUISE SEX WORK

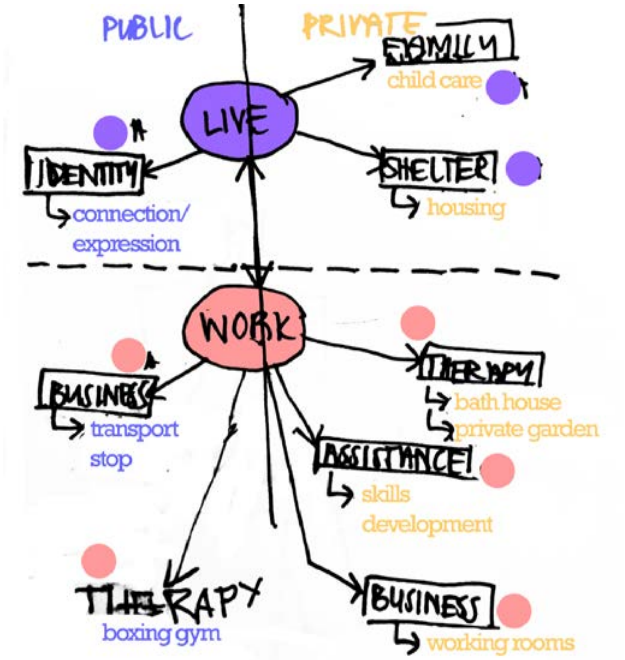


FIGURE 3.6: ORDERING OF BUILDING PROGRAMMES

Applying a concept to a site

Conventionally, when designing a mixed-use building, more public functions, in this case the 'working part' of the building would be placed along more public edges, i.e. the street. This will also become the front part of the building. Private functions, i.e. the living quarters, would be arranged at the back of the building. *(See figure 3.7).*

Due to the nature of sex work, it is important to detach living quarters from working quarters. While a space in between separates the two activities, this space also offers a connection between them, by becoming a threshold where 'change-over' is experienced. When passing through this 'change-over' space, a sex worker should experience a separation between his/her working- and living life. *(See figure 3.8).*

Because the 'front' of a building housing 'working areas' for sex workers, is very visible and accessible due to its orientation to street edges, it should be situated at the 'back' of the site, allowing the private living quarters to disguise it. *(See figure 3.9).*

The working areas now operate towards the alley, which becomes the public access point to this part of the building, where living quarters and secondary programmes are visible to the public eye and operate towards street edges. *(See figure 3.10).*

The building is now inverted. The 'front' of the building now faces a semi-private alley and the 'back faces the public street. In essence, the 'back house' becomes the 'front house', the 'public' becomes the 'private' and vice versa.

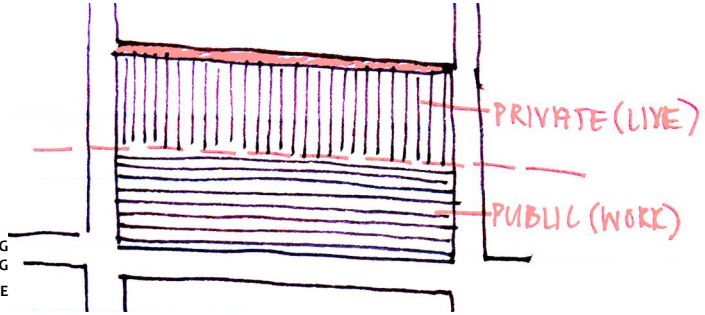


FIGURE 3.7: CONVENTIONAL BUILDING DESIGN- PUBLIC FUNCTIONS ALONG FRONT STREET EDGE

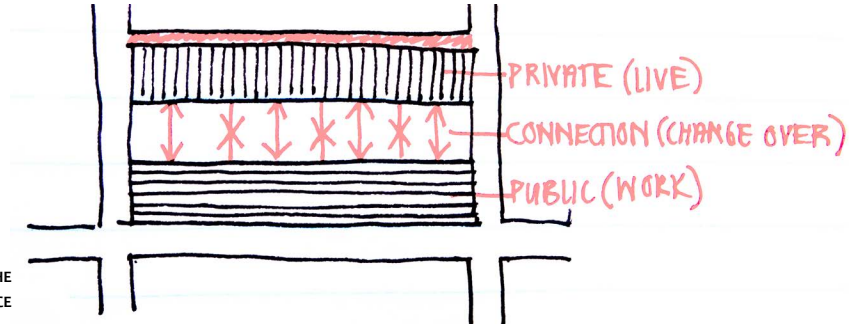


FIGURE 3.8: INSERTION OF THE 'CHANGE-OVER' SPACE

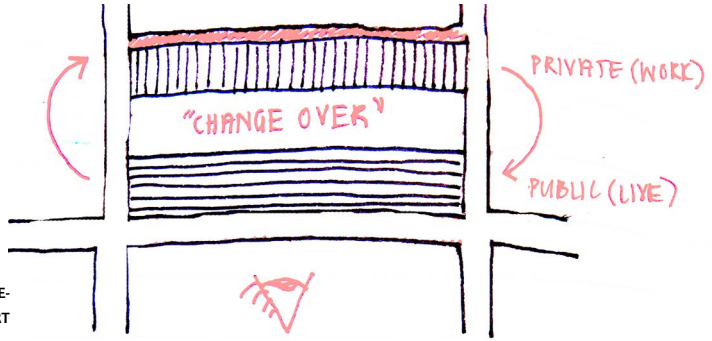


FIGURE 3.9: NATURE OF SEX WORK REQUIRES BUILDING LAYOUT TO INVERT

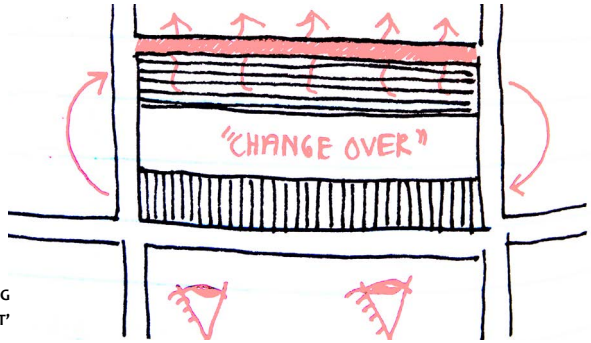


FIGURE3.10: 'BACK' OF BUILDING BECOMING THE 'FRONT'

B
THE THEME OF VISIBILITY:

Measuring degrees of privacy through the theme of visibility.

While developing the concept for my design proposal, it became evident that visibility was going to be a leading theme in my design. Spaces where sex work will take place would need to be hidden from the public, but exposed to potential clients and sex workers. This space in itself will consist of a series of thresholds, degrees of privacy and degrees of visibility.

The space surrounding the area of sex work would need to provide a protective layer by acting as a screen between the general public and the sex industry.

The theme of visibility initiated my design process. Through a series of architectural explorations, I concluded that through 'spatial arrangements', 'materiality' and 'light' I could tackle this theme successfully.

Testing visibility through spatial arrangements

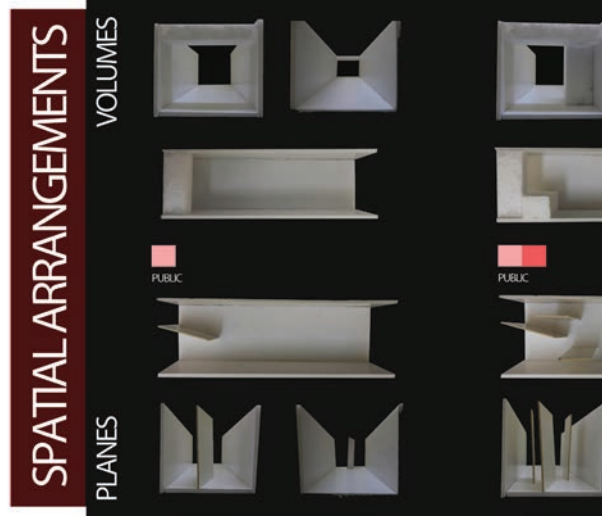
In this exploration I used planes and volumes to test degrees of visibility. By applying certain spatial arrangements to a decontextualized space, I experimented with degrees of public space in terms of how visible these particular spaces are. Every insertion made, was photographed to document the change in space and visibility. This exploration can be applied to the way in which I order my programmes, where some would need to be linked or separated as well as how programmes can screen or 'hide' one another. *(See insert L)*

Applying materiality to spatial arrangements

Applying different materials to facades that house specific public- or private programmes, achieves degrees in visibility. For this exploration, materials ranging from transparent, translucent, permeable, semi-permeable and solid were used. This allows for programmes to be revealed to certain extents allowing for spaces to come alive through human activities. This principle would allow users to participate in certain activities by merely being viewers from the outside. *(See insert M)*

A light and shadow study

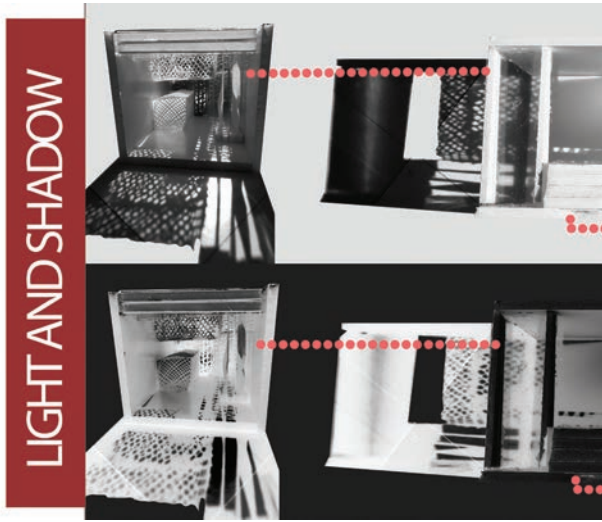
My building is very much a day- and night building. Characteristics of the building will change drastically from day to night, therefor a light and shadow study was crucial. Through the use of light and shadows, a user's perception of space can be distorted, allowing for magnificent experiences of space to occur. During this exploration, it became evident that light and shadows allowed for spaces to absorb certain characteristics which could enhance user experience. *(See insert N)*



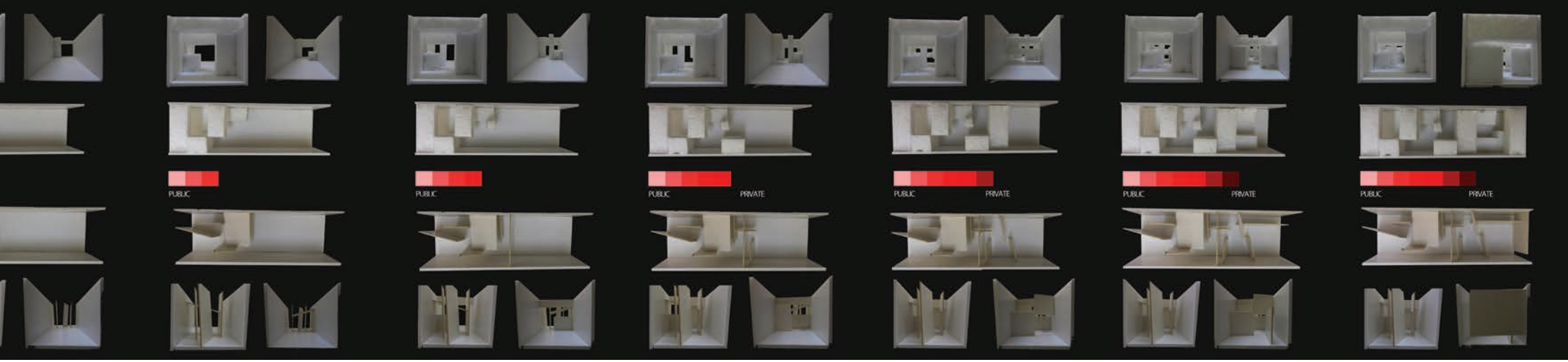
INSERT L: SPATIAL ARRANGEMENTS



INSERT M: MATERIALITY STUDY



INSERT N: LIGHT AND SHADOW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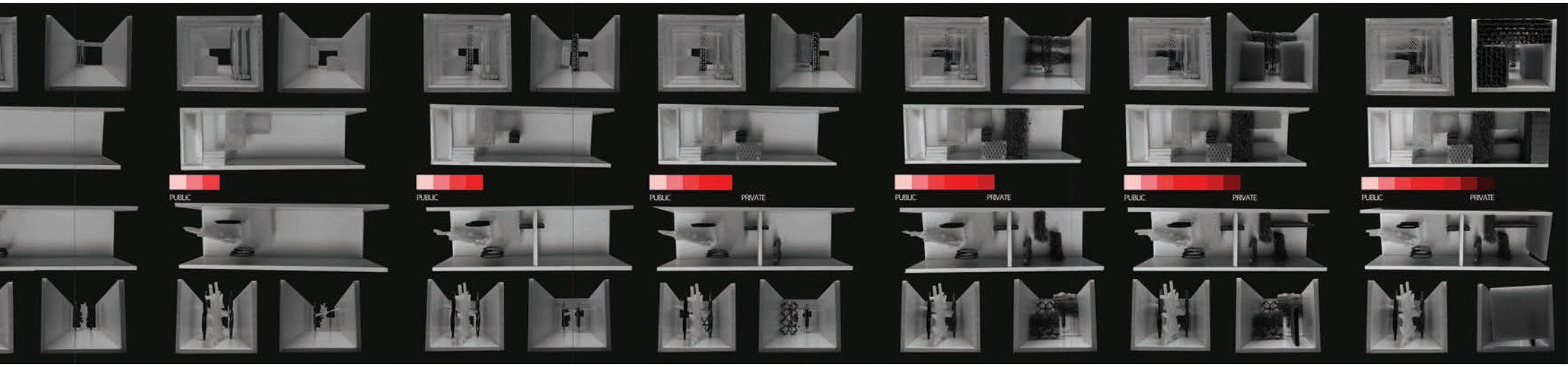
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C
THE FIRST DESIGN ATTEMPT:

Translating a concept into architecture.

This point in the overall design process, focussed specifically on circulation of different user groups, creating the 'change-over' space between living and working quarters, activating the northern alley way, and bringing light to the most southern point of the building housing the living quarters.

I planned the building to sit longitudinal across the site with a public boxing gym, children's night-care centre, internet café/skills development centre, residential units and access to the residential block sitting along the public edge of the site.*(See figure 3.11).*

The bath-house and private green space became the 'change-over' space and is situated in-between living- and working quarters. On ground floor, the bath-house is accessible to the public and also provides discreet access to potential clients. Above, the bath-house is a communal facility shared by residences of the building. *(See figures 3.11 - 3.18).*

Working rooms face onto the alley. They are designed to solely reveal activities happening within them when a user passes through the alley way. Views into these rooms are blocked from neighbouring buildings and street edges. *(See figures 3.13 - 3.18).*

Sex workers residing in the building, would access their working rooms by passing through the bath-house and green space. This 'change-over' space offers discreet entrances to a corridor which connects all the working rooms. This circulation corridor is shared by sex workers and clients. *(See figure 113).*

On ground floor, the design allows for the alleyway to function as a wider, more open space, with activities such as bars, markets and sex shops to spill into it. *(See figure 3.12).*

A detailed physical massing model allowed me to identify major problems lying within the design. Due to its longitudinal arrangement, the building became far too symmetrical and repetitive. One access point to the residential block was not sufficient enough, and to prevent sexual activities spilling into the public bath-house, men and women needed to be completely separated and have separate access points.

Due to the nature of the sex industry, 60 working rooms would prove to be unmanageable and create a chaotic environment instead of a safe one. Dignity of sex workers and their clients would need to be addressed by arranging working rooms differently and having separate circulation systems for the two user groups.



FIGURE 3.11 : SITE PLAN OF FIRST DESIGN ATTEMPT

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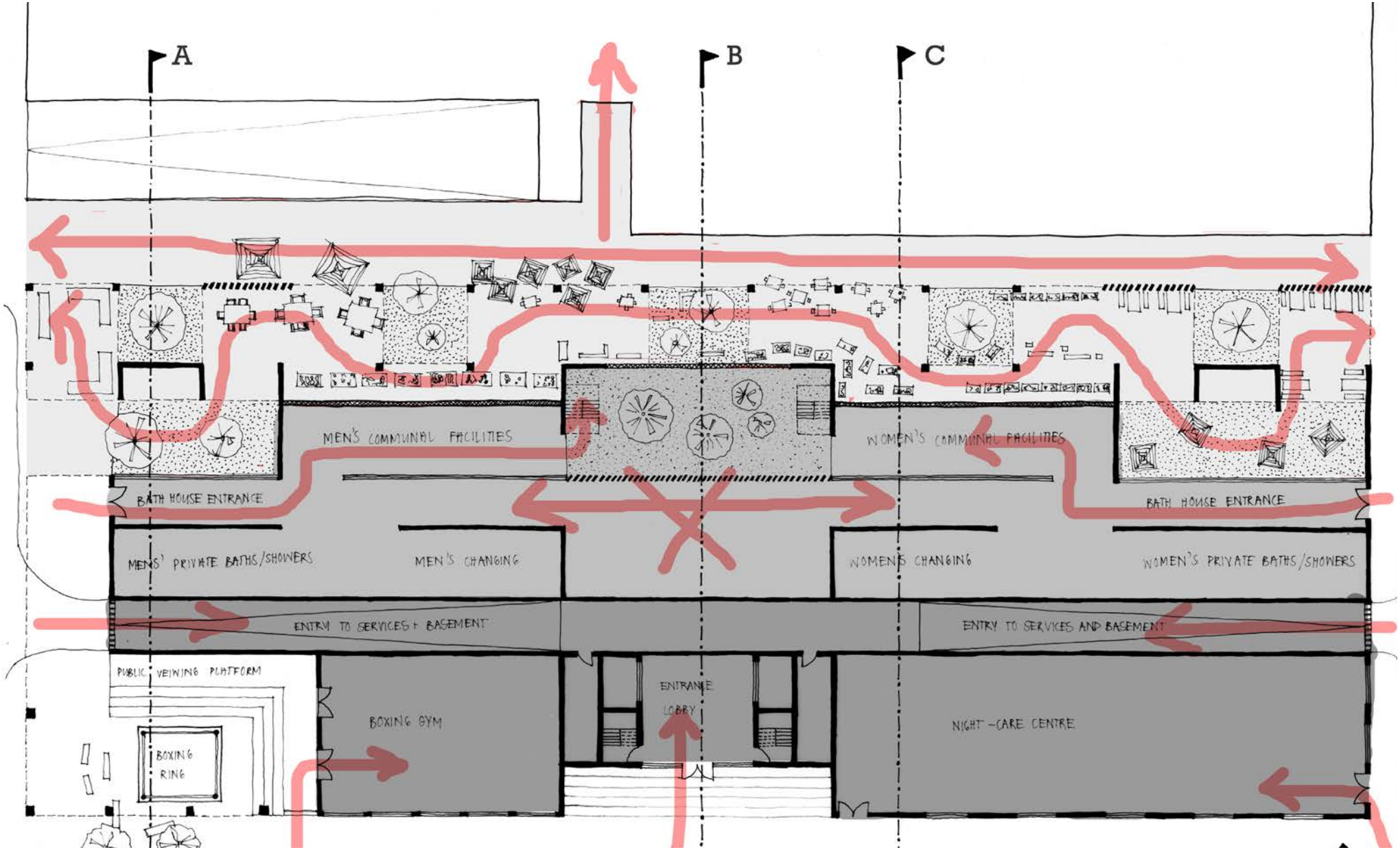

FIGURE 3.12 : GROUND FLOOR PLAN OF FIRST DESIGN ATTEMPT

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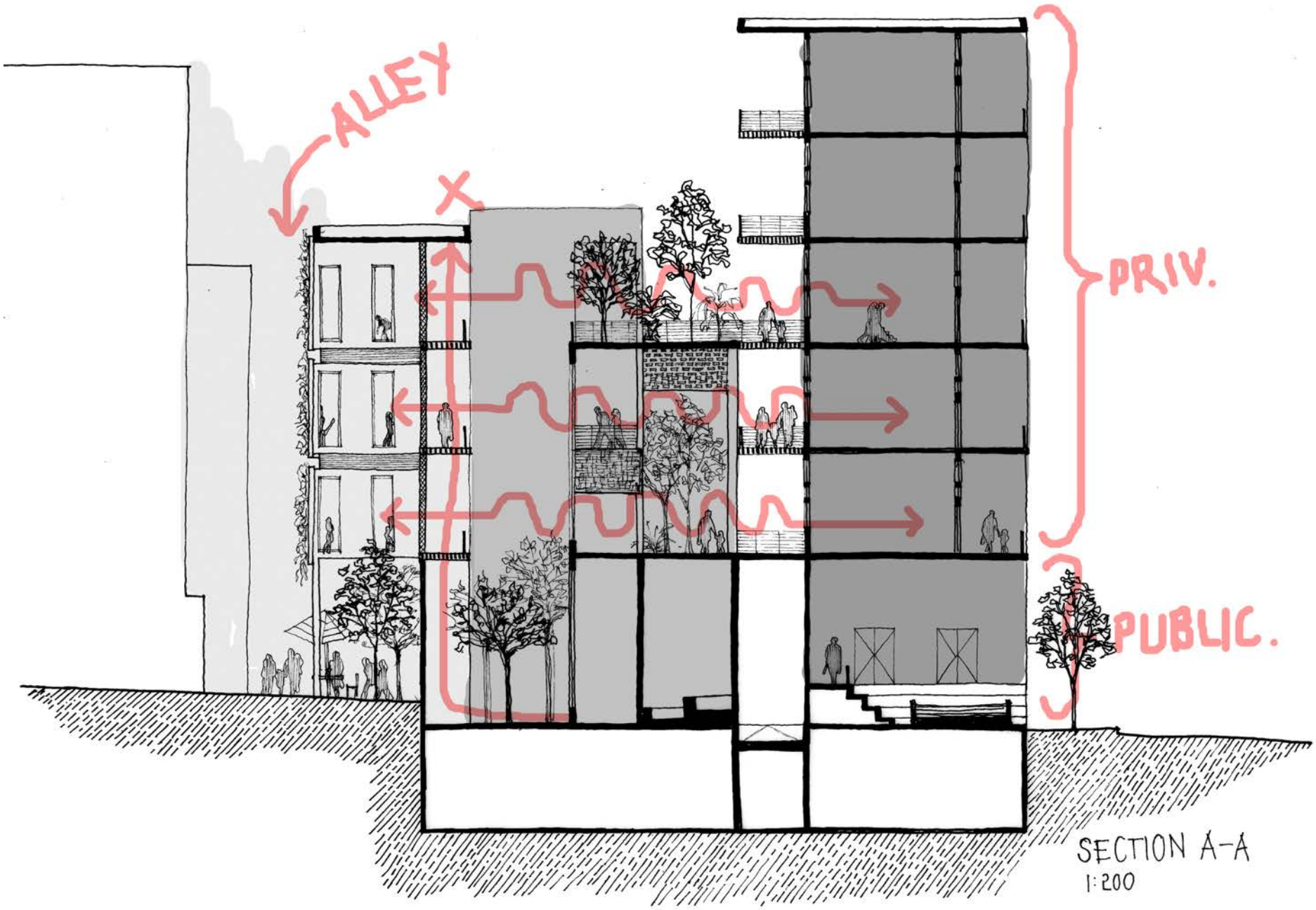

FIGURE 3.13: SECTION A-A OF FIRST DESIGN ATTEMPT

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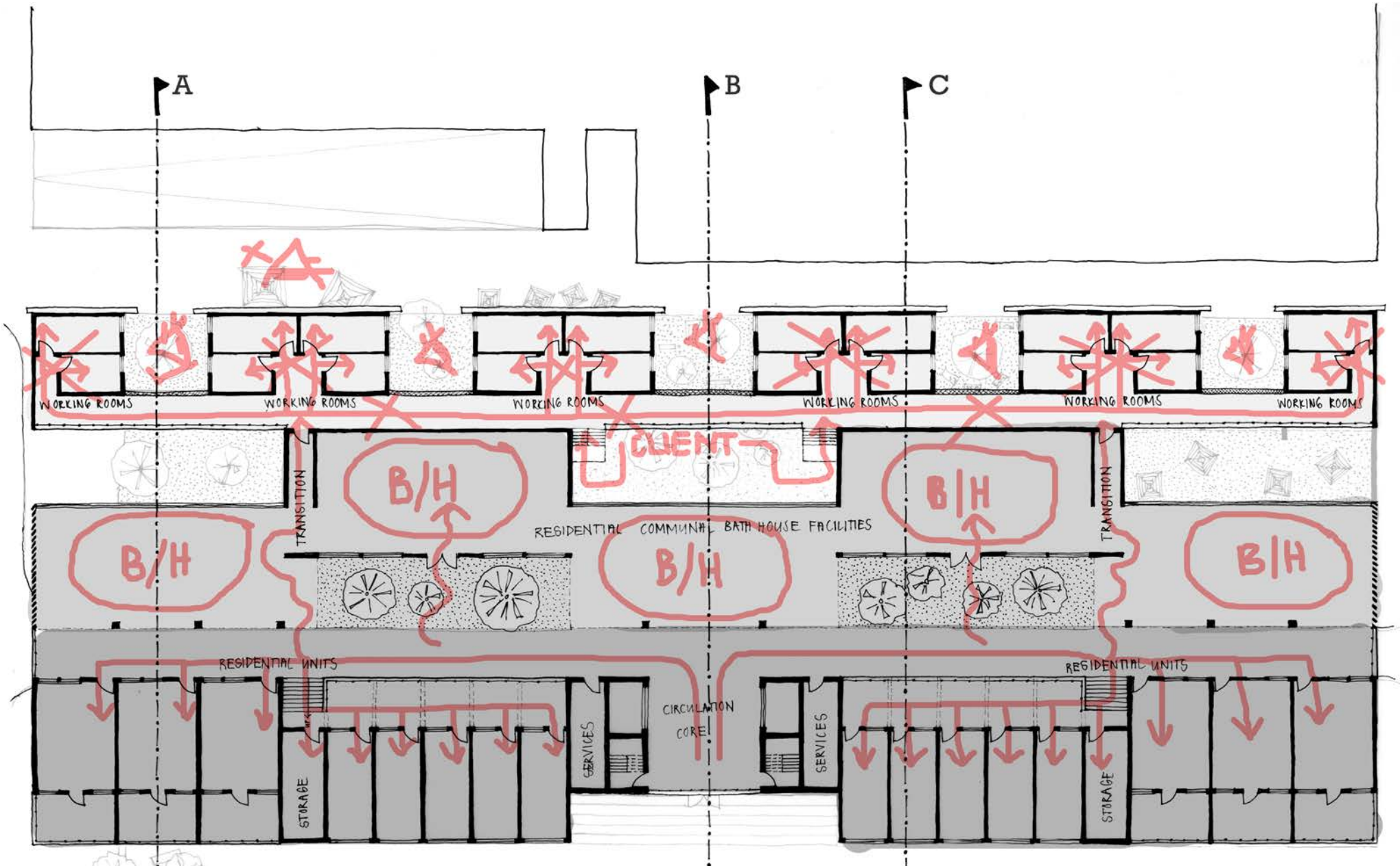

FIGURE 3.14: FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF FIRST DESIGN ATTEMPT

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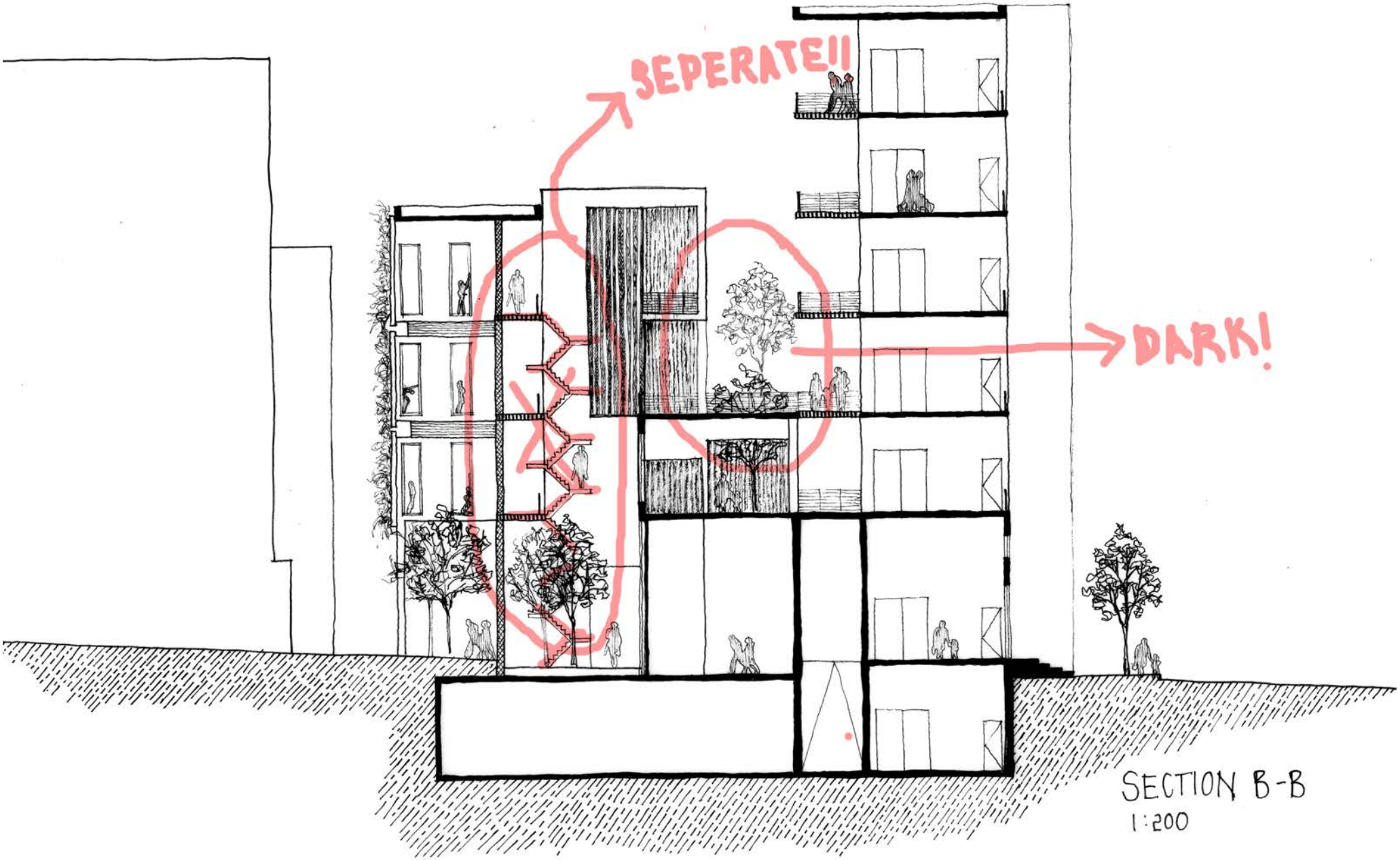

FIGURE 3.15: SECTION B-B OF FIRST DESIGN ATTEMPT

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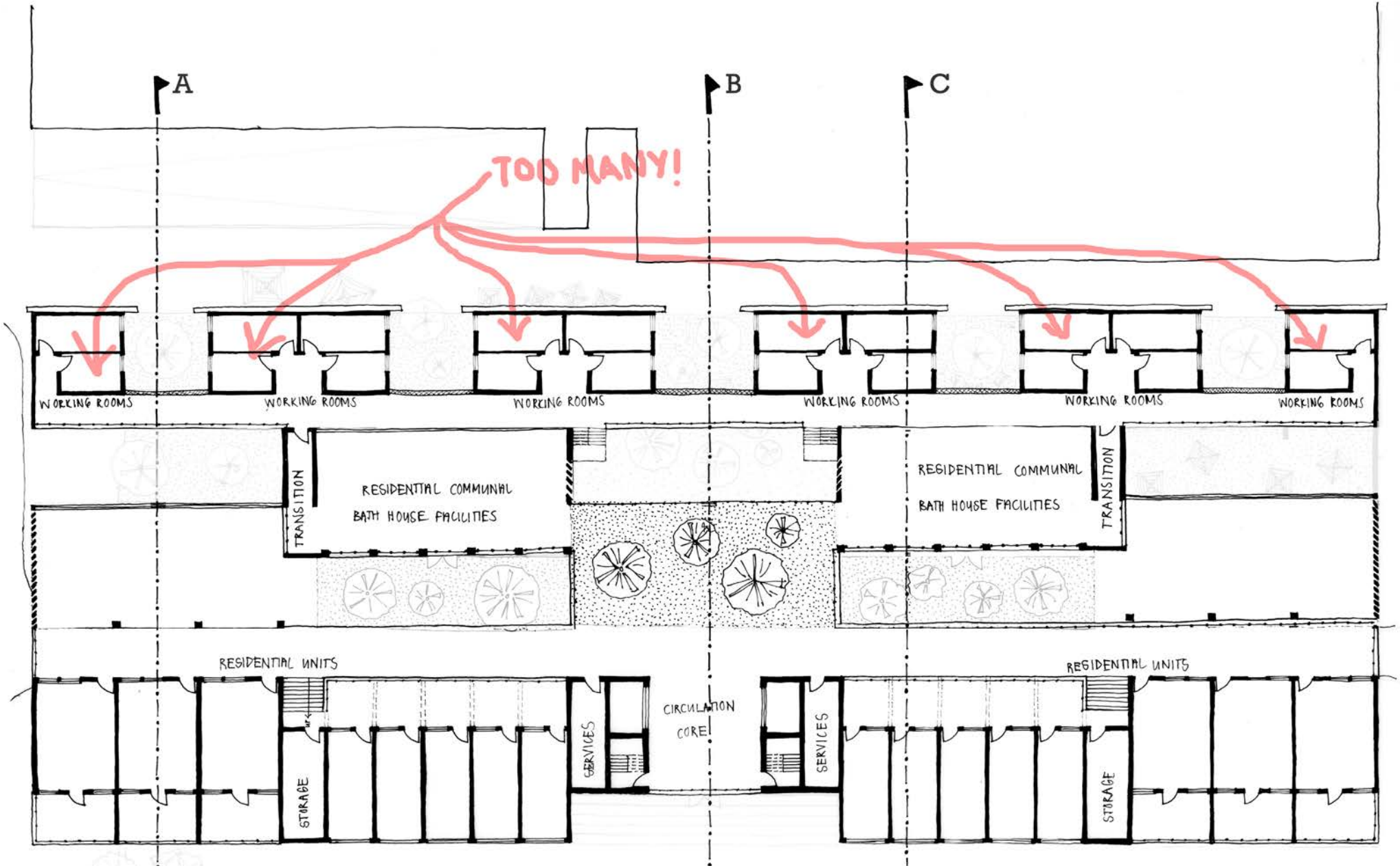

FIGURE 3.16: SECOND FLOOR PLAN OF FIRST DESIGN ATTEMPT

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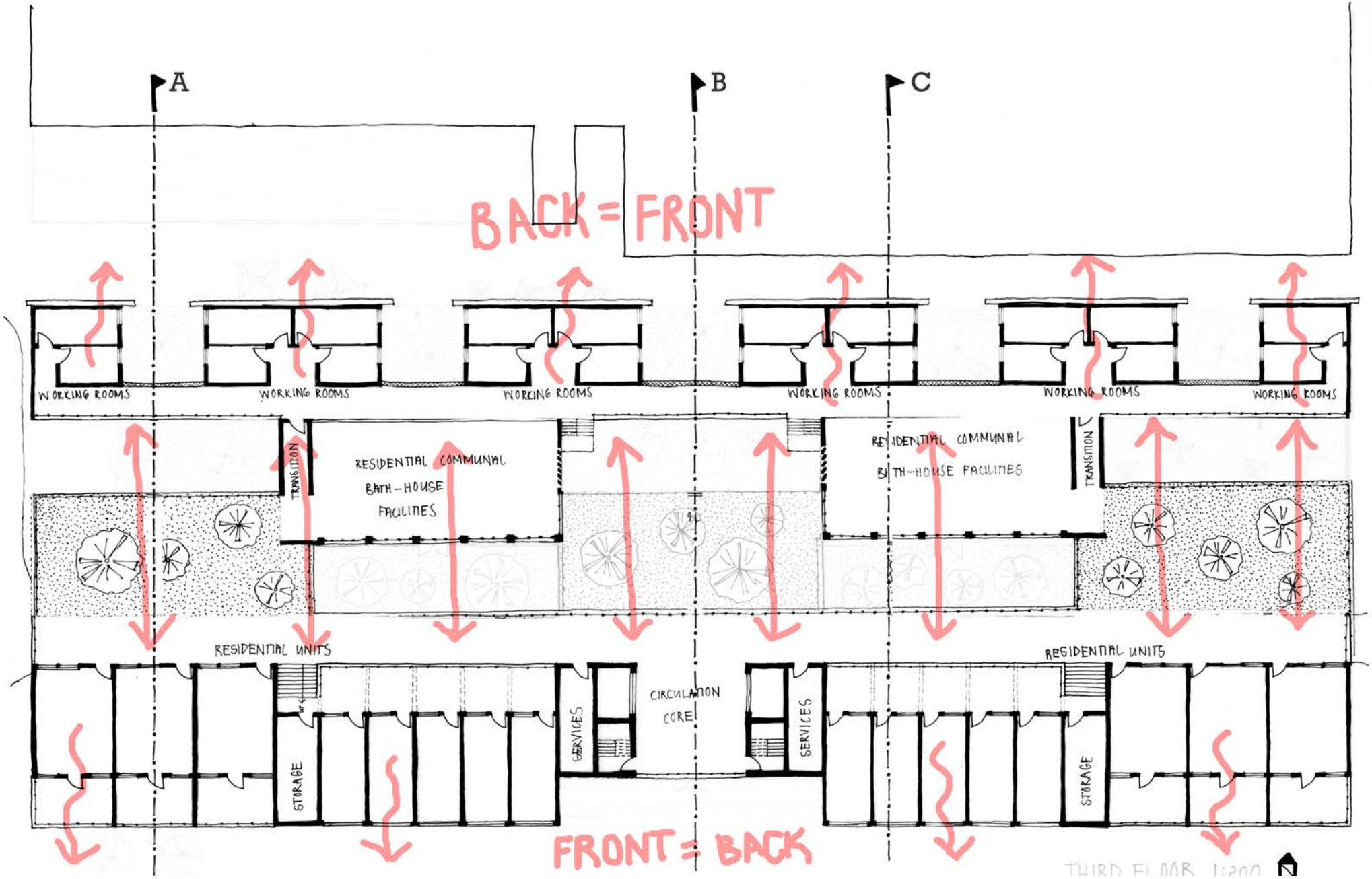

FIGURE 3.18: THIRD FLOOR PLAN OF FIRST DESIGN ATTEMPT

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D
RE-VISITING AND RE-APPLYING DESIGN PRINCIPLES:

Furthering the design process.

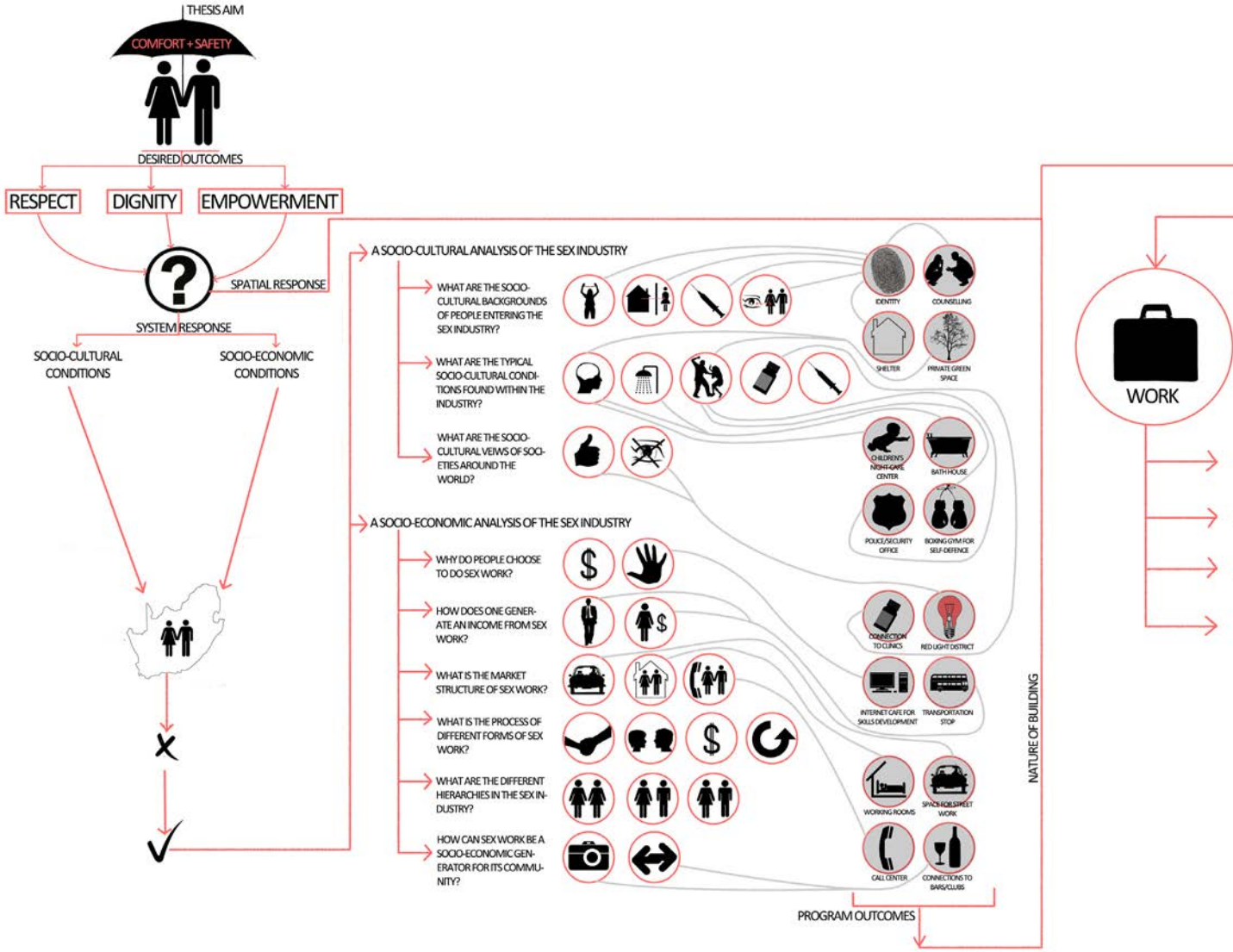


FIGURE 3.19: REVISITING DESIGN PRINCIPLES

By designing a space which is safer and more comfortable for sex workers and their clients, I am aiming to achieve outcomes of respect, dignity and empowerment. In order for this thesis proposal to function successfully, a change in the legal system and a contextual response is required.

A legal change would generate a number of outcomes for the socio-cultural and socio-economic conditions related to the sex industry. These outcomes have informed the programmes would needed in my accommodation schedule.

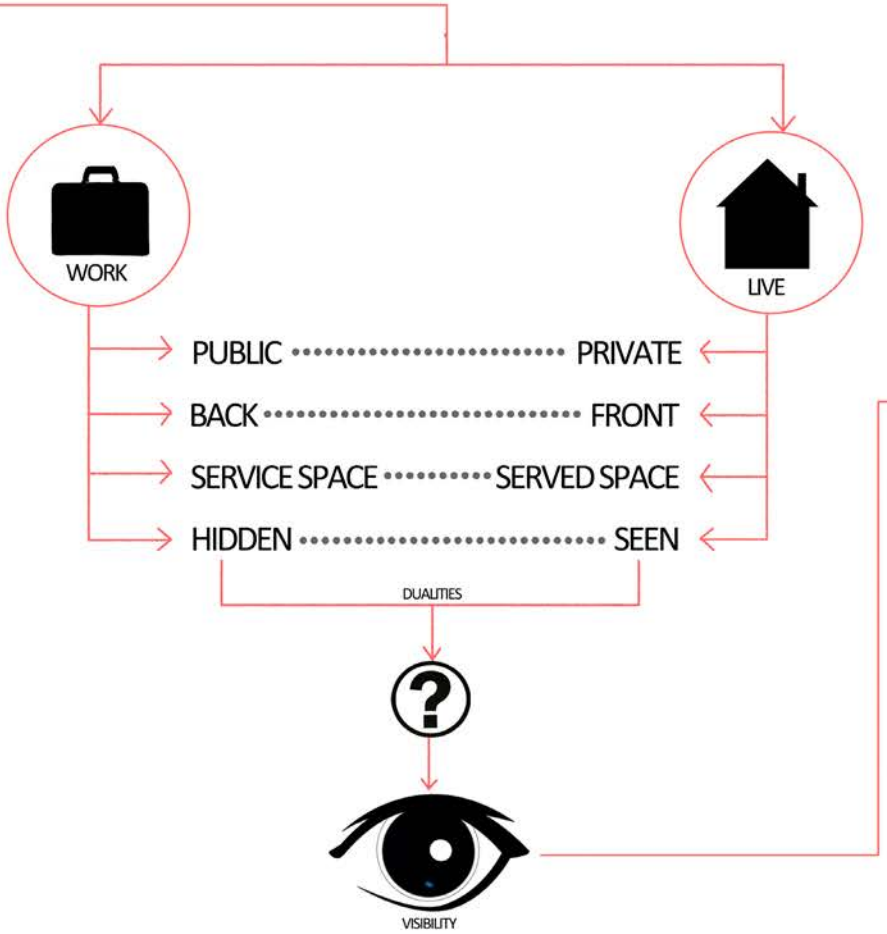
This study resulted in an architectural response by placing the above mentioned programmes in a specific context. The nature of the proposed building now became one where sex workers could live on the one end, and on the other, work.

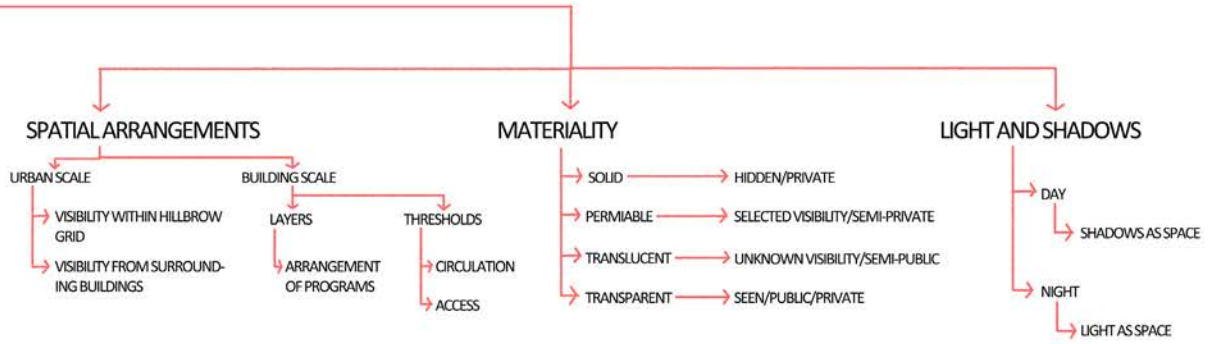
The living/working relationship within my building allowed for a number of interesting dualities to arise. These include public-/private spaces, seen-/hidden spaces, front-/back spaces and served-/service spaces.

I chose to develop these dualities through the theme of visibility. Visibility is explored by applying certain spatial arrangements, incorporating different types of façade materials and allowing for spaces to be characterized through the use of light and shadows.

Spatial arrangements are explored at an urban- and building scale. Materiality is applied through the use of solid- to transparent materials, and light and shadows is incorporated by how the building functions differently from night to day *(See figure 3.19)*

This chapter of my thesis summarizes the process I went through to arrive at a final design. Although the form of the building has changed in order to respond to specific conditions discovered along the way, the design principles and concept has remained constant.





Finding the grid

To make my proposal less visible within its urban context, it must acquire characteristics of its surroundings. By using the existing Hillbrow grid as an informant, my building will form part of a building pattern, allowing it to become less noticeable. In order to establish a building grid that merges with its context, I drew 'connection lines' from surrounding buildings across my site.*(See figure 3.20)*. These lines originated from building edges, courtyards and access points of certain buildings.

My second informant was a 5mx5m north facing grid in order for my building to receive optimal sunlight. *(See figure 3.21)*. The overlay of these two informants allowed for the experimentation of a building form. *(See figure 3.22)*.

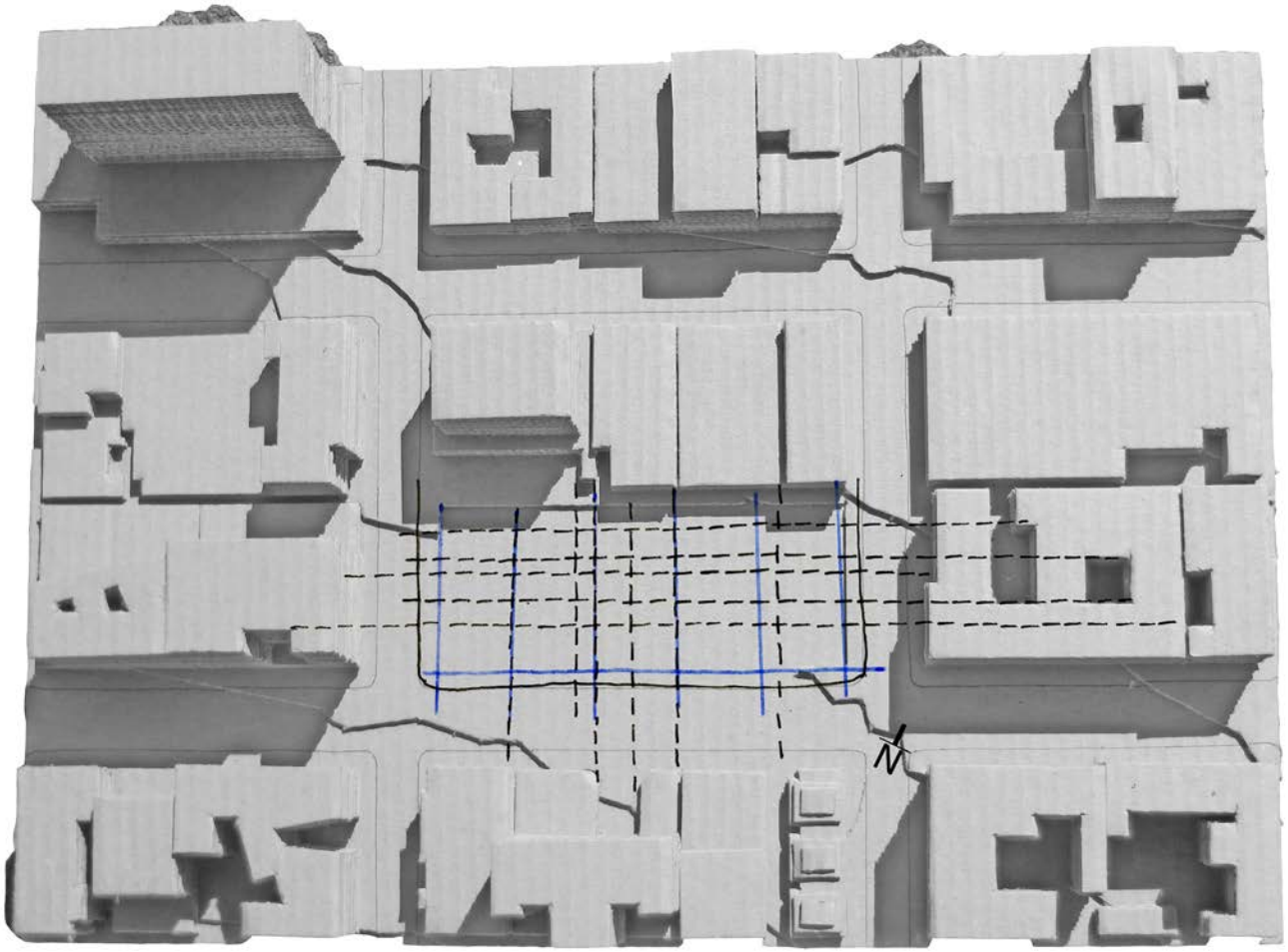


FIGURE 3.20: VISION- AND CONNECTION LINES

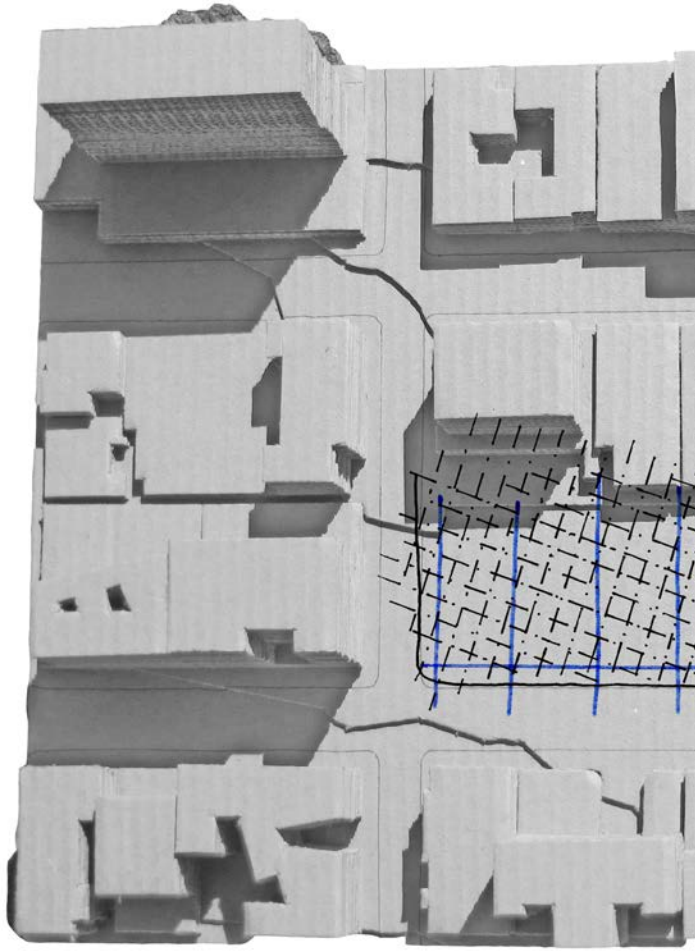


FIGURE 3.21: NORTHERN GRID

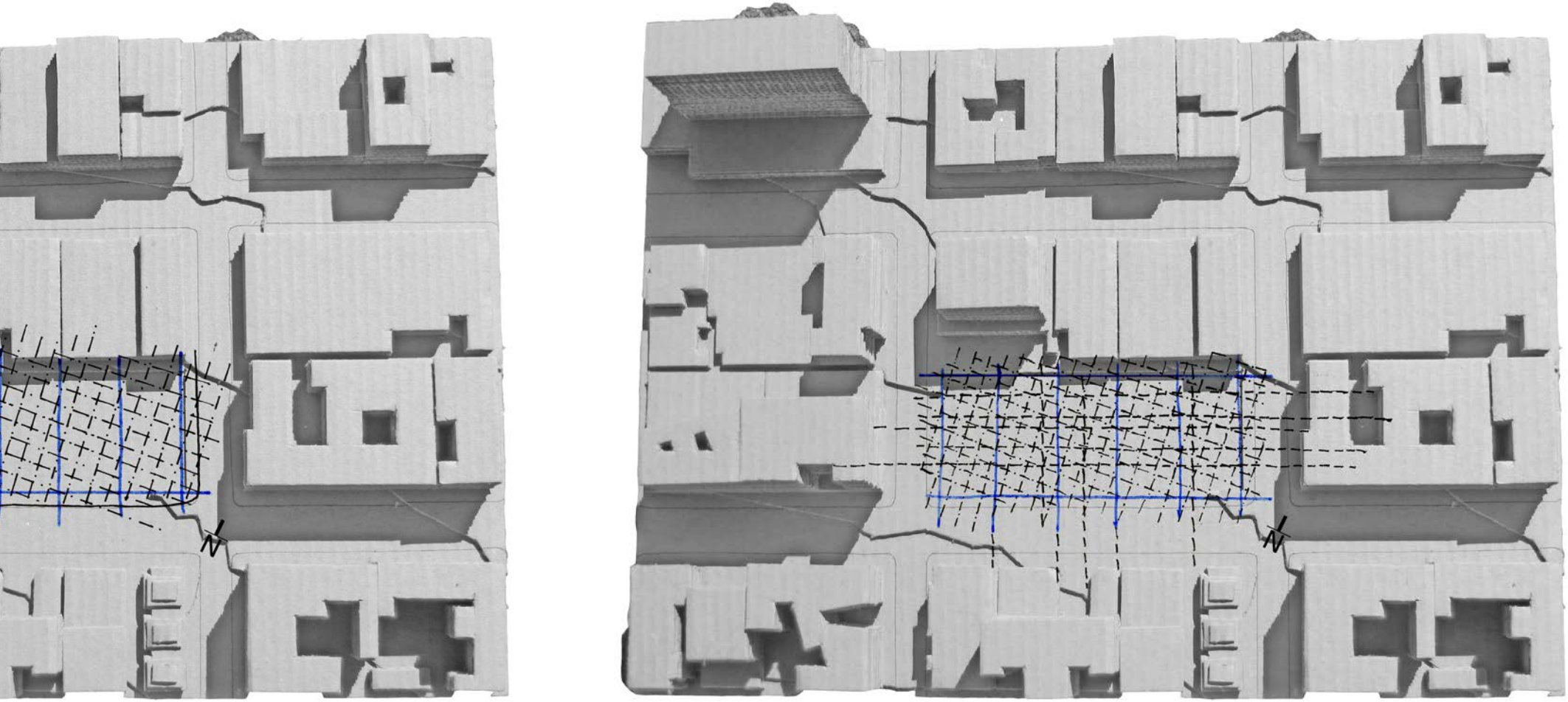


FIGURE 3.22: OVERLAY

Designing an invisible building

The grid generated in figure 3.22 allowed for a series of explorations of building form.*(See figures 122 - 129)*. Different building forms were produced through the incorporation of massing, negative space, and roof coverage into the grid. After doing a number of explorations, one that best suited the environment and blended with its context was chosen. *(See figures 3.23 - 3.32)*.

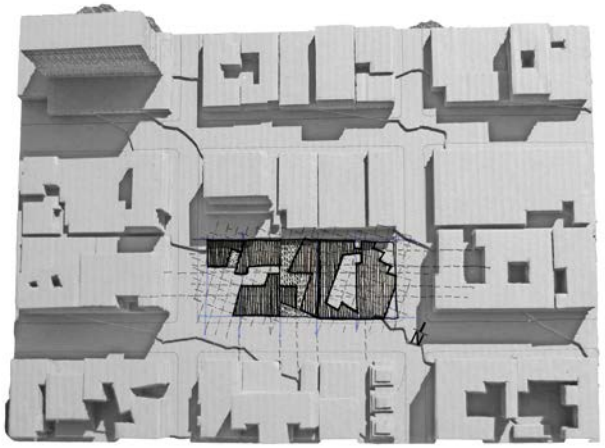


FIGURE 3.23: CREATING WALKWAYS

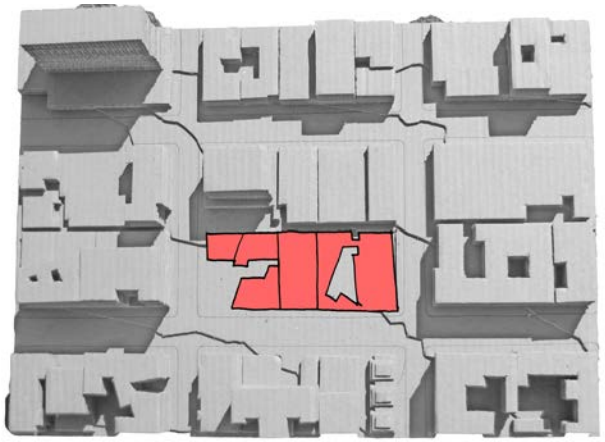


FIGURE 3.24: GENERATED FORM 'A'



FIGURE 3.25: EXPOSING WALKWAYS

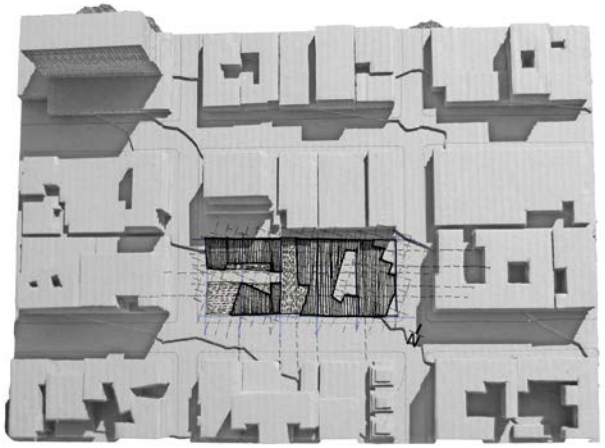


FIGURE 3.27: PAUSE SPACES ALONG WALK WAYS

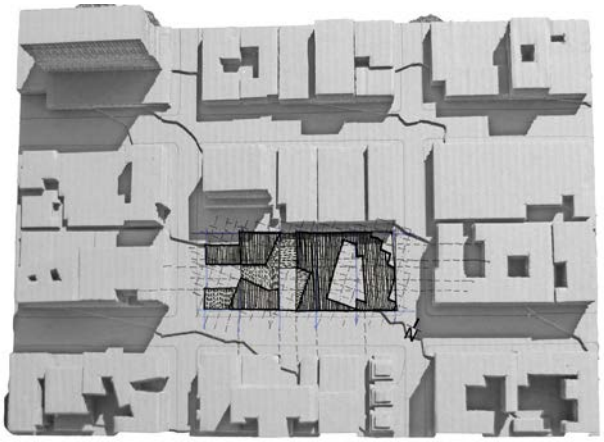


FIGURE 3.29: EXTENDING PRIVATE COURYARD



FIGURE 3.26: GENERATED FORM 'B'

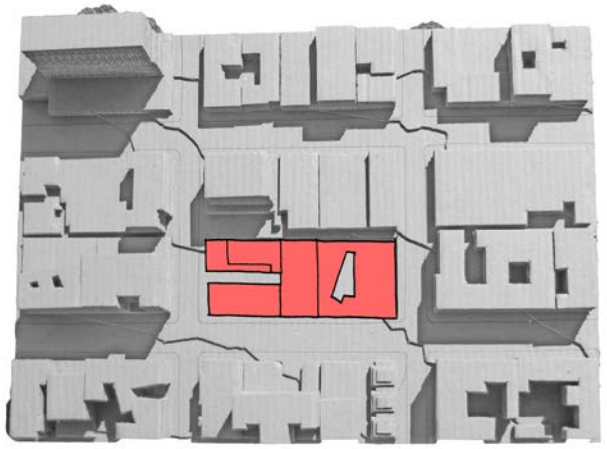


FIGURE 3.28: GENERATED FORM 'C'

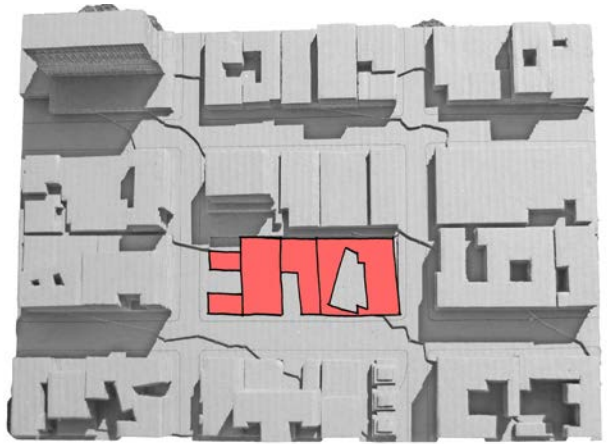


FIGURE 3.30: GENERATED FROM 'D'



FIGURE 3.31: CHOSEN MASSING LAYOUT



FIGURE 3.32: GENERATED FORM 'E'

Using the Hillbrow pattern as an informant

Once a building form was chosen, I analysed the Hillbrow grid in section to further inform my design. I noticed a number of patterns in terms of height of buildings, blue indicating low heights and pink being high-rise. By making the left edge of my proposal low, and the right edge high, the building would complete these 'high-low' patterns, permitting it to further disappear in its environment. *(See figures 3.33 - 3.36).*



FIGURE 3.33: 'ARROW' BLOCK PATTERN

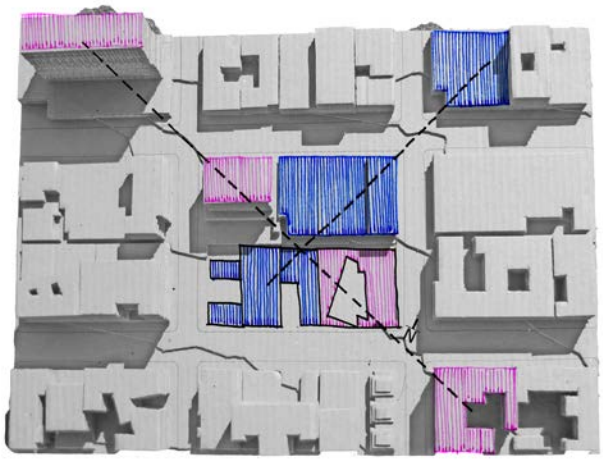


FIGURE 3.34: 'CROSS' BLOCK PATTERN



FIGURE 3.35: 'PARALLEL' BLOCK PATTERN



FIGURE 3.36: 'ZIG-ZAG' BLOCK PATTERN

Screening neighbouring buildings

Once the form and height of my building was determined through previous analyses, I could investigate the visual access of neighbouring buildings. I determined which surrounding facades had views onto my site, and in turn to what degree certain edges of my building proposal were exposed to these facades.

In figures 3.37 and 3.38, purple indicates high visibility, blue indicates semi-visible edges, red indicates semi-hidden spaces and green indicates fully hidden spaces. This analysis further specifies the arrangement of programmes and designates where further design interventions need to be made to hide or reveal certain activities.

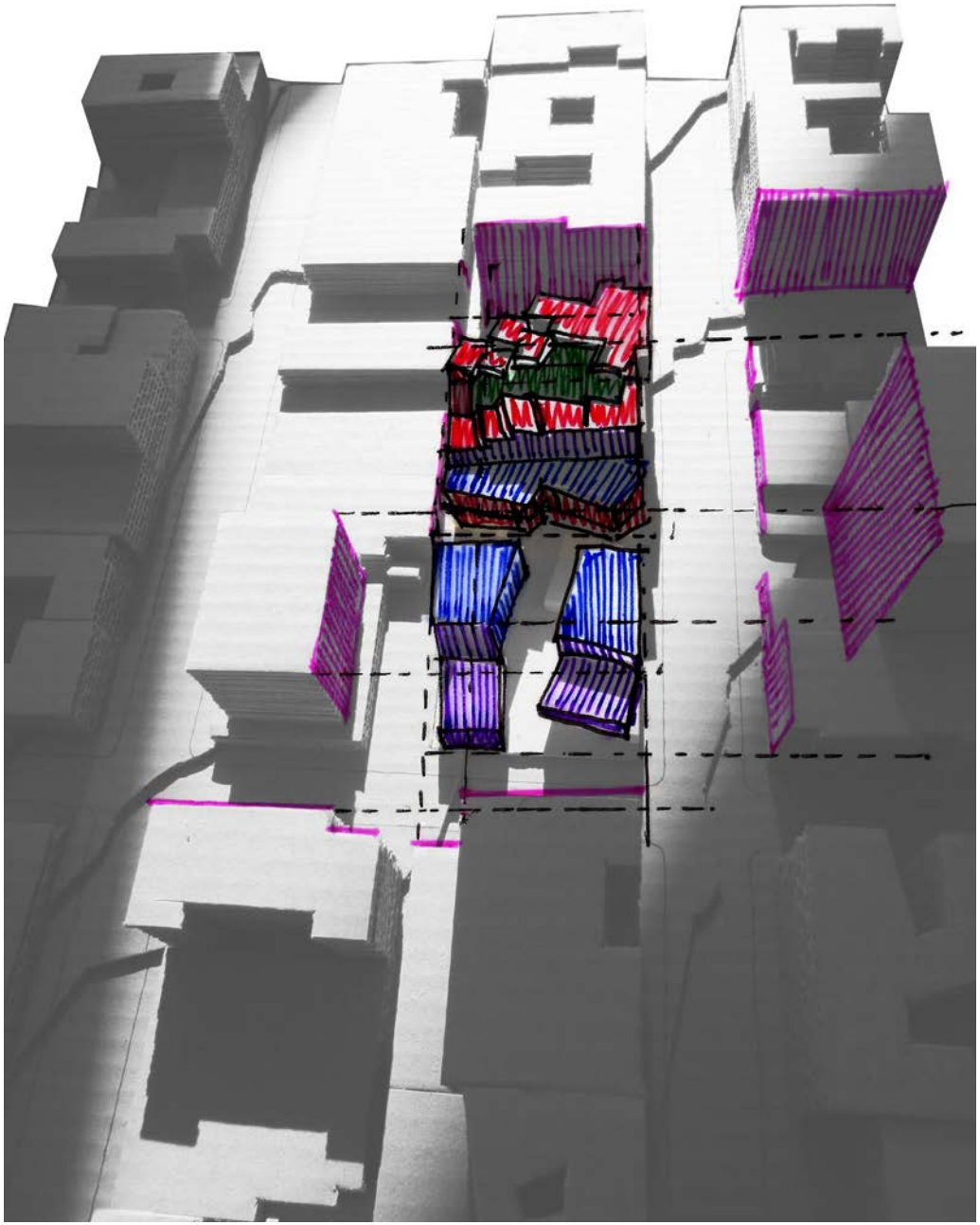


FIGURE 3.37: DEGREES OF VISIBILITY FROM NEIGHBOURING BUILDINGS



FIGURE 3.38: VISIBLE EDGES OF BUILDING FORM

Applying the original concept to a new form

Instead of arranging programmes horizontally across the site as within the first design attempt, they are now orientated along the short edges of the site. The space for sex work sits at the centre of the building and the idea of 'internalising sex work' is now demonstrated through its link to the northern alley and the screening provided by surrounding programmes. *(See figures 3.39 - 3.40).*

The space for sex work, becomes a 'non-judgemental' space, where it is safe and comfortable for sex workers and their clients to participate in the sex industry. A men's- and women's public bath house screens the western perimeter, while a communal bath house shared by residences screens the eastern perimeter. *(See figures 3.39 - 3.40).*

Together with a private green court, the bath-house provides the 'change-over' space for sex workers to circulate between living-and working quarters. *(See figure 3.40).*

To assist the outcomes of dignity, respect and empowerment, clients'- and sex-workers' circulation to working rooms are separated and these two parties access the rooms at opposite ends. *(See figures 3.39 - 3.40).*

The bath-house (indicated in blue) is the major spine of the building that links all programmes together. On ground floor, it is public, and divided into a men's- and women's section. On the first- to third floor, it is shared by individuals residing in the building and allows for weekly cleansing rituals to take place. This 'communal' part of the bath house also provides access for sex workers to working rooms. Lastly, the bath-house becomes fragmented and more private. It attaches itself to residential units and makes provision for daily cleansing rituals. *(See figures 3.39 - 3.40).*

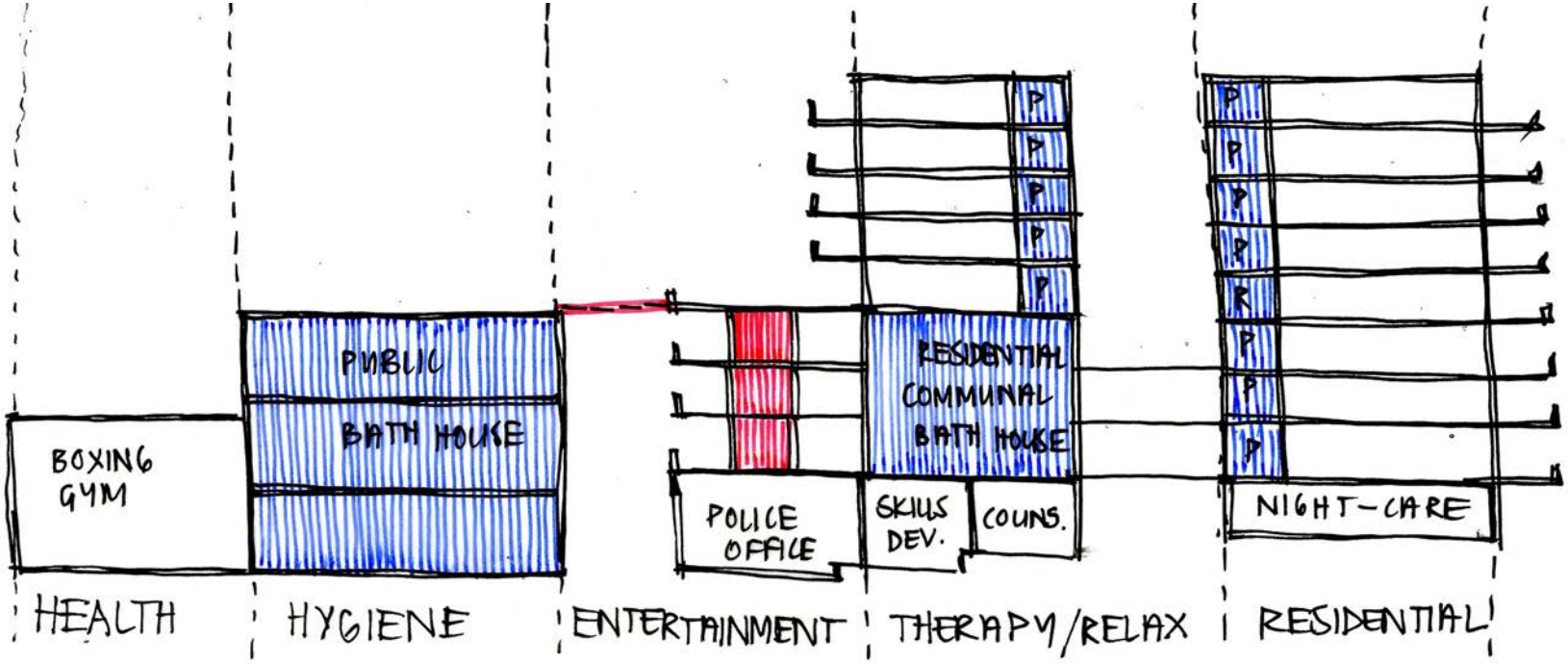


FIGURE 3.39: BATH-HOUSE AS SCREEN AND SPINE

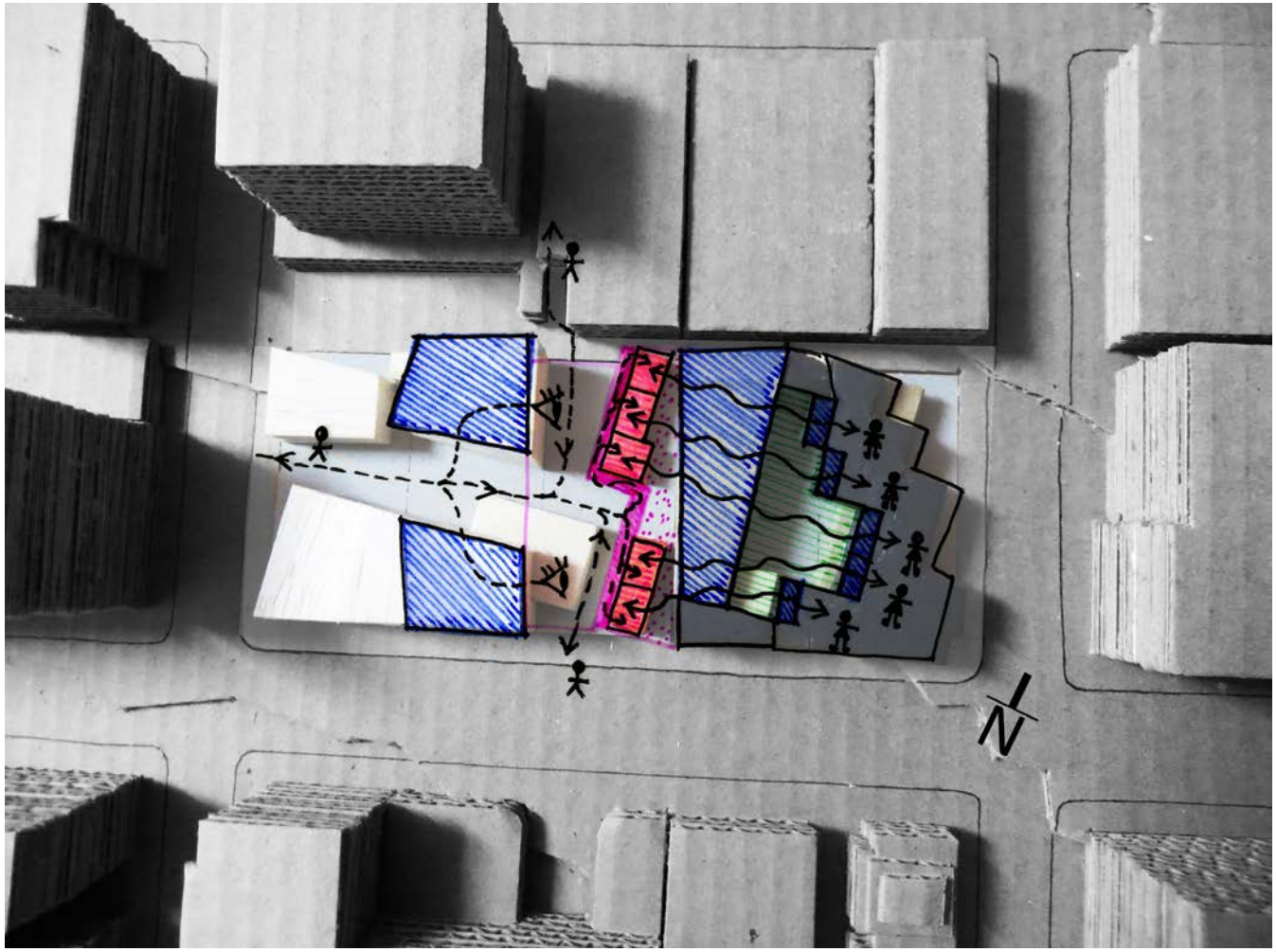


FIGURE 3.40: BATH-HOUSE AS SCREEN AND 'CHANGE-OVER' SPACE

Spatial analysis of new form

Programmes orientated along the site's short edge allow for the building to develop a series of screens. These screens house different functions. Behind screen 1, one will find programmes for 'health'. Screen 2 contains programmes for 'hygiene'. Screen 3 reveals the 'entertainment/working area' within the building where sex work will be practised. Behind screen 4 functions of 'therapy and rebirth' are housed and 'living' programmes sit between screen 5 and 6. *(See figure 3.41).*

In figure 3.41, one can see the relationship between the entire bath-house and the working rooms, green space and residential units. The green space and the working rooms, create slices within the bath-house, permitting them to function off of it.

The western edge of the building is entirely public where the eastern edge is more private. Private and public meet in the middle where the 'working/entertainment' space is located. This arrangement allows for separate circulation routes to the working rooms, which become the meeting space for clients, who originate from the public realm and sex workers who journey from their private living quarters. These circulation routes never overlap or coincide, creating a definite separation between the two parties before and after sexual transactions. *(See figure 3.43).*

The building contains 'served' and 'service' spaces. *(See figure 3.42).* As the main spine of the building, the bath-house becomes the service space and other programs function off of it. The bath house serves by providing wet services, forming thresholds, circulation routes and access points and finally by becoming a screening device which hides the 'work/entertainment' portion of the building as seen in figure 3.44.

This arrangement of programmes creates a series of layers within the building allowing for multiple thresholds, degrees of privacy and visibility. *(See figure 3.44).* The building now exhibits many 'fronts' and 'backs', and what could be the 'back' of one programme, could become the 'front' of another. *(See figure 3.45).*

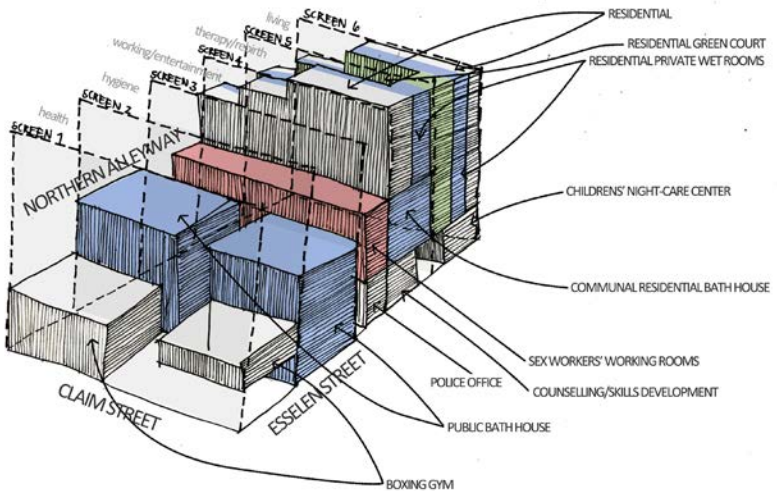


FIGURE 3.41: CONCEPTUAL PROGRAMME LAYOUT

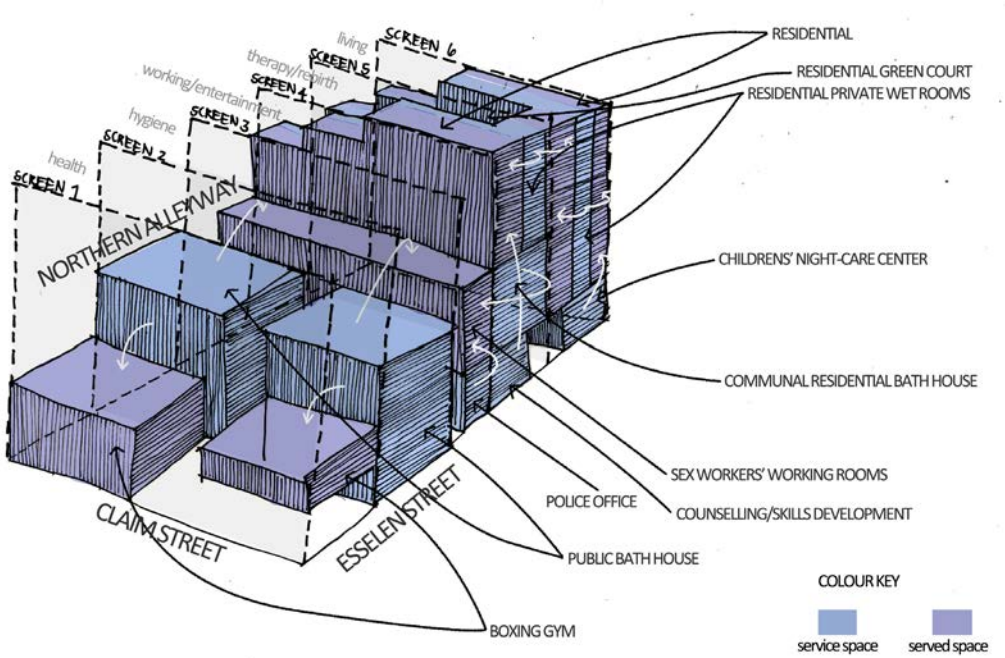


FIGURE 3.42: 'SERVED' AND 'SERVICE' SPACES

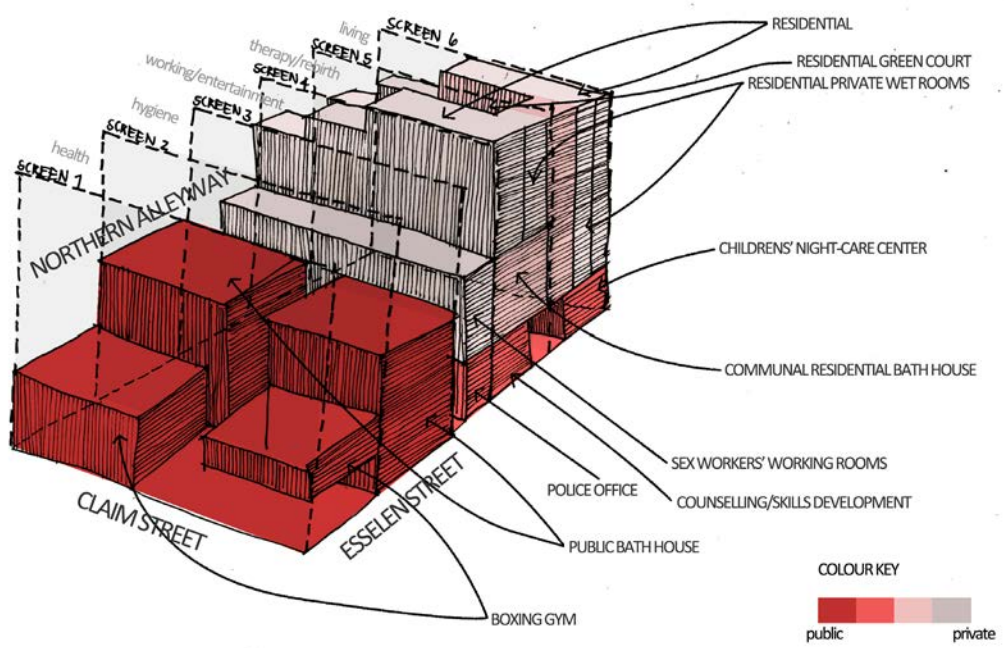


FIGURE 3.43: 'PUBLIC' AND 'PRIVATE' SPACES

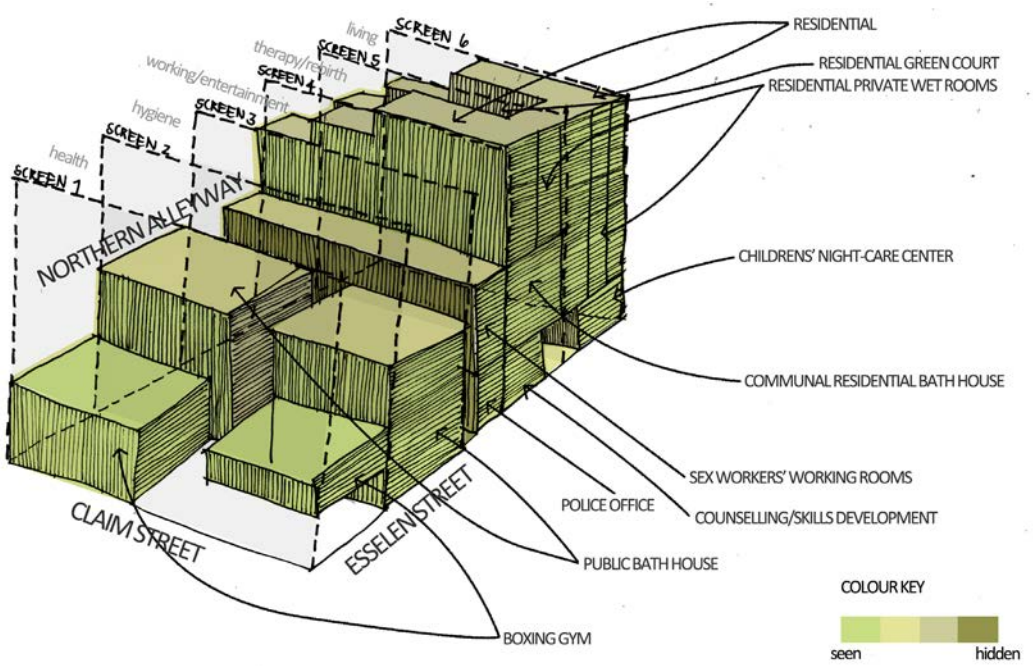


FIGURE 3.44: 'SEEN' AND 'HIDDEN' SPACES

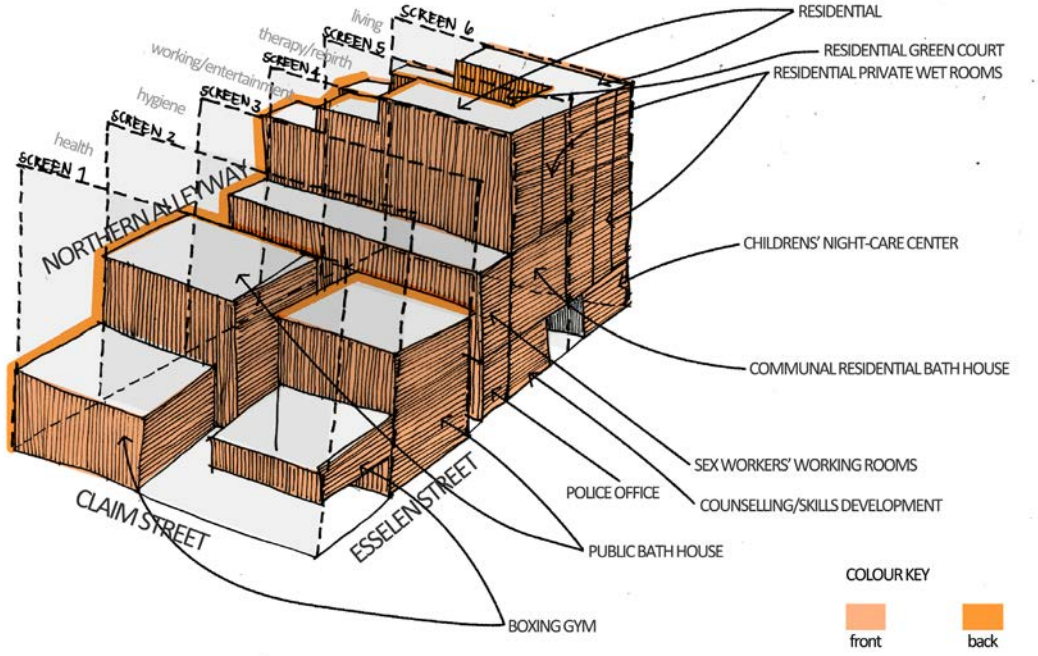


FIGURE 3.45: 'FRONT' AND 'BACK' SPACES

Rationalizing the design process

Phase 1



FIGURE 3.46: LONGITUDINAL LAYERING OF PROGRAMS



FIGURE 3.47: MONOTONOUS STREET ELEVATION

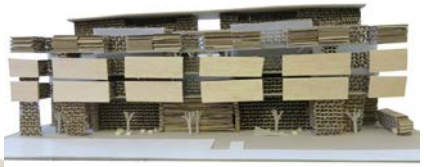


FIGURE 3.48: ACTIVATED ALLEY

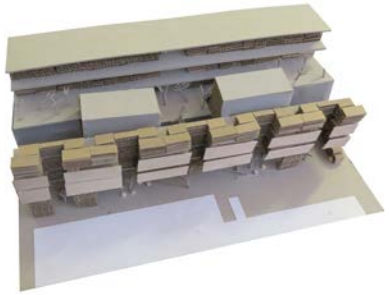


FIGURE 3.49: BATH-HOUSE AS 'CHANGE-OVER' SPACE

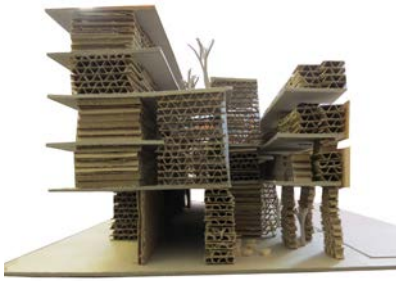


FIGURE 3.50: VISIBILITY IN EASTERN ELEVATION



FIGURE 3.51: MIRRORED WESTERN ELEVATION

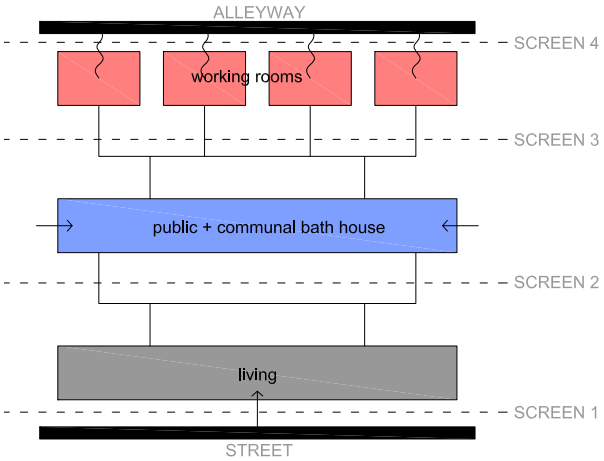


FIGURE 3.52: CONCEPT DIAGRAM OF PHASE 1

Phase 2



FIGURE 3.53: LATERAL LAYERING OF PROGRAMS



FIGURE 3.54: BATH HOUSE CONNECTS LIVING AND WORK-



FIGURE 3.55: PRIVATE COURTYARD BECOMES DARK



FIGURE 3.56: EASTERN ELEVATION SHOWS RES. CIRCULATION



FIGURE 3.57: VIEW FROM ALLEY

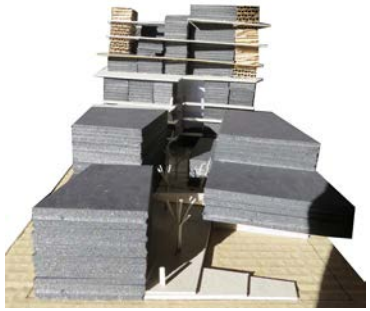


FIGURE 3.58: MULTIPLE ACCESS POINTS

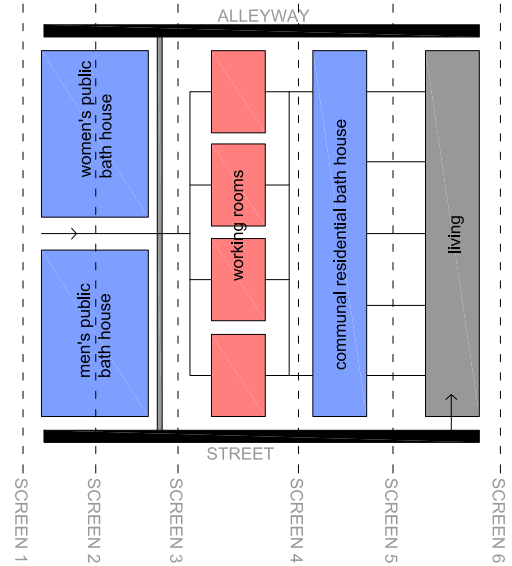


FIGURE 3.59: CONCEPT DIAGRAM OF PHASE 2

Phase 3



FIGURE 3.60: DARK PRIVATE COURTYARD



FIGURE 3.61: EXTREMELY DENSE RESIDENTIAL PORTION



FIGURE 3.62: STREET ELEVATION SHOWS VARIETY



FIGURE 3.63: ACCESS POINT FROM WESTERN EDGE



FIGURE 3.64: VIEW FROM ALLEY 2



FIGURE 3.65: WORKING ROOMS RECEIVE A SCREEN

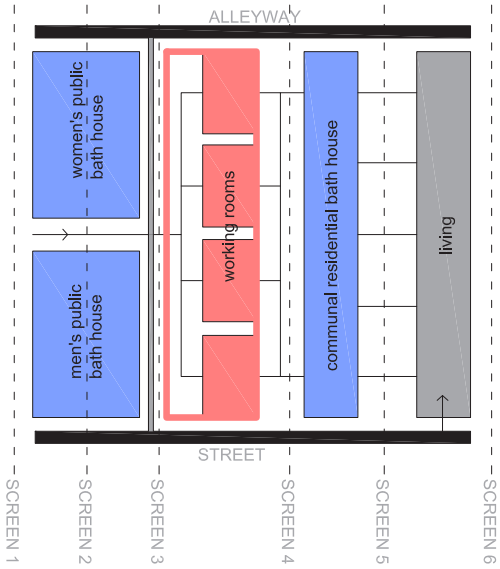


FIGURE 3.66: CONCEPT DIAGRAM OF PHASE 3

Phase 4

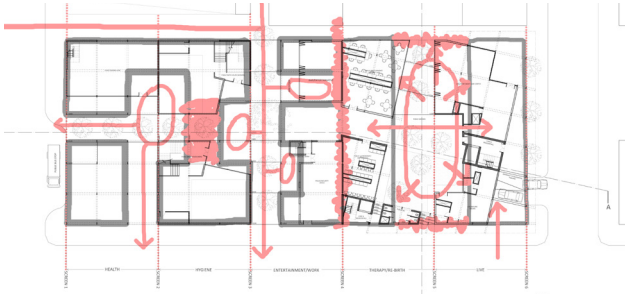


FIGURE 3.67: SEPERATE USER GROUPS BY CREATING BARRIERS

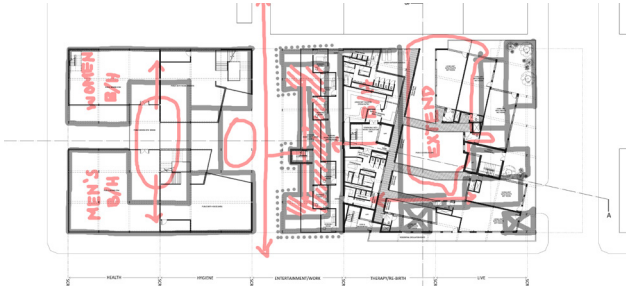


FIGURE 3.68: CREATE PAUSE SPACES AND EXTEND PRIVATE COURTYARD

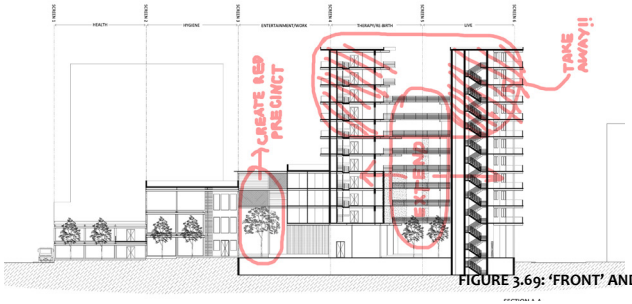


FIGURE 3.69: 'FRONT' AND 'BACK' SPACES

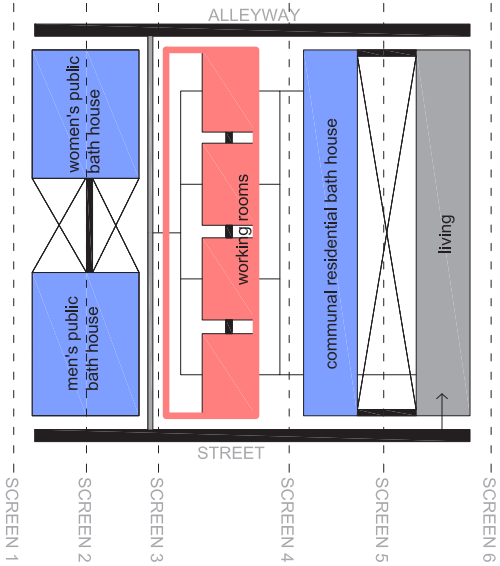


FIGURE 3.70: CONCEPT DIAGRAM OF PHASE 4

E
A PRECEDENT STUDY OF LIGHT:

James Turrell's experimentations with space and light.

James Turrell, a California based architect uses the element of light to change the perception of space. He demonstrates how light, which is intangible in reality, obtains a three dimensional quality when projected upon a surface, deceiving a viewer into perceiving the space differently to what it is in reality. This case study will include three different projection methods used by Turrell and analyse their effects on changing a space. (Adcock, 1990)

Cross-corner projections

Light is projected from a diagonal corner onto two adjacent walls. When the light fuses with the surface it is projected upon, it is perceived as a three dimensional object that floats in the corner. (Adcock, 1990) *(See figures 3.71 - 3.76)*

Single wall projections

Instead of changing a viewer's perception of light as being a tangible substance as within cross-corner projections, single wall projections deceive the viewer by changing the space that surrounds the projection. By disguising the boundaries of the space, the projection appears to either attach, float infront or penetrate the surface it is projected upon. (Adcock, 1990) *(See figures 3.78, 3.80 - 3.81)*

Shallow space constructions

By constructing a false wall and placing a light source behind it, Turrell achieves a change in the size of the space through the way in which it is perceived. The light obscures the perspective of the room making it seem larger or smaller. (Adcock, 1990) *(See figures 3.77, 3.79, 3.82)*

Relevance to my design proposal

Turrell's principles of light and space can be applied in my design proposal as a response to the theme of visibility. By understanding these different applications and the outcomes they deliver, I can manipulate certain spaces to enhance a user's experience.

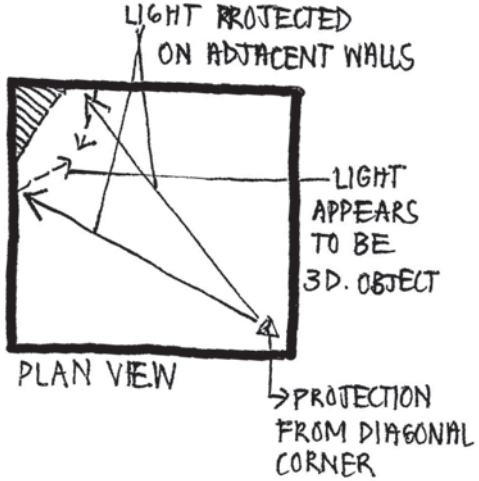


FIGURE 3.71: INTERPERETATION OF CROSS-CORNER PROJECTION

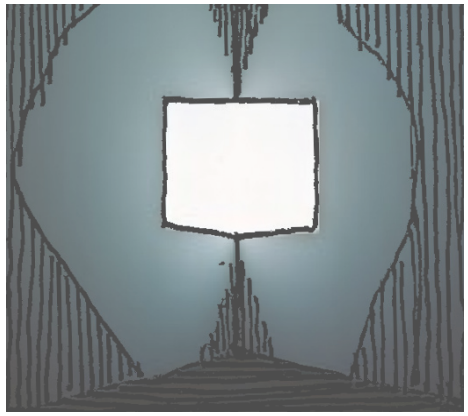


FIGURE 3.72: FLOATING CUBE PROJECTION



FIGURE 3.73: FLOATING PYRAMID PROJECTION

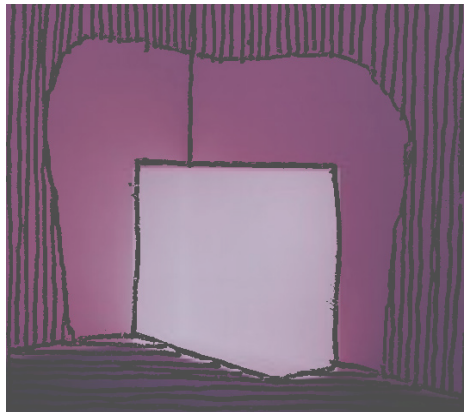


FIGURE 3.74: CORNER BOX PROJECTION

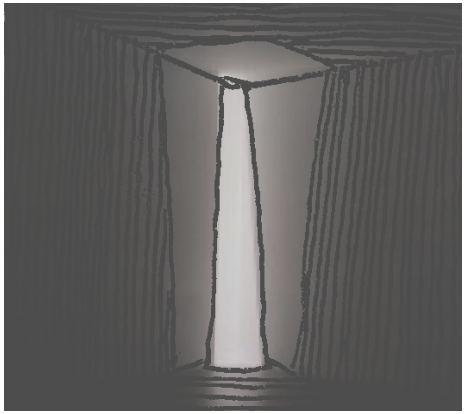


FIGURE 3.75: CORNER SLIT PROJECTION

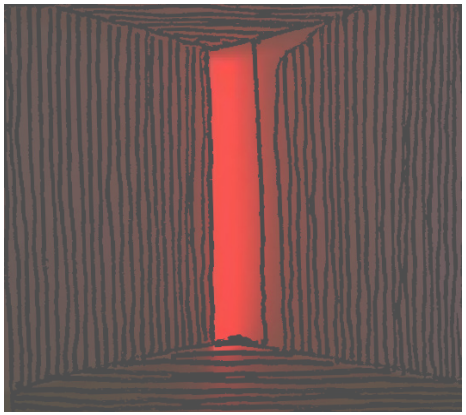


FIGURE 3.76: CORNER OPENING PROJECTION

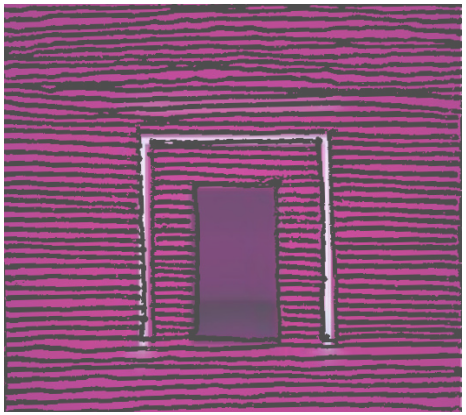


FIGURE 3.77: SHALLOW SPACE PROJECTION

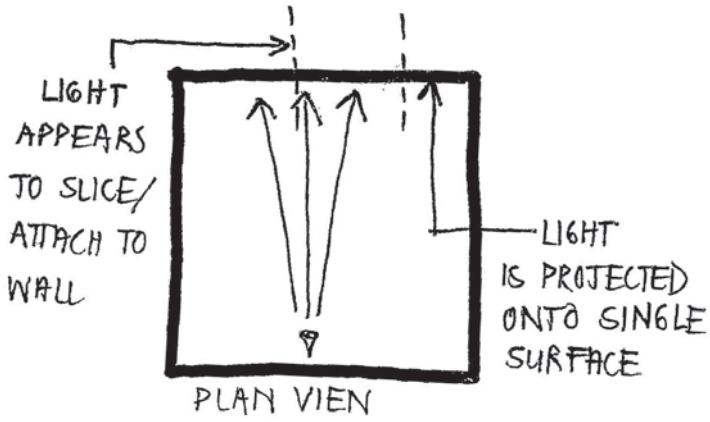


FIGURE 3.78: INTERPERETATION OF SINGLE WALL PROJECTION

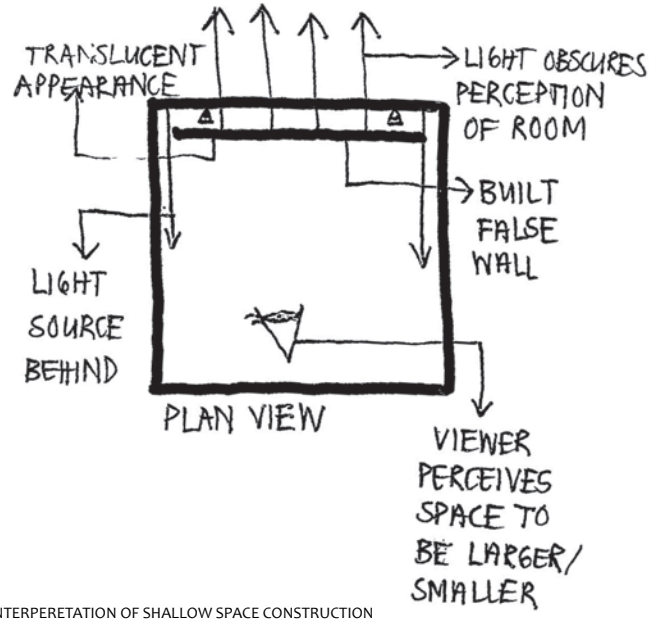


FIGURE 3.79: INTERPERETATION OF SHALLOW SPACE CONSTRUCTION

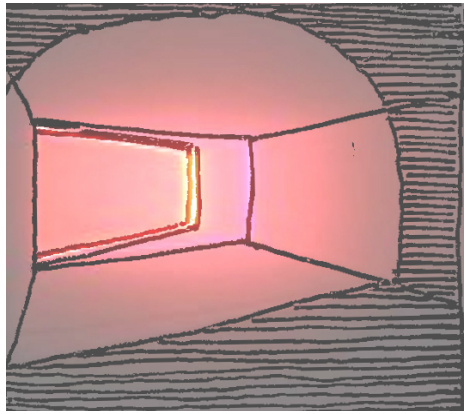


FIGURE 3.80: OPENING PROJECTION

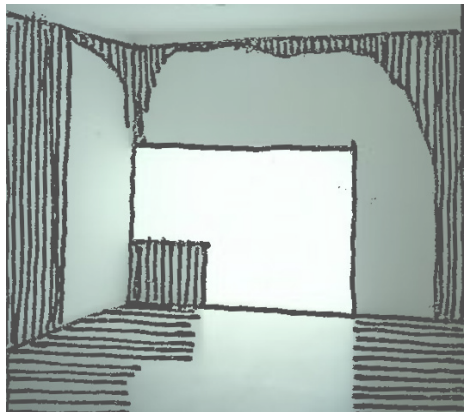


FIGURE 3.81: WINDOW PROJECTION

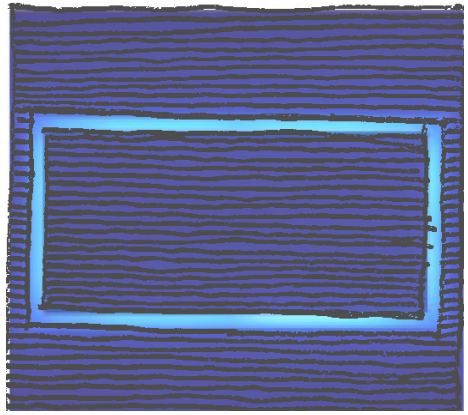


FIGURE 3.82: PERCEPTION OF ENLARGED SPACE

0.4

FINAL DESIGN

A
AN INTRODUCTION TO ‘SEXING THE CITY’:

A design response to the Hillbrow sex industry.

Acting as an entry point to the Hillbrow red light district, ‘Sexing the City’ provides a protective threshold to sex workers and their clients. *(See figure 4.1)*. Here individuals can safely partake in night-life activities while avoiding discrimination and judgement from the general public. A night-life entertainment area sits at the heart of the building and a route running through it attaches to the secondary night-life network. *(See figure 4.7 and 4.12)*

From public street edges, this space is screened and hidden. Upon entry a scene of bars, night-clubs and a brothel is revealed. The route incorporates a series of pause spaces where users have the opportunity to engage with the night-life activities provided. This area accommodates for indoor- and outdoor sex work, and is kept safe by introducing a police presence. *(See figure 4.7, 4.10 and 4.12)*

Entry to the brothel above is provided inside a strip-club. The strip-club acts as a second threshold, and as a client circulates upwards, he is further protected by a permeable louver screen that surrounds the stair-well. *(See figure 4.7, 4.10 and 4.12)*

The brothel houses corridors for clients that connect working rooms on three separate levels. By-folding doors along the front edge of the working rooms, allow for the rooms to be shut or completely open depending on the availability of the sex worker and the privacy of the act taking place. Sex workers enter working rooms from the back after passing through a ‘change-over’ space. *(See figure 4.9, 4.10, 4.12, 4.13, 4.16)*

The entertainment area is screened on either side by the bath house. To the west, the public bath house prevents views into the entertainment area and to the east the communal residential bath house acts as the ‘change-over’ space for sex workers. Here, sex workers circulate between their working- and living quarters, and by crossing through a series of thresholds and partaking in a number of bath-house activities, sex workers experience ‘re-birth’ and change. *(See figure 4.16)*

Throughout the building, the use of light and materiality is carefully considered to respond to different degrees of privacy and enhance a user’s experience of the space. Degrees of privacy are executed through degrees of visibility. Degrees of visibility are achieved through thresholds, natural- and artificial light applications and a series of façade treatments. *(See figure 4.16)*

A thorough and systematic design process allowed me to explore variations in form, circulation routes and treatment of site edges. My design method consisted of four phases in which I experimented with physical models. These models aided me in identifying different user groups, separating their circulation routes and structuring a series of complex programmes in an ordered manner. *(see figures 3.46 -3.70)*

‘Sexing the City’ is a space that consists of a number of dualities to respond to the complexity of the sex industry. The bath house as a ‘change-over’ space serves the working- and living quarters which become the ‘served’ spaces. The building lives differently in the day, than it does at night. Some spaces are completely public, where others are extremely private. Building fronts along street edges become the ‘back’ of the entertainment area. These fronts are seen, and act as screens to keep the entertainment section hidden. The existence of these dualities along with the concealed nature of the sex industry, allowed for a captivating, dynamic space for sex work.



FIGURE 4.1: CONTEXT PLAN SHOWING HILLBROW RED-LIGHT DISTRICT

Not to scale

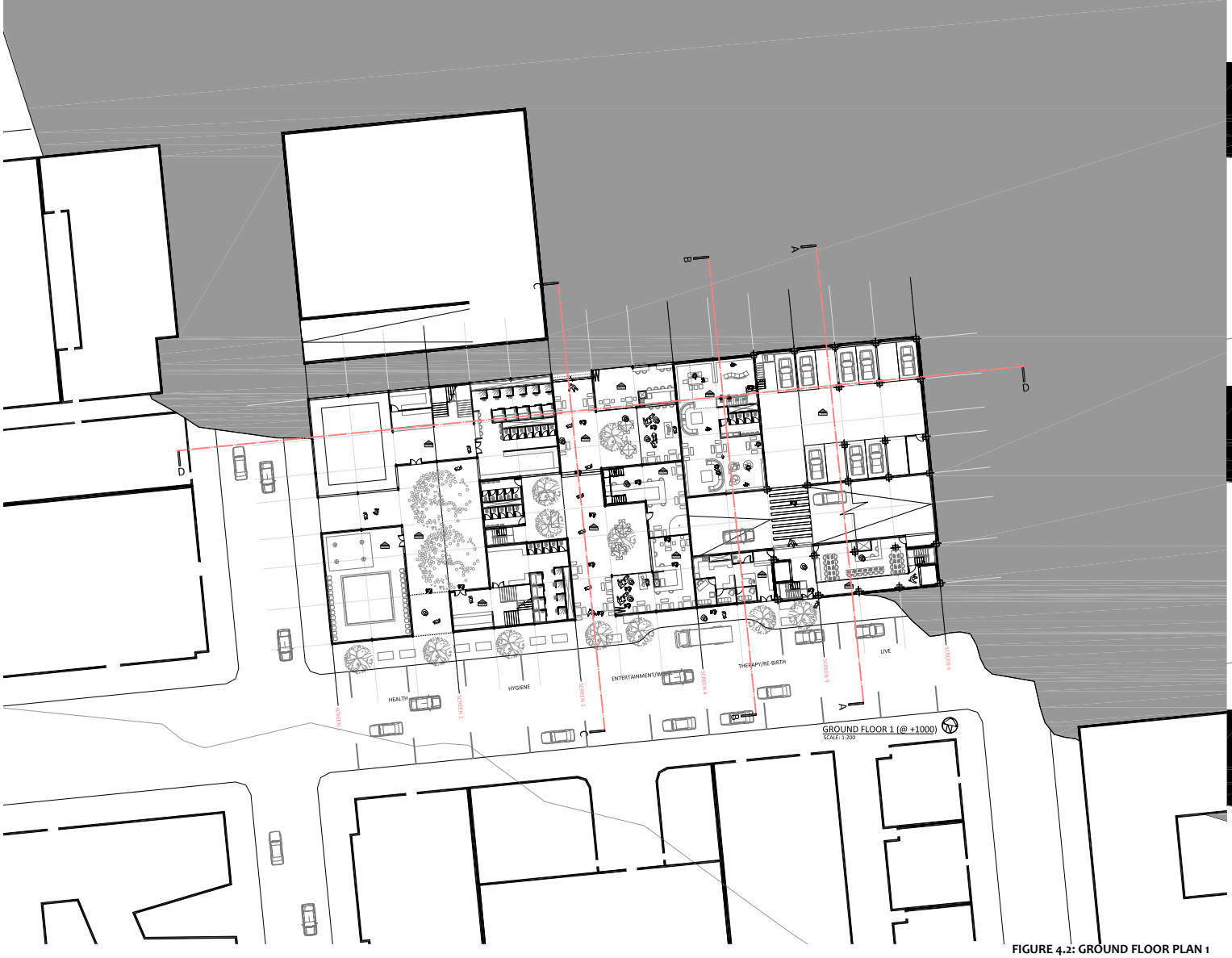


FIGURE 4.2: GROUND FLOOR PLAN 1

Not to scale

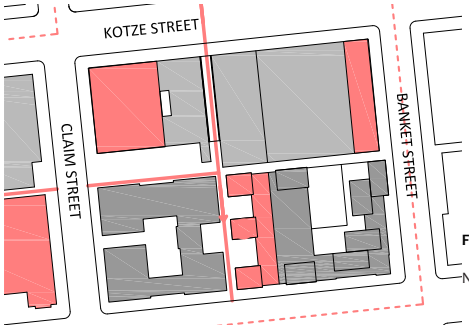


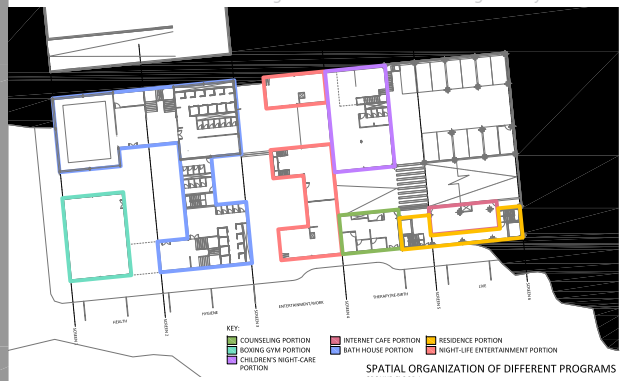
FIGURE 4.4: LOCALITY PLAN OF SITE

Not to scale



FIGURE 4.5: BASEMENT PLAN

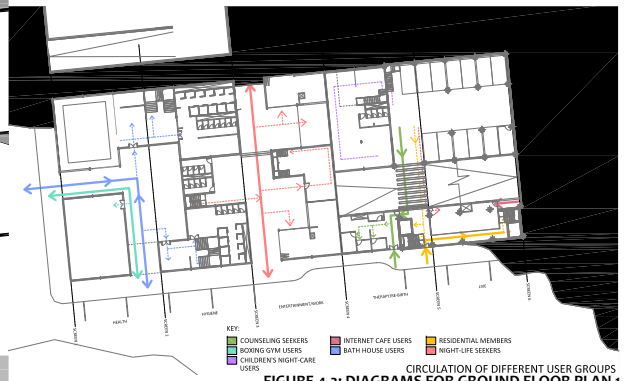
Not to scale



SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF DIFFERENT PROGRAMS



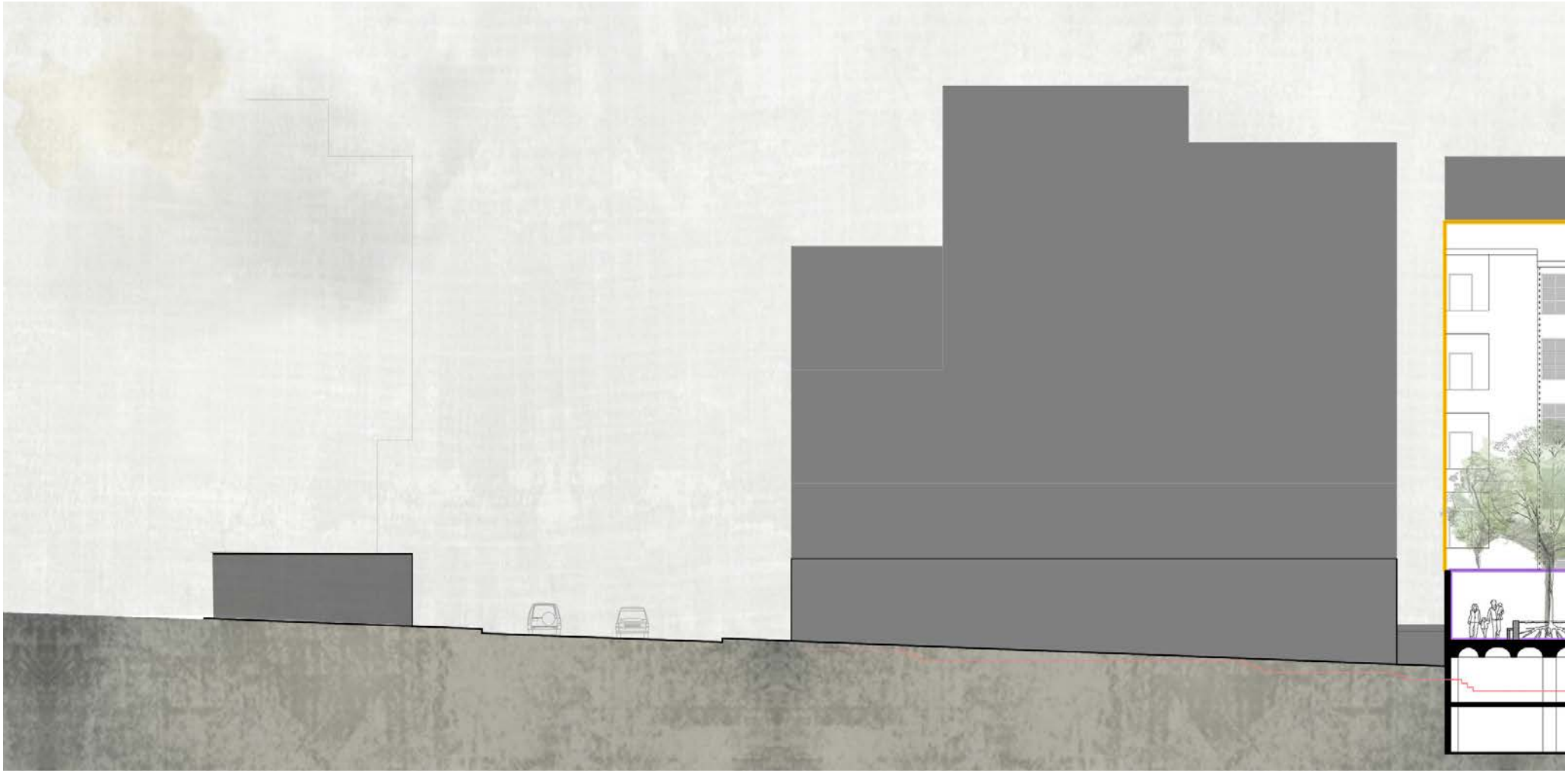
ACCESS OF DIFFERENT USER GROUPS



CIRCULATION OF DIFFERENT USER GROUPS

FIGURE 4.3: DIAGRAMS FOR GROUND FLOOR PLAN 1

Not to scale



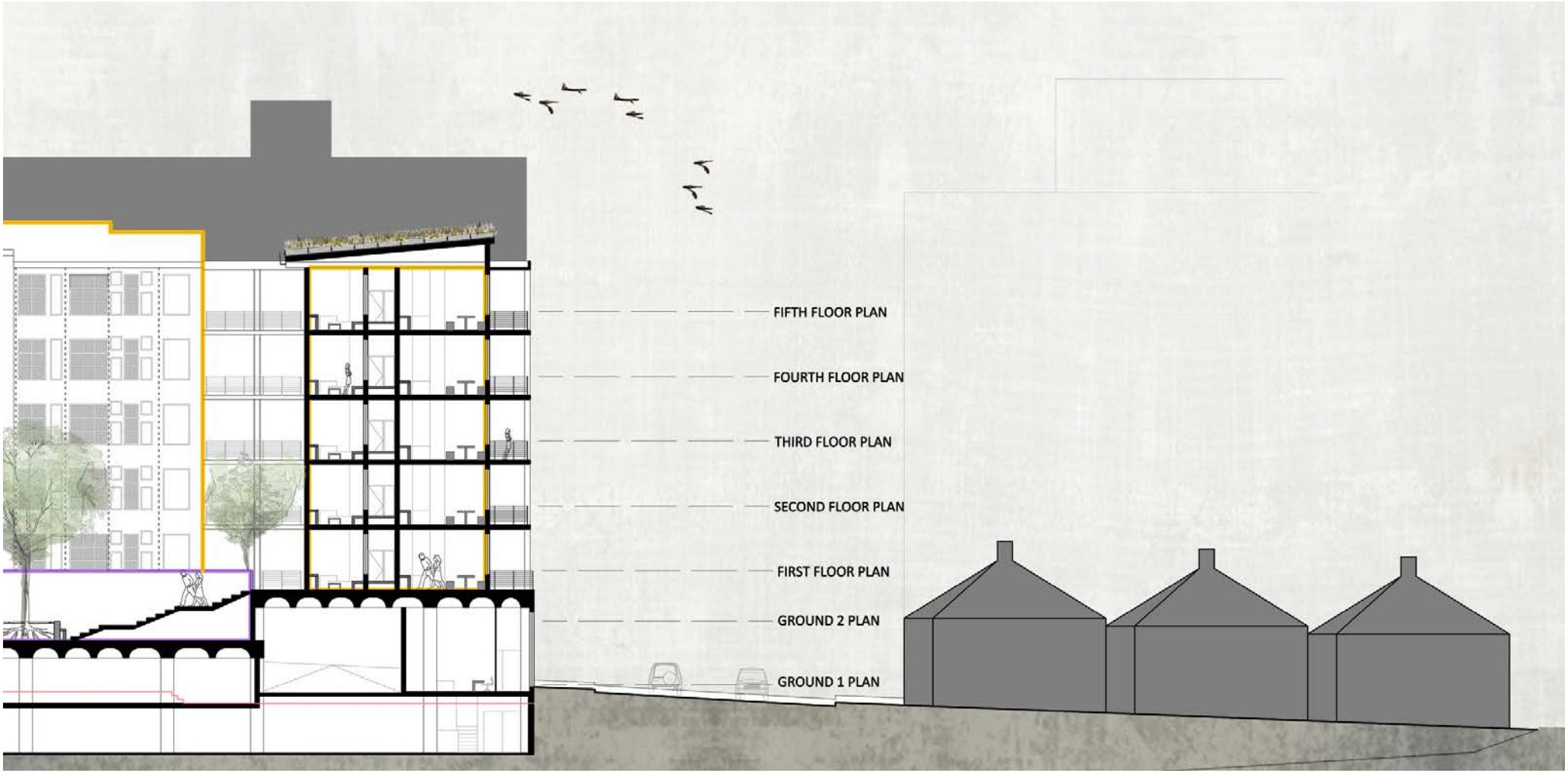
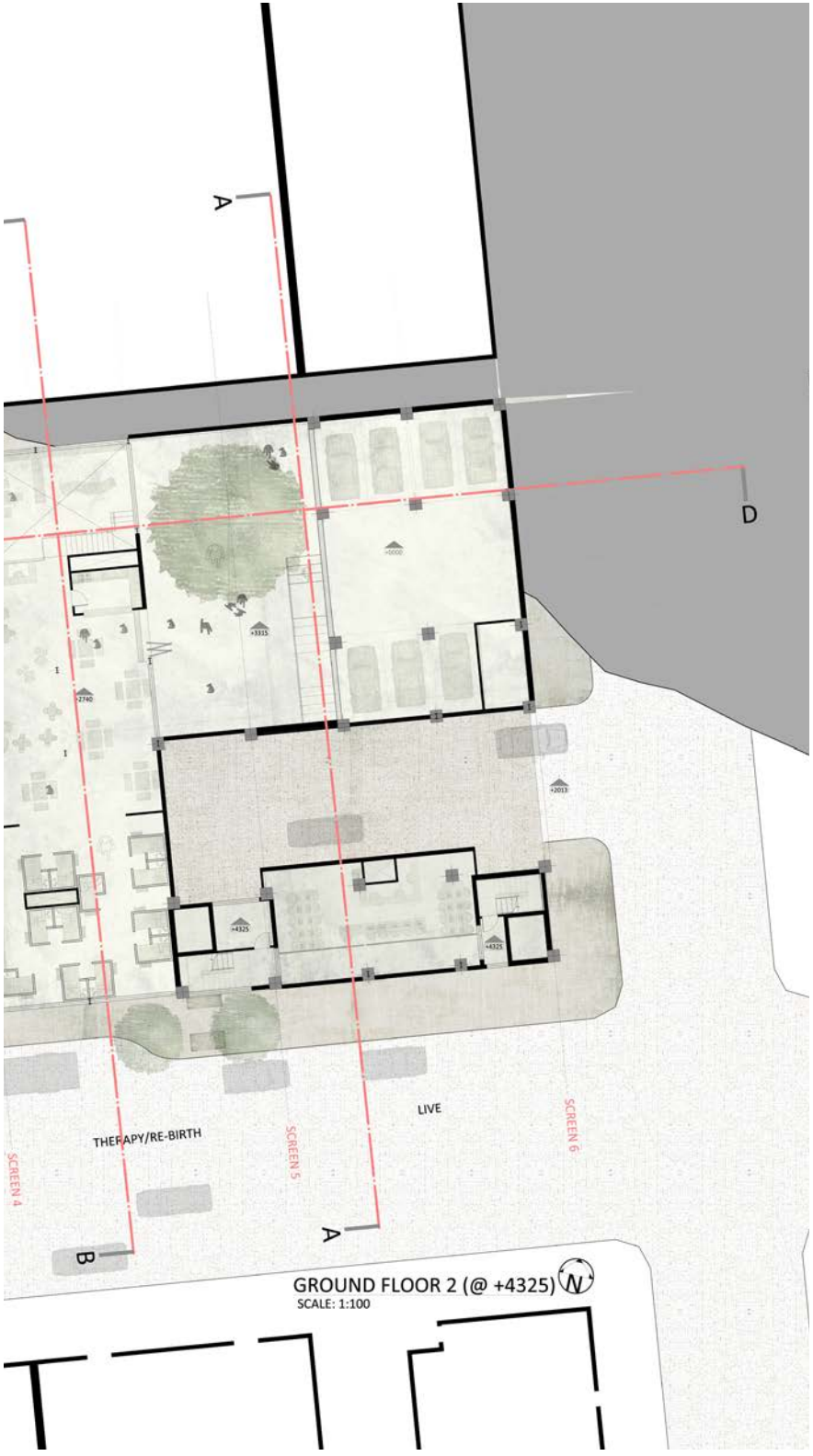


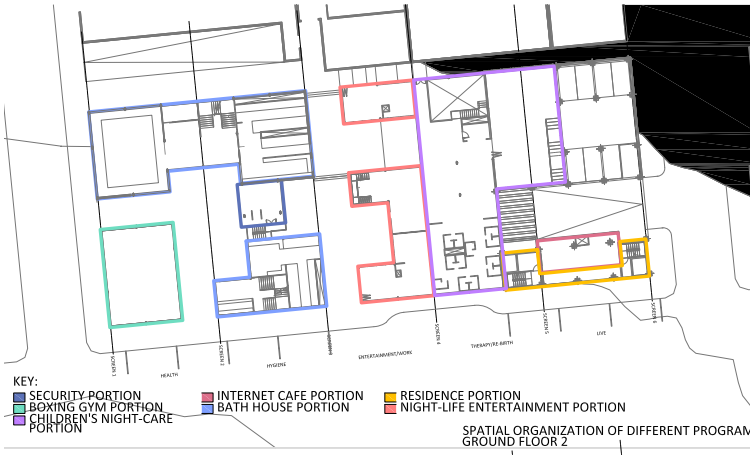
FIGURE 4.6: 'LIVE' SECTION A-A

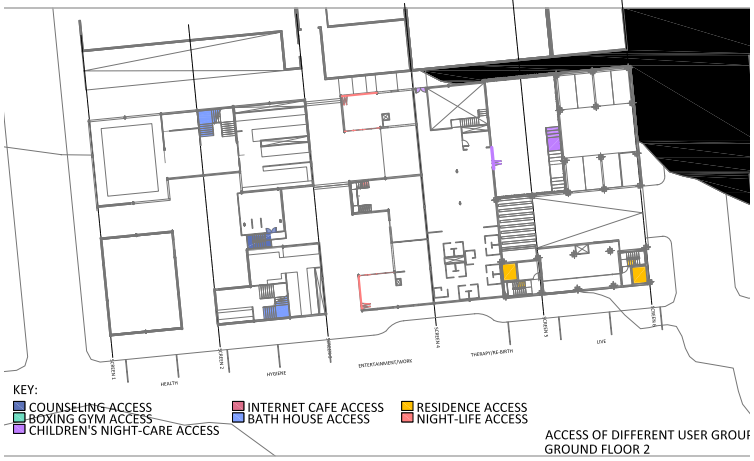
Not to scale



FIGURE 4.7: GROUND FLOOR PLAN 2
Not to scale







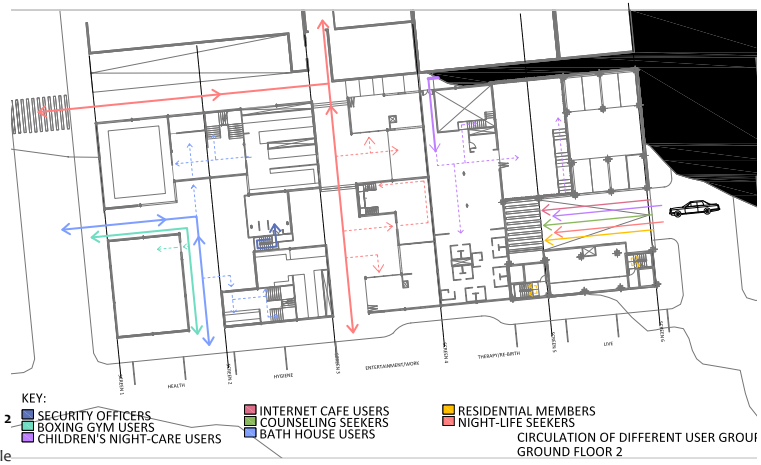


FIGURE 4.8: DIAGRAMS FOR GROUND FLOOR PLAN 2

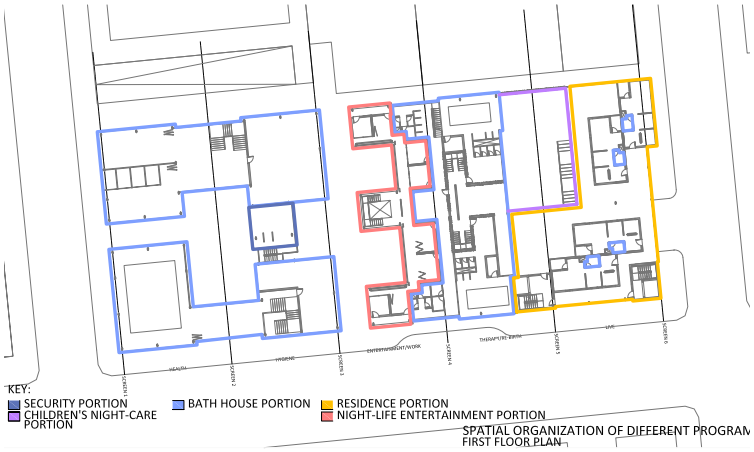
Not to scale



FIGURE 4.9: FIRST FLOOR PLAN

Not to scale







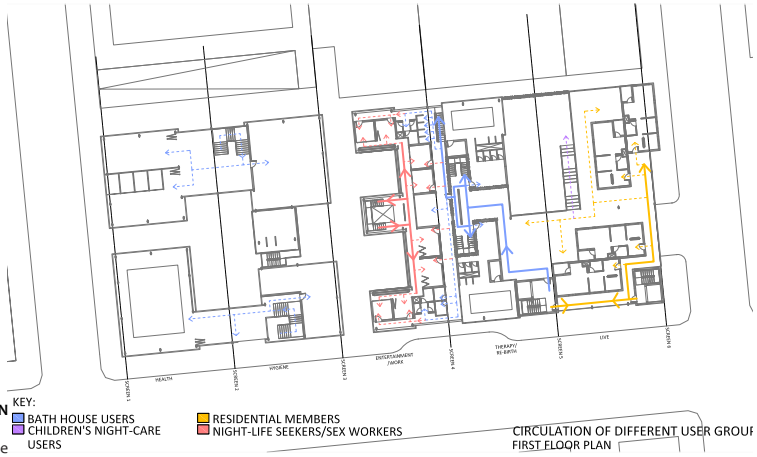


FIGURE 4.10: DIAGRAMS FOR FIRST FLOOR PLAN

Not to scale





FIGURE 4.11: 'THERAPY/REBIRTH' SECTION B-B

Not to scale



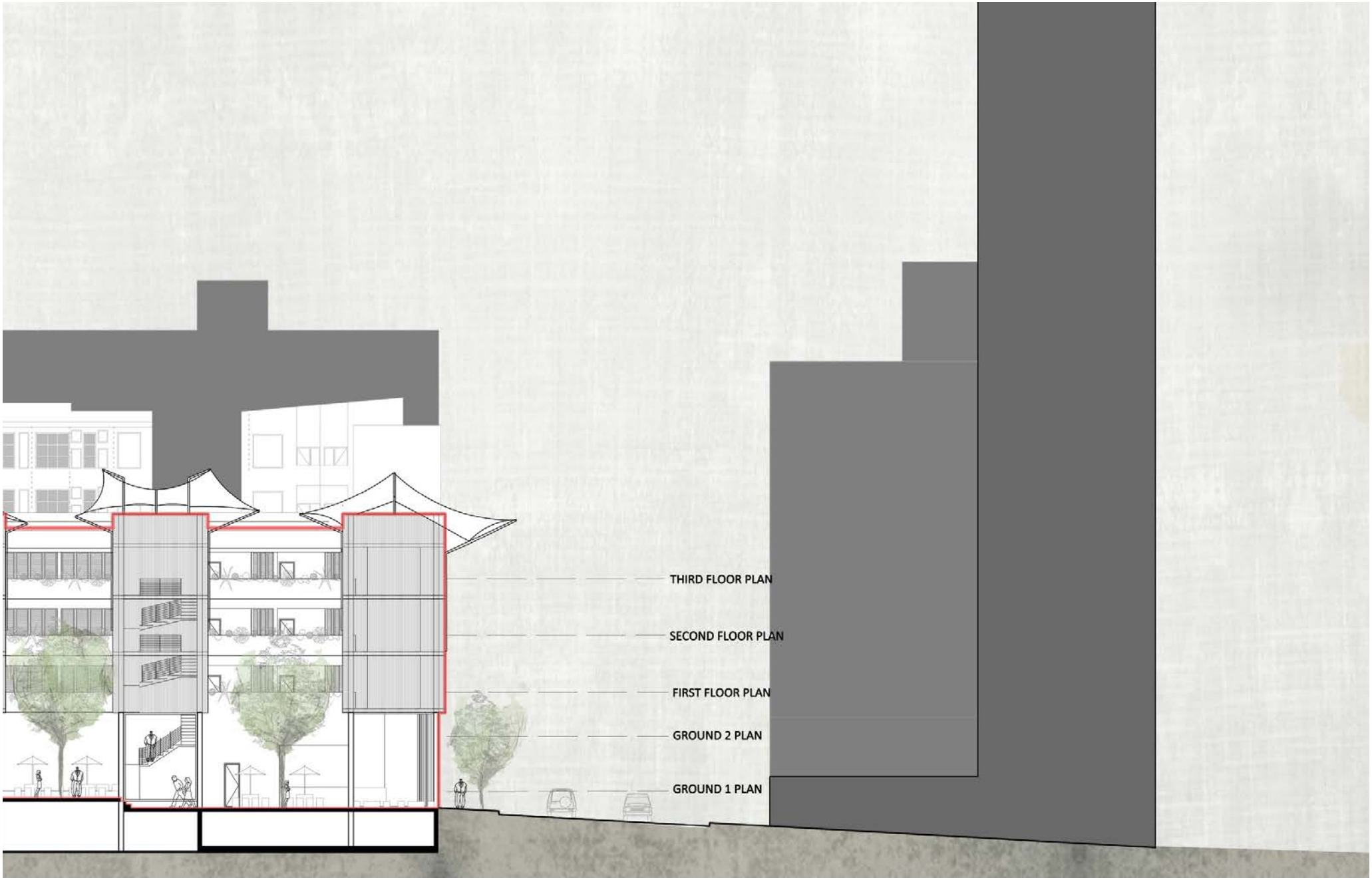


FIGURE 4.12: 'ENTERTAINMENT/WORK' SECTION C-C

Not to scale

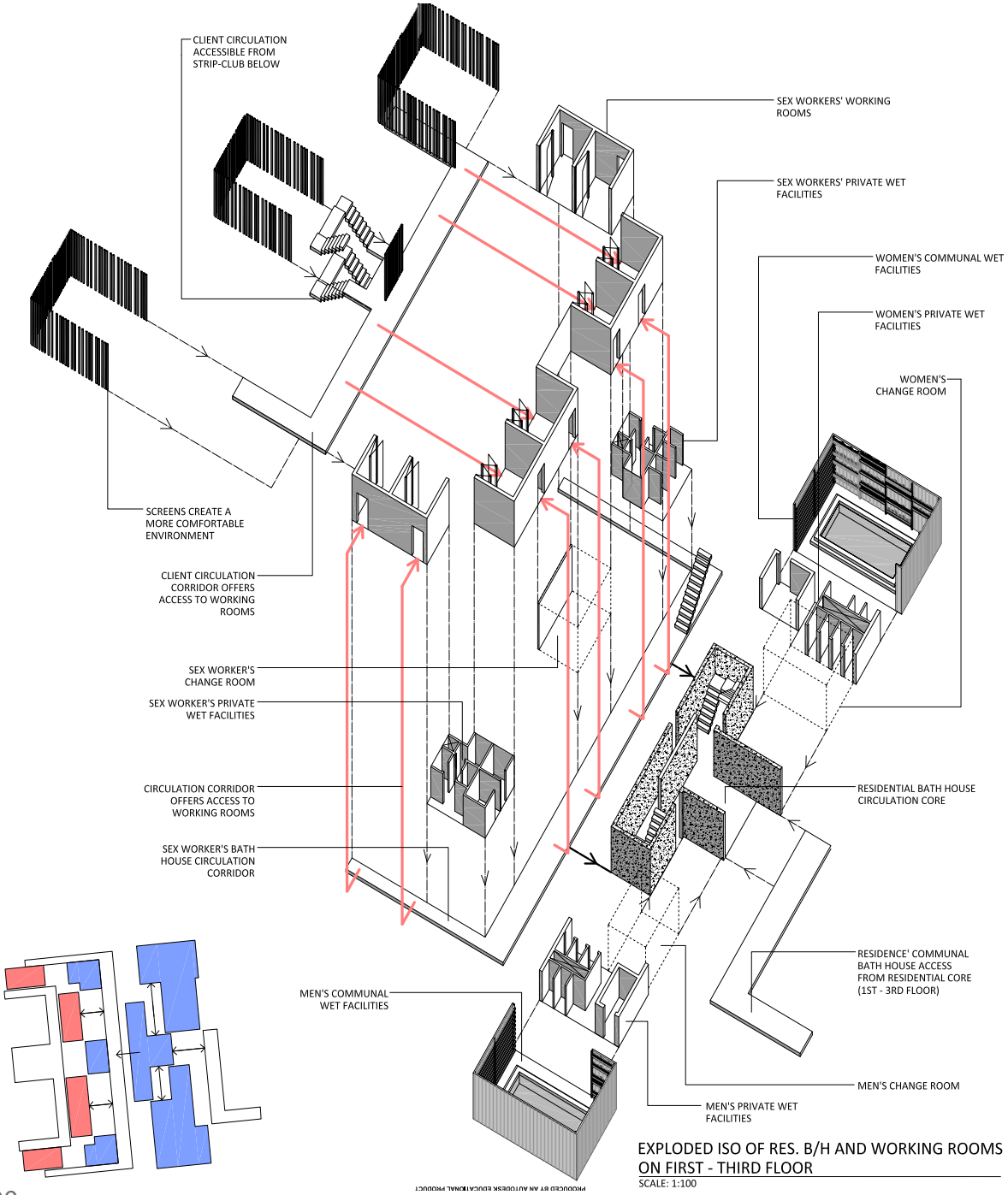


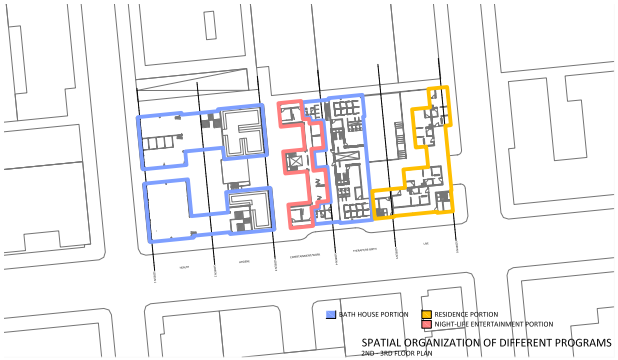
FIGURE 4.13: CIRCULATION BETWEEN RESIDENTIAL BATH HOUSE AND WORKING ROOMS

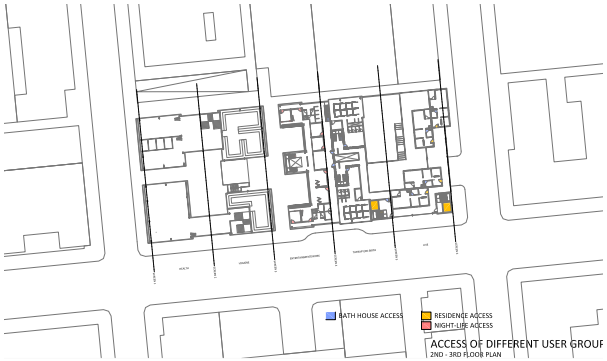
Not to scale



FIGURE 4.14: SECOND - THIRD FLOOR PLAN

Not to scale





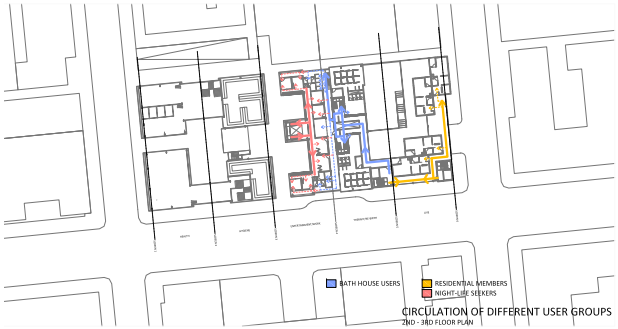
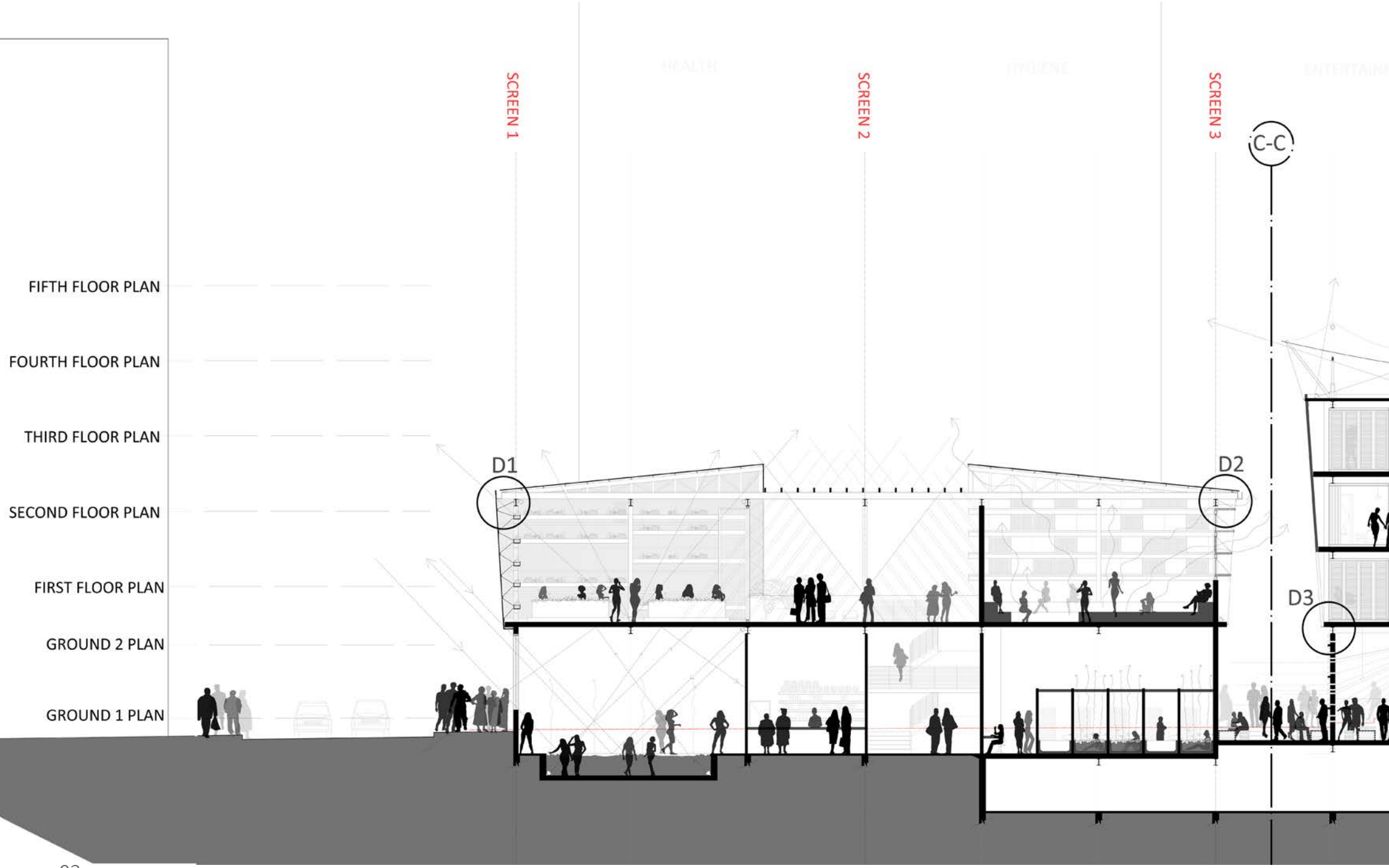


FIGURE 4.15: DIAGRAMS FOR SECOND - THIRD FLOOR PLAN

Not to scale


SCREEN 1
SCREEN 2
SCREEN 3
C-C
FIFTH FLOOR PLAN
FOURTH FLOOR PLAN
THIRD FLOOR PLAN
SECOND FLOOR PLAN
FIRST FLOOR PLAN
GROUND 2 PLAN
GROUND 1 PLAN
D1
D2
D3

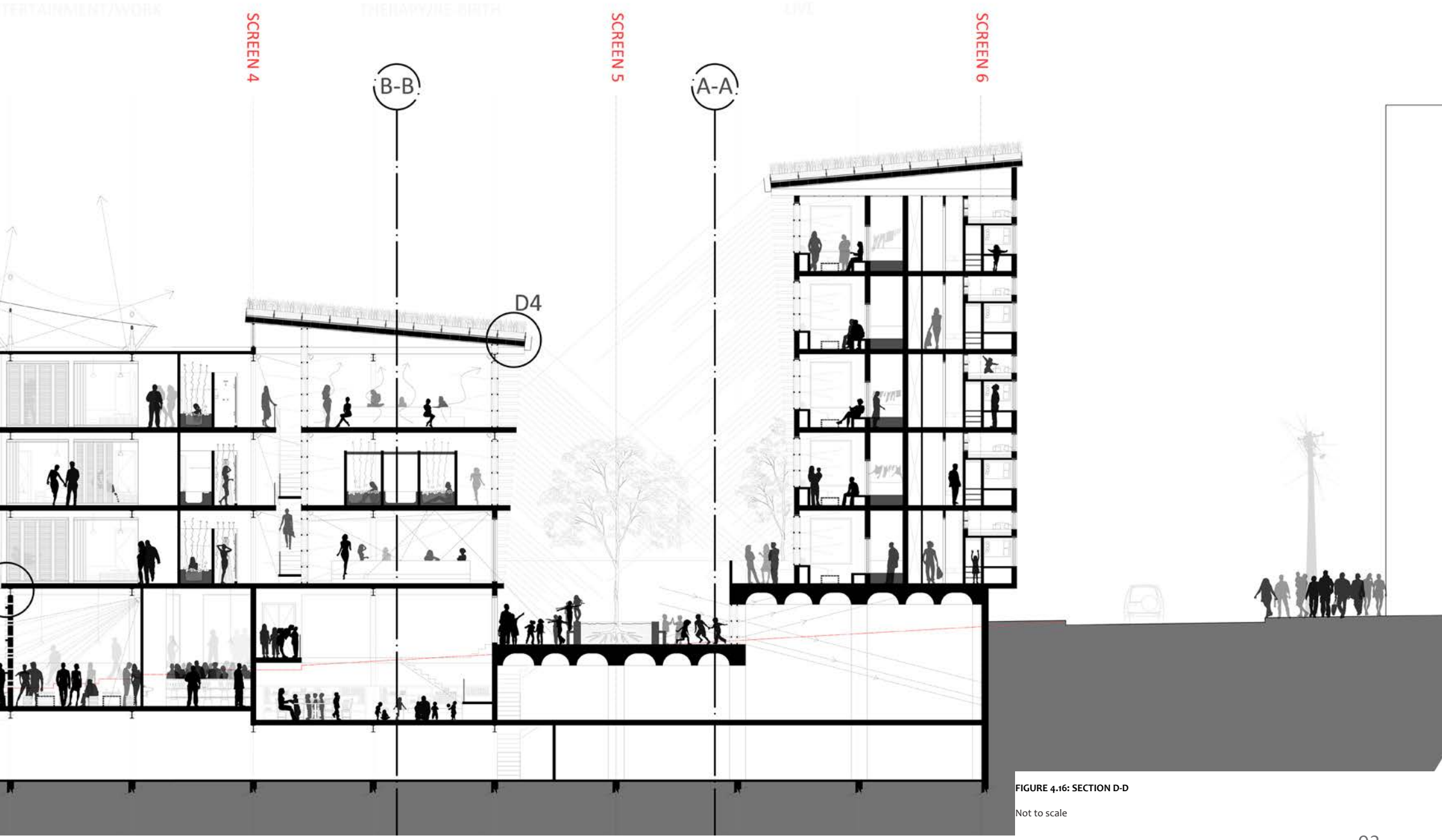


FIGURE 4.16: SECTION D-D

Not to scale

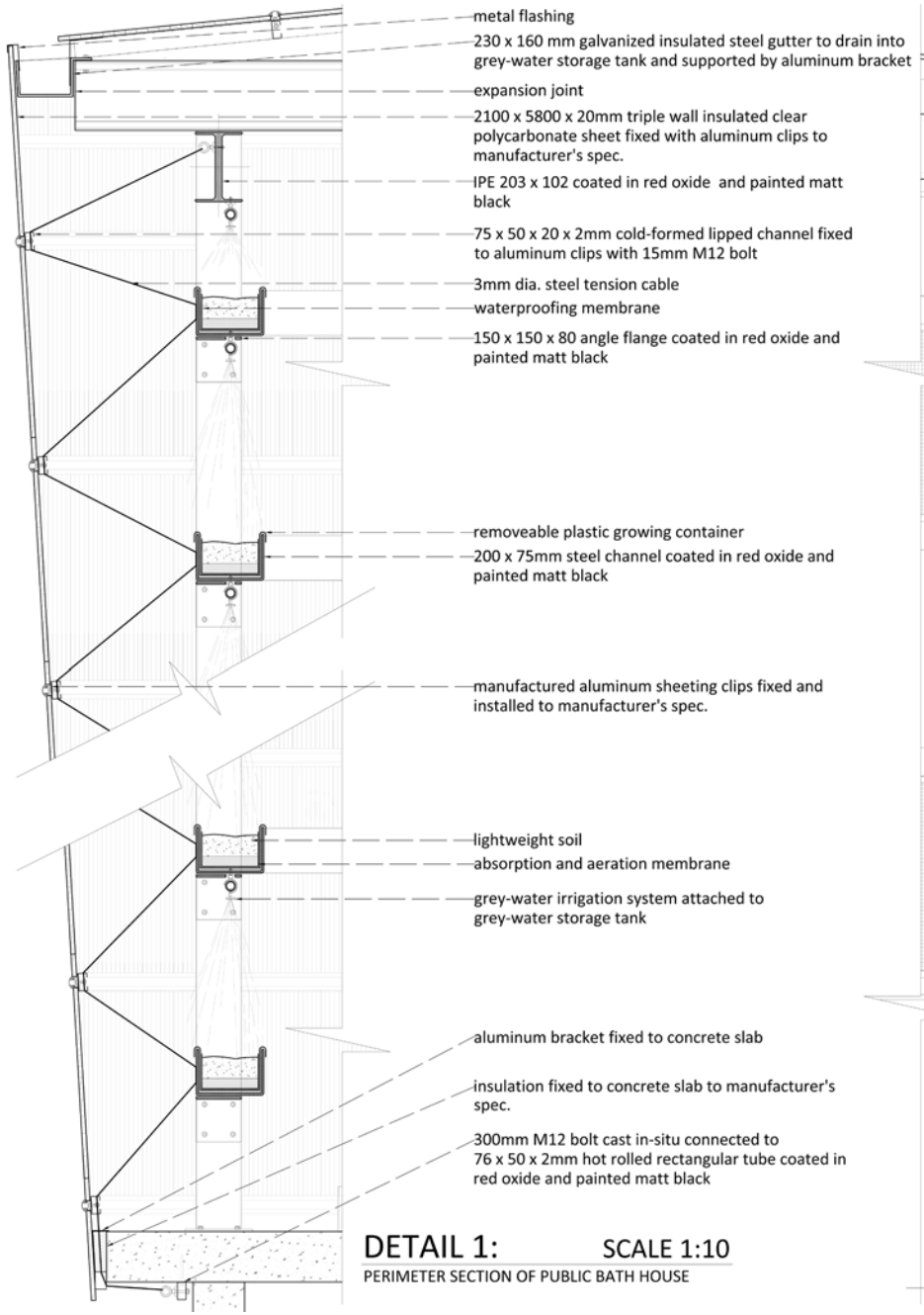


FIGURE 4.17: PERIMETER DETAIL 1 NOT TO SCALE

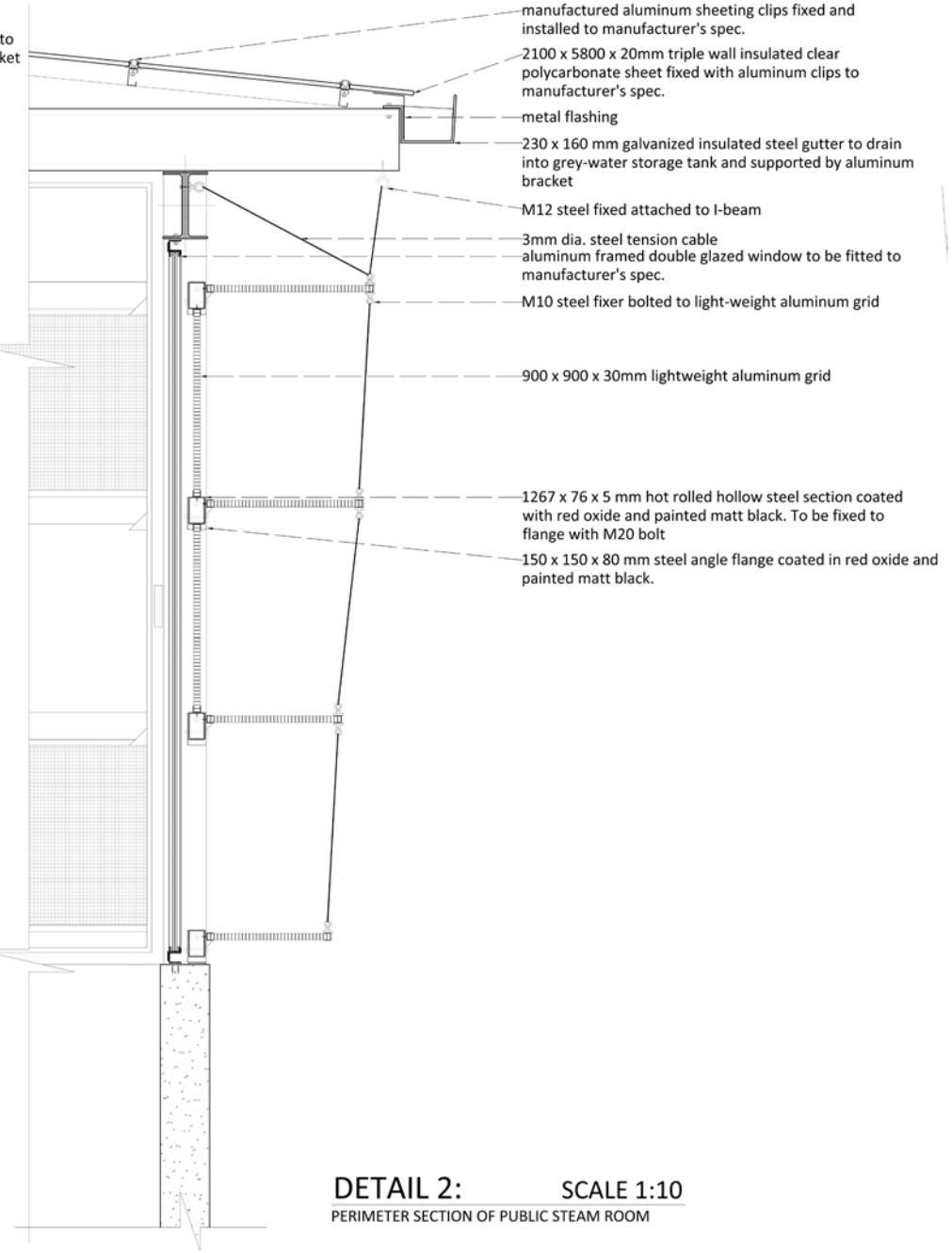


FIGURE 4.18: PERIMETER DETAIL 2 NOT TO SCALE

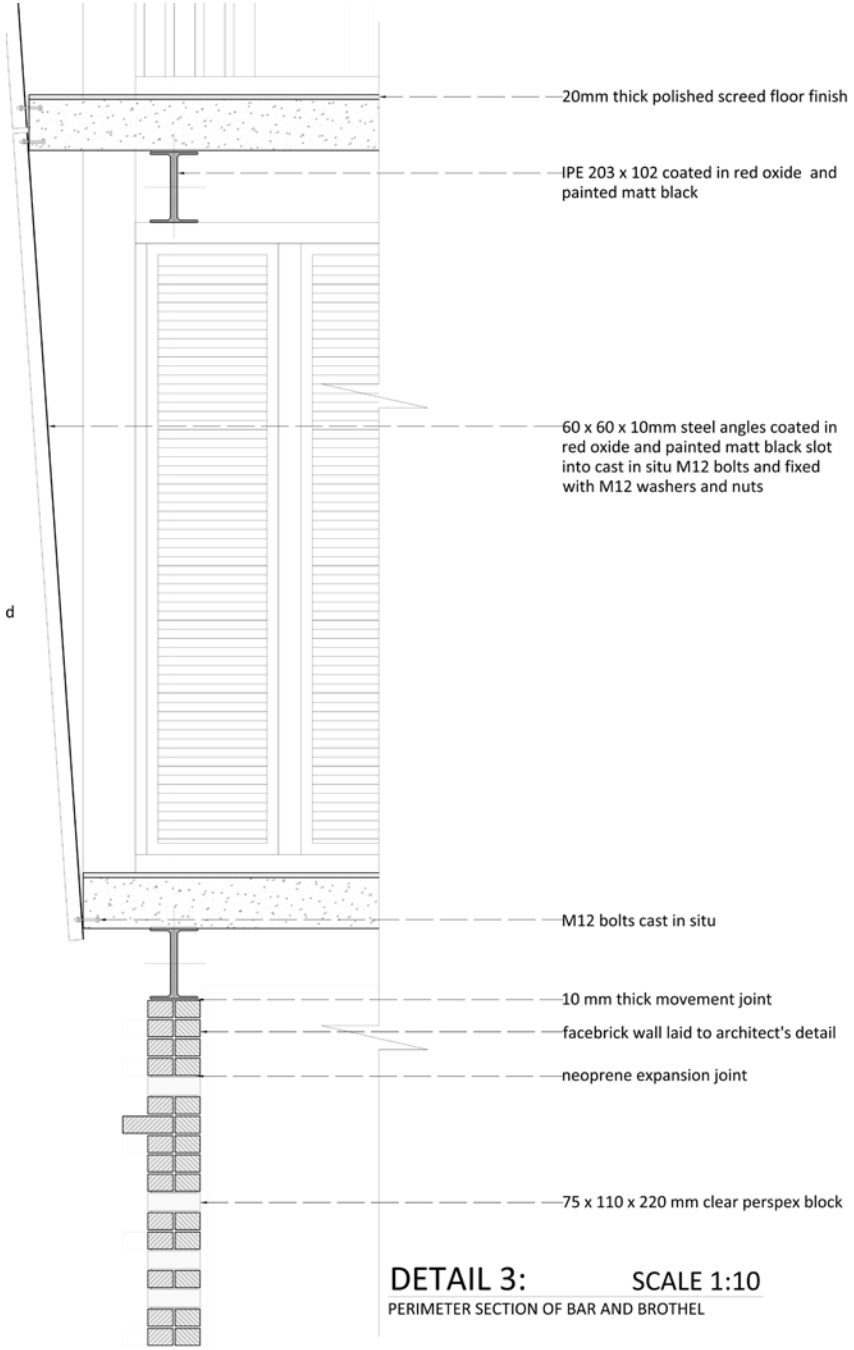


FIGURE 4.19: PERIMETER DETAIL 3 NOT TO SCALE

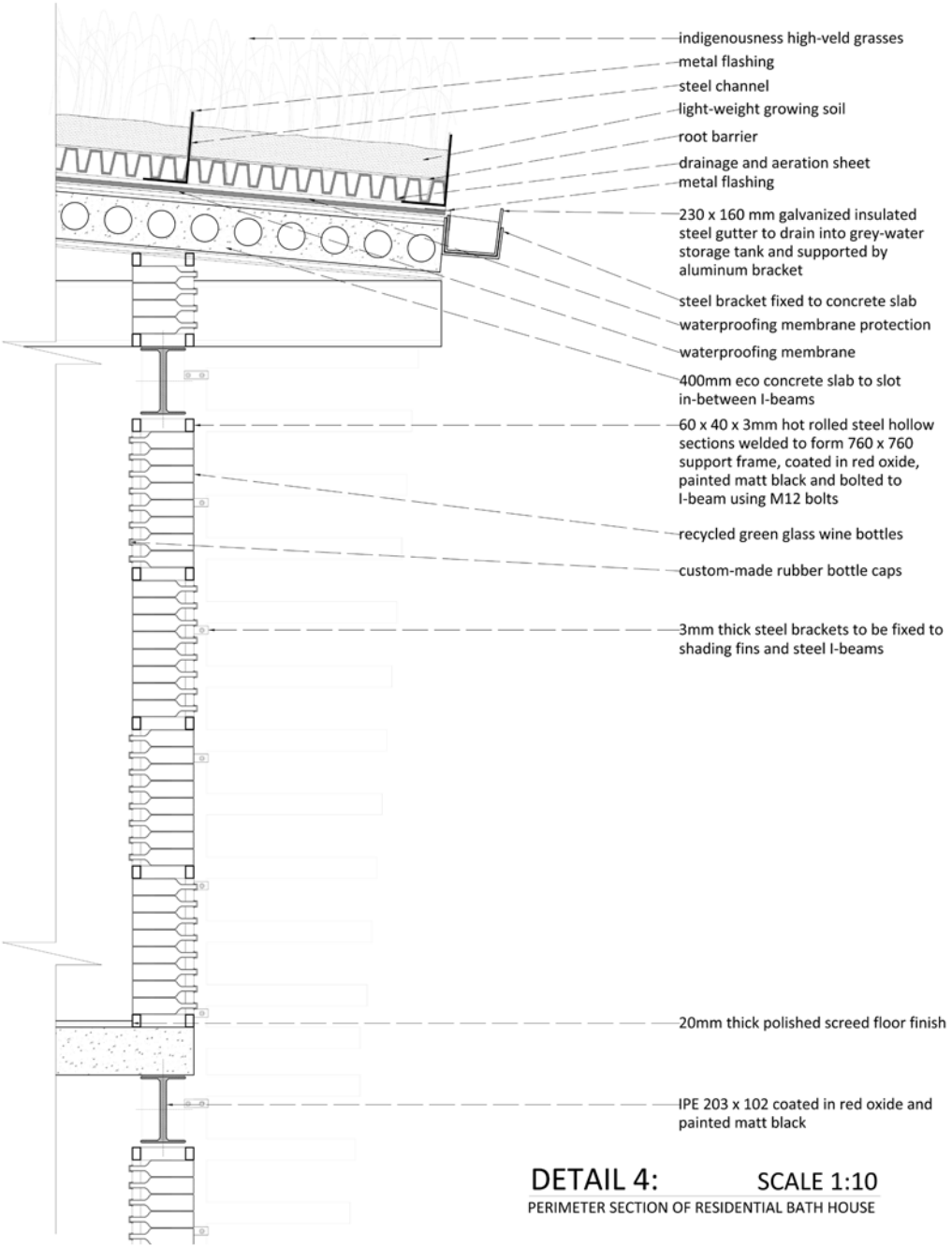


FIGURE 4.20: PERIMETER DETAIL 4 NOT TO SCALE



FIGURE 4.21: VIEW OF SEXING THE CITY LOOKING EAST

FIGURE 4.22: WESTERN ELEVATION OF SEXING THE CITY





FIGURE 4.23: VIEW OF SEXING THE CITY LOOKING NORTH WEST



FIGURE 4.24: COMMUNAL BATH HOUSE FACADE TREATMENT



FIGURE 4.25: VIEW OF SCREENED INTERNAL ENTERTAINMENT STREET



FIGURE 4.26: VIEW OF PRIVATE GREEN COURTYARD

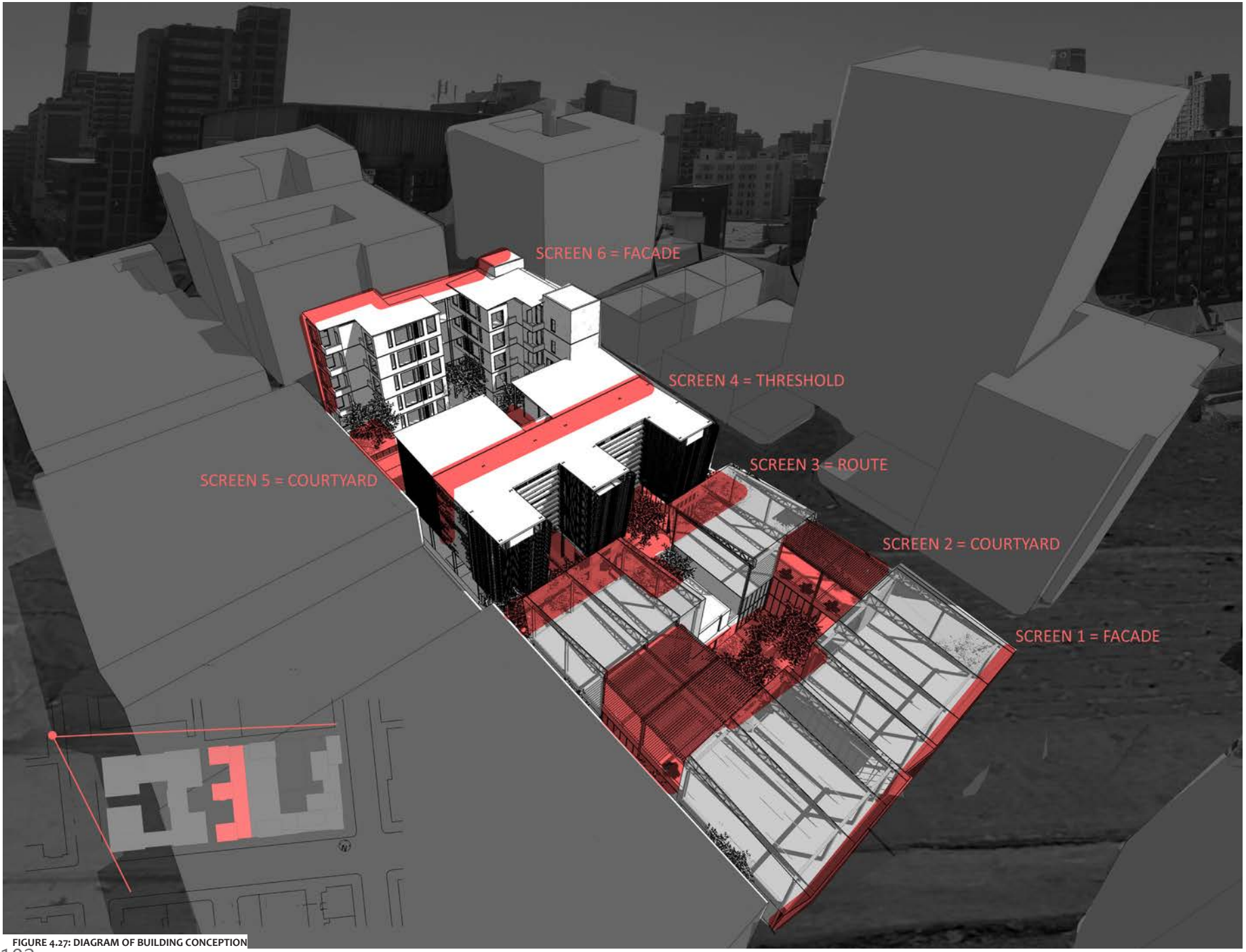


FIGURE 4.27: DIAGRAM OF BUILDING CONCEPTION

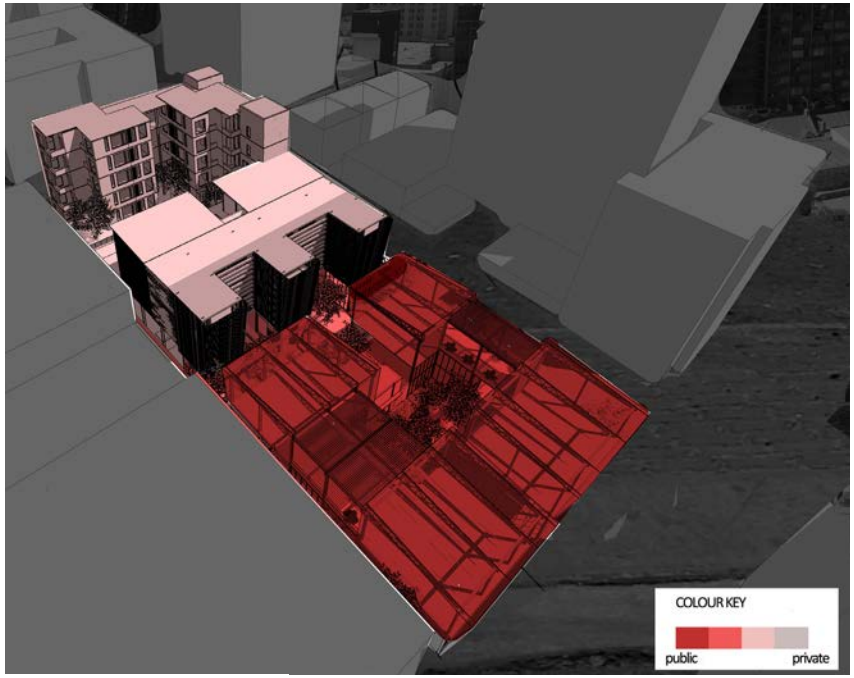


FIGURE 4.28: PUBLIC TO PRIVATE ZONES

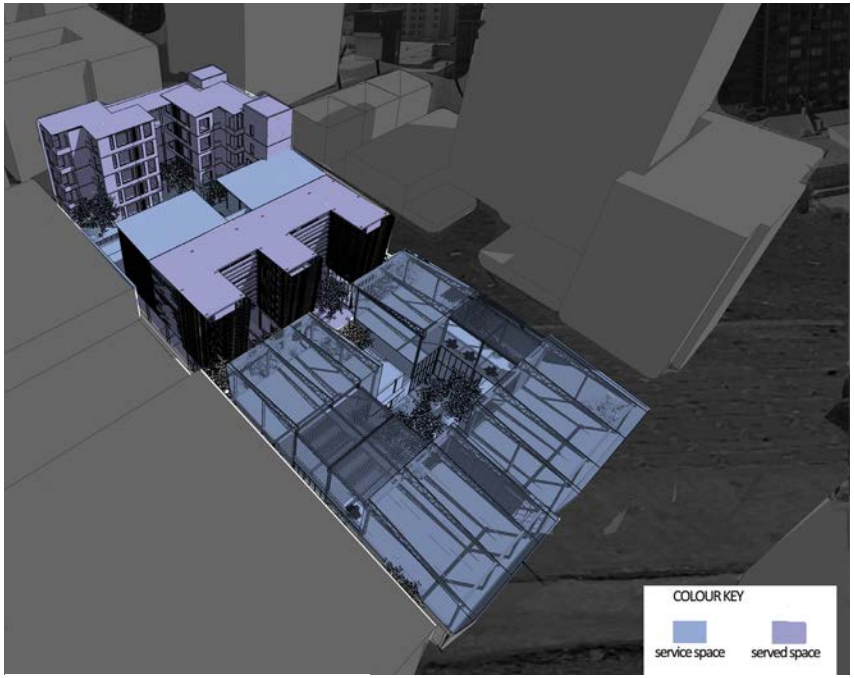


FIGURE 4.29: SERVICE AND SERVED ZONES



FIGURE 4.30: SEEN AND HIDDEN ZONES



FIGURE 4.31: BUILDING BACKS AND FRONTS



FIGURE 4.32: PHYSICAL MODEL TOP VIEW



FIGURE 4.33: PHYSICAL MODEL EASTERN ELEVATION



FIGURE 4.34: PHYSICAL MODEL ALLEY ELEVATION



FIGURE 4.35: INTERNAL ENTERTAINMENT STREET



FIGURE 4.36: SCREENED ENETRTAINMENT STREET



FIGURE 4.37: PRIVATE RESIDENTIAL COURTYARD



FIGURE 4.38: VARIETY OF BUILDING FACADES

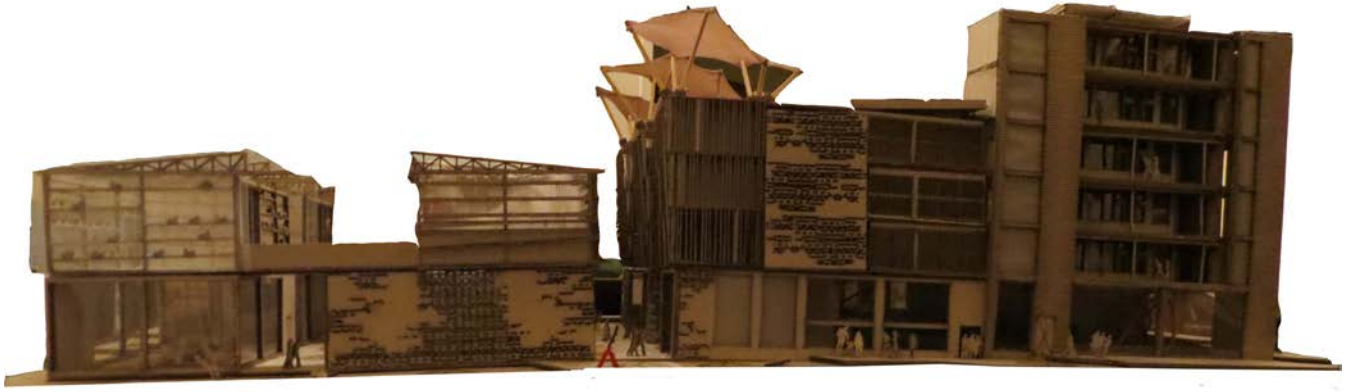


FIGURE 4.39: PHYSICAL MODEL STREET ELEVATION

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