



universität  
wien

# MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

„Sex (work) in the City:  
Analysis of Vienna's unique distribution of prostitution  
in the urban space“

verfasst von / submitted by

Veronika Johanna Ellensohn, BA BSc

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree  
of  
Master of Arts (MA)

Wien / Vienna, 2021

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt / degree programme code as it appears on the student record sheet:

UA 066 905

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt / degree programme as it appears on the student record sheet:

Masterstudium Soziologie

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Univ.-Prof. Yuri Albert Kyrill Kazepov, PhD

„Leider läßt sich eine wahrhafte Dankbarkeit mit Worten nicht ausdrücken.“  
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (dt. Dichter, 1749-1832)

## **Eidesstattliche Erklärung**

Hiermit erkläre ich, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit eigenständig und ohne fremde Hilfe angefertigt habe. Textpassagen, die wörtlich oder dem Sinn nach auf Publikationen oder Vorträgen anderer Autoren beruhen, sind als solche kenntlich gemacht.

Die Arbeit wurde bisher keiner anderen Prüfungsbehörde vorgelegt und auch noch nicht veröffentlicht.

Wien, 16. April 2021



---

Veronika J. Ellensohn

# CONTENT OVERVIEW

LIST OF TABLES .....	7
LIST OF FIGURES .....	7
<b>A SHORT PREFACE .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1. INTRODUCTION - SOCIOLOGICAL BRISANCE AND RELEVANCE OF SPATIAL RESEARCH ON SEX WORK.....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>2. LITERATURE REVIEW OF GEOGRAPHIES OF PROSTITUTION .....</b>	<b>4</b>
2.1. LOCATION DETERMINANTS OF THE FIRST URBAN SEX WORK ANALYSIS .....	5
2.2. THE INVOLVEMENT OF SOCIAL AND LEGAL REGULATION FACTORS.....	5
2.3. DIFFERENT PROSTITUTION POLICY REGIMES DETERMINING GEOGRAPHIES OF SEX WORK 6	
2.4. THE RECIPROCAL PRODUCTION OF SPACE.....	7
2.5. THE SEX WORKER’S VIEW: DELIBERATING ARREST OR VIOLENCE AND MAXIMIZING THE BUSINESS .....	8
2.6. RARE QUANTITATIVE APPROACHES: A SPATIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODEL .....	9
2.7. TRANSFORMATION OF SEX WORK THROUGH NEW TECHNOLOGY: THE INTERNET AS COMPETITOR.....	10
2.8. DISPLACEMENT OF SEX WORK: THE NOT-IN-MY-BACKYARD (NIMBY) PHENOMENON 10	
2.9. A PROMINENT THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: GENTRIFICATION .....	12
2.10. RARE ANALYSIS OF SPACES OF SEX WORK IN GERMAN-LANGUAGE LITERATURE. 13	
2.11. GEOGRAPHIES OF SEX WORK IN VIENNA: NO RED-LIGHT DISTRICT IN AUSTRIA’S CAPITAL? .....	14
2.12. DISCUSSING LIMITATIONS .....	14
<b>3. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES OF THIS THESIS.....</b>	<b>17</b>
3.1. VIENNA’S URBAN SPACES OF SEX WORK AS UNIQUE STUDY FIELD .....	17
3.2. CENTRAL RESEARCH QUESTIONS .....	18
3.3. BUILT-UP OF THIS MASTER THESIS .....	19
<b>4. THE CONCEPT OF GENTRIFICATION .....</b>	<b>20</b>
4.1. DEFINITION AND DELIMITATIONS .....	20
4.2. EXPLANATORY APPROACHES .....	22
4.3. GENTRIFICATION IN VIENNA IS DIFFERENT: SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF SOCIAL HOUSING.....	24
<b>5. METHODS AND DATA BASIS.....</b>	<b>27</b>
5.1. A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF VIENNA’S SEX WORK.....	28
5.2. LEGISLATIVE REGULATIONS: ANALYSIS OF PROSTITUTION LAWS .....	28
5.3. QUANTITATIVE STUDY DESIGN .....	28
5.4. QUALITATIVE APPROACHES .....	32
<b>6. THE HISTORY OF PROSTITUTION.....</b>	<b>34</b>
6.1. THE WORLD’S OLDEST PROFESSION? .....	34
6.2. EARLY APPEARANCES OF PROSTITUTION: NARRATIVES OF THE BIBLE AND GREEK MYTHOLOGY.....	35
6.3. FIRST DOCUMENTED VENUES OF PROSTITUTION IN VIENNA - ROMAN PERIOD 1ST CENTURY A.D. ....	35
6.4. THE RULE OF THE BABENBERGS FROM THE 10 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY .....	37
6.5. LATE MEDIEVAL AGES AND EARLY RENAISSANCE - THE RISE OF THE HABSBURGS 38	
6.6. THE VIENNESE BATHING ESTABLISHMENTS: AN ABRADED FORM OF BROTHELS.....	39
6.7. SOCIAL RECOGNITION OF SEX WORKERS AMONGST THE HABSBURGS .....	39

6.8.	THE CLOSURE OF BROTHELS IN THE 16TH CENTURY: A SHIFT TO ILLEGAL PREMISES 39	
6.9.	MARIA THERESIA AND THE CRUELTY TO PREVENT PROSTITUTION .....	40
6.10.	THE 18 <sup>TH</sup> AND THE 19 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: MOBILE PROSTITUTION BARS – “PORZELLANFUHREN” .....	41
6.11.	SEX WORK DURING AND AFTER WORLD WAR I & II: BEGIN OF THE ERA OF SEXUAL REVOLUTION AFTER WORLD WAR I.....	43
6.12.	THE CHANGE OF PROSTITUTION DUE TO THE UPHEAVALS OF 1989 .....	44
<b>7.</b>	<b>LEGISLATIVE REGULATIONS: ANALYSIS OF PROSTITUTION LAWS .....</b>	<b>45</b>
7.1.	DIFFERENT POLICY REGIMES: COMPARISON ACROSS THE EU .....	45
7.2.	SEX MARKET REGULATIONS IN AUSTRIA .....	48
7.3.	LEGAL SITUATION IN AUSTRIA’S FEDERAL STATES .....	49
7.4.	DEFINITION OF PROSTITUTION .....	52
7.5.	THE “WIENER PROSTITUTIONSGESETZ 2011” .....	52
7.6.	PROSTITUTION LAW LOBBYING IN AUSTRIA: SEX WORK AS AN ANTI-EMANCIPATORY PHENOMENON.....	54
7.7.	MOBILITY OF SEX WORKERS: GEOGRAPHICAL IMPLICATIONS .....	55
7.8.	SPATIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE „WIENER PROSTITUTIONSGESETZ 2011“ .....	56
<b>8.</b>	<b>MANIFESTATIONS OF PROSTITUTION .....</b>	<b>57</b>
8.1.	SPACES OF SEX WORK IN AUSTRIA.....	57
8.2.	CURRENT TRENDS .....	58
8.3.	PROBLEMS: HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND THE NON-TRANSPARENT SEX MARKET .....	58
8.4.	THE QUANTITATIVE DIMENSION OF SEX WORK: LICENSED BROTHELS .....	59
8.5.	VARYING FORMS OF PROSTITUTION VENUES IN VIENNA .....	59
8.6.	CHANGING SPACES OF SEX WORK: THE ROLE OF DIGITAL MEDIA .....	63
<b>9.</b>	<b>RESULTS OF QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS .....</b>	<b>64</b>
9.1.	DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS .....	64
9.2.	MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION .....	70
9.3.	GRAPHIC ILLUSTRATION OF RESULTS .....	75
<b>10.</b>	<b>CASE STUDY – THE “STUWERVIERTEL”: AN EXEMPLARY ANALYSIS OF GENTRIFICATION PROCESSES AT LOCAL LEVEL .....</b>	<b>78</b>
10.1.	THE DEMARCATION OF THE "GRÄTZEL" ( <i>VIENNESE TERM FOR RANGE</i> ) STUWERVIERTEL .....	78
10.2.	GENTRIFICATION IN THE 2ND DISTRICT? .....	79
10.3.	THE STUWERVIERTEL CHANGES: INFRASTRUCTURE EXPANSION OF THE U2 UNDERGROUND LINE IN 2008 .....	80
10.4.	THE NEW LAW ENFORCEMENT (2011) ENTAILS SIGNIFICANT CHANGES FOR STREET SEX WORK IN THE STUWERVIERTEL .....	80
10.5.	RELOCATION OF THE VIENNA UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS (2013) 81	
10.6.	REVALUATION THROUGH STUDENTIFICATION .....	82
10.7.	ROADBLOCKS IN THE STUWERVIERTEL .....	83
10.8.	BUILDINGS CONSTRUCTED BEFORE 1945: THE OLD BUILDING SECTOR AS A TARGET OF GENTRIFICATION DEVELOPMENTS.....	84
10.9.	THE TARNISHED IMAGE OF THE STUWERVIERTEL IN TRANSITION .....	86
10.10.	DISPLACEMENT OF PROSTITUTION PARLORS IN THE STUWERVIERTEL? .....	87
10.11.	GENTRIFICATION PROCESSES DETERMINING GEOGRAPHIES OF SEX WORK .....	91
<b>11.</b>	<b>RESEARCH DURING COVID-19-PANDEMIC AND ITS IMPACT ON THE PROSTITUTION BUSINESS .....</b>	<b>92</b>

<b>12. DISCUSSION</b> .....	<b>94</b>
12.1. PROSTITUTION POLICY DETERMINING GEOGRAPHIES OF SEX WORK.....	95
12.2. GENTRIFICATION CONTRIBUTING TO DISPLACING PROSTITUTION .....	96
12.3. CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF QUANTITATIVE RESULTS .....	97
12.4. DISCUSSING THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT: COMPARISONS ACROSS EUROPEAN CITIES	100
12.5. REFLECTION AND POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS .....	102
<b>13. LIMITATIONS</b> .....	<b>102</b>
<b>14. CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>104</b>
<b>15. REFERENCES</b> .....	<b>106</b>
<b>16. APPENDIX</b> .....	<b>111</b>
16.1. ABSTRACT .....	111
16.2. INTERVIEW TRANSKRIPT PROF. ROLAND GIRTNER.....	112
16.3. LICENSED BROTHELS IN VIENNA .....	117

## List of tables

Table 1. Number of brothels per district in Vienna (own representation).....	66
Table 2. Logarithmic annual net income per person over Vienna’s districts. ....	67
Table 3. Correlation matrix between socio-structural variables and brothel density .....	68
Table 4. Correlation matrix of educational or economic variables compared with brothel density.....	69
Table 5. Correlation matrix of citizenship and educational background variables in comparison with brothel density .....	70
Table 6. Results of unadjusted and adjusted multiple linear regression analyses to identify socio-economic characteristics associated with the proportional number of brothels per density of census district in Vienna, 2015 .....	72
Table 7. Coefficients of unadjusted and adjusted multiple linear regression analyses to identify associations for buildings by construction year ranging from before 1919 to after 2006 with the number of brothels per density of census district in Vienna, 2015. ....	73
Table 8. Coefficients of unadjusted and adjusted multiple linear regression analyses including the significant variables of model 1 & model 1.a., associated with the proportional number of brothels per density of census district in Vienna, 2015.....	74
Table 9. Absolute numbers of buildings per year of construction in the Stuwerviertel (Own representation, based on data of the register census 2011).....	85
Table 10. Comparison of brothels in the Stuwerviertel 2015-2021: Presentation of acquisition by another instance (+), highlighted with grey background - continued brothels (-) with white background (Own representation) .....	88

## List of figures

Figure 1. Studio in the 20th district of Vienna, which blends in neatly with the surrounding cityscape. Taken during a walk through Vienna in April 2020.....	1
Figure 2. Overview of Vienna’s 23 districts with serial numbers (Source: <a href="https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wiener_Gemeindebezirke">https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wiener_Gemeindebezirke</a> , access 14 March 2021).....	29
Figure 3. Overview of Vienna’s 250 census districts (Own representation using QGIS).....	30
Figure 4. Excavations at Michaelerplatz. Between 1989 and 1991, the Michaelerplatz was extensively archaeologically investigated, where signs of brothels from the Roman era could be found. (Source: <a href="https://www.wienmuseum.at/de/standorte/ausgrabungen-michaelerplatz">https://www.wienmuseum.at/de/standorte/ausgrabungen-michaelerplatz</a> , access 23 February 2021) ...	36
Figure 5. Animated graphic of the Roman military camp “Vindobona” (Source: <a href="https://www.wien.gv.at/english/history/overview/romans.html">https://www.wien.gv.at/english/history/overview/romans.html</a> , access 23 February 2021).....	37
Figure 6. “Albertine Plan”, the oldest known plan-like representation of Vienna, originated in 1420/1421. The map also shows Pressburg, which is today’s Bratislava (Slovakia) – as can be seen as circle in the upper left part of the plan. The representation is named after the Roman-German King Albrecht II. (Source: <a href="https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Albertinischer_Plan_(1421/1422)">https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Albertinischer_Plan_(1421/1422)</a> , access 23 February 2021) .....	38
Figure 7. VIENNA AVSTRIAE (Vienna in Austria). Bird's-eye view of Vienna from the North, originated in 1640 and dedicated to Kaiser Ferdinand III (as can be read at the logo in the bottom-right corner). It shows the still medieval like appearance before the shift to baroque style had occurred. (Source: <a href="https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Wien_1609_1640_ArM.jpg">https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Wien_1609_1640_ArM.jpg</a> , access 23 February 2021) ..	40
Figure 8. Vienna in 1830. The red square indicates the area of the amusement prater and “Praterstern”, which are still today’s areas with significant amount of sex work (Source: <a href="https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geschichte_Wiens">https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geschichte_Wiens</a> , access 25 February 2021).....	42
Figure 9. Death and destruction after World War II: Reconstruction begin of Vienna’s opera house in 1945, right next to Kärntnerstraße. (Source: <a href="https://wien.orf.at/v2/news/stories/2796647/">https://wien.orf.at/v2/news/stories/2796647/</a> , access 26 February 2021) .....	43
Figure 10. Presentation of different regulation models in European countries .....	47
Figure 11. Own representation based on Girtler (2013), Wagner & Winter (2014) and information from the federal ministry of the interior (bmi.gv.at).....	51
Figure 12. Permitted areas of street prostitution over Vienna’s districts (yellow).....	54

Figure 13. google maps search results of “Laufhaus” in Vienna. As visible “Laufhäuser” are - similar to Nightclubs - mostly in the outer districts, only a marginal amount is located in the inner districts. Screenshots taken on 07 May 2020. ....	60
Figure 14. google maps search results of “Studio” in Vienna. Screenshots taken on 07 May 2020.....	60
Figure 15. google maps search results of “Nightclubs” in Vienna. Nightclubs are seemingly almost entirely located in the suburbs. Screenshots taken on 07 May 2020. ....	61
Figure 16. google maps search results of “Saunaclub” in Vienna. Similar to Nightclubs, they are almost entirely located in the suburbs. Screenshots taken 08.03.21 .....	61
Figure 17. incorporated zones of legal street prostitution in Vienna, based on data of the federal government. (Source: <a href="https://dieraum20.at/?page_id=2846">https://dieraum20.at/?page_id=2846</a> ) .....	62
Figure 18. Total number of permitted prostitution establishments in Vienna, indicated by red dots in 2015 (own representation created with QGIS).....	65
Figure 19. Distribution of prostitution locations per census district (own representation using QGIS). 66	
Figure 20. Overview of Vienna: Number of people with Turkish and Ex-Yugoslavian citizenship associated with the spatial distribution of brothels in 2011, indicated by red dots (own representation). ....	75
Figure 21. Number of unemployed people associated with the spatial distribution of brothels in 2011(own representation). ....	76
Figure 22. Number of buildings constructed before 1919 associated with the spatial distribution of brothels in 2011, indicated by red dots (own representation).....	77
Figure 23. fig. 1 Google maps result, delineating the region of the “Stuwerviertel”, red bordered.....	79
Figure 24. The geographical proximity of the Stuwerviertel (marked red) and the University of Economics linked to the distribution of brothels (indicated by red dots). (Own representation, created with QGIS). ....	82
Figure 25. Straßenbarrieren im Stuwerviertel (Source: <a href="https://www.diepresse.com/1459467/wirtschaftsuni-neu-das-stuwerviertel-wacht-auf">https://www.diepresse.com/1459467/wirtschaftsuni-neu-das-stuwerviertel-wacht-auf</a> , access 29 March 2021).....	83
Figure 26. Census districts of the Stuwerviertel.....	84
Figure 27. Share of older dwellings (built before 1945) in all flats (Source: Kadi & Verlic, 2019, p. 38) .....	86
Figure 28. In-Café “Retro” (own representation, photo taken on 25 March 2021).....	89
Figure 29. image 1. In-Café “Retro” (own representation, photo taken on 25 March 2021).....	89
Figure 30. Laufhaus, Max-Winter-Platz, next to an elementary school.....	89
Figure 31. image 3. Jasmin Bar &Studio Zanet (own representation, photo taken on 25 March 2021). 90	
Figure 32. Stuwierstraße 19. Schriftzug „NEU NEU NEU – Schöne Mädchen erwarten dich“ (Lettering "NEW NEW NEW - Beautiful girls are waiting for you") (own representation, photo taken on 25 March 2021) .....	90



## A short preface

The outbreak of the Corona virus had a massive impact turning all our lives upside down with the world facing severe consequences. In this short amount of time, the novel virus has changed day-to-day-life in most parts of the world entirely and, in my case, it has contributed to the idea for this Master's thesis. Since the state induced lockdown has been implemented in Austria on March 2020, going for walks has been booming. It costs nothing and is considered to be good for your health - after all, it was the only activity allowed. Thus, in order to somehow maintain a daily routine, my daily hobby was to go for walks and let the urban space of Vienna work its magic on me - and to reflect on it. Consequently, I started walking through the streets much more consciously, which suddenly made me realize how many brothels are located in my immediate vicinity - and this without me ever having noticed it before. So, quite inconspicuously, it says "Studio" at the entrance to a house, and it's only when you get closer that it becomes clear that it indicates a prostitution venue. Other brothels are much more eye-catching - large advertising signs indicate that sex work is taking place behind these covered doors. While reflecting on it, I wondered why the brothels are located exactly at this location and not somewhere else. So which factors might come together that lead to a location decision? With questions in mind like this, I started researching for this master's thesis, the result of which I would like to present to you herewith...



*Figure 1. Studio in the 20th district of Vienna, which blends in neatly with the surrounding cityscape. Taken during a walk through Vienna in April 2020*

## **1. Introduction - Sociological brisance and relevance of spatial research on sex work**

Cities as agglomerations of human settlement are characterized by multifaceted dynamic environments condensing in the urban realm. A multitude of social and cultural aspects converge, actively constituting and forming metropolitan modernity (Mort & Nead, 2000). Ever since the emergence of cities, amongst others, one phenomenon has been a manifest feature: prostitution. Sex work can be considered as one of the most controversially discussed thematic fields, characterized by discrimination and social neglect, constituting an issue of deviant behavior in social sciences. As such, it has received paradoxical attributions, being romanticized and frequently accessed but simultaneously characterized by discrimination and social neglect (Singelenberg & VanGent, 2020). Interestingly, despite being deemed as a social problem, prostitution is historically manifest and furthermore almost globally commonly consulted.

Evidently, cities are also subject to constant transformation, the coexistence of diverse individuals from heterogeneous social strata requires tolerance and adaptation among people; what is tolerated has to be renegotiated again and again, including the spaces of prostitution (Ruhne, 2006). Changes in moral and ethical concepts are assumed to have a reciprocal influence on openness to "strangers" or foreigners in public space. Considering recent developments, cities have been changing especially since the 1980s due to neoliberalisation, with gentrification processes increasingly emerging: urban policies and developments force gentrification processes in order to upgrade, modernize and attract city districts. Neoliberal city policies of gentrification increasingly produce the exclusion of certain social groups (Kadi & Verlic, 2019), increasingly targeting red-light districts. In spite of the fact that sex work venues are to some extent socially accepted, for residents and certain stakeholders they are to be kept away from the social space, from everyday urban life: Areas with prostitution venues are often considered marginal and do not fit into the concept of a "*cultivated urban landscape*" (Rune, 2006, p. 193). However, the visibility of brothels is by no means (yet) completely removed from the public perception - eye-catching neon signs are often prominently noticeable, which are characteristic for the presence of brothels.

Thus, in analysing gentrifying characters, an understanding of the location and functioning of urban areas offers the possibility to reveal significant aspects of the

social and political structure of a city. Building upon it, this thesis aims to analyse gentrification processes with regard to the spatial state of sex work in Vienna, questioning *which factors influence the localization of prostitution venues in Vienna? Furthermore, which role does gentrification play?* The eclatant sociological relevance arises from the issue that, the spatial study of sex work from a spatial-sociological perspective through the lens of gentrification processes enables to make visible the hidden urban forms and structures, as well as their characteristic principles of location and functional interconnections with the urban space.

The research area of spatial aspects of sex work in Vienna can be considered as a new field of research, and as a result lacking valid data, respectively research to build hypotheses on. Thus, this thesis pursues an exploratory approach with the research focus being on the discovery with the intention to contribute to future research that can build upon it through exploratively approaching the field. Therefore, different spaces and forms of sex work are to be made visible through a broad structural and framework analysis. For the analysis of such a multifaceted process, several indicators are used for measurement, thus the methodological structure follows a multi-scalar approach. The literature review is to be seen as an explorative starting point on which factors are extracted that are to be applied to the research field of the City Vienna. Identifying those numerous facets, the methods used comprise multiple linear regression models drawn on secondary data analysis, a qualitative approach by means of an expert interview as well as a case study as an exemplary analysis of gentrification processes at local level.

In the following chapter, the literature review is presented and based on this, a comprehensive presentation of a detailed built-up of this thesis follows.

## **2. Literature review of geographies of prostitution**

The following chapter is aiming to provide a chronological overview of the current state of the art in literature examining geographies of sex work. The beginning scientific research of prostitution districts – often described as “vice districts” can be found in various sociological literature already dating back to the nineteenth century (Booth 1889, Park & Burgess, 1925; Reckless 1926; as cited in Liempt & Chimienti, 2017). Notably, at the beginning of the 20th century, research of prostitution was mainly located in the field of 'deviance research' (Löw & Ruhne, 2011). However, most of the literature concentrated on regulation of especially street prostitution and strategies of sex workers to attract clients as discussed in Williams (2014). From the existing literature can be deduced, that research on geographies of prostitution aiming to explain where sex work occurs in cities is considered scarce. Research on this is only slowly gaining momentum, according to Liempt & Chimenti (2017) especially impelled by the increasing methodological use of Chicago studies, more reference was made to search for explanations. As a result, despite a rather large body of research on sex work from a spatial distribution perspective, the question why sex work settles down in the urban landscape where they do remains extensively unanswered (Williams, 2014). It is precisely this aspect seen as motivation that the present study wants to address and analyze which factors contribute to settlements of prostitution in the city's urban space.

A systematic literature review was conducted to get insight into the current state of the art in the academic field of geographies of prostitution. Several databases were consulted, such as web of science, google scholar, semantic scholar as well as the database of the university of Vienna u:search. At first the search for “prostitution” and “neighbourhood” in the web of science resulted in 72 outcomes of which 15 were suitable. Google scholar led to other 50 studies of which 12 have been shortlisted. Footnote chasing led to further relevant studies to cover the international literature on geographies of sex work finally with approx. 60 studies. U:search helped to detect the rather small body of German literature on sex work in the urban space, resulting in 3 studies. In the next part an overview of the current state of research will be presented with a subsequent discussion. Furthermore, limitations of the literature review will be debated.

## **2.1. Location determinants of the first urban sex work analysis**

Research within interdisciplinary fields around the globe, such as urban planning, urban economy etc., has aimed to address the question why sex work settles in specific locations. Ashworth, White & Winchester (1988) were the first to point out that prostitution in the context of the urban social environment has been – up to that time – a neglected aspect in urban research. Comparing Western European cities, Ashworth et al. (1988) attempt with a structural analysis to situate geographical research in a wide theoretical framework.

The authors identify three concepts determining the locations of sex work – including street prostitution *and* the accompanying red-light district: accessibility, opportunity and constraint. Concerning accessibility, to maximize access, frequented transport nodes, proximity to railways and harbors can be seen as attractive positions. Though, it is not only important to maximize access, but to have the opportunity to conduct the transaction, hence, the second concept refers to ensuring anonymity of possible costumers. Thirdly, constraints – legal, social as well as moral – explain the occurrence of sex work in the urban space. Moreover, the authors identify various settings within sex work ranging from entertainment zones in red-light districts to despicable marginal streets as venues of prostitution. It has to be noted that Ashworth et al. (1988) merely conduct descriptive analysis of the Western European cities through the lens of neo-classical demand and supply theories. Hubbard and Whowell (2008), twenty years after the publication of Ashworth et al. (1988), “revisit” the red-light district and shed the light on occurred changes. Furthermore, they criticize the neglect of male involvement (as clients, “johns” and sex workers themselves). The authors come to the conclusion that the work of Ashworth et al. (1988) “(...) *cannot adequately account for the current diversity of sites where sex is sold by both men and women*” (p. 1744). Taking the shortcomings of Ashworth et al. into account, in this thesis, attention should be paid to this issue in a sensible way, including all forms of sex work.

## **2.2. The involvement of social and legal regulation factors**

Another early study on prostitution in urban space was conducted by Curtis and Arreola (1991) doing field research at the Northern Mexican Border. The extracted factors responsible for agglomerated prostitution in so called “zonas de tolerancia” are

mainly due to changes in law (prohibition) as well as law-enforcement, social attitudes and economic reorientation. Depending on different policies, spatial distribution differs and is either visible in (legal) zones or present in (mostly illegal) bars and other establishments. What becomes clear is that prostitution does not vanish after a state induced lockdown – main motives are to attract families and tourists - but rather distributes to illegal venues (Curtis & Arreola, 1991). Phil Hubbard (1998) has taken a similar line when exploring geographies of street prostitution in British cities while examining politics as well as community protests. He points out that social and legal regulation are main elements to shape urban acceleration of sex work. Driven by anxieties, fear and prejudices about sex work, prostitution tends to be spatially marginalized.

### **2.3. Different prostitution policy regimes determining geographies of sex work**

Later studies continue to elaborate on the glaring importance of the involvement and consequences of legal actions on geographies of sex work. As noted in Hubbard, Matthews & Scoular (2008), prostitution laws have a complex history – different techniques of governmentality have pursued to control or exclude prostitution building upon the common moral perception. It has to be pointed out, that prostitution is strongly embedded in the prohibition, containment or regulation of governments. Especially the geographical organization of sex work is shaped by the authorities and their laws, whereas “(...) attitudes towards sexuality, poverty rates, education as well as employment possibilities and migration trends influence the supply of sex workers” (Wagenaar, Altink, & Amesberger, 2013, p. 11-12). These regulations, if state induced or not, led to a distinctive spatial assembly of brothels, for example, such as the red-light district.

Regarding prostitution policies, several regimes will be presented to give a quick overview of existing regulations. Firstly, criminalization of the sex worker, meaning restricted rights for sex workers and tolerance in practice. However, as noted by Wagenaar et al. (2013), there exists no known example of the regime of criminalization resulting in actual elimination of prostitution, discussing it as a non-optimal functioning classification. Secondly, client criminalization is a regime coming into force, especially in the Nordic countries, pursuing to undermine the demand for sex work. Thirdly, most commonly applied is the regulated form of prostitution. To reduce harm, provided

health and social services work against exploitation and victimization of prostitutes (Wagenaar et al., 2013). Lastly, the regime of decriminalization is applied considering sex work a regular profession with work conditions such as access to health care and social security. So, which implications for geographies of sex work arise? Hubbard et al. (2008) comes to the conclusion that the “(...) *introduction of legal brothels and a standardized licensing system has allowed the city to shape the geography of off-street sex working*” (p. 147). All jurisdictions described, are, as demonstrated by Hubbard et al. (2008), systematically used to eradicate different spaces of prostitution. The authors Hubbard et al. (2008) look into the regulation of sex work through prostitution policy in the EU and note that the portrait of especially female prostitution is considered mainly involuntary and a consequence of trafficking. Facing this problem often results in nations adapting their legal positioning to stricter prostitution laws. (Hubbard, et al., 2008). The conclusion the authors draw, is that states interventions in sex work business is contributing to geographies of exception and abandonment. Law enforcements lead to increased displacement to illegal unprotected practices. Though, especially street prostitution seems to disappear after law changes, data of sex work support organizations’ point to severe problematics: prohibition leading to a drop in customers which in turn leads to a despair of lowering the prices of sex workers’ offer, the need for a quicker transaction etc., resulting in high risks for prostitutes. Hence, it may be discussed how the law is able to shape the locations of sex work and at the same time ensuring security and control. When discussing safety and control, it is important to emphasize that prostitutes themselves actively strive for safety at their workplace, which is why the following section will focus on the sex workers’ spatial point of view.

#### **2.4. The reciprocal production of space**

In further succession, Hubbard and Sanders (2003) studied the social production of space by female street prostitutes, entering the field with qualitative interviews and participatory observation. Referring to Lefebvre’s (1991) theory of “*the social production of space*”, the authors examined red-light districts, implying that “(...) *sex workers are not passive recipients of the urban district (..) rather, sex workers shape the urban environment in which they work by adapting and molding the space so they can successfully sell sex*” (Hubbard & Sanders, 2003, p. 87). However, Hubbard & Sanders (2003) highlight a very significant aspect, the relationship between “spatial behavior” of sex workers and the spatial strategies by the state, law as well as protest groups on

the other hand are recursive. Thus, the authors focus on red-light districts and how boundaries are set by police, politicians and protestors - giving an answer to the question why prostitution is located where it is connected to the actions of sex workers. Hence, the spaces of sex work are not only shaped by external factors on structural level (state), but socially produced by "*the lived spaces of prostitutes*" (Hubbard & Sanders, 2003, p. 76).

### **2.5. The sex worker's view: deliberating arrest or violence and maximizing the business**

More recent research can be found in Williams (2014), pointing out the lack of knowledge how and why sex work is distributed in spatial patterns. According to the theoretical approach of Hubbard & Sanders (2003), Williams (2014) conducts a qualitative case study in upstate New York grounding the research in Certeau's (1984) theory of tactics of spatial patterns. Similar especially concerning the conclusion, that "*tactics of resistance*" are used by prostitutes to use and divert space (Williams, 2014, p. 664). The author argues that the physical location chosen by (street) sex workers is determined by the degree of public visibility for clients in minimizing the risk of arrest as well as minimizing being exposed to violence tactics. Very rare data, respectively the perspective of male and female sex workers, were collected via in-depth interviews. Williams (2014) refers to existing research debating that the risk of arrest and violence street sex workers are exposed to leads to a growing indoor market (Thukral, Ditmore, and Murphy 2005, cited in Williams, 2014). Going more into the findings of Williams (2014) the premise of maximizing the business is one of the main results. The views of the interviewed prostitutes show that "*(...) an important determinant for the geographic locations sex workers choose are conditions that are most likely to produce a sufficient customer base*" (p. 668). Even though it has to be noted that Williams (2014) entails only street sex workers. The decision for a location is multidimensional, for example, that female prostitutes who have children choose to do their work far from home to conceal their profession. Hence, influenced by the spatial patterns of their children changes the location to open the business far away from their own living.

The literature reviewed up to now has been dominated by qualitative research designs, which constitutes a large part. Nevertheless, a rare quantitative study will be discussed below.



## 2.6. Rare quantitative approaches: a spatial logistic regression model

The methodology used in Chin et al. (2015) is in contrast to most other studies on sex work a quantitative approach. The analysis consists of spatial autocorrelation (calculated via Moran's I-statistic), using the number of massage parlors per tract as variable of interest. Moran's I-statistic allows to measure whether a systematic rather than random distribution of the massage salons occurs. On top of this calculation, a Local Indicator of Spatial Autocorrelation (LISA) calculated the locations clustering. To conduct a logistic regression, the dependent variable consisted of highly clustered tracks labeled as 1 and all the other tracts classified as 0. In discussing the results, the spatial analysis shows major clustering of sexually oriented massage parlors, forming "(...) a ring through working-class and upper-income census tracts" (Chin et al., 2015, p. 539). Reasons for localization decisions of the investigated massage salons also considered a result of lower law enforcement in certain neighborhoods. The research suggests the agglomeration of sex work (in massage parlors) is close to areas with high rates of "(...) male employment, hotels, and active nighttime and adult entertainment" (p. 539).

The main findings of correlations concerning socioeconomic factors in Chin et al. (2015) are the positive association of clustering with the proportion of males aged 20-64 years (assumed to be client supply), the proportion of unemployed as well as the number of employees and Asian residents (labor supply). Explanation for the positive correlation with unemployed is assumed due to the hypothesizing that unstructured times are likely to increase visiting a sex worker. A negative association was found within males aged 15-24, most likely to a lack of income and thus explains the absence of a positive correlation. In addition, conclusions were drawn that massage parlors clusters occurred in tracts with lower rents. The authors did not find association of clusters with the proportion of black or Hispanic people. However, the study faces several limitations. Firstly, the data used to localize the massage parlors are drawn from a rating-website which let us question the reliability of data. Secondly, the authors could not examine whether the closing of sexually oriented massage salons led to the distribution to other tracts or not.

Clustering has proven successful in sex work, also because special recruitment for clients is not per se needed. However, one important factor must not be ignored

examining location decisions of sex work: the role of the internet. Next on, this aspect should be addressed.

### **2.7. Transformation of sex work through new technology: The internet as competitor**

The twentieth and twenty-first century with its new technology has growing impact on the prostitution business. As noted in Hubbard and Whowell (2008), the sex industry diversified extensively especially in virtual formats mutually changing geographies of sex work. The internet allows to purchase sexual services “at a distance” (Hubbard & Whowell, 2008), brothels can advertise online. Hence why it can be argued that the location of brothels became less important, since these new technologies allow to recruit a broad range of customers. Sex work establishments can be searched by clients online quickly and comfortably. By means of the internet, with not only creating an advertising space, marketing and negotiating tools can be made use of as well (Sanders et al., 2020). Furthermore, as supposed by Sanders et al., 2020, discussing paying for sex work in a digital age, the unlimited accessibility of pornography may have had an impact, respectively being considered a threat to the prostitution business. Speaking of technology innovation, it has to be mentioned that the immense increase in mobility caused changes in sex works geographies as well: macro brothels located at frequent transport nodes off the city center can attract a wide variety of clients which may be considered a new opportunity. Prostitution venues that are highly visible elicit diverging reactions in the local neighborhood, the question emerges whether this will change through online advertising. What is often observed, however, is the spatial displacement of sex work, which is discussed in more detail below.

### **2.8. Displacement of sex work: the not-in-my-backyard (NIMBY) phenomenon**

Interesting insight in displacement of prostitution after changes in local handling is given by Soto & Summers (2018). The impact of the prostitution business as crime attractors is examined by looking into crime rates after the closure of two macro-brothels in Castelldefels (Barcelona, Spain). Despite a rather high rate of public acceptance of prostitution, the not-in-my-backyard (NIMBY) phenomenon is often observed (Soto & Summers, 2018, p. 249). Prostitution is found to be “(...) *associated*

*with concerns about nuisance, feelings of insecurity, a worsening in the neighbourhood's reputation, and, eventually, a drop in house price values*" (Soto & Summers, 2018, p. 250). In line with prior findings, Soto & Summers (2018) find a decline of local crime rates after the closures of the macro-brothels in Castelldefels. However, it has to be noted that the relocation of prostitution is relatively unknown. The authors hypothesize that spatial displacement may have happened but has not been further investigated. This study shows how driven by legal forces the displacement, respectively closure of big prostitution venues, led to several changes in the neighborhood. The conclusion that can be drawn for which factors contribute to the location of prostitution venues are notably the social acceptance – or inacceptance in the case of Castelldefels leading to closures of brothels.

A more concrete insight into perceptions of residents living proximal to sex work facilities is given by Boels & Verhage (2016), examining the impacts on residents and implications for municipal regulation in the neighborhood of Ghent's prostitution venues. By analyzing residents' perceptions, the authors find a connection between negative experience of residents and implied regulations. According to Boels and Verhage (2016), the neoliberal economy played a role in the partially social acceptance of sex work. However, especially red-light districts "*(...) are associated with nuisance or public disorder, deterioration and criminality*" (Boels & Verhage, 2016, p. 43), similarly to Soto & Summers (2018) findings that point to prostitution venues encounter the not-in-my-backyard (NIMBY) phenomenon. Notably, sex work is located in cheap residential areas, whereas a discussion emerges: the municipal regulation incorporates the local concerns (nuisance), whereas gentrification would lead to a displacement of sex work to distributed areas – affecting safety and possibilities to control sex workers. Similarly, a special situation of "cleaning-up" spaces of sex work is described by Ross (2010), analysing the moral and legal regulations of street sex work in Vancouver's West End neighborhood. He finds that, motivated by the 2010 Winter Olympics, the city developers extensively tried to "*(...) design and defend new clean-up and redevelopment agendas*" (p. 211). Similar to the process of gentrification, lower income classes were displaced to wind up the hotel industry and pricy apartments. Ross (2010) refers to Lewis (2009) naming the process of displacing inter alia prostitutes by doubling the rent as "renoviction". As a result, street sex workers were pushed to the city outskirts (Downtown Eastside) to industrial and uninhabited tracts. Protests organized

by activist sex workers have been largely ignored, recommendations to decriminalize prostitution got rejected by the government.

This “renewal of quarters” is significantly observed contributing to the displacement of prostitution, thus, the focus in the following section will discuss specifically the phenomenon known as gentrification.

## **2.9. A prominent theoretical framework: gentrification**

While reviewing literature on spatial aspects of prostitution it became clear that in recent research the theoretical framework of gentrification is used the most referring to urban spaces of sex work. Changes of policies and their effects were conceptualized by gentrification (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012; Weitzer & Boels, 2015; as cited in Singelenberg & VanGent, 2020). The process of gentrification in many European cities gets visible by policy changes favoring red-light districts to be decentralized and displaced from the city center. Going into detail, in a study by Liempt & Chimienti (2017), the gentrification of red-light districts in Amsterdam and Zurich is examined. The question where sex work is located, if it is referring to the concept of gentrification, is highly influenced by the fact that “(...) *sex workers have been targeted for removal by urban renewal campaigns*” (Liempt & Chimienti, 2017, p. 1570). However, the authors argue, that the outcome of gentrification processes is by no means homogenous highlighting the local and temporal differences. Amsterdam and Zurich are well known for their red-light districts exhilarated by progressive laws and legalized prostitution. The authors’ question is how and why recent policies are developed to hide and displace red-light districts. According to Liempt & Chimienti (2017), targets of this “urban regeneration” are illegal immigrants as well as specifically drug-addicted prostitutes. The authors consider a shift from a progressive and more labor-based prominent policy to “(...) *more-punitive policy models that align with regeneration regimes (...)*” in Amsterdam and Zurich (p. 1571). The research question is addressed by an analysis of policy documentations as well as interviews of various stakeholders and observations. Similar results can be found in Singelenberg & VanGent (2020), analysing prostitution neighborhood change through the concept of gentrification in Amsterdam and London. The authors highlight how state-led urban changes are experienced for long-term residents and ascertain that the business within red-light districts was not entirely dispelled but

indeed, target of displacement due to gentrification processes are specifically the lower-end sex work sector.

Interestingly, neighborhood changes of red-light districts or sex work associated areas have not yet been described in German-language literature. Since this Master's thesis aims to concentrate on Austria, particularly Vienna with regard to places of sex work, the German-language literature will be reviewed in the following.

### **2.10. Rare analysis of spaces of sex work in German-language literature**

In German-language literature urban research on sex work is fairly limited. In the research of Ruhne (2006), a qualitative analysis of the “Frankfurter Bahnhofsviertel”, which is known for being strongly characterized by prostitution, the light is set on urban ideals, prostitution and the struggle for the city's public space. The author finds that the upshot is an ambivalent tension between an ideal-typical idea of metropolitan-urban living space, which is confronted, on the other hand, with the problematic manifestations of drugs and prostitution (Rune, 2006, p. 193). Subsequently, in 2014 Ruhne emphasizes with research in Germany that prostitution, though legalized and accepted to a broader extent, still remains stigmatized. Drawing on ethnographic research the author uses triangulation including media and secondary literature analysis, also cites newspaper articles to reflect the attitudes of the population towards prostitution and finds associations such as fear, intolerance and concerns. In most German cities the *Prohibited Zone Ordinance* regulates prostitution (Ruhe, 2014), with the objective to keep sex work away from “*family neighbourhoods and places of worship*” (p. 9). Ruhne (2014) states that “Frankfurt’s Bahnhofsviertel” is characterized by a long conflict to control and ban prostitution – sex work is forbidden around the railway station but within the area a number of buildings are licensed brothels forming a small red-light district. As can be seen, the political strategy is keeping prostitution in narrow cords of the possible, respectively to prevent a spreading into other areas. Ruhne (2014) thus argues that stigmatization is enforced also through spatial regulation strategies.

### **2.11. Geographies of sex work in Vienna: No red-light district in Austria's capital?**

Concerning research in Vienna itself on sex work, not only in urban studies, the body of research is very small. One of the rare publications can be found at Gurtner & Sauer (2014), where the focus is on regulatory prostitution policy and how the debate is spatially constructing Vienna's street prostitution. The authors state that the prostitution law novel in 2011 was highly stimulated by protests from local residents against the visibility of street prostitution and venues. The implications of the new law were the displacement of prostitution to the outskirts of the city as well as the seclusion of studios (p. 282). Gurtner & Sauer (2014) strongly emphasize the social relations materializing in spatial relations, having the ability to reproduce gender and sexuality, even national and social class distinctions. Within this, places of prostitution are regulated through power, resources and recognition: Spatial borders are implemented via law.

An in-depth attempt to research Vienna's prostitution from a spatial perspective can be found in Löw (2018). Following ethnographical methodology, Löw (2018) explores the spaces of prostitution and comes to the conclusion "*A red-light district in Vienna cannot be found*" (Löw, 2018: 83). The bars around the so-called "Gürtel" – standing for the main road around the city center, brothels are accumulating but still distribute unobtrusively. Furthermore, Löw (2018) points out the unique allocation of prostitution venues, such as in the inner district, where socioeconomic high-income population is placed, but still red-light venues are part of the inner districts. This finding is in contrast to Chin et al. (2015), who discover prostitution around the richer neighborhoods but not within. Löw (2018) takes, besides a spatial analysis, a look into the facade designs of Vienna's brothels and finds the stereotyped use of icons such as "*the mouth, champagne glass and high-heels*" (p. 84).

### **2.12. Discussing limitations**

This first insight into the allocation of prostitution venues in Vienna exhibits a seemingly unique distribution of spaces of sex work, which provokes an interesting nourishment to conduct further research, in which this thesis wants to immerse into. But not only that, the literature review reveals some indicators necessary to be further investigated.

Seemingly, gentrification processes regarding the (dis)placement of prostitution venues – as monitored in many European cities (Singelenberg & VanGent, 2020) have not yet been researched in Austria's capital city, whereby the question arises why.

Generally speaking, the overall finding that can be drawn from the literature review is the unique nature and individuality of localizations of prostitution venues, besides being determined through various social, political and legal frameworks. It has to be noted that these sociopolitical and legislative regulations are strongly intertwined amongst each other. Seemingly, social convictions and attitudes towards sex work are reflected in urban structure. Even though the urban realm varies in its display of the researched cities, similar dynamics occur (Asworth et al., 1988). The legal regulation can be considered to be the main determinant to official prostitution venues in the urban space of cities (Hubbard, 1998; Hubbard & Whowell, 2008; Wagenaar et al., 2013), thus the glaring importance of the involvement and consequences of legal actions on geographies of sex work will carefully be analysed in this thesis, a comprehensive overview of the different prostitution policies will be presented.

The question arises how these results of the extensive literature review, which explicitly refer to red light districts, could apply to the unique and pervasive distribution of brothels in Vienna. Reviewing the literature, it has to be noted that despite the fact prostitution is numerous in indoor venues, the literature mostly reviews street prostitution as can be seen in Williams (2014), Hubbard and Sanders (2003), Hubbard (1998) and Laing & Cook (2014). Furthermore, regarding research on indoor sex work venues, for example by Ashworth et al. (1988) and Curtis and Arreola (1991), focused exclusively on “red-light” districts. Thus, the examination of sex work businesses within cities but outside of “red-light” districts lacks further investigation. This is precisely the issue that this thesis aims to address, whereas Vienna is ideally suited for conducting research, as it features indoor sex work outside of a red-light district.

Moreover, very noticeably, the methodological research focus in the reviewed literature concerning urban studies of sex work is on qualitative methodology, with the exception of Chin et al. (2015). Considering the challenges coming with studying sex work, such as its unique character and the individuality and diversity of the subject, to conduct qualitative research, appears logical. However, due to the limited generalizability of qualitative methodology, quantitative approaches could bring interesting findings and contribute to a better understanding, especially in allowing comparisons of

divergence and convergence. Therefore, in this thesis, a quantitative approach paired with qualitative methodology is aimed to determine influencing factors of prostitution venue locations in Austria's capital city Vienna. Based on these limitations, this master's thesis is intended to contribute to a new branch of research, which will be addressed in the next chapters.

Besides, it should be stated that in English terminology, the terms *prostitution* and *sex work* are used synonymously in scientific discourse and do not represent stigmatized notions, which are adopted as such in this thesis.



### **3. Research objectives of this thesis**

By deduction of the results presented in the literature review, this thesis aims to analyse the spatial state of sex work in Vienna within the theoretical framework of gentrification processes. The lack of valid data or of an existing survey of the dimension of sex work in Vienna makes it necessary to successively and gradually build up an individual logic of the subject, hence why an exploratory approach should be pursued. Therefore, in this thesis the different spaces and forms of sex work are to be made visible through a broad structural and framework analysis. Seemingly, gentrification processes regarding the (dis)placement of prostitution venues – as monitored in many European cities (Singelenberg & VanGent, 2020) have not yet been researched in Austria's capital city. But why studying Vienna? The following section provides an answer to this question before offering the underlying research questions for this thesis. Lastly, the structure of the thesis will be presented for a synoptic overview.

#### **3.1. Vienna's urban spaces of sex work as unique study field**

The capital of Austria, apart from being known as “the most livable city in the world”<sup>1</sup>, has no reputation worth mentioning in relation to sex work. Reviewing the literature, it becomes clear that previous research has exclusively focused on spaces of sex work within red-light districts (Ashworth et al., 1988, Curtis & Arreola, 1991). Thus, the examination of sex work businesses within cities, but outside of the “red-light” districts, has not yet been implemented and, at this point, Vienna as a city comes into play. In Vienna exists no “classic” red-light district, but brothels are rather diffusely distributed - some in clusters - others very inconspicuously (Löv, 2018), which makes it a very unique field of study. This is precisely the issue that this thesis aims to address, whereas Vienna is ideally suited for conducting research, as it features indoor sex work outside of a red-light district. Furthermore, the literature review reveals that even though prostitution is numerous in indoor venues, the literature mostly reviews street prostitution as can be seen in Williams (2014), Hubbard and Sanders (2003), Hubbard (1998) and Laing & Cook (2014). "Indoor sex work", according to Chin et al. (2015), constitutes up to 85 % of the total prostitution business (p. 534), but still most research has focused on street prostitution. Thus, this thesis aims to include both the analysis of sex work establishments as well as on the streets. Most importantly, gentrification processes have already been described in Vienna (Huber, 2013; Kadi & Verlic, 2019), but there is no concrete discussion on the effects for prostitution. The pressing circumstance, as

---

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2019/09/04/vienna-remains-the-worlds-most-liveable-city>, access 11 March 2021

observed in multiple European cities, sex workers have been massively targeted for displacement from central locations by gentrification processes makes an investigation in Vienna just as blatant. Thus, there are clear research gaps that this master's thesis aims to fill. In the following, the underlying research questions of this thesis will be explained in detail.

### **3.2. Central research questions**

Based on the results of the literature review, several influencing factors can be identified on which this thesis builds up its analysis. A multidimensional analysis of the elements and forms of sex work and the degree of its impact on socio-spatial structures in Vienna will be conducted.

The general research question posed by this thesis is: *Which factors influence the localization of prostitution venues in Vienna?*

#### **Gentrification**

Reviewing the literature on spatial aspects of sex work reveals gentrification as glaring theoretical framework in recent studies. Furthermore, as pointed out by Kadi & Verlic (2019), concerning the scientific discussion in the process of gentrification, an in-depth analysis of its situation in Vienna has not yet been conducted. Therefore, the following question arises:

*Which role does gentrification play with regard to the localization of prostitution establishments in Vienna's urban space?*

#### **Vienna's history of sex work**

As shown in Asworth et al. (1988), the examination of the historical upbringing and formation of spaces of sex work takes stance in determining geographies of prostitution, provoking the next question: *To what extent has the historical development of sex work in Vienna contributed to today's spatial distribution?*

#### **Legislation and regulation of sex work**

Legal regulations are considered to be the main determinant to official prostitution venues in the urban space of cities (Hubbard, 1998; Hubbard & Whowell, 2008; Wagenaar et al., 2013), so they raise other important questions:

*What impact do different prostitution regimes have on sex work and its spaces in Vienna?*

*How do interventions and politically implicated regulatory measures in Vienna change the spatial demands of sex work?*

### **3.3. Built-up of this master thesis**

The following chapter (chapter 4) will discuss the analytical conception of this thesis – the process of gentrification. The light will be shed especially on the specific form of gentrification occurring in Vienna. Moving on, the variety of methods used will be explained in detail, to approach the object of research as effectively as possible (chapter 5). After that, chapter 6 is dedicated to the historical development of sex work in Vienna, examining to what extent the historical development of sex work in Vienna has contributed to today's spatial distribution. The importance of the historical approach is to be highlighted, being enormously influential in determining the present reality. This is necessary to obtain (spatial) background information and is considered an important tool for interpreting the formation of the spaces of prostitution. Chapter 7 of this thesis is dedicated to the theoretical and practical manifestations of different global prostitution regimes. Legal regulations are a key factor in determining geographies of sex work, thus chapter 7 aims to draw a structured distinction between policies of abolishing and recognizing sex work. To see not only the consequences of the law but the actual reality of geographies of sex work in Vienna, chapter 8 approaches the spatial dimensions. Chapter 8 gives an overview of especially Vienna's but furthermore Austria's various spatial manifestations of prostitution ranging from small-scale venues, like studios, to large establishments, such as "Saunaclubs" or "Laufhäuser". In chapter 9 the extensive results of this thesis will be presented, including a quantitative analysis, the qualitative approach of a case study as an exemplary analysis of gentrification processes at local level as well as results of an expert interview. Finally, conducting research during the COVID-19 pandemic will be reflected and the pandemic's impact on the prostitution business will be briefly examined in chapter 11. In the final part of the discussion (chapter 12), the results are interpreted and put into context. Importantly, the limitations of this thesis should also be discussed, which is the subject of chapter 13. The conclusion frames the end of this research and reflects on the results generated.

In the next part of this thesis, the light is shed on the concept of gentrification. After clarifying how the phenomenon of gentrification can be defined, this will be applied to the research object of urban spaces of sex work. It is essential for this thesis to grasp the theoretical object of gentrification, which is why a comprehensive presentation will follow.

## 4. The concept of gentrification

The following chapter sets the analytical framework of this thesis, which is the concept of gentrification. The question arises if gentrification processes influence spaces of sex work. Especially in recent years, gentrification has become an iridescent term in urban research and urban policy debates. Reviewing the literature on spatial aspects of sex work gentrification reveals as the most used theoretical framework in recent studies as can be seen in Singelenberg & VanGent (2020), Aalbers & Sabat (2012), and Liempt & Chimienti (2017). Gentrification has emerged to a global phenomenon, evident in different urban contexts: Although cities and their unique neighbourhoods differ enormously from one another, common dynamics and processes can be identified – a process of gentrification may be detected despite contextual differences. In the following chapter, it will be discussed which explanatory approaches arise for the phenomenon of gentrification. When discussing gentrification, a powerful force of the process must be named – the real estate industry makes enormous profits with the redevelopment and renovation of buildings and blocks of houses. One promising strategy is to redesign public squares. Though, this notably goes hand in hand with “(...) *the displacement of socially weak and undesirable population groups from inner-city neighbourhoods (...)*“ (Kadi & Verlic, 2019, p. 7), which will be discussed in the following part. Vienna, the city of choice for a detailed study in analysing spaces of sex work will be specifically assessed for gentrification processes in the next chapter. Importantly, in order to be able to answer the research question, the unique character of gentrification in Vienna will be highlighted consisting of a globally compared exceptional social housing market.

The concept of gentrification has not only been „en vogue“ in the scientific debate around cities and its processual changes for several decades, but can also be found in media and political discourse. The term in those mediums is often used relatively imprecise. Therefore, to clarify the term “gentrification”, the following part begins with a condensed definition.

### 4.1. Definition and delimitations

To start off, the clarification of the broadly used term will be discussed. A very well summarized definition can be found in Kadi and Verlic, 2019, stating that “(...) *gentrification is the visible spatial representation of changes in society as a whole and a motor of social inequality at the level of urban neighborhoods*” (Kadi & Verlic, 2019, p. 7). Notably, the term has to be distinguished from “renovation”, which only refers to the reconstruction of buildings. However, despite

decades of dispute about the causes, typical course and consequences of gentrification processes, Holm (2012) criticizes the lack of a clear definition for the object of study. Notably, in gentrification processes a confluence of structural and infrastructural changes in the neighborhood comes together with real estate interests, changed resident structures, new forms of urban politics and symbolic revaluations – just to name significant impact. In consequence, a coherent definition will be aggravated (Holm, 2012). The expression gentrification was used first by the British geographer Ruth Glass in 1964, who introduced it into the literature in its basic meaning (Holm, 2012, p. 661). In describing the working-class quarters of London, Glass noted an invasion, respectively occupation, by the middle class with the result of displacement of the original working class. As a result, the whole social character of the district changed (Holm, 2012). An essential feature of this first description is the economic aspect in the processes of urban renewal. In addition to demarcate the concept of gentrification from renovation, Hannemann (2019) draws a distinction between so-called "gated communities" and gentrification. The former term is also understood to describe an attractively increased urban district, but privately organized and segregated housing of an upper class. Furthermore, Hannemann (2019) notes that gated communities have not yet been given much importance. Gentrification is therefore to be distinguished from gated communities, as it involves the "(...) *displacement of established inner-city residents by new, more highly qualified and better-earning strata.*" (Hannemann, 2019, p. 56). According to Hannemann (2019), it can be seen critically that gentrification is mostly not examined in a non-value-based way, the author notes that gentrification is augmentedly used in the political left sphere. The concept of gentrification has only found its way into academic urban research in the German-speaking world as a result of the 1980s (Hannemann, 2019).

However, as becomes clear in Holm (2012) as well as in Hannemann (2019), even though gentrification has been debated for several decades by now, the causes and consequences of gentrifying processes cannot be answered generally – no comprehensive agreement over a clear definition seems to exist. The complexity of urban processes aggravates evolving a clear definition of the object of study, resulting in a range of research in interdisciplinary fields, such as political science, urban planning, ethnology, geography etc. What there is agreement about in terms of definition is, that the process of gentrification represents an increase in residents of socio-economically well-off neighbourhoods in the city center or inner-city former working-class neighbourhoods. No general answer can be given as to exactly how this process of displacement has taken place, as various factors have an enormous influence. Nevertheless, one concrete measurable factor is the blatant increase in rents following the refurbishment of buildings (Hannemann, 2019).

The current importance of research on gentrification, especially in metropolitan areas, has been summarized by Holm (2012) as "*Gentrification is everywhere*" (p. 677).

## 4.2. Explanatory approaches

Which explanatory approaches arising for the phenomenon of gentrification come into question? According to Holmes (2012), there is widespread agreement on the phenomena and visible consequences of gentrification, which are namely "(...) *modernised and newly built flats, rising rents, conversion to condominiums, new resident structures as well as a change in the retail structure and the transformation of neighborhoods into a stage for expressive lifestyles*" (Holmes, 2012, p. 662). Though, the assessment of these changes still varies in small doses concerning the class and milieu of the observer. Three central explanations can be extracted in relation to either economic, cultural or political descriptions of causes.

### 4.2.1. *The Economic Dimension of Gentrification: Investments through "rent-gaps"*

The economic part taking in the concept of gentrification becomes clear considering the basic characteristic: reinvestment in real estate, the accompanying rent increases as well as the displacement of low-income earners. To understand the thriving forces of gentrification, the 1979 developed concept of "*rent gaps*" by Neil Smith has to be considered the central explanatory approach concerning economic variables (Kadi & Verlic, 2019, p. 38). The concept emphasizes that the "gap" between the currently realized rental income of a property and the potentially achievable rental income after the investment in this property accelerates investments. In the first place it has become possible in old, deteriorating housing stock, as described in Kadi & Verlic (2019), buildings built before 1945 have especially been targeted in Vienna. Hence, investments in refurbishments will become profitable, if rents can be increased afterwards – which results in the possible closure of the rental income gap.

In addition, the change of residential property owners - especially old properties owned by individuals or families, which have not been renovated or refurbished much - to the acquisition of real estate companies usually results in upgrading: The new acquisition and upgrading expectations cause trigger gentrification processes, as rising land prices put additional pressure to generate high profits, thus, the rent prices might skyrocket (Holm, 2012). Therefore, the change from rental to owner-occupied housing contributes massively to the upgrading of neighbourhoods. The interests of the real estate industry massively collide with affordable housing, influencing residents of low-income classes. The people affected are forced to leave the central "attractive" locations of the city and move to city outskirts. Kadi & Verlic (2019) give an example of where gentrification

gets visible, since a tremendous activity has taken place behind closed doors, where the kebab stands or a launderette gives way to an in-café. Among the shops, which are being replaced by new expensive restaurants etc., are also prostitution parlors: Gentrification plays a blatant role in the (dis)placement of prostitution, in Vienna, too, which will be discussed in the analysis part of this thesis.

#### *4.2.2. Cultural dimensions of gentrification: change of lifestyle and demographic changes*

The upgrading of inner-city neighbourhoods can be driven by cultural factors, too, so attention should also be drawn to the inner-societal dynamics. Within the broad field of cultural dimension accelerating gentrification processes is more specifically is referred to, among other things, changing lifestyles, different occupational demands, as well as the demographic change in society (Holm, 2012). Currently a relevant area is the new breakdown of gender roles with regard to the division of labour, which is not also reflected in a change of lifestyle, but precipitates flagrantly spatial. The emancipation of women must be seen as a driving factor in the emergence of gentrification. Holm (2012) mentions some studies indicating a "(...) *feminisation of public space*" (p. 669) has taken place: Women open new shops etc. and thus, contribute to upgrading processes. Another example of the intertwining of different cultural processes is, as mentioned by Holm (2012), the increased growth of service professions in recent decades, when jobs have increasingly been located in inner-city areas. Thus, gentrification has been driven by the increasing demand for inner-city living opportunities by financially better-off citizens.

#### *4.2.3. Politically driven gentrification*

Thirdly, the political dimension of gentrification should by no means be underestimated. Factors that come into play are urban policies such as funding programmes, heritage protection laws and politically negotiated planning law in general, likewise, the preservation of the social structure in upgraded neighbourhoods (Holm, 2012, p. 670). With regard to social housing, the keyword is gentrification in Vienna, which will be discussed in more detail in the following: Vienna holds a special position in terms of gentrification processes.

### 4.3. Gentrification in Vienna is different: substantial numbers of social housing

Gentrification in Vienna can be considered to be unique when looking at gentrification processes internationally. Vienna enjoys the unique situation of having an exceptional large stock of social housing, if compared globally. The peculiar possibilities of social housing have the effect to limit the potential profit interests of real estate companies (Kadi & Verlic, 2019, p. 7). In international comparison, Vienna has an incredible number of non-private housing what makes affordable housing possible for many people. According to Kadi & Verlic (2019), over 40% of housing is owned by the non-profit sector or the state which makes it possible to prohibit the profit interests of real estate companies – in fact, it allows the rent increases to be regulated to some extent. How this privileged situation has emerged, will be discussed in more detail below.

#### 4.3.1. *Governmental investments into municipal housing: The socialist party*

Housing policy in Vienna, as in Austria in general, was based on a social and distribution policy consensus. The politically thriven program of the socialist party, shortly before and after World War II, invested into municipal and subsidized housing (Reinprecht, 2019, p. 25). Furthermore, during three post-war decades the national welfare state supported, under the condition of full-time employment, the social housing to improve the general living conditions. However, Vienna's - and to some extent Austria's - housing policy has undergone profound changes, according to the research of Kadi & Verlic (2019). The authors note that the construction of new municipal housing, which had already been on the decline for some time, ceased completely at the beginning of the 2000s in Vienna. It has to be noted, that following the current development, social housing construction activities resumed. However, Kadi & Verlic (2019) argue that the construction stop was strongly influenced by the immense increase in land prices, especially in Vienna. As a result, more people (also with low incomes) were dependent on the private housing market. Exactly at this point the process of gentrification in Vienna has come into play: *“Driven by the deregulation and liberalization of the nationwide tenancy law, this (the private housing market, note) sector has increasingly become an attractive playground for national and international real estate capital in search of investment opportunities since the 1980s. Extensive investments with high expected returns have led to price and rent increases, especially since the mid-2000s, which have intensified since the beginning of the financial crisis”* (Kadi & Verlic, 2019, p. 8).



Therefore, these changes of the housing market as well as labour market, in conjunction with upgrading processes of public space, have shifted urban development and have made gentrification an increasingly relevant urban process in Vienna. Reinprecht (2019) also emphasizes that the opportunities for affordable housing in Vienna will become increasingly unequal. He identifies changing housing needs and perceptions - aspects of socio-structural change - causing for this trend. According to Reinprecht (2019), the demographic change of population plays a striking role, as do socio-economic aspects (especially occupation and income). In addition, there are points that should not be neglected in terms of the milieu or lifestyle. The supply-demand relationship of the housing market is notably influenced by various factors. Reinprecht (2019) locates the problem of access to affordable housing with the following statement: *"The potential demand today is determined less by the power of organized collective interests (in the context of the social partnership); rather, a tendency prevails which, depending on the approach, is interpreted either as polarization (increasing concentration of wealth and poverty) or as a "descent society" (Nachtwey 2016)"* (p. 27).

Precariousness in employment relationships might increase and will be reflected in housing and financial opportunities, too. Therefore, the need for affordable housing becomes urgent and is confronted with gentrification processes. According to Reinprecht (2019), Vienna's demographic data show an enormous growth dynamic, with 1.89 million people (2019), in 2020 the number of inhabitants was counted to be 1 911 191. Thus, the population has increased by 0.5 per cent, compared to the previous year, reaching a new high now living in the city - an increase of over 340,000 people since the turn of the millennium<sup>2</sup>. Housing space is becoming scarcer, which changes the overall dynamic - the densification of the city makes housing needs controversial. However, Reinprecht (2019) emphasizes that immigration is particularly occurring from Eastern and Central European countries of origin, where financial possibilities are often more restricted. Reinprecht (2019) thus, sums up that the housing question is primarily a social question; with regard to gentrification, this process should be critically illuminated. The implications of this for spaces of prostitution, will be analysed by means of case study in the further progress of this thesis. In order to specifically take a closer look at the economic variable of the gentrification process in Vienna, the next chapter will focus on the structure of the housing market.

---

<sup>2</sup> <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/317867/umfrage/prognose-zur-bevoelkerungsentwicklung-in-wien/>, access 10 March 2021

#### 4.3.2. *The structure of the Viennese housing market*

To get a comprehensive picture of the structure of the housing market, Kadi & Verlic (2019) report data from Statistics Austria 2012 - according to which, of the total of about 837 000 dwellings, one third are in the private rented sector, about one quarter in the municipal sector (26.3%), one sixth in the non-profit sector (16%) and one fifth in flat and house ownership (19%) (p. 35). The authors Kadi & Verlic (2019) agree that political intervention - especially the restriction of private profit interests - slows down gentrification processes. The financing of community building and non-profit housing has successfully prevented gentrification processes in the real estate sector. In the third district, which currently belongs to the private rental sector, however, gentrification processes are certainly perceptible. Gentrification in Vienna can therefore be argued to be different due to the – still internationally comparable exceptional stock of social housing, which limits the possible profit interests of real estate companies. However, a third of the housing stock belongs to the private market economy, where gentrification has taken place. Especially the old building sector is targeted for gentrification processes and turns out to be extremely lucrative for real estate companies (Kadi & Verlic, 2019).

Now the concept of gentrification is outlined, in the next step it will be applied to the research topic of this thesis - the urban spaces of sex work. A selection of methods was chosen from the “toolbox” of methods, in order to best grasp the complex subject of this thesis. Again, it should be noted that this thesis pursues an exploratory approach due to the lack of existing data in this field. Therefore, in the next chapter, the multiscale approach to methodology will be presented.

## 5. Methods and data basis

The following chapter will give a detailed overview of the methods used in this thesis. The analytical framework of gentrification as a socio-spatial phenomenon is extremely complex by nature and so are the forms of prostitution distributing in the urban space. Despite the variety of studies that have been conducted regarding this topic in a wide range of cities, no identical gentrification processes can be found. In this respect, different actors, demographical structures, political history and legal frameworks were decisively involved, but above all, different intensities are to be mentioned. Therefore, it is necessary to answer the following question: At what point can we speak of gentrification in urban processes regarding prostitution? How can change be measured for prostitution? In order to determine where prostitution is located and which social determinants are proximal, an analysis of the state of the situation of spaces of sex work should be carried out first. For the analysis of such a multifaceted process, several indicators are used for measurement, thus the methodological structure follows a multi-scalar approach. Together, the different methods should produce a multi-layered analytical framework that makes the factual logic of the object of study visible and may provide the basis for answering the research interest.

A key measurement factor is the interpretation of existing socioeconomic data. Furthermore, a case study including mapping of the areas of Vienna will be carried out. In addition, an expert interview was conducted. It should be noted that this thesis is not a classic spatial analysis. Rather, the focus has been placed on the sociological aspects. Nevertheless, the methodology is based on a scientifically grounded approach. Furthermore, this thesis is methodologically oriented towards the “*Raum Erfassen; Überblick und Wegweiser zu Funktions- und Sozialraumanalysen für den öffentlichen Raum*“ of the MA 18 (2012). The so-called MA 18 prepares overarching spatially strategic plans and concepts in the areas of spatial planning and mobility. These actions form the basis for essential urban development policy decisions. Therein, four methodological pillars of a functional and social space analysis are mentioned:

“(1) *Interpretation of existing data*

(2) *Mapping of functions and facilities*

(3) *Observation of uses*

(4) *Interviews with experts and users*” (MA 18, 2012, p. 15)

Since studies have primarily focused on sociological aspects, the setting can be seen as a sort of modification that is specifically tailored to the topic of prostitution. The category "interpretation of existing data" includes the quantitative evaluation of officially surveyed population statistics, which will be presented in more detail below.

The different analysis sections of this study require a specific methodological application and aim to form a multifaceted set of methods.

### **5.1. A historical analysis of Vienna's sex work**

The first chapter is dedicated to the historical development of sex work in Vienna, beginning with the first indications of prostitution spaces in the Roman period of the 1st century AD. It addresses the question, what extent the historical development of sex work in Vienna contributes to today's spatial distribution. The examination of Viennese history of sex work and its legal and illegal spaces aims to provide an understanding of the complex and disputable process of negotiating access to public space for sex workers and collects historical influences that have shaped today's spatial structures. The historical literature analysis is supported by pictorial and cartographic representations that face various urban and sex work spaces of the past.

### **5.2. Legislative regulations: analysis of prostitution laws**

The second chapter is dedicated to the theoretical and practical manifestations of different global prostitution regimes. An attempt is made to draw a structured distinction between policies of abolishing and recognizing sex work. In a further section, the focus lays on how sex work is dealt within the Austrian legal situation, and the definitions of the federal provinces are analysed in terms of their spatial impact. A special spotlight is set on Vienna's prostitution law and its spatial implications. It is addressed what impact different prostitution regimes have on sex work and its spaces and how interventions and politically implicated regulatory measures change the spatial demands for sex work.

### **5.3. Quantitative study design**

The quantitative study was conducted as a quasi-experimental design using secondary data. It is essential to consider, that William, Shadish, Cook & Campbell (2002) note, that the quasi-experimental study design is accompanied by a minimized internal validity, for instance, compared to a laboratory experiment. Therefore, the changes in the dependent variable are not clearly attributable to the influence in the independent variable, as other factors may have a significant impact on it. However, the quasi-experimental design provides solid external validity (William, Shadish, Cook, Campbell, 2002).

### 5.3.1. Data

The data used in this study derive from the open-source initiative of Austria's governmental website [www.data.gv.at](http://www.data.gv.at), offering a catalogue of open data sets and services from the public administration, which are based on the Open Data principles to be used freely. More specifically, the Federal Statistical Office of Austria provides the provincial statistical services with anonymized individual data for the respective provinces. The comprehensive dataset of the so-called "Registerzählung 2011 – Zählbezirke Wien" is used in the current study including specific data with geographical allocation to census districts.<sup>3</sup> The geographical information of the open-source dataset contains Vienna's total area of 414,6 km<sup>2</sup>, sectioned into 23 districts (**Figure 2**). Moreover, to enable even greater refined data analysis, all districts are divided into 250 census districts (**Figure 3**). For each of the census districts, data are available allocated with geographical information.



*Figure 2. Overview of Vienna's 23 districts with serial numbers (Source: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wiener\\_Gemeindebezirke](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wiener_Gemeindebezirke), access 14 March 2021)*

<sup>3</sup> source for detailed insight: <https://www.data.gv.at/katalog/dataset/156805d0-9f25-407d-ac52-acb9c4149735>, access 09 January 2021



Figure 3. Overview of Vienna's 250 census districts (Own representation using QGIS).

The selected variables from the broad-based dataset collection are in accordance with the study by Chin et al. (2015). The socioeconomic variables used are *gender, highest education, marital status, size of household, net household income, employment, occupation and type of residence*. Furthermore, the citizenship of people per census districts is taken into account. In addition, due to the legal requirements of prostitution venues in Vienna, namely the separate entrance, the variable *construction year of the buildings* will be analysed in this study.

The required information concerning the location of prostitution venues, an overview of licensed prostitution establishments, is drawn from the institution "Sophie - der Bildungsraum für Prostituierte" (Sophie - the educational space for prostitutes), a counselling centre of the Vienna Volkshilfe (see appendix for detailed address and name of brothel), and merged to create geoinformation data. The facility provides a tentative list of prostitution establishments registered as of 25 May 2015, without claiming completeness. To merge the geographical location data of licensed brothels, the open-source application QGIS version 3.14 was used, allowing to analyse and edit spatial information.

As can be seen in Table 1 & 2, Vienna's districts and census districts are spatially distributed unevenly in terms of the area – for instance, the 22th district has 24.6 % of Vienna's area.

Therefore, it was necessary to make the data mutually comparable, in order to be able to ensure reliability. Thus, the density of each census district was calculated with the equation, total population of the census district divided by total area of census district.

$$\text{density } (\rho) = \frac{\text{mass } (M)}{\text{volume } (V)}$$

thus:

$$\text{density } (\rho) \text{ per census district} = \frac{\text{total population of census district}}{\text{total area per square meter of census district}}$$

As a result, the proportion of each variable per density was used in further calculations.

### 5.3.2. Analysis

To answer the research question, “Which factors influence the location decision of prostitution venues in Vienna?”, using the proportion of prostitution venues per density as variable of interest, correlations and a multiple linear regression have been calculated. In the following part, a quick overview of the two statistical methods used will be given.

#### **Correlation**

A correlation describes the extent and direction of a relationship between the characteristics of two or more variables, describing the extent to which two or more variables affect or are interdependent (Bortz & Döring, 2006). The direction of a correlation can be positive or negative. In the case of a positive correlation, high values of the characteristic of one variable go hand in hand with high values of the characteristic of the other variable. Likewise, low values of one variable can go hand in hand with low values of the other variable. In the case of a negative correlation, opposite characteristics of the variables, i.e. low characteristics of one variable are accompanied by high characteristics of the other one. The extent of a correlation can be calculated by means of a suitable correlation coefficient. In this study the extent of the correlation in a Pearson product-moment correlation is used, which can vary between -1 and 1 (Bortz & Döring, 2006).

#### **Multiple linear regression**

The multiple linear regression examines and models linear relationship simultaneously for several predictors (independent variables) and one outcome (dependent variable). The analysis assumes a functional relationship between the independent and the dependent variables. Furthermore, the functional relationship is interpreted as a causal relationship, which differs from the

correlation analysis. The independent variables are interpreted in terms of causes, the dependent variable in terms of an effect (Eid, Gollwitzer & Schmitt, 2017). Two models were calculated, model 1 includes all the variables. In model 2 the significant variables have been tested.

## **5.4. Qualitative approaches**

### *5.4.1. Case study: An exemplary analysis of at local level including mapping*

In order to approach the research question regarding the role of gentrification processes on prostitution in the best possible way, a case study was chosen as a part of the methodology. Case studies are a common approach in the social sciences, but "case" seems to be understood in a variety of ways. A traditional and still widespread view is that it is a spatially and temporally definable event or set of events (Levy, 2008).

The case study is a comprehensive research strategy that seeks to extensively understand an entity - in this case, a spatially delimitable entity - in its internal structures and environmental relations (Yin 2009, p. 18). Individual case analyses can be based on qualitative as well as quantitative survey and evaluation methods, whereby their epistemological interest stems more from qualitative social research. The case study conducted here follows a descriptive, understanding and open and thus iterative approach (Yin, 2009), embedded in the theoretical concept of gentrification. In the evaluation of the material, references are made to theoretical views of the urban type of a specific neighbourhood. According to Levy's definition, the individual cases in this thesis can be understood as idiographic cases or, more precisely, inductive cases (Levy 2008, p. 4). Furthermore, with the collected inventory of spatial structures of sex work, maps are produced on the basis of which analyses are carried out. In more detail, the neighbourhood of the "Stuwerviertel", located in the 2nd district, is analysed for gentrification processes.

### *5.4.2. Qualitative research: Expert interview*

The expert interview frames another qualitative approach of this thesis. It stands out from regular structured interviews because of its specific pre-selection. The interviewed person must live up to the expert status due to the position the individual hold, so that the professional views can be interpreted as factual knowledge (Helferich, 2014, p.559). The expert interview, respectively a walkthrough (with dachshund), took place with Prof. Roland Girtler on 17 February 2021 at 10 a.m., starting at the Volkstheater in Vienna. Roland Girtler is an associate professor of sociology at the Institute of Sociology at the University of Vienna. He is distinguished by his profound



qualitative field research in the field of prostitution and as a connoisseur of Vienna as well as its historical development. Girtler's main research interests include cultural sociology and the study of marginalized cultures. In 1994, Girtler first published his research on prostitution in "*Der Strich. Erotik der Straße*" (Eroticism of the Street), which was published 2004 in its 5th edition. Because of this participatory approach and Girtler's familiarity with Vienna, he was chosen as an expert for this research (see transcript I - in the appendix). In total, the interview lasted about 93 minutes. The duration of the voice recording was exactly 49 minutes 34 seconds. Due to the many personal stories and experiences from Prof. Girtler's personal life, the temporal difference between the total duration of the conversation and the recording resulted. It has to be noted that this expert interview was intended to have an exploratory character. Therefore, the results were used to research further content based on the outcomes of the interview. The evaluation method used for this interview is the content analysis according to Früh (2015).

In the following chapter, the examination of Viennese history of sex work and its legal and illegal spaces will be presented to provide a thorough understanding of the development and emergence of prostitution in Vienna's urban space. It is intended to elicit whether nowadays fragments of the historical formation of sex work spaces are detectable.

## 6. The History of prostitution

The following part is an absorption into the history of sex work and in specific Vienna's prostitution, specifically analysed by its spatial manifestations. It can be shown that the cultural, institutional and moral frameworks mutually influence the performance and offer of sexual services. As a result, the spatial arrangement of brothels and their density have considerably changed over the centuries, not only the city of Vienna has been exposed to strongly changing interactions. Different typologies of venues, a changing reputation of sex workers in society, often shaped by the religious beliefs, a lively variability of sovereign regulatory efforts – such as policies of acceptance and prohibition, emerged inter alia in Vienna. Therefore, to broaden the understanding of the current geography of prostitution venues, a glance into the past is essential. Brothels have a long history as ambivalent places, which have been called 'Venus temples', 'pleasure houses', 'pleasure palaces' etc. in the historical course. According to Ziemann (2017), "(...) *the history of sex work stands for the history of public sexuality in a particularly prominent way*" (p. 7). Politics and the public sphere address brothels, which are alternately tolerated, legalized or banned and wanted to be eliminated. The brothel and its practice of sex work can be seen as ongoing problem of moral and political standards. In discussing the development, it is often pointed out that the emergence of prostitution venues promotes asymmetrical gender roles – the dominant man and "john" versus dominated woman and prostitute - which contradicts modern human rights as well as religious values and the concepts of bourgeois marriage and family (Ziemann, 2017).

### 6.1. The world's oldest profession?

Sex work has indeed a long history, occurring cross-culturally with among others the Babylonians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Egyptians, Persians. Thus, the business of prostitution has got the nickname of "the oldest profession in the world". However, as Ziemann (2017) and Girtler (2013) note is that sex work is closely linked to the existence of cities (Girtler, 2013, p. 297; Ziemann, 2017, p. 15). Ziemann (2017) argues that farming, house-building, pottery and herding are much older trades than prostitution, since they already have existed before the emergence of towns and cities. Sex work is closely tied to both urban and, above all, market economic conditions, which developed in the period of antiquity. The city allows deviant behaviour without having to fear sanctions or stigmatization per se - this is part of its unique atmosphere - as noted in Wehrheim (2004). Thereby, Girtler (2013) adds, that the anonymity provided by large populations in cities generates prostitution. Whereas in the countryside prostitution does not exist in its

original form due to possible sexual exploitation of maids, as Girtler (2013) further notes. Thus, the assessment of prostitution as the oldest trade turns out to be incorrect.

## **6.2. Early appearances of prostitution: Narratives of the Bible and Greek Mythology**

Nevertheless, prostitutes can be interpreted to appear already in the scriptures of the bible: Mutual reports of contempt and punishment (Moses) of the prostitute, but also acceptance (sinner Maria Magdalena as first appearance to Jesus after resurrection) can be found. The lasting foundation and recognition of legal prostitution goes back to Solon, the Athenian legislator, founding the first brothel around 600 BC (Girtler, 2013, p. 20-21). Followed by many other prostitution venues, the establishments were under state supervision, but "private-sector" management. A central motivation is considered to be the restriction of excessive orgies in public streets and to keep central districts "under control". Then, prostitution was practiced in a legal and regulated manner and was considered to protect marriage, civil women and girls. Prostitution was not only tolerated in ancient Greece, but also fulfilled a social function. The state in turn benefited through prostitution tax (Ziemann, 2017, p. 16). Furthermore, some of the early Greek female sex workers are even said to have managed to become equal to honorable women (Girtler, 2013, p. 21).

Next on, the history of prostitution in Vienna will be discussed with a special focus on the spatial establishment of locations.

## **6.3. First documented venues of prostitution in Vienna - Roman period 1st century A.D.**

The first and clear evidence of sex work practice in brothels could be asserted when Vienna changed from a small Celtic village to Romans taking over and settling in the "Donaumetropole" during the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. The Romans built a gigantic military base, called "Vindobona", inhabited by "(...) lonely legionaries in need of love" (Mauthner-Weber, 1995, p. 8). The Celts are reported to have had no form of prostitution. Celtic men did not only have their own wives, but were living sexually open. Their tradition also included an annual celebration of "sexual primordial power" (Ehrlich, 2005, p. 15). Women were strongly worshipped, which did not fit into the concept of prostitution. However, when the Romans had taken over the Celts, there was soon a glaring shortage of men, as they were sent away as soldiers. Roman soldiers were not allowed to marry, which in combination encouraged the establishment of prostitution. Excavations at Michaelerplatz (1st district) testify to a former pleasure quarter in front of the

gate of the city center. At today's "Hoher Markt" structural relicts indicate the presence of former brothels (Ehrlich, 2005). The principle of the ancient brothels resembled the current model of brothel, like "Laufhaus". The female sex workers wore recognizable clothing and offered their services in so-called 'cellas', which were small rooms. Significantly, as Ehrlich (2005) reports, the distinguishing feature of prostitutes wearing red stiletto heels (p. 17) was high, which is still evident today. The prices and services were written on the walls, and payment was received with a specially marked coin (Mauthner-Weber, 1995, p. 78). Similarly, according to Girtler (2013), the first brothels in Vienna have been located along Wollzeile and Singerstraße, outside the former city walls. Therefore, prostitutes in Vienna have been pushed out of the city center from the very beginning; they should not be seen by the bourgeois population.



*Figure 4. Exavations at Michaelerplatz. Between 1989 and 1991, the Michaelerplatz was extensively archaeologically investigated, where signs of brothels from the Roman era could be found. (Source: <https://www.wienmuseum.at/de/standorte/ausgrabungen-michaelerplatz>, access 23 February 2021)*

The course of the wall and the streets of the "Vindobona" camp can still be seen today in the streets of the 1st district (Innere Stadt). Vindobona's camp wall ran along the following streets: Tiefer Graben, Naglergasse, Graben, Kramergasse, Rotgasse, Rabensteig and roughly parallel to the Salzgries.



*Figure 5. Animated graphic of the Roman military camp “Vindobona”  
(Source: <https://www.wien.gv.at/english/history/overview/romans.html>, access 23 February 2021)*

#### **6.4. The Rule of the Babenbergs from the 10<sup>th</sup> century**

After the destruction of Vindobona through the Germanic Quades today's Vienna was rather insignificant in size and importance for historical events. Only with the rule of the Babenbergs from the 10th century and the attainment of the rank of a civitas in 1137 A.D. by Leopold IV Vienna grew to become a residential city in 1155 A.D. (Ehrlich 2012, p. 20). More and more, mentions of female sex work occur in historical writings, suggesting that these so called “Hübschlerinnen” (female sex workers) were numerous in the midst of the city and were publicly visible, but carried out their work in a socially ostracized and legally completely unprotected manner (Mauthner-Weber 1995, p. 11). Even the famous minstrel Walther von der Vogelweide sang about his love to the beautiful Viennese prostitutes, which is indicated by his songs (Ehrlich, 2005, p. 23). At the same time, those prostitutes rose from social marginalization under Habsburg rule to a somewhat recognized professional group receiving rights and duties (Girtler 2013: 297). Before that could happen, Leopold V placed free women outside the protection of law. In 1192 A.D. he decreed that henceforth prostitutes had no right to sue, not even in cases of abuse (Ehrlich, 2005, p. 25).



Figure 6. “Albertine Plan”, the oldest known plan-like representation of Vienna, originated in 1420/1421. The map also shows Pressburg, which is today’s Bratislava (Slovakia) – as can be seen as circle in the upper left part of the plan. The representation is named after the Roman-German King Albrecht II. (Source: [https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Albertinischer\\_Plan\\_\(1421/1422\)](https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Albertinischer_Plan_(1421/1422)), access 23 February 2021)

### 6.5.Late Medieval Ages and Early Renaissance - The rise of the Habsburgs

In the Medieval times, the so-called “travelling folks” were known to wander about from one city to another one, consisting of various people, like beggars, jugglers, students, and also including prostitutes (Girtler, 2013, p. 25). Prostitution more or less permitted did not last very long, the Habsburg Rudolf IV countered the free prostitutes by introducing spies and an extensive raid to stop prostitution (Mauthner-Weber, 1995, p. 11). In consequence of these orders at that time - running through the entire history of sex work - an undesirable displacement effect occurred: The un-denouncing of sex work in one place led to its establishment in other, illegal and mostly hidden places off public view. At the end of the 14th century, under the regime of Duke Albrecht, the methods of dealing with prostitutes became much gentler, a special dress code (a cloth at the armpit, no silk and no fur) was enacted. However, marriage was legally denied to sex workers at that time. Further on, accelerated through smart economic decisions by Rudolf IV, with the founding of the University of Vienna in 1365 A.D., the business of prostitution flourished once again. There is evidence of the existence of three brothels in the so-called "Frauenfleck" - located near

the present-day Theater an der Wien at Naschmarkt (Mauthner-Weber, 1995, p. 96-97). Hence, the name "Frauenfleck" is etymologically related to the existence of those close by prostitution establishments. The brothels have been located right outside the city walls, considered to be bathing establishments.

#### **6.6.The Viennese bathing establishments: An abraded form of brothels**

Mainly returning crusaders brought the culture of hygiene from the oriental countries to what is now Vienna: Many bathhouses were built, as there was no running water in most houses (Ehrlich, 2005). So-called bathers, whether apprentices, journeymen or other citizens, washed with the help of scantily dressed ladies. Different social groups had their own bathhouses, though women and men were sometimes intermixed. According to historical sources by Mauthner-Weber (1995), the bathing establishments quickly developed into convivial "(...) eating, drinking, bawdy and slut houses" (p. 90). These bathhouses had been preserved until the 16th century, but then, mostly through the outbreak of syphilis, they were forced to close.

#### **6.7.Social recognition of sex workers amongst the Habsburgs**

During the interregnum between the Babenbergs and the Habsburgs, sex workers pursued their work freely and unhindered, before they rose to become a recognized occupational group of their own under Habsburg rule. Prostitutes were given ascribed rights, for the first time, and they stood equal to other occupational groups, endowed with duties. This happened under Rudolf I, who established the right of common women to sue for rape in his charter for Vienna in 1278 A.D. and formulated the first known written mention of sex workers in Vienna (Mauthner-Weber 1995, p. 12). Up until the 15th century, it can be proven that prostitutes even held public office when emperors or kings arrived or celebrated in Vienna (Girtler, 2013, p. 297).

#### **6.8.The closure of brothels in the 16th century: A shift to illegal premises**

In the 16th century changes of mind occurred, driven by the emergence of syphilis as well as the clash with the ideology of the increasingly emerging Protestantism: Calvinism was referring to the thesis that everybody could only be complete "(...) *if he is engaged in work pleasing to God*" (Girtler, 2013, p. 297), but sex work was not considered such work. During Maximilian's I reign women were strictly forbidden to walk around at night. He created strong stigmata around prostitution business picturing prostitutes as disreputable and sinful, in contrast to the medieval period, where prostitutes were seen as respectable people (p. 297). Starting under the reign of Ferdinand I, in the 16th century, sex work was legally forbidden through the "Verbot der Hurerey und

Kumpeley" (prohibition of whoredom and celibacy) and shifted to illegal spaces. Habsburg's Ferdinand I was even stricter, because he banned and condemned prostitution in religious devotion and suppressed any possibility of sex work in the nest. As a result, from the 16<sup>th</sup> century on, all brothels were forced to close. However, what happened was that prostitution became hard to control for police, because it was no longer geographically tangible or concentrated in brothels. Then prostitution disappeared into taverns, where it was practiced illegally. According to Girtler (2013), police officers acted as innkeepers of those taverns. It is believed that because the officers were so underpaid, the authorities did not shut them down.

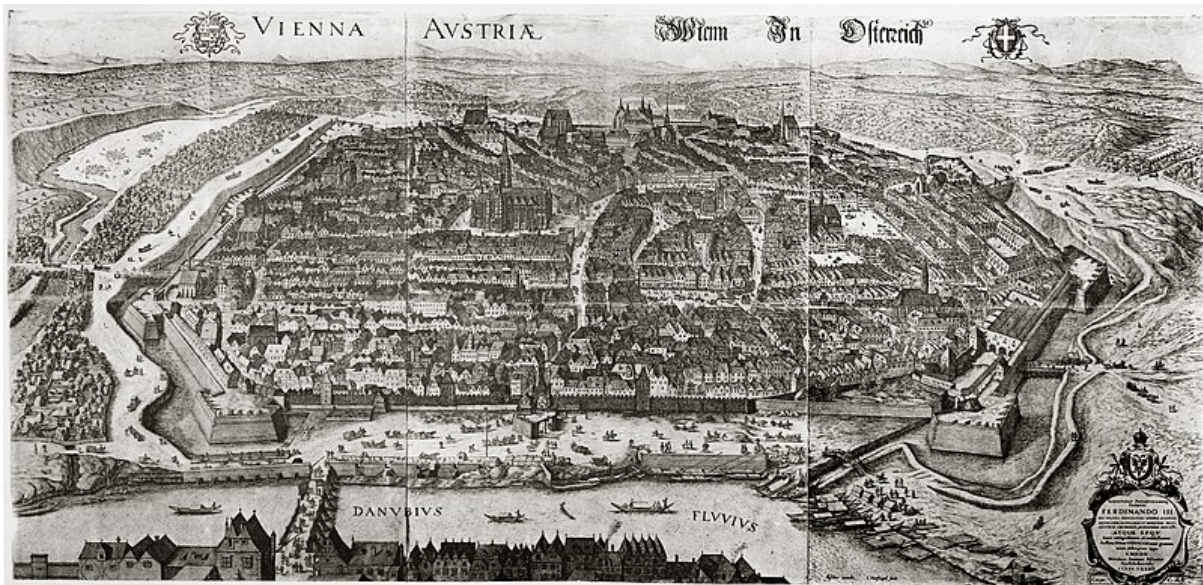


Figure 7. VIENNA AVSTRIAE (Vienna in Austria). Bird's-eye view of Vienna from the North, originated in 1640 and dedicated to Kaiser Ferdinand III (as can be read at the logo in the bottom-right corner). It shows the still medieval like appearance before the shift to baroque style had occurred. (Source: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Wien\\_1609\\_1640\\_ArM.jpg](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Wien_1609_1640_ArM.jpg), access 23 February 2021)

## 6.9. Maria Theresia and the cruelty to prevent prostitution

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, under the regime of Ferdinand II and later on, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, under the reign of Maria Theresia, cruel methods were used to put an end to prostitution such as getting pilloried, heavily fined, whippings, even cutting off ears were common punishments. Maria Theresia had several ideas on how to conquer prostitution, one of them was to deport sex workers on boats down the Danube to the Banat together with other "asocials". Nevertheless, the practice of prostitution continued. Girtler (2013) concludes by stating that "(...) *the history of Viennese prostitution is also a history of the displacement of the city wall*" (p. 307). Thus, the larger the city, the more the city walls have been shifted and thus, the prostitution localized around the city walls.



## 6.10. The 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century: Mobile prostitution bars – “Porzellanfahren”

Only illumination at night by gas lamps made it possible to explore the night and as a result, new forms of public sexuality could emerge (Ruhne, 2006, p. 195). Ruhne (2006) states that whereas prostitution in the Middle Ages and early modern period had still been predominantly localized in brothels and thus, tended to be an indoor happening, after the period of industrialization, prostitutes increasingly appeared in public to recruit clients – hence, street prostitution established further. In the 18th century there was a trend towards mobile prostitution bars, so-called "Porzellanfahren", a fiaker with a coachman, who was instructed to drive very carefully, so prostitutes could do their business inside. Very noticeable, prostitution always happens in conjunction with the legal and regulatory situation, more or less visible to the public. A kind of "porcelain carriage" can still be booked today with a Viennese Fiaker company - including a bouquet of roses and sparkling wine (Loibl, wien.ORF.at, <https://wien.orf.at/v2/news/stories/2792350/>, access 24 February 2021).

### 6.10.1. Leopoldstadt: The “Prater” and the suburbs

Emperor Joseph II opened the “Prater” park to the public, for the first time, in 1766, which had previously been an imperial hunting ground for centuries (Mauthner-Weber, 1995, p.155). However, this led, among other things, to prostitutes settling and dominating the area to offer their services. As Mauthner-Weber notes (1995), the Prater developed into “(...) *the ideal love nest for all those who otherwise had no opportunity to give free rein to their urges*” (p. 155). Due to the increasing number of street prostitutes in the Prater, Emperor Leopold I had built up brothels to improve the situation in the streets. At the same time, the widely spread alluvial forests were not without danger for the prostitutes; police control was difficult, for example, a murderer reportedly went around in 1827 to kill especially prostitutes (p. 157). Brothels later developed in precisely this special location between the Danube Canal and the Danube - today known as "Stuwerviertel".

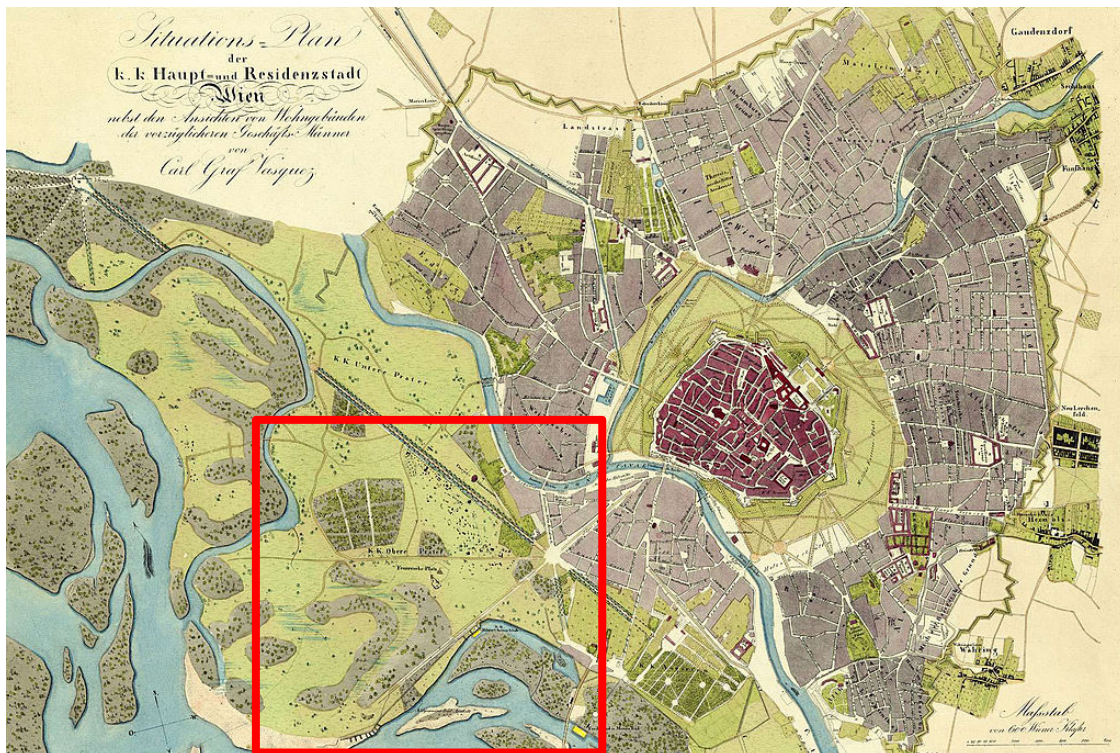


Figure 8. Vienna in 1830. The red square indicates the area of the amusement prater and “Praterstern”, which are still today’s areas with significant amount of sex work (Source: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geschichte\\_Wiens](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geschichte_Wiens), access 25 February 2021)

As noted by Girtler (2013), the location of sex work in Vienna is in close relation to the shift of city walls, respectively the city’s boundaries (Girtler, 2013, p. 307). Whenever the city had grown bigger and the walls had been displaced, prostitution followed to be located just outside the city center.

#### 6.10.2. The “Spittelberg” as illegal prostitution cluster

The now in the 7<sup>th</sup> district located Spittelberg was according to Girtler (2013) a hotspot of amusement, alcohol and taverns harnessed as brothels. The city simply became very crowded in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Spittelberg was a suburb that experienced an influx of residents and the accompanying prostitutes. The Spittelberg's reputation as a prostitution center became internationally known (Mauthner-Weber, p. 167-168). The rather narrow houses of Spittelberg had been inhabited by people of the proletariat before they were restored and made attractive for the upper class. This is strongly reminiscent of gentrification processes, as we call it nowadays. The location of (illegal) brothel accumulation was similar to periods before, located just outside the city walls, which proved to be excellent places. Next on, the call for a spatial social control of prostitution developed in European countries, especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, accelerated by immense city growth in the course of industrialization (Ruhne, 2006, p. 195).

### 6.11. Sex work during and after World War I & II: Begin of the era of sexual revolution after World War I

As Ehrlich (2012) notes, a new era of revolutionary enlightenment movement begins after World War I: The role of women changes in relation to men, women begin to fight for their rights, which also has an impact on prostitution (p. 255). During World War I, the enormous overabundance of women meant that prostitutes lost their customers, or rather, the competition for men was intense, anyway. Out of need for money women of all social groups were impelled to brothels (p. 255-256).

Under the regime of the NS, sex work was banned with sex workers shipped off to concentration camps. This regulation only did not apply to the German “Wehrmacht”; officers had their own prostitution shops in Vienna, as well as field and concentration camp brothels. In consequence of the horrible World War II many people were starving. This fact caused girls and women working as prostitutes in the streets. After World War II the spaces of sex work hardly shifted in comparison to those before the war began: Kärntnerstraße and its side streets were the places of expensive sex services, but offered more cheaply at Getreidemarkt. The Naschmarkt and the area around the former Frauenfleck became places of “cheaper” sex work, too. Until the 1960s, Kohlmarkt and Kärntnerstraße were places of public solicitation, but business increasingly shifted to the area of the Gürtel and Vienna's arterial roads. According to Ehrlich (2012), around 1963 prostitutes were driven from the inner districts into the “Gürtel”- region (p. 257).



Figure 9. Death and destruction after World War II: Reconstruction begin of Vienna's opera house in 1945, right next to Kärntnerstraße. (Source: <https://wien.orf.at/v2/news/stories/2796647/>, access 26 February 2021)

## 6.12. The change of prostitution due to the upheavals of 1989

The year of 1989 brought incisive politically motivated changes in Europe: Just to name a few significant examples, the first democratic parliamentary elections in Poland, the dismantling of Hungary's border with Austria, Czechoslovakia's border fortifications and the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 led to the breakdown of the “Iron Curtain”. As noted in Girtler (2013), these developments resulted in immense changes of prostitution business. Not only in Austria, but also in Germany there was massive immigration of “(...) *young girls from Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Russia, Ukraine and other Eastern countries*” (p. 13). Since they were willing to work as prostitutes for much less money, this meant a huge drop in business for the Austrian prostitutes which caused extensive problems. Currency differences in the Eastern Europe compared to the West were so enormous that a Czech woman working as a prostitute in Vienna for one night could support her entire family for some weeks (Girtler, 2013). Field research by Girtler (2013) indicates that the young girls often were recruited as dancers or models and then sold as prostitutes in the hands of human traffickers. As a result, the localization of brothels had enormous effects. Through the involvement of mafia, the amount of illegal sex workers rose significantly, which was not only problematic for police controls, but led to nuisance and increasing complains of residents (Girtler, 2013, p. 15).

The abbreviation into the history and development of prostitution in Vienna allows to reveal special aspects that are important to answer this thesis's basic research question. The formation of prostitution locations is closely intervened with the emergence of the city of Vienna itself: Around the former city walls, today called “Gürtel”, which still shows several clusters of sex work venues. Of course, also due to the rising car traffic - sex business has shifted to the area of the Gürtel and the Vienna arterial roads, in order to get more accessibility for clients. The previously asked research question, “*To what extent has the historical development of sex work in Vienna contributed to today's spatial distribution?*”, might be answered very clearly - the locations, where sex work is carried out today is clearly linked to the historical development of sex work. The historical constitution of the city allows to understand the places of sex work today. A detailed account of the geographies of current sex work will be presented in chapter 8.

What becomes apparent, when looking deeper into the spatial distribution of prostitution, is that prostitution always have existed – illegal or legal, in various forms, even mobile in horse-drawn carriages. Therefore, closely interwoven with the history of sex work, as has become clear from this chapter, are the laws of prostitution to determine geographies of sex work. Reviewing

the literature (see chapter 2), it became apparent, that legal regulations are considered to be the main determinants to official prostitution venues in the urban space, so the question arises, how does the situation look like in Vienna? The next chapter will give a detailed overview.

## **7. Legislative regulations: analysis of prostitution laws**

As studies have shown, legislation has a central influence on the geography of sex work. Legislative decisions are found to be responsible for agglomerated prostitution (Curtis & Arreola, 1991; Hubbard, 1998, Hubbard & Whowell, 2008; Wagenaar et al., 2013). Different legislation forms have pursued to control or exclude prostitution building upon the common moral perception, resulting in spatial (dis)placement of sex work. The legal regulation of prostitution is facing complex problematics: Various interests from different stakeholders clash together trying to regulate what is for the biggest part happening behind closed doors. Reforms or revisions of the prostitution law are carried out over and over again, usually followed by criticism from different sides. As can be also found in Hubbard, Matthews & Scoular (2008), prostitution laws have a complex history, thus researchers have devoted a great deal of effort to analyse laws and their implications. In the following part, the light will be shed on prostitution laws and their effects with a special focus on the spatial ramifications. It is important to tackle the issues, what is allowed in other countries and under which conditions. Furthermore, which countries set legal frameworks or prohibitions for prostitution and more importantly, how come? In a working paper (No. 13), Reinschmidt (2016) addresses an objectification of the discussion about different policy approaches in the field of prostitution within the EU countries, which will be explained in more detail below.

### **7.1. Different Policy Regimes: Comparison across the EU**

When examining the different models of prostitution policy, it is important to consider the individual policy goals (Reinschmidt, 2016, p. 2). The most commonly used typologies are criminalization, legalization, and decriminalization. The policy approach of criminalization often pursues the goal of abolishing prostitution, whereas decriminalization can entail the goal of reducing negative impacts. Legalization can pursue the goal of recognizing prostitution as a profession like any other. What is clear, according to Reinschmidt (2016), is that "*(...) the social and political treatment of prostitution is a field of discussion that is strongly influenced by moral value judgments. In this context, different policy goals always reflect different moral conceptions*" (p. 2).

Four different policy approaches governing prostitution can be distinguished (Reinschmidt, 2016):

### ***1. Criminalization of sex workers***

The total prohibition of prostitution, which generally prohibits the selling of sexual services. This comes into force in countries such as Croatia, Lithuania and Russia. As described in Wagenaar et al. (2013), it is “(...) based on a public order and/or moral order discourse in which prostitution is considered a threat to the public space of a city, the family or public health“ (p. 15).

### ***2. Criminalization of clients***

Secondly, the sex purchase ban, which implies that offering sexual services is legal. Nevertheless, the purchase of sex work is prohibited by criminal law. The “utopian” idea is, according to Wagenaar et al. (2013), to end prostitution, which is in this model mostly considered as sexual violence against women. This rather radical definition of prostitution argues – accelerated by feminist discourses – that “(...) prostitution can never be a free choice because the women who work in it are by definition victims of circumstance or of structural male domination” (Wagenaar et al., 2013, p. 15). The model is often referred to as the Nordic model because it originated in that area.

### ***3. Legal, unregulated***

The third model treats sex work as legal, but unregulated. This indicates that prostitutes and also clients act legally. By law, prostitution is “(...) regulated only by prohibitions and thus predominantly by criminal law” (p. 2). What this does not entail, however, are registration requirements for prostitutes - no legal licensing is demanded. According to Reinschmidt (2016), this model is often a temporary solution based on the assumption that prostitution will disappear if all possible associated activities are banned.

### ***4. Legal, regulated***

The fourth model states, prostitution is legal and regulated. This model regulates by means of licensing requirements of brothels, registration requirements, mandatory health examinations, etc. - herein also lies the central difference to model three. This model includes countries like Greece, Germany, Netherlands, Latvia, Switzerland, Turkey, Hungary and Austria. *Figure 10* provides a full overview of the European countries.

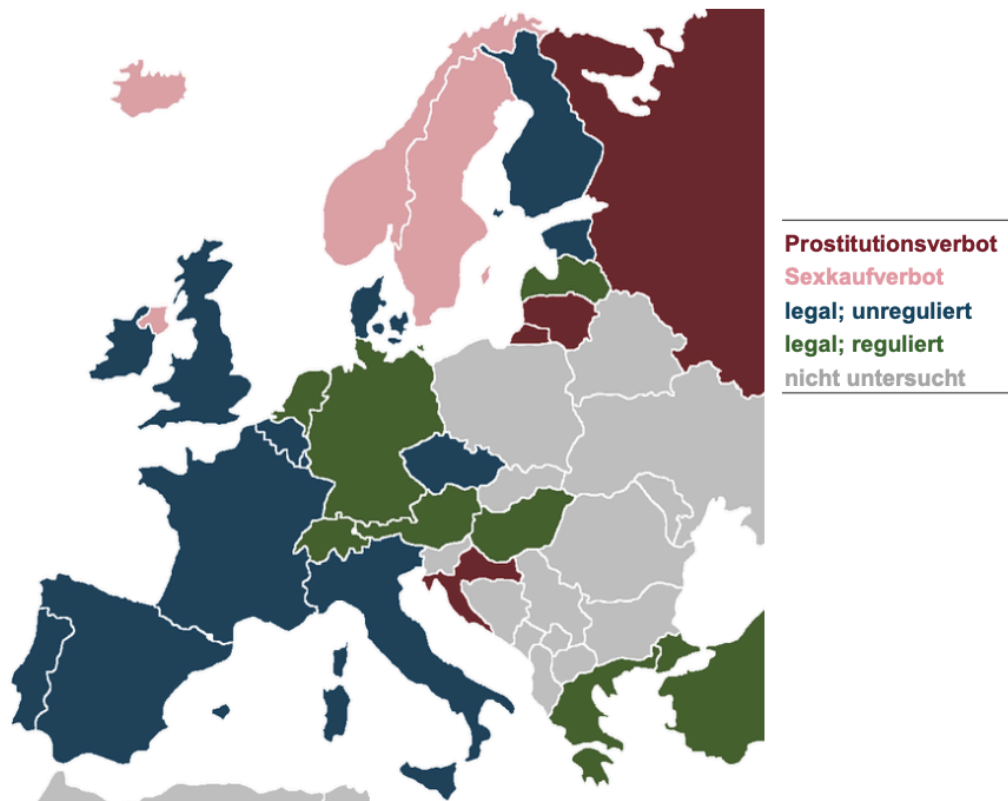


Figure 10. Presentation of different regulation models in European countries

(Source: Reinschmidt, 2016, p. 4)

Notably, concerning the tax liability, across all models, e.g. even in Sweden, where sex work is legally prohibited, tax payments are obligatory.

According to Reinschmidt (2016), model 1, which prohibits sex work, proves to be the exception in an EU comparison, because only a few Central and Eastern European states apply it. However, as stated in Wagenaar et al. (2013), there is currently no example of model 1 actually leading in “(...) the actual abolition of prostitution (...)” (p. 15). Hence, why its success in application can be questioned. The most frequently used model is therefore model 3, which treats prostitution as legal, but unregulated. An emerging problem concerning the various models, however, is the fact that there is notably a lack of coherence within as well as over borders. As depicted in Austria, as well for example, is that not only the federal law but above all, the laws of the individual *Länder* (state level) regulate sex work – apparently immense differences occur within Austria. Thus, the following part will evaluate the situation of Austria’s regulations of prostitution in more detail.

## 7.2. Sex market regulations in Austria

As derived from Reinschmidt (2016), prostitution in Austria is legal and regulated. Within this framework, legislation on prostitution in Austria, within the Criminal Code, is a matter for provincial legislation. Therefore, it is regulated separately in each province of Austria (Ehrlich, 2012, p. 258).

Insight in how Austria administers prostitution can be read on the governmental website of the federal chancellery<sup>4</sup>: The concept of sex work is understood to be a conscious decision to make money. Furthermore, it is acknowledged that foreign examples show that demand cannot be effectively stopped by a ban. On the contrary, the governmental side emphasizes that a ban would push sex service providers into illegality, where they are exposed to an even greater risk of exploitation. That there is no purchase ban for sexual services in Austria is legitimized with the argument, that in order to prevent exploitation in the prostitution, a distinction is made between forced prostitution and voluntary prostitution. According to the Austrian Human Trafficking Report of the Federal Criminal Police Office (2014), sex service providers have been subject to income tax since 1984. The possibility of access to social insurance followed in 1998. In April 2012, the Supreme Court ruled that paid sex services are no longer considered immoral, which stays in contrast to a decision made in 1989. As a consequence, If the sexual act was performed or tolerated in return for a previously agreed fee this agreement gives rise to an actionable claim for remuneration (Human Trafficking Report, 2014, p. 18).

Ehrlich (2012) states that the number of prostitutes, in relation to the total population, has decreased significantly compared to the 18th & 19th century: The author explains this development by the fact that party girls, escorts and models are not (anymore) counted. How many sex workers are currently employed is a matter of uncertainty, since only the registered numbers can be count. As noted in Wagenaar et al. (2013), data on the annual number of sex workers can be found, however, it says nothing about “(...) *the number of sex workers that work in a particular Austrian location on a given day*” (p. 26). Thus, it is important to state, even though the specific sex worker is registered, showing up in the annual number report, if this person has actually worked throughout the whole year. As reported from Amesberger (2014), drawn on data of the Ministry of Interior, in 2010, 5621 sex workers were active in Austria.

---

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.bundeskanzleramt.gv.at/agenda/frauen-und-gleichstellung/prostitution.html>, access 01 March 2021



### 7.2.1. Conditions for sex workers

Anyone wishing to work as a sex worker must be at least 18 years old and has been legally resident in Austria for at least 3 months. Prostitutes must register at the Federal Police Headquarters at *Deutschmeisterplatz*. After a consultation as well as a medical examination in the outpatient department of MA 15, one receives a control card (colloquially called “Deckel”; "lid") and must report to the health office for a check-up every week (Ehrlich, 2012, p. 258). Tax liability and social security are handled with the same rules as for New Self-Employed Workers. Illegal prostitutes are about as numerous as registered ones, according to Ehrlich (2012), with a very high migrant share estimated at over 80% (p. 258). Among them there are also many daily commuters from Slovakia or Hungary.

However, some central aspects fall under the regulatory competence of the federal government, others under the regulatory competence of the provinces. At the federal level, general tax and social security regulations apply.

On the other hand, at the state law level, there are more specific regulations on who and also where sexual services may actually be offered. Especially the requirements for offering and performing sexual services are regulated by state laws. For example, regulations on age limits, permissible places of work and requirements for establishments vary amongst the Austrian “Bundesländer”. In summary, the regulation of sexual services in Austria can be described as complex and inhomogeneous.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, there are different regulations in the federal states will be discussed further in the next part, based on the Human Trafficking Report (2014).

### 7.3. Legal situation in Austria’s federal states

In *Burgenland*, prostitution is regulated by the Provincial Police Penal Code. There is no obligation to obtain a license, however there is an obligation to notify the respective municipality. Sex workers must personally notify the municipality that they are engaged in prostitution. They must be of legal age and free of venereal diseases. Residential prostitution is prohibited, but house calls are permitted.

In *Carinthia*, the regulation is rather similar: Legislation is enacted in the form of a separate prostitution law. The practice of prostitution is only permitted in licensed brothels and only for people of legal age. The municipal council issues ordinances on sanitary facilities, safety, the maintenance of peace and order, as well as the serving of alcoholic beverages.

---

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.bundeskanzleramt.gv.at/agenda/frauen-und-gleichstellung/prostitution.html>, access 01 March 2021

In *Lower Austria*, the regulation also takes place in a separate prostitution law. There is no obligation to obtain a license, but there is an obligation to notify the respective municipality. Additionally, in the "immediate vicinity" of protected objects, such as churches, schools and hospitals, the practice of prostitution is prohibited (prohibition or protection zones). Similar to *Burgenland*, residential prostitution is prohibited, but home visits are permitted.

*Upper Austria*, also makes use of a separate prostitution law. Persons of legal age in who hold a legal residence title and – interestingly – were not involved in any crime activity may engage in prostitution at a legal place of work. Licensed brothels are considered legal places of work. Home visits are permitted if no minors are present in the home at the time the sexual service is performed.

In *Salzburg*, the practice of prostitution is regulated by the Salzburg State Security Act and is only permitted in brothels approved by the municipalities. Not allowed to work as prostitutes are minors and obviously pregnant women. Brothels have to stay away from the proximity to schools, kindergarten etc. at a minimum distance of 300 meters. Residential prostitution and home visits are prohibited. The municipalities have greater force than in some of the other *federal states*, they, for example, impose conditions on brothels, too, such as the maximum number of prostitutes and the provision of sanitary facilities.

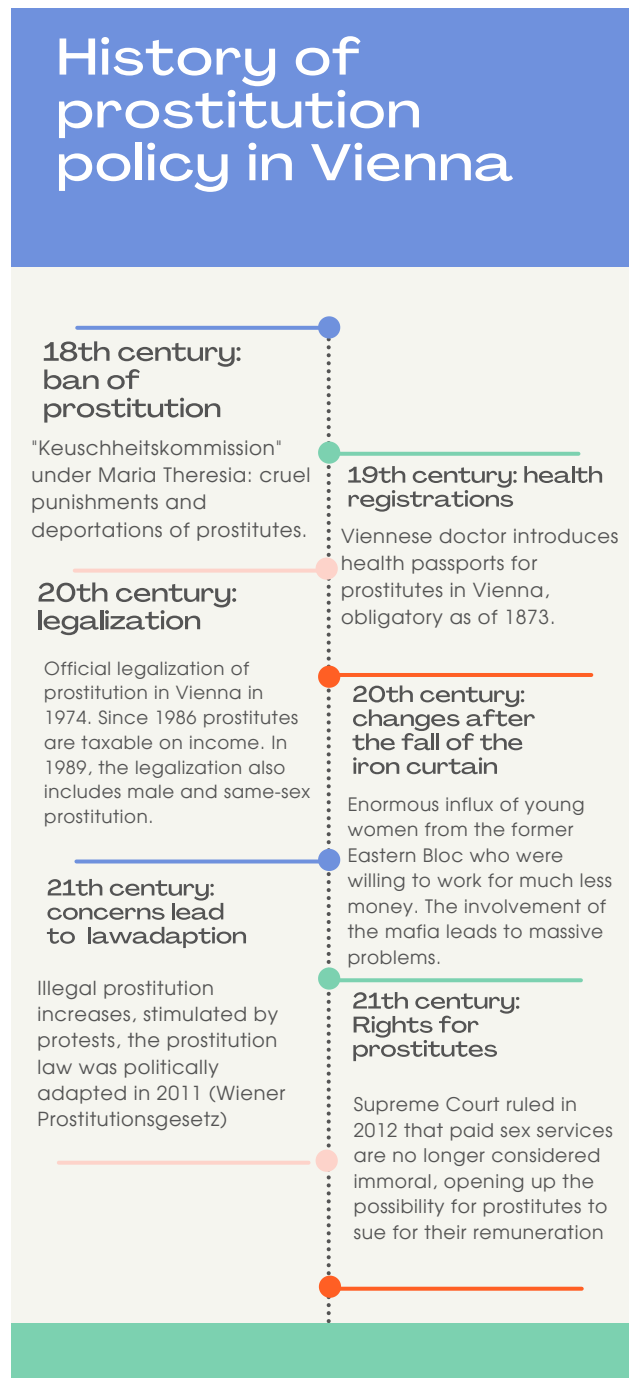
*Styria's* regulation is carried out as well by means of a separate prostitution law, stating that the practice of prostitution is only allowed in licensed brothels. However, house calls are permitted. The municipalities, also in *Styria*, have a significant power and thus may, by ordinance, issue more detailed regulations on the operation of the brothel. The age of consent for the practice of prostitution is required to be 19 years.

In *Tyrol*, the legal regulation is carried out by the provincial police law. Prostitution is only permitted in brothels which have to be approved by the municipality. It might be considered as rather restricted, since residential prostitution and home visits have been prohibited. Furthermore, the public advertising for the practice of prostitution outside of officially licensed brothels, such as on the street, in print media or in electronic media, is strongly forbidden. Before a permit for a brothel is issued, an assessment is carried out which takes into account the population as well as the tourism structure. Moreover, whether another brothel is already operating.

*Vorarlberg* stands out among the federal provinces, because of the particular situation that it does not have its own prostitution law. The legal provisions on prostitution are contained in the Moral Police Act. Notably, the practice of prostitution is only permitted in officially approved brothels and only by persons who have reached the age of 24. However, in *Vorarlberg* no brothel

has yet been approved, thus as a consequence legal prostitution is not possible. It has to be mentioned though, that there are numerous table dance venues in Vorarlberg.

Most importantly for this thesis, the next chapter provides deeper insight in *Vienna's* prostitution law.



### 7.3.1. The historical development of Austrian prostitution policy

Taking a closer look at the history of prostitution policy in Austria, it becomes clear that there have been varying laws and accompanying attitudes towards sex work. Figure 11 gives a condensed overview over the centuries. Maria Theresia devoted great effort to ban prostitution with installing the “Keuschheitskommission” (chastity commission), with one of the consequences to deport sex workers (Girtler, 2013). Vienna in 1850, a wound surgeon of police proposed that prostitutes could be "conscripted" by the police: Weekly examinations and a provided health passport had been suggested. About twenty years later, health registers have become compulsory since the new regulation of prostitution by Vienna's police chief Anton Ritter von Le Monnier in 1873. Prostitutes who complied with this provision were not objected by the police.<sup>6</sup>

Figure 11. Own representation based on Girtler (2013), Wagner & Winter (2014) and information from the federal ministry of the interior (bmi.gv.at)

<sup>6</sup> Geschichte der Prostitution. In: Öffentliche Sicherheit. Das Magazin des Innenministeriums Nr. 11–12/2000 November-Dezember.

Source: [https://www.bmi.gv.at/magazinfiles/2000/11\\_12/files/geschichte%20der%20prostitution](https://www.bmi.gv.at/magazinfiles/2000/11_12/files/geschichte%20der%20prostitution), access 02 March 2021

Prostitution in Austria has become officially legal after decades of prohibition in 1974 (Wagner & Winter, 2014). Furthermore, sex service providers have been subjects to income tax since 1984. Only later on in 1989 after an amendment of law, the legalization included male and same-sex prostitution. However, after the fall of the iron curtain in 1989 immense changes for the prostitution business occurred after an enormous influx of young women from the former Eastern countries who were willing to work for much less money. The involvement of the mafia led to massive problems (Girtler, 2013). Taking this into account, as a result, the new circumstances impacted the law. Stimulated by protests and reports of nuisance especially from street prostitution, on 30 June 2011, the new "Vienna Prostitution Act" (WPG) was politically adopted (Gurtner & Sauer, 2014, p. 283). Spatial consolidation seemingly also played a blatant role. The next part will give detailed information about the law in force today.

#### **7.4. Definition of prostitution**

Firstly, the question arises, what definition is underlying the framework "prostitution". As became clear, not only the prostitution policies differ significantly over countries and moreover within the same states. Such as the situation of Austria, the federal states have their own laws, ergo their own definition. In Vorarlberg, for example, prostitution is defined at the legal level as "*gewerbsmäßige Unzucht*" (commercial fornication) (Wagner & Winter, 2014, p. 2), which might reflect the moral approach at the linguistic level: No brothels have been permitted in Vorarlberg. Concerning Vienna, an answer is given at Vienna's governmental side, in Paragraph 2:

*§ 2. (1) Prostitution within the meaning of this law is the commercial toleration of sexual acts on one's own body or the commercial performance of sexual acts.<sup>7</sup>*

#### **7.5. The "Wiener Prostitutionsgesetz 2011"**

What is of special interest for this thesis, is the legal regulation of prostitution venues. The "Wiener Prostitutionsgesetz 2011" states the following:

*§ 6 Prostitution venues<sup>8</sup>*

*(1) Buildings or parts of buildings may only be used for the practice of prostitution as prostitution establishments (Section 2 (5)) if*

---

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/GeltendeFassung.wxe?Abfrage=LrW&Gesetzesnummer=20000170>, access 01 March 2021

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/GeltendeFassung.wxe?Abfrage=LrW&Gesetzesnummer=20000170>, access 01 March 2021

- a) they have direct and separate access to the public area;*
- b) persons practicing prostitution have power of disposal over all rooms belonging to them;*
- c) they are not stations or station buildings;*
- d) they have adequate facilities and safety precautions to prevent danger to human life or health and the occurrence of fires and to protect prostitutes;*
- e) they are designed in such a way that the protection of young people is ensured and residents are not exposed to unreasonable nuisances. This shall apply in particular to the design of the marking as a prostitution establishment as well as to those areas of the building which are visible to the residents.*

*(2) The practice of prostitution in buildings that do not meet the conditions of subsection 1 shall be permitted only in the premises of the person who uses the services of a person practicing prostitution.*

*(3) The more detailed provisions on the facilities and arrangements provided for in subsection (1) (d) and (e) shall be issued by the authority by ordinance.*

#### *7.5.1. Street prostitution*

Legal prostitution like "street prostitution" is currently only possible in Vienna. The places where street prostitution may legally take place in Vienna are defined by the Vienna Prostitution Act as well as ordinances based on it. Vienna's governmental website ([wien.gv.at](http://wien.gv.at)) provides specific maps for each district, also available in various languages to address sex workers directly and thus, clarifies where street prostitution is legal.

#### *§ 9 Street prostitution<sup>9</sup>*

*is permissible, unless par. 2 provides otherwise.*

*(2) Street prostitution is not permitted*

- a) within residential areas (Article 2(8));*
- b) on areas that are used as cemeteries, allotment garden areas or public transport stop areas*
- c) in the area of a restriction according to § 10.*

---

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/GeltendeFassung.wxe?Abfrage=LrW&Gesetzesnummer=20000170>, access 01 March 2021

(3) The authority (§ 3 par. 3) can determine exceptions from the prohibitions of par. 2 by ordinance (permit zones for street prostitution), provided that this does not violate legitimate interests of the public or of the residents, especially with regard to objects of protection (§ 2 par. 10) as well as serious security interests of the prostitutes.

(4) The initiation of prostitution in public or publicly visible places must not be carried out in an aggressive manner (§ 2 par. 4).

(5) The practice of prostitution in a building is only permitted if this building, as a prostitution-location, complies with the requirements of § 6.

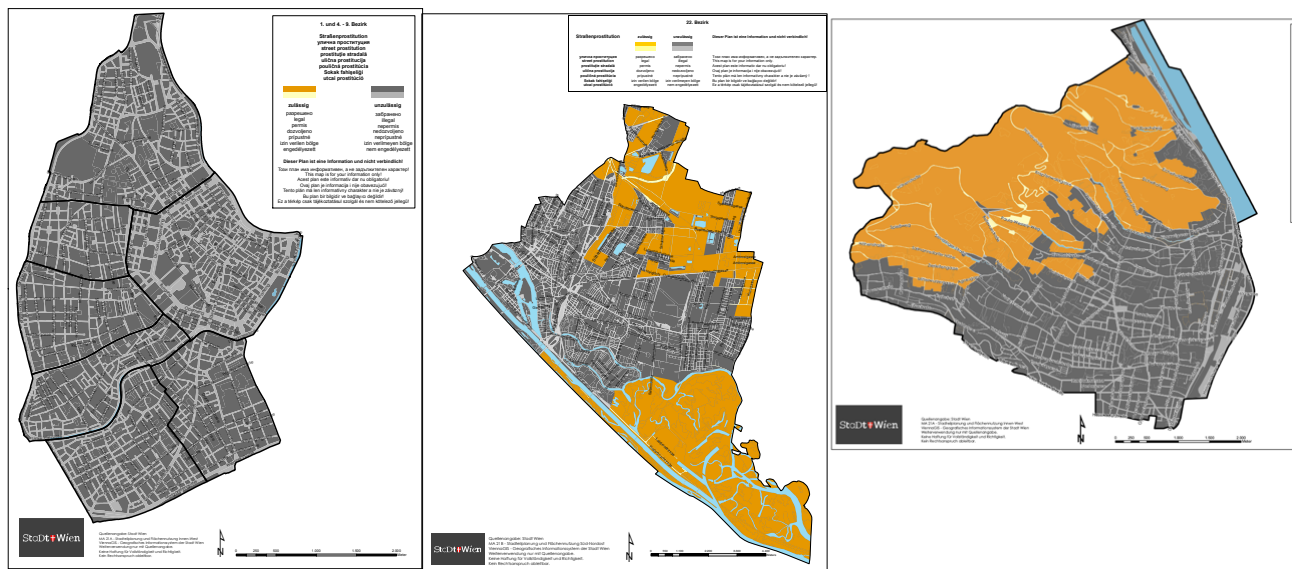


Figure 12. Permitted areas of street prostitution over Vienna's districts (yellow)

Source: <https://www.wien.gv.at/verwaltung/prostitution/>, access 01 March 2021

As visible in the maps provided by Vienna's governmental website (see Figure 12), "inner districts" – namely 1, 4-9th – street prostitution is prohibited entirely. The yellow areas declare the legal street prostitution: In the suburbs of the zones, in the districts of Liesing (23th district) and Floridsdorf (22th district), the maps show various allowed zones, however, a time restriction was issued by ordinance (Human Trafficking Report, 2014).

## 7.6. Prostitution law lobbying in Austria: Sex work as an anti-emancipatory phenomenon

As noted by Sauer (2015) by analysing Austria and Slovenia, the conglomerating factors that had led to a new prostitution policy in the 1980s were accelerated by feminist movements. Furthermore, prostitution movements emerged in various European states advocating for the recognition of sex workers. However, the moral condemnations still dominate the political discourse, as criticized by Sauer (2015), the labelling of prostitution with criminality and amorality

may play a significant role in preventing the recognition of the omnipresent phenomenon of sex work. Moreover, Sauer (2015) offers sharp criticism, stating that scientific expertise as a basis for political decision-making processes is lacking: Especially research about the demanding side of prostitution - respectively the clients – is hardly available. In addition, according to the author, analyses of the consequences of political regulations are underdeveloped, and accompanying political science research is largely absent, which does not only refer to Austria, but is also evident at the EU level (Sauer, 2015, p. 80). According to Gurtner & Sauer (2014), the European Parliament recommended the policy regime of *Criminalization of clients* to the European Commission in February 2014. Thus, the prostitution lobbying will be discussed further.

### **7.7. Mobility of sex workers: geographical implications**

In analysing where prostitution settles in the urban space, it is – concerning the prostitution policies – important to acknowledge, that the business of prostitution may not represent a static structure. In a detailed analysis of Austrian prostitution policy, Wagenaar et al. (2013) devote a chapter to the mobility of sex workers – pointing out that sex workers “(...) *move geographically, from facility to facility, from one type of prostitution to another, and they move in and out the sex trade*” (p. 28). The question arises, what implications on spatial terms emerge. Notably, the mobility of sex workers is assumed to be motivated by legal, personal, economic as well as the individual work climate. Thus, the connection of legal acts becomes clear, the movements result as answer to new governmental regulations and controls. This, on the other hand, poses massive problems for the regulation of prostitution. Drawing on qualitative data collected by Wagenaar et al. (2013) shows, that a fifth of sex workers in Austria were employed in the same establishment for at least three years (p. 28). Geographical mobility is not just limited to one city or country, but goes beyond borders, as the interview data suggest. How new regulation might cause prostitutes to displace or migrate is given by Wagenaar et al. (2013), with the example of the abolishment of the “prostitution visa” in Austria 2005, leading to an exclusion of non-EU nationals and thus causing the affected sex workers to immigrate in other countries or illegal work. To come to a conclusion, law implementations are powerful tools to accelerate mobility and play a significant role in the displacement of sex work. Therefore, the next part will discuss the spatial implications of the prostitution law novelty in Vienna in 2011.

## 7.8. Spatial implications of the „Wiener Prostitutionsgesetz 2011“

The implementation of the prostitution law novel in 2011 had highly been stimulated by protests from local residents against the visibility of street prostitution and venues. The debate in Vienna involves, according to Gurtner & Sauer (2014), the demand for the complete abolition of prostitution as well as the establishment of more rights for prostitutes. The law novel in 2011 did not lead to criminalization - neither of the clients nor of the prostitutes, but one effect becomes very clear: The implications of the new law have led to the displacement of prostitution to the outskirts of the city (p. 282). The authors see the disputes about the new regulation of prostitution in Vienna, reflecting the redistribution of the increasingly scarce public urban space. Gurtner & Sauer (2014) strongly emphasize the social relations materializing in spatial relations „(...) which, through the binarisation of public and private, of visibility and invisibility, of inclusion and exclusion, possibly reproduce domineering gender and sexuality relations, but also ethnicity, nationality and class relations“ (p. 282). The WPG 2011 contains a large number of legal innovations. For the spatial structuring of the prostitution field, street prostitution is particularly affected. The new legal regulation prohibits street prostitution in the entire residential area of Vienna (see Paragraph 9).

However, there is also criticism that the definition of a residential area is by no means clear. As exemplified by a 2013 ordinance that reclassified a large area in the Prater park – including the “Stuwerviertel”, which had previously been accessible for street prostitution, as a residential area because the new campus of the University of Economics was opened there (Gurtner & Sauer, 2014, p. 284). The “Stuwerviertel” in particular will therefore be examined more closely in the form of a case study (see chapter 10). In summary, the new law (WPG 2011) represents a break with the previously more liberal prostitution policy: The access of sex workers to public space has been restricted to a large extent. According to Gurtner & Sauer (2014), this contributes to the fact that sex work remains a stigmatized profession.

It is therefore quite clear that the places of prostitution are highly regulated. But how does this translate into practice? After all, what forms of sex work exist in Vienna in general? The next chapter - manifestations of sex work - will take stock of the spaces of sex work, in order to come closer to the research question analysing influencing factors of the localization of prostitution venues in Vienna regarding gentrification processes.



## 8. Manifestations of prostitution

The following chapter provides insight into the varying venues of sex work in Austria with the focus specifically related to Vienna, which is of basic interest for this thesis. The term *sex work*, in Vienna's law refers to "(...) *the commercial toleration of sexual acts on one's own body or the commercial performance of sexual act* <sup>10</sup>", and names a wide-ranging and disparate service that varies in terms of the used venues. It has to be noted, that within this thesis, sex work is exclusively used to refer to forms of the voluntary offering of sexual services for payment with physical contact. Thus, illegal prostitution, internet services or the acts of the porn movie industry are not, respectively cannot be, included. Clearly, sex work occurs not only in many forms, but also in various venues, respectively spaces. To approach the spatial dimension of sex work, this chapter gives an overview of Austria's and especially Vienna's prevailing forms of prostitution. Besides presenting the spaces of sex work, the light will be shed on problematics accompanying, namely human trafficking and illegality. In addition, a discussion of the manifestations of sex work includes a discussion of a space that is invisible in the urban space - the digital space, which is presented at the end of this chapter.

### 8.1. Spaces of sex work in Austria

According to the data of the Federal Criminal Police Office Report (2019), dealing with smuggling and human trafficking, in Austria 718 legal brothels have been set up with a positive permit. With the amendment of the „Wiener Prostitutionsgesetz 2011“, among other things, the obligation to notify prostitution establishments has been introduced<sup>11</sup>: In order to be allowed to operate a place where sexual services are offered, a licensing procedure is required, in which the respective operators have to undergo a background check and have their place inspected. The owners of a prostitution establishment can now also be held legally responsible. Compliance with hygienic standards and building and safety regulations is monitored by the police. In addition, sex service providers must undergo a medical examination for STIs, HIV and tuberculosis at regular intervals.

Generally, in Austria the sex market consists of primarily brothels, „Laufhäuser“, sauna clubs, studios, entertainment venues, go-go bars and peep shows. In Vorarlberg there is no brothel licensed, however, 13 establishments are registered, but these are exclusively go-go bars, in which

---

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/GeltendeFassung.wxe?Abfrage=LrW&Gesetzesnummer=20000170>, access 01 March 2021

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/GeltendeFassung.wxe?Abfrage=LrW&Gesetzesnummer=20000170>, see § 5, access 08 March 2021

the practice of prostitution is prohibited (Federal Criminal Police Office Report, 2019, p. 22). According to the report, in 2019 Vienna had the highest number of registered red-light premises with 345 establishments, followed by Upper Austria with 98 venues. Concerning the amount of sex workers, the report states 6423 of them are registered sex workers throughout Austria. As discussed in more detail in the historical part of this paper, the fall of the Iron Curtain has led to many European citizens dominating sex work in Austria. The same trend can be observed in Austria's neighboring countries Germany and Switzerland. This fact is also reflected in the report of the Federal Criminal Police Office (2019) stating "*Prostitution in Austria is mostly practiced by nationals of the EU member states Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Slovakia. Among third-country nationals, most sex service providers came from Nigeria and China*" (p. 26).

## **8.2. Current trends**

The Federal Criminal Police Office also comments on current trends in the prostitution business. According to this, the following excerpt can be read: "*The demand for sex services in „Laufhäuser“ and studios continues to rise*" (Federal Criminal Police Office Report, 2019, p. 27). The authors explain the fact that there is an increase, especially in the above-mentioned establishments with the given anonymity, the transparent price and service ratios as well as the wide opening hours (also during the day). Notably, there is currently a lot of demand for sado-machist services, offered in studios and brothels, which also provides a possible explanation for the increase in these establishments – since such services have been offered, mainly in studios and „Laufhäuser“.

In the annual report of the Federal Criminal Police Office 2019, it also stands out that asylum seekers are mentioned who are allowed "(...) *three months after submitting their asylum application, provided that no final decision has been made on the application in the meantime, to pursue a self-employed activity in the federal territory and to engage in prostitution in compliance with the legal provisions*" (p. 22). This means that although asylum seekers are not allowed to work regularly, self-employed prostitution is possible.

## **8.3. Problems: human trafficking and the non-transparent sex market**

Human trafficking is by no means a negligible problem in Austria: In 2019, for example, 66 victims were identified under Section §104a of the Criminal Code Trafficking in Human Beings and 53 victims under Section §217 of the Criminal Code Cross-border Prostitution Trafficking. As noted, 51 per cent of the victims came from European Union countries – especially Romania,

Hungary and Bulgaria and 49 per cent were third-country nationals – in 2019 in the first place from Venezuela, Nigeria and Serbia (Federal Criminal Police Office Report, 2019, p. 22). The working group of the Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings (2018) states that its data only provide a blurred picture and considers that the number of illegal brothels is very high, especially in Vienna, but throughout Austria.

#### **8.4. The quantitative dimension of sex work: licensed brothels**

To approach the quantitative spatial dimension of sex work, it is not the easiest to find detailed information of prostitution venues - neither the Federal Criminal Police Office, nor the police or other institutions provide an overview of legal, registered brothels. However, the charitable institution "Sophie - der Bildungsraum für Prostituierte" (Sophie - the educational space for prostitutes) developed a tentative list of the prostitution locations registered as of 25 May 2015 (see appendix). Thus, without claiming to be complete, the document is the only one to provide comprehensive information on approved brothels and their exact addresses. Included are all common forms of brothels in Vienna, such as "Laufhäuser", sauna clubs, studios, entertainment venues, go-go bars and peep shows. The point of view is pursued that the comprehensive insight into sex work given by the organization "Sofie" has made the document on licensed brothels a legitimately valuable source of information. The document lists 253 prostitution venues in total, which are a fundamental basis for the further analyses in this paper. Interesting initial statements can be made, such as that with the exception of Hietzing (13th district) and Döbling (19th district), prostitution establishments are licensed in all districts of Vienna. In absolute numbers, the fewest brothels (2 venues) are located in Wieden (4th district), whereas the most premises are licensed in the 2nd district Leopoldstadt (40 venues). The premises are hardly concentrated geographically, but distributed unobtrusively in the city area, 116 premises are registered in the inner districts (1-9th, 20th district), 137 in the suburbs (10<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, 21-23th districts), which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 9 in presenting the results of the quantitative study.

#### **8.5. Varying forms of prostitution venues in Vienna**

The report of the "Arbeitsbericht Prostitution in Österreich" (2008) and the report of the Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings (2018) provide a detailed overview of the scope of brothels and is supplemented by the researcher's observation. Different types of prostitution establishments are visibly represented in Vienna's urban space, a distinction is made between the following establishments:

### 8.5.1. Laufhaus

The “Laufhaus” is usually located in an entire residential building, which is equipped with several rooms and apartments. A “Laufhaus” is considered a large brothel without a bar where sex workers offer their services. A board in the entrance area informs which of the women working there is available. As noted in the report, on the door of each room hang photos of the man or woman who has rented the room and provides detailed information about services. The customer can choose the sex service provider of his or her choice in the hallway - hence the name Laufhaus (Arbeitsbericht Prostitution in Österreich, 2008, p. 13). To get a first idea of the localization of prostitution, *image 1* shows google maps location’s search result. However, it has to be noted that google maps search results do not give 100% accuracy, but show localizations results that have been validated by the owning company or stakeholder.



Figure 13. google maps search results of “Laufhaus” in Vienna. As visible “Laufhäuser” are - similar to Nightclubs - mostly in the outer districts, only a marginal amount is located in the inner districts. Screenshots taken on 07 May 2020.

### 8.5.2. Studios

Studios are small-scale brothels, usually accessible from the street, without an associated bar or solicitation area (Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings, 2018, p. 14). Studios can be found to be the most numerous (as depicted in *Figure 14*). Furthermore, it has to be noted, that many studios have latently noticeable facades, the indication of a studio is hardly legible, only recognizable when approaching.

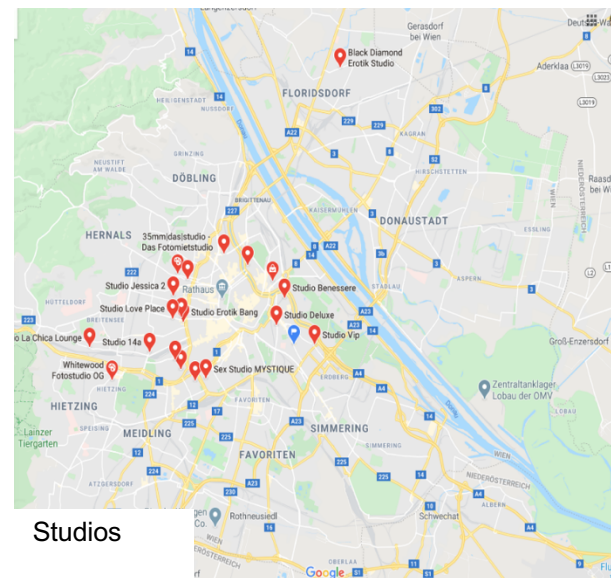


Figure 14. google maps search results of “Studio” in Vienna. Screenshots taken on 07 May 2020.

### 8.5.3. Nightclubs and Bars

These forms of prostitution venues consist of a bar area where the initiation between sex worker and client takes place and an additional area with rooms to conduct sex work. As noted in “Arbeitsgruppe Prostitution” (2008), sex workers

have to pay high inflated rents. Such establishments are large in size and differ from studio establishments or massage parlors in the additional bar or dance area (See Figure 15).

#### 8.5.4. Sauna Clubs

In the so-called Sauna Club, often also referred to as Swinger Club, usually an entrance fee (according to signages around 80€ to 100€) must be paid. After payment, sex workers and potential customers have access. There the attendees are provided with a selection of food or events as well as sexual services which are initiated, offered and paid for directly by the workers. Thus, the sauna club itself accumulates money from the entrance fees and the payment for drinks and food. As pictured in Figure 16, google maps search results show, these establishments are mainly located on arterial roads in the outskirts of Vienna.

#### 8.5.5. Massage parlors

Generally, the massage parlors have the same spatial attributes as studios, but deliberately offer massage treatments. This manifestation of sex work is often in the grey area of the spectrum, as it has turned out that unlicensed massage parlors illegally offer sexual services, too.

#### 8.5.6. Street prostitution

Street prostitution is defined as the initiation of sexual services – i.e. the solicitation of customers - in the street (Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings, 2018, p. 74). Due to the legal restrictions in 2011 (“Wiener Prostitutionsgesetz 2011”), the number of legal street

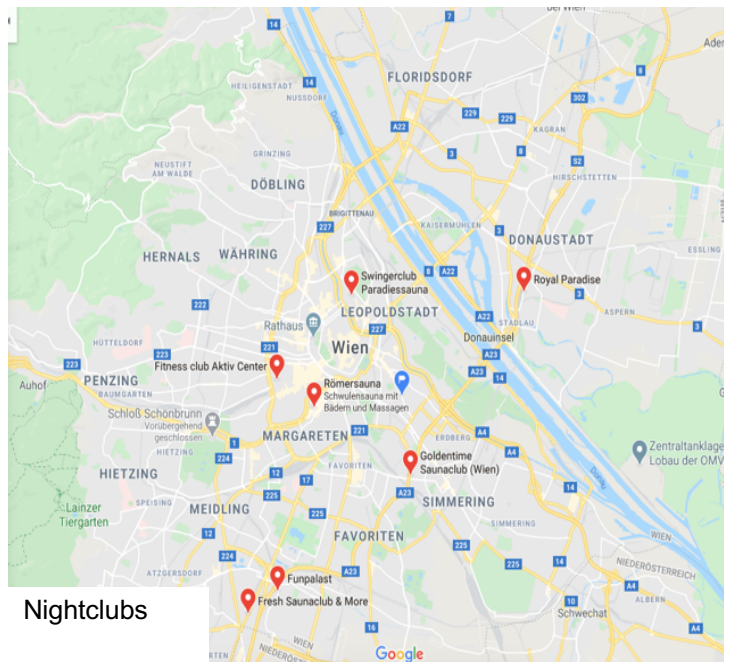


Figure 15. google maps search results of “Nightclubs” in Vienna. Nightclubs are seemingly almost entirely located in the suburbs. Screenshots taken on 07 May 2020.

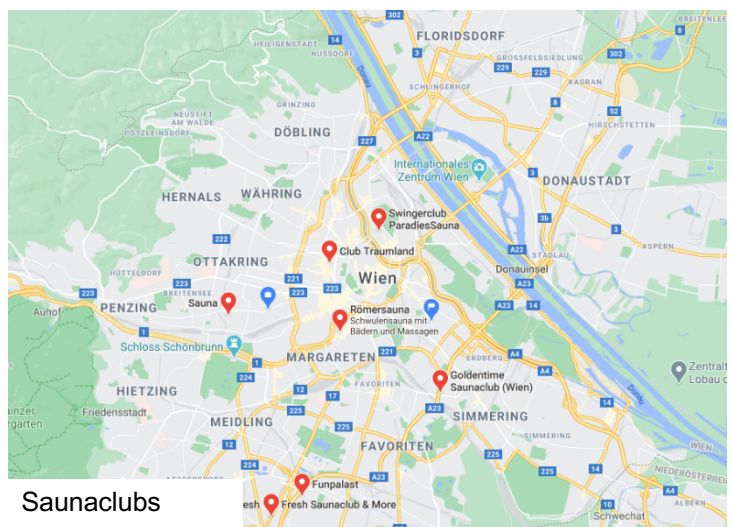


Figure 16. google maps search results of “Saunaclub” in Vienna. Similar to Nightclubs, they are almost entirely located in the suburbs. Screenshots taken 08.03.21

prostitutes in Vienna has decreased considerably, however, major problems occur, some of which have changed due to the new regulations. The Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings (2018) report criticizes that where initiations are legally possible, the necessary infrastructure for legal practice lacks. Thus, the report notes, that the practice therefore often takes place in bushes or vehicles, without any hygienic standard and furthermore, entails a complete lack of protection in the event of violence.

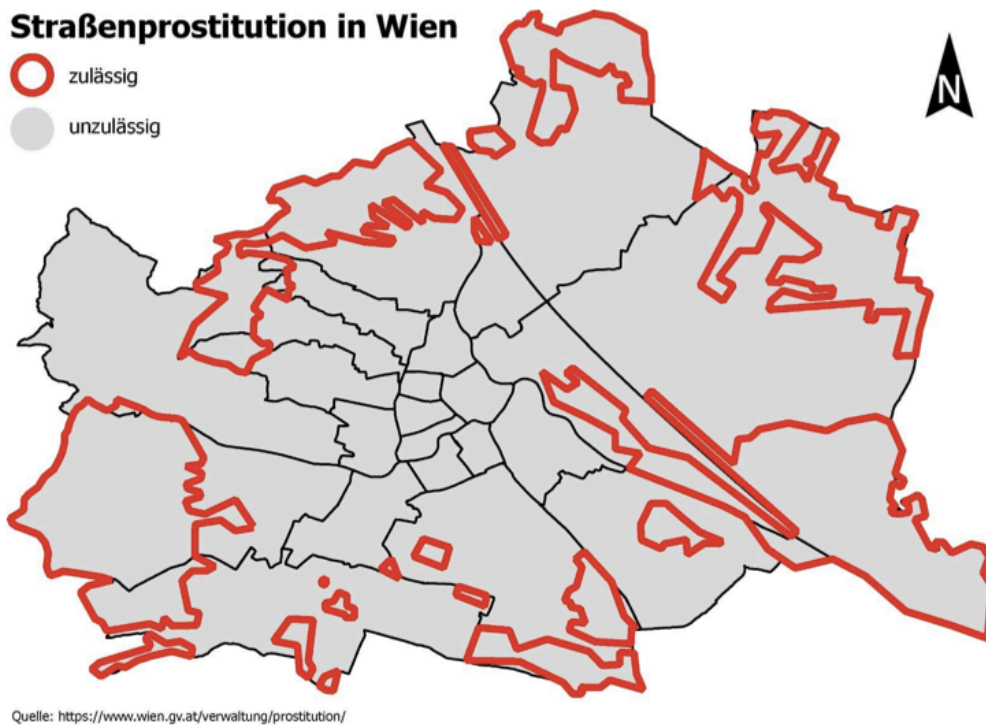


Figure 17. incorporated zones of legal street prostitution in Vienna, based on data of the federal government. (Source: [https://dieraum20.at/?page\\_id=2846](https://dieraum20.at/?page_id=2846))

#### 8.5.7. The illegal sex market: Residential prostitution, “ethnic coffee houses” and escort services

Part of the illegal market are notably all brothels without the appropriate license as well as all prostitutes who work in an illegal brothel, in an illegal street promenade or without the necessary compulsory examination. Estimations on the “real” number of sex work establishments leave space for interpretation. Escort services and brothels in flats (residential prostitution) share the largest rate at the illegal market, according to the Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings report (2019). What makes estimations about the number of those illegal venues especially difficult is that they are not bound to any premises, so sex work does not depend on a fixed place.

Furthermore, go-go bars, massage parlors and so-called ethnic coffee houses are also often covert brothels. Ethnic coffee houses are considered to be "(...) *often illegal brothels, which are declared to the outside world as coffee houses and are visited practically exclusively by male customers of foreign origin*" (Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings, 2018, p. 15). This data-based approach to the spatial structures of sex work provides a first sketch of what will be analysed in more detail in the following chapter. Nevertheless, changes in the spatial characteristics of sex work need to be addressed first.

### **8.6. Changing spaces of sex work: The role of digital media**

In an outlook of the annual report 2019 of the Federal Criminal Police Office, the following is reported with regard to prostitution:

*"Following the trends in the practice of prostitution, special attention will be paid to intensifying the fight against human trafficking in social media and internet platforms as well as to strengthening the fight against illegal prostitution in flats, hotels and escort agencies. The perpetrators' methods are becoming increasingly professional and they use a wide variety of online platforms to plan and implement their criminal plans and financial transactions. Therefore, in the future, there will be an increased focus on joint investigations with specialized officers from the information technology (IT) and financial sectors to specifically combat human trafficking"* (p. 30). Accordingly, the Internet presents new and challenging phenomena to monitor. However, more detailed information on how the Federal Criminal Police Office intends to use IT technology is not provided.

This presentation of the manifest spaces of sex work in Vienna allows to make initial assumptions about the factors that could influence localization decisions of prostitution venues. As was discovered in the historical analysis of the spaces of sex work in Vienna (chapter 6), there is a concentration of venues observable in the "Westgürtel" region as well as in the 2nd district (Leopoldstadt) which evidently emerged historically. The restrictions imposed by the law also become clear; no brothels can be found in railway station buildings, as it is prohibited by law. To address the research question, which role gentrification plays with regard to the localization of prostitution establishments in Vienna's urban space, it is necessary to identify the factors that make gentrification processes possible. Thus, the results of the quantitative analysis will be presented in the following chapter

## 9. Results of quantitative analysis

Reviewing the literature, existing research on gentrification processes regarding spatial dimensions of sex work pursue qualitative approaches, inter alia Liempt & Chimenti (2017) and Singelenberg & VanGent (2020), even though initially gentrification is quantification. As deduced from the mechanisms of gentrification processes (as presented in chapter 4), it is necessary to identify socio-economic variables and - considering the research question of this thesis - test for their proximity to areas of sex work. Furthermore, old, deteriorating housing stock, as described in Kadi & Verlic (2019) which has especially been targeted for gentrification processes in Vienna is quantified by means of variables. Seemingly, social determinants may be substantially affected by spatial factors, which together possibly can explain the (dis-) similar distribution of prostitution venues. Thus, in this chapter, the quantitative analysis is presented, using the comprehensive dataset of the so-called “Registerzählung 2011 – Zählbezirke Wien”, including specific data with geographical allocation to census districts.<sup>12</sup> More specifically, to conduct an analysis of gentrification processes with regard to prostitution locations this quantitative analysis includes economic variables, in order to assess whether or to which extent economic factors could favor or disadvantage the presence of prostitution venues. Specifically, the residents in the immediate vicinity of prostitution venues are examined for the variables such as income, occupation, highest education as well as employment status. This serves to gain a detailed insight into the census districts in which brothels occur. First, the descriptive analysis of the results will be presented. Furthermore, the multiple regression models will be demonstrated.

### 9.1. Descriptive analysis

#### 9.1.1. *Sample description*

The sample provided by the dataset in total, consists of 1 714 227 in Vienna residing people in 2011. In the dataset (for a detailed description see chapter 4 discussing the methods), for the first time, citizens are no longer interviewed personally by means of questionnaires, but specific information is directly given from registers already held for administrative purposes, in absolute

---

<sup>12</sup> source for detailed insight: <https://www.data.gv.at/katalog/dataset/156805d0-9f25-407d-ae52-acb9c4149735>, access 09 January 2021



compliance with data protection (without names and encrypted). A detailed presentation of the sample description can be downloaded from the Statistics Austria website.<sup>13</sup>

### 9.1.2. The distribution of brothels in Vienna

The data for measuring the distribution of brothels in Vienna are based on a tentative list of the prostitution locations registered as of 25 May 2015 by the caritative institution "Sophie - der Bildungsraum für Prostituierte" (Sophie - the educational space for prostitutes, see appendix). The required information on the location of the prostitution establishments, an overview of the concessioned prostitution establishments, is merged into geo-information data. In order to merge the geographical location data of the licensed brothels, the opensource application of QGIS, version 3.14, was used, which allows spatial information to be analysed and processed. The results are described in detail below. *Figure 18* gives an overview of the total number of prostitution establishments in Vienna, indicated by red dots. It shows an unusual distribution: There is no red-light district to be found in Vienna. The brothels are scattered, but there are some concentrations to recognize. Brothels occur more frequent in the region of the Gürtel and are also concentrated in the 2nd district.

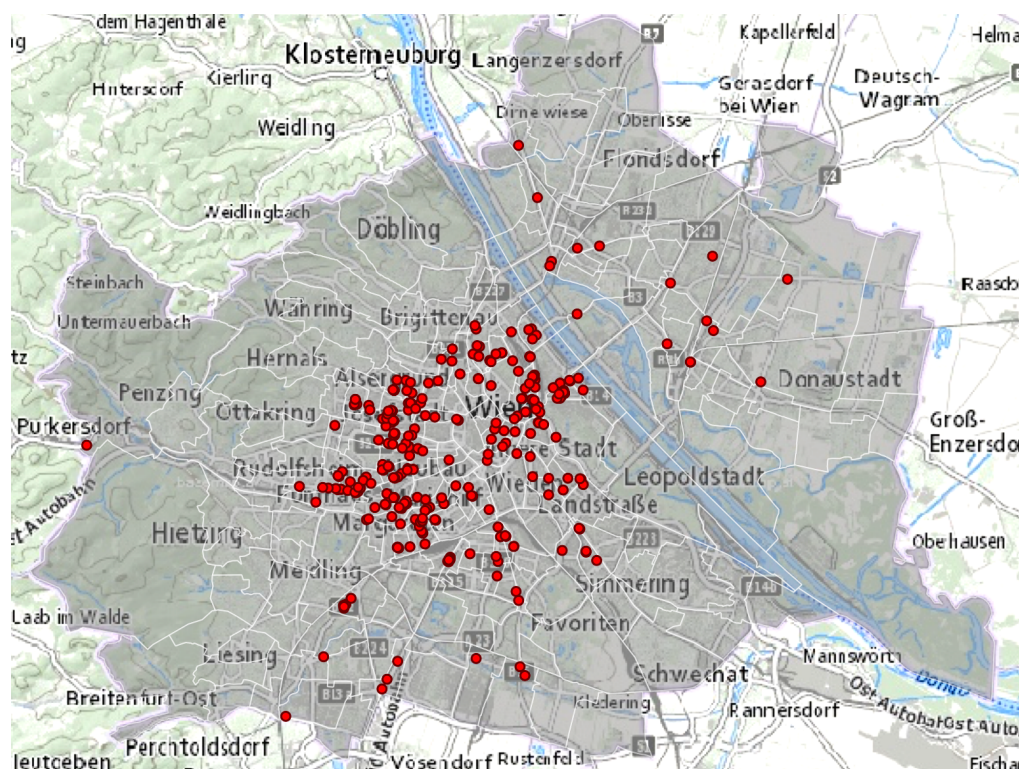


Figure 18. Total number of permitted prostitution establishments in Vienna, indicated by red dots in 2015 (own representation created with QGIS)

<sup>13</sup> Statistik Austria, Registerzählung 2011: Standard-Dokumentation Metainformationen, [http://www.statistik.at/web\\_de/wcmsprod/groups/gd/documents/stddok/078269.pdf](http://www.statistik.at/web_de/wcmsprod/groups/gd/documents/stddok/078269.pdf), access 15 March 2021

The distribution of prostitution establishments in the 23 districts of Vienna can be seen in *Table 1*. It is apparent that Leopoldau (2nd district) is by far the largest number of brothels to be found, up to 40 brothels, which makes up almost 16% of all Viennese brothels. The 15th district of Vienna follows with 28 establishments (11%). In only two Viennese districts no licensed brothels are registered: Hietzing (13th district) and Döbling (19th district) are the exceptions. In absolute numbers, the lowest frequency of brothels (2) is located in Wieden (4th district).

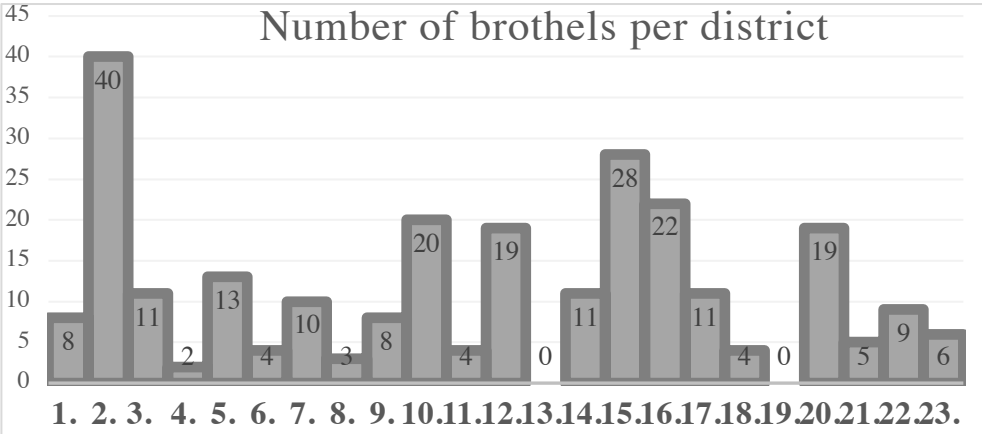


Table 1. Number of brothels per district in Vienna (own representation).

9.1.3. Distribution of brothels across Vienna’s census districts

For a more detailed illustration of the concentrations of brothels per census district, *figure 19* shows an overview in the form of a coloured map.

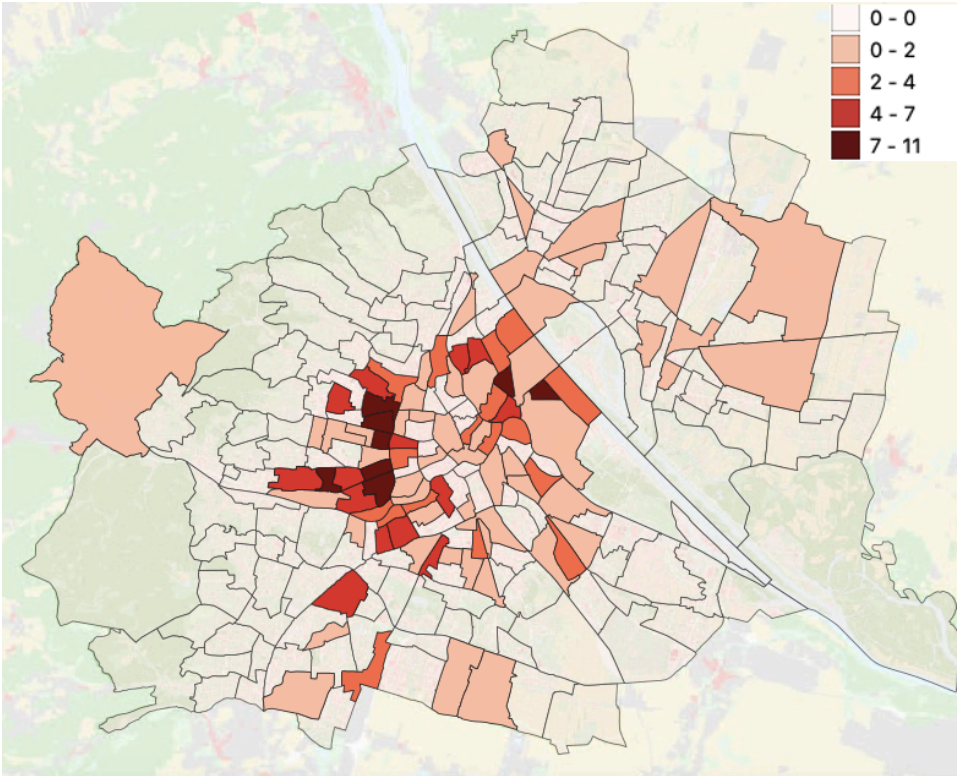


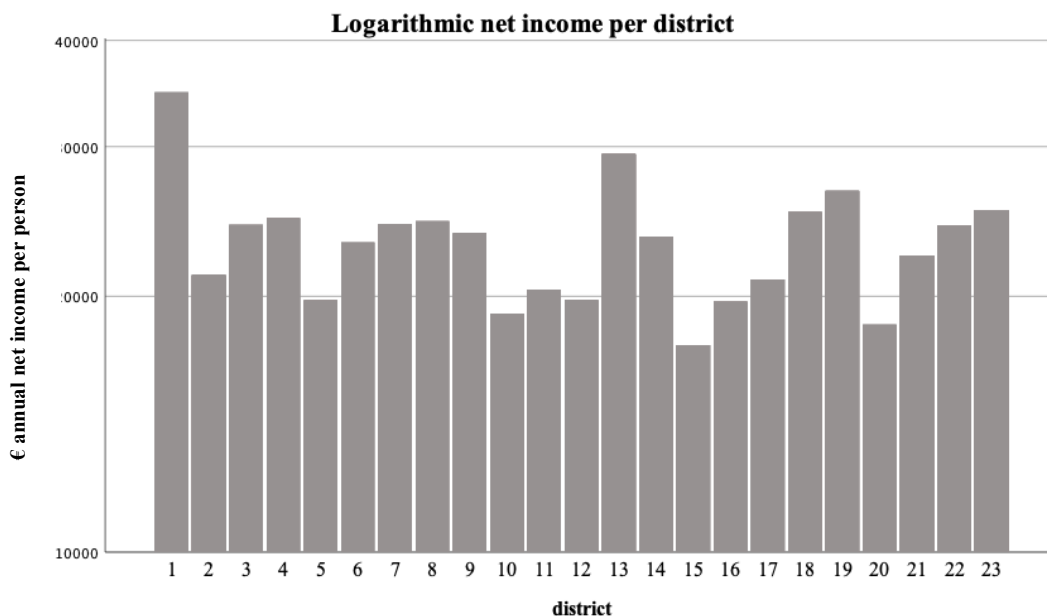
Figure 19. Distribution of prostitution locations per census district (own representation using QGIS).

The micro-level classification of the census districts shows that up to 11 brothels might be found in individual census districts. According to the analysis, no brothels are licensed in 63.6% of the census districts (159). The maximum number of 11 prostitution establishments can be found in three census districts (1.2%), which are located in the 2nd district, in the Stuwerviertel as well as in the “West-Gürtel” region in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> district of Vienna.

Since the economic variables are a striking factor in the analysis of gentrification processes and thus being the central research interest of this, it will be focused on specifically, which will be described in more detail below.

#### 9.1.4. Income differences by district

Viennese earn on average € 22 972 net annually (SD = € 3 425), which corresponds exactly to € 33 256 gross on average (SD = € 5 940). *Table 2* gives a detailed overview of the logarithmic net income across the districts. It is apparent that net income in the first district reaches an average of € 34 748 per year. The lowest net income is earned by Viennese living in the 15th district with an average of € 17 528. For the further analysis of the regression net income will be used in each case.



*Table 2. Logarithmic annual net income per person over Vienna’s districts.*

Moving on, the results of the calculations with IBM SPSS, Version 20, will be presented. Next on, the results of correlation will be shown. The p-value in this study is designed with a confidence level of 95% (alpha = .05).

### 9.1.5. Correlations

A Pearson product-moment correlation was conducted to determine if any of the included variables correlates significantly with the brothel density per census district. According to Cohen's (1988) interpretation, common for social sciences, correlations of 0.5 or more are considered large, correlations around 0.3 can be seen moderate and correlations around 0.1 as small. As shown in *Table 3*, the correlations of the included socio-structural variables are predominantly small. Accordingly, there is a significant negative correlation between the proportion of people under 15 years and the occurrence of brothels ( $r = -.13, p < .05$ ). Likewise, a small negative correlation can be found between the proportion of people in core family ( $r = -.14, p < .05$ ) and the proportion of widowed people ( $r = -.19, p < .01$ ) or the proportion of people divorced ( $r = -.14, p < .05$ ). This suggests that those people are less likely to live in census districts with a high density of brothels. It seems plausible, that minors under 15 years of age - thus assumed to live within a household with parents, fitting with the negative correlation of families - live significantly less in the immediate vicinity of brothels.

*Table 3. Correlation matrix between socio-structural variables and brothel density*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Brothel density	-							
2. Proportion males	-.12	-						
3. Proportion people under 15	-.13*	.97**	-					
4. Proportion pupils & students	-.09	.97**	.86**	-				
5. Proportion singles	-.11	.99**	.97**	.92**	-			
6. Proportion people in core family	-.14*	.99*	.95**	.89**	.96**	-		
7. Proportion widowed people	-.19**	.85**	.78**	.77**	.82**	.86**	-	
8. Proportion people divorced	-.15*	.96**	.92**	.81**	.95**	.93**	.83**	-

*Note.*  $N=247$  \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

As depicted in *Table 4*, the correlation matrix shows the variables of occupation, employment and net income in relation with brothel density. The correlation intensities are small again, however, a negative significant relation might be noted between the proportion of people employed in the tertiary sector and the brothel density ( $r = -.14, p < .05$ ). The result that people with tertiary education do not live nearby brothels seems conclusive, but for the reason that they can be assumed to have better incomes at their disposal and thus may have the “power” to decide not to move near brothels. It is surprising, however, that there are no significant correlations found regarding income.

*Table 4. Correlation matrix of educational or economic variables compared with brothel density*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Brothel density	-						
2. Occupation Proportion primary sector	-.11	-					
3. Proportion sec- ondary sector	-.06	.22**	-				
4. Proportion tertiary sector	-.14*	1.27*	.86**	-			
5. Net income per person	-.06	.51**	.24**	.36**	-		
6. Proportion em- ployed	-.11	.29**	.90**	.98**	.33**	-	
7. Proportion unem- ployed	-.03	.01	.82**	.71**	-.04	.70**	-

*Note.*  $N=247$  \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

As *Table 5* shows, the coefficients suggest the Pearson product-moment correlation for the educational background and citizenship variables included in this study. A negative correlation might be observed in connection with the proportion of people with Austrian citizenship ( $r = -.19, p < .05$ ). A comparatively stronger and even positive correlation may be noticed regarding persons with citizenship of Turkey or former Yugoslavia ( $r = .26, p < .01$ ): Lots of people with Turkish and former Yugoslavian citizenship live in areas where brothels have increasingly been established. The prostitution business is increasingly characterized by sex workers with migrant background. However, the countries mentioned have for the most part muslim religions which have a strict approach to prostitution. Therefore, an interpretation that those persons are also employed in the business of prostitution is not legitimate. With regard to the highest completed education, the two variables of secondary degree ( $r = -.15, p < .05$ ) and tertiary degree ( $r = -.13, p < .05$ ) are negative. Similar to *Table 2*, it is surprising that no correlation with income was found, which

would provide an explanation. Since no causal relationships are permissible for correlations, regression models were calculated, which are presented below.

Table 5. Correlation matrix of citizenship and educational background variables in comparison with brothel density

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Brothel density	-							
2. Proportion Austrian citizens	-.19*	-						
3. Proportion EU citizens	-.04	.84**	-					
4. Proportion Turkish & Ex-Yugoslavian citizens	.26**	.23**	.31**	-				
5. Proportion other citizenship (not EU, TUR, Ex-YU)	-.02	.71**	.85**	.42**	-			
6. Highest education: Proportion compulsory school	-.04	.78*	.64**	.71**	.71**	-		
7. Proportion secondary degree	-.15*	.99**	.80**	.30**	.70**	.84**	-	
8. Proportion tertiary degree	-.13*	.76**	.90**	.00	.68**	.36**	.66**	-

Note. N=247 \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

## 9.2. Multiple linear regression

A multiple linear regression was calculated in IBM SPSS Statistics, Version 20, to predict the proportion of brothel density, based on the independent variables, such as *proportion of males, education, family status, size of household, net household income, employment, occupation, type of residence* and *citizenship*. The p-value in this study is using a confidence level of 95% (Alpha = .05).

### 9.2.1. Model 1

In model 1, a multiple linear regression was calculated to predict the proportion of prostitution venues including all socioeconomic variables. Notably, the first model is constructed to get an overview of which variables are the most important. In a second model (see below), the significant variables are additionally checked to prevent confounding. In Model 1, a significant regression equation was found ( $F(28, 218) = 4.078$   $p < .000$  with  $R^2$  of .317 and adjusted R Square of .253). The results of the regression indicate that model 1, involving all possible predictors, explain 31.7 % of the variance, which according to Cohen (1988) means a high variance explanation. The

adjusted R square is then clearly below this with 25.3% explained variance, whereby it must be taken into account that - relatively for multiple linear regressions – a great number of variables was included, whereby the explained variance naturally increases - this discrepancy could influence the decrease in the adjusted R square. Thus, according to Cohen (1988), the adjusted R square achieved in this study can be said to be a medium to almost strong variance elucidation (up to  $|R^2| = .26$  strong). It has to be noted that the small values of the unstandardized coefficients result out of the circumstance that the values were calculated proportionally and standardized in dependence of the total area, in order to establish comparability.

As shown in *Table 6*, the proportion of prostitution venues increase by .004 points with a greater proportion of males. More men in the direct vicinity of brothels seems very likely, the question arises whether this represents a confundation, which should be looked at again in model 2. In addition, a sharp increase of the proportional number of prostitution establishments might be detected by the proportion of Turkish and Ex-Yugoslavian citizens by .002 points. As the correlations have already shown, seemingly there is a functional relationship between that group of migrants and the proximity to high numbers of brothels. Furthermore, significant effects on the decline in prostitution facilities may be noted for the proportion of persons employed in the primary sector and for the proportion of unemployed: The proportion of people working in the primary sector decreases the occurrence of prostitution venues by -.005 points and -.009 points by the proportion of unemployed people. The results concerning people working in the primary sector are not surprising, including professions such as farmers and foresters, among others: Those professions are most likely to be residents on the extreme outskirts of the city, where the profession can also be practised. However, interpretations for unemployed persons are difficult and would need to be examined more closely.

Table 6. Results of unadjusted and adjusted multiple linear regression analyses to identify socio-economic characteristics associated with the proportional number of brothels per density of census district in Vienna, 2015

predictors	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	p
	B	SE	Beta		
<b>Sex</b>					
Proportion male	<b>.004</b>	<b>.001</b>	<b>5.813</b>	<b>3.150</b>	<b>.002</b>
<b>Occupation</b>					
Proportion primary sector	<b>-.005</b>	<b>.002</b>	<b>-.144</b>	<b>-2.162</b>	<b>.032</b>
Proportion secondary sector	-.001	.001	-.525	-1.009	.314
<b>Family status</b>					
Proportion single	.000	.001	.651	.429	.668
Proportion widowed	.001	.002	.320	.575	.566
Proportion divorced	-.001	.002	-.463	-.864	.388
<b>Citizenship</b>					
Proportion EU	.002	.001	.555	1.598	.111
Proportion Turkey & Ex-Yugoslavia	<b>.002</b>	<b>.001</b>	<b>.698</b>	<b>2.820</b>	<b>.005</b>
Proportion others	.000	.001	.035	.177	.860
<b>Highest education</b>					
Proportion compulsory school	.000	.001	.130	.171	.864
Proportion tertiary degree	-.001	.001	-.736	-1.390	.166
<b>Employment</b>					
Proportion employed	-.001	.001	-2.076	-1.443	.150
Proportion unemployed	<b>-.009</b>	<b>.003</b>	<b>-1.176</b>	<b>-2.959</b>	<b>.003</b>
Proportion people up to 15 years	-.002	.001	-1.321	-1.638	.103
Proportion pensioners	-.001	.001	-1.344	-1.737	.084
Proportion pupils & students	-.004	.002	-.740	-1.963	.051
<b>Household</b>					
Proportion people in core family	.000	.001	-.135	-.215	.830
Proportion people in institutional household	.000	.001	-.061	-.509	.611
Proportion homeless	-.001	.002	-.032	-.483	.629
<b>Income</b>					
Net household income per person	.003	.003	.085	1.172	.242

Dependent Variable: **proportion of brothel density**



9.2.2. *Model 1.a.*

Since the included variables with regard to the construction year of the building are not based on density (persons per square meter per census district – see chapter 5 for detailed information), they are first calculated in a separate model. Thus, in model 1.a., a multiple linear regression was calculated to predict the number of prostitution venues including variables concerning the construction year of buildings, ranging from 1919 until 2006. A significant regression equation was found ( $F(9, 242) = 17.180$   $p < .000$  with  $R^2$  of .140, adjusted R Square of .107). The results of the regression indicate that model 1.a. has explained 14 % of the variance. As shown in Table 7, the number of prostitution venues stands in a significant monotonous relationship with buildings constructed before 1919 and after 2006.

*Table 7. Coefficients of unadjusted and adjusted multiple linear regression analyses to identify associations for buildings by construction year ranging from before 1919 to after 2006 with the number of brothels per density of census district in Vienna, 2015.*

predictors	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	p
	B	SE	Beta		
<b>Year of construction</b>					
before 1919	<b>.000</b>	<b>.000</b>	<b>.282</b>	<b>4.391</b>	<b>.000</b>
1919-1944	.000	.000	-.075	-1.073	.284
1945-1960	.000	.000	-.106	-1.433	.153
1961-1970	-7.142E-5	.000	-.057	-.736	.463
1971-1980	-8.766E-5	.000	-.068	-.931	.353
1981-1990	3.800E-6	.000	.004	.047	.963
1991-2000	-7.728E-5	.000	-.075	-.856	.393
2001-2005	-7.151E-5	.000	-.025	-.296	.767
after 2006	<b>.000</b>	<b>.000</b>	<b>.170</b>	<b>2.193</b>	<b>.029</b>

Dependent Variable: **brothel density**

### 9.2.3. Model 2

In a further step, only all significant variables were included in order to control only for relevant variables and control for confounding emerging in Model 1 and Model 1.a. This enables optimal interpretability of the significant variables. As can be seen in Table 8, substantial changes in significances occurred. In model 3 a significant regression equation was found ( $F(6, 240) = 12.700$ ,  $p < .000$  with  $R^2$  of .241, adjusted R Square of .222). The results thus indicate that the variables included explained 24 % of the variance. It is apparent that the variables proportion male, proportion of people working in the primary sector, as well as buildings built after 2006 are no longer significant thus indicating that the variables exhibit only a minor influence on brothel density and are poorly suited for prediction. Constant as observed in Model 1 the proportion of prostitution venues increase by .003 points with a greater proportion of Turkish and Ex-Yugoslavian citizen. Equally the buildings built before 1919, the number of prostitution venues stands in a significant monotonous relationship. The proportion of unemployed people decreases the occurrence of prostitution venues by -.005 points.

Table 8. Coefficients of unadjusted and adjusted multiple linear regression analyses including the significant variables of model 1 & model 1.a., associated with the proportional number of brothels per density of census district in Vienna, 2015

predictors	Unstandardized		Standardized	t	p
	Coefficients		Coefficients		
	B	SE	Beta		
<b>Sex</b>					
Proportion male	4.945E-5	.000	.075	.600	.549
<b>Occupation</b>					
Proportion primary sector	-.002	.002	-.070	-1.139	.256
<b>Citizenship</b>					
Proportion Turkey & Ex-Yugoslavia	<b>.002</b>	<b>.000</b>	<b>.700</b>	<b>5.598</b>	<b>.000</b>
<b>Employment</b>					
Proportion unemployed	<b>-.005</b>	<b>.001</b>	<b>-.670</b>	<b>-3.864</b>	<b>.000</b>
<b>Year of construction</b>					
before 1919	<b>.000</b>	<b>.000</b>	<b>.159</b>	<b>2.330</b>	<b>.021</b>
after 2006	.000	.000	.126	1.792	.074

Dependent Variable: **proportion of brothel density**

The results of *Model 2* are used as a basis for further interpretation. In order to get a better overview of the actual characteristics of the spatial distribution that are of interest, the results are illustrated in maps below using QGIS3.14.

### 9.3. Graphic illustration of results

In the figures below, the expressions of the variables on the map of Vienna are associated with the distribution of brothels (indicated by red dots). As shown by the descriptive analysis of the distribution of brothels, the establishments occur more frequent in the region of the “Gürtel” in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> district of Vienna and are also concentrated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> district.

#### 9.3.1. Number of people with Turkish and Ex-Yugoslavian citizenship positively associated with brothel density

As can be seen from the data respectively the regression model, significantly more people with Turkish and ex-Yugoslavian citizenship live around the Gürtel region - respectively in those census districts where brothels are increasingly located. There is a strong significant association between the variable and clusters of brothels - see *figure 20*. The darker the red colour of the census districts, the more people with mentioned citizenships are residing to the census districts according to the census data report from 2011. This result can hardly be interpreted as a cause-effect relationship and requires an embedding in the context, which can be multifactorial – see chapter discussion of this thesis.

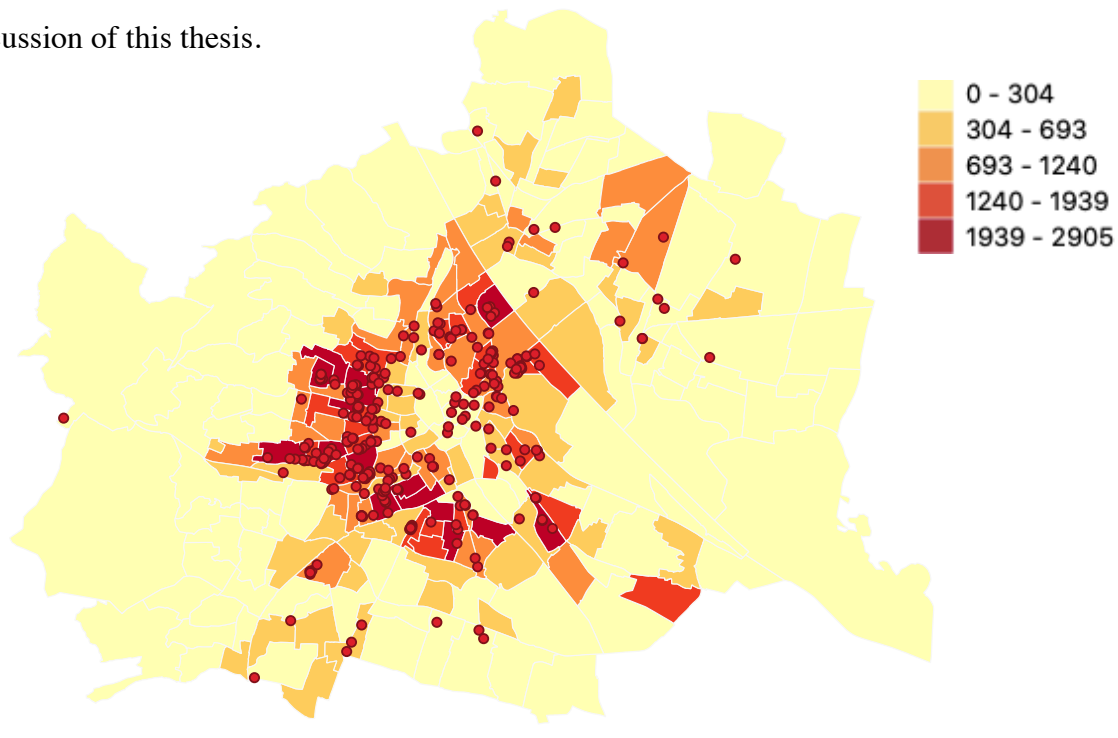


Figure 20. Overview of Vienna: Number of people with Turkish and Ex-Yugoslavian citizenship associated with the spatial distribution of brothels in 2011, indicated by red dots (own representation).

### 9.3.2. Number of unemployed people negatively associated with the spatial distribution of brothels

As shown by the multiple linear regression, a negative association was found for the number of unemployed people, which is very surprising. The proportion of unemployed people is negatively related to the occurrence of prostitution venues – as shown in figure 21. The darker the blue colour of the census district, the more unemployed persons reside in those municipalities.

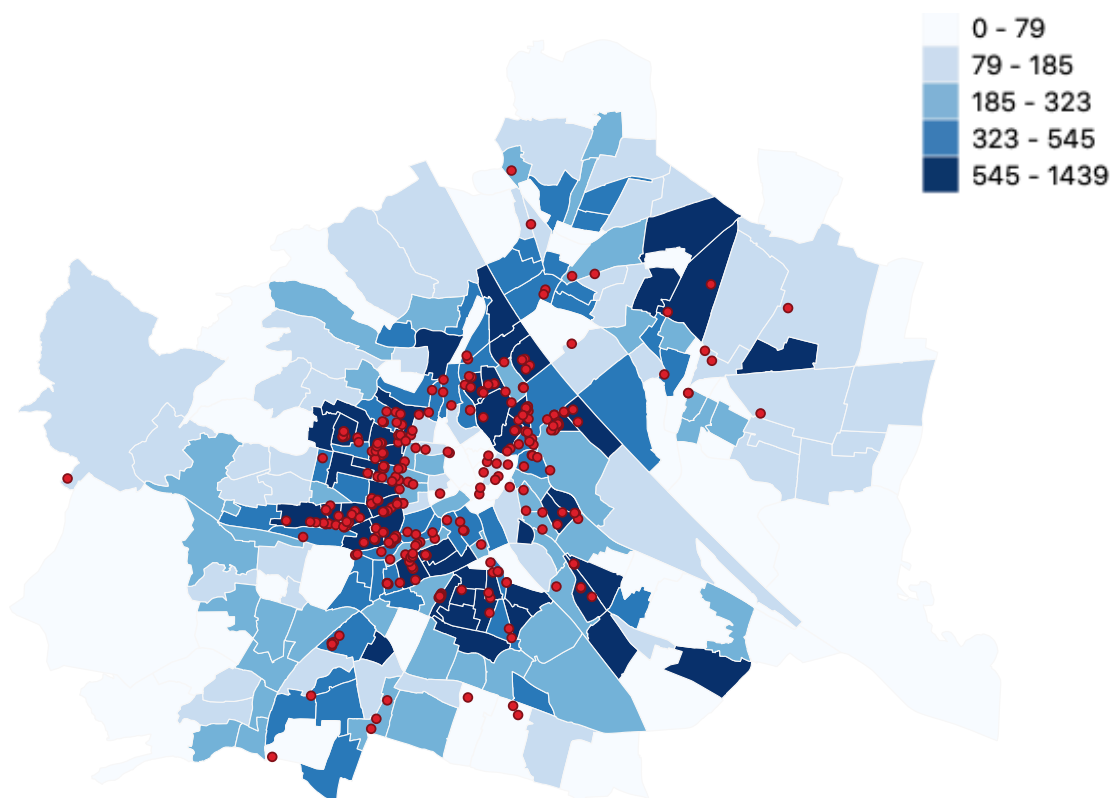
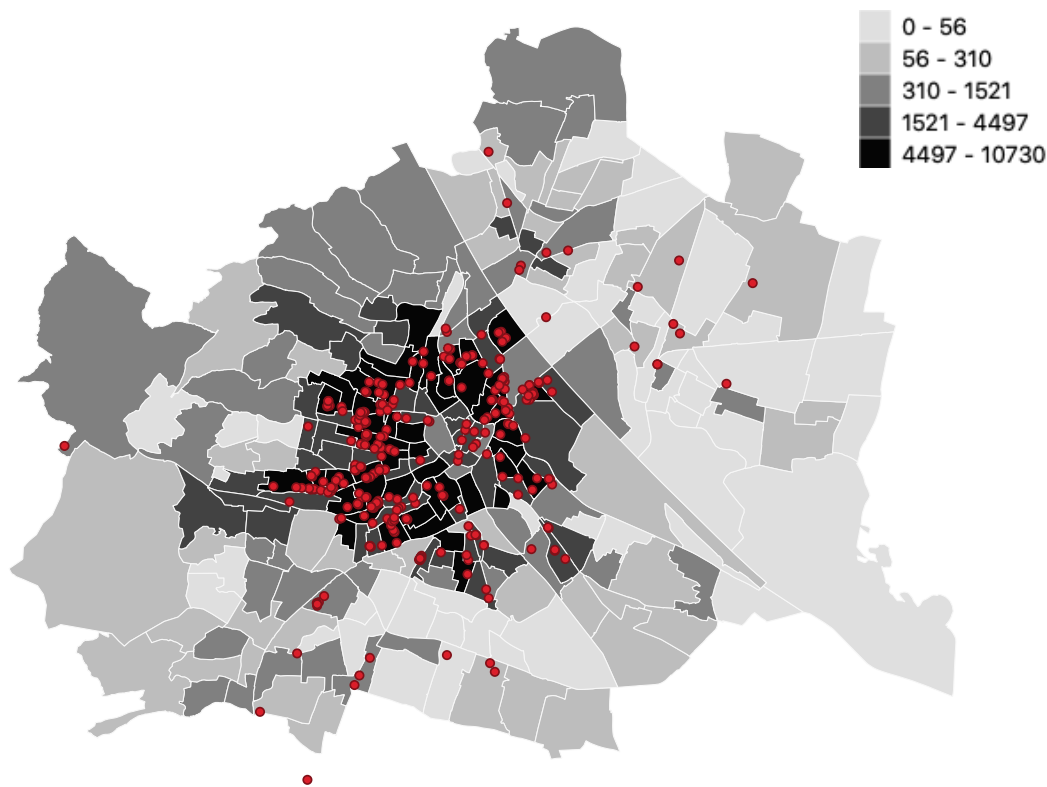


Figure 21. Number of unemployed people associated with the spatial distribution of brothels in 2011(own representation).

### 9.3.3. Buildings constructed before 1919 associated with the spatial distribution of brothels

A further association was determined by means of regression which is certainly interesting with regard to gentrification processes: Buildings built before 1919 stand in a significant monotonous relationship with the density of brothels. Significantly more old buildings are located in the same census district as a high density of brothels. *Figure 22* gives a visual impression. It is particularly interesting with regard to gentrification processes, as according to Kadi & Verlic (2019), it is precisely those buildings that are targeted for gentrification, respectively buildings built before

1945, for the reason that investments in refurbishments will become profitable, if rents can be increased afterwards – which results in the possible closure of the rental income gap.



*Figure 22. Number of buildings constructed before 1919 associated with the spatial distribution of brothels in 2011, indicated by red dots (own representation)..*

These results represent an inventory of the situation on a small-scale analysis in census districts on data from 2011. A comprehensive interpretation of the results as well as an embedding in possible context variables is given in the discussion part of this thesis (see chapter 12). The question emerges, how these results are relevant with regard to gentrification processes. As it becomes clear from the definition of the concept, it is a process - hence a comparison is necessary. As can be deduced from the literature regarding gentrification (see chapter 4) the causes and consequences of gentrifying processes cannot be answered generally, indications of measurement for gentrification processes are diverse. The outcome of gentrification processes is by no means homogenous but highlighted by the local and temporal differences. Therefore, it is essential to carry out an analysis at the micro level, more precisely at the local level of a single census district. An explorative approach will be taken by means of a case study. The following chapter presents the analysis of gentrification in the so-called “Stuwerviertel”.

## **10. Case study – the “Stuwerviertel”: An exemplary analysis of gentrification processes at local level**

In the following chapter, the question that will be answered is, what role the gentrification processes play in the establishment of prostitution venues implemented as a case study. By means of mapping, the results of the spatial inventory and the structural distribution analysis will be projected onto a concrete area of the city and examined with regard to gentrification processes. Furthermore, essential findings of the expert interview will be integrated. The concept of gentrification is effectively used to analyse prostitution neighborhood change in Amsterdam and London, Zurich, Vancouver, Bruxelles – amongst others. The question where sex work is located, if it is referring to the concept of gentrification, is highly influenced by the fact that “(...) *sex workers have been targeted for removal by urban renewal campaigns*” (Liempt & Chimienti, 2017, p. 1570). However, what is the situation in Vienna? As deduced from the quantitative analysis shown in the previous chapter, (possible) gentrification processes will be tracked down in one of Vienna’s district which has by far the highest density of brothels: the 2nd district. Since the process of gentrification is elusive, an analysis will be carried out at the micro level of the city, so an in-depth analysis of the second district - and more specifically of the so-called "Stuwerviertel". The Stuwerviertel is perfectly suited for an analysis of this kind, as emerged from the expert interview (Girtler, Interview 2021, line 17-18). It has to be noted, that this case study follows an iterative approach (Yin, 2009).

In the following, gentrification processes will be analysed, specifically focusing on changes in the period 2011-2021. The spatially delimitable unit of the case will first be dealt with first and then comprehensively analysed in terms of external conditions and influences.

### **10.1. The demarcation of the "Grätzel" (*Viennese term for range*) Stuwerviertel**

The boundaries of the so-called "Grätzl" (range) of the Stuwerviertel do not represent rigid borders, but rather results of the subjective perception of the social collective. Nevertheless, a clear demarcation to the area of the Stuwerviertel can be found on various online maps. The most frequently used online map service, "Google Maps" by the US company Google LLC, delineates the Stuwerviertel as the area between *Ausstellungsstraße*, *Lassallestraße* and *Handelskai* – see *fig. 23*.

As shown by the analysis of brothels across Vienna, it is apparent that in *Leopoldstadt* (2nd district) is by far the largest number of brothels to be found, up to 40 brothels - 16% of all Viennese brothels. Vienna's history of sex work shows that the area near the Prater occupies a significant position. *"The 2nd district was always on the edge of the*

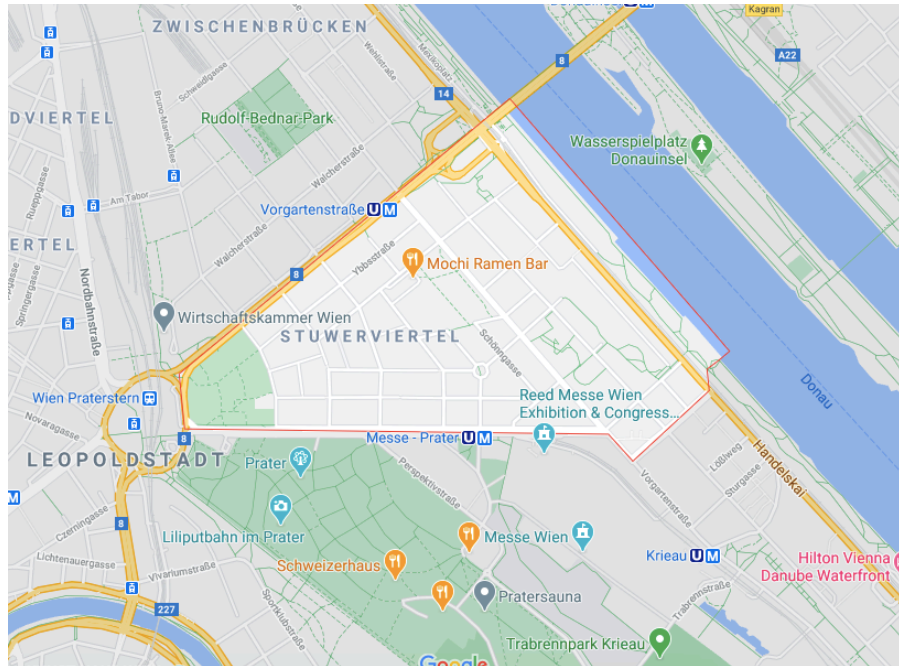


Figure 23. fig. 1 Google maps result, delineating the region of the "Stuwerviertel", red bordered

*city, on the other side of the Danube Canal. There were different rules, there was fighting, there was crime and immense prostitution"* (Girtler, Interview 2020, line 19-20). Due to the increasing number of street prostitutes in the Prater, Emperor Leopold I had built up brothels to improve the situation in the streets. A brothel concentration in today's Stuwerviertel preserves a long tradition, but it is currently in transition.

## 10.2. Gentrification in the 2nd district?

According to Reinprecht et al. (2010), the 2nd district is traditionally considered a working-class neighbourhood and a destination living for immigration (p. 42). A review of the literature already reveals a number of gentrification processes in the 2nd district. The *Karmeliterviertel*, in particular, has already been consistently affected by gentrification processes (Huber, 2013). According to Kadi & Verlic (2019), gentrification processes could be observed more and more in the 2nd district like *"(...)the opening of the underground connection (2008), base and block redevelopments, loft conversions, the creation of new educational institutions (merger of BORG Hegelgasse with AHS Vereinsgasse, 2017), but also the proximity to current inner-city development areas (Nordbahn and Nordwestbahn sites)"* (p. 85). The second district is increasingly moving from the periphery towards the city center in social, psychological and economic terms. But what about gentrification processes and possible impacts on prostitution? The Stuwerviertel as a concentration area for brothels should therefore be analysed in greater detail. Influencing factors that arise in this quarter are to be presented.

### **10.3. The Stuwerviertel changes: Infrastructure expansion of the U2 underground line in 2008**

As the expert interview reveals, the pivotal impact of the infrastructure expansion of the metro line U2 2008 (Girtler, 2020, line 31) represents a major development impulse for the Stuwerviertel and the surrounding area. The extension of the U2 line was realized between 2002 and 2008, with the goal of the extension to the "Stadion" station: Thus, the stations "Praterstern" and "Messe-Prater" were additionally opened. Praterstern has become an underground junction that even offers a connection to the Austrian Federal Railways (ÖBB). The Stuwerviertel is only a few minutes' walk from the both newly adjusted stations. In a working paper, Wieser (2006) notes the influences of higher-ranking infrastructure facilities as follows: *"By constructing and operating a high-level infrastructure such as the underground, the public sector increases the usability and thus the value of real estate in the catchment area of the new stations. An unregulated real estate market reacts to this with price increases in all segments with the consequences: a) a better position of resident landowners, b) a medium-term displacement of tenants with weaker purchasing power by - stronger tenants, c) a relocation of uses as well as d) a longer-term higher land utilisation (building density, intensity of use)"* (Wieser, 2006, p. 3). Thus, the impact on the Stuwerviertel becomes clear through the analysis of Wieser (2006) - the residential area is attracting more and more real estate companies as well as new tenants. But what was the impetus for the historically established prostitution scene? As the expert interview with Prof. Girtler shows, drastic changes occurred only a few years later: *„However, the new prostitution law has totally changed the Stuwerviertel"* (Girtler, Interview 2020, line 29-30). Initially, this will be discussed in more detail.

### **10.4. The new law enforcement (2011) entails significant changes for street sex work in the Stuwerviertel**

Consequently, the amendment of the Vienna Prostitution Act caused significant changes of the parameters in 2011, and go hand in hand with politica indicators of gentrification. The permit zone for street sex workers in public spaces was severely restricted; among other things, the permit zone in the Stuwerviertel was completely abolished (see § 9). How the amendment has come about is illustrated in Kadi & Verlic (2019) through an interview with the head of the association "Latin American Emigrant Women in Austria (LEFÖ)" about the situation and places of sex work in Vienna: Notably, in the Stuwerviertel occurred a strong feeling of unease among the locals towards sex workers before the amendment: *"Today there are still a few bars, but the situation on the street has changed a lot. In general, one can clearly say that there is a displacement of sex workers from*



*the central places. There has been a shift towards places that are deliberately dark and secluded. Sex work should not be visible in public spaces“* (p. 155). Hence, for the Stuwerviertel, the banishment of street prostitution had a gentrifying character – it has been discovered as an attractive place to live by a more affluent clientele due to the disappearance of sex workers from the public sphere. In practice, the amendment to the law has resulted in many sex workers being put in precarious situations, losing their jobs: *"After the amendment to the Prostitution Act in 2011, we lost a lot of contacts with women. These women may have gone to flats for their work, maybe to other places. Anyway, it was a very difficult situation for many women who lost their jobs like that"* (p. 155). What this process has implied for the places of prostitution is speculated to be increased displacement and a legally forced shift to the city outskirts. As noted in Liempt & Chimienti (2017), the process of gentrification in many European cities gets visible by policy changes favoring red-light districts to be decentralized and displaced from the city center. Using this example of the Stuwerviertel in Vienna, it is mainly street prostitution affected by total prohibition. Seemingly, the impact on prostitution is detrimental.

Furthermore, the process of gentrification in the Stuwerviertel is accelerated by further developments, like Girtler notes: *"This process was additionally boosted by the construction of the new University of Economics"* (Girtler, Interview 2020, line 31).

### **10.5. Relocation of the Vienna University of Economics and Business (2013)**

The Vienna University of Economics and Business (Wirtschaftsuniversität, WU), the third largest university in the capital and fifth largest in Austria, in the ranking of size only lower than the University of Vienna or the Vienna University of Technology, moved to its new campus at the Vienna Prater in 2013. Starting from the university centre at *Althanstraße*, the university moved to the new campus at the *Prater*. A modern university campus, unique in Austria, was created on a site of approx. 9,000 square metres in the direct vicinity of the Stuwerviertel.<sup>14</sup> *Figure 24* shows the spatial proximity. The role of the WU campus in the process of displacing sex work from public space is particularly interesting. The construction of the university took a total of 4 years, during which time the amendment to the Prostitution Act was published (2011). At the opening of the new WU location in 2013, the district already presented itself changed - or rather without street prostitution. This raises a number of questions: To what extent did the construction of the WU

---

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.wu.ac.at/universitaet/ueber-die-wu/geschichte>, access 21 March 2021

campus influence the displacement process in the adjacent Stuwerviertel? Was this process planned by WU stakeholders? What views did they have on the displacement process?

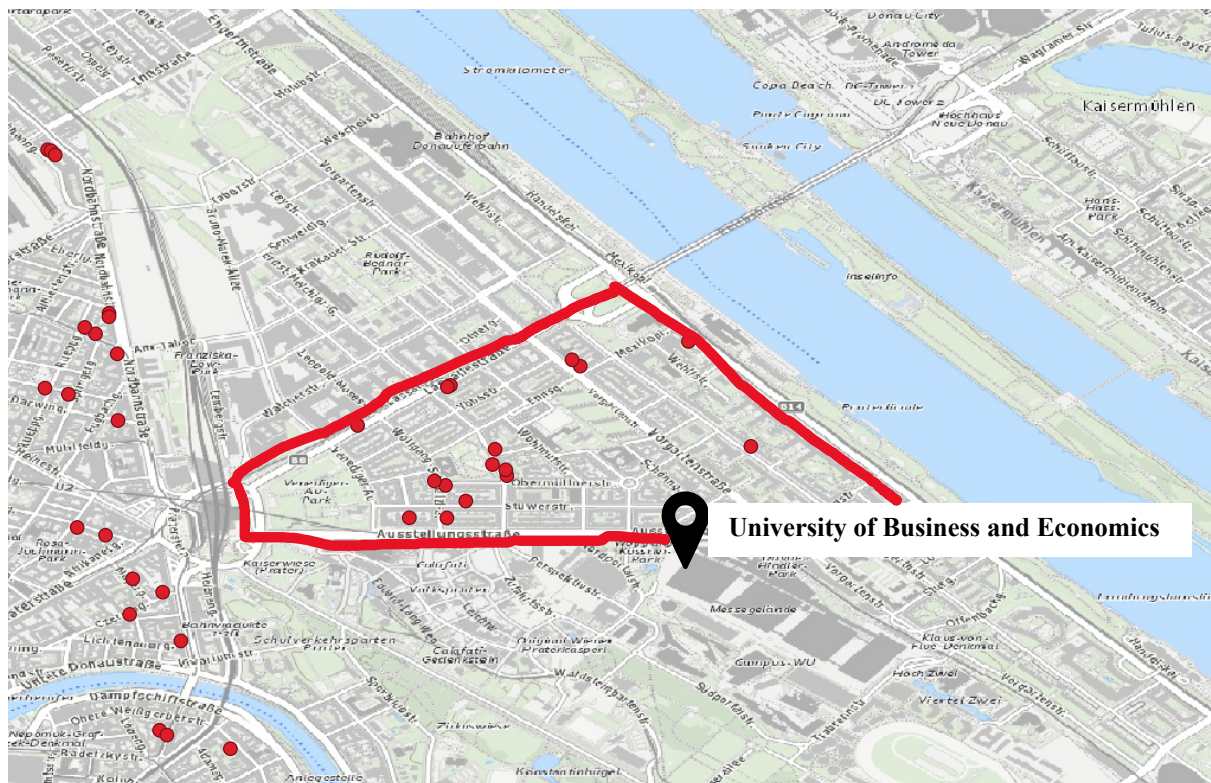


Figure 24. The geographical proximity of the Stuwerviertel (marked red) and the University of Economics linked to the distribution of brothels (indicated by red dots). (Own representation, created with QGIS).

## 10.6. Revaluation through studentification

What does this statement imply for the Stuwerviertel? Smith et al. (2014) provide answers by means of the so-called "studentification" concept, which Smith defines as follows: *"The term 'studentification' is employed by geographers, policy makers and the media to conceptualize a set of urban changes tied to residential concentrations of students within university towns and cities"* (Smith et. al. 2014, p. 116). According to the studentification concept, the increased concentration of students in an area represents the central basic prerequisite for its upgrading process. Inevitably, these developments might be linked to the opening of the Vienna University of Economics and Business and hence, imply changes for the Stuwerviertel. In the project of relocating the University of Economics, large-scale student residences were built, too. Studentification can be seen as a special form of gentrification (Smith et al., 2014). Similarities between the classic gentrification concepts and studentification might be found in the effects on the local population. The displacement character occurs through the influx of students, who may also be described as rent inflators

(Smith et al. 2014, p. 118). If flats are used as shared housing, higher rental income can usually be achieved. Where exactly the university is located is a matter of political decision-making. It could therefore be hypothesized that both the upgrading of the Stuwerviertel as well as surrounding areas have strongly been politically induced.

### 10.7. Roadblocks in the Stuwerviertel

Furthermore, the physical urban environment displays a prominent feature: Roadblocks were erected in the Stuwerviertel, meaning large concrete blocks that prevent pedestrians from passing through. According to Bretschneider (2014), these blocks were installed to prevent the prostitutes from driving in circles (p. 150). They form a cul-de-sac system, and thus prevent driving through, as it is also very time-consuming. The implemented one-way system meant that only access to and exit from the neighbourhood was possible. It should be noted that the decision was not a politically motivated one, but, according to the area management office of the 2nd district at Max-Winter Platz, an initiative of the local population. Therefore, these measures are not primarily directed against prostitution in the Stuwerviertel per se, but rather against the high volume of traffic. In fact, these roadblocks prevented potential clients from circling the neighbourhood for hours.

The news forum "die Presse" reported on this: *"The old, disreputable Stuwerviertel is currently experiencing an upgrade. The old roadblocks to stop punters from circling the streets are making for quiet streets that are now attracting young families."*



Figure 25. Straßenbarrieren im Stuwerviertel (Source: <https://www.diepresse.com/1459467/wirtschaftsuni-neu-das-stuwerviertel-wacht-auf/>, access 29 March 2021)

As the theoretical embedding of the gentrification process makes clear, an important aspect needs to be analysed in more detail: Gentrification is primarily defined by the economic

component. Regarding to Kadi & Verlic (2019), the displacement of socially weak and undesirable population groups from inner-city neighbourhoods is achieved through reinvestment in real estate, thus the accompanying rent increases (p.36). This addresses precisely the "gap", between the currently realized rental income of a property and the potentially achievable rental income after the investment in property (detailed explanation can be found in Chapter 4). As analysed in Kadi & Verlic (2019), one of the market segments potentially affected by gentrification - in the private rental housing market - is in particular the old building sector, which refers to buildings constructed before 1945 (Kadi & Verlic, 2019, p. 36).

The question therefore arises as to whether the Stuwerviertel offers the framework for profitable investment: Is there an availability of "cheap", old, deteriorating housing stock?

### 10.8. Buildings constructed before 1945: The old building sector as a target of gentrification developments

The Stuwerviertel might be divided into census districts 02070-02078, for which detailed data can be taken from the 2011 register census. A precise division of census districts might be found in *fig. 26*.

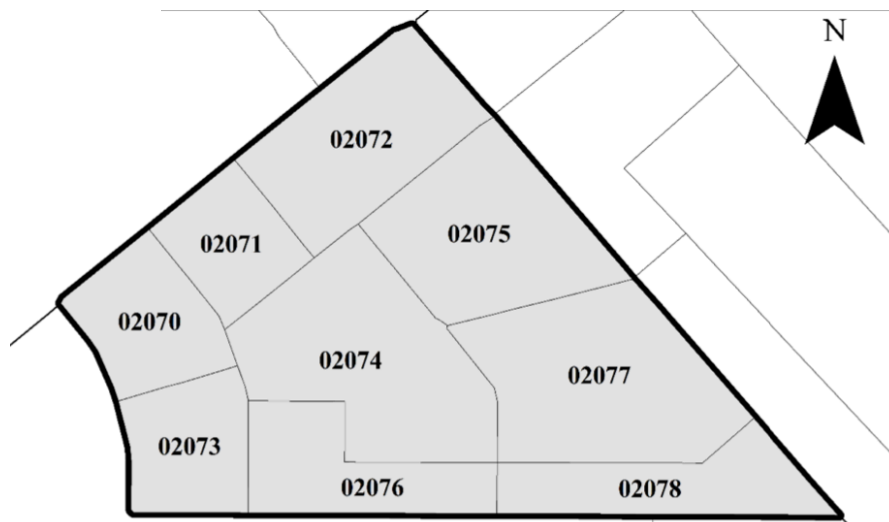


Figure 26. Census districts of the Stuwerviertel

The results are intriguing: In the census districts of the Stuwerviertel is an immense proportion of buildings that were built before 1945. As shown in *Table 9*, a total of 75.8% (exactly 9 638) of the buildings were built before 1945. The majority of all buildings (7 701 in total) was built before 1919.

### Stuwerviertel's buildings per year of construction

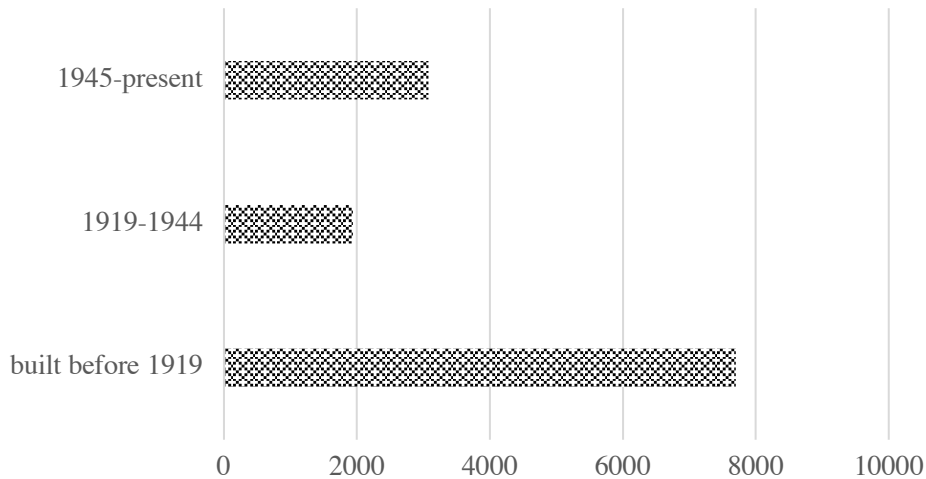


Table 9. Absolute numbers of buildings per year of construction in the Stuwerviertel (Own representation, based on data of the register census 2011)

In order to put this into context, the situation of the old building sector in Vienna in general will be briefly outlined.

#### 10.8.1. Overview: The old building sector in Vienna

According to data from Statistics Austria, as shown in Kadi & Verlic (2019), comprises around 214 000 dwellings and thus, represents a significant part of the private rental housing (78 per cent). "Around eight out of ten privately rented flats in Vienna were thus built before 1945 and thus belong to the old building sector", is noted in Kadi & Verlic (2019, p. 37). Particularly the geographical distribution is of interest – Figure 27 provides an overview. It shows that the distribution is uneven across the entire city area. Buildings built before 1945 are in a concentrated way around the "Gürtel". Referring to Kadi & Verlic (2019), the highest proportion share of older dwellings might be found in the Viennese districts 6, 7, 8, 9, 15.

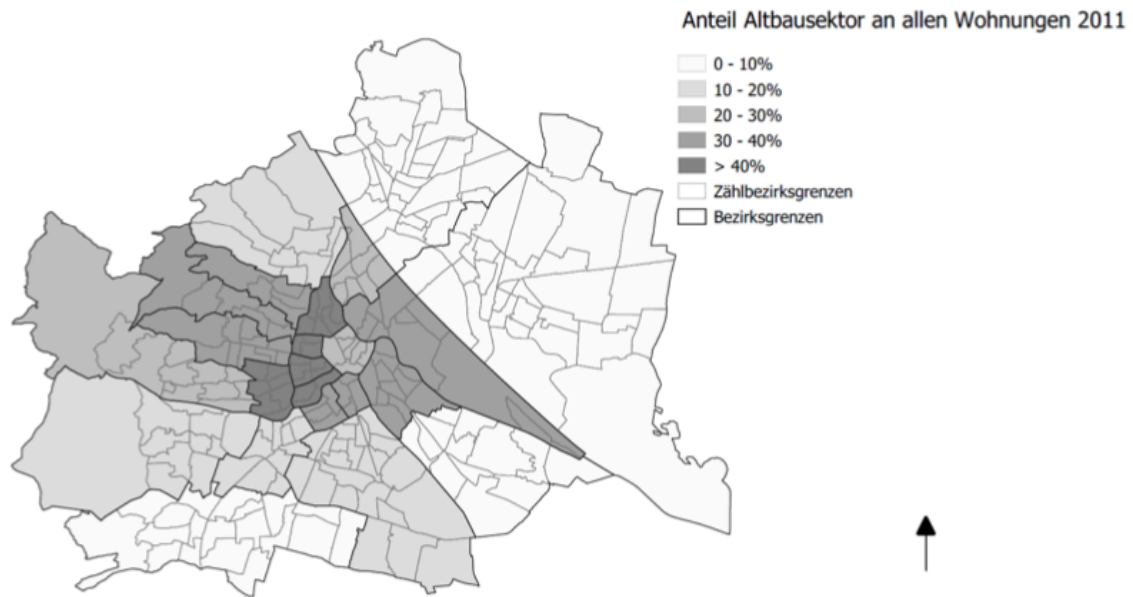


Figure 27. Share of older dwellings (built before 1945) in all flats (Source: Kadi & Verlic, 2019, p. 38)

What does it signify? Structurally, the Stuwerviertel offers perfect framework conditions for gentrification processes because of the high proportion of residential buildings in the old building sector. As depicted in the quantitative analysis of this thesis, the brothel density is significantly related to buildings constructed before 1919. Girtler (2020, line 108-109) explains the connection as follows: *“Well, because they (buildings built before 1919, adjusted note) can be bought cheaply. Perhaps, they will then convert it themselves at a low price”*.

In the next section, another important aspect will be discussed: The image of the Stuwerviertel. An insight into the image of the Stuwerviertel as portrayed by the media will be provided. The role of the media should not be underestimated, as they have an increasingly opinion-forming function.

### 10.9. The tarnished image of the Stuwerviertel in transition

The Stuwerviertel, regardless of the topic, is very popular with the media being increasingly associated with sex work. However, the image and the long tradition of sex work and especially street sex work have changed. The image of the Stuwerviertel, drawn by the media, has a great influence on the image development of the district. On 12 September 2020, for example, the Austrian newspaper 'Kurier' headlined the article "Leopoldstadt: The explosive and disreputable

Stuwerviertel"<sup>15</sup>. In it, the image change from a disreputable district to a complete urban transformation is addressed. *Leopoldstadt*, used to be a stronghold of prostitution and street prostitution, is described as a "dark past". With regard to the process of change, the article addresses the fact that "in the past" only the social outsiders and deviant groups of the city lived there, which includes individuals, according to the author, like workers, beggars, clochards, criminals or artists. This report also explicitly refers to gentrification in the Stuwerviertel and means a "(...) *good example of possible transformation*" (Kurier, 2020). The medium VICE draws a similar conclusion in an article, published on 7 October 2016, entitled "Between street prostitution and "green bobos"<sup>16</sup>: Vienna's Stuwerviertel". It states that the contents of the published articles - on drugs and prostitution problems - have undergone an enormous image change after the implementation of the new law: "*The Stuwerviertel has now been reported as a new, up-and-coming student neighborhood that would soon fall victim to gentrification*" (VICE, 2016).

So how about the current situation? Has the distribution of brothels changed? At the moment, official data on the legally registered prostitution establishments are rather incomplete. Nevertheless, the possibility of conducting an online research to find out whether the data available as of 25 May 2015 by the charitable institution "Sophie - der Bildungsraum für Prostitutes" (Sophie - the educational space for prostitutes, see appendix) - as previously used, may reflect the current situation in the Stuwerviertel. The evaluation of the existence and distribution of brothels from March 2021 will be presented below.

#### **10.10. Displacement of prostitution parlors in the Stuwerviertel?**

In 2015, a total of 14 brothels could be identified in the defined area of the Stuwerviertel. Subsequently, each individual brothel was located and checked online, one by one. Apparently, there have been changes in the number of brothels – five out of the 13 brothels (38%) have been acquisitioned by other instances, as seen in March 2021. This decline fits very coherently with the findings presented above - gentrification could provide a possible explanation for the change, respectively the displacement of brothels. Very strikingly, the example of the former STUDIO BAROK can be highlighted. The ex-studio has given way to an in-restaurant called "Retro", which advertises itself as "(...) everything but ordinary (...)" and, according to its homepage, has a unique charcoal grill. As accurately described in Kadi & Verlic (2019), this is a storybook example of the

---

<sup>15</sup> <https://kurier.at/chronik/wien/leopoldstadt-das-explosive-und-verruichte-stuwerviertel/401023847>, access 22 March 2021

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.vice.com/de/article/7bq57d/stuwerviertel-portrait>, access 22 March 2021

gentrification process. The preceding question, if gentrification plays a blatant role in the (dis)placement of prostitution can – with this exemplary examination - only be affirmed. A detailed overview of the exact location of prostitution venues can be found in *Table 10* below. If the retail premises have been taken over, but no details of the new tenants are given, NO INDICATION is displayed.

<b>NAME/ADDRESS of brothel (2015)</b>	<b>Change (2021)</b>	<b>INFO: current website (access 24 March 2021)</b>
<b>MARION'S BAR/</b> Ausstellungsstraße 9	+	NO INDICATION
<b>CAFE SUSI BAR/</b> Ausstellungsstraße 15	-	STUDIO: <a href="https://finde-offen.at/wien/susi-bar-172121">https://finde-offen.at/wien/susi-bar-172121</a>
<b>NO NAME/</b> Stuwertstraße 19/3	+	NO INDICATION
<b>MAX WINTER/</b> Max Winter Platz 22	-	LAUFHAUS: <a href="https://www.maxwinter.at/aktuelle-damen/">https://www.maxwinter.at/aktuelle-damen/</a>
<b>STUDIO ZANET/</b> Max Winter Platz 15	+	NO INDICATION
<b>JASMIN BAR/</b> Max Winter Platz 16	-	NIGHTCLUB: <a href="http://2pos.at/626/32592">http://2pos.at/626/32592</a>
<b>SAFARI BAR/</b> Obermüllnerstraße 1	-	NIGHTCLUB: <a href="http://essen.vienna.at/safari-bar.html">http://essen.vienna.at/safari-bar.html</a>
<b>CLUB DIANE/</b> Lassallestraße 10	+	NO INDICATION
<b>STUDIO CLAUDIA/</b> Lassallestraße 28A	-	STUDIO: <a href="https://www.erotikforum.at/themen/lassallestrasse-28a.123360/">https://www.erotikforum.at/themen/lassallestrasse-28a.123360/</a>
<b>STUDIO LUNA/</b> Lassallestraße 28B	-	STUDIO: <a href="https://www.asiastudio69.com/contact">https://www.asiastudio69.com/contact</a>
<b>STUDIO ENGERTHSTRASSE/</b> Engerthstraße 207	-	STUDIO: <a href="https://book-susi.com/list/studio_liebeshuette_engerthstrasse_207_1020_wien/">https://book-susi.com/list/studio_liebeshuette_engerthstrasse_207_1020_wien/</a>
<b>STUDIO BAROK/</b> Vorgartenstraße 195	+	IN-RESTAURANT: <a href="https://retro.at">https://retro.at</a>
<b>STUDIO PASSION/</b> Handelskai 208	-	STUDIO: <a href="https://susi.at/firma/Studio-Passion-1020-Wien-Handelskai-208/4ari/">https://susi.at/firma/Studio-Passion-1020-Wien-Handelskai-208/4ari/</a>

*Table 10. Comparison of brothels in the Stuwerviertel 2015-2021: Presentation of acquisition by another instance (+), highlighted with grey background - continued brothels (-) with white background (Own representation)*



The In-Café Retro, as shown in *image 1* (photo taken on 25 March 2021) took over the so-called Studio Barock, which was an officially licenced brothel, at least until 2015. This takeover can be described as a distinctive feature of gentrification. According to Huber (2013), a café like “Retro” can be seen as a pull factor for decisions to move in, as the attractiveness of a residential area is accelerated by the growth of the consumer infrastructure. Such a café can thus be seen as a “*place of “representational consumption” (cf. Veblen 2000), where status-higher groups realise their distinctive consumption patterns”* (Huber, 2013, p. 241).



Figure 28. In-Café “Retro” (own representation, photo taken on 25 March 2021)

Max-Winter-Platz – located in the center of the Stuwerviertel, has a large number of brothels, despite the immediate vicinity of a primary school and a new secondary school. The Max-Winter Laufhaus, which can be seen in *Figure 29*, is also located on the square. However, it does not catch the eye at all, the façade is very unobtrusive, if there would not be a small sign with the opening hours at the entrance door, there would be no indication that the building at the corner of Max-Winter-Platz

and Wolfgang-Schmälzl-Gasse houses a brothel (on the right in the picture). Close by, as seen on the left of the picture (yellow building) is a primary school - which has, after its opening, led to criticism - especially from the “Freiheitliche Partei” (FPÖ). However, according to an interview of the newspaper "Kurier" with Wolfgang Langer, responsible for prostitution affairs, the operator of the brothel complies with all requirements and it is therefore legally approved.



Figure 30. Laufhaus, Max-Winter-Platz, next to an elementary school (own representation, photo taken on 25 March 2021)

At the Max-Winter-Platz further brothels are located - see *Figure 30* showing Max-Winter-Platz 15 & 16 JASMIN BAR (yellow façade) and STUDIO ZANET (red façade) next to it.



*Figure 31. image 3. Jasmin Bar & Studio Zanet (own representation, photo taken on 25 March 2021)*

Overall, the brothels - especially the studios - fit rather unobtrusively into the building block.



*Figure 32. Sturzerstraße 19. Schriftzug „NEU NEU NEU – Schöne Mädchen erwarten dich“ (Lettering "NEW NEW NEW - Beautiful girls are waiting for you") (own representation, photo taken on 25 March 2021)*

### **10.11. Gentrification processes determining geographies of sex work**

In this explorative analysis of the Stuwerviertel regarding gentrification processes, significant transformation processes can be detected. Generally, it has to be noted that this case study could be extended to include further parameters, such as the change in rents before and after the 2011 amendment, for which (at present) there are regrettably no publicly accessible data. The attractiveness of the neighbourhood has changed enormously with all the structural developments - as described, among others, the infrastructure expansion of the U2 underground line in 2008 and the relocation of the Vienna University of Economics and Business (2013). Furthermore, a specific form of gentrification, the so-called studentification (Smith et al., 2014) might be hypothesized to occur in the Stuwerviertel. In this context, it is extremely remarkable that the inherent red-light stigma has not proved to be an obstacle to gentrification. The main factor in the upgrading of the Stuwerviertel was, without doubt, the amendment of the law in 2011: Street prostitution, traditionally located there for centuries, was completely banned. Furthermore, on a structural level, the Stuwerviertel offers perfect conditions for processes of gentrification: An incredibly large sector of buildings built before 1945, which attracts investors and real estate companies. From a political and economic point of view, gentrification is certainly a desirable development, but a simultaneous displacement of disadvantaged sections of the population must be avoided. Future research should be called upon to monitor those effects more closely as the transformation progresses.

Importantly, the research for this thesis was conducted in a time of uncertainty – in times of a global pandemic. In the following section, conducting research during the COVID-19 pandemic is reflected and more importantly the impact of corona on the prostitution business is briefly being examined.

## 11. Research during COVID-19-pandemic and its impact on the prostitution business

Corona pandemic has notably impacted scientific research to a large extent, resulting in unprecedented new challenges. Conducting the research for this thesis during the ongoing Corona pandemic (May 2020-March 2021), has implied that valid data have not yet been available, regarding the direct influence of COVID-19 on sex work. Nevertheless, this chapter aims to shed light on possible effects on prostitution, as the pandemic seemingly plays an essential role in putting a spotlight on the precarity sex workers are facing. The lockdown in Vienna, starting in March 2020, has notably resulted in an emergency situation for prostitutes. However, it has to be noted that the literature for this new volatile thematic is rather limited, thus, only limited conclusions might be drawn.

In the scope of a research project by Müller (2020), an exploratory study is conducted examining the impact of political measures to prevent the spread of COVID-19 on the 'human security' of sex workers in Vienna. By means of qualitative expert interviews, issues of economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, social security and political security, in the context of the Corona policy, have been applied to the research object of sex work. In particular, the financial situation, the provision of basic needs and physical and psychological violence were examined. The summary, drawn by Müller (2020), indicates that the lockdown had tremendous consequences for sex workers.

However, according to conducted interviews, many of the mostly foreign sex workers left for their home countries shortly after the lockdown. According to estimates, about 200-300 remained in Vienna (Müller, 2020, p. 10). Other stakeholders assume different numbers, as Müller (2020) explains. Christian Knappik from 'sexworker.at' states that significantly more sex workers have remained in Vienna, as not all of them could leave to their country of origin: "*The abrupt border closures, the suspension of rail transport to many countries, the numerous cancelled flights or the lack of money forced some sex workers to stay in Vienna (Van Rahden, 19.05.2020)*" (Müller, 2020, p. 10).

Even since the enactment of the 'Lockerungsverordnung', prescribed on 30 April 2020, sex work has remained prohibited. This regulation explicitly mentions sex work for the first time during

the suspension. A ban on entering establishments for the practice of prostitution applies until the expiry of the ordinance. (§ 9 paragraph 2 point 7, Lockerungsverordnung).<sup>17</sup>

Expert interviews clearly reveal that the situation has dramatically worsened with the continuation of the work ban, forcing some to engage in illegal sex work. The head of the Sophie counselling center cites "(...) material existential fears, loss of housing, pressure from the home country, for example, children or relatives who have to be looked after there, or providing food for the children (Van Rahden, 19.05.2020)" (Müller, 2020, p. 26), which are considered reasons for working illegally. Therefore, the situation emerged that political measures to combat the Covid-19 virus have triggered a sudden threat situation from the perspective of the sex workers in Vienna due to the collapse of various security factors. For many sex workers, the sudden total loss of income and, at the same time, high fixed costs for housing etc. resulted in the fact that the provision of basic needs, such as food security and housing security, could no longer be guaranteed. It can be assumed that this situation left some sex workers with no choice, but accepting immoral offers or going into debt and, in consequence, ending up in dependency relationships that will extend beyond the lockdown.

The findings of Müller (2020) also suggest that illegal prostitution during the Corona pandemic does not take place on the street, but predominantly indoors. Police reportedly intervened sporadically in brothels. However, there is less control over illegal sex work in private homes. According to the police station responsible, the illegal activity during the lockdown took place in those areas where the sex workers were well organized - meaning especially high-priced sex work. It may be deduced that through the pandemic sex work, representing the social and especially political marginalization and stigmatization, has become obsolete. Seemingly, the predominantly female and publicly stigmatized sector has no noticeable priority in the Austrian government's crisis management. For example, financially strong entities, such as airlines, have been provided with separate government rescue funds, but no applicable crisis protection mechanism has been provided for sex workers in potentially life-threatening situations. So-called "Härtefall" funds, set up to support people in financial crises, were not often an option for sex workers, due to the circumstance that not all sex workers have declared their income.

---

<sup>17</sup> [https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/BgblAuth/BGBLA\\_2020\\_II\\_197/BGBLA\\_2020\\_II\\_197.html](https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/BgblAuth/BGBLA_2020_II_197/BGBLA_2020_II_197.html), access 05 April 2021

## 12. Discussion

This thesis is aiming to address the question where prostitution settles in the urban space of Vienna and which factors contribute to its localization. More specifically, the light is shed on gentrification processes and which role they play with regard to the (de)localization of prostitution establishments. The methods used comprise multiple linear regression models drawn on secondary data analysis generated in 2011, a qualitative approach by means of an expert interview as well as a case study and an exemplary analysis of gentrification processes at local level. The results indicate that the distribution of the prostitution establishments surveyed in the urban area of Vienna show a unique allocation of sex work: It is – especially compared to other capital cities– significant that no “classic” red-light district – respectively a clustering restriction to a specific area - can be detected, but widespread establishments over several areas in smaller clusters neighbouring to each other. Prostitution policy, to be more specific the prostitution law, is found to be a key factor in determining geographies of sex work. Furthermore, gentrification processes are assumed to contribute to the decentralization of prostitution.

To go more into detail of the generated results suggest that the unique urban distribution manifests due to the historically traceable high numbers of brothels. It is remarkable that the highest spatial density of sex work establishments is neither in the city center nor in the peripheral locations of the city outskirts, but rather distributed widespread throughout the inner and outer Viennese districts. These urban areas are characterized by a predominantly residential use, a high building and population density, but above all, by a direct connection to the higher-ranking road network is congruent with findings of Ashworth et al. (1988). The high accessibility for clients with venues proximal to frequented transport nodes is argued a powerful pull factor, showcasing the physical urban neighbourhood acting as a dominant influencing factor of geographies of sex work. In Vienna, prostitution venues are particularly concentrated along main traffic arteries (e.g. Favoritenstraße, Lassallestraße, Linzerstraße - as the "Westgürtel", one of the most important traffic arteries). Furthermore, strong clusters are located in the 2nd (Leopoldau, 16% of all brothels) and the 20th (Brigittenau, 7% of all brothels) Viennese district as well as directly adjacent to the "West-Gürtel" in the 15th (Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus with 11% of all brothels) and 16th (Ottakring with 9%) district - based on data in 2015. As noted in Chin et al. (2015) clustering within the indoor sex work industry which is discussed to have economic advantages, such as preexisting specialized labour pools, supplier input and customers being considered a possible explanation. As derived from the literature review, geographies of prostitution are found to be located within

socio-economically poorer areas (Ashworth et al, 1988, Chin et al., 2015), which cannot be substantiated in this study. Reviewing the literature, it is argued that socio-economically richer areas - through processes, such as inter alia gentrification - have more power to distribute and displace sex work in their close neighbourhood. Hence of the fact, socio-economically poor areas are located outside of the center, city outskirts are common locations for sex work. Surprisingly, none of the included socioeconomic variables in this thesis correlates with higher brothel density. In Vienna, sex work establishments are found to be spread out in neighbourhoods considered very wealthy, for example, like the 1<sup>st</sup> district. However, the second and third socioeconomically strongest districts (13. *Hietzing* and 19. *Döbling*) do not feature brothels. That could confirm the general opinion on the 13th and 19th district to be "bourgeois".

### **12.1. Prostitution policy determining geographies of sex work**

Playing a key role in geographies of sex work is namely the law, respectively policy making. In Vienna, similar to international findings, the legal regulation can be considered as main determinant to geographies of prostitution, street prostitution as well as establishments (Hubbard, 1998; Hubbard & Whowell, 2008; Wagenaar et al., 2013). The implementation of the prostitution law novel in 2011, while being highly stimulated by protests from local residents, has especially resulted in the displacement of street prostitution to the outskirts of the city. Within this framework, the social attitude towards sex work is seemingly the thriving force to determine the current laws – social aversion fed by anxieties, fear and prejudices tends to lead to a spatial marginalization to city outskirts (Hubbard, 1998) going hand in hand with the not-in-my-backyard (NIMBY) phenomenon, discovered by Soto & Summers (2018). In summary, the new law (WPG 2011) represents a break with the previously more liberal prostitution policy: The access of sex workers to public space has been restricted to a large extent. According to Gurtner & Sauer (2014), this contributes to the fact that sex work remains a stigmatized profession. Building on this, a blatant role in the (dis)placement of prostitution is attributed to gentrification as can be seen in Singelenberg & VanGent (2020), Aalbers & Sabat (2012), and Liempt & Chimienti (2017). Though the results indicate that the practice of sex work is legal and regulated in Austria, thousands of people secure their income through services in this subject. Regulations concern requirements of brothels, registration requirements, mandatory health examinations etc. by means of licensing. However, not only the federal law but above all, the laws of the individual Austrian federal states, called '*Bundesländer*', regulate sex work – apparently immense differences occur within Austria. It can be argued that this leads to massive confusion, looking at the precise regulations in each '*Bundesland*', so identifying commonalities and differences is an arduous task. In some cases, the

provincial states profess that in general prostitutes are victims of human trafficking and exploitation to a large extent, hence it will be argued to be legitimized to abolish prostitution. Cases of human trafficking in prostitution occur in Vienna, however it has to be noted that there are also individuals, who choose sex work as an occupation of choice. Furthermore, the question arises to what extent the effects of the legal regulations of prostitution laws are distributed among the very inhomogeneous forms of sex work and the spaces they occupy. Whether the requirements of the law, which strongly shape the spatial distribution of sex work, should not be considered in a more differentiated way, should be questioned since at present, small units with a low reach (such as studios) are subjected to the same rules as large establishments, like “*Laufhäuser*” or sauna clubs. Such locations differ greatly not only in the dimension of their spatial effect, but also in their appearance and their ability to integrate into an existing environment.

Embedded in political decisions, to get to the bottom of the research question of how gentrification processes play a role in shaping geographies of sex work, the results will be presented further.

## **12.2. Gentrification contributing to displacing prostitution**

Gentrification processes in Vienna have already been described (Huber, 2013; Kadi & Verlic, 2019), however, there is no concrete discussion conducted on the effects, specifically on prostitution. The conclusions drawn by the existing research go hand in hand with the results of this study: Gentrification processes are contributing in the decentralization and displacement of sex work off the cities central locations (Singelenberg & VanGent, 2020). By analysing the “Stuwerviertel” - a neighbourhood historically characterized by prostitution – gentrifying characteristics might be observed by virtue of structural changes, such as infrastructure expansion and especially the legislation amendment. Again, the change in sex work is attributed as a main factor to the new prostitution law in 2011, which has completely displaced street prostitution away from areas visible to the public and has pushed it to the outskirts of the city. Furthermore, the Stuwerviertel offers perfect conditions for processes of gentrification, like an incredibly large old building sector (buildings constructed before 1945), one of the market segments particularly affected by gentrification, attracting investors and real estate companies (Kadi & Verlic, 2019). Changes from 2015-2021, based on the small-scale analysis of “Stuwerviertel”, show a decrease in prostitution venues of 38%. Strikingly, a takeover of a former brothel to an “in-café” could be detected, showcasing a distinctive feature of gentrification.



### 12.3. Critical assessment of quantitative results

Furthermore, looking more detailed at the results of the quantitative analysis, location determinants for prostitution venues in Vienna's urban space, analysed as social determinants substantially affecting spatial factors, which may be able to explain the distribution of prostitution venues. The correlative results show that where fewer people under 15 years of age live, there are significantly more brothels. Fewer brothels are located in the immediate vicinity of people with Austrian citizenship. A positive correlation was found for persons from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia. The fact that there is a negative correlation between prostitution locations and buildings with residents that are higher educated (secondary as well as tertiary degrees) could indicate that people with lower incomes are more often living in the direct vicinity of brothels. It is very surprising, however, that no correlation could be found with respect to income in comparison with the vicinity of brothels. Since the direction of the correlation cannot be determined, regression models have been calculated. The multiple linear regression shows three main results, the proportion of Turkish and Ex-Yugoslavian citizens, the proportion of unemployed people as well as the number of buildings built before 1919 are assumed to stand in a functional relationship with high brothel density. However, the quantitative results of this thesis must be viewed critically. It can be considered questionable to make a causal statement on such a comprehensive and multifaceted topic like the spatial manifestation of prostitution.

#### 12.3.1. Turkish & Ex-Yugoslavian citizens proximal to brothels

It must be noted that according to the data set, "Ex-Yugoslavian citizens" include citizens of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo (excluding Slovenia). Causes are multifaceted, in order to understand the reasons for the settlement of these population groups in neighbourhoods associated with brothels around the "West-Gürtel" (especially in the 15th and 16th district) and in the 2nd district, Rode (2010) provides insights into social change processes in Vienna's urban space. The analysis offers that the areas of high brothel density can be described as "*gates of immigration*" (Rode, 2010, p. 34). As an explanation for this spatial trend, Rode (2010) argues that agglomerations of Turkish and Ex-Yugoslavian citizens in the "Gürtel" region are due, among other things, to the fact that this housing is very affordable but also mostly poorly equipped. Moreover, these "Gründerzeit" areas are incredibly densely built-up urban spaces, which also put downward pressure on prices. Strikingly, as similarly shown in the correlative results, the economic variables of the multiple linear regression do not have significant influences – neither income nor the highest education are associated with brothel density. In this

case, it would be important to analyse the rent levels of the buildings associated with brothels in more detail. Unfortunately, no official publicly available data are detectable, however, information can be determined indirectly by means of so-called "storage surcharges". The Vienna Chamber of Labour publishes official values for this purpose, whereby the term "storage surcharge" is understood to represent a surcharge on the legally determined standard value, which is supposed to reflect the value of the residential area. This makes it possible to infer prevailing rental prices. As a result, indeed, comparatively lower rent (1st district plus € 10.83 per square metre, 15th or 16th district without additional costs per square meter) can be expected for the referred areas - in accordance with the settlement of people with Turkish and Ex-Yugoslavian origin.

### *12.3.2. Buildings built before 1919 in association with density of brothels*

In connection with the "Gründerzeit" buildings (buildings built before 1919) the regression results indicate brothel density standing in a functional relationship with high numbers of buildings built before 1919. This refers specifically to the *Gründerzeit* buildings and the *Westgürtel*, which have a particularly high number of brothels. According to Giebeler (2008), *Gründerzeit* buildings refer to buildings built between 1870 and 1920. In Vienna, the *Gründerzeit* had started with the fall of the city wall in 1850 and ended with the first tenancy laws in 1917. As the expert interview with Prof. Girtler made clear, the *Gründerzeit* buildings were characterized by being built cheap and provide ideal conditions for brothels (Girtler, 2021, line 109-112). In addition, buildings must offer a separate entrance, in order to be licensed as brothels (see § 6 "*Buildings or parts of buildings may only be used for the practice of prostitution as prostitution establishments they have direct and separate access to the public area*"), which applies to *Gründerzeit* buildings.

### *12.3.3. Unemployed people associated with density of brothels*

What can be further distilled from the multiple linear regression is the negative association of unemployed people and brothel density. This result is astonishing and contrasts with findings of Chin et al. (2015) detecting close proximity with the assumption that unemployed people, having unstructured time-managements, may increase their likelihood of visiting sex workers. However, this assumption would like to be contradicted in this thesis.

It is essential to put the results of the quantitative study into their context, so caution is generally advised with regard to interpretation and significance: The brothel density with proximity to the social variables must not be overestimated. Interpretations about the persons in the immediate

vicinity of brothels are not meaningful. The guiding principle of prostitution was and is anonymity as can be deduced from the expert interview (Girtler, interview 2021, line 40-43). Therefore, persons in the immediate vicinity are most likely not customers of the prostitution facilities. The results of the quantitative analysis are solely intended to provide an inventory of where prostitution is located in urban areas to help understand geographies of sex work in Vienna. What is much more revealing, however, is a review of the history of prostitution in Vienna. Sex work has been firmly established in Vienna's urban area for centuries.

#### *12.3.4. Historical aspects determining the spaces of sex work in Vienna today*

The formation of prostitution locations is closely intervened with the emergence of the city of Vienna itself. Areas around the former city walls, called “*Gürtel*”, historically marked as a prostitution stronghold, form a collection of prostitution venues there has been preserved to this day. What becomes apparent, when looking deeper into the spatial distribution of prostitution, not only in Vienna, is that prostitution occurs omnipresent, illegal or legal, in various forms, even mobile in horse-drawn carriages, mutually influenced by cultural, institutional and moral frameworks. Different typologies of venues, a changing reputation of sex workers in society, often shaped by the religious beliefs, and a lively variability of sovereign regulatory efforts have shaped Vienna’s geographies of sex work. It is strongly noticeable that these spaces are characterized by ambiguity and double standards, which form a red thread running through the history of Vienna: The stricter the prohibitions and restrictions, the more the illegal spaces flourish, for example, in bathing establishments and parks, like the Prater. A mechanism that is arguably still relevant to the present day: The spatial displacement of sex work leads increasingly to relocation, but has not caused disappearance of prostitution. Significant changes in the recent Viennese sex work business have occurred due to the fall of the “iron curtain” in 1989, the increased amount of mostly illegal sex workers from Eastern countries, often agitated by the involvement of human traffickers, has led to nuisance and amplified complains of residents. It might be discussed, if due to protests by local residents the strict regulation of prostitution had caused the law novel in 2011, leading to displacement of prostitution locations from central squares.

But what about the legal handling and practical outcome of sex work in other European countries? Geographies of prostitution thus will be embedded in the international research context.

#### 12.4. Discussing the international context: comparisons across European cities

A comparison of Vienna with Amsterdam is certainly interesting. Prostitution in Amsterdam, or the Netherlands in general, possesses an immense corpus of data - sex work occupies a very prominent position. Aalbers & Sabat (2012) discuss, that the tolerant handling and neutral associations (for example, common stereotypes of prostitution are notions of danger, immorality, drugs and crime) contribute to the international reputation of a red-light district as an “*adult entertainment park*” – locally known as “De Wallen” (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p. 112). The main distinction to Vienna’s sex work establishments is thus the extreme visibility of “De Wallen”, impelled by large window prostitution offerings. Liempt & Chimenti (2017) argue, that in Amsterdam apparently the situation emerges, that “(...)too much visibility is also damaging the sex business“ (p. 1576), leading to renewal processes or repression processes even accelerated by gentrification. Thus, the premise of anonymity for clients is not given due to the mass of people and tourists around, which is certainly not an issue in Vienna’s unobtrusively distributed prostitution venues. Another distinction can be made, assuming that in contrast to Vienna, the economic potential of “De Wallen” is enormous, because it is estimated to attract about 2.5 million tourists per year (Arnoldussen et al. 2016, p. 358 as cited in Liempt & Chimenti, 2017), what has certainly smaller dimensions in Vienna’s unobtrusively distributed establishments. Zurich’s distribution of prostitution establishments is better comparable with Vienna than Amsterdam in one respect: It is less visible. According to Liempt & Chimenti (2017), the government of Zurich was actively taking stance in avoiding a red-light district that is explicitly visible – the risk of “*Amsterdamization*”, thus limiting indoor and outdoor sex work to deprived areas (p. 1577). What is significant, however, is, in Zurich as well as in Amsterdam, urban “regeneration plans” have started aiming to remove spaces of sex work (Liempt & Chimenti, 2017). As can be seen in Vienna - especially concerning street prostitution - sex workers are facing problematics arising from the forced displacement through legal actions, respectively the law novelty in 2011 (Kadi & Verlic, 2019), thus showing similar developments. Whether the city of Vienna has its own regeneration plans against the visibility of brothels is unknown at this moment, however, gentrification processes exist and a suppression of especially street prostitution occurs very evidently.

Of special interest is a comparison with the situation in Belgium, which, according to Weitzer (2014), can be considered as conservative. The legal situation in Belgium differs from both Austria and the Netherlands: Prostitution is at the Federal State level legal, but unregulated (Reinschmidt, 2016). Looking into the local level, sex work is legal in only a few cities (inter alia Bruxelles,

Antwerp, Ghent). Although the government pursues a conservative handling, window prostitution is very common in the Belgian red-light milieus. The red-light district in Brussels - consisting of almost entirely window prostitution – is, according to Witzer (2014), “(...) located in one of the poorest areas of the city, a largely middle eastern immigrant neighborhood consisting of Turkish and Moroccan businesses and residences” (p. 710). Looking at the results obtained in Vienna, a higher percentage of foreign nationals (Turkish & Ex-Yugoslavian) can be found in close proximity to brothels, too, but one cannot claim the neighbourhood of brothels to be considered destitute in Austria’s capital city. Intriguing is the comparison with Antwerp’s red-light district, known as the “Schipperskwartier” (Skippers Quarter), due to its provide of special measurements for prostitutes. Witzer (2014) discusses that it is situated besides being in immediate vicinity of the harbour, in a quiet area surrounded by a middle-class residential neighbourhood and upscale restaurants and shops. What is important to note referencing Antwerp is that the city offers street prostitutes not only a secured place with police controls, but further implemented infrastructure, such as sanitary facilities and condoms. Those options do not arise in Vienna, thus, it could be suggested to adopt inspiration from the example of Antwerp. The situation of geographies of sex work in Budapest gives equally absorbing insights and allows to draw differences with Vienna. As one of the few post-communist countries, Hungary legalized prostitution (Kovács et al., 2015). The red-light district Josefváros is located close to the city center – similar to Amsterdam, however, the neighbourhood is depicted as poor and high in criminality with a huge number of unemployed persons. This stands in contrast with the findings in Vienna – a lower brothel density is observed associated with a high number of unemployed people.

Looking at the situation in Germany, the *Prohibited Zone Ordinance* regulates prostitution (Ruhe, 2014), with the objective to keep sex work off from “*family neighbourhoods and places of worship*” (p. 9). “Frankfurt’s Bahnhofsviertel” shows how characterized by a long conflict to control and ban prostitution – sex work is forbidden around the railway station, but within the area a number of buildings are licensed brothels forming a small red-light district. As can be seen, the political strategy is keeping prostitution in narrow cords of the possible, respectively preventing a spreading into other (illegal) areas. Seemingly Germans give prostitution its place, but exert a lot of pressure to limit it. Since Vienna does not have a red-light district, comparison is hard to enable, however prostitution policy downsizes the spaces of sex work comparably.

### **12.5. Reflection and possible improvements**

It becomes clear that the enclosure of a separate red-light district as a prominent spatial manifestation of sex work can be found in many cities. The dominant reason might be argued to be the facilitated control conditions. The large-scale distribution of venues in Vienna is therefore quite remarkable. It could be deduced that in comparison with other cities, social acceptance of sex work prevails to a certain degree in Vienna. The displacement of especially street prostitution is a development that can be observed in many cities. The situation in Vienna, a multitude of small scaled studios, seems to be a good example of how sex work can be offered in a legal and safe way, which also blends very inconspicuously into the cityscape. When pushing street prostitution to the outskirts of cities, it is important to consider that contact points should be established to ensure the safety of prostitutes. For example, institutions could be set up where sex workers can use sanitary facilities and get help in case of emergency what is implemented in Antwerp amongst others. The regulation of sex work should possibly regulate the various forms individually, in order to achieve the best possible situation.

### **13. Limitations**

It has to be pointed out that this thesis is subject to several limitations. Although based in a large geographic city region, like Vienna, the study area was unique, thus the results allow only limited generalizability. In addition, a lack of existing research and scientific work that could be used as a starting point for further hypothesis and findings occurs regarding sex work analyses in Vienna. Above all, the general lack of valid and representative data complicates the study of this subject. The empirical data of licensed brothels in Vienna do not claim to be complete, moreover they originate from the year 2015. The discrepancy in the time intervals between the interlinked data should also be pointed out as limitation: The comprehensive dataset of the "Registerzählung 2011 – Zählbezirke Wien" is used in the current study including specific data with geographical allocation to census districts, which is spatially rich in information but only available for the year 2011, because of their complex compilation. However, data for the required information concerning the location of prostitution venues, are drawn from the institution "Sophie - der Bildungsraum für Prostituierte" (Sophie - the educational space for prostitutes), compiling a non-binding list of the prostitution establishments, registered in 2015. Whether much has changed between 2011 and 2015 in terms of legally registered brothels could not be ascertained through lack of data. In addition, it must be generally stated that the heterogeneous manifestations of sex work and, above all, the poorly visible legal and illegal spheres of agency make accurate empirical data

collection extremely difficult. A high fluctuation in the visible and thus measurable number of sex workers, clients and brothel establishments can be observed. How widespread are the illegal prostitution networks in Vienna? Escort services and brothels in flats (residential prostitution) share the largest rate at the illegal market, according to the Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings report (2019), though it can only be speculated about actual dimensions.

Reviewing the literature, prostitution as a social phenomenon has mainly been tackled down from a historical point of view. Looking into the spatial disputes, it has to be noted that despite the fact prostitution is numerous in indoor venues, the literature mostly reviews street prostitution as can be seen in Williams (2014), Hubbard and Sanders (2003), Hubbard (1998) and Laing & Cook (2014). Furthermore, the smaller body of research on indoor sex work venues, for example, by Ashworth et al. (1988) and Curtis and Arreola (1991), has focused more on “red-light” districts. Thus, the examination of sex businesses within cities, but outside of “red-light” districts, lacks further investigation. Moreover, very noticeably, the methodological research focus in the reviewed literature concerning urban studies of sex work is on qualitative methodology, with the exception of Chin et al. (2015). Considering the challenges coming with studying sex work, such as its unique character and the individuality or diversity of the subject to conduct qualitative research, appears logical. However, due to the limited generalizability of qualitative methodology, quantitative approaches could bring interesting findings and contribute to a better understanding, especially in allowing comparisons of divergence and convergence. It has to be pointed out, that future studies contributing to the field of urban research on sex work are recommended to conduct quantitative research due to the lack in existing literature. Furthermore, the examination of sex businesses within cities, but outside of “red-light” districts, lacks further investigation. Especially current forms of prostitution, emerging through the role of the internet, are going to be promising research spotlights. The possibility of online advertising and client attraction may change the importance of locations in the urban context. The Internet presents new and challenging phenomena to monitor, that are not tackled in this thesis, where further research will be needed.

Above all, it is of utter importance to consider that this thesis pursues an exploratory approach with the research focus being on the discovery. The research area of spatial aspects of sex work in Vienna lacks valid data or an existing survey of the dimension of sex work, respectively research to build hypotheses on, therefore the intention of this thesis is to contribute more to future research that can build upon it through exploratively approaching the field. Thus, the reliability of the results is therefore limited.

## 14. Conclusion

To summarize, one connection becomes clear: Changes of social and moral concepts mutually influence the openness to prostitution in the urban space, the urban-spatial distribution of prostitution corresponds with socio-spatial relations. In addition to numerous facets of its manifestation in the public sphere and in urban spaces, primarily moral attitudes, supposed ethical values and political judgements lead to marginalization, stigmatization and spatial displacement of people engaged in sex work in most of the countries. It has to be recognized that sex work has historically been an integral part of our society to the present day, and so an element of the urban, with all its inherent spatial demands, characteristic manifestations and functional entanglements with the structures of the city. The coexistence of different individuals in a metropolitan space of heterogeneous social classes requires people of all kind to be renegotiated again and again, what may be tolerated in which areas - including prostitution. Despite the seemingly increasing social acceptance of prostitution, there is little evidence of it in Vienna's urban areas: Through the process of gentrification, prostitution is observed to be displaced, resulting in spatial exclusion to city outskirts as a consequence. Sex work as segment of the service sector seems remaining to be exposed to stigmatization and rejection. This status is in turn reflected on a spatial level.

It is reasonable to conclude from the literature review that the legal prohibition and criminalization of prostitution will rather lead to displacement and unregulated, unsafe working conditions for sex workers. The spatial displacement has blatantly negative consequences for sex workers, it can be argued that the repression increases manifesting stereotypes. It might be pointed out that prostitutes should not be potted together, so they could generally be assumed being victims of crime and exploitation. The social responsibility of prostitution policy should be to act on the basis of a humanitarian worldview, taking various stakeholders into account and being inclusive. It might be that indeed not one model fits for all issues occurring around sex work, however the gentrifying processes of neighbourhoods are leading to displacement without *placement* of prostitution. It is necessary that resulting problems are increasingly acknowledged and possible solutions should be explored. Prostitution is an omnipresent phenomenon, with services sufficiently used, which should have a *right to the city*, respectively a right to urban spaces. The multi-layered subject of sex work is characterized in its discussion and treatment by extremely complex relationships and by heterogeneous perceptions and thus, subsequently, different sovereign measures and ways of dealing with the industry. Restricted area ordinances – such as the new prostitution law in 2011 - demonstrate the power of superior structural levels to impact spatial-social conditions.



To come to a conclusion, this thesis has tried to touch scattered aspects of the complex thematic area of urban imprints of prostitution, and wants to appeal to further research which is needed to be able to draw an exhaustive picture of prostitution.

## 15. References

- Aalbers, M. B., & Sabat, M. (2012). Re-making a Landscape of Prostitution: The Amsterdam Red Light District: Introduction. *City*, 16(1–2), 112–128.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2012.662372>
- Amesberger, H. (2014). Sexarbeit in Österreich: Ein Politikfeld zwischen Pragmatismus, Moralisierung und Resistenz. Wien: NAP - New Academic Press.
- Ashworth, G. J., White, P. E., & Winchester, H. P. M. (1988). The red-light district in the West European city: A neglected aspect of the urban landscape. *Geoforum*, 19(2), 201–212.  
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185\(88\)80029-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185(88)80029-0)
- Boels, D. (2016). The informal economy: Seasonal work, street selling and sex work. The informal economy: Seasonal work, street selling and sex work (pp. 1-267)  
doi:10.1007/978-3-319-43123-9
- Boels, D., & Verhage, A. (2016). Prostitution in the neighbourhood: Impact on residents and implications for municipal regulation. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, 46, 43-56.
- Booth, C. (1889). *Life and Labour of the People of London*. vol. 1. London: Williams and Norgate.
- Bortz, J., & Schuster, C. (2011). *Statistik für Human- und Sozialwissenschaftler: Limitierte Sonderausgabe*. Springer-Verlag.
- Bretschneider, B. (2014). Ökologische Quartierserneuerung: Transformation der Erdgeschosszone und Stadträume. Springer-Verlag.
- Cronk, B. C. (2012). *How to use SPSS statistics: A step-by-step guide to analysis and interpretation* (7th ed.). Glendale, CA: Pyrczak Pub.
- Curtis, J. R., & Arreola, D. D. (1991). Zonas de tolerancia on the northern Mexican border. *Geographical Review*, 333-346.
- Ehrlich, Anna. 2012. *Auf den Spuren der Josefine Mutzenbacher - Eine Sittengeschichte*. Wien: Amalthea Sigmund Verlag.
- Eid, M., Gollwitzer, M., & Schmitt, M. (2017). *Statistik und Forschungsmethoden* (5. Aufl.). Weinheim: Beltz.
- Flick, U. (2006). Qualitative Sozialforschung: Eine Einführung (4. Aufl., vollst. überarb. und erw. Neuausg.). *Rororo Rowohlt's Enzyklopädie*, 55654.
- Froschauer, U., & Lueger, M. (2020). Das qualitative Interview: Zur Praxis interpretativer Analyse sozialer Systeme. utb GmbH.
- Früh, W. (2015). *Inhaltsanalyse: Theorie und Praxis*. UTB.
- Girtler, Roland. 2013. *Der Strich - Soziologie eines Milieus*. Wien: LIT Verlag.

- Gurtner, A., & Sauer, B. (2014). Reglementarische Prostitutionspolitik: Raumkonstruktionen in der Debatte über den Wiener Straßenstrich. Anja Gurtner und Birgit Sauer. *Feministische Studien*, 32(2), 281-293.
- Hannemann, C. (2019) In: F. Kessler, & C. Reutlinger (Eds.). Handbuch Sozialraum Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Holm, A. (2012). Gentrification. In Eckardt, (Hrsg.) *Handbuch Stadtsoziologie* (pp. 661-687). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Helferich, C. (2014): Leitfaden- und Experteninterviews. In: Baur, N. & Blasius, J. (Hrsg.) (2014): *Handbuch Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Holm, Andrej (2010): *Wir bleiben Alle! Gentrifizierung – Städtische Konflikte um Aufwertung und Verdrängung*. UNRAST Verlag, Münster.
- Hubbard, P. (1998). Community action and the displacement of street prostitution: Evidence from british cities. *Geoforum*, 29(3), 269–286. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185\(98\)00014-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185(98)00014-1)
- Hubbard, P., & Sanders, T. (2003). Making space for sex work: Female street prostitution and the production of urban space. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(1), 75–89. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.00432>
- Hubbard, P., & Whowell, M. (2008). Revisiting the red-light district: Still neglected, immoral and marginal? *Geoforum*, 39(5), 1743–1755. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2008.05.003>
- Hubbard, P., Matthews, R., & Scoular, J. (2008). Regulating sex work in the EU: prostitute women and the new spaces of exclusion. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 15(2), 137-152.
- Huber, F. (2013): Gentrifizierung in Wien, Chicago und Mexiko-Stadt - Qualitative Stadtforschung und internationale Vergleichbarkeit; In: *Österreich Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 38, 2013. (S.237-257), Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien.
- Huber, Florian J. 2012. Integrating gentrification into the intrinsic logic discourse. suggestions for linking the research agendas. *Urban Research and Practice* 5 (2): 209–222. doi:10.1080/17535069.2012.691618.
- Hügel, F. S. (1865). *Zur Geschichte, Statistik und Regelung der Prostitution: Social-medicinische Studien in ihrer praktischen Behandlung und Anwendung auf Wien und andere Grosstädte*(No. 1324). Zamarski & Dittmarsch.
- Kadi, J., & Verlič, M. (Eds.). (2019). *Gentrifizierung in Wien: Perspektiven aus Wissenschaft, Politik und Praxis*. Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte für Wien.
- Kovács, Z., Wiessner, R. & Zischner, R. (2015). Beyond Gentrification: Diversified neighborhood upgrading in the inner city of Budapest. *Geografie*, 120, No. 2: 251–274.

- Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E. K. (Eds.). (2010). *The gentrification reader* (Vol. 1). London: Routledge. *Soziologie*, Hrsg. Roland Kecskes, Michael Wagner und Christof Wolf, 22–44. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.
- Levy, Jack (2008) Case Studies: Types, Designs, and Logics of Inference, *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, (25), S. 1-18
- Löw, M., & Ruhne, R. (2011). *Prostitution: Herstellungsweisen einer anderen Welt*. Suhrkamp Verlag.
- Mauthner-Weber, Susanne 1995. *Venuswege – Ein erotischer Führer durch das alte Wien*. Edition Sp. Wien: Promedia.
- McQuiller Williams, L. (2014). Sex in the City: Why and How Street Workers Select Their Locations for Business. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 43(6), 659–694.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241613505645>
- Müller, C., (2020) Forschungspraktikumsarbeit: Sexarbeiter\_innen in Wien während der Corona-Krise. Universität Wien
- Reinprecht, C. 2019. In: Kadi, J., & Verlič, M. (Eds.). (2019). *Gentrifizierung in Wien: Perspektiven aus Wissenschaft, Politik und Praxis*. Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte für Wien.
- Reinschmidt, L. (2016). Prostitution in Europa zwischen Regulierung und Verbot.
- Ross, B. L. (2010). Sex and (evacuation from) the city: The moral and legal regulation of sex workers in Vancouver’s West End, 1975—1985. *Sexualities*, 13(2), 197-218.
- Ruhne, R. (2006). Boulevard und Sperrbezirk: urbane Ideale, Prostitution und der Kampf um den öffentlichen Raum der Stadt. *Sozialwissenschaften und Berufspraxis*, 29(2), 192-207. <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168- ssoar-38693>
- Sauer, Birgit. (2015). Zweifelhafte Rationalität. *Prostitutionspolitiken in Österreich und Slowenien*. In *Verhandlungen im Zwielflicht* (Vol. 1, pp. 77-94). Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.
- Singelenberg, M., & van Gent, W. (2020a). Red light gentrification in Soho, London and De Wallen, Amsterdam. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 35(3), 723–742.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-020-09753-5>
- Singelenberg, M., & van Gent, W. (2020a). Red light gentrification in Soho, London and De Wallen, Amsterdam. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 35(3), 723–742.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-020-09753-5>
- Soto, C., & Summers, L. (2020). Macro-brothels as crime attractors: Impact of closure, displacement, and diffusion of benefits. *European Journal of Criminology*, 17(3), 247–268.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370818788011>

- van Liempt, I., & Chimienti, M. (2017). The gentrification of progressive red-light districts and new moral geographies: The case of Amsterdam and Zurich. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 24(11), 1569–1586. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2017.1382452>
- Wagenaar, H., Altink, S., & Amesberger, H. (2013). Final report of the international comparative study of prostitution policy: Austria and the Netherlands. *Den Haag: Platform*, 31, 138.
- Wagenaar, H., Amesberger, H., & Altnik, S. (2017). Designing prostitution policy (1st ed.). Policy Press. <https://doi.org/10.1332/9781447335191>.
- Wagner, P., & Winter, J. (2014). Sexualdienstleistung in Österreich: Eine Analyse der Gesetzgebung mit Fokus auf das Sexualdienstleistungsgesetz in Oberösterreich. *Soziales\_kapital*, 11.
- Wehrheim, J. (2004): Städte im Blickpunkt Innerer Sicherheit. In: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*. 25.10.2004, S. 21-27.
- Weitzer, R. (2014). The Social Ecology of Red-Light Districts: A Comparison of Antwerp and Brussels. *Urban Affairs Review*, 50(5), 702–730. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087413504081>
- William R. Shadish, Cook, T. D., & Campbell, D. T. (2002). Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for generalized causal inference. Wadsworth Cengage learning.
- William R. Shadish, Cook, T. D., & Campbell, D. T. (2002). Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for generalized causal inference. Wadsworth Cengage learning.
- Yin, R. K. (2009). Case study research: Design and methods. Sage publications. *Thousand oaks*.
- Ziemann, Andreas. 2017. Das Bordell. Historische und soziologische Beobachtungen. Weilerswist: Velbrück Wissenschaft.

### Online references

- Arbeitsbericht Prostitution in Österreich (2008), <http://docplayer.org/10783934-Prostitution-in-oesterreich-rechtslage-auswirkungen-empfehlungen.html>, access 12 March 2021
- Arbeitsgruppe Prostitution, *Regelung der Prostitution in Österreich: Empfehlungen der Arbeitsgruppe „Prostitution“ im Rahmen der Taskforce Menschenhandel*, [https://www.bmeia.gv.at/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Zentrale/Aussenpolitik/Menschenrechte/Bericht\\_AG\\_Prostitution.p](https://www.bmeia.gv.at/fileadmin/user_upload/Zentrale/Aussenpolitik/Menschenrechte/Bericht_AG_Prostitution.p), access 12 March 2021
- BUNDESGESETZBLATT (2020) [https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/BgblAuth/BGBLA\\_2020\\_II\\_197/BGBLA\\_2020\\_II\\_197.html](https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/BgblAuth/BGBLA_2020_II_197/BGBLA_2020_II_197.html), access 12 March 2021
- Bundeskanzler Information Prostitution, <https://www.bundeskanzleramt.gv.at/agenda/frauen-und-gleichstellung/prostitution.html>, access 12 March 2021

Federal Criminal Police Office Report (2019), <https://bundeskriminalamt.at/303/start.aspx>, access 08 March 2021

Google maps, Screenshots taken from: <https://www.google.com/maps>, access 08 March 2021

[https://www.bundeskriminalamt.at/303/files/Web\\_Menschenhandel\\_Bericht\\_2014.pdf](https://www.bundeskriminalamt.at/303/files/Web_Menschenhandel_Bericht_2014.pdf), access 01 March 2021

Loibl, wien.ORF.at, <https://wien.orf.at/v2/news/stories/2792350/>, access 24 February 2021

MA18 (2012): Raum erfassen - Überblick und Wegweiser zu Funktions -und Sozialraumanalysen für den öffentlichen Raum; Werkstattbericht Nr.128. Magistratsabteilung 18 - Stadtentwicklung und Stadtplanung. <https://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/studien/pdf/b008274.pdf>, access 11 March 2021

MA18 (2014): Stadtentwicklungsplan 2025; Magistratsabteilung 18 - Stadtentwicklung und Stadtplanung. <https://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/studien/pdf/b008379a.pdf>, access 11 March 2021

Menschenhandel Bericht Bundeskriminalamt 2014,

Oezelt, N., Kurier, (2020). URL: <https://kurier.at/chronik/wien/leopoldstadt-das-explosive-und-verruichte-stuwerviertel/401023847>, access 22 March 2021

Prostitutionsorganisation Sophie. 2015. Genehmigte Lokale per 25.05.2015. Wien [http://v000702.vhost-vweb-02.sil.at/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Lokalliste-25\\_05\\_2015\\_genehmigt.pdf](http://v000702.vhost-vweb-02.sil.at/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Lokalliste-25_05_2015_genehmigt.pdf), access 03 March 2021

Prostitutionsorganisation Sophie, <http://www.sophie.or.at/2008/04/14/recht-wie-regeln-gesetze-die-prostitution/>, access 03 March 2021

Rechtsinformation des Bundes, <https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Land/>, access 03 March 2021

Statistik Austria, Registerzählung 2011: Standard-Dokumentation Metainformationen, [http://www.statistik.at/web\\_de/wcmsprod/groups/gd/documents/stdok/078269.pdf](http://www.statistik.at/web_de/wcmsprod/groups/gd/documents/stdok/078269.pdf), access 15 March 2021

Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings (2018): Regelung der Prostitution in Österreich, Empfehlungen der Arbeitsgruppe „Prostitution“ im Rahmen der Task Force Menschenhandel, <https://www.bundeskanzleramt.gv.at/agenda/frauen-und-gleichstellung/prostitution.html>, access 08 March 2021

VICE, 2016. URL: <https://www.vice.com/de/article/7bq57d/stuwerviertel-portrait>, access 22 March 2021

## 16. Appendix

### 16.1. Abstract

Neighborhoods with brothels are often considered despicable and misfit into a cultivated urban scenery. Sex workers face social marginalization structures which also manifest geographically, thus this thesis aims to analyse the spatial state of sex work in Vienna, questioning which factors influence the localization of prostitution venues in Vienna. Specifically, the light is shed on gentrification processes and which role they play with regard to the (de)localization of prostitution establishments. The methods used comprise multiple linear regression models drawn on secondary data analysis, a qualitative approach by means of an expert interview and a case study analysing gentrification at local level in the “Stuwerviertel”. Evaluating the results, gentrifying characteristics at local level were observed by virtue of structural changes, such as infrastructure expansion and the legislation amendment, resulting in a decrease of prostitution venues. Similarly to international findings, the legal regulations are found to be a key factor in determining geographies of sex work (street prostitution and venues), restricting public spaces of sex workers to a large extent, contributing to the decentralization and displacement. This thesis pursues an exploratory approach with the research focus being on the discovery due to the lack of data on spatial aspects of prostitution in Vienna, therefore the results are of limited generalizability. Considering the results, this thesis wants to imply that prostitution, being an omnipresent phenomenon with services sufficiently used, should have a *right to the city*, respectively a right to urban space.

### 16.2. Abstract deutsch

Stadtviertel mit Bordellen gelten oft als verrucht und unpassend für eine kultivierte urbane Szenerie. SexarbeiterInnen sind zunehmend mit gesellschaftlichen Marginalisierungsstrukturen konfrontiert, die sich auch teilweise geografisch manifestieren. Diese Arbeit hat daher das Ziel, die räumliche Situation der Sexarbeit in Wien zu analysieren und zu hinterfragen, welche Faktoren die Lokalisierung von Prostitutionslokalen in Wien beeinflussen. Konkret werden Gentrifizierungsprozesse beleuchtet und deren Rolle in Bezug auf die (De-)Lokalisierung von Prostitutionsräumen untersucht. Die verwendeten Methoden reichen von multiplen linearen Regressionsmodellen auf Basis von Sekundärdatenanalysen über einen qualitativen Ansatz mittels Experteninterview bis hin zu einer Fallstudie des historisch von Prostitution geprägten „Stuwerviertels“. Bei der Auswertung der Ergebnisse wurden gentrifizierende Merkmale auf lokaler Ebene durch strukturelle Veränderungen wie z.B. den Ausbau der Infrastruktur und Gesetzesänderungen beobachtet, die zu einem Rückgang der Prostitutionsstätten führten. Vergleichbar mit internationalen Forschungsergebnissen zeigt sich, dass gesetzliche Regelungen als Schlüsselfaktor bei der Lokalisierung von Sexarbeit fungieren, welcher den öffentlichen Raum für SexarbeiterInnen weitgehend einschränken und zur Dezentralisierung und Verdrängung beitragen. Es wird ein explorativer Ansatz verfolgt, wobei der Forschungsschwerpunkt aufgrund des Mangels an Daten zu räumlichen Aspekten der Prostitution in Wien auf der Exploration liegt, weshalb die Ergebnisse nur begrenzt verallgemeinerbar sind. In Anbetracht der generierten Ergebnisse möchte diese Arbeit implizieren, dass Prostitution als omnipräsentes Phänomen mit ausreichend genutzten Dienstleistungen ein *Recht auf Stadtraum* haben sollte.

### 16.3. Interview Transkript Prof. Roland Girtler

17.02.21, Spaziergang durch den 7. Bezirk mit Dackel

Dauer der Aufnahme: 49 Minuten 34 Sekunden

*I: Interviewerin*

*G: Prof. Roland Girtler*

1 I: Hallo, vielen Dank, dass Sie dem Interview so spontan und schnell zugestimmt haben!

2 G: Selbstverständlich, mit so einem interessanten Thema auch noch, die Prostitution, ja!

3 I: Dann starte ich die Aufnahme, wenn es für Sie ok ist?

4 G: Sehr gerne, diese ganze neue Technik.. (..) Ich habe den siebten Bezirk zum Spaziergang  
5 ausgewählt, weil hier am Spittelberg, war alles voller Bordelle früher, es war der Rand der Stadt.  
6 Wissen Sie, am Rand der Stadt herrschen andere Regeln.

7 Der erste Bezirk.. in den 60-ern ich erinnere mich, da standen die Frauen noch an der Kärnter-  
8 straße. Also wichtig ist, die Prostitution in Wien heute – wo sie heute ist – ist alles historisch  
9 bedingt.

10 I: Also das heißt weil der erste Bezirk früher die ganze Stadt war und darum herum die Stadt-  
11 mauern..?

12 G: Genau der Rand der Stadt war der Gürtel, da befanden sich die Bordelle. Das sieht man heute  
13 noch. Ich kenne den Mann, der in den 70ern eine Reihe an Bordellen da aufgemacht hat. Es  
14 gehören ihm wirklich viele Bordelle.

15 I: Aber wie erklärt das, dass im Struwerviertel so viele Bordelle sind?

16 G: Ja das ist wegen dem Prater, das ist auch der Rand der Stadt. Der Prater war ja das Jagdgebiet  
17 des Kaisers – sowie der Augarten. Das Lusthaus steht ja auch immer noch. Da bietet sich eine  
18 genauere Analyse an. Historisch gesehen hat da Josef der 2. hat den Prater geöffnet. Der 2. Bezirk  
19 war auch immer Rand der Stadt, auf der anderen Seite des Donaukanals. Da herrschten andere  
20 Regeln, da ist grauft worden, da ist es kriminell zugegangen.. Da waren auch richtig viele Gau-  
21 nerlokale, nachm Krieg. Das waren Gegenden, da wurden kriminelle Dinge getrieben. Da hat  
22 sich aber ganz vieles Verändert, die Ausländer übernehmen des alles.



23 I: Stimmt, das habe ich in Ihrem Buch gelesen, dass nach Fall des eisernen Vorhangs ein Zu-  
24 strom aus osteuropäischen Ländern vor allem erfolgt ist.

25 G: Die Gaunersprache enthält auch viel jiddisch. Die Juden gehörten ja zum Fahrenden-Volk,  
26 die Mädchenhändler waren auch ganz viele Juden. Die wollen a Gschäft machen.

27 I: Und wenn wir uns jetzt die heutige Verteilung der Bordelle anschauen?

28 G: Es ist historisch bedingt, die alten Lokale bzw. die Orte waren bekannt. Das neue Prostitutions-  
29 Gesetz hat das Struwerviertel aber total verändert. Nicht nur das Gesetz, die Wirtschaftsuniversi-  
30 tät genauso – die U-Bahn Verlängerung von der U2, da kommen viele Sachen zusammen.

31 I: Und was kann man über die Bezirke sagen? Im 13. und 19. gibt es z.B. gar keine Bordelle.

32 G: Ja das sind vornehme Bezirke! Das ist eh klar.. Als ich mit den Polizisten auf Streife war im  
33 2. Bezirk. Mit den Polizisten, mit denen ich gesprochen haben, die haben mir gesagt sie machen  
34 lieber Dienst im 2. Bezirk mit den Prostituierten und Obdachlosen – die sind alle freundlich.  
35 Aber im 19. Bezirk, die san nicht freundlich, die machen nur Schwierigkeiten.

36 I: Aber wenn ich im 19. Bezirk jetzt ein Bordell aufmachen würde, die Leute dort haben ja auch  
37 mehr Geld, das würde doch Sinn machen, nicht?

38 G: Nana, des typische Merkmal der Prostitution ist ja die Anonymität! Die Leute die dort wohnen  
39 würden nie in ein Bordell gehen. Die gehen wo anders hin. Auch in den Dörfern aufm Land sind  
40 in den Bordellen die Kunden immer von wo anders.

41 Die Leute, die im Umkreis wohnen gehen dort nicht hin, sie wollen ja nicht erkannt werden.  
42 Deshalb ist in der Stadt auch so viel Prostitution – in der Stadt bin ich anonym. Am Land hat  
43 man mehr Gelegenheitsprostitution. Heute ist ja die Mobilität nochmal dazugekommen. Durch  
44 die Mobilität hat sich viel verändert, ich komm ja überall hin. Das verändert auch die räumliche  
45 Niederlassung von Prostitution – ganz eindeutig.

46 I: Interessant! Wieso gibt's in Wien eigentlich kein Rotlichtviertel, wo es in anderen Metropolen  
47 wie Amsterdam usw. welche gibt?

48 G: Im 18. Jahrhundert hat man gesagt, ganz Wien ist eigentlich ein einziges Bordell (lacht). Pros-  
49 titution ist überall, es gab so viel. Ja der Spittelberg war das im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Die  
50 Gasthäuser haben dort dann aber zugesperrt, die waren ja auch mies (beschrieben in den Liedern  
51 von der Zeit), sonst hätt sich dort vielleicht ein Rotlichtviertel entwickelt. Aber es war ja überall,  
52 die Bordelle, historisch hat sich das so entwickelt dass kein Rotlichtviertel zustande kam. Danach  
53 hat sich der Strich und die Bordelle dann verlagert zum ersten Bezirk, da gab es auch historische

54 wichtige Plätze. Grabennymphen hat man denen gesagt, in der heutigen Nagergasse – da ist auch  
55 die Stadtmauer verlaufen. In den 50er Jahren hats dann noch Bordelle am Kohlmarkt gegeben.  
56 I: Es gibt noch 3 Bordelle im 1.

57 G: Ja die sind glaub ich relativ neu. Für mich als Bursche war es noch a Gaude die Prostituierten  
58 am Strich zu besuchen und Witze zu machen. (Erzählt Geschichte als Jugendlicher am Kohl-  
59 markt) (...).

60 I: Was ich mich noch gefragt habe, was sagt die Verteilung der Bordelle über Wien aus?

61 G: Ich bin mit solchen Sachen immer vorsichtig. Da können Sie nix sagen darüber. Sie können  
62 übern 2. Bezirk schreiben oder so aber wo sie insgesamt genau liegen ist ziemlich wurst!

63 I: Ich verstehe.. Eigentlich wenn man denkt dass die Leute ja gar nicht bzw. eher weniger in das  
64 Bordell gehen, dass am nächsten ist, versteh ich Ihr Argument.

65 G: Ja eh, die Verteilung anzuschauen ist gut. Man kanns nicht genau sagen, weil die jeweilige  
66 Situation ist a andere. Ich erkenne jemand dort, die Leute wollen nicht erkannt werden. (Girtler  
67 hebt hervor, dass qualitative Forschung viel wichtiger ist).

68 I: Wie sieht es Ihrer Meinung nach aus mit dem Prostitutionsgesetz, wie sieht man räumlich den  
69 Einfluss?

70 G: Der Einfluss ist enorm, die Zuhälter passen sich auch schnell an, wenn es eine Änderung gibt.  
71 Die finden schon Wege, die Gauner sind dem Gesetz auch immer ein bisschen voraus. Die wissen  
72 auch viel übers Internet. (Erzählt von Zuhältern und anderen Prostituierten die er kennt bzw.  
73 kannte; Girtler empfiehlt mit Prostituierten ins Gespräch zu kommen) (..)

74 I: Es ist jetzt auch wegen Corona gar nicht so leicht, ins Gespräch zu kommen bzw. einen Feld-  
75 zugang zu Prostituierten zu bekommen..

76 G: Ja außerdem sind Prostituierte – schon historisch gesehen – fast immer Ausländer. Sie sind  
77 die Fremden (sogar schon in der Bibel bei Moses; die Morbiderinnen durften nur Fremde sein).  
78 Die Fremden haben andere Probleme, nicht jene die die Personen haben die da wohnen. Viele  
79 kommen ausm Land in die Stadt in die Bordelle, die Kunden wollen natürlich niemanden treffen  
80 den sie kennen! Die Aufgabe des Zuhälters ist es ja auch die sozialen Kontakte des Mädchens  
81 abzuschneiden.

82 I: Warum das?

83 G: Er muss für sie wichtig sein, das ist logisch. Ein Zuhälter hat damals zu mir gesagt „sie darf  
84 nur in mich verliebt sein, nicht in andere – damit sie richtig für mich arbeitet“.

85 I: Machen das eigentlich viele Frauen freiwillig?

86 G: Aus meiner Erfahrung sind sie emotional gebunden an die Zuhälter; der Zuhälter muss eine  
87 unglaubliche sexuelle Potenz gehabt haben.

88 I: Gibt es auch einige Zuhälterinnen?

89 G: Na, ich kenne nur eine – die „Rote Wanda“; Bordell Mütter ist was anderes, also die die im  
90 Bordell einen Platz anbieten, das ist was anderes als eine Zuhälterin. (..) Man muss sich auch  
91 soziologisch überlegen, wo macht man ein Geschäft mit Männern? Historisch gesehen, wenn der  
92 Bauer zum Beispiel das Getreide in die Mühle gebracht. Dort hatte er dann Zeit..

93 I: Ah natürlich, wo die Männer Zeit haben?

94 G: Genau, da haben sich die Mädchen dann hingestellt! Am Naschmarkt waren im Mittelalter  
95 die berühmten Mühlen, da ist ja der Wienfluss.. Da war ganz lange Prostitution, weil die Männer  
96 Zeit haben. Bis heute kann man verfolgen, dass in den Gegenden wo Mühlen waren Prostitution  
97 herrscht.

98 I: Heißt das, das ist dann alles Straßenprostitution gewesen?

99 G: Naja, auch im Gasthaus also in Beisl. Beides eigentlich. Es gab kein richtiges Bordell, aber  
100 im heutigen Sinne könnte man sagen, es sind Bordelle und keine Gasthäuser. Am Gürtel gab es  
101 eine ganze Reihe an solchen „Gasthäusern“.

102 I: Am Gürtel sieht man immer noch eine enorme Konzentration an Bordellen, ja!  
103 In meiner quantitativen Analyse hat sich auch noch ergeben, dass Bordelle vor allem in Gebäu-  
104 den, die vor 1919 gebaut wurden vorkommen.

105 G: Na weil die günstig zu erwerben sind. Da (am Gürtel anmk.) sind ja auch die Gründerzeitbau-  
106 ten. Die hat man damals ganz günstig gebaut. Der Wohnraum war ja da knapp und die Zinshäuser  
107 a einträgliches Geschäft. Da gings um Profit natürlich möglichst viele sind da auf wenig Raum  
108 untergebracht worden. Diese Bauten sind ideal für Bordelle, da werden sie dann selber vielleicht  
109 günstig umbauen.

110 I: Ok, interessant. Noch eine Sache kommt aus den Berechnungen hervor, dort wo die Bordelle  
111 angesiedelt sind wohnen vermehrt Leute, die Türkische und Ex-Jugoslawische Staatsbürgerschaft  
112 haben.

113 G: Ja eh, weil auch die Prostituierten – welche vermehrt aus dem Ausland kommen - in günstigen  
114 Wohnungen wohnen bzw. dort untergebracht werden. Das sind ganz viel die Wohnungen am  
115 Gürtel, weil es dort Altbauwohnungen gibt die günstig sind.

116 I: Wohnen die SexarbeiterInnen denn neben ihrem Arbeitsplatz?

117 G: Na, das kann man nicht sagen. Die Prostituierten untereinander haben das früher selber aus-  
118 gemacht, wenn da ein junges Mädchen dazugekommen ist und die zu große Konkurrenz war  
119 haben sie sie wieder verjagt. Am Gürtel war das so, das weiß ich.

120 I: Aber wie erklärt es, dass die Prostituierten selber auch am Gürtel wohnen, wie Sie es beschrie-  
121 ben haben?

122 G: Ja da passiert viel Wohnungsprostitution, das erklärt sich dadurch.

123 I: Eine andere Sache jetzt, aber ich frage mich wie sich die Prostitution verändert durch das In-  
124 ternet..

125 G: Da verändert sich mit Sicherheit ganz viel. Am Praterstrich hat sich ja ganz viel verändert.  
126 Früher waren dort die bekannten „Praterhuren“ – da waren auch viele „ältere“, jetzt ist da die  
127 Wirtschaftsuniversität hin gekommen.

128 I: Kann man da von Gentrifizierung sprechen?

129 G: Ja, total. (Erzählt von seinen Erfahrungen am Prater, in welchen er mit PolizistInnen auf  
130 „Streife“ war). (Erzählungen von der „Streife“ folgen..)

131 I: Ja sehr interessant. Ich konnte wirklich sehr viel mitnehmen aus dem Gespräch mit Ihnen,  
132 vielen Dank!

133 G: Ja ich hoffe, sehr gerne!

## 16.4. Licensed brothels in Vienna

Full list use URL: [http://v000702.vhost-vweb-02.sil.at/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Lokalliste-25\\_05\\_2015\\_genehmigt.pdf](http://v000702.vhost-vweb-02.sil.at/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Lokalliste-25_05_2015_genehmigt.pdf)

Genehmigte Lokale per 25.05.2015

PLZ	A D R E S S E	N A M E D E S L O K A L E S
1010	ROSENBURSENSTRASSE 8	VIP BAR
1010	SHELLINGGASSE 1	EVE NIGHT CLUB
1010	KARNTER STRASSE 10	CHEZ NOUS
1010	KRAMERGASSE 5 ident BAUERNMARKT 10	BLUE VELVET
1010	SonnenfelsGASSE 9	BAR JOSEFINE
1010	GRILLPARZERSTRASSE 5 ident EBENDORFERSTRASSE 5	RESIDENZ TERMIN PORNBABES
1010	KÄRNTER STRASSE 61	MAXIM
1010	BAUERNMARKT 21	NINA BAR
1020	FRANZENSBRÜCKENSTRASSE 10-12	MESSAGESTUDIO
1020	GROSSE MOHRENGASSE 44	PIGALLE
1020	MAYERGASSE 5	DU-BAR
1020	NORDBAHNSTRASSE 26A Lokal 1	STUDIO LUNA
1020	OBERMÜLLNERSTRASSE 1 ident MAX-WINTER-PLATZ 16	LOCAL JASMINA
1020	CZERNINGASSE 1/7 - PRATERSTRASSE 36	STUDIO 7
1020	ENNSGASSE 25 ident VORGARTENSTRASSE 195	STUDIO BAROK
1020	NORDBAHNSTRASSE 34 ident AM TABOR	RIESENRADLBAR
1020	NORDWESTBAHNSTRASSE 7 Top 2	STUDIO TOP 2
1020	NORDWESTBAHNSTRASSE 7 Top 4	STUDIO TOP 4
1020	NORDWESTBAHNSTRASSE 9 Top 1	STUDIO TOP 1
1020	NORDWESTBAHNSTRASSE 9 Top 2	STUDIO TOP 2
1020	NORDWESTBAHNSTRASSE 9 Top 3	STUDIO TOP 3
1020	SCHÜTTELSTRASSE 33, Top 2	STUDIO MICHELLE
1020	STUWERSTRASSE 19/3	
1020	ENGERTHSTRASSE 207	STUDIO ENGERTHSTRASSE 207
1020	HEINSTRASSE 23	VENUSFALLE
1020	NORDBAHNSTRASSE 46	LOVE-STORY-BAR
1020	REMBRANDTSTRASSE 17/Top 1+2	STUDIO6HEXEN
1020	AUSSTELLUNGSSTRASSE 15	CAFE SUSI BAR
1020	AUSSTELLUNGSSTRASSE 9	MARION S BAR
1020	LASSALLESTRASSE 28A	STUDIO CLAUDIA
1020	LASSALLESTRASSE 28B	STUDIO LUNA