

Feminist Claims vs. Administrative Reality
Situating Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning within the Academic Discourse
A Case Study of Vienna, Austria



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Abstract

Until recently Western-European cities were mainly influenced by and transformed through the decisions-making processes of white, upper-middle class men, resulting in urban spaces based on “male agency, needs and interests” (Kabeer & Subrahmanian, 1999: 23). However with more and more women entering the scene especially from the 80s onward, some municipalities tended to shift their focus towards the spatial incorporation of overlooked or inadequately represented groups and mostly starting with women (Greed, 1994). First mentioned in the mid 80s, the instrument of Gender Mainstreaming (GM) seems to provide a promising tool to take a gender dimension in policy making into account. To carry out GM, two approaches are frequently mentioned in the literature: the *integrationist* approach and the *transformative* approach. Whereas the former 'adds' gender sensitivity to existing policies, laws, instruments and methods, the latter aims to transform entire systems but is often perceived as too radical to be applied by public institutions (Kabeer & Subrahmanian, 1999). The presented work therefore aims to situate current GM practices within the discourse exemplified by the case of urban planning in the city of Vienna, Austria. I will discuss the theoretical and practical implications of both approaches with regard to gender equality. Furthermore, it is argued that *integrationist* and *transformative* policies are not mutually exclusive, rather than depending on financial, personnel, and time-resources.

Keywords: postmodern, critical feminism, gender mainstreaming, urban planning, integrationist approach, transformative approach, equality, intersectionality, social-constructivist, idiographic

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Acknowledgements

The present master thesis deals primarily with the critical examination of gender-sensitive planning. Anyhow, it comprises in many parts the workings of dominance and marginalization as well as how sometimes goodwill ends in (re-) producing those mechanisms. Before this thesis I would not have considered myself as a feminist. However after, I found many explanations and thrilling controversies for many of my experiences as a women – leading to calling myself an urban feminist. Both tasks, making sense of my research and staying reflexive, demanded half a year filled with investigations, analysing and pondering, often accompanied by frustrating but revealing moments. One is for sure, the present thesis would not be as it is today without the help of the many people I talked to or listened to me sometimes unwittingly sparking new thoughts, giving me advise, encouraged me to continue, critically discussed with me or proofread the final work. First of all, I want to thank Tatiana Debroux at ULB and VUB, for volunteering to be my thesis advisor when I changed topics last minute and nobody else was interested in my thematic field. Her endless patience and kindness guided me through the process of my thesis, keeping me motivated and engaged. I would also like to express my gratitude to my co-supervisor, Valérie De Craene, for providing her precious time and energy, constantly revising the content of my work and, maybe even more important: for being there in worried moments. The suggestions she made and especially her ability to structure and shed light on my puzzleheaded thoughts steered me in the right direction, while allowing this thesis to be my own work. Furthermore, I could not have gained as many insights and knowledge without the many outstanding women and men I was able to interview. Thank you Sonja Gruber, Udo Häberlin, Kurt Hofstetter, Elisabeth Irschik, Eva Kail, Michaela Kauer, Jutta Kleedorfer, Renate Kraft and Claudia Prinz-Brandenburg for making time for me. Listening to your personal experiences related to your passionate dedication in your professions, made this thesis as it is today and motivated me to continue on my path. Additionally, many scholars and researcher answered my e-mails when I asked for suitable literature, while some even took the time to answer my questions via phone. Finally, I must express my very profound gratitude to my family and friends, who supported me, constantly giving me the feeling of being on the right track and place, especially in those moments when I felt doubtful, hesitating or simply lost throughout the last seven years.

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List of Abbreviations

EIGE	European Institute for Gender Equality
EU	European Union
GIA	Gender Impact Assessment
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
MA	Ger. Magistrat (Municipal Department)
MD-BD	Ger. Magistratsdirektion Geschäftsbereich Bauten & Technik (Executive Group for Construction and Technology)
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States

Glossary

Androcentrism	See <i>Malestream</i>
Critical Men Studies	Critical Men Studies is an interdisciplinary field, which is concerned with the workings of masculinity, gender, culture, politics, sexuality or in broader terms what it means to be a man. It can also be understood as a complementary discipline to critical feminism. (Kastein, 2019)
Dominance ≠ Marginalization	Dominance and marginalization are understood as the sum of social phenomena producing in- or exclusion along socially constructed categories – i.e. it is more accepted if men are heterosexual, whereas they might face discrimination and exclusion if they are homosexual, transgender, asexual etc. (Nohr & Veth, 2002; Rosenstreich, 2002)
Gender Equality	Equality is an abstract concept. For the purpose of this work it is understood as the outcome of harmonizing or balancing in- and exclusion. Equality would be reached if gender would not be a variable determining opportunities.
Essentialism, “essentialising”	Rooting in philosophy, the concept assumes that there is an essence in every human finally, determining the person's characteristics. Essentialist feminists for instance argue that there is a natural gender difference, which is universal and persistent over time. Such ideas reconcile itself in earlier feminist movements, so that post-modern feminists often label essentialism as “conservative”. (Fraser & Nicholson, 1989)
First Wave Feminism (see also <i>Suffragettes</i>)	Taking place during the late 19th and early 20th century throughout the Western world, women riding the first wave feminism, mainly focused on legal issues, such as the right to vote or participation in education. (Greed, 1994)
Gender Mainstreaming, gender-sensitive, gender-aware	Gender Mainstreaming comprises two terms: gender, which acknowledges the difference between biological sex vs. socially constructed identity based on socialization, as well as mainstreaming, which points to the fact that this recognition should find its way into all stages of policy making and organizational structures. (European Institut for Gender Equality, 2020)
Intersectionality	Intersectionality is a more recent concept of post-modern feminists, referring to the issue that there is not only

inequality between gender but also within, and based on the interplay of other variables – i.e. race, ethnicity, appearance, migration background, education, class, age and so back and so forth.

(Crenshaw, 1989)

Malestream

The term *malestream* was first mentioned in the 80s and reflects upon the issue that most societal spheres are dominated by men or arranged in a way that the living- and value systems oriented towards men are kept alive. Phrases such as “Are men measure of all things?” or Beauvoir's famous book “The other sex” help to understand the concept. Especially feminists criticize the implications, since they fear that women (and other marginalized groups) would apply typically “male” characteristics/live-styles in order to get recognized. The concept bears the consequence that the prevalent system keeps itself alive, (re-)producing social inequality.

(Bailey, LaFrance & Dovidio, 2019; Clisby, 2005)

Postmodernism

It is a period cutting oneself off from modernism, being originated in the 80s and 90s and rejecting “grand narratives, including those of religion, the concept of progress and of history itself.” (p. 2). In doing so postmodernists reject universalizing theories, practices and methods, aiming for differentiation and deconstruction. In sociology, the concept of intersectionality or queer theory could be mentioned as an example.

(Gibson, 2017)

Queer Theory / Queer Studies

Queer theory or queer studies takes the concept of intersectionality even further, by decoupling sex and gender to its fullest. Originating in Beauvoir's famous sentence “One is not born, rather becomes, a woman”, it reflects upon the origins of power (imbalances). It assumes that through performative actions (i.e. acting “girly”) one becomes its sex and all the characteristics that society project on it. One of the forerunners in this respect was Butler and Foucault.

(Butler, 1991; 2004)

Second Wave Feminism

Originated in the 60s movements up until the late 80s, second wave feminism included a wider range of issues, such as family, reproductive rights (also with the contraception pill being accessible from 1974 onward), structural inequalities, domestic violence, women's shelters, divorce law etc.. In critiquing the patriarchal or male-dominated world, its institutions and mechanisms of exclusion, they aimed for the legal and official recognition

of women apart from the stereotype of mother or housewife.

(Greed, 1994)

Spatial Planning / Urban Planning

Urban Planning is technical and political at the same time, while being concerned with designing, land-use planning, and the built environment as such, taking all infrastructures (i.e. water, transport, communication etc.) into account.

(McGill School of Urban Planning, n.d.)

Spatial Turn

The spatial turn in the 80s indicates a paradigm shift in the discipline of urban planning or social science in general. It understands space not only as a containment of visionary concepts, rather than the critical examination of sociological, cultural, anthropological and psychological issues related to space.

(Withers, 2009)

Stipulated/ Obligatory Construction Standards

Stipulated construction standards are legal building norms that lay the foundation of urban planning in the first place. In those building heights or widths of pathways for instance are normed and must be implemented for each spatial intervention.

Suburbanization

Suburbanization is a period especially in the 50s and 60s in the Western world, where family and people who could afford it would flee the cities which were considered as noisy, polluted and overcrowded.

(Schnore & Klaff, 1972)

Suffragettes

The Suffragettes are one of the first organized women movements, originating in the UK. They demonstrated primary for the right to vote.

(Greed, 1994)

1. Introduction

“They [male planners] did not deliberately set out to exclude women. They just did not think about them. They did not think to consider if women's needs might be different. And so this data gap was a result of not involving women in planning.” (Perez, 2019: 32)

The quote by Perez (2019) recognizes the cause for gender-blind urban planning, illustrated by the issue of mobility: scientific research suggests that women are more likely to walk or to take public transport, whereas men rely proportionally more often on motorised individual modes of transport (Beebeejaun, 2017; Fenster, 2005; Levy, 2013). Yet, in the exemplifying case of Karlskoga, Sweden, that Perez is referring to, fewer side walks and bus stops and more roads and highways got cleared from snow. In return almost two thirds of the traffic related accidents and injuries during winter, taking all modes of mobility into account, were attributable to women (ibid.). For European urban planning interventions it can be expected that urban planners do not consciously want to discriminate against women, but that problems like the one above are due to the absence of awareness of gender-specific issues in urban planning as well as the lack of gender-disaggregated data (Damyanovic & Zibell, 2019).

In the 1980s and 1990s this should have been altered once and for all through the introduction of the new instrument of gender mainstreaming (GM) at the United Nations (UN) World Conference on Women (Baden & Goetz, 1997). Stemming from feminists interested in governmental practices and with the objective to target gender inequality, gender mainstreaming can be defined as following:

“a strategy towards realising gender equality. It involves the integration of a gender perspective into the preparation, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies, regulatory measures and spending programmes, with a view to promoting equality between women and men, and combating discrimination.” (European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), 2020)

All European member states signed a statement to combat gender inequality through the application of gender mainstreaming mechanisms in the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 (ibid.). Accordingly, all public institutions have to justify their policies and programs at all political levels and in light of the question 'who will benefit from them and who not?'. In feminist literature this approach is referred to as the *integrationist* approach, indicating that

differentiated needs should be observed and formally included into an existing legal framework (Beveridge & Nott, 2002; Daly, 2005; Elson, 1992; Kabeer & Subrahmanian, 1999). Opposing, some scholars in the field of governmental feminism recognize the conflictual potential of such an approach. First of all, they demand organizational, methodological and political change rather than getting 'annexed' to prevalent frameworks which are identified as being rooted in patriarchy (Bailey, LaFrance & Dovidio, 2019; Clisby, 2005; Davids, Van Driel & Parren, 2014; Halley, 2008; Jahan, 1995; Moser & Moser, 2005; Nohr & Veth, 2002; Peng, 2015; Rosenstreich, 2002; Smart, 2002; Von Braunmühl, 2002; Zalewski, 2010). Secondly, criticism especially arose from feminists of colour, noting that the operationalization of GM in *integrationist* approaches often leads to universalizing women's needs (Baden & Goetz, 1997; Beebeejaun, 2017; Crenshaw, 1989; Hagemann-White, 2012; Rosenstreich, 2002). For instance, retrieving statistical data according to gender and monitoring equality along variables, such as women in senior or CEO positions, are identified as the Western, heteronormative, white and upper-middle class norm (ibid.; European Institute for Gender Equality, 2016). Hence, the theoretical concept of intersectionality, often applied in academia to explain the interaction of multiple variables producing multilayered mechanisms of exclusion (i.e. gender, ethnicity, religion, political beliefs, abilities, sexual orientation etc.), would not be sufficiently taken into account (ibid.). Those two main critiques lay the foundation for demanding a radical transformation – the so called *transformative* approach – where public institutions and their workings (i.e. methods, laws, regulations, policies) are scrutinized in order to achieve gender equality in a more holistically manner.

Going hand in hand, the following work therefore contributes to two essential issues. First, where can GM in urban planning in Vienna, Austria be located within the broader discourse on governance feminism? To which degree is the theoretical concept of intersectionality recognized in GM practices in urban planning? And correspondingly, which methods are applied or could be applied in order to tackle not only inequality between genders but also within and in accordance to the needs of different lived realities? Second, which consequences do an *integrationist* or *transformative* approach, respectively, have on gender equality? And are they mutually exclusive? To answer those questions, the following paper is divided into five thematic chapters. First, the literature review will shed light on the genesis of the discipline of urban planning in order to illustrate how deeply public institutions

and institutional processes are rooted in an one-dimensional comprehension of society. Criticism and claims of feminists are outlined for each time period, finally introducing the concept of GM. The conflictual potential in goal formulation, conceptualization and methodological application of GM will be reviewed. Second, the methodology provides an overview on methods applied, such as participatory fieldwork, interviews, studying of legal documents. In the third chapter, the reader is introduced to the exemplary case of Vienna along four thematic fields: 1) objective, 2) target group, 3) approach and 4) status quo in urban planning. In the forth section the findings are discussed, to close the thesis with an outlook on practical implications and further research in the fifth chapter.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Planning History

For the purpose of this paper, the following paragraphs provide an historical overview of urban planning in Western Europe. Three different time periods are selected, indicating three critical turning-points in planning theory and practice: the beginnings of institutionalized urban planning, the post-WWII era as well as the paradigm shift in the 80s. Each section intends to shed light on the context in which planning took place. It will be outlined what was (not) planned and for whom (not). On this basis and illustrated by exemplary cases, conclusions are drawn about the objective of urban planning and its underlying ideology. Further attention is given to how urban planning was carried out and by whom.

2.1.1. The Beginnings: Industrialization & Institutionalization.

The decades before the turn from the 19th to the 20th century and the turn itself are subsumed under the term *industrialization* originating in Western Europe and developing along former medieval trading routes (O'Sullivan & Sheffrin, 1996). The industrialization period is defined as “the period of social and economic change that transformed [...] an agrarian society into an industrial society, involving the extensive re-organisation of an economy for the purpose of manufacturing” (ibid.: 472). Through new production methods

and fuelled by technological innovations such as the steam engine, working opportunities especially for unskilled labourers became available. In prospect of vacant positions and a better life, many labourers and their families moved from the countryside to industrial areas (ibid.). The urban infrastructure such as the supply of housing or drinkable water could soon not keep pace with rapid population growth and urbanization trends, resulting in aggravating living conditions:

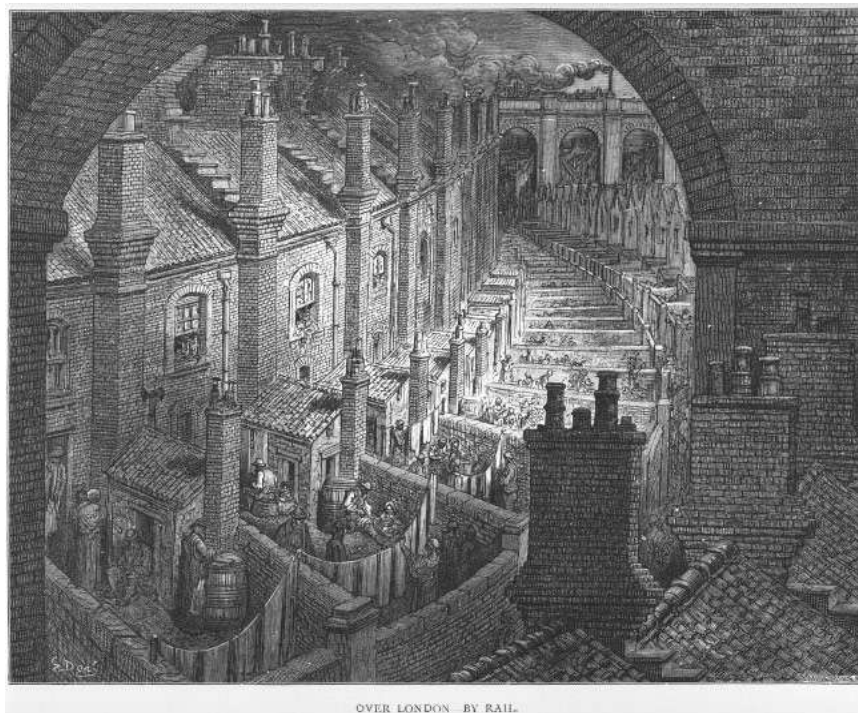


Figure 1. Over London By Rail, Gustave Dore (1872)¹

Figure 1, a drawing by Gustave Dore (1872), for instance shows a typical working-class neighbourhood of London, United Kingdom, at the end of the 19th century. Remarkable is not only the density of the tenements and its overpopulation within, but beyond the close proximity to factories and work-sites, resulting all together in an unhygienic and polluted environment. As social and health conditions became worse, dissatisfaction and unrest started to erupt. In order to combat the latter, urban authorities or people in power, respectively, had to react and consulted engineers and architects to modernize cities, neighbourhoods, housing blocks and public spaces. The most prominent modernization example is the Parisian so called *Haussmannization*, where medieval, dense and unsanitary workers' settlements had to give way to wide boulevards, a sewer system, large scale apartment blocks, instalment of

¹ Source: <https://www.sciencephoto.com/media/958072/view/over-london-by-rail-1872>

lights and tram tracks (Paccoud, 2016). For this technical knowledge on structural engineering calculations and construction material was needed that got translated into building plans, land-use zones (i.e. housing, industry, streets) and technical criteria (McDougall, 1979). One could argue that the discipline of urban planning has been born. Those developments also fit in the broader *zeitgeist*, where the belief in god-given systems was replaced by the belief in technology and rationality (Weber, 2002). According to Weber (2002), verifiable rules and clear legal frameworks (i.e. land-use plans) allow for efficient institutional processes and are comprehensible to everyone, can be rationally contested while facilitating social interactions. Nevertheless and less optimistic, Harvey (1973) argues that institutionalized urban planning was by no means a concession to equalize opportunities for less privileged people, let alone an act of welfare resource allocation. According to him, it was a way to keep turmoil at a minimum, public institutions highly functional and the economy running (ibid.). Castells (1977) agrees with Harvey's (1973) hypothesis by acknowledging that urban planning, as a response to social conflict, unrest or strike, should rather be seen in light of protecting the workings of capitalism, instead of dissolving class struggle stemming from it.

Simultaneously, another social movement sparked, starting in the United Kingdom (UK) (Greed, 1994). The 'first' political women's movement began to organize itself as a reaction to the *Contagious Diseases Acts* passed in England and legally adopted at the end of the 19th century (ibid.). Since syphilis spread rapidly especially in urban areas, the law allowed for compulsory gynaecological examinations of women and prostitutes (ibid.). However, the scope of this movement and underlying assumptions uncovers more than gynaecological examinations: it reveals the image and stigma on women living in cities, depicting them as “polluters of mankind” who need to be chastised (ibid.: 90). Moreover, although many women were involved in industrial activities, the labour market was segregated: whereas some women worked in textile industries, the largest employment category for women was the one of domestic services (i.e. as servants for the new born bourgeoisie) (ibid.). Having no rights or protection, women were often confronted with the arbitrariness of their employer and law enforcement (ibid.). Hence, the *suffragettes* were born demanding the constitutional right to vote (ibid.). The movement spread fast over Western Europe and will later be referred to as the first wave feminist (ibid.).

2.1.2. The Post War II City, Economic Restructuring & Criticism of Jane Jacobs.

Different to earlier urban planning attempts, post World War II planning was less concerned with slum clearances or sanitary measures, rather than reconstructing bombed cities and rebuilding whole urban areas from scratch (Healey & Williams, 1993). In this term the forced 'reset' was understood as an opportunity to apply new spatial concepts and visions, carried by the idea of modernization, technological innovation and economic recovery (Harlander, 1998). What is meant by this can be illustrated by the exemplary case of *Unité d'habitation* in Marseille, France (see Figure 2):



Figure 2. *Unité d'habitation* in Marseille, France²

The general idea was to construct a decentralized neighbourhood within a single building, meaning that all basic needs of the residents should be accommodated within walking distance: public services, grocery stores, housing, public transport, underground urban

2 Source:
https://c.pxhere.com/photos/a8/f9/architecture_marseille_cit_lecorbusier_b_timent_marseilles_radieuse_bouchesdurhone-425362.jpg

highways and leisure activities were all incorporated into the spatial layout of *Unité d'habitation*. In this, a clear shift in the objective of the planning professions can be recognized: from the technical and engineering application in the late 19th and early 20th century, towards an aspatial, politically inspired and visionary discussion on how society should/would be organized, live, work and consume in the future. Simultaneously and as the economy slowly stabilized, suburbanization trends started to unfold, where middle-class citizens fled the cities since they were considered as polluted, noisy and expensive (i.e. land or rent prices), while space requirements arose following an increase in material possessions (Schnore & Klaff, 1972). Through enhanced manufacturing processes (i.e. standardization) and changing consumption patterns, cars became the primary mode of transport and multiple highways were constructed, even if only for working men.

In Jane Jacobs famous work *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, she criticizes the above mentioned spatial trends. She argues that modernist planning theories and application would lead to monotonous, unsafe and characterless neighbourhoods, while focusing on motorised transport and economic growth only. Greed (1994) additionally recognizes that suburbanization trends lead to the isolation of women, who would stay at home, taking care of family and home whereas men are perceived as economically independent in their role as 'breadwinners'. According to the author, the dichotomy of public/men vs. private/women was sealed (ibid.).

Extending first wave feminist claims and in line with the aforementioned issues, feminist philosopher Simone de Beauvoir (1951) recognizes not only legal or direct forms of exclusion, rather than economic and social forces to explain inequality between men and women. In her famous work *The Second Sex* she recognizes the causes and consequences of women's inferiority for instance through the fact that women do not earn as much as men and are therefore dependent on their husband's beneficence. Furthermore, she acknowledges that women are historically often reduced to their reproductive role and to keep patrimony intact (ibid.). According to Beauvoir (1951) women can only free themselves from their subordinate role if they are capable of gaining economic independence, participation and reproductive rights.

2.1.3. Late 60s, 70s, 80s: The Spatial Turn & Women Entering the Scene.

Three broader issues should have become obvious through the previous chapters: First, urban planning was mainly concerned with the proper functioning of economy, while the discipline got more and more institutionalized through zoning plans and technical criteria, respectively, in the beginning and later onward through strategic and standardized planning. Second, that the associate professions (i.e. engineers, architects, politicians) were mainly occupied by men drafting programs, policies and objectives through their individual reality (Kabeer & Subrahmanian, 1999). Third, that women were excluded from influential positions, by muzzling, not recognizing them legally or by displaying them as misfits or housewives. Nevertheless, all three issues will become altered through multifaceted historical momentums and political movements starting in the 60s.

In general, the megalomaniac planning in the period of post World War II euphoria turned out to be a dead end, where the criticism of Jane Jacobs (1961) was vindicated. The monotonous and standardized large-scale building blocks and neighbourhoods might have provided their inhabitants with all basic consumption supplies, but tended to oversee the importance of the feeling of belonging, let alone comfort or sense of safety (Jacobs, 1961). Additionally, Greed (1994) recognizes that formally compartmentalized districts (i.e. through zoning into central business district, working-class district, suburban area etc.) led to homogeneous, hence segregated neighbourhoods, where social unrest was preprogrammed along racial, ethnic and socio-economic characteristics. Preceded by the general *zeitgeist* of revolution, embodied through the civil rights movement in the US, the opposition to the involvement in the Vietnam war or principally rejecting the consumerist lifestyle of the 50s, democratic and leftist values, ideas, theories and concepts were on the rise. The so called *spatial turn* in the 80s goes hand in hand with the aforementioned societal changes, where the paradigm in urban planning shifted away from the visionary application of megalomaniac masterminds, towards the critical examination of sociological, cultural, anthropological and psychological issues related to space (Withers, 2009). Forerunner Henri Lefebvre for instance, in his famous work of *Le Droit à la Ville* (Eng. Right to the City) (1968), argues that increasing commodification and organizing cities along economic forces and consumption patterns, respectively, detached people from their spatial surrounding where spatial inequalities and diminished social interaction become normalized. Accordingly, the author

proclaims the right to the city, where not only urban planners but all (non-) citizens should have the possibility to influence and create space (ibid.).

The aforementioned events and circulating socialist and leftist manifestos went hand in hand with second wave feminism, if not spurring them. Accordingly, many young people felt that the image of women as housewives and mothers only, serving their family and husbands, was outdated and obsolete (Greed, 1994). The activists' core issues were therefore not only reproductive rights, family and sexuality, but also included a harsh criticism towards the patriarchal, male-dominated/-centred organization of institutions, practices and society as whole. Claims such as equal opportunities in labour market participation, education and proportionality in laws, policies and public programs were at the forefront of their claims (ibid.). Those movements fuelled the aforementioned paradigm shift in urban planning, where for the first time female planners, of whom many were feminists, aimed to incorporate social dynamics and a more differentiated picture into space (Greed, 1994). Dolores Hayden's (1980) *What would a Non-Sexist City Be Like* is one of the most prominent examples of the latter. An excerpt of her work reveals content, critical undertone, objective and broader *zeitgeist* of the late 70s and early 80s:

“The problem is paradoxical: women cannot improve their status in the home unless their overall economic position in society is altered; women cannot improve their status in the paid labor force unless their domestic responsibilities are altered. Therefore, a program to achieve economic and environmental justice for women requires, by definition, a solution which overcomes the traditional divisions between the household and the market economy, the private dwelling and the workplace. One must transform the economic situation of the traditional homemaker whose skilled labor has been unpaid, but economically and socially necessary to society; one must also transform the domestic situation of the employed woman. If architects and urban designers were to recognize all employed women and their families as a constituency for new approaches to planning and design and were to reject all previous assumptions about “woman's place” in the home, what could we do? Is it possible to build non-sexist neighborhoods and design non-sexist cities? What would they be?” (p. 176)

Different attempts of conceptualizing a non-sexist city can be retrieved from the same paper, where the unifying goal was to transform the domestic situation in order to facilitate home- and care-work for women (ibid.). Exemplary measures in the layouts take collective spaces, day-care centres and after-school activities, nearby grocery shops and gardens into account

(ibid.; see Figure 3):

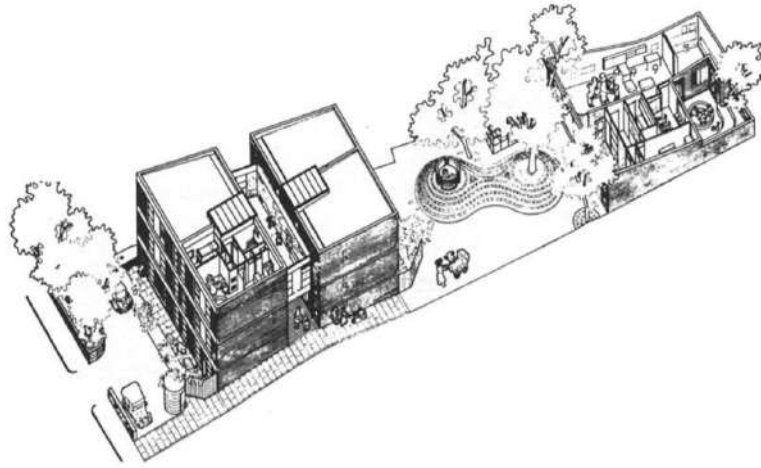


Figure 3. Exemplary Layout of a Non-Sexist Building Complex According to Dolores Hayden³

Accompanied by the political message to transform the sexual division of (un-) paid labour, the privatization of care duties, women are asked to revolutionize “the spatial separation of homes and workplace in the built environment if they are to be equal members of society” (ibid.: 187). At the same time and in line with demands by Beauvoir (1951), urban authorities installed publicly funded women shelters, allowing women to live independently, while the introduction of the contraception pill revolutionized women's freedom and enhanced their reproductive rights (Greed, 1994).

2.2. The Turn of the Century & Today: Introducing Gender Mainstreaming

On a political level, the term GM was first mentioned at the UN Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi, Kenya in 1985 and got formally discussed ten years later at the fourth conference in Beijing, China (Baden & Goetz, 1997). Although feminist movements throughout Europe had been active for several decades, demanding that women should be an integral part of various social spheres (i.e. labour market integration or political participation), institutional anchoring was still weak. Summarizing, Kabeer and Subrahmanian (1999) note that “men were [still] identified as the key economic agents and hence the focus of mainstream development policies while women were brought in primarily

³ Source: Hayden, D. (1980) p. 180

under welfare efforts as mothers, wives and dependants.” (p. 22). Moreover, only since the mid 1990s, the fundamental right to equality between men and women and that it is unconstitutional to discriminate based on gender, ethnicity, race, language, origin, ability, religious or political conviction, was legally adopted - for instance 1994 in Germany (GG, Art. 3) or in 2000 by the European Union's (EU) Charter of Fundamental Rights (EIGE, 2016). The perceived failure of still not being able to influence governance policies holistically, nor having a constitutional support was therefore the take-off of the Forth World Conference on Women in Beijin, China (Baden & Goetz, 1997). At this conference, gender mainstreaming was discussed as a promising policy instrument to finally achieve the latter. Public institutions could be pressured significantly to take gender-issues, and consequently gender equality, at all stages of policy-making and programming into account (ibid.). In the following the instrument will be briefly outlined, as well as its content-related origin.

The concept of gender acknowledges the difference between biological sex and socially constructed roles and identities according to prevalent norms, culture and values (Butler, 2004). Butler (2004) argues that those norms and values “operate[s] within social practices as the implicit standard of normalization” and “usually remain implicit, difficult to read, discernible most clearly and dramatically in the effects that they produce” (p. 41). In simplistic terms social norms could be translated into 'unspoken behavioural rules', structuring and organizing societies according to what is perceived as normal (ibid.). Are those rules violated and people do not behave accordingly, they most probably face punishment, for instance through shaming or social exclusion (ibid.). In most Western societies it is for instance perceived as normal when boys like to play football, whereas the same boy might be confronted with bullying, exclusion and discrimination if he would like to dance ballet (Alderson, 2011). According to Butler (2004) gender is “the mechanism by which notions of masculine and feminine are produced and naturalized”, ultimately equipping different genders with different opportunities and potentials in live (p. 42). In this term, gender as a socially (re-) produced category, becomes a mechanism to in- or exclude certain people from certain social spheres based on social values and norms.

Thus, the term mainstreaming is geared towards the formal adaption and recognition of gender-mechanisms. Furthermore, it presupposes the comprehension that policy discourses and outcomes affect people differently, certainly not equally (Beveridge & Nott, 2002; Kabeer & Subrahmanian, 1999; Zalewski, 2010). Planning public transport only at around 9

a.m. and 5 p.m. for instance, often disadvantages people with care-duties (Greed, 2011; Levy, 2013; Perez, 2019). Thus, GM as a political tool and instrument, aims to unveil inequalities in the first place. To do so, multiple strategies are applied mainly through the instalment of gender experts or a statutory percentage of women in public institutions (Daly, 2005; Verloo, 2000). However, Daly (2005) and Verloo (2000) recognize that those alterations are not necessarily proceeded by gender-sensitive policy interventions, let alone gender equality. According to the authors, they rather resemble smaller improvements instead of institutional change. Therefore engaged scholars and practitioners in the field of governance demand gender-disaggregated data, in order to monitor equality in numerical facts (ibid.; European Institute for Gender Equality, 2016). The hope is that measuring the discrepancies between women and men and with regard to various social spheres (i.e. such as (un-) paid employment, education, access to resources), supports the demonstration of lived realities of men and women, building the foundation for subsequent interventions (ibid.). In this respect, GM was introduced to “promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective [...] in monitoring and evaluation of all policies and programs” (United Nations, 1995: 134). For the first time, inequality and marginalization would no longer be a fuzzy concept, but numerically measurable, making the discrepancies between genders unmissable (Baden & Goetz, 1997; Daly, 2005; Verloo, 2000). Yet, the following paragraphs will focus on potential shortcomings of a numeric approach in GM in order to illustrate the discrepancies between gender theory and practice.

2.2.1. Pitfalls of Gender Mainstreaming in its Objective and Operationalization.

Although the concept and application of GM seems to be a promising policy instrument, critical voices were already raised at the conference, particularly on part of feminists of colour and Marxist feminists (Baden & Goetz, 1997.). The latter argue that gender-equality-indices, which for instance include data on financial resources, tertiary education, share of ministers in parliaments or career prospects, are inherently gendered (EIGE, 2019; ibid.). According to them equality is achieved when women 'caught up' with men by being equipped with the same financial resources and professions (Clisby, 2005). Additionally, feminists of colour criticized that the operationalization of GM is often based on a Western perception of the world. In their opinion, the division between public and

private for instance might be detectable in Western and capitalists cultures, but does not necessarily apply to Southern countries, cultures and lifestyles (ibid.). In this respect they acknowledge that the application of gender-disaggregated data would automatically universalize women and men (ibid.). It would reduce the complexities of multifold experiences and lived realities to numeric, yet simplistic facts, and above all orient itself to Western norms and upper middle-class values (exemplary illustrated by the EIGE indices; Levy, 2013; Rosenstreich, 2002). Consequently, prevalent norms and domination would be reproduced. Scientific research for instance suggests that 63% of the children between the age of four and ten playing in public spaces by themselves are boys (City of Vienna, 2020). The report consequently advises to provide formats to reinforce autonomous playing for girls (ibid.). However, it is assumed that the norm is to move unaccompanied and that girls need to do so, too. Implicitly everyone who does not (or does not want to) comply with this norm due to their cultural or religious background, for instance, are left out of the intervention. Summarizing, Clisby (2005) recognizes that GM a) predominantly universalizes gendered experiences through quantitative data-gathering and b) reinforces the continuation of dominating norms through its indices (ibid.). In line with Beauvoir's theory of 'annexing' gender (1951), she introduces the term of *malestreaming*, where male norms and values are carried onwards to keep domination and marginalization at place (ibid.).

How conflictual the formulation of objectives and applied methods in GM are, became obvious through the discrepancies outlined above. Nevertheless, most feminist scholars and practitioners recognize that neither the identification of homogenous categories along the binary understanding of gender (men/women), nor the dominance of white, heterosexual, Christian, not mobility impaired and upper-middle class norms should build the foundation for GM policies (ibid.; Nohr & Veth, 2002; Rosenstreich, 2002). Hence, to add complexity and understand intertwined variables leading to inequality, the theoretical concept of intersectionality was introduced in the late 20th century (Crenshaw, 1989). Its aim is to broaden the fixation to the universal categories of men and women, recognizing that "gender is a category within every class, race, culture; but so too are class, race, culture categories within gender" (Vaious, 1992: 248). The interplay of individual characteristics, such as gender, age, sexuality, race, class, religion, ability, appearance, create unique identities, thus unique patterns of power, in- or exclusion (International Women's Development Agency, 2018). Coming back to urban planning, this can be exemplified by the comparison of two concrete

travel patterns. A qualitative study by Scambor, Scambor and Zimmer (2012) found that a housewife with a migration background visits approximately six different places per day and mainly by foot, whereas an employed women at the same age and without a migration background, travels between work and home and mainly by car. Vaiou (1992) therefore argues that a revision of current operating theories, concepts, methods and their political application are needed in order to satisfy differentiated (spatial) demands and needs (*ibid.*). Accordingly, in urban planning it is often advocated for qualitative methods displaying everyday routines, instead of relying on numeric facts only (Beebeejaun, 2016; Hagemann-White, 2012; Levy, 2013; Scambor et al., 2012). Actively engaging in a community, doing collaborative city walks or setting up deliberative and participatory formats are just a few potential tools to achieve that goal (*ibid.*).

However, some scholars reason that the application of intersectionality and its methods in policy practices might be too lengthy, costly, but principally ambiguous and de-politicising (Baden & Goetz, 1997). By narrowing down to individual experiences and everyday routines, simultaneously losing sight of systematic patterns of exclusion along reoccurring variables, politics would remain incapable of acting (*ibid.*). Returning to the example given by Scambor et al. (2012), those practitioners would question which political instruction would be left after looking into two totally contrary travel patterns: should urban planning redesign pathways so that the pedestrian could walk safely, or should streets be rebuilt in order to facilitate the car-driving women's live? How could GM practitioners take all different and often contradictory demands and needs into consideration, especially when public resources are scarce? Thus, universalizing gendered experiences, would at least enable politics to formulate a clear agenda, clear measures and thus unambiguous tasks (Baden & Goetz, 1997).

Fraser and Nicholson (1989) summarize the depicted dilemma as follows: "A postmodernist reflection on feminist theory reveals disabling vestiges of essentialism, while a feminist reflection on postmodernism reveals androcentrism and political naivete." (p. 84). Or in simplistic terms: What remains of a feminist political agenda, if GM is neither allowed to advocate for homogenous needs, nor able to react to diversified and often conflicting demands?

2.2.2. Public Institutions & Gender Mainstreaming.

The paragraph above deals with the controversial potential already found in the formulation of objectives in GM (i.e. how is equality defined) and their operationalization (i.e. which framework would be needed to measure/achieve equality). Noting that GM was introduced as a policy instrument to implement and monitor gender equality more formally, it is of interest to question whether public institutions and especially their legal functioning and procedures are a suitable places to implement feminist agendas. In general, two approaches to engender policy agendas and public institutions are frequently mentioned by scholars: the *integrationist* approach versus the *transformative* approach (Beveridge & Nott, 2002; Daly, 2005; Elson, 1992; Jahan, 1995; Kabeer & Subrahmanian, 1999):

	(1) <i>Integrationist</i> approach	(2) <i>Transformative</i> approach
Definition	“is concerned with highlighting the gender dimension within the current policy preoccupations” (Kabeer & Subrahmanian, 1999: 23)	“rethinking of institutional rules, priorities and goals and substantial redistribution of resources” (Kabeer & Subrahmanian, 1999: 24)
Approach	bureaucratic, keeping the current system at place and 'adding' gender, top-down	changing existing rules, laws & methods, radical, bottom-up
Method	gender-disaggregated data gathering, establishment of gender-equality-indices, instalment of gender experts	participatory, focus on lived realities, deliberation, everyday routines
Advantage	efficient, straightforward, produces clear instructions	overthinks and changes mechanisms producing inequality in the first place
Disadvantage	universalizing experiences and thus not taking intersecting variables into account, too simplistic	Lengthy, costly, ambiguous, conflictual, depoliticising

Table 1. *Integrationist* and *Transformative* Approach in GM (Source: Author)

The *integrationist* approach is in many parts similar to claims raised by second wave feminism in line with Hayden (1980) or Beauvoir (1951). By criticising that men are identified as key economic agents and therefore targeted by policy interventions, scholars and practitioners demand political participation and legal integration in order to counterweight

gendered segregation and stigmatization (Kabeer & Subrahmanian, 1999). As a result, GM is an instrument to include the gender dimension formally into official policy making, governance, instruments, strategies and implementation (ibid.). Gender experts are installed in administrative departments, applying methods such as data-gathering and -monitoring (Beverdige & Nott, 2002). Accordingly, bureaucratic routines change towards the emphasis of gender in current policy preoccupations (Kabeer & Subrahmanian, 1999).

However and as demonstrated in the historical overview of urban planning, most public institutions originated from the objective of facilitating bureaucratic routines, a smooth functioning of the economy, while keeping social unrest at minimum. In excluding marginalized groups (i.e. women or people without citizenship), men organized politics, institutions, priorities, agendas, tactics, instruments, objectives around “male agency, needs and interests” (Kabeer & Subrahmanian, 1999: 23). Therefore many scholars see the *integrationist* approach of feminist agendas as “deeply misleading” (Zalewski, 2010: 12). Halley (2008) for instance argues that only people with a certain educational background, appearance, skin colour and sexuality are 'invited' to carry out GM in an institutional setting. According to the author, GM practitioners are expected to be more knowledgeable experts than those who are at the heart of the policy intervention (ibid.). In line with Halley (2008), von Braunmühl (2002) therefore indicates that if GM orients itself towards the mainstream from policy design to actual implementation, certain women (and men) will once again be excluded. In line with the chapter above, this phenomenon is often referred to as *malestreaming* or *androcentrism*, describing a situation or phenomenon where the established male norm is at centre of all social spheres (Bailey, LaFrance & Dovidio, 2019; Clisby, 2005). Only people acting according to this norm are able to influence existing structures and rules. The following picture (Figure 4) illustrates the concerns by the aforementioned scholars and can be titled in plain terms as 'are old, white women replacing old, white men?':



Figure 4. Angela Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen (Reuters)⁴

Yet, taking feminist claims of structural transformation and change serious, would demand reviewing mainstream practices, simultaneously providing new methods and *modi operandi* (Beveridge & Nott, 2002). Like this, gender mainstreaming would not only “resemble [...] a mode of delivery [rather than] a policy agenda or program in its own right” (Daly, 2005: 436).

2.2.3. Gender Mainstreaming Equals Gender Equality?

Even though an exhaustive body of literature exists with regard to feminist criticism on the objectives, approach and institutional anchoring of GM, little research has investigated the actual potential of the instrument to reach gender equality (Daly, 2005; Tummers, Denèfle & Wankiewicz, 2019). Postmodern approaches of intersectionality in urban planning focus predominantly on the individual's experience, but bear the danger of depoliticising feminist struggles. On the other hand, *integrationist* approaches often have women's disadvantages at their core and might fall into the 'universalizing'- or 'essentialising-trap' (Smart, 2002). Thus, the question remains which approach might be more promising with regard to gender equality.

As EIGE (2019), some scholars evaluate policy efforts in material terms, i.e. access to land, credit or waged employment, but inherently the reference of achieving equality remains the same – heteronormative, white, male and upper-middle class norm (Clisby, 2005; Kabeer, 1999). Others see potential in longitudinal gender-disaggregated data gathering, but tend to oversee intersecting processes outlined earlier (Azcona & Bhatt, 2020). A large body of

⁴ Source: <https://www.handelsblatt.com/politik/deutschland/bundeswehr-affaere-merkel-verteidigt-von-der-leyens-vorgehen/19771214.html?ticket=ST-190194-hdMMTkzepnJJTSzZXZgF-ap6>

literature therefore suggests that “it is difficult to know the effects of gender mainstreaming on gender equality and people's lives” (Moser & Moser, 2005: 18). It remains unclear which methods in policy making and governance are most promising in reaching foundational values such as the right to freedom of choice and action, equal treatment, recognition and participation (Daly, 2005). Daly (2005) acknowledges that public institutions in general can enhance or inhibit the aforementioned values (i.e. through resource allocation). She notices:

“Answering this [in which way GM is suitable to reach gender equality] would require a social-impact analysis at the design stage of the project, and a sophisticated tracking mechanism. At a deeper level, however, is the problem of measuring the intangibles that are at the root of social change of any sort. This is the change in consciousness of women and men, the change in community norms, or the change in attitudes.” (Daly, 2005: 62)

The purpose of the presented thesis is therefore to unpack GM within its administrative structures and processes to compare feminist debates with feminist policy action. GM in urban planning in Vienna will be located on the spectrum of integration and transformation. Situating GM within the discourse allows to retrieve assumptions on in- or exclusion; hence gender equality. Special attention is given to the overarching objective, the interventions taking place within, the means (what is used to reach gender equality, what is produced) and the outcome for target groups. I was primarily interested in the following questions:

- Where can GM in urban planning in Vienna be situated within the discourse of governance feminism? Which implications on gender equality can be drawn from the *integrationist* and the *transformative* approach?
- Which outcome does one or the other have on in- or exclusion with respect to the final users of space?
- Which discourses are applied in order to support GM policies within the administration? Which constraints and challenges are practitioners facing to carry out GM policies?

3. Methodology

This section offers a description of, a reflection on and the rationale behind the chosen methods that were applied in order to answer the research question. In general a *triangulation* of methods was used to answer the research questions mentioned above (Flick, 2004). First, scientific and legal documents, such as strategic reports, obligatory construction standards and empirical research conducted by the municipality, lay the foundation for a comparison between objectives, target groups, administrative processes and feminist literature in general. Second, qualitative interviews were carried out in order to retrieve information about the positionality of GM in Vienna in broader feminist discourses. Third and lastly, participatory observations were realized at two GM projects to finalize the comparison between academic literature, insights from the interviews and final spatial outcome respectively implications for the users of space.

3.1. Case Rationale

As seen in the historical overview, top-down urban planning often failed and still fails to respond to differentiated demands and needs concerning public space, mobility, housing and critical infrastructure. Nevertheless, some cities, for example in the UK, Germany or Switzerland plan for various user groups (Tuggener & Zibell, 2019). In the *London Plan* for instance, a master plan for the strategic development of the metropolitan area, principles such as the city of short distances, prioritizing pedestrians and cyclists through the proximity of public and private services, should be part of each spatial intervention (Reinwald, Roberts & Kail, 2019). However it is not deliberately framed as gender planning rather than environmental protection, but for instance benefits travel patterns of people with care duties (ibid.). Opposed to the loose framing, Vienna is one of the few cases in Western Europe where gender-sensitive planning is strongly institutionalized. Due to its federal status within the country and therefore independent planning competencies, but more importantly because of decades of experience, the city takes a leading position in GM-policies and -implementation (Tuggener, Zibell & Sturm, 2019). The first significant event in the direction of the latter was certainly the exhibition *Who owns public space? – women's daily life in the city* in 1991, that attracted guests, media and academics from all over Europe (Irschik & Kail,

2016). This in turn led to the official and political recognition of women's issues in Vienna: in 1992 the *Women's Office* (MA 57; for an overview of the institutional organization, see Annex A) was established, with Eva Kail, the initiator of the event and the first head of the unit, first taking women's needs in spatial planning into account. Up until now, gender-issues in planning became more and more elaborate, content-wise as well as in the ranking of the cities administration. In 1998, the *Co-ordination Office for Planning and Construction Geared to the Requirements of Daily Life and Specific Needs of Women* was founded, coordinating and controlling 20 units cross-sectoral (ibid.). While around 60 gender-sensitive pilot projects of various dimensions were realized within a decade, operational routines in the planning fields of housing, transportation and public spaces changed (De Madariaga & Abril, 2019). Throughout this period general awareness increased, but it also embodies the peak of gender-mainstreamed pilot projects (ibid.). Due to the administrative restructuring in 2010, previous co-workers of Eva Kail were transferred to the *Department of Architecture and Urban Design* (MA 19), where they are, up until now, involved in essential decision-making processes through their position, for instance as chief executive officer in the unit for planning and urban development (MD-BD) (ibid.).

Throughout the last 30 years, 1,000 meters of road-infrastructure were given back to pedestrians or bikers, uncountable ramps were installed for prams and wheelchairs, street- and underpass-lightning has been increased or refurbished, innovative park-, mobility- and housing-layouts have been realized, not to mention various manuals, tool kits, reports and monitoring-instruments. Above all, the most recent large-scale development projects, Seestadt Aspern and Vienna's Northern Railway, are planned taking a gender-sensitive issues into account (City of Vienna, 2013; De Madariaga & Abril, 2019; Housing and Neighbourhood Design: Analyzing Gender, n.d; Irschik & Kail, 2019; Tuggener et al., 2019). As Vienna is mentioned as *the* fore-runner in progressive GM-policies, it is worth reflecting upon the genesis, operationalization, institutional anchoring, past and present challenges along with the outlook of GM in urban planning. Rich in expertise and experience, the case of Vienna offers the perfect ground for a critical discussion and differentiated analysis of objective, approach and final outcome with respect to gender equality.

Additionally, two gender-mainstreamed pilot projects were selected and investigated. The sites were chosen based on those projects that were most frequently mentioned by the interviewees as 'best practices' referring to spatial outcome, process, impact and project size:

the *Bruno-Kreisky-Park* and the *Frauen-Werk-Stadt I* (see Figure 5).

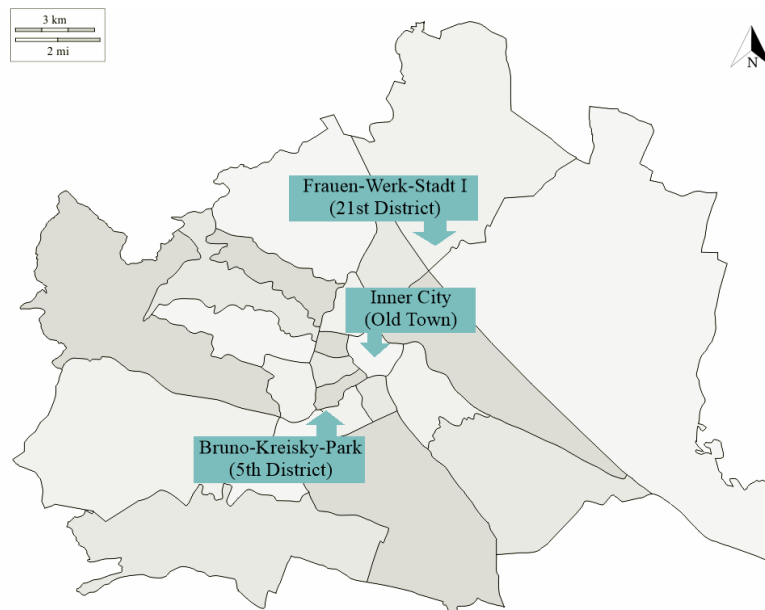


Figure 5. City of Vienna and Location of two GM Pilot Projects (Source: Author)

The *Bruno-Kreisky-Park*, located in the south-west and approximately five kilometres away from the city centre, is situated on a traffic artery, where multiple modes of transport (tram, metro, urban highway, cycling paths) meet from all cardinal points. Moreover, the quarter of Margareten (5th district) is characterized by its multicultural residents, is considered as a working-class neighbourhood, has little open or green spaces. At the same time it is densely populated. The outdated layout of the park, where most of the space was taken up by football cages, that were predominantly used by boys and young male adults, got transformed and rebuilt in 1999 (City of Vienna, n.d.b.). Football cages were replaced by a volleyball field, the layout became more open, overseeable and diverse (different types of plants, seating possibilities, play equipment etc.). A toilet was installed as well (see Figure 6 and 7):



Figure 6. Toilets in Bruno-Kreisky-Park (Source: Author)



Figure 7. Overseeable Layout of the Park with Different Plants, Trees and Bushes (Source: Author)

Additionally, the pilot project *Frauen-Werk-Stadt I* in the north-east of Vienna was investigated. Vienna's population increased in the late 90s and early 2000s and the 21st district

was one of the primary city expansion areas (City of Vienna, n.d.). On an area of 2,3 ha, one of Europe's largest housing projects tailored to women's needs and urban development projects with two kindergartens, shopping facilities, reduced-traffic areas and 357 apartments of various sizes got realized, half of them owned by the municipality (see Figure 8 and 9). Quality criteria ranged from the consideration of care and domestic work in the entire interior and exterior layout (i.e. it is possible to watch the play area from the kitchen), proximity to transportation nodes, over anxiety-free spaces, to the facilitation of neighbourly contacts and exchange points (i.e. community rooms, laundry rooms).



Figure 8. Layout Urban Development Project *Frauen-Werk-Stadt I* (Source: Author)



Figure 9. 180°-View of Housing Complexes and Reduced-Traffic Area (Source: Author)

Going to Vienna, experiencing gender-sensitive planned developments myself paved the way for a deeper understanding of visions, reported by the interviewees, compared to actual implication for the users of public space. Spending multiple hours at both sites, helped to nuance statements given by the participants or simply placing them into context. Without the participatory observation I could not have investigated, for instance, whether the spatial interventions actually benefit those who are targeted by the municipalities's efforts and who might be left out of their considerations.

3.2. Desktop Research

To gain an in-depth understanding of how GM is carried out as a method in the urban planning department of the city of Vienna, the greatest proportion of my research was dedicated to semi-structured interviews with eight interviewees. This was preceded by the study of academic literature and manuals or tool kits of completed GM projects, which provided me with a first idea of political strategy, general objectives and urbanistic approach. Legal documents, such as zoning and development plans lay the foundation for a comprehension of the organization and functioning of the administration and its official procedures. Additionally, reports or scientific research carried out by the municipality, such as *2nd Vienna Gender Equality Monitor* or *Spielen von Kindern auf Straßen und Plätzen in Wien*, proved to be an effective tool to shed light on objectives and goals, which are relevant in order to answer my research question (i.e. compare example of children playing in public space in chapter 2.2.1. and 2.2.2.). First insights into the positionality of GM in Vienna within the discourses outlined above were received. Those observations also lay the foundation for the formulation of key topics for the semi-structured interviews.

3.3. Sample

Summarizing, eight people in total were interviewed, six of them identify as female and two as male. Their age varies between 67 and 41, whereas all have at least 15 years of experience within the administration. In order to get in touch with them, I applied two different approaches, first through so called *snowball sampling* and second by *purposive sampling* (Goodman, 1961; Tongco, 2007). Thanks to my internship for the German

Association for Housing, Urban and Spatial Development in Brussels and based on their broad network of cities and stakeholders, I got into contact with the head of the liaison office of the city of Vienna to the EU, who became my first interviewee. Based on her experience within the EU institutions in Brussels and her career in different municipal resorts in Vienna, including the department for social affairs or by operating for the councillor for women issues, she resembled a well informed starting point for me. Like this I could get a first grip on the relevance of my research question, the organization and functioning of a municipality and the interview situation as such. After the interview, she referred me to one of her colleagues from the municipality of the city of Vienna, who coordinated the project *2nd Vienna Gender Equality Monitor* (City of Vienna, 2016). Since this person is not directly concerned with GM in urban planning, a self-written facts and figures document was handed over to me, where the main actors related to gender-issues in the Viennese administration are listed. Through those events, it became more easy to get in touch with informants that are relevant for my research, but who are normally difficult to access due to their highly ranked professional position or popularity in the academic environment and media. One of those people is the chief executive officer for the smart city strategies, quality assurance and urban development within the municipal department of construction and technology (organigram, see Annex A). She is not only a member in juries for urban planning competitions, but also one of the key figures initiating and establishing gender-sensitive planning in the administration of Vienna. Interviewing her allowed me to initialize a subject-specific and critical dialogue on the target-formulation, practical implementation as well as on past and present challenges of GM in urban planning in Vienna. Furthermore, by referring me to other important actors and crucial colleagues, that I then contacted and conducted interviews with, facilitated the process of gaining more differentiated knowledge about GM and its application in different municipal departments. All actors I spoke to are or were associated with GM through their professional, everyday business and tasks, either currently working on related issues in urban planning or being part of previous projects, strategic planning or researching socio-spatial dynamics on site. The person responsible for children and youth for instance contributed to the layout, programming and configuration of the *Bruno-Kreisky-Park*, whereas another informant was more involved in the strategic and gender-sensitive master planning of the newly developed neighbourhood of *Seestadt Aspern*.

The second and more proactive approach, was contacting pre-selected contributors

listed in the *Manual of Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning* (City of Vienna, 2013). Five out of eight people answered my email and with two I conducted interviews. The remaining three either assured me to be the wrong person to talk to or did not have the time to do so. Again, the benefit of this approach was conversing with people who are directly associated with GM in urban planning, providing important insights and knowledge. Through one graduate engineer in landscape architecture for instance, who was part of the department *Planning of Public Buildings* (MA 19), I could broaden my knowledge on constructions laws, obligatory standards and the more technical application of GM in urban planning. The remaining three experts were or are involved in the facilitation and implementation of general urban planning, comprising the fields of safety, public spaces and temporary use. They were of particular importance in getting a grip on the spatial implementation through a gender-lens, challenges and their personal experiences within the administration. In a nutshell, the variety within the sample, with reference to departments, rankings, perspectives and motives allowed me to examine my research question and hypothesis from various angles, finally leading to a more nuanced analysis.

3.3.1. Credibility & Transferability.

Snowball sampling as well as *purposive sampling* in qualitative research pose questions on credibility and transferability of resulting information. Credibility corresponds “with the goal of the researcher [is] to represent adequately the realities” (Baxter & Eyles, 1997: 513). Realities in this context is used as a term to portray events as accurate as possible. Even though the experts within the sample are characterised by a variety of backgrounds, interviewees often mentioned colleagues as possible informants that they know well, talked about excitedly or frequently worked with. In the literature this phenomenon is called *in-group selection bias*, where people, who share the same values, beliefs and demographic characteristics, are more likely to refer to people with the same group affiliation (Turner, Brown & Tajfel, 1979). The same pertains to the majority of the sample (see Annex B): all experts are university graduates, were more or less born in the same generation and mentioned in the interviews that they were to a certain extent part of a political movement. Thus it can be assumed that the answers given and the subsequent analysis rely on homogenous values, knowledge and beliefs by which credibility might decrease.

Nevertheless and as it will be seen in the chapter on the principles of analysis, strategies, such as triangulation of sources were applied to balance the findings and place them into context (Flick, 2004). Additionally, it has to be stated that the scope and time frame of the thesis did not allow for a prolonged exploration, the comparison to other cases or a more stratified sample, by which the final analysis could be more nuanced (Schuermans, 2013). It is therefore accepted, that no assumptions could be made whether retrieved informations on certain issues are over-represented or meaningful for another sample, which also leads to the next concern: transferability.

Transferability does not refer to 'truthfulness' of content, rather than “to the extent to which findings can be exported to contexts and situations outside the research setting” (Schuermans, 2013: 8). As already indicated above, statements made might above all mirror individual experiences and personal meaning that are bound to a certain case, subject and time frame (ibid.). Instead of achieving objective laboratory-like insights, the framework of the research is based on an **idiographic** and **social-constructivist** approach (Bahari, 2010). Hence, all results must be understood in light of cultural, historical, sociological and my individual preoccupations, allowing the presented work to be unique in its findings (ibid.).

3.4. Questionnaire

As outlined earlier, the studying of scientific and legal documents built the foundation for the content of the semi-structured interviews along thematic fields (for final questionnaire see Annex C). Each participant was asked about the general objective of GM in urban planning in Vienna, as well as the societal added value. It is important to say that most of the given answers were repetitive and dealt with vague terms such as 'equality' or 'fairness', leaving room for interpretation for both interlocutors. Therefore the participants were asked to refer to an exemplary GM project that they perceive as particularly fruitful or important. The projects they mentioned built the gateway for a nuanced discussion for instance about target group and conceptualization as well as a critical discourse with respect to the concept of intersectionality. If interviewees over-proportionally mentioned 'women' and 'girls' as main target group, for instance, the following quote was read to them: “Thus identifying homogenous groups and gender roles without the perspective of change can become role-

conforming, and lead to victimising or even stigmatising.” (Tummers et al., 2019: 84). By asking their personal opinion on this citation and in which they agree or disagree, contributed to a comparison between feminist theory and practice, but certainly must be understood against the background of each conversational participant’s individuality (see also chapter on sample and my personal influence). Furthermore, I was interested in the administrative functioning and possible pitfalls outlined earlier. Therefore the questionnaires included topics on organization routines, change and relative importance within the administration and political discourse in Vienna.

3.5. Interview Situation in Times of COVID19

In total, nine semi-structured interviews in German language were conducted between March and May, and except for two exchanges were held via video-conference (e.g. through Skype, Zoom, GoToMeeting). Each conversation took between 40 and 90 minutes. Initially, it was planned to travel to Vienna to speak to informants face-to-face while having a city-walk or visiting implemented pilot projects. However, due to the COVID19 pandemic I had to rely on digital formats. Therefore the subsequent section will explain and reflect upon the interview situation and its implications for the results.

Most important, it is challenging to build a situation of mutual trust and comfort via digital formats, in order to get access to data in general or viable and delicate insights (Lo Iacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016). However, five interviewees assured me to feel comfortable to speak in front of the camera from home and in two cases the camera did not work. Different from the latter, creating an open conversation atmosphere through video-conferencing from one living room to another was rather intuitive. On the other hand, only hearing each others voices or in one instance even colleagues working in the background, certainly influenced given answers in a way that the respondents might have felt under pressure or acted more reserved. The further the interviews proceeded the less of such strains was perceptible on both sides of the conversation. However, it was certainly challenging to keep a conversation going, especially when the WIFI connection did temporarily not work or more general, when technical glitches disrupted the exchange. Such factors would not have occurred, had I had the chance to realize walking interviews, where the informants could have explained to me on site, feeling comfortable in their expertise and knowledge about a

specific spatial implementation.

Additionally, Ratcliff (2003) argues that many cues and hints for instance about personal point of views, “real” attitudes or individual traits are communicated (non-) verbally, especially when the official part is completed. Having conducted the first interview in person, I followed the author by adding that the informal conversation right after the recording indicated how the informant personally positioned herself to the research topic in a broader discussion or context. With the video calls I sometimes felt unsure if I truly got what the informants wanted me to understand but especially in which way, while the analysis of given statements could have been richer and more nuanced by seeing the individuals reality with my own eyes (Diefenbach, 2009). The latter leads to the next sections of this paper: on-site observations and my role as a researcher.

3.6. On-site Observation

The two selected gender-mainstreamed pilot projects were visited and investigated in a time period between the 8th to the 10th of July 2020. The *Bruno-Kreisky-Park* was observed on the 8th from around 12 to 15 o'clock and at the same day in the evening between 18 and 20 o'clock. I visited the *Frauen-Werk-Stadt I* on the 10th from 12 to 15 o'clock. The following questions guided the knowledge acquisition on site: who is there at which time? How do I as a women and therefore as part of the target group perceive the space and area? How do people use the space? How do they interact with each other and the area? Can I observe quality criteria that were mentioned by the interviewees, and if so, do they work? In this I aimed to bridge theory, insights from the interviews with actual spatial implication and the final user groups. For instance when strategic documents mentioned that GM in urban planning takes differentiated needs into account, I tried to observe if this holds true on site: are there facilities for mobility impaired? Facilities for people with care duties? What kind of facilities are provided and are they really accessible for everyone (i.e. with respect to age group)? Additionally I randomly talked to by-passers and residents, asking about the composition of the neighbourhood, density, how the sites are normally used and by whom. It was helpful to do so in order to check whether my perception is similar to those people who are more frequently on site. Moreover, I mainly focused on the objectives and spatial criteria informed through the interviews and legal documents, and if the implementations were

successful in this respect. Thereby, statements that may have over- or underrated the impact of GM in urban planning were perceived into context and finally made the analysis and subsequent discussion richer.

3.6.1. My Role as an Investigator: Confirmability & Dependability.

Reflections upon my own positionality as a researcher are examined in the following. In line with the chapter on the chosen sample, Diefenbach (2009) mentions that each individual is characterized by a certain socialization, internalised norms, cultural scripts and (un-) conscious attitudes, which in return shape the way we think, reason and interact with our social environment. Therefore the interview situation was “viewed as the scene for a social interaction rather than a simple tool for [the] collection of data.” (Alvesson, 2003: 169). Through this lens, I allowed myself to conduct the interviews in a personal way, getting a richer picture of the participants’ attitudes and possible contradictions. As a young, white, German, cisgender and able woman, coming from a working class family I would not have considered myself as a feminist before delving into the issue of gender and space. However, through a concatenation of random events throughout the last year, I got more and more interested in the topic and found many answers to my personal and professional experiences as a woman. Sensing similar experiences (be it discrimination, condescending behaviour or paternalism) on the other side of the camera was thus in many instances helpful to give interviewees the chance to open up and talk freely. Furthermore and as indicated earlier, the semi-structured composition of the interviews allowed me to clarify posed questions, as well as researching *Why*, rather than *How many* or *How much* questions in greater detail (Miles & Gilbert, 2005: 66). Such questions were vital in order to understand how measures, objectives and methods of GM came into existence, as well as possible obstacles prohibiting the realization of gender-sensitive planning.

Even though suggestive questions were prevented, it needs to be mentioned that building a situation of mutual trust often comes along with having a rapport with each other (ibid.). Therefore some answers made in confidentiality, might be biased in a way of keeping the conversation alive rather than providing nuanced insights or opinions. Furthermore, in some instances it was helpful to display myself as a young and inexperienced student for instance by asking ‘I do not get it, can you maybe elaborate more on this?’. Experts were then

more eager to explain issues in-depth, which was helpful in order to get a holistic understanding of GM in urban planning in Vienna. This phenomenon is observable on both interlocutors, which leads to a short outline of confirmability and ethical concerns coming along with it. In this context, the concept relates to the issue “that qualitative researchers are expected to account for their interests and motivations by showing how they have affected interpretations” and investigation (Baxter & Eyles, 1997: 517). Due to the fact that I am still an inexperienced young researcher, I realized while reading over the transcripts (see Annex D) that the conversation was sometimes (un-) consciously steered in a certain direction, that might have prohibited the participant to give a more accurate picture of their attitude or opinion (Diefenbach, 2009). Nonetheless, by staying in a reflexive mode, for instance by keeping a research diary, asking myself why did I (not) ask this question, simultaneously scrutinising my own positionality, motivation and interest, I aimed to enhance the way questions were formulated.

In addition, investigations on site are highly dependable on all kinds of variables (i.e. time, date, season, weather). At *Frauen-Werk-Stadt I* for instance, I was uncertain because it was very quiet during the day, even though neighbourly contacts were promoted through the layout and interviewees reported that the atmosphere is in general very lively. However, a person living in one of the apartments assured me that the inner courtyard is usually crowded with bikes, children playing and parents sitting on the green spaces and that it was just too hot today for them to stay outside. This example vividly displays how dependable on-site observations can be and that more time would be needed to get a more comprehensive picture of usage, composition of residents and interaction patterns. For the purpose of this paper and through the consultations on site, photos and my individual experience, I can in any case confirm that the excursion to Vienna helped to understand contextual and structural variables. This will be especially of importance in the discussion, where the short on-site investigation was a helpful tool to nuance the findings of the analysis.

3.7. Principles of Analysis

In order to ensure an analysis and results that are based on high quality and in-depth knowledge acquisition, multiple sources were used. To analyse the interviews, guiding questions, such as *who* mentions *what* (and *what not*), *how*, *whereby* and *why* proved to be

useful (Flick, 1995). Not only to round up transcripts and reoccurring themes, but primarily to put me into the place, position and situation of the interviewed person whereby given statements were aimed to perceive in context. One interviewee for instance was more eager to talk about the technical application of GM in urban planning, leading to the indication that the person might be more concerned with practicalities and the administrative implementation of the GM in urban planning. Similar to the thematic fields of the questionnaires, each interview was summarized and clustered according to five broader subjects: objective of GM, target group, process, administrative organization and structural context/challenges. Within each theme, consensuses and discrepancies between and within the eight interviewees became noticeable. The most substantial quotes were selected and translated. Especially the latter was challenging since the interviews were held in German. Some expressions and metaphors only make sense in German with the result that I often had to talk to English natives to perceive quotes in context and in line with what my interviewees wanted me to know.

Furthermore, in order to situate GM in urban planning in Vienna within the academic discourse, the findings of the interviews and studying of legal documents were assigned according to the criteria stemming from the literature review. The content of Table 1 (chapter 2.2.2. Public Institutions & Gender Mainstreaming) provides an overview of the *integrationist* and *transformative* approach, its associated methods, objectives, advantages as well as disadvantages. When interviewees for instance reported that GM is mainly carried out to influence or change existing legal frameworks (i.e. stipulated construction standards), it is argued that an *integrationist* approach was applied. On the other hand, when the observation of everyday routines or socio-spatial analysis guided gender sensitive planning processes, it is argued that this indicates a *transformative* approach. After situating given statements and legal documents within the discourse, implications on gender equality could be drawn from there. It was assessed to which degree the instrument of GM (in the formulation of objectives, target groups, method and in aiming to influence mainstream planning) might be in- or exclusionary for certain groups.

Third and lastly, insights from my personal experience and participatory observation on site, enriched by graphic material, served as the means by which findings from the preliminary study of academic sources and interviews were verified or had to be refuted. Putting the content of the interviews continuously in context with the findings of academic

sources and in combination with analysing the material from visited pilot projects, finally led to an in-depth understanding of GM in comparison to its theoretical origin. Guiding questions, such as: 'Do I interpret certain statements or findings positively, because I personally concur or because they are valid for a wider audience?', 'What could be my inherent motive to use this quote over all the others?' or simply 'Was that really what the interviewee wanted me to understand?', additionally helped to stay in a reflexive mode throughout the whole process. This also brings me to the next paragraph of this chapter: my positionality when interpreting and analysing the results.

3.7.1. My Role as an Interpreter: Dependability & Confirmability.

This paragraph points to issues concerning dependability and confirmability that will be briefly addressed in the following (Baxter & Eyles, 1997): “dependability refers to the plausibility of accounts” (p. 516) whereas confirmability is the “extent to which biases, motivations, interests or perspectives of the inquirer influence interpretations” (p. 512). First and foremost, Diefenbach (2009) acknowledges that the choice of a research topic, methods applied as well as the interpretation or analysis of the results is inherently based on ambiguity and subjectivity. The underlying assumption is that the final outcomes of qualitative approaches, only come into existence by the researchers interpretation (ibid.). The same applies to the presented study, where for instance German quotes were translated to English. Through paraphrasing and (sub-) conscious interpretations, the actual meaning of citations might be altered in a certain way. On the other hand, the issue of using various methods or amongst academic scholars – triangulation – mentioned above was of great use to gain an in-depth understanding of how GM is carried out in Vienna (Flick, 2004). Moreover, one interviewee was willing to review my results in order to double-check whether the argumentation of the presented thesis is in accordance with 'reality'. Above all, the paragraphs above and the encompassing material in the appendix offer a detailed description and documentation of the whole research process, inviting the readers to judge on plausibility and reliability of the final outcome by themselves. Beyond that, the discussion will offer an outlook on possible methodological improvements.

3.8. Methodological Improvements

The last paragraph of chapter three elaborates on methodological improvements stemming from the aforementioned concerns regarding credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Baxter & Eyles, 1996). As outlined earlier, the insights from the participatory fieldwork might be limited due to time constraints. In my specific case, the weather was a critical factor to investigate 'liveliness' and usage of public space and thus had an impact on the question if GM interventions actually cater for the needs of the target group. Therefore, prolonged engagement and extended observations on site could counterweight the dependability of results (ibid.). Furthermore, the participation of multiple researchers would help to reflect upon subjectivity in data-gathering, analysis and interpretation. As indicated multiple times, qualitative research is pre-conditioned by the personality and positionality of the researcher who is exploring and evaluating (ibid.). For instance did I investigate my case from a postmodern and intersectional perspective whereas a Marxist feminist would have applied the concept of class and economic factors in determining who might be included or excluded in the workings of an administration carrying out GM. Further research should therefore consider multiple researchers to achieve more rigour throughout the research process. Last but not least, it would be beneficial to compare Vienna with another case in order to increase generalizability and credibility of the results. Investigating an urban planning department of another city administration where GM is not applied would have allowed to nuance the findings. It could have been questioned for example if the application of GM actually makes a difference for the final users of space and if so to what extent. Hence, future research should take the aforementioned methodological improvements into account.

4. Analysis

The analysis aims to unveil to which extent the administrative structure and GM as a political instrument provides a suitable framework to translate recent feminist claims. In order to compare theory with practice, the first section introduces overarching objectives and their implications for societal relations in light of the introduced theoretical concept of intersectionality. The next paragraph focuses on the characteristics of target group or more

broadly for whom GM aims to provide possibilities and equality. Following, the approach and method is analysed and to which degree it satisfies requirements stemming from critical feminists. Last but not least it will be illustrated what would be needed for GM in urban planning to become mainstream. Special attention is given to the administrative modus operandi and to which degree it might hinder or accelerates feminist claims of change. Where useful, characteristics of the chosen pilot projects (*Bruno-Kreisky-Park & Frauen-Werk-Stadt I*) were integrated as exemplary cases.

4.1. Objectives of Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning in Vienna

The literature review pointed to the implication that feminist movements formulate at their core the same message: existing structures and systems, that are deeply rooted in century-long patterns of domination and marginalization, respectively, (re-) produce inequality along socially constructed categories (Baden & Goetz, 1997; Beebejaun, 2016; Butler, 2004; Vaious, 1992). They also acknowledge that change or transformation is needed in order to counterweight those mechanisms (ibid.). In line with this, two general objectives were mentioned by the interviewees. Going hand in hand, the first can be summarized under the term of a pragmatic working definition, the second incorporates a broader political notion of equality. Regarding the former, two interviewees concluded:

“It is a political approach of fairness, equal opportunities, no matter if it is resources or construction standards. For instance gradient ratio for pram ramps . Why do we regulate truck towing curves with technical standards, but neglect prams?” (I2, l. 240f.)

“I always saw the concern of planning, to internalize different user perspectives. Or to implement them. Because for a long time, it was predominantly a rather manly, working perspective. And the perspective of care duties, children, elderly, everyday life paths – bringing these perspectives in, I think that is very central. That was our concern.” (I7, l. 72f.)

As exemplified, participants often point to concrete measures of implementation, varying from proportionality in the number of standards, over investigating differentiated daily routines, to conscious planning processes. A similar working definition is provided by the *Manual for Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development* (City of Vienna, 2013), stating that “the objective lies in meeting current demands for space by

individual groups, creating flexible and adaptable spaces to satisfy different needs and generating new potentials of space appropriation by inhabitants.” (p.12). In the pilot project *Frauen-Werk-Stadt I* for instance, affordable housing blocks were implemented between 1992 and 1997, where especially women with care duties were taken into consideration (City of Vienna, n.d.). Implementation criteria varied from short travel distances to private and public facilities (i.e. kindergartens, shopping facilities), to high quality open spaces that are overseeable from various rooms of the apartments. Although interviewees frequently mentioned practical objectives, a second and clear political message is inherently anchored. In order to investigate those underlying principles and theoretical rationales, it was asked *why* is GM needed:

“Essentially, I think it [objective] is equal chances and the avoidance of exclusion. Inclusion is the big goal. Basically every member of society needs to have the opportunity, especially in public spaces, to move in a way, that they feel comfortable and that they find, at a place, what they need.” (I6, l. 68f.)

“[...] [it is] the general requirement of providing equal chances. [...]. That the different processes are consciously thought through. That unequal treatment is being made visible, that one might not be aware of in their daily routines.” (I3, l. 123f.)

The given statements are understood as a recognition of wider societal phenomena producing inequalities and mechanisms of exclusion. In line with Baden and Goetz (1997), interviewees identify gender, age, family structure, abilities as well as socio-economic or ethnic and religious background as social categories equipping people with different and above unequal initial conditions and scopes of possibilities. Through the aforementioned pilot project and spatial layout for instance, it is recognized that people with care duties often need more time to travel from one place to another, prohibiting them to participate in other economic and non-economic activities (Greed, 2011). The overarching goal is thus to achieve equal opportunities by promoting an urban planning approach that facilitates daily life of all inhabitants *Frauen-Werk-Stadt I* for instance shorter travel distances allow to engage in different spheres of society. Just as in the *Frauen-Werk-Stadt I* and as emphasised in the literature review, participants stressed that every member of society has the right to equal treatment and opportunities. However, urban planning often benefits a certain way of living: mainly 9 to 5 jobbers, living in the construct of a nuclear family, and by being supported

through suitable public transportation schedules, road infrastructure, housing layouts etc.. Internally, the political message of GM in urban planning is to break with the ascribed mechanisms of benefiting some over others. It demands processes and structures that are inclusive and in this formulates a radical criticism to the current system (Beveridge & Nott, 2002). All interviewees communicated their desire for transforming the latter towards the common good, a system that supports people equally, no matter which class, race, gender etc.. It is therefore argued that the underlying objective of GM in urban planning goes hand in hand with claims of inclusion, being aware and considering the interdependency of multifold realities.

4.2. Gender Mainstreaming: Planning for Whom?

As outlined in the literature review, early feminists recognized first the direct exclusion of women, for instance by not being allowed to vote until 1971 in Switzerland. Up until today feminist theories and concepts got more and more differentiated, noticing intersecting variables (i.e. class, race, gender, sexuality, appearance, ability) which create unique and intertwined patterns of in- or exclusion. In order to locate GM in urban planning in Vienna within the most prevalent discourses, it is worth taking a look at the target group of spatial interventions, exemplified by the *Bruno-Kreisky-Park*. Initially it was acknowledged that the existing layout of the park and play equipment (i.e. football cages), were predominantly favouring one user group: male children and adolescents (City of Vienna, Municipal Department for Construction and Technology, n.d.a). The content of the project therefore aims to accelerate “the preferred forms of playing and movements of girls” (ibid.: 2). Implementation measures vary from compartmentalized ball game fields with markers for volleyball, over new play equipment including swings, multiple seating possibilities and devices for balancing, to increased lightning and a spatial layout that is overseeable (see Figure 10 and 11).



Figure 10. Balancing Devices (Source: Author)



Figure 11. 180°-View of Park with Multiple Seating Possibilities (Source: Author)

The focus of the transformation of the *Bruno-Kreisky-Park* is on the “recognition of girls”, “the motivation of girls” and “spaces for girls” (ibid.). However, the implemented play equipment fails to recognize that there is not only inequality between genders but also within. In accordance with the participatory observation, mobility-impaired women or girls for instance are not taken into account, whereas some women or girls might not feel comfortable playing volleyball. Based on the studying of legal documents and the insights from the interviews it is therefore argued that GM is in many ways clinging to the integration of women, rather than taking diversified needs into account. One interviewee was confronted

with the above mentioned subject and she confirmed by sharing her thoughts:

“I realize, if I talk about gender mainstreaming, I still talk about the possibilities that you would give girls to use public space. But this should not be the primary focus.” (I5, l. 192f.)

Another interviewee elaborates more on this issue by drawing parallels to the female quota in institutions and organizations. The expert takes a rather critical and opposing perspective:

“[...], and just as it is mentioned in politics: “we need female quota” or “we need women politics”, it is in planning: “we want to cover gender mainstreaming aspects”. But depending on how you look at it, it is often stuck in equalizing women. And for me, especially as a man, this is not the primary goal, rather than a secondary one. The primary goal is to get away from this one-dimensional quite conservative male perspective from back then [referring to dichotomy men/women].” (I8, l. 116f.)

(...)

“And then I have to mention the critical male studies: “Well, where are all the [male] nursery school teachers?” and not just: “where is the bias on the side of a woman, where we would need equalization politics?”. Gender mainstreaming, how I understand it, should consider gender-relevant aspects in all directions. [...]. And if men do not take it [typical female jobs], then I have to ask the other way around: “why is it like this? Is this a phenomenon of exclusion, that men do not even have the opportunity to get inside [...] or is it that they think it is unattractive, because it is a female domain [...]?”.” (I8, l. 127f.)

The eighth interviewee acknowledges that the angle of the observed gender-mainstreamed project remained the same, namely 'adding' women while having the tendency to oversee intertwined mechanisms of exclusion (Bailey, LaFrance & Dovidio, 2019; Clisby, 2005). Beyond that, in both GM projects gender experiences are universalized i.e. 'all girls want to play volleyball or all women are care givers' (Zalewski, 2010). It is therefore argued that practitioners fall into the 'the essentialising-trap' where the application of the theoretical concept of intersectionality and its implications are not covered (ibid.; Smart, 2002). The formulation of the target group therefore excludes certain people. In this sense, Zalewski (2010) critique applies to the investigated case:

“Though there have been increasing demands for, gender mainstreaming to not ‘only’ be about women (and to include men), and indeed to not ‘simply’ be about men and women (which arguably equals gender), but to work with the complexities of transnational diversity and intersectionality, there is still an overwhelming sense that in practice, gender mainstreaming still favours (or is ‘about’) women and, moreover, continues to marginalise men and the workings of masculinity.” (p. 6)

4.3. Essentials of Gender Mainstreaming: Statistical Evidence & Socio-spatial Analysis

In accordance with the literature review, the question arises which methods could possibly cater to a more differentiated analysis of spatial needs (Jahan, 1995). Thus, this section will provide insights into how GM in urban planning is carried out or more general how measures and spatial interventions come into existence in the first place. As stated in the *Manual of Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning* (2013) the starting point of each planning process is an analysis based on two main principles. One is a more general statistical analysis: disaggregated data according to gender (binary), age, income, as well as mobility patterns or daily routines are received from the municipalities’ data base and statistical yearbook (ibid.). In line with Hagemann-White (2012) those fixed and often too narrow categories such as the binary understanding of gender are needed to lay a foundation, but become softer through additional investigations. The transformation of the *Bruno-Kreisky-Park* for instance was preceded by a socio-spatial analysis and participatory format, to provide a more accurate picture of spatial needs:

“Looking at different forms of usage and asking for differentiated demands of those who are on site. [...]. A very differentiated analysis so to speak. And this we kept on doing, at least for the bigger projects we conducted those investigations. But I think the socio-spatial methods, also in participatory procedures, are based on the concerns, that were formulated already before, in pilot projects, such as the Mariahilf.” (I7, l. 50f.)

As seen in the quote, socio-spatial analysis together with statistical data mediate between the final users of space and actual implementation. It allows for a differentiated consideration of demands according to everyday realities (Beebeejaun, 2016; Levy, 2013; Scambor et al., 2012). In the pilot project *Frauen-Werk-Stadt I* for instance, the facilities in and around the building allows for leisure activities for old and young, varying from playgrounds, green

'islands' to basketball and football fields (see Figure 12, 13 & 14).



Figure 12. Playground for Toddlers (Source: Author)



Figure 13. Green 'Islands' (Source: Author)



Figure 14. Indoor but Public Basketball/Football Field (Source: Author)

Even though in both projects the general target group were girls or women, it is argued that such an approach in general allows for a spatial intervention that is based on the actual needs of beforehand absent or disadvantaged groups. It acknowledges and aims to accommodate the specificities of everyday routines and life styles, no matter which social, economic, cultural or religious background one might have, finally providing equal resource allocation. In this respect the 'ingredients' for a successful planning intervention according to intersectional approaches and *transformative* agendas are available and covered through the Viennese approach in its pilot projects.

4.4. Becoming Mainstream, Becoming Malestream?

The aforementioned paragraphs on the objectives, target groups and general approach aimed to provide a general understanding of GM in urban planning in Vienna. The reader might get the impression that the presented findings retrieved from interviews, strategic documents and spatial implementation in some parts display a “feminist utopia” (I2, l. 204), disconnected from financial or administrative burdens. Therefore the following sections contextualizes GM within the administrative system, starting with explaining how

mainstream urban planning processes usually function. Exemplified by the question of who is planning, and what would gender need to be mainstream in planning, it is questioned to which degree feminist claims of holistic policy making could and should be implemented into mainstream governance.

4.4.1. Status Quo: Financial Pressure and Standardization.

As already mentioned, gender-mainstreamed urban developments in Vienna are mainly realized through pilot projects, whereby people responsible within the administration would work in an interdisciplinary or cross-sectoral manner with each other (City of Vienna, 2013). For the transformation of the *Bruno-Kreisky-Park* for instance, the department of children and youth cooperated with the department of planning of public spaces. Additionally, external firms, conducting research (i.e. socio-spatial analysis) and delivering the architectural layout are contracting entities as well as developers, “who are able to understand the project” (I6, l. 103f.; *ibid.*). However, this *modus operandi* demands personal, financial and time-resources, that became, throughout the last decades and according to the experts, more and more scarce. Asking about possible challenges and hindrances interviewees frequently mentioned in accordance with the following quote:

“A noticeable obstacle [to realize GM projects] is the funding. It is the money. Where are resources economized, also with respect to the personnel? I mean we experienced it ourselves. This is an obstacle, a very huge one. Because if nobody is there to signpost, and who advocates for it, because he or she does not have the time-resources, then it becomes less and less. So this hurdle is a big one.” (I3, l. 205f.)

As mentioned in the chapter on the case rational and as highlighted in the quote, the administrative restructuring in 2010 and the subsequent cancellation of the *Co-ordination Office for Planning and Construction Geared to the Requirements of Daily Life and Specific Needs of Women* resulted in a reduced or at least constrained influence. Former employees are nowadays predominantly responsible for the quality assurance of urban planning competitions and the evaluation of the same, but not necessarily initiating new pilot projects. Furthermore, asking experts about other limitations that prohibit the inclusion of gender-sensitive quality criteria (for an overview see *Manual of Gender Mainstreaming in Urban*

Planning; City of Vienna, 2013) or even whole projects, interviewees frequently pointed to structural issues:

“What you really feel, at least in Vienna, is that the pressure rises through increased land prices. Everything becomes more scarce and dense and you have to negotiate even more for every meter square [...]” (I3, l. 92f.)

The quote refers to the task of quality assurance in juries, whereby layouts and development plans are reviewed and deliberated to ensure that certain requirements are met (i.e. width of entrance halls, open spaces of kindergartens etc.). She acknowledges spatial and financial constraints, that prohibit an elaborate planning process and implementation which would be guided by the objective of an highly qualitative outcome for the final users. Contrary to what is mentioned in the paragraph on *Essentials of Gender Mainstreaming*, 'normal' or mainstream administrative planning processes and implementations are equipped with less financial, personnel or time-resources. They are not regulated through a deliberation or participatory process, rather than obligatory land-use, zoning, stipulated construction norms and official standardized guidelines (for an overview: Rechtsinformationssystem des Bundes, 10.07.2020). Those legal documents capture buildings heights, form of usage, width of pathways and entrance halls, minimum size of playgrounds, surface of the same or how one interviewee put it in a nutshell: it is the “mania of standardization” (I8, l. 182). In line with Weber (2002) the rationalizations of bureaucratic processes provide the administration with fast and transparent executions: the administration by applying a check-lists instead of having a time-consuming negotiation process, and developers by knowing the exact framework of construction. Opposing and as outlined in the literature review, feminists in line with the *transformative* approach would argue that spatial needs are impossible to standardized but must be carefully examined in accordance with people's lived realities (Jahan, 1995). The following paragraph therefore aims to reflect upon the issue of integrating or 'annexing' gendered needs into a prevalent system. It will focus on to which degree feminist claims of transformation have to be abolished by the structural reality of a public administration. Again, this is exemplified by the questions: who is planning and what GM would need to be mainstream?

4.4.2. People in Charge: “Feminists Walk the Halls of Power”?

At the beginning of any content-related policy, strategy or instrument, stands the formal recognition of the importance of the former as well as the political and administrative will to adopt a certain issue. The same applies to the presented case of Vienna, where interviewees were asked about the genesis of GM in Vienna:

“Well, it is always that things develop over time. A historical moment is needed, as well as a constellation of people, who want it in the political governance, but also in the administrative governance. [...]. But many things began in a historical favourable constellation, where the city government consisted of an equal amount of women and men. And of course, these were feminist women.” (I1, l. 122f.)

“And I think that [taking differentiated perspective into account] was always important to us. So, this long history of social sensitive politics in Vienna and the political trust in the administration. And then they somehow recognized [...], that gender-sensitive planning is a topic.” (I2, l. 105f.)

The quotes point to an historical momentum in which civil society, politics and administration formed a critical mass, having its origin in the social movements of the late 60s. As indicated in the literature review, the following decades were characterised by the formation of more and more feminist groups as well as the intensification of feminist criticism towards previously male dominated fields (Baden & Goetz, 1997). Amongst these was that of urban planning and architecture, where the claims of Viennese women got recognized and institutionalized in the 90s. As described in the introduction, nowadays institutional contexts, and no matter which political direction they are following, are based on more than a century of organizing society along male needs and by formulating certain laws (Beveridge & Nott, 2002). The same applies to Western European planning paradigms as well as to the case of Vienna, where legal frameworks and construction standards built the foundation for spatial interventions. These can not be understood, processed or worked with, if not being equipped with a matching education. Kabeer and Subrahmanian (1999) therefore argue that “institutions are constituted by specific categories of people”, and that “institutional patterns of inclusion, exclusion, positioning and progress express class, gender and other social inequalities” (p. 15). Taking a closer look at the demography of the sample

confirms the hypothesis: all interviewees and people in charge of GM policies and practices reached higher educational degrees, either in social sciences or engineering, are white, Austrian or German citizens and mostly cisgender. In this respect, the demographic structure of the administration is homogenous and organized along prevalent values. Arguably, the *integrationist* approach applied in Vienna (i.e. 'annexing' women) poses critical questions on who might influence policies, who is seen as a knowledgeable expert and if this does not already resemble a mechanism of exclusion. At *Frauen-Werk-Stadt I* for instance interviewees and manuals noticed that anxiety-free spaces were included in the layout. However, visiting the site myself and talking to a women who passes by everyday to go to work showed that one underpass is not sufficiently equipped with lightning, making final users of space feel at unease moving around during the evening and night (see Figure 15).



Figure 15. Underpass Creating Feelings of Discomfort (Source: Author)

This could have been prevented if the whole neighbourhood would have been included into the planning design and process. Thus, Halley (2008) identifies this issue in governance as “feminists walking the halls of power”, criticizing them for siding with what has been disapproved in the first place (p. 21). Instead of demand of a radical paradigm shift, for instance through the introduction of new methods, GM practitioners in public institutions

would reproduce mechanisms of in- or exclusion (ibid.). Accordingly, social inequalities with regard to participation are reproduced, whereby recognition and inclusion can only take place along common variables (i.e. tertiary education).

4.4.3. Stereotyping: The Downside of Implementing Gender into Mainstream Policies?

It has already been elaborated by which individual characteristics a person may have the chance to influence policy designs and interventions (see chapter 4.4.2.). Additionally, it is worth taking a closer look at the general functioning of mainstream planning in order to understand institutional rules, laws, legal frameworks or in the case of Vienna – stipulated construction standards. As outlined earlier the latter lays the foundation for urban planning in the first place and through imposing certain criteria such as zoning, escape routes in public buildings, fire safety regulations or that every newly constructed housing complex should provide an extra room for bikes and prams. Besides carrying out pilot projects, one way of mainstreaming gender would therefore be to implement construction norms retrieved from earlier projects (i.e. width of pathways, gradients for strollers, light situation in parks) into existing obligatory norms and standards. In accordance with the *integrationist* approach, a gender dimension would get formally 'annexed' to existing construction laws. Asking GM experts to which degree such an approach is implemented and if they identify it as successful, approximately half of the participants argued as follows:

“[...] and if in the urban planning department, it [the outcome and conclusions of pilot projects] becomes set as a general construction guideline, then it is a huge success.” (I2, l. 169)

“So I think in the whole area of planning, that the stipulation of standards is the power, the mainstream.” (I2, l. 337)

At first sight the extension of existing standards might be unproblematic and an efficient tool. However, having conducted eight interviews and reviewing the literature, led to critical considerations about the means by which they might be achieved. As already mentioned in the chapter on status quo, the mainstream *modus operandi* is accompanied by pressuring

factors, that forces parties advocating for gender-sensitive planning to negotiate even more and “for every meter square” (I3, l. 93). How challenging and sometimes delicate this situation is, was noticed by most interviewees and can be summarized as follows:

“In the beginning you feel [acting in a condescending and ironic way]: “Oh now come the women and tell us what they think”. [...]. According to the motto: “This is totally the personal opinion of women, it is nice, but it is not necessarily needed.”” (I3, l. 267f.)

“And they told me [about the issue that she believes girls should have more space outdoor]: “This is not necessary, the space is big enough, the girls should do what they want, whatever.”. They did not like it, a specific offer for girls in public space, [...], that was not a special wish to them.” (I5, l. 60f.)

“There are still a few, especially the people from the traffic planning [...], who still did not get it. And you have to confront them very strongly and they even laugh about it. This has not changed.” (I6, l. 274f.)

“A long time ago, she [feminist author] said that it is a little bit like this: gender mainstreaming is a top-down strategy. And at the top is the patriarchal or male power, so to speak. The administration is replicated from a military structure, so this hierarchical organization. So the administrative system is very much coined in its history. And those people having power, should now decide that their power gets reduced. That would be an enacted revolution from above. And this is a very dialectical situation.” (I2, l. 183f.)

What became obvious through the aforementioned quotes is that advocating for GM policies and fair resource allocation is by no means easy and goes hand in hand with patronizing reactions. In line with the statements above, interviewees mentioned that those who have the power to influence obligatory construction standards either feel offended when being confronted with gaps in the legal system – since they might understand claims of change as a criticism toward their individual work, or that they simply do not believe that standardized GM criteria are necessary or worth the effort. Thus, for being recognized and heard, GM practitioners need a basis for argumentation. Only then people who have the power to influence laws could be sufficiently pressured. Talking to eight experts and as shown in the paragraph on the target group, it became apparent that 'women's needs' are often at the centre of argumentation. Nevertheless, issues retrieved from the literature review remain: universalizing women's experiences and lived realities is highly conflictual and contrary to

intersectional approaches.

At *Frauen-Werk-Stadt I* the final housing complex was named after one of the first female Austrian architects, Margarethe Schütte-Lihotzky and based on her famous invention of the 'Frankfurter Küche' in 1926 (see Figure 14). The layout of her kitchen-design was drafted in a way that would make working in the kitchen more efficient (i.e. all movements happening in a kitchen were timed and simulated beforehand, to structure cupboards, machines, shelves in a human-centred way) (Meyer & Peters, 2004).



Figure 16. *Frauen-Werk-Stadt I* Building Complex Named after Famous Architect (Source: Author)

Just as in Margarethe Schütte-Lihotzky's 'Frankfurter Küche' or Dolores Haydens 'Non-sexist City' the content of the Viennese project was aimed to facilitate women's lives. To gather resources (time, personnel, financial) that women should have the possibility to combine care-duties with domestic work (i.e. kitchen windows for instance should be oriented towards the inner courtyard). Nevertheless, women are displayed as housewives and care-givers almost 'essentialising' women's experiences (Smart, 2002). Being confronted with this issue, especially two GM experts argued as following:

“I think it is highly relevant what I said earlier that women brought new ways of thinking into planning. But what I think is wrong, is the fixation of women to prams, because that means a fixation of roles. And I am against this fixation of roles.” (I8, l. 152f.)

“But what I never agreed to [...], those feminist aspects that lead to these concrete indicators in meters. And when it was claimed: “For the reproductive work, before and behind each house there must be a garden and a wall can not be higher than this and that centimetres.”. Then I back out. It is too categorical, it takes away my own scope of action. This is too much of a strong fixation of the women's role. Like reproduction, housekeeping, cooking, children. I am completely far away from that. But looking at for whom I am doing this and also slowly learning about indicators, that I find extremely important.” (I4, l. 357f.)

The interviewee of the last quote elaborated more and nuanced her statement. She noticed the reason why some GM practitioners in Vienna might argue for obligatory construction standards according to gender and on base of the 'universal' category of women:

“When I take a group, and if I realize that they give a damn about it [GM criteria] when it comes to important decision making, just because it is *only* a recommendation [...]. If it would be like this, no. Then I want to have a hundred percent obligation.” (I4, l. 483f.)

The given comment points to structural issues that were outlined earlier: mainstream design and implementation of urban planning are constrained by limited financial and time-resources. They mostly take place on basis of stipulated construction standards that allow for efficient administrative processes. Spatial needs are then standardized and if GM practitioners aim to implement GM criteria in the long-run they need a basis for argumentation – 'women's needs'. In this respect the *integrationist* approach might be efficient, straightforward and produces clear instructions but falls into the 'essentialising-trap', while overlooking various and intertwined variables producing exclusion. On the other hand, working in pilot projects allowed GM practitioners to realize differentiated planning processes and spatial outcomes, where the aforementioned justification or argumentation ('for the sake of women's needs') were basically not needed. Financial and personnel resources favour the application of transformative and promising methods (i.e. socio-spatial analysis, participatory formats) but were declared as too costly to become the 'new' mainstream in planning. Thus, engaged feminists in urban planning in Vienna are forced to negotiate a few square meters more, more green spaces at kindergartens or the width of pathways.

5. Discussion of Findings

The discussion aims to nuance the findings by zooming out to wider structural and societal issues. Exemplified by the questions 1) if the end justifies the means, 2) in which way urban planning can impact gender equality and 3) to which degree the discipline of urban planning beyond GM bears conflictual potential, wider implications for the research question can be retrieved.

5.1. Stereotyping: Does the End Justify the Means?

What became apparent through the comparison between the interviews and studying of legal procedures on the one hand, and feminist criticism on the other, is that a clash between feminist theory and practical implementation into mainstream is observable. While practitioners strive for gender and distributional equality, categorization and stereotypes are used as a justification in order to incorporate a gender-perspective into planning mainstream (i.e. stipulated construction standards). Nevertheless, it is of vital importance to contextualize the findings by zooming out from the investigated administrative boundaries to wider societal constellations.

First of all it is crucial to question where those gendered stereotypes are coming from, displaying women as mothers, care-givers or domestic workers. Taking a look at *2nd Vienna Gender Equality Monitor* (City of Vienna, 2016) reveals that every second women with no migration background, and almost three quarters of women with a migration background do 90% of family related care and domestic tasks. In light of these numbers it is highly debatable to frame the aforementioned argumentation as categoric or stereotyping. Moreover, interviewees were confronted with the criticism retrieved from the literature, namely that some methods in GM might fall into the 'essentialising-trap'. Additionally, the following quote was read to the interviewees: “Thus identifying homogenous groups and gender roles without the perspective of change can become role-conforming, and lead to victimising or even stigmatising” (Tummers et al., 2019: 84). Interviewees responded as follows:

“So, meeting people where they stand. This is for me the justification that you comply [with stereotypes].” (I3, l. 262f.)

“I think it is really important to translate social questions and content into technical criteria. [...] I think otherwise [referring to feminist criticism] it becomes so unpolitical. Of course, I can say everybody is an individual and everyone has different needs, but in the end there is no clear instruction. And the administration always works woodcut-like. And I always need certain guidelines or specifications. This is why I think, the definition of groups and demands are important.” (I2, l. 291f.)

“It is good, so to speak, if you have a bit of this inclusive approach, to look at an individual, and considering it. [...]. On the other hand, if I just reduce, reduce, reduce, always just the individual, then it is hard [to stand up] for a certain group, where many things are just reoccurring or where certain interests become obvious. Then it makes it hard to defend or demand certain things.” (I5, l. 318f.)

“I think that it became even more differentiated, the different groups and demands. The image of care duties, with strollers or with little kids, this became softer. Now you have the vision, that this could also be fathers. You have to discuss woodcut-like. Even if in reality, and in my experience, it is more mothers with little children, more women. But this [term of GM] also stemmed from a political correctness, that you cannot say it is only mothers, it is also fathers. And maybe not even parents, but caregiver. And finally everything dissolves.” (I7, l. 174f.)

The content of the statements above can be compared to defenders of the *integrationist* approach, who indicate that a reduction to the individuals experience might depoliticise feminist struggles. Furthermore the interviewees noted that stereotypes stem from somewhere and even if GM practitioners not necessarily agree with the women's role as housewife and care-giver, they would comply for the sake of facilitating their everyday lives. Second and even more important: mainstream urban planning as it exists today, needs the identification of 'homogenous' user groups. For instance, by setting up quality criteria or norms, such as gradients for strollers and wheelchairs, spatial needs of mobility-impaired people or people with care-duties can be met. In that matter, one interviewee mentioned that there are just some characteristics and consequently needs that cannot be reasoned away in favour of preventing stereotyping:

“There are certain characteristics that I cannot discuss, such as mobility-impaired groups. Here I cannot say: “It is a personal mindset or identity and you can change it.”. And elderly people with a rollator do not come far either, or people with little kids they don't get far.” (I3, l. 222f.)

Taking this line of thought even further, the expert elaborated her point of view by the exemplary case of the (stereotypical) association of women and anxiety in public spaces. Asking her if this might not be a fixation in a gendered role, she resumed as following:

“This means that people walking through the streets in the end will not see that anyone ever discussed about “spaces provoking anxiety” and that they were called like this. They will see: “Oh! It is overseeable. It is light and somehow I feel good and I know where I am and where I have to go.”. And in that respect, I do not think that you harm anyone having a practical discussion on spaces provoking anxiety. In the end it is about the result for those people walking through the city.” (I3, l. 230f.)

Especially the first and last point of her argumentation provide essential insights into the wider context of stereotyping. Even if throughout the process and implementation of gender mainstreaming fixed categories were applied, the final user of space will never know about it. In accordance, people I talked to at the *Bruno-Kreisky-Park* for instance were not aware of the fact that this specific park has been gender-mainstreamed. However, they noticed that it became nicer and that they like to come there for having lunch. Additionally and as outlined in the case rational, the approach in Vienna allowed to improve spatial conditions. By increasing the width of pathways for instance, not only women pushing strollers are targeted and benefited, but children, mobility-impaired and elderly alike. This line of thought brings me to the subsequent discussion paragraph: who may decide how and by whom space is appropriated or who will finally benefit from GM implementations, respectively?

5.2. “Spaces do not do anything”

The paragraph on target groups of the investigated GM pilot projects revealed that in many parts GM policies are directed towards the inclusion of the 'universal' category of women, rather than acknowledging inequality between but also within genders. Play equipment such as balancing devices or the erection of the volleyball field for instance only allow certain girls and women to access those spaces. In any case, through the fieldwork on site a clear discrepancy between target group and actual user group became observable. When visiting the *Bruno-Kreisky-Park* for instance, seconds after arriving I figured that urban planners may have had a certain group in mind when carrying out gender-mainstreamed

planning projects, but who will ultimately appropriate space is out of their control. As seen in Figure 15 below, the red hammocks that were originally implemented for girls so that they have a quiet space to gather, are used by men and women alike:



Figure 17. Hammock also Used by Man (Source: Author)

In this respect one expert resumes:

“The people whom is planned for will find certain potentials or offers and how each individual is then interacting with them is something else.” (I2, l. 388f.)

Even if it is planned according to women's and girl's spatial needs, the final implementation has only partly an influence patterns of appropriation. The red hammocks for instance may facilitate the process for women of feeling comfortable in public space, whereas football cages might hamper them to play outside, but fundamental reasons for those patterns have to be found elsewhere. Indicated by many interviewees, behavioural constellations are preceded by social processes on which urban planning has little impact. Socialization and gender-arrangements, such as encouraging females to take the 'reserved' or 'timid' role whereas males are educated to play 'strong', might be more significant in determining final usages than the layout of a certain spaces:

“Spaces do not do anything, but they can facilitate or hamper certain things. The issue of the division of labour, or the distribution of power between the genders, and other societal issues, have to be solved on a different level.” (I2, l. 409f.)

In the same breath interviewees reported that not only women benefit from increased lightning in parks, but men alike. In this term gender-mainstreamed projects are providing spaces and increased possibilities for everyone even if not explicitly targeted:

“The difference is and we always discussed this: men are just as afraid [in public spaces], but they do not say it because of their socialization. A woman is more entitled to admit that she is scared. And the [male] protective instinct is awakened or I do not know.” (I1, l. 249f.)

“The funny thing is that the discussion [about spaces provoking anxiety] was very relieving for them [men], because normally they are not allowed to say that they have fears as well. This happened to me more than once.” (I3, l. 248f.)

“But the orientation towards the daily routines was already there, where you would say: “This is also benefiting men, if they do domestic and parenting work.”, [...]” (I2, l. 137f.)

Last but not least, there are unpredictable events, that even the most elaborate, conscious and well-intended planning process and implementation cannot take into account:

“We implemented pathways, for instance, that have a maximum height of 3 cm. To be barrier-free. And we told people: “Those are spaces for appropriation.”. And then they appropriated space ... driving with their cars over it, because now it is super easy. And now cars are parked everywhere on the side walk.” (I6, l. 303f.)

5.3. Conflicts of Interest: Bushes and Biodiversity vs. Overseeable and Safe Layouts?

Zooming out and getting back to broader political, societal, economic and environmental challenges, the last paragraph discusses conflicting goals that are inherent to urban planning. More than two decades ago, the *Co-ordination Office for Planning and Construction Geared to the Requirements of Daily Life and Specific Needs of Women* commenced with gender-sensitive planning, being carried by a “historical momentum” (I2, l.

122). 20 years later the world became a different place where industry 4.0 (complete digitalization of industrial production) is on the European Union's political agenda, while millions of people around the globe strike against the devastating causes and consequences of climate change. Especially the latter is highly relevant for urban planners and architects, since many cities and their inhabitants suffer from urban heat islands that could be prevented through sustainable planning (Corburn, 2009). Density and the continuous sealing of soils, attributable to increased urbanization, further diminish green and open spaces and thus biodiversity in urban areas. Bushes for instance mediate climate respectively temperature through shading, while accommodating birds and insects (ibid.). On the other hand, gender mainstreaming also demands spatial layouts that are overseeable, preventing from dark and shady areas where people would feel at unease. Hence, urban planning always has to discuss conflicting goals. To name some: greenery vs. overseeable layouts. Density and affordable housing vs. open and cool spaces. Increased lightning and feelings of safety vs. biorhythm of animals. Accordingly, recent trends rooting in societal, political, economic and environmental changes impact how our cities are spatially organized and to which degree local communities are able to adapt themselves towards them. Comparing feminism with its practical implementation gave valuable insights into contradictions and challenges, but it also has to be contextualized within broader issues. In a nutshell: even if the administrative mainstream planning in Vienna could react towards feminist criticism, there are still other factors and evolutions that have to be taken into account. Those are just as significant and important for the future of cities. Therefore, a holistic analysis of other contradictions within mainstream planning would be needed, but certainly exceeds the scope of the presented work.

6. Conclusion

The aim of the presented thesis was to situate GM in urban planning within the discourse on governance feminism. By this I was primarily interested in which approach practitioners follow and its implication on gender equality. First an overview of the history in urban planning was given, to illustrate how deeply administrative structures and organization are rooted in a male-centred world. Following, the concept and instrument of GM was reviewed with regard to objective, approaches, methods, outcomes and evaluation. Whereas some scholar argue that an *integrationist* approach is conducive in reaching equality, postmodern

feminist demand transformation and criticize the integrationist approach for universalizing women's experiences, simultaneously (re-) producing stereotypes and mechanisms of exclusion. The question therefore remains, where GM practices can be located within the spectrum of integration and transformation. Since Vienna, Austria has more than two decades of experience with institutionalized GM policies, the case was selected to investigate to which degree GM in urban planning is conserving or transforming structures producing inequality. Along four broad topics (objective, target group, methods, administrative mainstream functioning) and in line with the criteria retrieved from the literature (see Table 1), it was evaluated how different approaches either nurture or diminish exclusion. To do so the concept of intersectionality was applied and compared to the findings of participatory fieldwork.

Generally, it can be summarized that GM in urban planning in Vienna finds itself in a dilemma: on the one hand practitioners could follow a *transformative* approach, when being equipped with enough financial, personnel and time-resources. At *Bruno-Kreisky-Park* for instance participatory formats were carried out that lead to a differentiated analysis of needs according to everyday routines and actual lived realities independent from class, religion, sexuality etc.. On the other hand pilot projects are one-time-instances and especially when public resources are scarce, gender-sensitivity in planning quickly becomes a minor matter. In such constellations GM practitioners advocate for an *integrationist* approach since it would incorporate a gender dimension in the long-run for instance by 'adding' more construction standards. Nevertheless, the analysis has shown how conflictual this might be exemplified by the practitioners argumentation – 'for the sake of women's needs'. The latter was identified as the 'essentialising-trap' that some experts applied in order to get heard or to justify a few more square meters.

The discussion contextualized the findings mentioned above by showing that gender mainstreaming has the potential to impact others analogously, even if not explicitly targeted. Hammocks for instance, initially planned for women and girls, are also used by men and boys, giving them the opportunity to experience calmer forms of usage than only being provided with football cages. Furthermore, taking a closer look at the statistical data on care- and domestic work revealed that stereotypes stem from somewhere and that the criticism of postmodern feminists might only apply in some parts. Beyond, spaces provide certain potentials, but only have a limited role to play in transforming gendered roles and their

societal stratification. Last but not least, some characteristics in people cannot be changed for the sake of not determining homogenous groups. People with care-duties, pushing strollers or wheelchairs for instance, will always benefit from gradients on path ways, no matter how and by which means they were achieved.

7. Outlook

Investigating GM in urban planning in Vienna and comparing feminist theory with its practical implementation, led to considerations of dilemmas, shortcomings, pitfalls and challenges. Thereby, the presented work contributed to an understanding of how different approaches might nurture or reduce exclusion no matter how well-intended equality policies were in the first place. Yet, recommendations for practical improvements and further research will be given in the following. First, Gender Impact Assessments (GIA) may contribute to a more systematic evaluation of gender policies with regard to gender equality. Second, insights from gender studies or critical men studies could be applied in order to add complexity in target groups, applied and thus spatial implementations. Last but not least, future research should investigate the potential of performative planning in transforming existing structures producing inequality.

7.1. Gender Impact Assessment

As seen throughout the presented work, it could be challenging to predict the impact of GM in urban planning on gender equality respectively on in- or exclusion. Is an *integrationist* approach favouring change in the long-run through improving an existing system steadily? Or could a more radical approach such as the *transformative* overhaul this exact system which created exclusion in the first place? GIAs, as an evaluative instrument, might provide remedy to those questions. By carefully analysing criteria that predict the opportunities to a self-determined life (i.e. access to resources such as money, power, health, security, knowledge/education, mobility, labour, exercising fundamental rights) and setting indicators accordingly, potential outcomes of policies on gendered relations in a society can be weighted (EIGE, 2016; Verloo & Roggeband, 1996). According to EIGE (2016), five steps would guide policy makers and administrators through gender assessments, starting with

defining the purpose of the planned programme:

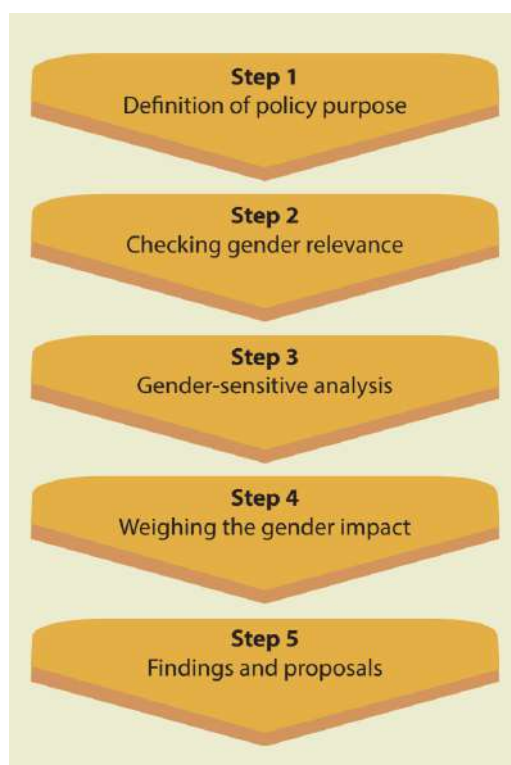


Figure 18. Gender Impact Assessment 5 Step Guide⁵

Questions, such as 'Which issues are addressed?', 'Why would I chose this intervention over others?', 'How could it contribute to gender equality?', are asked at the initial step. In a second state the relevance of the policy is checked: 'Who is actually targeted?', 'Which goal do I have in mind for this specific target group?', 'Would the target group be effected directly or indirectly?'. Thirdly, an analysis is carried out that studies the causes producing the current unequal situation. Questions to take into consideration are: 'Which views might the target group have?', 'Are they different for men and women?', 'Are they different within gender?', 'Who has which interest and why?', 'Who has which role to play, where does it come from and are they producing different outcomes with respect to access to resources, power etc.?'. Through the fourth step the impact of the latter on gendered relations is weighted. 'Will my proposed intervention promote the participation of women or reduce power of men?', 'Which women and which men?', 'In which of the aforementioned fields, such as politics, employment or care, will improvements be perceptible?', 'Which impact does this have on social values of women and men, feminine and masculinity?'. Last but not least, indicators

⁵ Source: EIGE (2016) p. 13

are identified to monitor and evaluate the actual outcome for instance through gender-disaggregated data as well as qualitative research.

As seen above, GIA represents a tool providing decision makers with a step-by-step analysis through which complexity is added and processes are consciously thought through. It professionalizes equality policies where gender might be detached from an one-dimensional perspective (Verloo & Roggeband, 1996). Additionally, policy making would become increasingly transparent and comprehensible for others, providing a mutual and clear understanding, for instance with respect to target groups and objectives. However, further research would be needed to investigate to which extent GIA is an applicable method given the circumstances of financial, personnel and time restricted resources within public institutions. In accordance with Peng (2015) it is debatable to what extent the application of such a bureaucratic method, as GIAs is, would not lead again to the same issues outlined in the presented work. Further research would be needed in order to assess if GIAs, as an *integrationist* approach might support the workings of in- or exclusion.

7.2. Insights from Academia

Another crucial aspect is the question to what extent GM-policies and -instruments can overcome their adhering to equalize the 'universal' category of women and girls. Critical men studies for instance, an academic field evolving since the mid 90s in Western Europe might provide helpful enhancements. Hegemonic masculinity, a sociological concept aiming to explain the preservation of the male norm, acknowledges that socialization patterns produce concrete behavioural norms. Waling (2019) investigated for instance the issue that being socialized according to male norms is correlated to a lack of help-seeking behaviours and consequently health distress. Spatially it can be expected that boys are more likely to use public space by themselves, even though they might not feel comfortable. Accordingly, GM policies in urban planning could also target boys and men, in order to equip them with more chances and possibilities. In light of this, a good example can be retrieved from the efforts by the Viennese municipal department for children and youth. According to the fifth interviewee they provide formats targeting boys only, for instance through cooking and baking classes. Yet, Kastein (2019) points to the issue that the provisioning of scarce public resources towards policies including boys or men might isolate women's issues. According to the

author, unequal resource allocation would be the consequence and thus bears the issue of nurturing gender inequality (ibid.). Questions arise in which way the broadening of target groups and following the redeployment of limited resources might or might not contribute to gender equality. Furthermore, would not the binary understanding of gender, in terms of making a clear distinction between women/men, again conserve existing stereotypes?

A step ahead and breaking down the binary understanding of gender, is the approach of postmodern feminists, outlined in the presented thesis through the theoretical concept of intersectionality. Accordingly, gender is one cross-sectoral variable producing inequality, but there are discrepancies within gender as well, and based on other variables. Assuming that an individual's identity is based on a multifold of characteristics and experiences, intersectionality can add complexity and nuance practical GM approaches. In some projects in Vienna this is already exercised, for instance by recognizing differentiated travel patterns according to disaggregated data for the variables of gender, age and migration background (City of Vienna, 2013). Nevertheless, even the most elaborate data gathering can not make sense of every exclusionary constellation of variables that exists within social relations. In line with the presented thesis, it is highly debatable if conventional methods, such as data-gathering, are suitable tools in order to display the complexity of intersectionality. Further research should therefore elaborate more on the attempts to incorporate the concept into practice, which also brings me to the last point of the outlook.

7.3. Performative Planning

A potential approach to overcome aforementioned deadlocks and limitations, could be the application of performative planning. According to Kremer (2011) spatial planning in the 21st century faces multifold issues ranging from climate change, over the dogma of unlimited growth, to increasing social inequalities. She concludes that current policy practices, for instance by focusing on simplified quantitative measures, cannot support the complexity of social dynamics and thus do not serve spatial planning as a suitable tool (ibid.). Opposing, performative planning as an action-oriented qualitative method, allowing for collaborative decision-making process that can reflect upon the multi-polarity of urban societies (ibid.). The method is based on the conviction that people are experts of their individual everyday life and routines, whereas urban planners function as mediators between citizens and

administrative authorities. Consequently, planning processes and spatial implementations are informed by concrete realities and deliberative processes, which according to Kremer (2011) “permit a balance to be achieved between the various and often conflicting interests” (p. 82). It is noticeable that the method is in many parts comparable to the Viennese approach in pilot projects. Spatial interventions are planned in accordance with daily routines, time managements, needs and above, by meeting citizens where they stand. Like this a highly qualitative outcome for the final users of space is guaranteed, whereby no categorization and stigmatization is needed. In conformance, many scholars researching participatory governance approaches, share an optimistic view by displaying the potential of performative planning as transforming existing structures that bear the danger of exclusion or oversimplification (Gaventa, 2003; Jun & Musso, 2013). Others are rather pessimistic, pointing to the limitations of participatory and deliberative formats (Aarts & Leeuwis, 2010). Citizens who engage in participatory forums for example, often have the individual, time and financial capacities to do so. Others, and most probably those who do not have a voice anyway, have to work, perform care-duties, are too introvert or might not have the ability to access the building, just to mention some obstacles in citizen participation. Further research is therefore needed to investigate in which way performative planning carry on patterns of in-respectively exclusion.

8. Closing Words

Neither the investigations and its findings, nor the three selected practical improvements are aimed to diminish the efforts by the people I was able to interview. Their persistence in tracing, unveiling and discussing inequality certainly had an impact on the procedures and workings of the administration – either directly, or subconsciously being internalized. They might not be measurable in numeric terms, and even if GM in urban planning cannot overthrow a century-long operating system of dominance and marginalization from one decade to another, it is of vital importance to search for transformation from within as well. Therefore every pilot project, jury session, discussion, negotiation should rather “be seen as little movements, steps forward, backward and sideways in a very, very slow revolution and process of change” (Davids et al., 2014: 405). Just as Clara Greed (1994), a prominent feminist scholar in urban planning, once noticed: there are different types of women in urban

planning – the philosopher queen (academic ideologist), the bourgeois feminist (women in senior positions), the urban rebel (radical bottom-up feminist) and the femocrat (feminist bureaucrat). Being equally crucial, they constitute a powerful movement in re-visioning and overcoming structural issues. In this respect the final words of the presented thesis should be given to one of my interviewees, acknowledging:

“This transformative power so to say, which was always demanded by feminists. This how transformative or how structure-conserving an act of measurement is. [...]. In that sense, we built a critical mass within a system, through initiatives and good examples, to change something [from within].” (I2, l. 420f.)

9. References

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