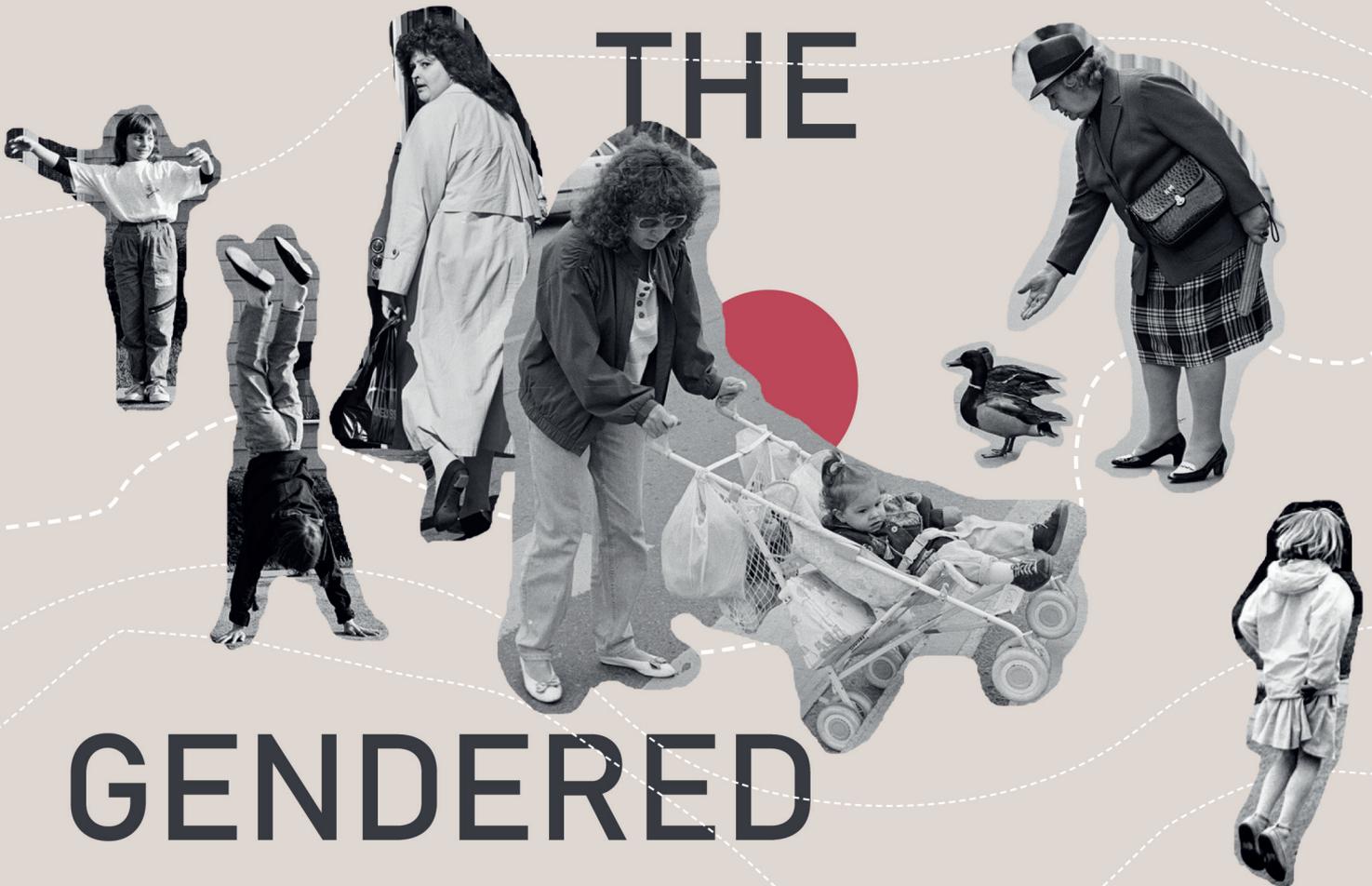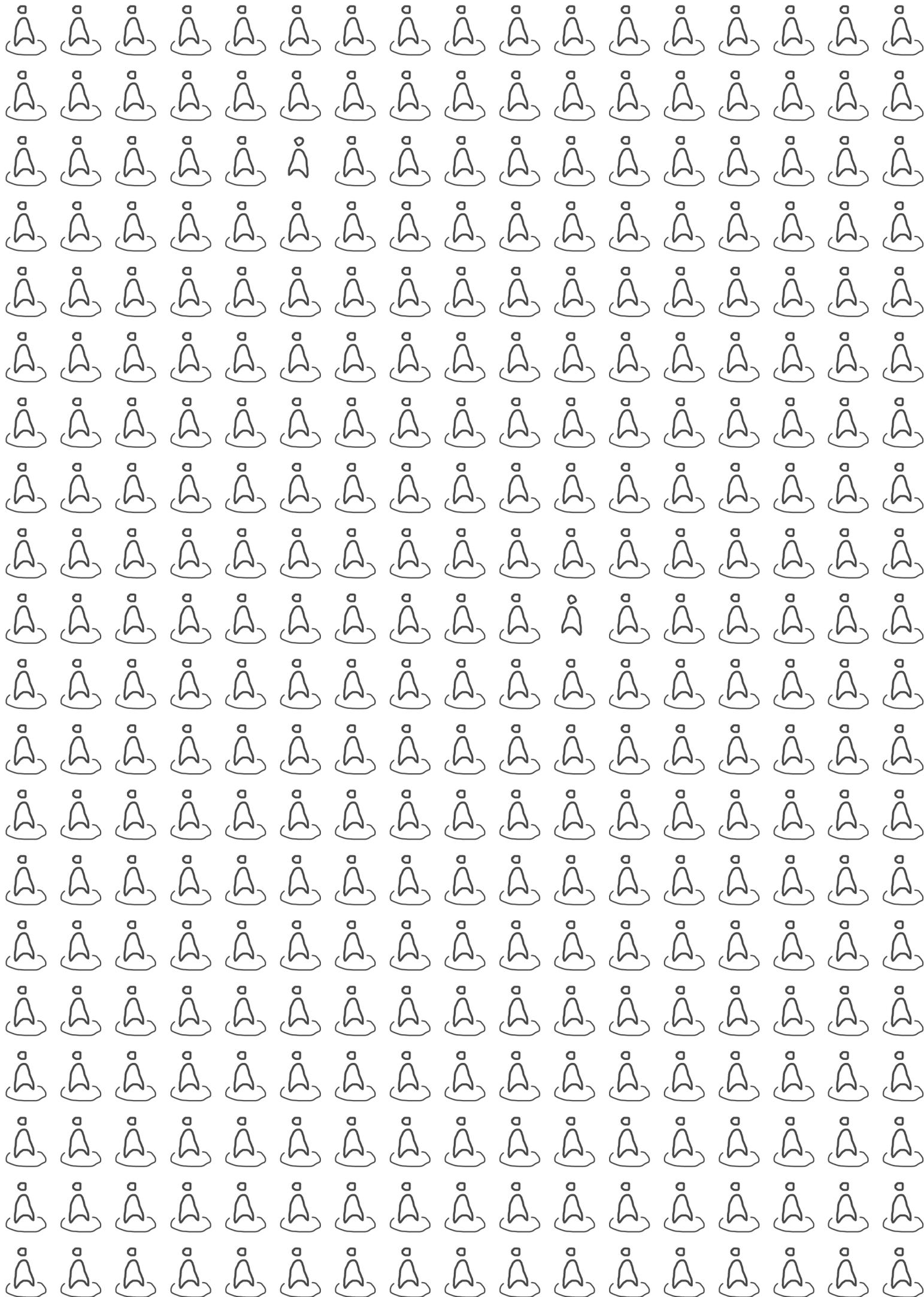Oliwia Jackowska

# DISRUPTING

# THE

# GENDERED

# ORDER

How to advance beyond Vienna's
strategic approach to gender
mainstreaming in urban planning.

# Disrupting the gendered order

How to advance beyond Vienna's strategic approach to
gender mainstreaming in urban planning.

Oliwia Jackowska

*Delft, 2023*

Mentors:

Caroline Newton

Luisa Calabrese

# Contents

# Definitions

**Gender mainstreaming**   a term conceptualised since 1990s, which describes an active and strategic act of prioritising gender consideration, mainly referring to policy-making, planning and design practices.

**STEP**   Urban Develpment Plan (*Stadtsentwicklungsplan* in German) is a planning document published in Vienna every 10 years to strategically plan the development of the city for the following decade.

**Mobility of care**   a term conceptualised by Inés Sánchez de Madariaga, describes the alternative mobility patterns that have often a gendered implications, as women are still the majority of people who carry out the duties of caring for children and/or elderly.

**Intersectionality**   a concept of being at the intersection of different dispossessed groups of society, taking into account gender, ethnicity, sexuality, level of ability or financial status.

**Posthuman feminism**   a theoretical concept developed by Rosi Braidotti, which critiques both the neo-liberal and socialist approach of feminist movements, using posthuman (both technological and anthropological) theory as a basis.

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# Abstract

The challenges women encounter due to numerous disparities within social superstructures are finally finding their way into mainstream debates. Interestingly, Vienna is the first European city that has been incorporating the concept of gender mainstreaming into urban planning practices since the 1990s, by providing formal platforms for women to integrate their perspectives in the city's development. This research, however, reveals that the dialogue frequently remains trapped under the restricted label of 'feminist' or 'gender-sensitive', while it deserves a deeper, more nuanced discussion. Vienna's top-down planning leaves little space for informal strategies and hence, abandons the voices of under-represented people, particularly within immigrant communities of Vienna's outer districts. Therefore, this research dissects the city's gender sensitivity using a set of conflicts revealing the dissonance between the social realities of vulnerable migrant women in one of the city's fringe districts, Favoriten, and the efforts of female activists and the city administration. The data collected during extensive field interviews is documented through drawing as a method to showcase that women are less likely to simply 'be' in public space. These findings lead to proposal of a discussion-starter role-playing game, which places migrant women as central figures of planning processes. *Disrupting the gendered order* is a critical examination of how Vienna, the humanist city with a feminist attitude, can transcend beyond its rigid definition of formal urban planning and aim for multi-perspective emancipation, subsequently redefining gender mainstreaming worldwide.

Introduction

01

Figure 1. ▶
Extract from
Taylor&Francis'
*Planning Perspectives*
website showing my
co-authored article.

# Motivation

Growing up as a girl in conservative country like Poland always meant for me that there was something I needed to conform to in order to fit within the societal boundaries. But having my parents always put emphasis on education and the skills that were not stereotypically female since a young age, my mind developed a critical layer that always accompanied me when facing gender bias and discrimination that came at the later stages of my upbringing.  I credit this as a reason that I have always worked hard to defy any possible difficulties caused by being a girl and a woman, but yet I have faced, conformed and developed insecurities that stop me from reaching the full potential.

This refers to almost all women around the world, even if they realise it or not. For many, the unfair discrimination means more than "only" unfulfilled dreams - it can cost their livelihood, health or even life, as women are more vulnerable in situations such as natural calamities or political unrest[1]. Some gendered bias against women is very blatant and visible, but more often it manifests in the most subtle ways such as the expectation of certain behaviour or the intricacies concerning maternity leave in corporate as well as academic workplaces. Fed up with being labelled as "pert"and "annoying" due to always pushing to prove my right, I started reading and exploring the depths of gender and its implications in everyday life, especially in the space of a city.

In the course of years of exploring the topic, I realised that despite many feminist movements throughout history, we are often still facing the same problems, the same bias and the same obstacles in virtually every area of life, even in places which are considered to be ahead in the process of erasing these differences. But the truth is that these should not

12

1. Arora-Jonsson, 'Virtue and vulnerability: Discourses on women, gender and climate change', 744–51

2. Criado-Perez, *Invisible Women: Data Bias in a World Designed for Men*

3. Reinwald, Roberts & Kail, "Gender sensitivity in urban development concepts. The example of two case studies from London and Vienna." in *Gendered Approaches to Spatial Development in Europe. Perspectives, Similarities, Differences.*

4. Jackowska and Ferradás, 'Who owns public spaces ? The trailblazer exhibition on women's everyday life in the City of Vienna', 1–27.

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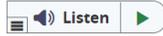
Research Article

# Who owns public spaces? The trailblazer exhibition on women's everyday life in the City of Vienna (1991)

Oliwia Jackowska & María Novas Ferradás ✉ ⓘ

🔖 Download citation    🔗 https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2022.2074526    Check for updates

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be erased, but addressed in an informative and meaningful way.

In reality, the only thing that becomes erased is women's history, as I have experienced myself when documenting an important event for my Architectural History Thesis during studies here at TU Delft. As I continued my exploration of gender bias in the urban environment, I realised that there are a few places in which the ideas put forward to mitigate women's discrimination become part of the strategic approach in planning, and it always follows strong planning figures. Inés Sánchez de Madariaga is a leading expert working internationally, based in Madrid, who works with the council to make the city a better place for women, among others, by improving infrastructure for mobility of care, performed predominantly by women.[2] The second figure in gender mainstreaming is Eva Kail with her contributions in Vienna throughout the last decades. With 30 years of strategic gender planning, the city became a case study that was praised around the world.[3] Upon exploring the remarkable case of the Austrian capital, I uncovered that the exhibition which kick-started the strategic gender mainstreaming in planning and urban design in Vienna was never officially addressed in detail or documented in any way before.

This fascination led me to writing my history thesis about the exhibition, organised in 1991 by Eva Kail, and her colleague Jutta Kleedorfer. I was interested in the socio-political events and movements which led up to the exhibition, as well as the contents and data it presented.[4] After a year of exploration, writing and working through original materials retrieved from personal archives, I co-authored and published an article in *Planning Perspectives* with María Novas Ferradás (Figure 1). This article documents an understudied feminist event, but also offers a critical exploration of ways in which we archive gendered events. This includes an overview of feminist movements in Europe and the US, as well as in the specifically Austrian and Viennese context. The confining political structure in Austria, as well as the feminists' demands that excluded or "othered" women who found themselves on the intersection of discriminated groups is discussed.

The shortcomings of one of the most strategic cities in addressing gender inequality urges me to question whether it is possible to ever reach a satisfactory level of equity. This is why the graduation project continues this historical research trying to apply the knowledge in the future, to ensure the safety, happiness and health of women and other gendered groups.

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# Background and outline

## TIME

Share of
hours spent
performing:
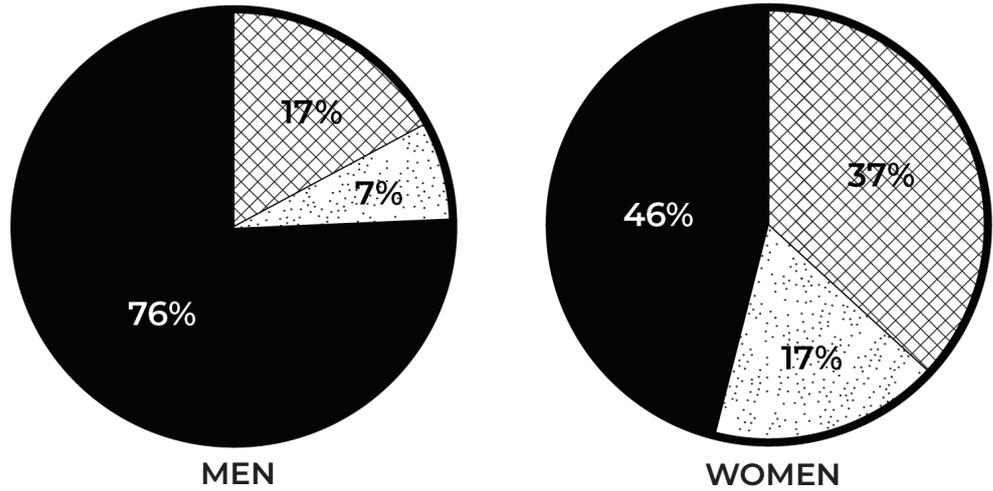
■ paid work

▨ housework

▫ childcare

14



**MEN**    **WOMEN**

MEN pie: 76%, 17%, 7%
WOMEN pie: 46%, 37%, 17%

## MOBILITY

Mode of daily
transport:
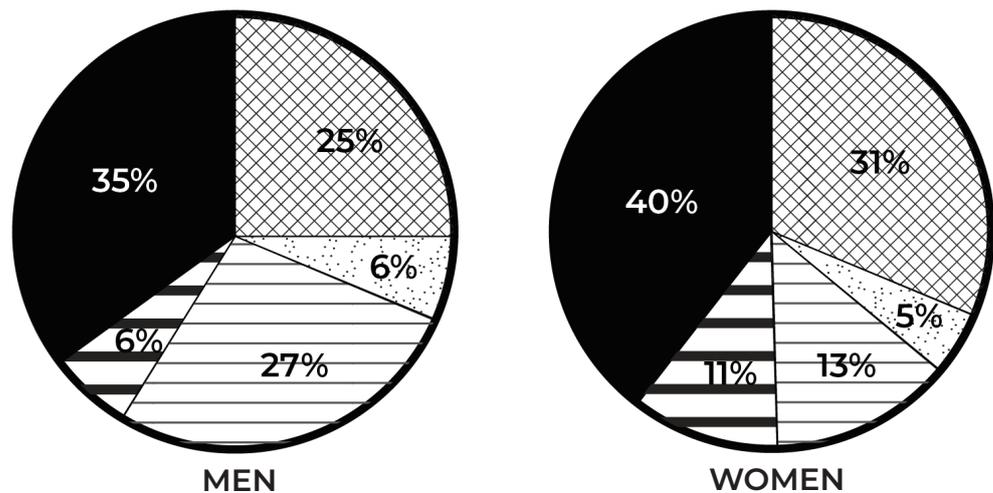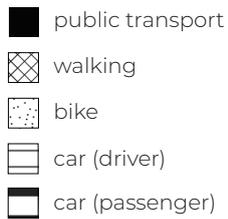
■ public transport

▨ walking

▫ bike

▤ car (driver)

▭ car (passenger)

**MEN**    **WOMEN**

MEN pie: 35%, 25%, 6%, 27%, 6%
WOMEN pie: 40%, 31%, 5%, 13%, 11%

5. Falú, 'Women's Right to the City: Reflections on Inclusive Urban Planning'.

6. Sánchez De Madariaga. "Mobility of care: Introducing new concepts in urban transport". In *Fair Shared Cities: The Impact of Gender Planning in Europe.*

7. Damyanovic, Reinwald and Weikmann, 'Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development'

8. Jackowska and Ferradás, 'Who owns public spaces ? The trailblazer exhibition on women's everyday life in the City of Vienna', 1–27.

9. Castán Broto and Alves, 'Intersectionality challenges for the co-production of urban services: notes for a theoretical and methodological agenda',

▶

Since the 1980s, feminist activists and organisations have worked to constantly uncover the biases that line the traditional design and planning practices, which notoriously ignore women's needs, and therefore deny their right to the city.[5] Nowadays, the discussion on unequal distribution of resources between men and women often starts with the data concerning task division in relation to the access to resources and mobility.

The concept of unpaid labour, meaning performing care activities for children and elderly members of the family, house chores and ensuring the well-being of a household, have been historically underestimated, also in its contribution to the general economy. The associated research conducted on urban transport systems shows that unpaid labour, and subsequently so-called mobility of care are often not considered when it comes to alternative mobility patterns. The buses, trams and metro lines prioritise work-related commute, meaning they take you quickly and efficiently to the city centre or business hubs. In contrast, moving between suburban or sub-central districts with schools, elderly facilities or grocery shops takes significantly longer and costs more.[6] This is especially noteworthy as the data collected in Vienna in 2005 and 2011 (Figures 2 and 3) shows that women spend disproportionally more of their time performing unpaid care work, while they are also the majority of pedestrians and public transport users.[7] This is already a significant improvement since 1991 when this data collection was carried out for the first time. During that time, on average 71% of women performed all unpaid labour tasks and constituted two thirds of all pedestrians, while on average 29% of men did care work, while they constituted two thirds of all car users.[8]

The lack of inclusion of this knowledge in the practices of design and planning has tragic consequences, which influence women's quality of life, opportunities and health. This is just one of countless aspects of gender inequality in urban life caused by centuries of exclusively male point of view in city planning. Even though these basic and visible concepts are incorporated in the city's policies, the complexities of identity and intersectionality are not universal enough to be simply categorised and resolved through top-down planning.[9]

In this project, I will firstly present the methodology used for this project, followed by the explanation of gender mainstreaming strategies in Vienna and the morphological development of the city to set a scene of the acclaimed 'success' of the city. The next chapter provides theory that firstly defines the drawbacks in Vienna's strategies and current feminist movements, and later provides backbone for criticism and base for rethinking of Vienna's gender-oriented urban planning. This is all re-framed in the fifth chapter, where I develop a method to examine the experience of migrant women in Vienna's diverse 10th district, Favoriten, through analysis and information collected during the fieldwork. Finally, in the sixth chapter I propose tools that can lead to providing the much needed link between formality and informality in gender mainstreaming in urban planning, through a game that is designed to aid the communication process.

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# Methodology

## 02

Figure 4. ▶

Methodological
framework diagram,
by author.

# Methodology

## 2.1. Problematization

The extent of women's vulnerability has been explored continuously, yet the never-ending fight for women's rights takes a few steps forward only to move few steps back repeatedly. The patriarchal system ensures that the "default" gender power relations are at an arm's length to be reintroduced back into society. This is especially illustrated in the recent events surrounding the abortion laws, and in the shocking instances of raging wars in Ukraine, Afghanistan or Syria. The women who have been emancipated through years of activism and politicisation are suddenly downgraded to refugee mothers, and even more tragically - victims of weaponised sexual violence.

Even where there is no ongoing armed conflict, women continue to gain and lose their rights globally. As the ultra-catholic countries such as Argentina and Ireland finally ensure the safe access to abortion, nations who won the same rights in the 1970s are now losing them partially or almost completely, notably in cases such as Poland or the US. This debate takes a further turn as the intersectional dimension of ethnicity, ability, age, migration and climate vulnerability come to play.

## 2.2. Problem statement

In the realm of growing pressures of climate, political and societal emergencies, the problems of discrimination against women and other gendered groups get pushed aside. The surge of, in theory, various devastating crises poses a risk of leaving them behind, on top of the neoliberal labour market and technology producing new forms of dispossession. Even though Vienna practices a strategic approach to gender mainstreaming in urban planning, there is a risk that feminist emancipation has become stagnant, as the city has continuously failed to address its refugee and migrant women. With one of the most feminist cities in the world missing the opportunities, there is a need to redefine its predominantly top-down strategies.

## 2.3. Research aim

Consequently, this project aims to:

- explore the possibilities beyond the limits of the rigid neoliberal and bureaucratic climate;
- give voices to migrant women, who are one of the most vulnerable in the current system;
- apply new methods and experiment with creativity to make a necessary leap in the emancipation process in Vienna;
- and provide a safe and comfortable environment for all women and gendered groups in Vienna and beyond.

*Flexible system to redefine gendered order*

expected output

| Chapter 3 | Chapter 5 | Chapter 4 |
|---|---|---|

**Outcome**

| Conceptu-alisation | Database | Critique |

**Methods**

| Literature Historical research Morphology analysis Mapping Boundaries Urban Critical Theory | Quantitive statistics Interviews Ethnographic reaserch Mind maps | Analysing policies Interviews with planners Mapping the forces Literature Historical socio-political analysis |

RsQ1 RsQ2 RsQ3

| Spatial | Spatial-temporal | Socio-political |

**Analysis**

| Chapter 6 | Chapter 7 |
|---|---|

**Outcome**

| Design events | Framework |

**Methods**

| Theory Posthuman Feminism Case study disruptions Designing disruptive events Scenario building | Framework for strategy Policy transfer Strategy transfer Design |

RsQ4 RsQ5

| Disrupt | Apply |

**Strategy**

MRsQ

**Main objective**

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## 2.4. Main research question

MRsQ What strategies can improve the inclusion of vulnerable migrant communities in the gender discourse and process of urban planning in Vienna?

## 2.5. Sub-questions

RsQ1 How has the gender bias manifested historically in the morphology of the city designed predominantly by male planners?

RsQ2 How are migrant women using public space daily?

RsQ3 a. How have the gender mainstreaming strategies and feminist activism in Vienna created opportunities for migrant women?

b. Where have these strategies and actions reached their limits?

RsQ4 What tools can assist in overcoming these limits?

RsQ5 What are the lessons learned that could be applied to empower migrant women elsewhere?

# Conceptual framework diagram.



the Earth
globality
migration
climate justice

**PROCESS SCALE**
About vulnerability and intersectionality.

European Union
Vienna
Gender Mainstreaming Office
Local Management Area
Local Agenda 21

**MACRO SCALE**
About systemic gender mainstreaming.

Vienna

(Gendered) Vulnerability          Seema Arora-Jonsson

Intersectionality                                    V. Castán Broto

20

Places of importance
Markets
Community
Places of worship

**MESO SCALE**
About the potential social disruption.

activism

Wall
Home
Street

**NANO SCALE**
About the production of space.

daily practices

Posthuman feminism          Rosi Braidotti

snowball effect

Henri Lefebvre                              (Gendered) Right to the City

"The changing roles and duties of women in their lifecycle change
expressions of belonging and patterns of use of cityscapes."

**Tovi Fenster**

**MICRO SCALE**
About the body.

▲
Figure 5.
Conceptual
framework diagram,
by author.

*Disrupting the gendered order*

## 2.6. Methodological framework

The framework for methodology in this project is defined by the acts of *understanding*, *conceptualising*, *critiquing*, *disrupting* the old and *applying* the new order. Like any feminist urban initiative, the projects' central aim is to build upon the learnt experience of the city to strengthen the position of women, hence the focus on Vienna.

Through the tools of analysis, the *understanding* of current strategic system of gender mainstreaming in urban planning, the position of vulnerable migrant women as well as the general direction of activism in the city is crucial. This basis opens up the possibility for *conceptualisation* of the unknown experience of these vulnerable groups through interviews and ethnographic research, and subsequently *critique* of the current system in relation to that lived experience. Through learning from the current activism and designing the events as part of the methodological framework, the intervention can create a momentary *disruption* in the current system, which through de-constructing can help to identify and expose elements that are overlooked, underdeveloped or even harmful to the emancipation process. These elements further contribute to creating a framework to *apply* the new gendered order that is flexible enough to navigate through the scales, from human body to global reach. This method ensures that the critique will be followed by an impactful action of design, and therefore the project has an opportunity to provide a necessary and useful feedback to these gender mainstreaming strategies in Vienna and globally.

## 2.7. Conceptual Framework

The main focus of the conceptual framework is working through scales. The micro scale is a human body itself, then to investigate its effect on space the scales of city walls, street, city and then the world. This approach helps to unpack the theories attached to each scale and understand their impacts. Consequently, the vulnerabilities and risks are associated with the cycle of planning and daily practices in order to define weak points in the system. This starts a snowball effect, as daily practices affect world.

## 2.8. Tools for questioning

Taking a seemingly successful city with a strong strategy for gender mainstreaming as the location for this project means that the critique posed in the following stages needs to be precise. To ensure that I present here theoretical and practical tools used in this project.

### 2.8.1. Critical urban theory

As described by Neil Brenner, critical urban theory rejects accepting the current state and form of cities as untouchable image reached through history, rationality and economy. As the author continues, critical urban theory puts an emphasis on urban spaces as transformative sites that are continuously mediated. Despite critical urban theory being defined as only conceptual, there is an aim for introducing practical solutions that can conquer the contradicting social norms. The other postulates state that critical urban theory "involves a critique of instrumental reason; and it is focused on the disjuncture between the actual and the possible."[10]

# Ethnographic conceptual diagram.

**(2) governance women's structures guiding decisions on the form of the city**

housing

food market
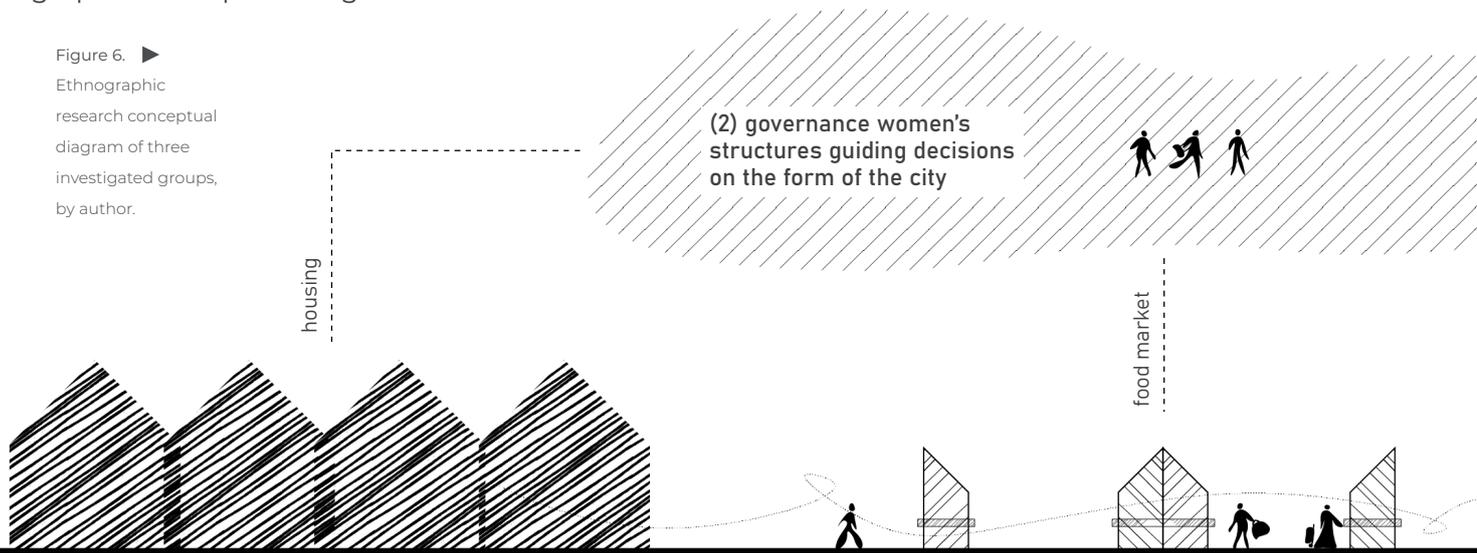
**(1) daily practices of migrant women mapped through ethnographic research**

Learning from the unapologetically abstract approach of the Frankfurt School, the exploration of theory/practice relation by Habermas, and Marcuse's statements on theoretical condition being continuously shaped by historical and social transformation, critical urban theory is an important tool in redefining social change, such as gendered emancipation.

### 2.8.2. Posthumanism

The in-depth exploration on the importance of posthuman feminism, from the work of Rosi Braidotti, for this project follows in Chapter 4 - "The theory of order and disruption". However, theory of posthumanism is an important tool of questioning as it rejects the notion of emancipation as a process of becoming equal to the humanist "Man/Anthropos". Instead, similarly to critical urban theory, it uses the power of critique to transcend beyond the neoliberal or neo-socialist social as well as spatial norms.

### 2.8.3. The capital of mobility

Mobility is a crucial part of urban life, and as addressed in the previous chapter, the gender roles division conditioned by patriarchy often makes women's mobility disadvantageous, from safety concerns to transport networks inadequate for care mobility patterns. Moreover, as described by the authors of a paper on "capital of mobility", the phenomenon of social mobility, meaning moving through social strata, away from unfair access to resources is closely linked to good access to spatial mobility. The introduction of the concept of motility, as in the capacity to move, addresses the access, competence and appropriation as key elements to identify fair access to mobility and therefore capital and opportunities.[11]

### 2.8.4 . Disruption as positive action

The interest in disruptive urbanism is growing with technology, often understood as disruptive to urban life. Disruption in cities is unexpected and involves actors in the most unique way, including activism and creative ways of expression. This allows for certain shifts in power that are able to occur only in an unprecedented way, possibly changing cities as we know them. [12]

10. Brenner, 'What is critical urban theory?'

11. Kaufmann, Bergman, Joye, Motility: Mobility as capital.

12. Taylor, 'What can 'disruptive urban technologies' tell us about power, visibility and the right to the city?'

22

work

school
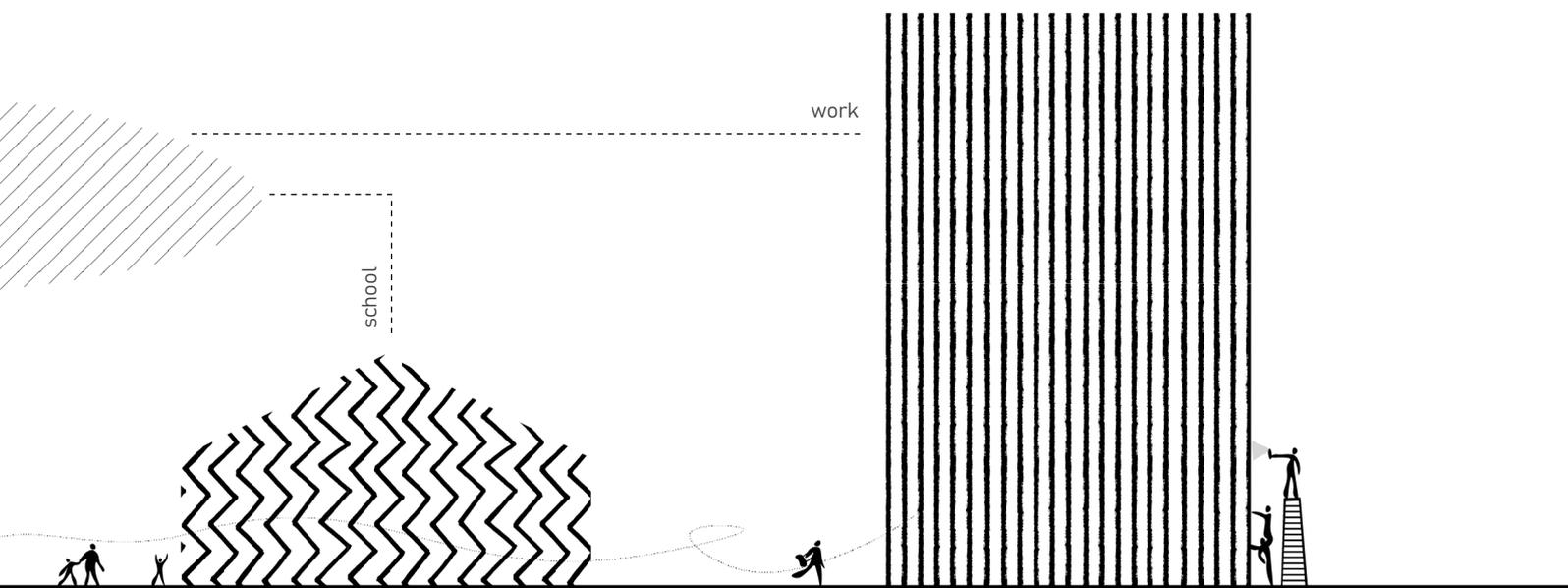
(3) activism happening outside the
view of the governance structures

## 2.9. Ethnographic research

The ethnographic research is a part of this project
to be conducted in the summer months. There
are three participating groups. The first group (1)
are the (migrant) women, whose daily lives I will
document through conversations, photographs,
drawings and study of everyday practices. The
districts overlooked in the planning practices,
and hence the participants are identified
through spatial research, such as data mapping
and interviewing two other groups. The second
group (2) are the female planners associated with
the Women's Office and Gender Mainstreaming
Office of the City of Vienna planning department.
These are planners with a vast experience
in this field, including Eva Kail. This group of
interviewees can provide expert knowledge,
but also identify where their strategies need
further improvement. The third group (3) are
young activists who are disrupting the generally
accepted order of gender mainstreaming in
Vienna and are calling for more consideration
and space for bottom-up initiatives. Questioning
and understanding the objectives and effects of
the events are key in understanding this group.

## 2.9.1 . Ethical consideration.

The different roles and experiences of all
groups lead to building practical knowledge
on Lefebvre's triad of conceived, perceived
and lived spaces, as described in Chapter
4. However, this needs to be approached
with ethical consideration. As the group of
experts is introduced through official email
correspondence, and activists through a
person involved in the events, there is little risk
of exploitation. The vulnerable group are the
migrant women, whose daily lives need to be
approached with consent and understanding
how the research could benefit them. Thus,
forms of investigation such as drawing can
help to put the learned knowledge of neoliberal
reality aside[13] and focus on understanding
these women's position in urban condition.
Additionally, listening carefully and providing
questions, gestures and phrases as neutral as
possible will help to engage the participants [14]
and make sure that the ethnographic process is
fair and expresses the actual situation.

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13. Newton and Olmos Herrera,
*Drawing as a visual tool for
critically understanding the urban.*

14. Mack et al, *Qualitative Research
Methods: a Data collector's guide.*

Vienna as a humanist city

03

◀ Background: Photo by Barbara Krobath, 1991, for the exhibition *Wem gehört der öffentliche Raum? - Frauenalltag in der Stadt*. Source: from personal archive,

# Strategic gender mainstreaming

### 3.1. Urban Development Strategy

Urban planning in Vienna has been increasingly strategic since the 1980s, when the city introduced *Stadtsentwicklungsplan* (STEP) - ten-year Urban Development Plan. Since the 1990s, it included gender sensitive strategies which paid special attention to making city more women-friendly, as the frustration among the female residents intensified after the political changes associated with the end of Cold War.[15] In 2013, it was additionally accompanied by a comprehensive Gender Mainstreaming Manual[16], which outlined the gender-related strategies, concepts and projects. As part of the urban development strategy, gender mainstreaming is approached differently in: (a) land use and development planning, (b) public space planning, (c) housing and public building construction.

In each of these domains of spatial planning, certain steps need to be followed in the process of making any new developments. Firstly, right from the outset of the competition for any intervention, objectives and set

15. Reinwald, Roberts and Kail, 'Gender sensitivity in urban development concepts. The example of two case studies from London and Vienna.' in *Gendered Approaches to Spatial Development in Europe. Perspectives, Similarities, Differences.*

16. Damyanovic, Reinwald, and Weikmann, 'Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development.'

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HOUSING



▲
Figure 7.
Pilot projects in Vienna.
Images from *Vienna: Progress Towards a Fair Shared City* by Elisabeth Irschik and Eva Kail

*Disrupting the gendered order*

of basic rules that follow gender mainstreaming strategy need to be formulated as part of the call for the contribution. Then, the preparation for the urban design needs to follow certain criteria and documents provided at the preparatory phase. Later, the designs are evaluated by a jury provided with necessary expertise against a comprehensive set of criteria fine-tuned to the specific requirements of any given competition. By safeguarding these qualities at the later stages of planning process, the city works towards ensuring barrier-free designs.

Certain urban models included in the general STEP 2025, are referenced as being supportive of gender-sensitive approach to planning. Both strengthening the assets of a polycentric urban structure and city of short distances reinforces the consideration of mobility of care. Other included enhancing safety, lighting and barrier-free design across the city.

## 3.2. Main principles

Referring to the same Gender Mainstreaming Manual, the planners propose a set of main principles that should be always followed. Vienna is especially praised for its strategic and critical approach, as the process of implementations is only a beginning of the constant process of evaluation and analysis to come up with best possible solutions. The objectives are as follows:

**1.** *Taking into account of the compatibility of family duties and paid work.*

**2.** *Equitable resource distribution through awareness of different spatial needs.*

**3.** *Attractiveness, safety and security of the housing environment.*

**4.** *Representation based on equitable participation and involvement of all groups in development and decision-making process.*

These are driven by the inclusive analysis of activity and mobility patterns, age demographics and access to resources.

## 3.3. Pilot Projects

As the strategic approach to gender mainstreaming developed in Vienna in 2000s, now the first phase began. This means that between 2005 and 2010, all spatial planning departments were required to carry out gender

PARK DESIGN

TRANSPORT AND MOVEMENT

03. Vienna as a humanist city
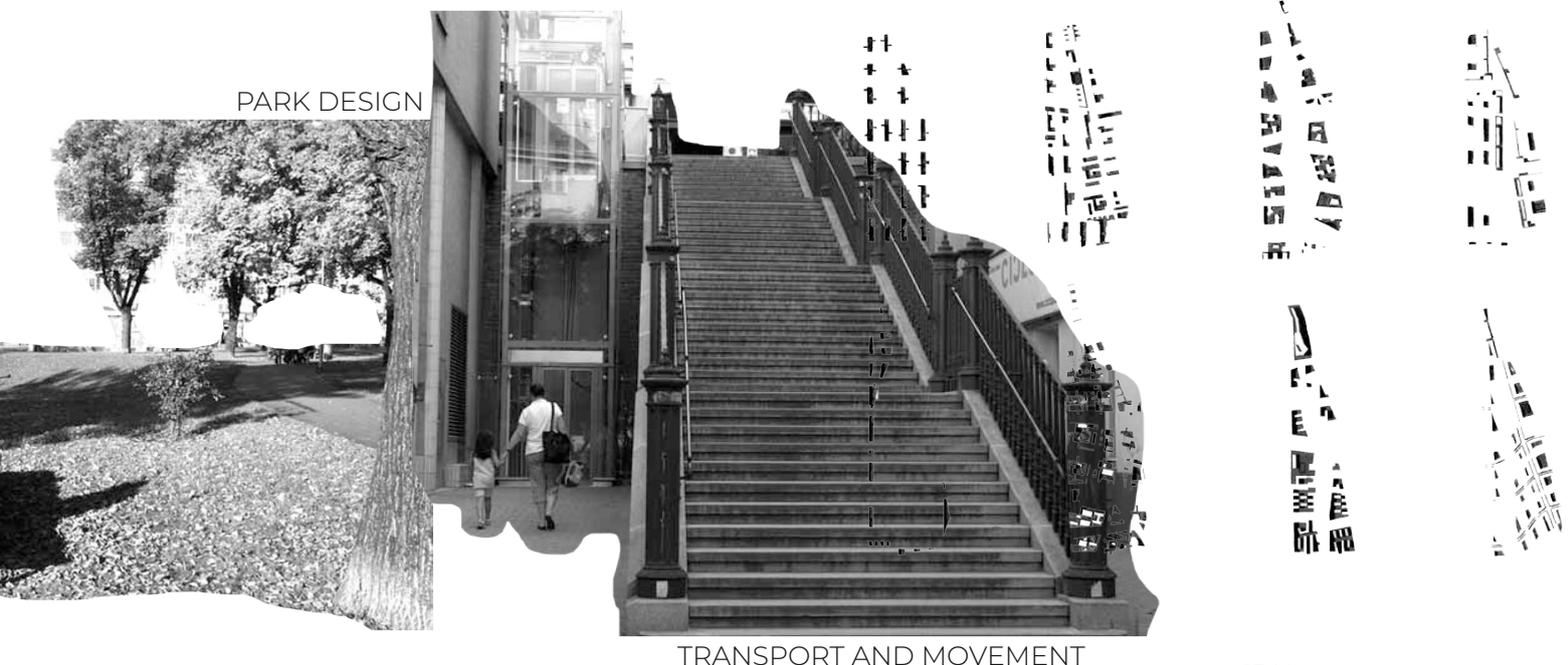
mainstreaming pilot projects that resulted in about 60 interventions, which included anything from "public space, parks and playgrounds, urban design, housing, public purpose buildings and lighting"[17]. These different angles of expertise ensured the comprehensiveness of different solutions. These projects are important as ways to realistically improved lived space, but also as experiments that, under evaluation, inform on which strategies work, which do not, and what can possibly create new problems. The following pilot projects have been described by Kail.[18]

### 3.3.1. Housing

Vienna has a long history of social housing strategies since the period of Red Vienna in the 1930s, when the socialist government tried to tackle housing crisis centrally. However, gender-sensitive housing design marks another milestone in approach to housing. Renowned Frauen-Werk-Stadt I & II are housing complexes that prioritise assisted and community-based living, especially for older residents. As the gender mainstreaming experts oversaw the whole project, there was systematic quality assurance present at all stages. Therefore, flats were designed for every phase of life and the focus on shared utility rooms or parking spaces limited the fear of assault by increasing lighting and visibility (Figures 9 & 10). Other important decisions included supporting social space, such as child day care and good infrastructure in the courtyard of the building.



▲
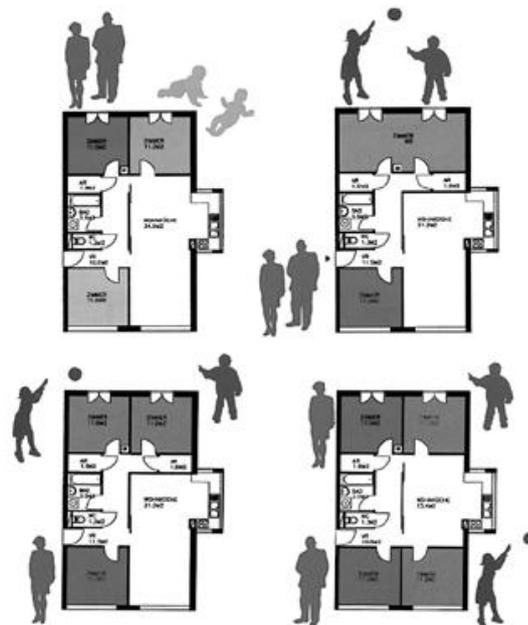
Figure 8.

Flat layout Elsa Prochazka, 85 m2 with kitchen oriel, FWS I, from Gender Mainstreaming Manual





▲

Figures 9 & 10.

Laundry room and underground parking in FWS I, from *Vienna: Progress Towards a Fair Shared City* by Irschik and Kail

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17. Reinwald, Roberts and Kail, 'Gender sensitivity in urban development concepts. The example of two case studies from London and Vienna.'

18. Irschik and Kail, 'Vienna: Progress towards a fair shared city.' In *Fair Shared Cities: The Impact of Gender Planning in Europe.*

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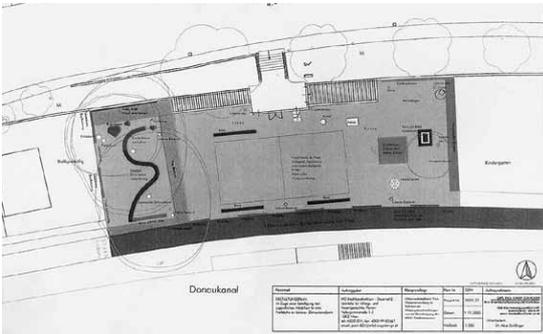
Figure 11 & 12.

Workshop and functional design of Donaukanal park, from *Vienna: Progress Towards a Fair Shared City* by Irschik and Kail



▲
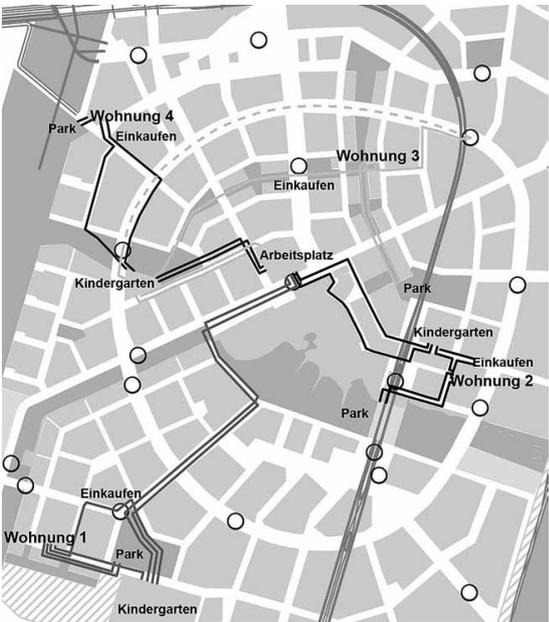
Figure 13.

Sequences of journeys – paid work combined with supply work, Masterplan Lake City Aspern, from *Vienna: Progress Towards a Fair Shared City* by Irschik and Kail

### 3.3.2. Parks

Similar approach was followed during the re-designing of parks to make them safe and comfortable for girls and women by improving lighting, visibility and safety. Many parks such as Donaukanal or Einsiedlerspark were contracted to landscape architects in order to rearrange the functions, as well as elements of play or fences to accommodate and prioritise girls' interests. These decisions were followed by socio-scientific studies conducted by the experts as well as inclusive workshops with girls in the neighbourhood to know what they needed.

### 3.3.3. Transport

Creating gender-sensitive transport means that many different organisations and departments need to be communicating effectively and cooperating. One of the biggest achievements of the Women's Office and Coordination Office has been starting the discussion on pedestrian concerns. This is especially relevant for gender mainstreaming as it was measured that in the 1990s two thirds of all pedestrians were women who struggled to move through intensified traffic, narrow pavements and unsafe areas. One of many important interventions was introduction of distinction between mobility sequences for paid work and supply/care work. This was strategically introduced in the district of Mariahilf, and the new development of Aspern Seestadt. This included increasing walkability, removing any possible barriers to pedestrian movement, adding lifts in public places, as well as placing necessary utilities that were supporting gender-specific trip chains (Figure 13).

**1975**
Rise of feminist protests that emerged in 1970s in the world. Founding of Aktion Unabhängiger Frauen (Independent Women's Action, AUF). In 1975 the protesters enured the de-criminalisation of abortion in Austria.

**1982**
Launch of periodical publications disseminating the idea of women's solidarity, Frauensolidarität, an.schläge and Frauenachrichten.

*Activist era*

**Establishment of Co-ordination Office.**
Official gender-mainstreaming group within the construction department in the City of Vienna.

**Competition on Frauen-Werk-Stadt I**
First gender-sensitive housing project of such scale in Europe.

**1998**

**1994**

**1991**

**1997**
Tenants move in to Frauen-Werk-Stadt I

**1992**
Establishment of Women's Office

Exhibition 'To whom does public space belong? Women's everyday life in the city'
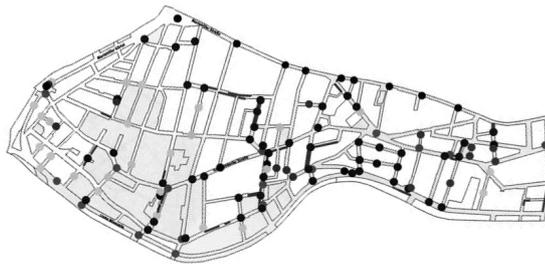


**1999**
Einsiedler and St. Johann's Parks submitted for gender-sensitive re-design

**2002**
Launch of gender mainstreaming pilot projects program in different districts.

**Symposium:**
**2007**
15th anniversary of 'To Whom does public space belong – women's everyday life in the city'.

*Strategic era*
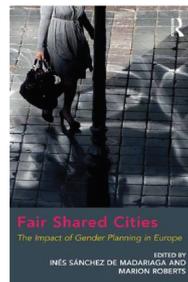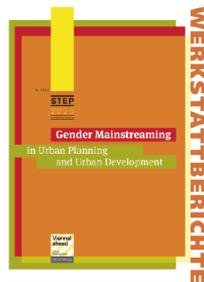
**2013**
Publication of the first complete gender mainstreaming manual "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development"

Also, Eva Kail publishes information on Vienna's strategies to share knowledge on gender sensitive planning.

**2019**
Publication on the strategies of gender-mainstreaming with a contribution by Eva Kail on Vienna.

*Post-strategic era*

**?**

Figure 14.
Vienna's gender
mainstreaming
timeline, by author.

## 3.4. Political bodies

The practice and history of Viennese gender mainstreaming in urban planning is vibrant and can be used as a case study when looking into introducing the strategies elsewhere. The establishment of *Co-ordination Office for Planning and Construction geared to the Requirements of Daily Life and the Specific Needs of Women* as part of *Executive Group for Construction and Technology* has been a key moment. Having a political body that ensures the implementation of strategies might be the most effective way to approach this. Even though the Co-ordination Office "was a little bit of a feminist utopia" organised within a male-dominated political structure as a productive and effective unit, it has also been very small (with only three female planners working together).[19] Currently, the city has a municipal Department for Gender Mainstreaming within the Executive Group for Organisation, Safety and Security as part of administration and policy; as well as Vienna's Municipal Department 57 - Vienna Women's Issues which has a team of many people including economists, legal experts or clinical psychologists to provide any kind of help that women in vulnerable position might need. However, neither of these departments are strictly dedicated to spatial planning, and hence rely more on political support, rather than effective work of female planners.

## 3.5. Brief history of feminist movements

Figure 14 shows a simplified timeline of events that needed to unfold for Vienna to become a city with a well-established political structure of gender-sensitive planning. Firstly, a worldwide rise of a second-wave feminist movement was initiated in the 1970s, following women's fight for reproductive rights, especially in the context of safe and legal access to abortion. This was partially granted in Austria in 1975 as the Independent Women's Action group, in short AUF, become a leading organisation in the Austrian part of the movement. In the 1980s, the movements focused less on the unity, but instead trying to address more specific groups and their struggles, such as Turkish and Eastern European immigrants. The beginning of the 1990s marked the start of the strategic era in Vienna's gender action - with establishing Women's and later Co-ordination Office, which carried out many strategic projects and publications.[20]

19. Irschik and Kail, 'Vienna: Progress towards a fair shared city.' In *Fair Shared Cities: The Impact of Gender Planning in Europe.*

20. Jackowska & Novas Ferradás, 'Who owns public spaces? The trailblazer exhibition on women's everyday life in the City of Vienna (1991)'

# Morphology of Vienna

### 3.6. Historical development of the city

21. Pirhofer and Stimmer, 'Pläne für Wien. Theorie Und Praxis Der Wiener Stadtplanung.'

22. Suitner, 'Vienna's planning history: periodizing stable phases of regulating urban development, 1820–2020.'

23. City of Vienna, 'STEP 2025 Urban Development Plan Vienna.'

24. Pirhofer and Stimmer, 'Pläne für Wien. Theorie Und Praxis Der Wiener Stadtplanung.'

Vienna is a European city with long history of urban planning. Some of its city centre's form still reflects the structures of a Roman military camp Vindobona from almost 2000 years ago, as well as some medieval regulations and placement of important buildings.[21] The biggest changes came in the nineteenth century fuelled by the industrialisation of Vienna, turning it from a small town into the diverse industrial metropolis that we still see today.[22] As Suitner discussed in his paper on periodisation of Vienna's planning history, the establishment of extensive railway network ensured the growth of the economy and industry-based production in the beginning of the twentieth century. The constantly emerging industrial sites were driving force for the development of the city and all infrastructural projects such as the Ringstraße project, which aimed to connect and adapt Vienna's built city fabric to industrial needs. As the author continues to describe, this approach changed completely after the First World War, when poverty and a devastated economy gave an urgency to focus on people's needs instead. This period in the history of the city is known as Red Vienna, due to its socialist power and strong focus

Figure 15. ▶
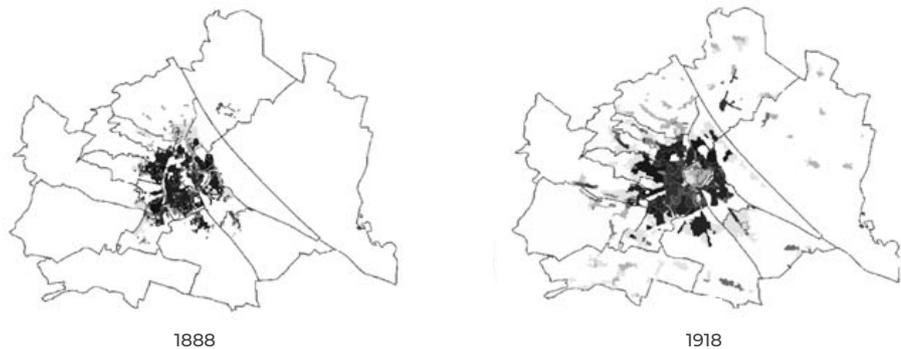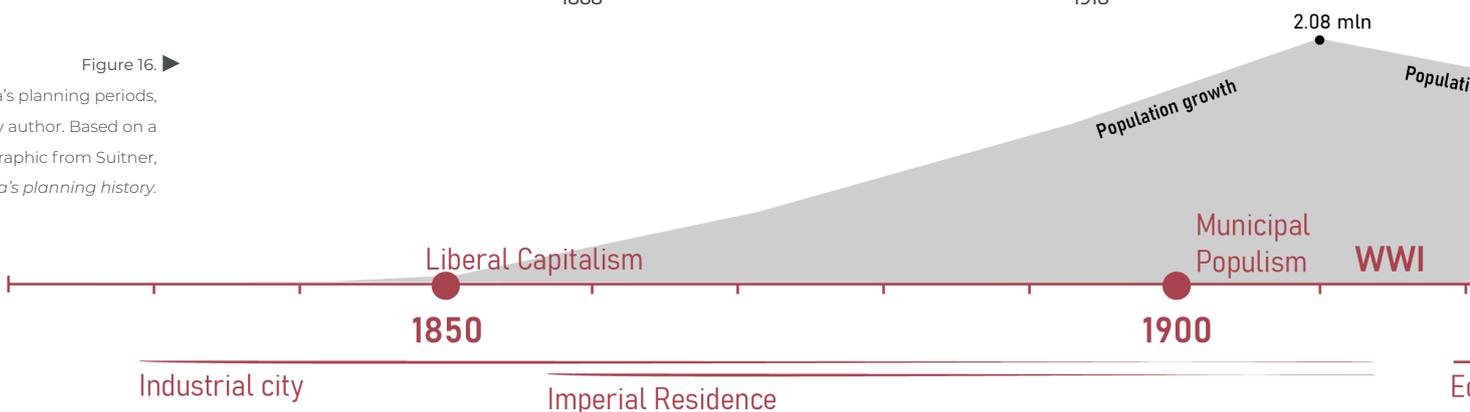Vienna's population density of the different periods, from Suitner, *Vienna's planning history*

Figure 16. ▶
Vienna's planning periods, by author. Based on a graphic from Suitner, *Vienna's planning history.*



1888

1918

2.08 mln

Population growth

Populati

Liberal Capitalism

Municipal Populism

WWI

1850

1900

Industrial city

Imperial Residence
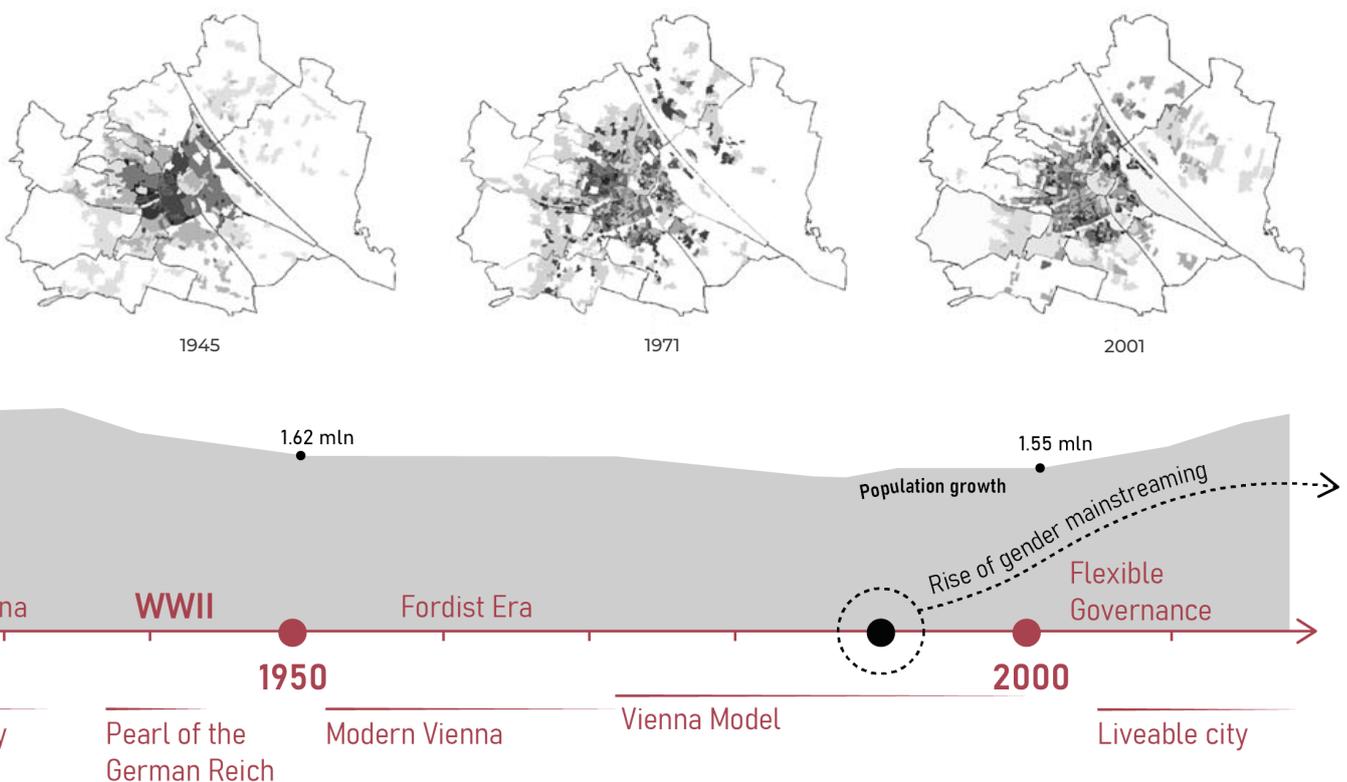
Ec

*Disrupting the gendered order*

on providing social housing in order to tackle growing crisis. Sadly, this was cut short with the introduction of Fascist governments, first the Austrian and later the Nazi regime, as the focus in urban planning was returned again to technical infrastructure for creating employment opportunities to gain the support of possibly mostly male citizens.

After the devastating effects of another war, Vienna adapted a Fordist approach to growth increasing the prosperity of the state. The emphasis was put on large-scale housing estates with emphasis on subway connection which was a representation of the technocratic planning approach. Modernist urban experts such as Karl Brunner and Roland Rainer reinforced the technical development of the city. However, since the 1970s, due to growing frustration of the citizens, there was a need for a strong reformulation of planning principles. Since 1980s a few participatory organisations have been actively empowering the soft urban renewal, and since 1990s gender mainstreaming began.[23]

## 3.7. Criticism of the male perspective

As seen in the history of Viennese planning, there has always been many opposing forces at play. The main criticism addresses the fact that a city which started developing 2000 years ago has been exclusively developed from a male perspective, with only the last 30 years being considered from women's point of view. As productive Vienna's gender mainstreaming department is, the possibility of resolving millennia of urban planning geared exclusively to men is faint. Especially since the visions of the influential figures in planning of the city, even though opposing each other, never considered women's perspective. Architect Otto Wagner was driven by the concept of monumentality, and later the expert planner Karl Brunner by moving Vienna's population to newly created satellite towns. Roland Rainer, on the other hand, feared the rise of car traffic and unsuccessfully worked to prioritise pedestrians, by keeping population within the city, but this ended up making the city dominated by cars anyway. [24]

1945



1971



2001



on shrinkage    1.62 mln    1.55 mln    Population growth    Rise of gender mainstreaming

Red Vienna    WWII    Fordist Era    Flexible Governance

**1950**    **2000**

quitable City    Pearl of the German Reich    Modern Vienna    Vienna Model    Liveable city

03. Vienna as a humanist city

## 3.8. Development plans of the city

As seen on the maps from Vienna's Urban Development Plans 2025, there is a strong emphasis on polycentrality by developing districts that are dominated by 1950s-1960s structures, as well as creating new business centres. However, the emphasis on locality that is focused proximity of important every day structures is missing, especially in the focus area of Favoriten.
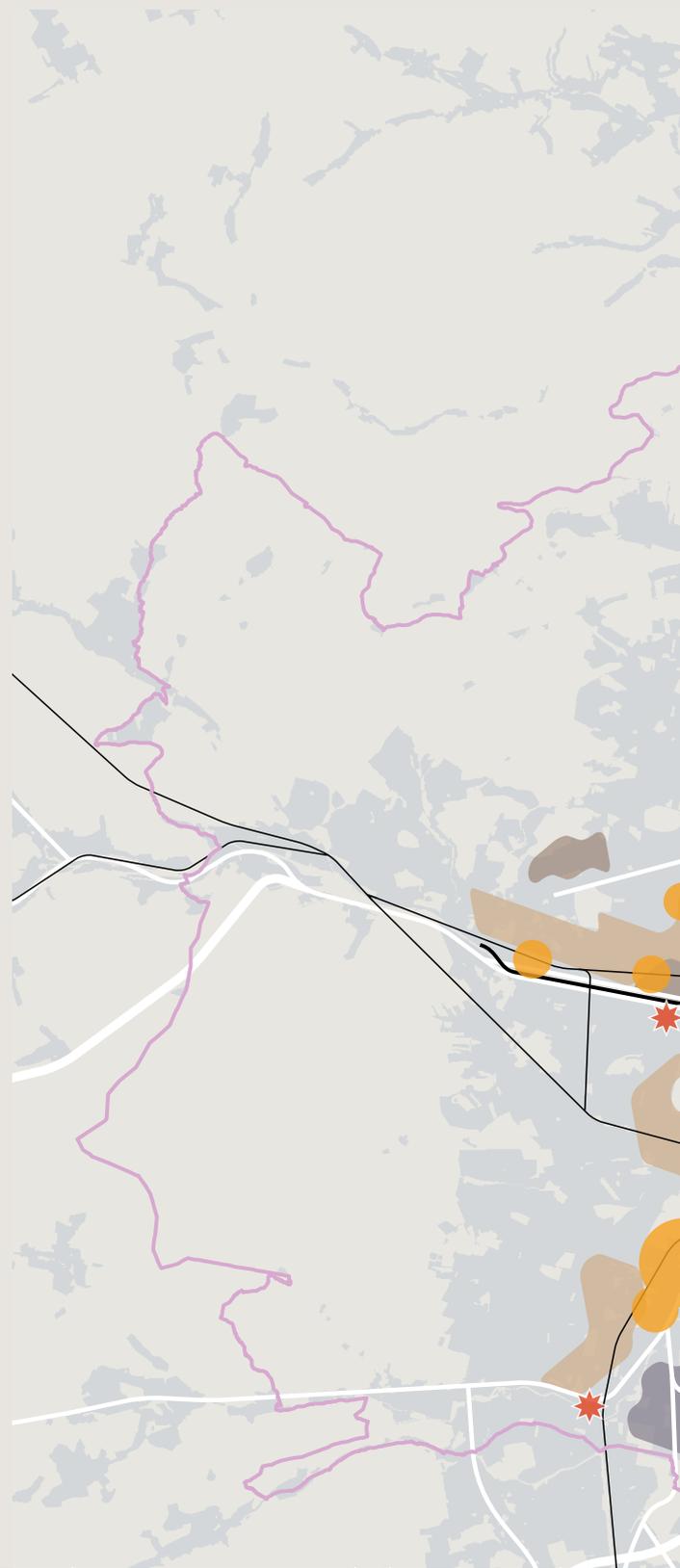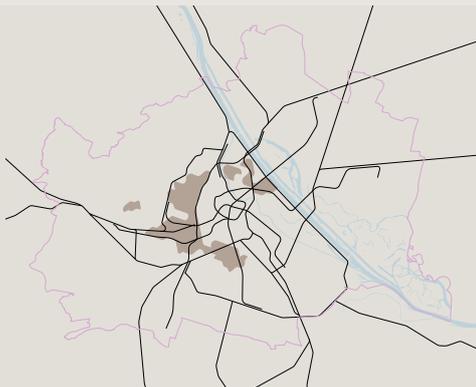
Development of identified areas
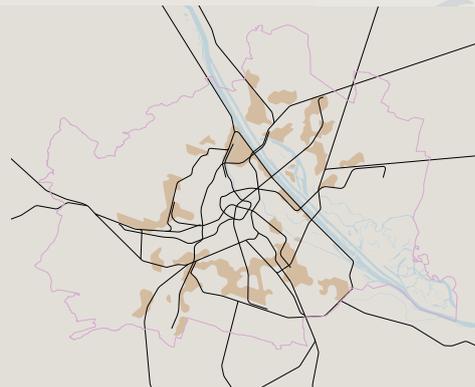
Further development of areas of mainly 1950s-1970s structures
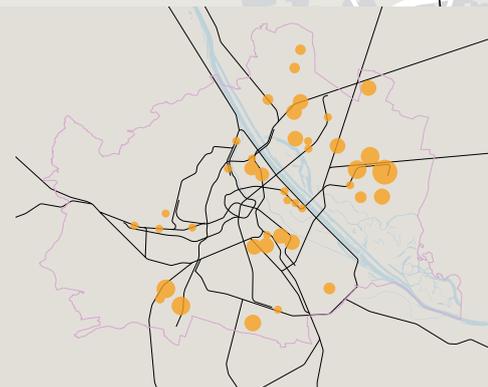
Areas with development potential for housing and workplaces
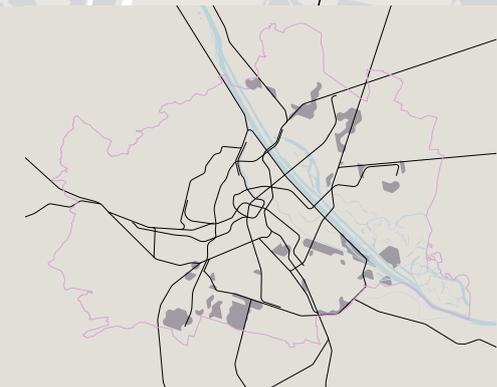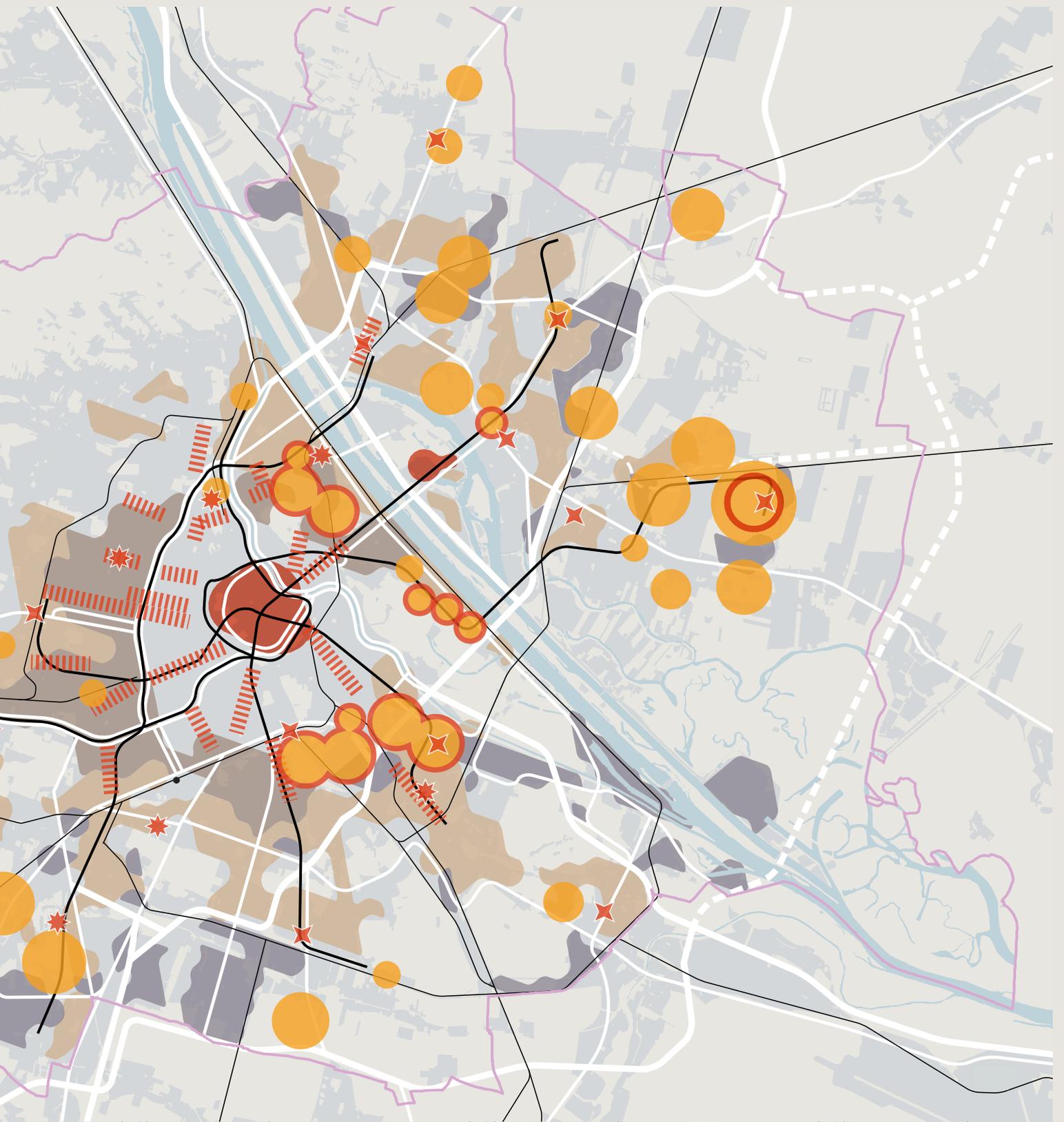
Zone for enterprises not suitable for mixed use
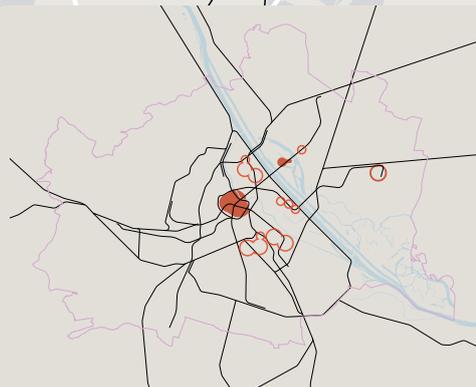
Central Business District expansion
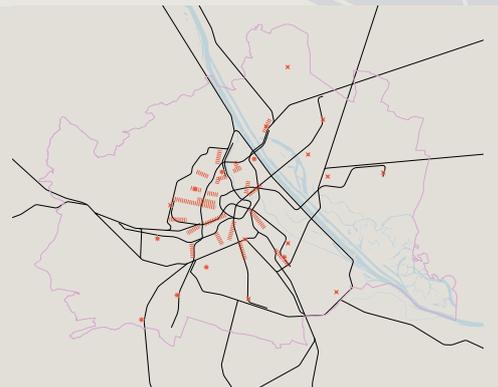
Established sub-centre

# The exclusion

## 3.9. Exclusion of the past

As described in the previous section, Vienna has gone through the process of industrialisation, expansion, and capitalisation with male figures such as Otto Wagner, Karl Brunner and Roland Rainer playing significant roles in the act of practicing technical, top-down planning. This changed at the turn of the millienium with a small, but effective, department of three female planners changing the focus of Vienna's urban development. However, the historical layers of the city stay unaffected, and still carry a substantial level of bias.

Many implementations of the gender mainstreaming strategy such as widening pavements, adding lifts and lighting, or even re-organising public transport are key in making Vienna a safer and more accessible city for women. Most of the actions that have been implemented focus exclusively on new developments and new buildings. Sometimes a redevelopment of a street is introduced, but it can only alter distribution of some functions, prioritise pedestrians or add safety measures.[25] Nonetheless, despite the new layer of implementations, the whole structure of the city is still untouched – as shown metaphorically in Figure 19, where women's perspective is just a new historical layer, but underneath the old city exists. The question is: how would a feminist utopia city look like then? Even though it is difficult to understand due to the lack of precedent, it would possibly include the excluded.

## 3.10. Exclusion of 'other'

In her book on ambiguities surrounding Vienna's feminism, Stefanie Mayer argues that since the 1970s, when the contemporary feminist movement started, immigrant and racialised women were often "othered" in discussions.[26] Even when in the 1980s the focus on these women strengthened through initiatives that targeted solidarity, they were still seen as the outsiders, which is possibly linked to the fact that the Austrian political stage has consisted of predominantly white middle-class perspective.[27]

25. Damyanovic, Reinwald, and Weikmann, 'Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development.'

26. Mayer, *Politik der Differenzen: Ethnisierung, Rassismen und Antirassismus im weißen feministischen Aktivismus in Wien*

27. Edthofer, 'This is what radical democracy looks like! Reclaiming urban space in Vienna.'

28. European Institute for Gender Equality, *Gender Equality Index Report.*

29. Novy & Hammer, 'Radical innovation in the era of liberal governance: The case of Vienna'
.

Figure 19. ▶
A collage showing women re-claiming the city, top photo by Barbara Krobath, bottom Vienna in 1683 by Folbert van Alten-Allen

Figure 20. ▶
Imagined different daily practices by excluded users, sketch, by author.

Nevertheless, outside of the city's non-transparent decision-making process, there are inclusive participatory initiatives that are trying to tackle these challenges, such as Local Area Management, who, incentivised by the European Union (EU), actively engage migrant communities in their urban renewal processes. Unfortunately, the ideas brainstormed by the residents such as making a flea market or other diverse social events are rejected as it is "incompatible with the criteria of EU funding".[28] Sadly, these migrant women often live in a patriarchal social sub-structure, where their emancipation is limited more than in other communities. It has been reported by the European Institute for Gender Equality that "women from a minority and/or migrant background tend to have lower rates of participation in employment, leading to greater disparities in income and higher risk of poverty"[29]. Their daily practices ought to be taken into account in the planning in Vienna, but also prioritised by the EU funding policies. Migrant communities also tend to live in districts that are being gentrified, and often omitted in the gender mainstreaming strategies in urban planning, and hence experience another layer of exclusion, which is addressed in this next section.
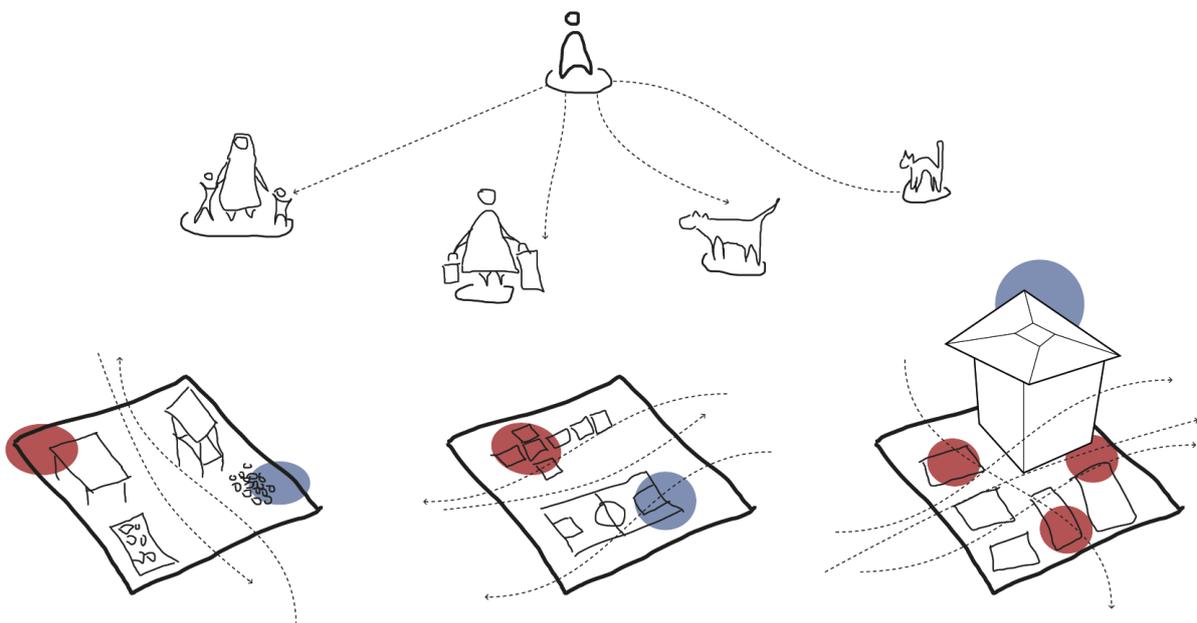
Population growth in the 10th district by country of birth
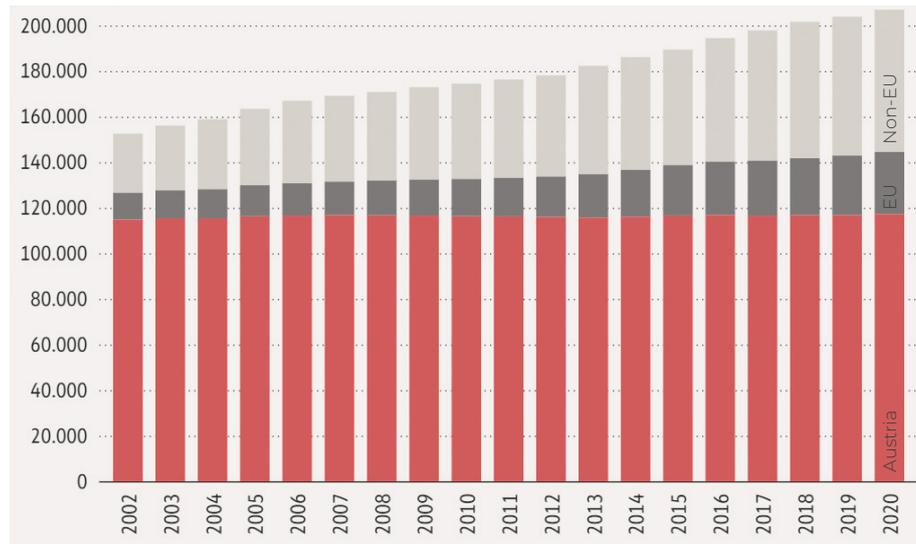
## 3.11. Exclusion of gentrifying districts

The 10th district of Vienna, known as Favoriten, has one of the biggest and fastest growing migrant communities. As visible in Figure 21 the population growth in the district is mainly driven by immigration, but predominantly from residents born outside of the EU. Addressing Favoriten is especially significant due to its historical and morphological conditions. Currently, the district is separated from the central parts of the city by the main station Hauptbahnhof as well as a railway track running along the edges of its neighbourhoods, which create a boundary between Favoriten and the centre. This has many implications that influence visibility, safety, and quality of space. Interestingly, the district was already secluded by a boundary when it joined Vienna's municipality in 1874, as it was the first suburb to be incorporated from outside of the deteriorating Linienwalls. According to Pirhofer and Stimmer, a few years later, it became a site for urban expansion designed by a prominent at the time architect Siccard von Siccardsburg, which resulted in the growth of so-called Worker's District (Figure 23). However, the area that was meant for large-scale

industries, now did not provide enough space for them, and they needed to be moved further from the city. In the years following World War II, new residential developments were being built, closer to the edges of the city. However, the placement of these buildings was not determined by careful planning strategy, but the readiness of the ground for construction due to the urgency to rebuild the city after the destructive war. This was later followed by Rainer's objection to single-family houses at the edge of the city, as he built more large-scale housing complexes sandwiched between green spaces.[30]

Nowadays, as mentioned in STEP 2025, the city of Vienna has an action plan to develop the concept of polycentric "city of short distances" where areas built in 1950s to 1970s are aimed to be re-developed and refurbished. In this strategy plan, Favoriten is marked as area for development, with a large business centre to be introduced at the heart of the district, close to the central station. But what is missing in that plan is a proposition truly important to the residents, such as shopping street of high importance, to truly create a local centrality.[31]

38

**manufacture hub**

**Wien Hbf**

**car train station**

**technical services**

**historical "Worker's district"**

**expansion**

**expansion**

**expansion**

**expansion**

30. City of Vienna, 'STEP 2025 Urban Development Plan Vienna.'

31. Pirhofer and Stimmer, 'Pläne für Wien. Theorie Und Praxis Der Wiener Stadtplanung.'

▲

Figures 22 & 23. Favoriten boundaries and expansion, by author.
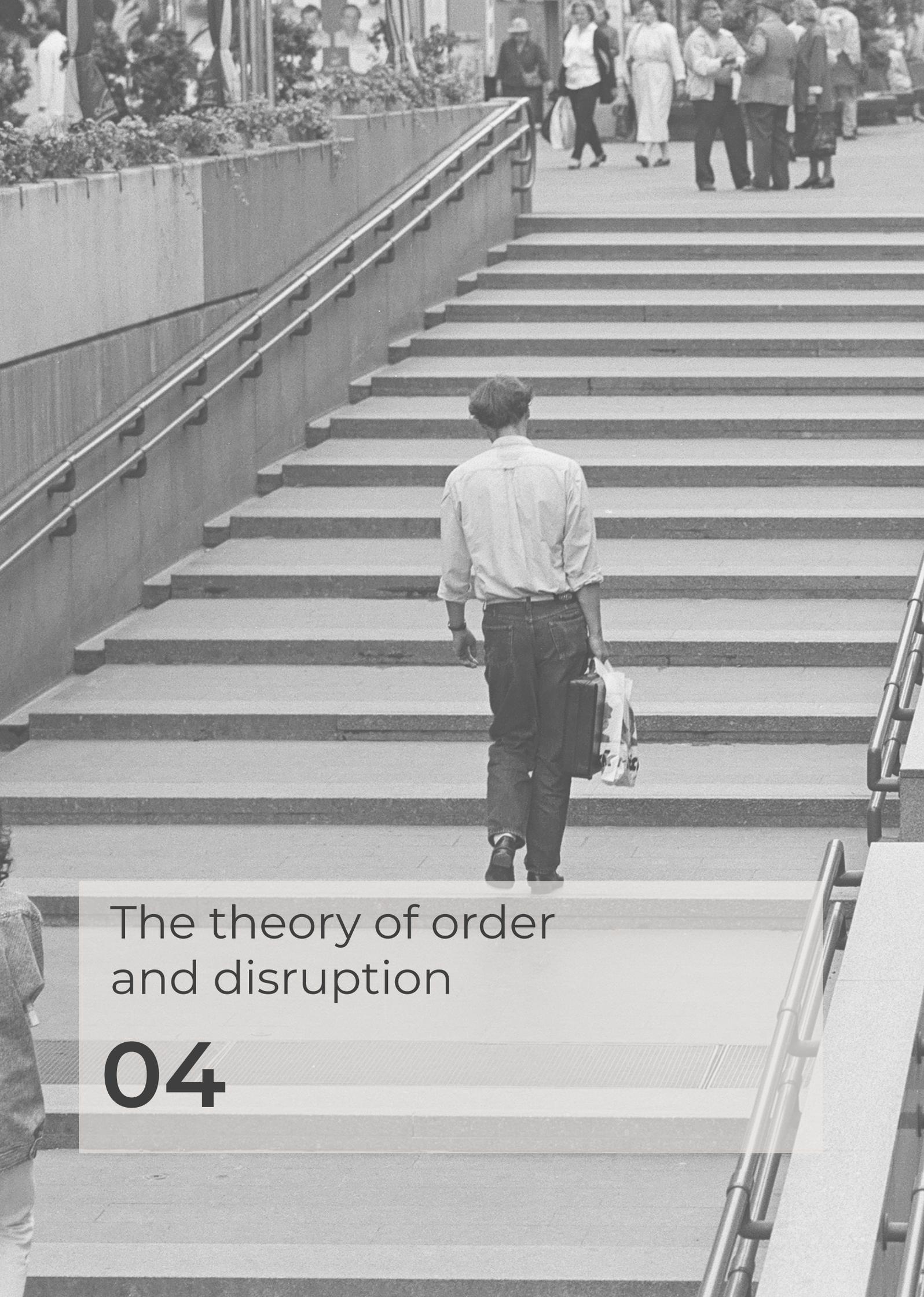
03. Vienna as a humanist city

# The theory of order
# and disruption

# 04

Critical systems triad.



HUMAN CAPITAL
health
knowledge
skills

SOCIAL CAPITAL
family
community

SOCIAL
SYSTEMS

GENDERED
STRATEGIES NOT
BEING AIMED
AT **MIGRANT
COMMUNITIES**

*...future?*

money    ownership
ECONOMIC CAPITAL

THE STRATEGIES
ARE NOT APPLIED IN
SOME **CHALLENGING
PARTS OF THE CITY**

THE ROLE OF
**HISTORICAL** AND
**MORPHOLOGICAL
CITY EXPANSION** IS
UNDERESTIMATED.

POLITICAL
SYSTEM

BUILT
ENVIRONMENT

resources    processes    materials    land
NATURAL CAPITAL

42

32. Munro, *Feminism: A fourth wave?*

33. Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex".*

34. Butler, *Gender Trouble Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*

35. Perkins and hooks, 'Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism.'

Figure 24.
Critical systems
diagram and their
corresponding gaps in
strategy.

# The theory

## 4.1. Critical systems

The previous chapter ends on a conclusion that the gender mainstreaming strategies in Vienna are comprehensive in their approach, but due to their limited field of action, exclude on three different levels. The effect of historical development of city's morphology is underestimated, as the tools target solely new developments. The perspective of migrant communities is constantly "othered" at all levels of governmental structures (including the EU) Additionally, the gentrifying and fast expanding districts have a lower level of priority in applying gender-sensitive approach. These happen within three critical systems that are pillars of conceptual framework: social system, political system, and the built environment. Even though they are positioned at opposite sides, their elements need to align in order to provide a comprehensive solution.

## 4.2. Fourth wave of feminism: technology

Thus, what are the ways in which these systems can become aligned? The feminist movements through history evolved from demanding voting rights (first wave); stipulating reproductive rights, and highlighting the negative effects of patriarchy on all aspects of women's lives as a homogeneous group (second wave); introducing queer theory and intersectionality concept, while focusing on the individual emancipation that contrasted the second wave's 'personal is political' (third wave); and finally with the introduction of Internet accessible to everyone, creating online feminism and working on defying the technology-induced discrimination (fourth wave).[32] These are, of course, simplified postulates as each wave of feminism involved a multi-layered conceptualisation through literature, activist movements, and debates between opposing groups of feminists.

Even though some experts do not think that Internet has been a strong enough transition to define the whole new wave of the movement, there has been a strong shift in the increasing complexity, language used and new emerging perspectives. The conceptualisation "performativity" of gender and sex and materiality of non-heteronormative bodies by Judith Butler[33] [34] and of intersectionality by bell hooks, as explained through the differences in experience of working-class black and white women[35], are very important contributions that

43

Figure 25. ▶

Adaptive Spatial
Planning system
diagram, by author

paved a way for this new wave of feminism. Yet, the call for coalition between throughout the intersectional spectrum might get lost as the voices that get more elevated are now conditioned by the corporate and discriminative algorithms of the social media. The strengths of technology are explored in the notions of posthumanism, but the growing complexity needs to be tackled in order to continue building that coalition.

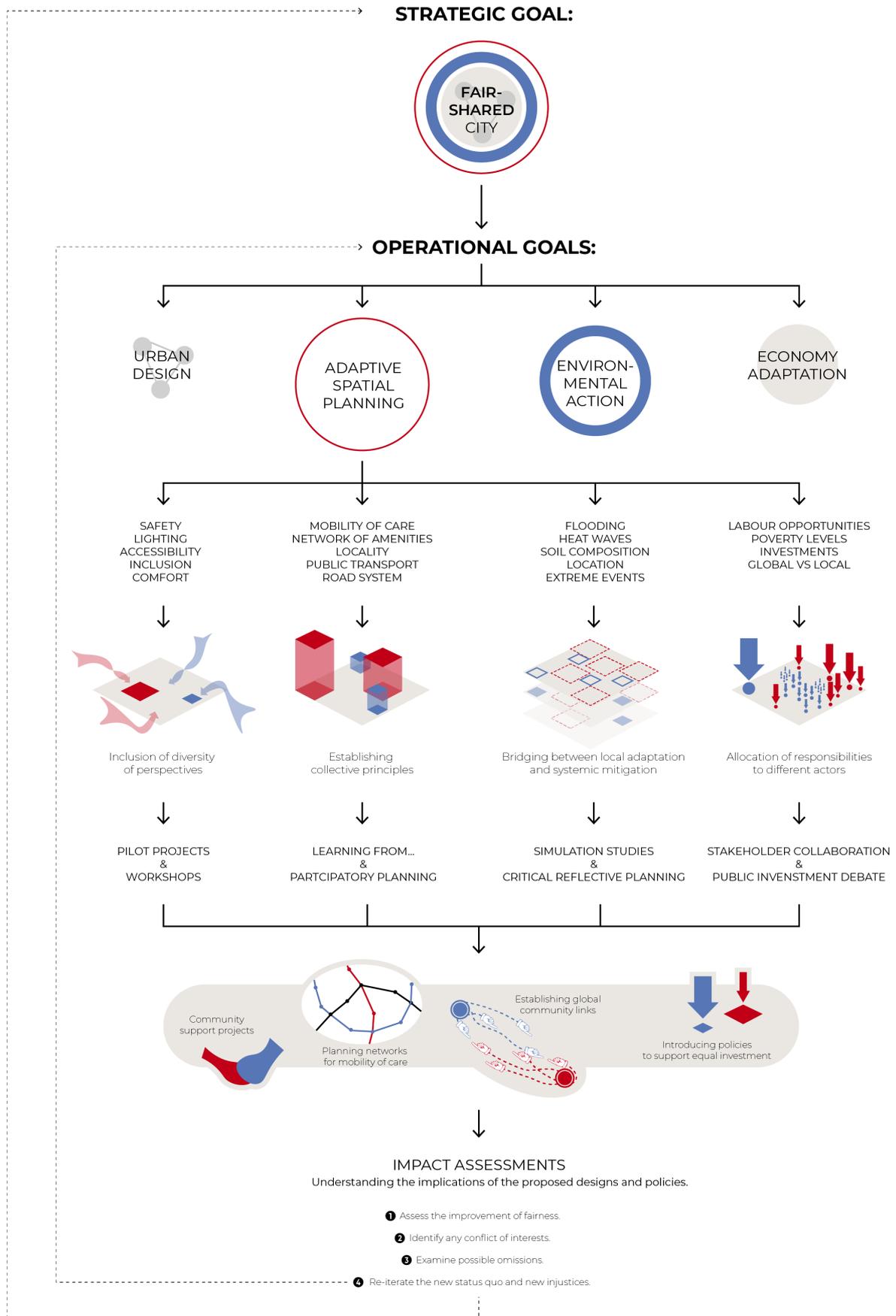### 4.3. Positioning feminism in urgencies

Both academic and practical exploration on the intertwining of gender and climate change, or gender and urgency, is limited which can lead to further deepening of gender bias. However, it has been agreed that women in the global South are being affected more negatively than men by the climate crisis events. They are more likely to be poorest of the poor and have higher mortality rate during natural calamities. On the other hand, women in the global North are generally more climate conscientious than their male counterparts.[36] This has also been emboldened by the recent COVID-19 pandemic, when women and girls were disproportionately affected by the lockdowns. These included limited access to sexual and reproductive healthcare, economic instability due to being less likely to have a secure employment, and also, tragically, gender-based domestic violence. These issues only sometimes are blatantly visible during climate or health emergency, and the lack of preparedness to respond to gendered vulnerabilities at such times, comes from the systematic problems of gender neglect in the day-to-day life.[37] Moreover, as seen in Figure 25, the gendered strategies need to be applied across all layers, including urban design, economy, and environment.

### 4.4. Intersectionality

EU Treaties of Amsterdam (1997) and Lisbon (2007) declared to combat the discrimination on a horizontal multiplicity based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion, disability, age or sexual orientation, instead of addressing these separately, hence conceptualising the intersectionality in policies. Applying that in reality is a difficult balancing act, as the focus on exclusively heteronormative categorisation of gender is insufficient, while the combinations of different intersecting factors are as numerous as individuals in the world.[38] Possibly, the answer to the profound understanding of intersectionality lies within the bottom-up initiatives, though often overlooked, which come up with practices of co-production that target different forms of exclusion among the most vulnerable groups in contemporary cities. [39]

Importantly, these combinations of discrimination affect people differently, also based on their location, the most obvious example being the misalignment between the global South and global North. Nevertheless, the most important lesson from this understanding is that the complexities that arise from the feminist movements are linked to the fact that, even though there is element of solidarity, emancipation is not about sameness, just as much as it is not about individuality. The communities and their actions become vital.

Adaptive Spatial Planning diagram.

**STRATEGIC GOAL:**

FAIR-
SHARED
CITY

**OPERATIONAL GOALS:**

URBAN
DESIGN

ADAPTIVE
SPATIAL
PLANNING

ENVIRON-
MENTAL
ACTION

ECONOMY
ADAPTATION

| SAFETY | MOBILITY OF CARE | FLOODING | LABOUR OPPORTUNITIES |
| LIGHTING | NETWORK OF AMENITIES | HEAT WAVES | POVERTY LEVELS |
| ACCESSIBILITY | LOCALITY | SOIL COMPOSITION | INVESTMENTS |
| INCLUSION | PUBLIC TRANSPORT | LOCATION | GLOBAL VS LOCAL |
| COMFORT | ROAD SYSTEM | EXTREME EVENTS | |

Inclusion of diversity
of perspectives

Establishing
collective principles

Bridging between local adaptation
and systemic mitigation

Allocation of responsibilities
to different actors

PILOT PROJECTS
&
WORKSHOPS

LEARNING FROM...
&
PARTCIPATORY PLANNING

SIMULATION STUDIES
&
CRITICAL REFLECTIVE PLANNING

STAKEHOLDER COLLABORATION
&
PUBLIC INVENSTMENT DEBATE

Community
support projects

Establishing global
community links

Planning networks
for mobility of care

Introducing policies
to support equal investment

**IMPACT ASSESSMENTS**
Understanding the implications of the proposed designs and policies.

❶ Assess the improvement of fairness.

❷ Identify any conflict of interests.

❸ Examine possible omissions.

❹ Re-iterate the new status quo and new injustices.

◀ 36. Arora-Jonsson, 'Virtue and vulnerability: Discourses on women, gender and climate change.'

37. Wenham and Davies, 'WHO runs the world–(not) girls: gender neglect during global health emergencies.'

38. European Institute for Gender Equality, *Gender Equality Index Report.*

39. Castán Broto & Neves Alves, 'Intersectionality challenges for the co-production of urban
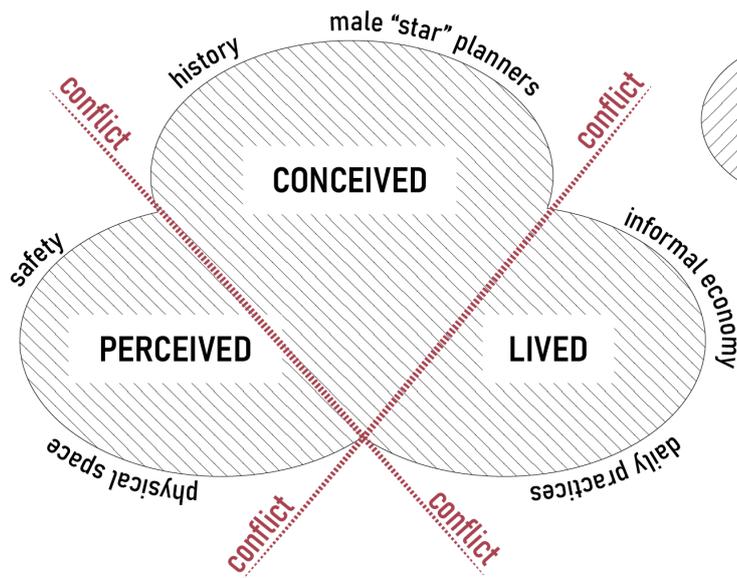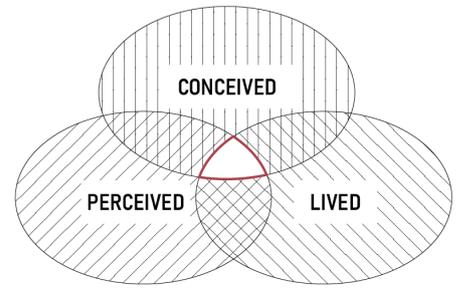
# Denying the Right to the City

## 4.5. Gendered right to the city... and space

As a renowned architect and professor Ana Falú describes, cities and urban spaces are composed of diversity, and hence they are the central points where the social movements flourish and allow for the de-construction of harmful gender bias that holds back the right to the city for many.[40] The importance of spatial practices has been introduced in the works of Henri Lefebvre, often quoted in architectural and urban studies. He introduced the concepts that still define the contemporary understanding of space, as defined by complex 'social superstructures'. These included the idea that no space is just a simple collection of parts, but it is defined by production of the triad of spaces: perceived, conceived and lived. This has an immense impact on the physical space, as the three social spaces combine different practices and understanding. 'Conceived space' represents space as produced by experts through abstraction in principles, visions, or tool-kits, based on knowledge and ideology that is driven by a scientific urge to create order in the physical space. 'Perceived space' is where daily routines happen individually or within a community, and as spatial practices can be analysed and measured by understanding the structure of its organisation. Finally, 'lived space' is presented as subjective experience of space that happens on a personal level in one's imagination.[41] [42] A triad of these three

40. Falú. *Women's Right to the City: Reflections on Inclusive Urban Planning.*

41. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space.*

42. Wiedman and Salama, 'The Role of Architecture in Producing Urban Qualities for Sustainability: Implications for the Future of Architectural Education.'

43. Fenster, 'The right to the gendered city: Different formations of belonging in everyday life.'
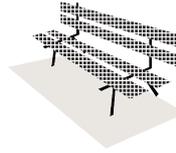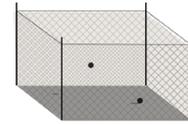
44. Falú. *Women's Right to the City: Reflections on Inclusive Urban Planning.*
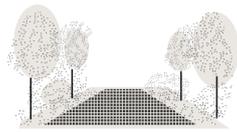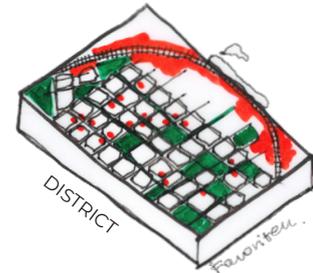
WALKABILITY    SAFETY    COMFORT    PLAY



STREET    NEIGHBOURHOOD    DISTRICT
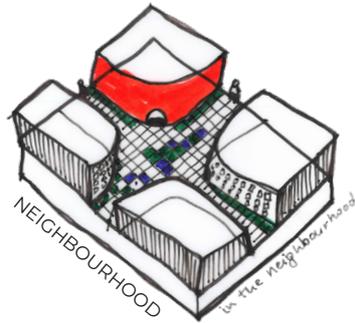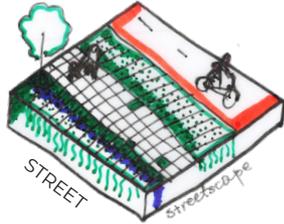
spaces is used by Lefebvre to understand spatial developments and transformations.

However, as geographer and author, Tovi Fenster points out some of these discussion on right to the city or citizenship need redefining in the contemporary society where new structures of political and economic power are changing the way public space is used fairly. She argues that even though Lefebvrian theory acknowledges the existence of cultural, ethnic or gender diversity and hence bias, the notions are in fact ignoring the limits on women's right to the city, sparked by gendered power relations.[43] Lefebvre's right to the city states anyone who inhabits the city has the right to appropriate urban space and participate in decision-making. However, this is not as simple in the city structures as Fenster explains "there are other experiences when the right to use and belong to the city is abused by patriarchal, cultural and religious powers constructing public spaces as forbidden" [44]. This is represented in a diagram in Figure 27, where conflict of interest and reduced social production capability can limit one's right to appropriation

and participation.

Despite Falú's arguement that only politicisation and recognition of women's right to the city can build inclusive cities, it can be questioned in the light of Vienna's political objectives for gender equality, yet still excluding groups within that gender category.

## 4.6. Women and their place-making

Based of Vienna's manuals for gender mainstreaming in urban planning, exhibitions and writing by the previously mentioned authors, there are a few categories that can be identified when talking about gendered right to the city. This often shows in the different use of mobility, where walking and public transport are key. Improved feeling of safety through lighting, visibility and community's connection. Comfort in public space provided by seating or public toilets that are geared to the needs of women and people of old age, as well as comprehensive and safe environment for play.

# Disruption of order

## 4.7. "Posthuman feminism as a critique"

The most recently published book by a scholar Rosi Braidotti, explores in-depth the intricacies of Posthuman Feminism. In her previous work she has already addressed the concept as a reaction to European feminism being historically rooted to humanist values and ideas since the Enlightenment era.[45] Vienna, being breeding grounds for European culture, including painting, theatre, music, and architecture, could be described as an established city of humanism, where the ideal of a "Man" ruled the direction of the city's development and expansion. As Braidotti describes - women's liberation has been seen as human liberation, and since the 1970s the aim of feminist movements was to "improve the human condition as a whole"[46]. This approach, which has been lining Vienna's strategic emancipation of women, unfortunately, positions said feminists in relation to the "Man" to whom they want to be equal.

However, as much as this 'equality-minded feminism' brought rights and privileges to (some) women, it fails to transcend beyond the limits set by the European Enlightenment's practice of prioritising the power of reason, and generalised values of equality and tolerance. In *Posthuman Feminism*, Braidotti first explains that the titular movement views humanism and its associated feminism as a base to be assessed critically and transformed, rather than denied altogether. Though, what is human, what is more equal for feminists? In politics, both socialist and capitalistic viewpoints set standards to organise a social and economic system that can correct the injustices and make itself open for improvements. By representation and distributing political and economic power more evenly between men and women, a true equality is expected to emerge as a result of diversified decision-making. However, equality and redefining power relations is not solely about sameness as much as it is not about emphasising individualism and personal empowerment through success and chosen career paths.

Vienna's neo-liberal approach of building its economic power has been both its blessing and a curse, as explained in the next section. Yet

45. Braidotti, 'The Posthuman Condition and Feminist Politics.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory* (pp. 673–698)

46. Braidotti, *Posthuman Feminism.*

47. Novy and Hammer, 'Radical innovation in the era of liberal governance: The case of Vienna.'

48. Jackowska & Novas Ferradás, 'Who owns public spaces ? The trailblazer exhibition on women's everyday life in the City of Vienna.'

49. Novy, Redak, Jäger, and Hamedinger, 'The End of Red Vienna.'

neoliberalist feminists put less emphasis on solidarity that, after all, was the driving force for regaining women's rights, and focus rather on the personal empowerment and economic success, as we see in the phenomenon of 'girlboss'. This individual liberation comes at the cost. As described by Braidotti, and many feminist scholars before her, the personal freedom of liberal white middle-class feminists in the Northern hemisphere, who join the workforce and achieve success, comes at a cost of exclusion of migrant communities, central to providing care work for these households with the new system of racialised labour relations. This is described as a superficial social transformation with the patriarchal structure of division of labour reportedly reactivated during the COVID-19 pandemic, generally slowing down the emancipation of all women, by reverting to traditional gender roles.

While the persona of 'girlboss' might not fully describe the feminist scene in Vienna, which since the 1970s valued the idea of unity and solidarity, the neoliberal mindset is definitely present in any contemporary society. The socialist and neo-socialist objectives have always resurfaced in Vienna since the times of Red Vienna and surge of social housing projects. Even though these movements have been focusing on the injustices of the capitalist system, the neo-socialist feminists have continuously failed to embrace the influence of technology on reshaping the new economy, as argued by Braidotti. Meanwhile, it is data and information which becomes the most efficient apparatus in dehumanising of marginalised groups and suppression of human labour.

In conclusion, based on the shortcomings of neoliberal and socialist movements, feminism today needs to be transformative and radical. It is the posthuman feminist voices that call for the imaginative desire for alternative worlds, and as they seek a way out of the planet that is ruled by Man. And if we are wanting to identify the radical and transformative forces of feminism that we need today, just as Rosi Braidotti states it lies in the essence of critique and creativity.

## 4.8. Neoliberal Austrian capital city

As addressed in the previous chapter, the socially oriented planning practices in Vienna happened briefly during different historical periods but were always interrupted by imperialistic or liberal motives. Additionally, it can be argued that the introduction of neoliberal democracy that entered the Austrian economy and governance in 1990s, and consequentially strengthened of the top-down approach to planning had improved the general economy, but had a negative effect on the equality and representation in the city. [46] Thus, the only way for gender mainstreaming to be integrated in city's strategies was also through a top-down implementation coming from Vienna's urban planning office in a form of an informative exhibition in 1991.[48]

The way gender mainstreaming is still embedded in this expert-led knowledge can have a tendency to disadvantage anything that comes from the bottom-up, as the planning practice in Vienna ensures that the planners and designers are technically trained rather than socially oriented.[49]

50. Müller-Funk, 'Fluid ▶ identities, diaspora youth activists and the (Post-)Arab Spring: how narratives of belonging can change over time. '

51. Mayer, *Politik der Differenzen: Ethnisierung, Rassismen und Antirassismus im weißen feministischen Aktivismus in Wien*

52. Novy and Hammer, 'Radical innovation in the era of liberal governance: The case of Vienna.'

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Figure 28. Vulva drawing by ▲ Emilie Stecher as a part of the activist event.

Figures 29 & 30. ▶ Night-time photos of the activist wall spraying event, by Emilie Stecher.

## 4.9. Disruptive activism - wall spraying

Activism is a very important part of identity for many different groups in Vienna. For instance it helps youth with foreign roots, Egyptian in this case, to help build and understand the complexity of their dual identity, and possibly even influence generational political change in their country of origin.[50] However, feminist activism in the city has been criticised for addressing 'everything' with little understanding of unequal social conditions, and the feminist objectives and the act of building agency are anything but easy to achieve.[51]

Sometimes activism is not about everything, but is about something very specific. About certain form of disruption and drawing attention to an issue. Such was a small night event of spraying outlines of vulvae on the walls in Vienna last year. As I have spoken to the four female activists they were tired of the omnipresence of images of male reproductive organs, sexist and racist slurs sprayed on the walls of the city, so they wanted to make vulvae visible, as a "declaration of war with penises" (direct quote from the activists). They prepared A3 cut-outs of an image of their own vulvae, to represent the personality and multiplicity, and went on to spray the image over walls, benches, pavement, telephone box, playground within the district of Ottakring, known for its problematic but diverse and activist population. They felt empowered by  leaving a message of their own.

## 4.10. Importance of grassroots initiatives

To continue this line of thought, two Austrian academics Andreas Novy and Elisabeth Hammer argue that "social innovation at the grassroots level can only become radical if it helps overcome authoritarianism"[52] in the context of capitalist societies. They describe the importance of such initiatives in Austria, in the climate where the nation lacks the ability to resolve conflict and difficult topics, and avoids addressing them in the governance structures. They point out two organisations which address these gaps. The first one is Local Agenda 21 (LA 21), which addresses policies and activities at a local level to respond to challenges within communities. They mediate between citizens and political representatives, successfully politicising its objectives in planning. Another one is Local Area Management, which tries to ensure a slow and sensitive urban renewal through engaging communities (less or more successfully) in decision-making process for modernisation of their neighbourhoods. More information about these organisations follows in the next chapter linked to the fieldwork.

# Developing the method

## 05

DIE KUNST DER

47

EINFAHRT
FREIHALTEN

ACHTUNG

# Understanding the context

## 5.1. Favoriten as a district outside Linienwallen

### 5.1.1. City expansion and immigration

As described in Chapter 3, the expansion of the city of Vienna was largely attributed to its growing industry and hence the influx of workers. In the 18th century, the suburbs beyond the so-called Linienwalls fortification (outer city walls) grew. The importance of this border become even more prominent in 1829 as Linienwalls also become the customs border, meaning that the consumption tax on goods, foods and beverages was reduced in the suburbs, making them significantly cheaper in terms of living costs, hence making it an attractive residential area for workers[53]. This division is still visible, especially in Favoriten, as many of the labourers were referred to as guest-workers, meaning - immigrants. This also contributed to building a strong Viennese tradition of Guesthouses, which were inns located outside the inner city's tax zone and famously occupied by the immigrant workers. They were corner shops that became the focal point for social activities for immigrant male workers.

At the same time the old Linenwall border of Favoriten has historically been the arrival space for everyone, especially the guest-workers coming to Vienna, as the Südbahnhof, nowadays known as Hauptbahnhof, is located at the beginning of the 10th district's main axis - Favoritenstraße. This made the Favoriten the 'arrival neighbourhood' of Vienna, and since 1874, it welcomed different generations of migrants. Recently, the notion of these transition zones has been explored by scholars as one of the key mechanisms of urban development, where the neighbourhoods that accommodate international migration flows provide arrival infrastructures such as "(in)formal job opportunities, cheap and accessible housing, supportive social networks, ethnic and religious associations, cheap shops, and restaurants and bars." [54]

City walls


Linienwalls


Vienna in 1790



the old Linienwalls
the borders of outer districts

Hauptbahnhof
the main arrival place for immigrant workers

19th district

18th

17th

16th

15th

14th district

13th district

12th district

23rd district

10th district
Favoriten

11th district

Figure 35. ▶
A woman using
an outside tap for
running water.
Domesticity of women
in 1950s. Photo from:
Bezirkmuseum
Favoriten.

Figure 36. ▶
The last factory of
the Wienerberger
by Triester Straße
in 1970s. Source:
Bezirkmuseum
Favoriten.

Figure 37. ▶
Photos of immigrant
women workers at
the brick factory in
the 1950s. Source:
Bezirkmuseum
Favoriten.

Figure 38.
Map of Favoriten in 1880.
Source: Bezirkmuseum
Favoriten.

*Disrupting the gendered order*
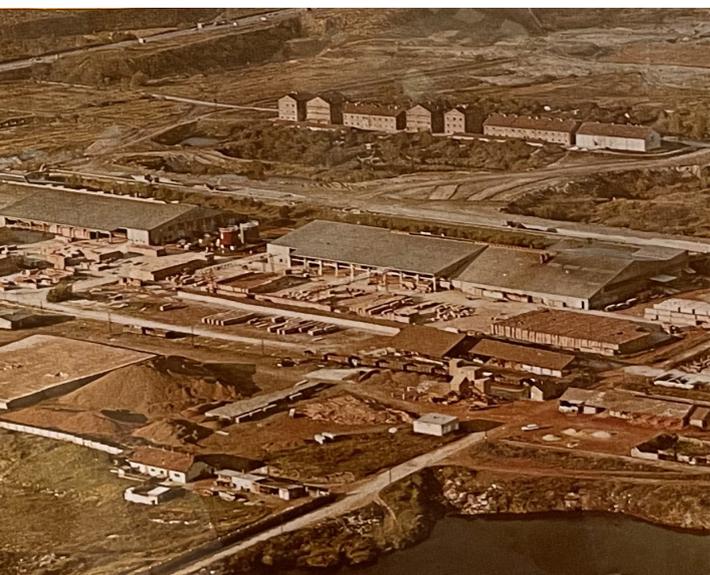
## 5.1.2. History of immigrant women in Favoriten

According to the information provided by a curator at the Favoriten's District Museum (Bezirkmuseum), most guest workers in the 10th district were Czech immigrants working at the Wienerburger brick factories. This is also reflected by Czech school certificates obtained by the immigrant's children at the time, which are exhibited at the museum.

At the time of the industrial urban expansion of Vienna, women were usually not part of the formal employment and their role was limited to domestic duties. That was true, however, for the Austrian women, some of whom were living in the newly forming northern part of 10th district (Figure 38). This was not the case for the immigrant women who lived with their families near the brick factories, and actively participated in the production processes, often having to tackle both paid and unpaid work (Figure 37). One of the facilities provided near the factories were kindergartens, so that both parents could work during the day.

With time, the changing management of the Wienerberger factories caused the workers to earn less and became even poorer. Even when the factories closed, the district still was the cheaper option for arrival for many new immigrants and refugees of Czech, Turkish, Polish, Romanian, ex-Yugoslavian, and later Syrian, Afghan and Ukrainian backgrounds. Even today Favoriten is one of the main areas temporarily and permanently housing refugees from these countries. Although, as seen through history, the situation of migrant women in Vienna has not been as clear and straightforward as that of migrant men.

**Murder cases: 55**
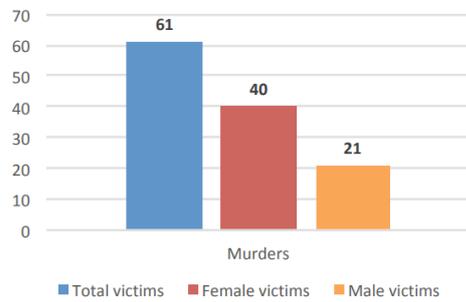


Figure 39. Murder cases by gender in Austria in 2018.
Source: Austria – Report on femicide, University of Vienna.
Data from 1 Jan 2018 - 25 Jan 2019

**Murders: 18   total victims/all female**



Figure 40. Murder cases with female victims by the number of previous orders given to the perpetrator in Austria in 2018. Source: Austria – Report on femicide, University of Vienna.  Data from 1 Jan 2018 - 25 Jan 2019

Figure 41. The door of Nadine W.'s tobacco shop closed up and full of flowers.
Photo by Andy Urban, source: https://www.derstandard.at/story/2000125916547/
tod-der-trafikantin-warum-nadine-sterben-musste.

53. Grzyb, Naudi and Marcuello-Servós, 'Femicide definitions', In *Femicide across Europe: Theory, Research and Prevention*, 22.

54. Schröttle and Meshkova, 'Data collection: Challenges and opportunities.' In *Femicide across Europe: Theory, Research and Prevention*, 42.

55. Haider, 'Austria – Report on femicide.'

56. Autonome Frauenhäuser Österreichische. 'Mutmaßliche Mordversuche / schwere Gewalt durch (Ex-) Partner oder Familienmitglieder oder durch Personen mit Naheverhältnis zum Opfer 2021 laut Medienberichten.'

57. Hagen and Scherndl, 'Tod der Trafikantin: Warum Nadine sterben musste.'

58. City of vienna - 'Integration and Diversity. Integration & Diversity Monitor Vienna 2020.'

### 5.1.3. Vienna nowadays - high femicide rates

The city of Vienna, as explored in the previous chapters, institutionalises feminism. It has one of the most comprehensive monitoring and implementation system tackling women's discrimination, according to their administration. Despite all the efforts, both the activists and the administrative officers are concerned about the dangerously increasing rates of femicides in Austria, which according to the activists, are the highest in Europe. It must be noted that femicides are difficult to measure and compare for many reasons. Firstly, it is challenging to agree on a specific definition, and what femicides exactly entail. To an extent, the UN's Vienna Declaration on Femicide defines the term as "the killing of women and girls because of their gender, which can take the form of, inter alia: the murder of women as a result of domestic violence/intimate partner violence"[53]. On top of that, as of 2018, only a few European countries have comprehensive databases on femicides, such as Italy, the UK, Spain and Serbia [54]. At this time, Austria has no such official national database. However, in 2021, the Autonomous Austrian Women's Shelters (Autonome Österreichische Frauenhäuser) collected news reports and classified the cases committed depending on the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator [55].

Out of 59 murders on women recorded by the AÖF, 27 happened in Vienna, and 4 in Favoriten, including a 45-year-old woman stabbed in the neck by her husband in her apartment, and a 24-year-old drowned by a friend in her own bathtub[56]. A case in Vienna that outraged the feminist activists and sparked a series of protests was the murder of 35-year-

old Nadine W. by her ex-partner, who brutally murdered her by locking the woman in her tobacco shop, beating and choking her, before he set her on fire. As in the Nadine case, often the murderer has already been reported to the police at least once before the incident. Furthermore according to organisations that help to protect victims of domestic violence, the women seeking help are often turned away, especially due to the lack of female police officers and staff not being trained specifically to deal with domestic charges.[57]

According to one of the activists interviewed, there has been a recent change of policy on assaults: now, when a victim comes for medical examination after an assault, the doctor has to report the case of domestic violence to the police. However, for many women this is a big step with no guarantee of safety, as reporting the aggressor leaves the victim more vulnerable, it is hence harder to seek medical advice without involving the police.

This is a pressing issue for migrant women, especially since access to employment, and hence financial independence, play a pivotal role in opportunity to escape a dangerous domestic situation. According to Integration and Diversity Monitor in Vienna the employment of women who have children under 2-years-old strongly depends on their background. Only 21% of mothers with third-country qualifications are fully employed, as compared to 77% of those without migrant background[58]. Thus, the rates of femicides in Vienna are especially concerning for the vulnerable migrant women, while they are at risk of being tragically omitted by the systematic approach of Vienna's administration.

# The method

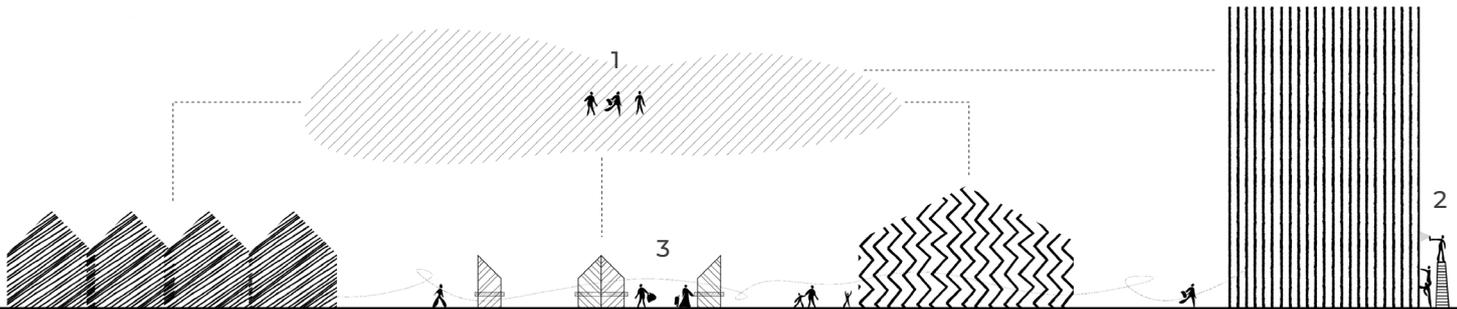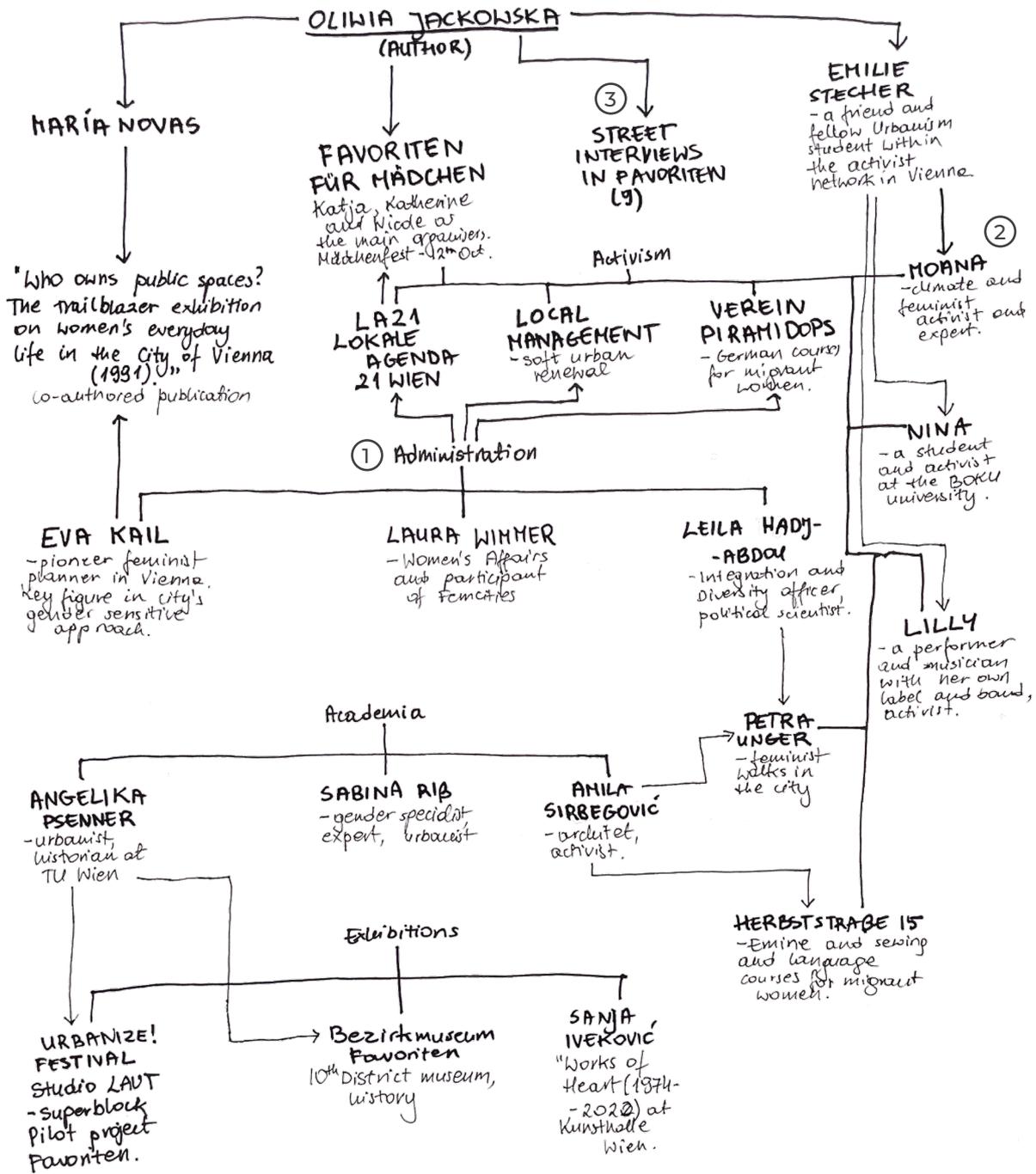## 5.2. Explaining the method and positionality

This project's outreach is especially fascinating, as the women (not surprisingly, only women were involved in this research project) participating in feminist research, planning and activism are passionate and see their work as a mission. From pioneer gender-expert planners, like Eva Kail, through practicing designers with academic background such as Amila Širbegović, to a Master's student Nina and activist fighting, amongst others, for female student visibility and climate justice - I had an opportunity to meet and speak to women who are all committed to their goals.

Firstly, gathering different, often opposing, perspectives of these three groups is conflicting and comprehensive at the same time. The administration has a strong background in monitoring the situation and implementing gender- and migrant-sensitive strategies. The activists aim to be the voice of those more vulnerable, and despite their recognition of Vienna's administration's efforts, they create disruptions to open a dialogue either positive or negative. The migrant women operate within their tight-knit communities, sometimes unaware of the initiatives available to them, especially if the language is a barrier. These groups rarely interact directly (with the exception of on-ground, hands-on workshops), operating at different scales and time-scales. Hence, the consideration of the aspect of scale - meaning from the city to the district to neighbourhood to a person, and the aspect of time - the history, personal biography to a day, are key to this research's output. Despite the specificity of this project with its personal and context-specific approach, aimed to understand the intricacies of Vienna's complex structure, the method shown in this chapter could be universally applied to elevate the position of migrant women elsewhere.

Figure 42. ▶
The tree of contacts as it happened before and during the fieldwork.

Figure 43. ▶
The groups whose perspectives were explored during the fieldwork.

# contacts tree



**OLIWIA JACKOWSKA** (AUTHOR)

③ STREET INTERVIEWS IN FAVORITEN (9)

**EMILIE STECHER** - a friend and fellow urbanism student within the activist network in Vienna.

**MARÍA NOVAS**

**FAVORITEN FÜR MÄDCHEN** - Katja, Katherine and Nicole as the main organisers. Mädchenfest - 12ᵗʰ Oct.

Activism

② **MOANA** - climate and feminist activist and expert.

"Who owns public spaces? The trailblazer exhibition on women's everyday life in the City of Vienna (1991)." co-authored publication

**LA21 LOKALE AGENDA 21 WIEN**

**LOCAL MANAGEMENT** - soft urban renewal

**VEREIN PIRAMIDOPS** - German course for migrant women.

**NINA** - a student and activist at the BOKU university.

① Administration

**EVA KAIL** - pioneer feminist planner in Vienna. Key figure in city's gender sensitive approach.

**LAURA WIMMER** - Women's Affairs and participant of Femcities

**LEILA HADJ-ABDOU** - Integration and Diversity officer, political scientist.

**LILLY** - a performer and musician with her own label and band, activist.

Academia

**PETRA UNGER** - feminist walks in the city

**ANGELIKA PSENNER** - urbanist, historian at TU Wien

**SABINA RIß** - gender specialist expert, urbanist

**ANILA SIRBEGOVIĆ** - architet, activist.

Exhibitions

**HERBSTSTRAßE 15** - Emine and sewing and language courses for migrant women.

**URBANIZE! FESTIVAL** Studio LAUT - superblock pilot project Favoriten.

**Bezirkmuseum Favoriten** 10ᵗʰ District museum, history

**SANJA IVEKOVIĆ** "Works of Heart (1974-2022) at Kunsthalle Wien.

62

Figure 44. ▶
Participating in the
observation diagrams.



2          3
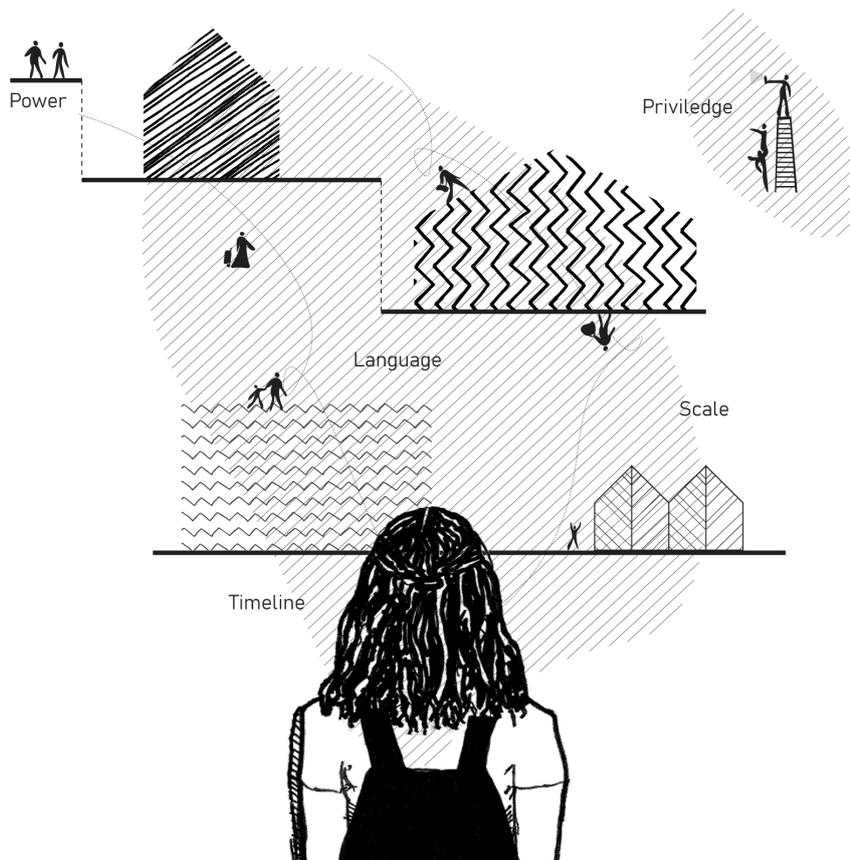


Power

Priviledge

Language
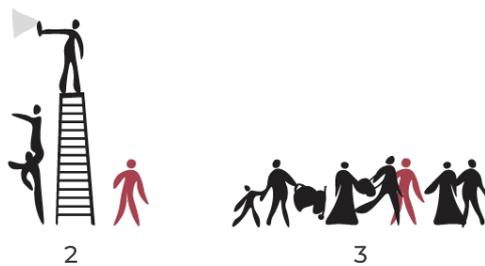
Scale

Timeline

59. Verloo, 'Urban ▶
ethnography and participant
observations: Studying the
city from within.' In *Seeing
the City: Interdisciplinary
Perspectives on the Study of
the Urban*, 38.

60. Kunsthalle Wien. *Sanja
Iveković: Works of Heart [1974-
2022]*.

Figure 45. ▶
The observer's
perspective.

*Disrupting the gendered order*

Uncovering the nuanced processes and hidden conflicts, not visible through the analysis of literature or statistical data, is the fundamental objective of an urban ethnography practice[59]. As a researcher and an observer removed from the context, I have an opportunity to act as a mediator between different groups through the discipline of urbanism. However, inherently, I am bringing my experiences, prejudices and expectations into any observation, hence making it impossible to be fully objective. As a female, Polish, lived in four different countries, a student from a Dutch university with fluent command of Polish and English, and some limited knowledge of the German language, I brought my own, unique perspective into play (Figure 45). Having observed and conducted in-depth conversations with different actors, I made myself vulnerable within the migrant communities, and hence understood how I was observed by them. The language was occasionally an obstacle and at times my limited command of German proved as a useful tool, shifting the power dynamic of interactions, giving courage to migrant women.

As a result, I have produced drawings which not only analyse the process, but also draw profiles of different migrant women. Being a mediator, not only as an urban planner, but also as an artist stems from treating expression as a healing process and a representation tool. This was beautifully carried out by Sanja Iveković since 1998 in her project Ženska kuća (Women's House) displayed in Kunsthalle Wien. She organised workshops in shelters for women who are victims of domestic or gender-related violence. The women wrote short narratives, describing their situation, while making plaster casts of their faces. [60]
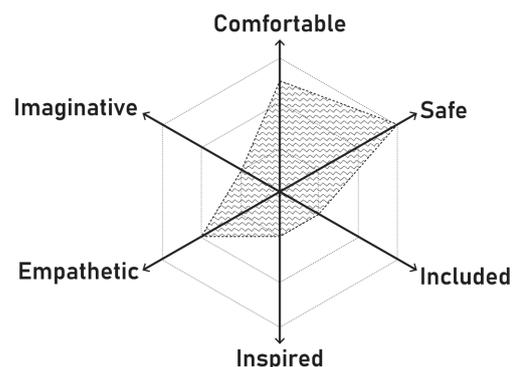


◄ Figure 47.
The compass idea

Thus, to express the elements of my participation within the observed places, I have created a simple tool (Figure 47). The parts that make up the compass include adjectives describing the associated experience:

**Comfortable** - feeling physically at ease, being able to sit or rest, on the scale from 0 (meaning no physical comfort) to 3 (very comfortable). Also influenced by the elements of *safety* and *inclusion*.

**Safe** - feeling not threatened in any way of physical or emotional distress, on the scale from 0 (unsafe) to 3 (safe).

**Included** - feeling part of the community, not out of place, on the scale from 0 (feeling like an intruder) to 3 (being actively engaged into communities practices).

**Inspired** - feeling that I am learning something new that I did not anticipate, on the scale from 0 (bleakness) to 3 (revelation).

**Empathetic** - feeling that I can identify with the people within the observed space, on the scale from 0 (disdain) to 3 (praise).

**Imaginative** - feeling that the space is stimulating and engaging in a creative way, on the scale from 0 (dull) to 3 (captivating).

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# Power, governance and activism
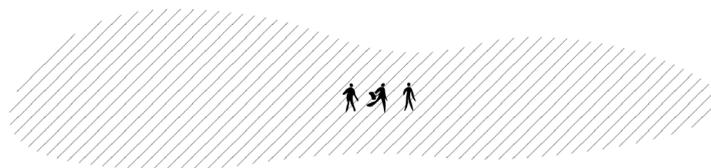
## 5.3. Part one - administrative structures

### 5.3.1. The municipal departments

Since the 1990s, when the Co-ordination Office was taking the first steps gender-sensitive planning practices, the structure of the municipal administration and different bodies responsible for specific aspects expanded greatly. Bits and pieces of the city's organisational framework can be found through the city's website and publications of tirelessly working departments and directorates, however there is little information showing an overview of the full system as of today. All in all, most groups are under the Deputy Mayor of Women and Housing, of which the most relevant for this research are:

- Municipal Department 57 Women's Affairs,
- Municipal Directorate for Gender Mainstreaming,
- Municipal Directorate for Gender Sensitive City Planning,
- and from a separate Deputy Mayor - Municipal Department 17 for Integration and Diversity.

Unfortunately, I was not able to meet with all relevant offices, due time constraint and also the availability of planners and administrative staff responsible.
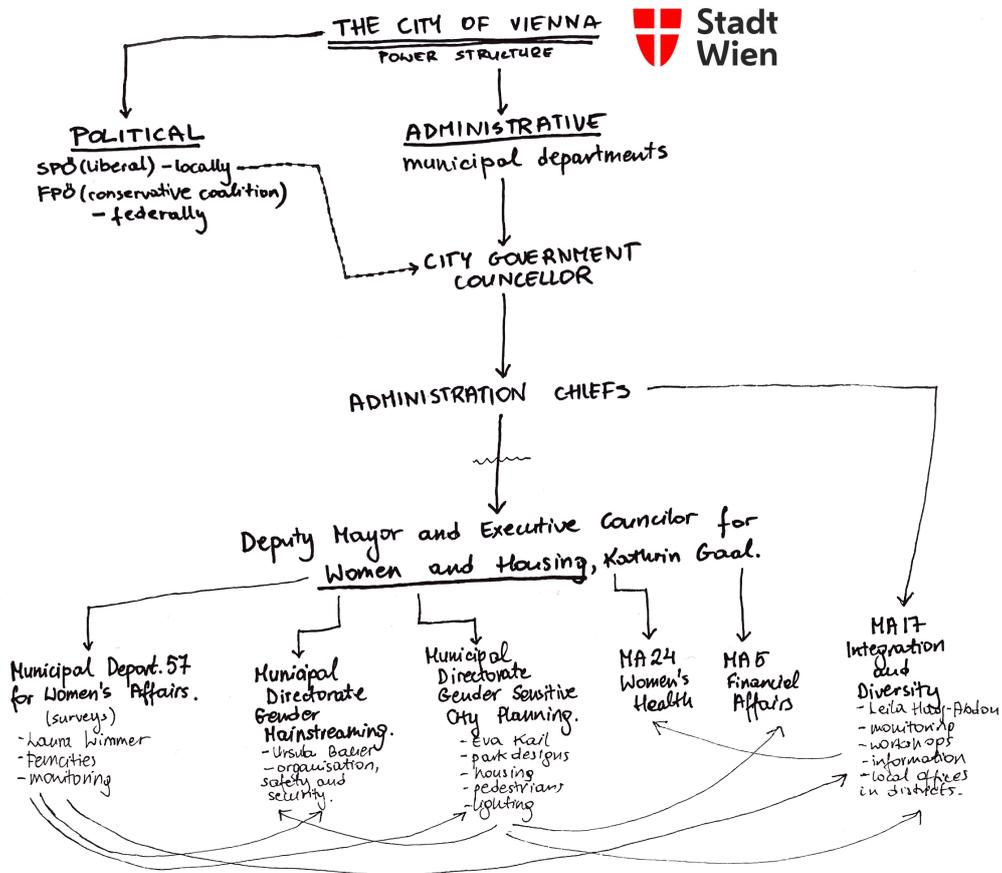
I have conducted an interview with MA 57 officer Laura Wimmer. The role of this office is to empower all women and girls, through different strategies, among others conducting a city-wide survey on women's lives. Laura also participates in and organises the FemCities conferences - which bring together the administrative gender experts from different European cities. They share experiences of their own practices, exchange perspectives and publish the results.

I also had an opportunity to speak with Dr. Leila Hadj-Abdou from the MA 17. For them there are two pillars of work:

(1) to improve and monitor the situation, through a report published every three years, which, based on evidence and surveys, looks at migration movement and notions such as diversity and voting;

(2) to promote dialogue through projects such as support workshops for migrant parents. The workshops can also be run in different languages, and practical information is available in 20 languages.

The migration monitoring system in Vienna is probably the most comprehensive in Europe, and so is the gender focused system. This expert separation of different departments is the City's attempt at addressing intersectionality, however, both of the offices work strictly from the perspective of only either migration or gender.

THE CITY OF VIENNA
POWER STRUCTURE

**Stadt Wien**

POLITICAL
SPÖ (liberal) – locally
FPÖ (conservative coalition)
– federally

ADMINISTRATIVE
municipal departments

CITY GOVERNMENT
COUNCELLOR

ADMINISTRATION CHIEFS

Deputy Mayor and Executive Councilor for
Women and Housing, Kathrin Gaal.

Municipal Depart. 57
for Women's Affairs.
(surveys)
- Laura Wimmer
- femcities
- monitoring

Municipal
Directorate
Gender
Mainstreaming.
- Ursula Bauer
- organisation,
safety and
security.

Municipal
Directorate
Gender Sensitive
City Planning.
- Eva Kail
- park designs
- housing
- pedestrians
- lighting

MA 24
Women's
Health

MA 5
Financial
Affairs

MA 17
Integration
and
Diversity
- Leila Hadj-Abdou
- monitoring
- workshops
- information
- local offices
in districts.

Figures 50-54. ▶
Photos of the actual
project result and a
presentation by studio
LAUT.

61. Home - LA21. From https:// ▶
www.la21wien.at/home.html

62. GB* allgemein. From
https://www.gbstern.at/
infomaterial/gb-allgemein/

Figure 55. ▶
Concept image of the
pilot project. Source
Stadt Wien/LAUT

*Disrupting the gendered order*

### 5.3.2. Vienna's ambition to plan the informal

On top of the administrative structures, the city has also a strong, sometimes historical network of activist organisations that have been formalised and have an assigned the budget from the city council.

There are two most prominent participatory associations. One of them is Lokale Agenda 21 which has a central coordination office, but its focus is on engaging citizens locally - through their districts. To participate, the district council needs to apply to the association with a project developed by citizens from the group. This ensures that at each point many actors are equally involved in a dialogue [61]. It is a very effective way to engage citizens, however its reach is limited, especially when concerning migrant communities.

Another association is called Gebietsbertreuung Stadterneuerung (GB*) which works in the spirit of the gentle urban renewal[62]. They provide information and advice on disciplines including architecture, urban planning and landscape design among others, and they support a plethora of different initiatives linked to social empowerment.

Another more recent project is linked specifically to the 10th district and is titled Supergrätzl Favoriten, referencing the concept urban superblocks, most prominently present in Barcelona. In collaboration with studio LAUT, the city wants to redefine the car-dominated, grey neighbourhood streets and regenerate the community spaces. I had an opportunity to join the studio's presentation of the details of the project. Currently, it is in the pilot phase, focusing on redirecting and limiting the traffic and setting up a few street furniture. Despite the project being an interesting idea to address and invest in the district, the designers admitted that were was nearly no collaboration with the community and was rather based on the concept transfer from the Spanish context. Sadly, this is visible on site, as the car users disregard the new traffic order, the street furniture is usually empty. If the communication with the community, and especially women was effective, this project could serve the community much more profoundly.

**67**
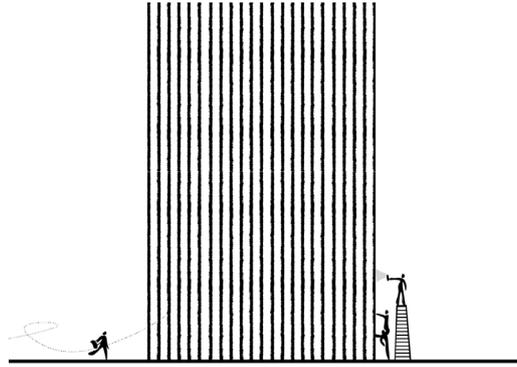
## 5.4. Part two - the activists.

### 5.4.1. Local activism stemming from associations

Lokale Agenda 21 has a district group in Favoriten, which is named after its mission *Favoriten für Mädchen, Mädchen für Favoriten* (Favoriten for Girls, Girls for Favoriten). I had an opportunity to interview Katja Arzberger, who, among others, is the driving force of the group and organiser of the events. It all started in 2013, when a group of women - teachers and headmasters of local schools in Favoriten, wanted to strengthen the position of girls in the district, as they noticed that girls are disappearing from the public space at a certain age.

The main area of intervention was chosen to be Reumannplatz – being the central place of the district. In 2017, the main square underwent full remodelling due to extension of U1 line of metro, which now runs to the southern-most part of the 10th district. This created an opportunity for the group to include girls' ideas into the real space, and this is how to make ReuMÄDCHENplatz was created. Reaching the girls through schools, the teachers made an open call for ideas and dreams. About 100 groups of girls participated in the competition, producing and proposing many creative ideas. The need for

a stage and a place for music, theatre, fashion and performance was the most popular. This is how the first ever Girls' Stage was built, where the group organises events for girls a few times a year. The goal is to establish a strong relationship with the girls from a young age to keep them active in public space, and make this place of fear, a place that is also theirs.

Another example of a community based activism is a collaboration between Caritas, GB*, Grätzeleltern (a neighbourhood association of parents) and a lending shop. By converting a former inn (one of the historical guest-houses) at Herbststraße 15 in Ottakring (another famously diverse district) into an open space for communities, they created an opportunity for people to participate free of charge.[63] One of the activities offered was a sewing course by Emine who invited women from her own community who due to lack of knowledge of German were mostly confined to their homes. With time, they built enough confidence to also attend the German course. According to urban designer Amila Širbegović, this approach was not necessarily feminist, but it came from a place of trust – which is an important tool in such initiatives to achieve a great intersectional approach.

69



63. Herbststraße 15 :
Caritas Stadtteilarbeit.
from https://www.
caritas-stadtteilarbeit.at/
projekte/alle-projekte/
herbststrasse-15

Figure 61. ▶
A screenshot of
*RawCat - Mösenbüro*
- YouTube. (2021).
Retrieved December
6, 2022, from https://
www.youtube.com/
watch?v=KwIQg4cpCVE



◀ Figure 62.
The International
Women's Day March,
photo from Nina
(activist)

*Disrupting the gendered order*

### 5.4.2. Individual activism

Another type of activism strongly present in Vienna is individual, disruptive activism led by young citizens, often students. For the purpose of building a more complete I spoke with Nina, a climate and social justice activist and student at the BOKU university, as well as Lilly Janoski - a feminist musician and performer, passionate about empowering women and FLINT (a German abbreviation that encompasses women, lesbians, non-binary, inter-, and trans-sexual people).

Nina admits that being politically active is a privilege – as soon as you have a job, a child or other people depend on you, it is not really possible to join the fight – students with a safe background are a limited group, but they want to represent the voices that do not have opportunity to speak for themselves. For individual activists scandalising issues is an important tool, as the key objective is to open a discussion in the media, even if a negative one. Nina recognises that the city of Vienna has a very strong support system in many forms, however there are always limited funds from the state, with a lot of cuts on women's rights and abortion since the coalition of FPÖ (extreme Austrian right-wing party) has been in power in the state government.

Lilly on the other hand links her passion for music and personal expression with important messages, trying make women feel empowered to do whatever they put their mind to. The individual activism is an undeniable power in bringing the communities of young people together, but scandalising and bringing to light issues that directly affect more vulnerable people who do not have enough agency to speak for themselves.
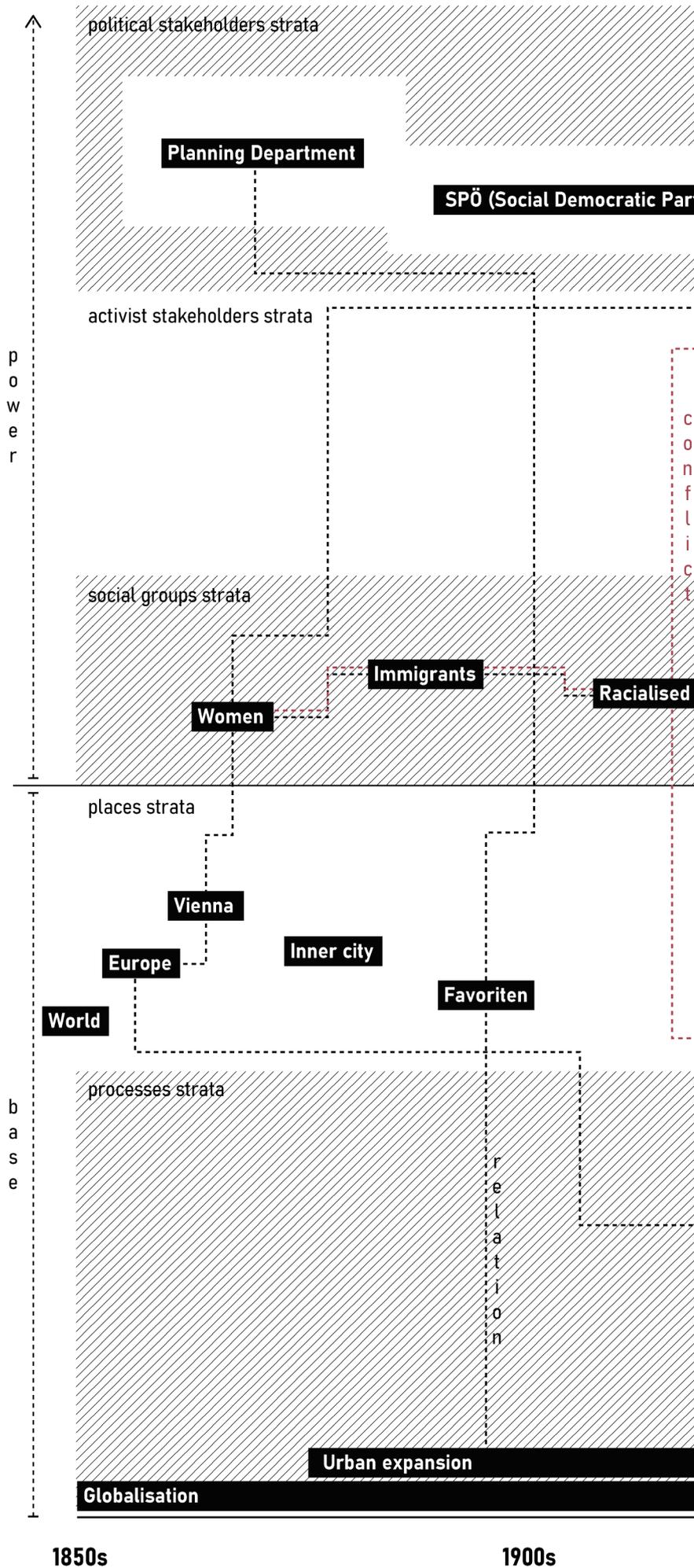
I cannot help, but think that there is some dissonance between the assumptions of young activists who operate in their own bubble, and the actual situation of vulnerable communities. This is due to the  the lack of communication, which might lead to incorrect assumptions.
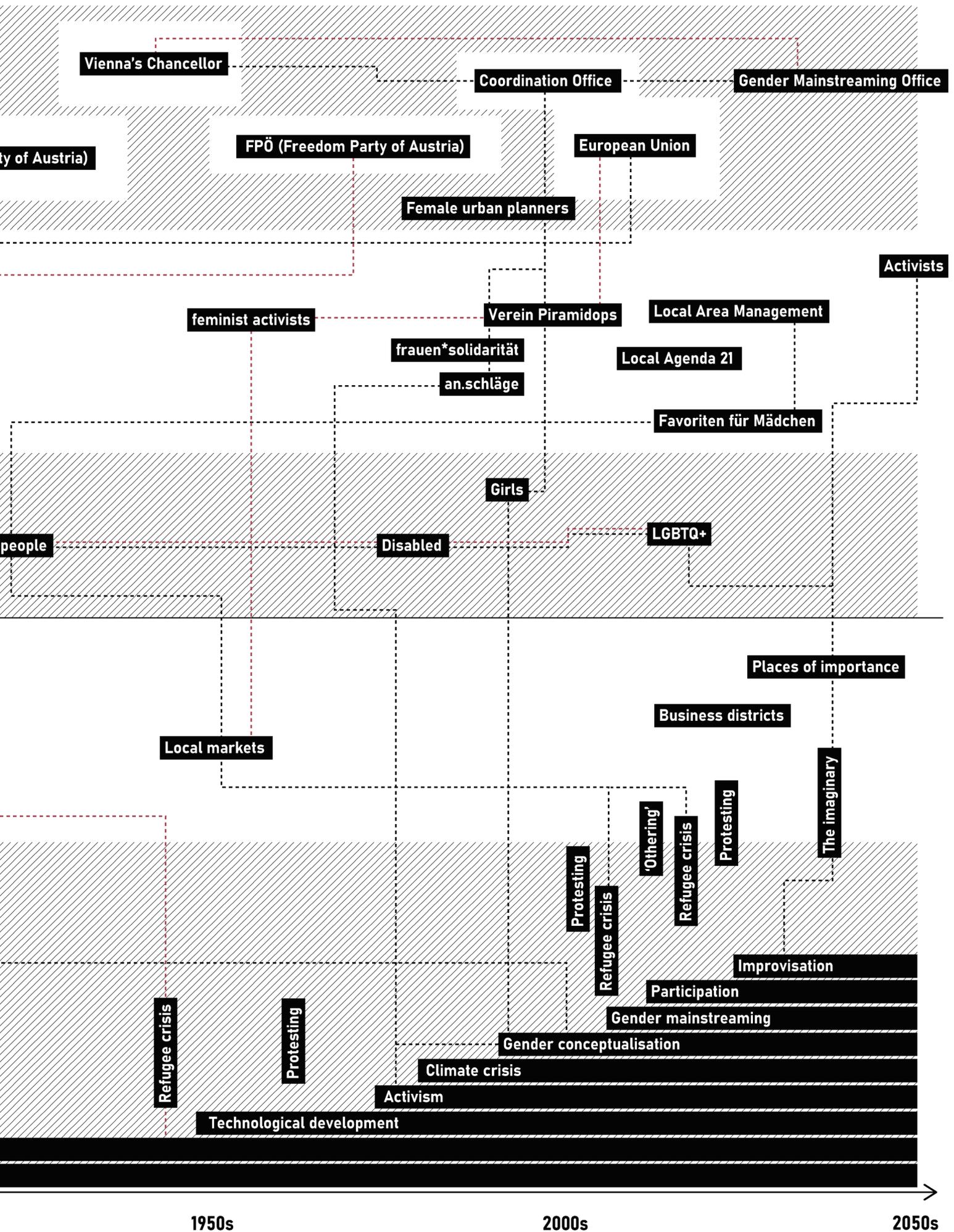
# Geography of forces

## 5.5. Power distribution over time

In order to understand the distribution and power relations the geography of forces is drawn. It consists of the 'processes strata', where anything from globalisation and urban expansion to gender conceptualisation happens; 'places strata', 'social groups strata', 'activist stakeholders strata', and finally 'political stakeholder strata'. They are placed on a timeline and axis showing the amount of power.



Figure 63. ▶
The Geography of forces and stakeholder analysis graph.

power

base

political stakeholders strata

Planning Department

SPÖ (Social Democratic Part

activist stakeholders strata

conflict

social groups strata

Immigrants

Women

Racialised

places strata

Vienna

Inner city

Europe

Favoriten

World

processes strata

relation

relation --------------

conflict --------------

Urban expansion

Globalisation

1850s        1900s

Vienna's Chancellor

Coordination Office

Gender Mainstreaming Office

...ty of Austria)

FPÖ (Freedom Party of Austria)

European Union

Female urban planners

Activists

feminist activists

Verein Piramidops

Local Area Management

frauen*solidarität

Local Agenda 21

an.schläge

Favoriten für Mädchen

Girls

...people

Disabled

LGBTQ+

Places of importance

Business districts

Local markets

The imaginary

'Othering'

Refugee crisis

Protesting

Protesting

Refugee crisis

Improvisation

Participation

Gender mainstreaming

Gender conceptualisation

Refugee crisis

Protesting

Climate crisis

Activism

Technological development

1950s

2000s

2050s

# Ethnographic research

Figure 64. ▶
Public spaces map
of Favoriten with the
research questions
addressed in this
section.
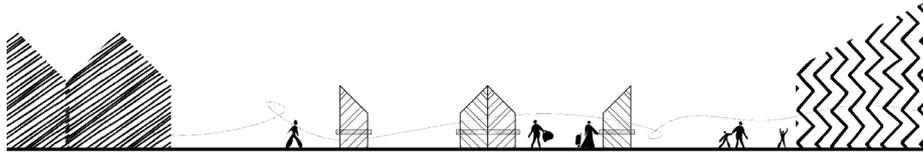


## 5.6. Part three - migrant women in Favoriten (10th District)

In this section I present the results of the ethnographic research, observations, interviews, conversations and impressions collected during the fieldwork. The following pages break down and analyse the public and semi-private spaces as marked on the map in Figure 64. These are analysed through the perspective of the female migrant residents of the district's densely populated area. The scale of a shopping strip, square or a park and its elements is juxtaposed with the scale of the body of women of different ages and walks of life who live in Favoriten. The analysis uncovers the time aspect of life in public space in terms of district's history, personal biographies, but also times of the day and how long things last. These conversations and observations uncovered conflicts and tensions that are growing between the immigrant women and men as well as with the activists and city administration. Get a glimpse with the video below.



▲ Figure 65. Still from the video of fieldwork made by author. To see the video, click on the image or here.

*Disrupting the gendered order*

RsQ2 How are migrant women using public space daily?

RsQ3 a. How have the gender mainstreaming strategies
and feminist activism in Vienna created
opportunities for migrant women?

b. Where have these strategies and actions reached
their limits?

1 - Erlachpark
2 - Laubepark
3 - Keplerplatz
4 - courtyard
5 - Favoritenstraße
6 - Reumannplatz
7 - Arthaberpark
8 - Wielandpark
9 - Helmut-Zilk-Park
10 - Antonspark

0    100   200   300   400   500                    1000m

Public spaces map, Favoriten

76

### 5.6.1. The greenest district?

The harsh border between Favoriten and the inner city is visible and dominated by car traffic. However, there is an attempt at softening the border with enclosed green parks, such as Waldmüllerpark (Figure 67). The southern and outer part of the district has many large green parks, as this landscape used to be, and partially still is, rural. These parks provide a much needed escape from the dense residential area of Favoriten, but they are less accessible by public transport, and more by car.

Figures 69-72. ▶
Photos of the streets
between residential
blocks at different
spots in the area.

### 5.6.2. Public transport and concrete-dominated streets

Despite the greenness of the outer parts of the 10th districts, the inner
Favoriten is not only densely populated, but also car dominated with almost
all surfaces covered with concrete and asphalt to prioritise parking and
driving. There is an attempt at greening the streets with a Superblock pilot
project, where the car traffic is re-directed and more space is freed up for
pedestrians and permeable surfaces. However, this approach has not been
popular among the car users, who disregarded the new signs (Figure 72).

Figure 73. ▶
Public transport map
of Favoriten.

0  100  200  300  400  500                    1000m
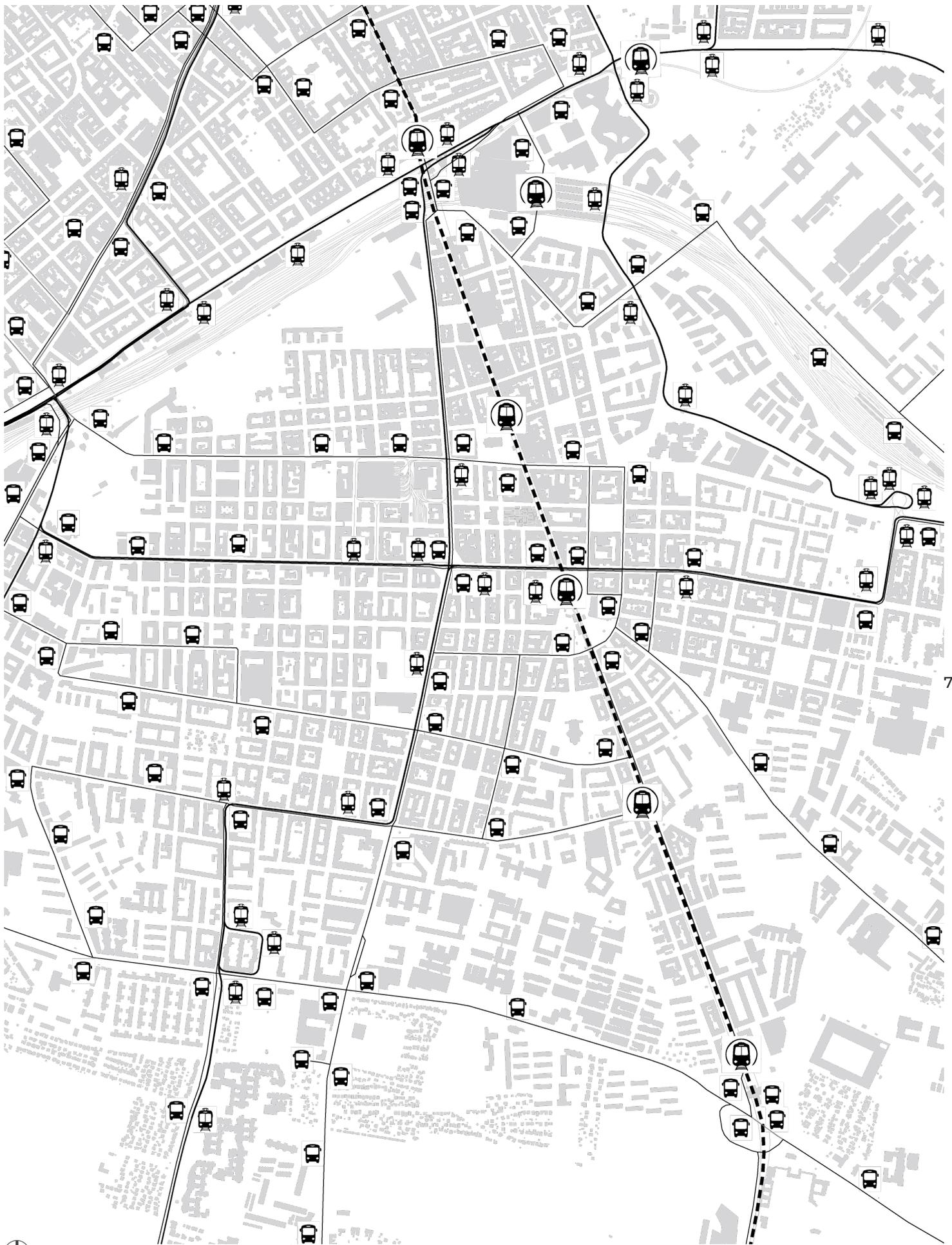
**Public transport map, Favoriten**

To get an sound insight click here.

U-Bahn    bus    tram

**1991**



▲ Figure 74. Barbara Krobath's photo of the entrance to
U-Bahn at Keplerplatz in Favoriten in 1991.
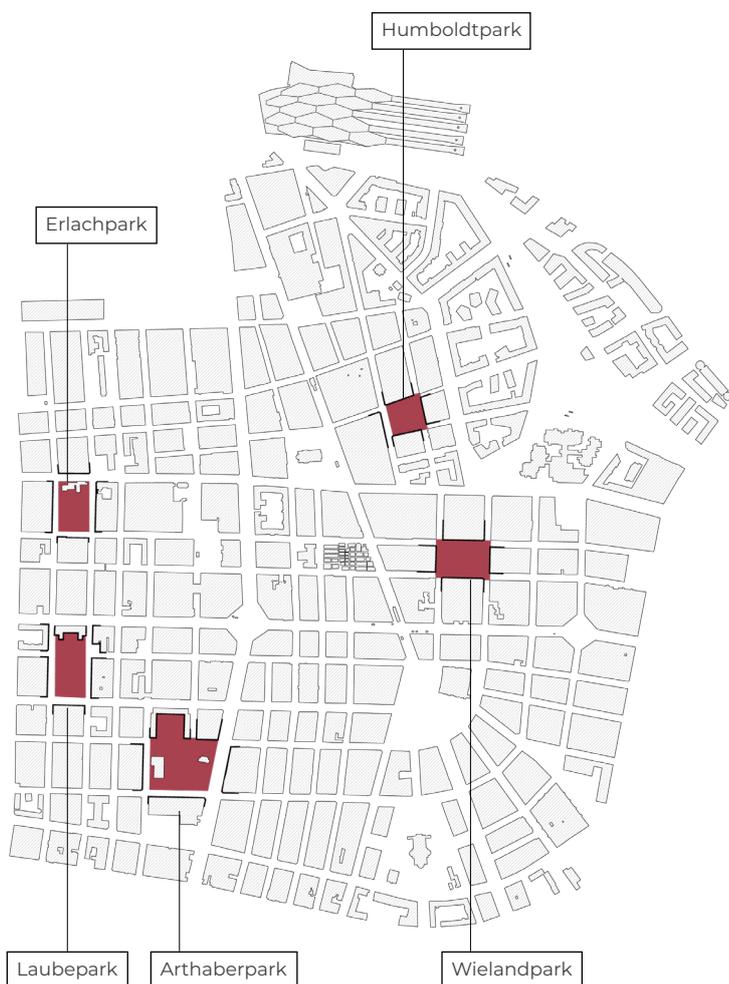
◄ Figure 76.
Map showing the location of
the main axis.

*Disrupting the gendered order*

**2022**



▲ **Figure 75.** The author's photo of the entrance to
U-Bahn at Keplerplatz in Favoriten in 2022.

### 5.6.3. What happened in the last 30 years?

For the past 30 years Vienna has undergone a lot of changes. As mentioned before, from a declining metropolis it became one of the most liveable city in Europe. The gender-sensitive implementations improved safety, visibility, accessibility and comfort for women in Vienna. However, this is not true for Favoriten as one of the poorer district with a high percentage of migrant communities has not changed since 1991, as can be seen in the photographs above - one by Barbara Krobath, taken for the first feminist planning exhibition, and the second by me in 2022. The U-Bahn stop at Reumannplatz still being the central public transportation node, only the names of the commerce along the street has changed to become more contemporary and relevant. Also the cars are no longer allowed to park or pass through the pedestrian axis, and the flowers and trees visible in the older picture are no longer there nowadays. In fact, the main commercial street in Favoriten seems to have been better maintained in the 1990s.

It is no surprise that there is a lot more investment happening in the inner and richer districts of Vienna, however, the extent to which Favoriten has remained the same throughout the last 30 years, possibly become more car dominated than before, calls for urgent attention.

Humboldtpark

Erlachpark

Laubepark

Arthaberpark

Wielandpark

# Neighbourhood parks

Small parks which are the size of a block
and have separate play areas for small
children, football and basketball fields, as
well as benches and tables.

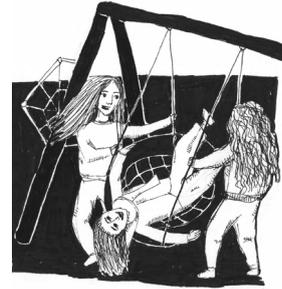▲ Figures 77-79. The photos of neighbourhood parks by author.

two little girls

girls using the trampolines

kids with a teacher playing football

a dad chasing after a child

bigger kids play area

a mum with a buggy

two women chilling

woman with a buggy and a daughter.

an older man on a phone.

4 small girls, 6 y.o. playing alone.

big open concrete space

small kids play area

two teenage girls sitting under a covered space

little kid on a tricycle

5 muslim women with their babies, eating.

girl and two boys with a scooter.

two unemployed men drinking

Ukrainian lady on a phone.

a woman watching her daughter.

water fountain

two teenage girls at the edge (Daba & Mariana)

entrance

volleyball court

some men hanging out

0  1  2  3  4  5          10m

**Wielandpark, 13:30, Wednesday**

To get an sound insight click here. 🔊

*Disrupting the gendered order*

Comfortable
Imaginative
Safe
Empathetic
Included
Inspired

*Just sitting and socialising with the smaller children, while the bigger ones are playing in the playground area mostly unsupervised, as they do not need to be.*

*The men (dads) in the park are a lot more controlling over the kids, running after them, and calling their names, while the mums are rather relaxed.*
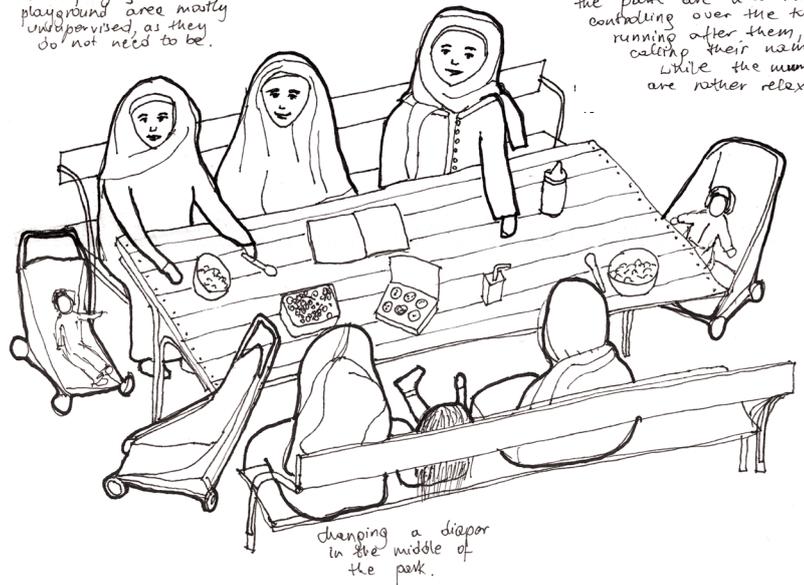
*changing a diaper in the middle of the park.*

## 5.7. Observations - neighbourhood park

The average dimensions of these neighbourhood parks are at around 50m by 70m, they are a size of a building block. They are often surrounded by residential buildings and schools, hence they act as community parks for a specific area, as they are scattered around the densely built-up are of Favoriten. As represented in the compass of my experience, I felt comfortable and safe, but less inspired or imaginative due to the lack of engaging design. This is also the kind of place where I collected most of women's and girl's experiences in the 10th district. They all felt similarly safe, comfortable and included, especially within the boundaries of the park. However, the design of the space is very limited and possibly pushes out girls of certain age.

An average neighbourhood park consists of set elements: a paved way through the park with benches along it, a fenced off football and/ or basketball court, a general hard surface open area with benches and seats, a separate small children play area, and sometimes equally fenced off area for dogs. The sport's courts are often occupied by teenagers during or after school, almost always boys, even though as mentioned by Amina (Figure 86) when it is not raining she plays basketball with her friends nearly every day. Some younger teenage girls who grew up nearby feel free and excited to spend everyday playing in the park (Figure 83), while slightly older and newer to the area feel like there is not much safe space for them that is not occupied by younger kids (Figure 85). At all times of the day the play areas are occupies by mothers with smaller children, who freely play in the enclosed playgrounds, while the women socialise during park picnics (Figure 80).

These neighbourhood parks are inclusive towards everyone and were very successful for its users, however, they exclude everyone who is not targeted by design, girls, young women and everyone in-between.
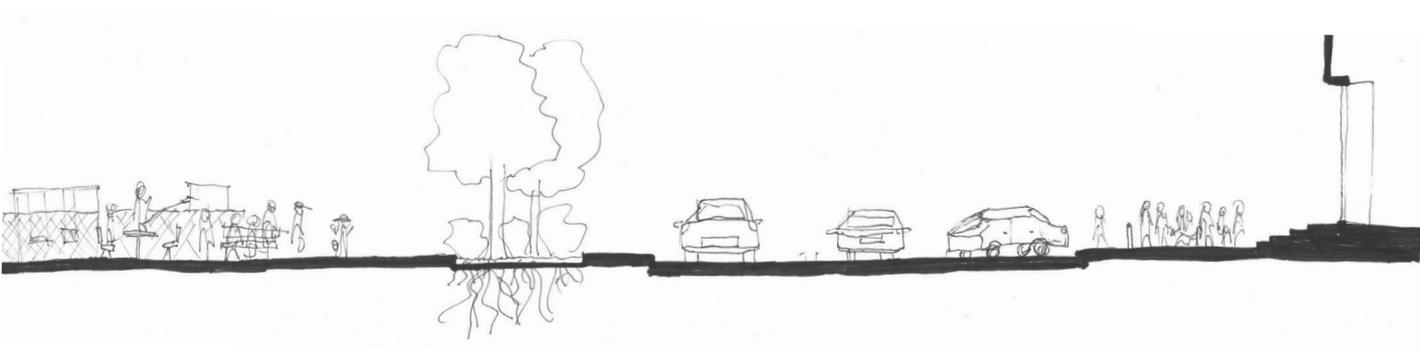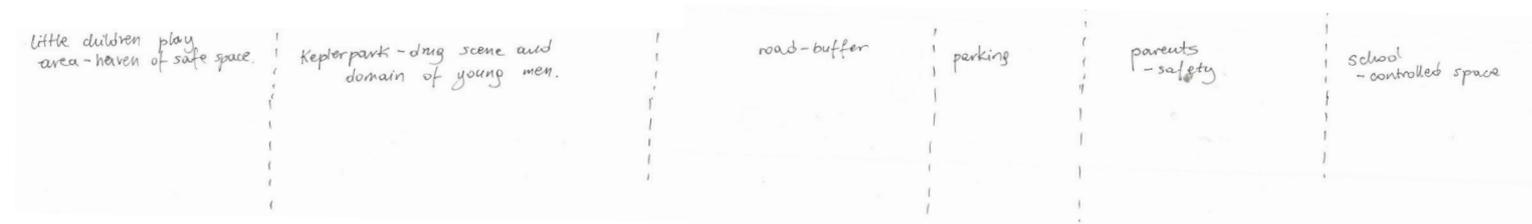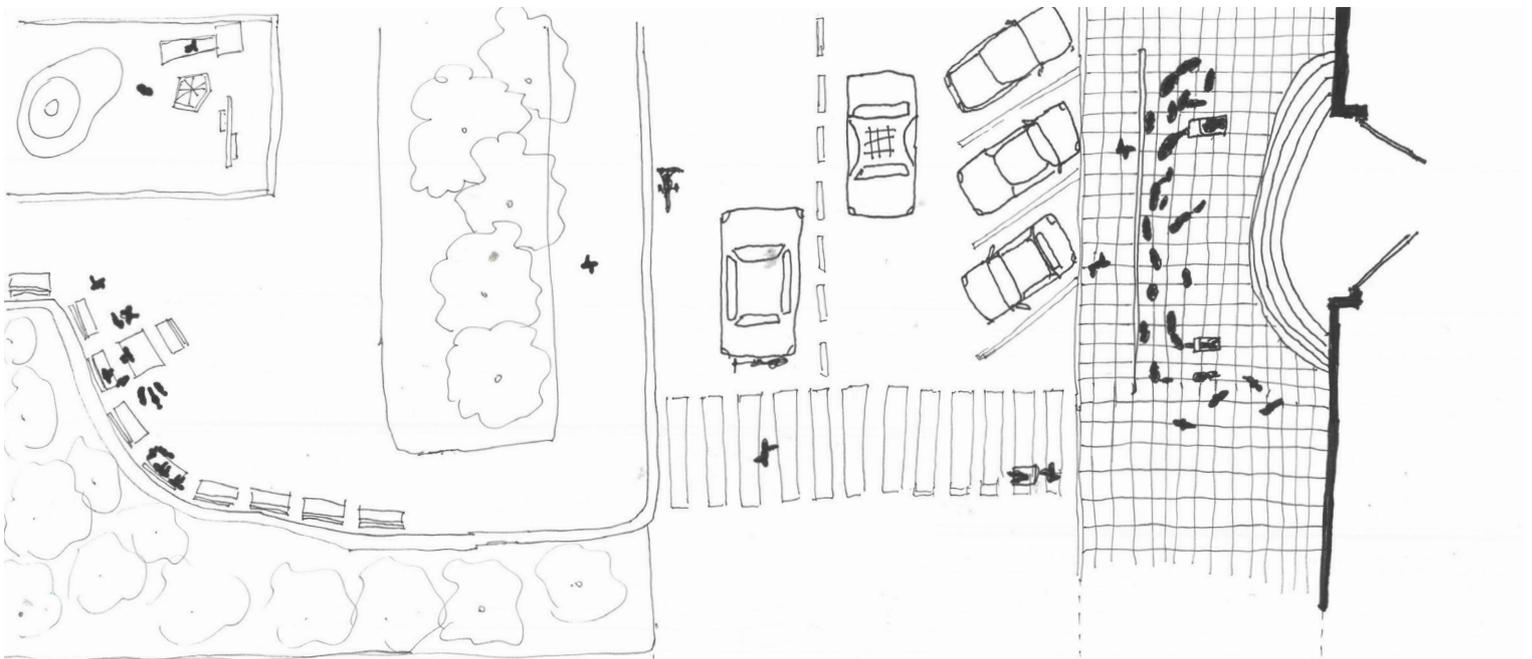
Keplerplatz

## Church parks

Keplerplatz is a main meeting spot
and a drug sale hotspot along the
Favoritenstrasse with a state primary school
across the street.

▲ Figures 87 & 88. The photos of neighbourhood parks by author.

little children play
area – haven of safe space.

Keplerpark – drug scene and
domain of young men.

road-buffer

parking

parents
– safety.

school
– controlled space

0 1 2 3 4 5          10m

State primary school, near Keplerplatz, 12:00, Tuesday

▲ Figure 89.
Ethnographic analysis
drawings of the school pick-
up.

*Disrupting the gendered order*
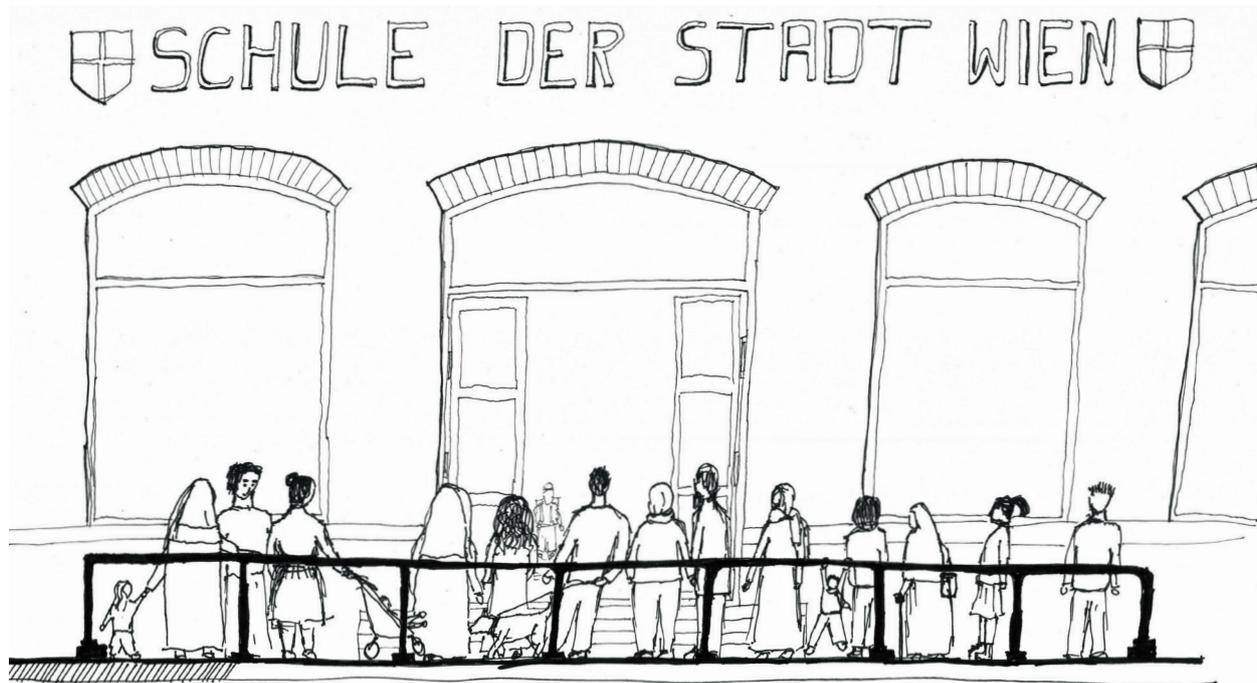
Figure 90. Drawing of the school pick-up.

## 5.8. Observations - school pick up

According to one of the *Favoriten für Mädchen* group leaders and at the same time a local headmistress, the 10th district does not have enough schools, especially the primary ones. There are a lot of children in the district and they come from diverse backgrounds, so the multicultural dimension of the district is reflected in its education, especially in public schools. Therefore the activist group contacts the girls through schools as this ensures the widest reach. Even then, many girls who are not involved in the specific circles do not even know of such initiatives.

Schools are also an important part of the district's history as many of the original buildings from the 1900s are still serving as schools, according to the Favoriten's Bezirkmuseum (the district's museum). At the beginning of Favoriten's history, the children of the Czech immigrants were not allowed to attend Austrian schools, and instead acquired Czech certificates in special schools. Furthermore, until much later, the girls' and boys' education was separated. Boys would learn technical subjects and practical skills and girls' education would be limited to household and handicrafts.

Nowadays, this leads to my observation of a school pick up by parents from one of these historical primary state schools. Located centrally in the district, next to Keplerplatz - a park but also famously a drug hotspot, at exactly 12pm parents gather at the front door of the school. They are of diverse backgrounds - Austrian, Turkish, Romanian, Ukrainian with mostly only mothers, but also a good amount of both parents and a few dads. Next to the road and a park that clearly nobody wants to stay around for too long with their kids, having little space on the enclosed pavement the crowd disperses within a few minutes from noon.
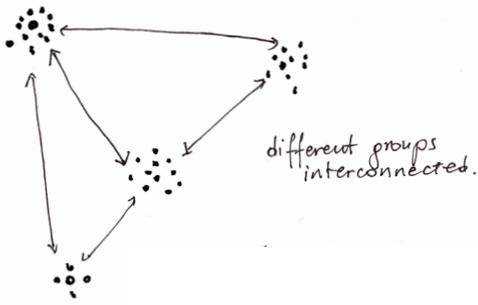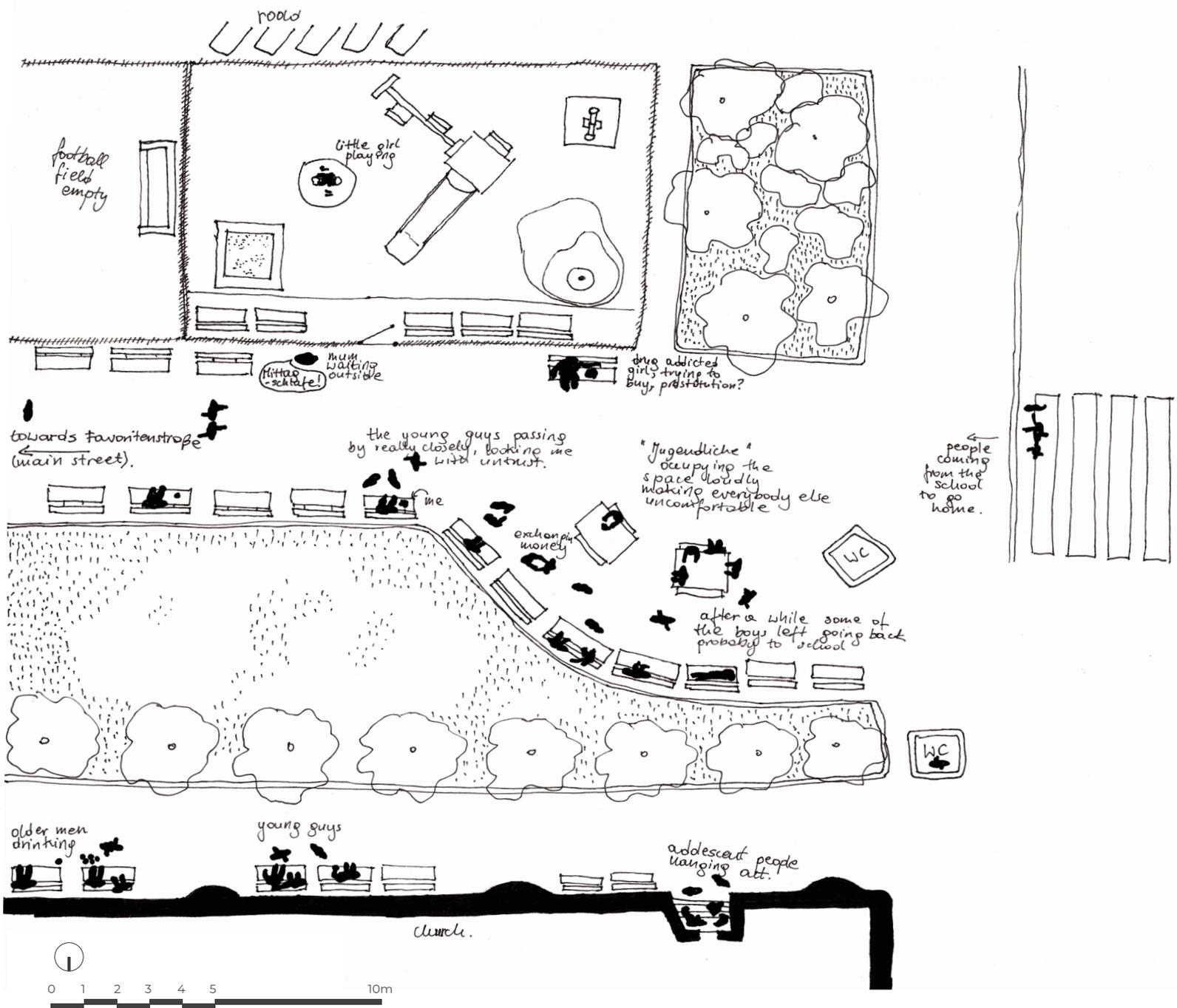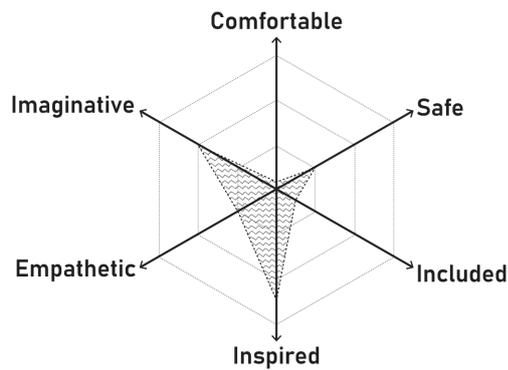
different groups
interconnected.

road

little girl playing

football field empty

Mittag-schlafe!

mum waiting outside

drug addicted girls trying to buy, prostitution?

towards Favoritenstraße (main street).

the young guys passing by really closely, looking me with untrust.

me

"Jugendliche" occupying the space loudly making everybody else uncomfortable

exchanging money

after a while some of the boys left going back probably to school

WC

people coming from the school to go home.

WC

older men drinking

young guys

adolescent people hanging out.

church.

0 1 2 3 4 5 10m

**Keplerplatz, the drug hotspot, 13:00, Tuesday**

*Disrupting the gendered order*

## 5.9. Observations - drug scene

Keplerplatz, or Keplerpark, is a central location along the main axis, a U1 metro stop, but it is also famously a drug hotspot, popular among young men and different kinds of drug users.

The MA 17, the Integration and Diversity Office, mentioned that they have a team working on the ground with the drug-addicted youth in the 10th district, and they have managed to get a few of them into rehab, trying to address the growing problems of these young people falling out of the system and into the drug addiction. However, the drug trade hotspot happening in Keplerplatz is a bigger issue, which currently is only vaguely addressed by the city's administration.

The girls I talked to mentioned this place, and similar parks, as often occupied by boys and men behaving aggressively and loud. They would sometimes get into fights with each other and that made the girls and women feel uncomfortable enough to leave or never go near these areas. From my own observation, I have noticed that the parents would be passing through the park after picking up their children from the schools nearby, a mum watched over her daughter play in the separated small children's play area, but most women and girls would quickly pass through the park without stopping for too long.

The space was occupied by a few different groups of men and youth that were interconnected and sometimes would communicated between themselves. Sitting very close to one of the groups, I felt that there was an attempt to intimidate me or get my attention by walking by really close to me, interacting with the bench I was sitting on, and making loud noises with their keys or shouting and jumping. It can be said openly that I did not fit within the usual profile of the user of the area and hence I understand how girls and women are actively being pushed out of these spaces.

The only women who hanged around the group were making transactions and hanged around wanting to buy drugs. There is also a possibility that some of them are involved in sex work. In addition, men of different ages came by for purchase, some of them looked like teenagers. At around 1pm, many boys left all at the same time, possibly to go back to their schools.

Reumannplatz



Reumannplatz
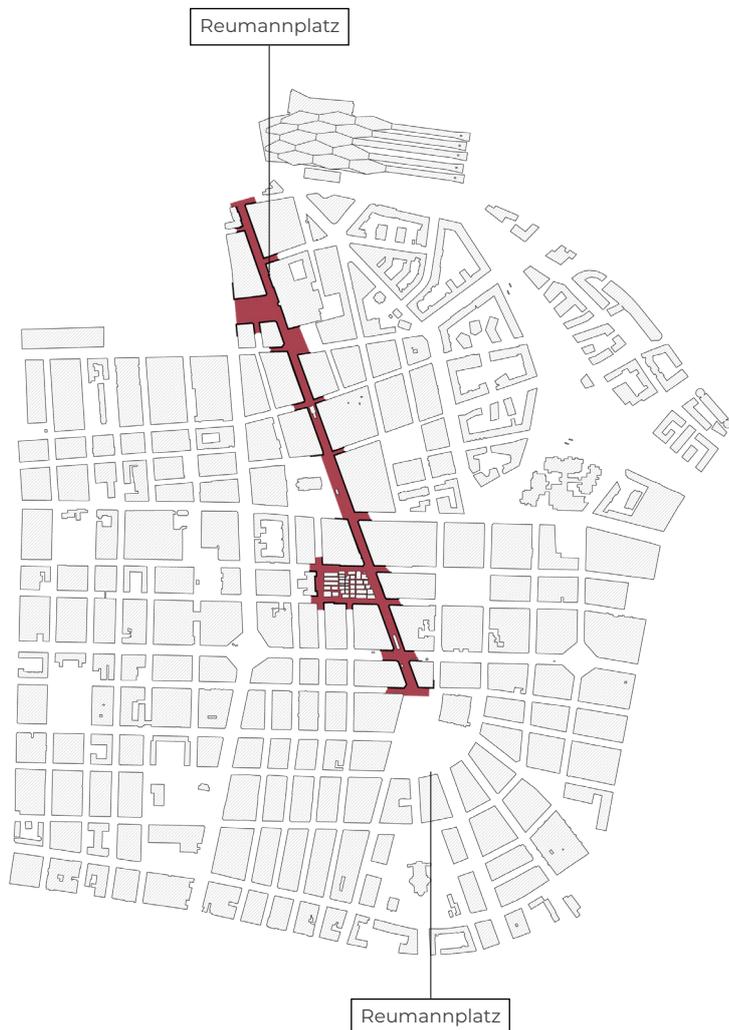
## The district's main axis

Favoritenstraße as the main commercial strip
stretching from Vienna's main train station
to the heart of Favoriten, both on ground by
foot and underground by U-Bahn.

*Disrupting the gendered order*

▲ Figures 95-98. The photos of neighbourhood parks by author.

cafés with outdoor seating,
occupied most of the day.

benches occupied by
different kinds of people,
also eating take-out food.

many families
with children
at all times of
the day

parents
with buggies

many people w
between Keplerp
and Reumannpla

permanent
market with
fruit and vegetables

deliveries happening
near the market

döner kebab
stands that
are very
popular.

cheap options for food

open market on Saturday.

0  1  2  3  4  5                    10m

**Favoritenstraße, 15:30, Tuesday**

To get an sound insight of the market, click here.

Figure 99. ▶
The compass of my experience
on the main commercial street.

◀          Figure 100.
Ethnographic analysis drawing
of Favoritenstraße between
Reumannplatz and Keplerplatz
U-Bahn stops and its different
activities.

Handwritten annotations on map:
- corner shops, chain retailers of all sorts.
- uniform empty space with no green.
- walking plaza plaz
- older women
- men
- kids out of school.
- many mothers and fathers walking down to U1
- a ramp
- U1 leading the centre along the low district
- U1
- elevator
- people asking for money
- stands with sweets on a way to met
- U1

Radar chart axes: Comfortable, Safe, Included, Inspired, Empathetic, Imaginative

## 5.10. Observations - the main axis.

The main commercial street with no car access is a 22m wide pedestrian promenade cutting through the district and leading towards the main train station, Hauptbahnhof (previously known as Südbahnhof, historically the main arrival point in Vienna). The axis also follows the only metro line of the district with the stops punctuated through the walk from the south-most Troststraße, Reumannplatz and Keplerplatz.

The concrete wide paved surface is empty and uninspiring, but filled with people moving up and down the district. The focal point is the market open at all days of the week with fresh greens, food stalls and all sorts of other vendors. Two days a week an open-air market is quite popular.

At either side of the street, there are café tables and chairs set up for sitting outside, as well as public benches for taking a moment of rest. This street has been mentioned by a few women who were interviewed as a place for walks along the commercial strip. This is a place where many different people come during the day, hence there are a lot of families, women or men with children, young girls and boys. An important point is McDonald's which is a comfortable place for young girls, and the access to toilet for many.

Reumannplatz

# Main square, place of fear

Reumannplatz is the central point of Favoritenstraße. Until 2019 it was the end of U1, the only metro line cutting through the district, and has been remodelled since then.

▲ **Figures 101-104.** The photos of neighbourhood parks by author.

Handwritten map annotations:
- Eissalon TICHY - hotspot during the summer.
- many people walking through to Favoritenstraße.
- Amelienbad - a historical swimming pool.
- families with children
- different people going in and out of the metro
- U1
- U1
- a group of young immigrant men
- many older men and families speaking in different languages
- walking to the WC
- children playing minigolf/bouldering
- ReumMÄDCHENplatz
- more men drinking
- a spot for older men of all backgrounds.
- the event stage for girls: Mädchenbühne
- men drinking alcohol at all times of the day
- smaller groups of young men
- a group of men
- a group of adolescent boys
- mum with small children
- (girls' wish) trampolines used by girls and boys
- a group of pensioner women coming here everyday. (Elmedina and Ilda)
- men drinking
- homeless man sleeping
- homeless man sleeping
- people walking to buses
- a group of Romanian women who do not speak German or English
- small playground
- safety strips/ roads.
- bus stops.
- buses going to different places in 10th district and the rest of Vienna

0   5   10   15   20m

## Reumannplatz, different times of the day





▲ Figure 105. Ethnographic analysis drawing of Reumannplatz and different groups occupying the space.

◄ Figures 106 & 107. The portrait of Elmedina and Ilda, pensioners spending their time on the benches here, and Maseera, a mum with two children in the playground area.

*Disrupting the gendered order*

Figure 108. ▼
The compass of my
experience on the
main square.
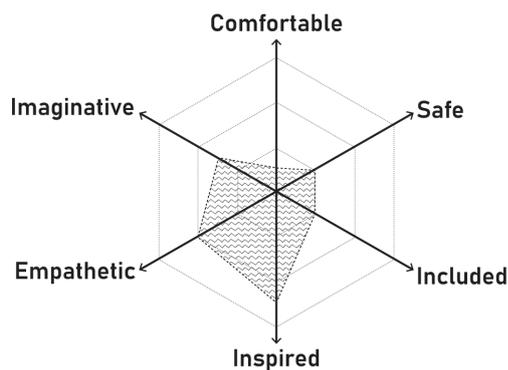
## 5.11. Observations - place of fear

Austria is one of the safest places to live in the world. However, like anywhere, there are places of fear, and according to many Viennese women I have spoken to, even outside of the district, Reumannplatz is one of those as it is dark, claimed by men and some assaults had happened here before. It is also the main transport hub of the district, and until 2017, the last stop of U1 line, with buses and trams connecting the rest of the district, making it the busiest spot in Favoriten. With the tram rails removed from the square, the area was remodelled by Vienna City Gardens in 2020, and according to the Stadt Wien website on Reumannplatz - "a new hotspot emerged, increasing the quality of life in Favoriten." [64]

And even though remodelling the square came as an opportunity to revitalise the heart of the district, it's design still pushes out some people. As mentioned by Katja Arzberger - the key figure of *Favoriten für Mädchen*, who I spoke to, the group strongly argued for implementing girls' ideas into the new design. Most of the park was thought out by the architects, but girls got to decide on a few details - mainly a new stage, so called Girls' Stage (*Mädchen-Bühne*), but also small trampolines in a play area and water sprinklers. There has also been an idea for a Girls/Women's Cafe, but was not approved by the planners and the city. Despite the group's tireless efforts at reclaiming Reumannplatz into ReuMÄDCHENplatz (Reu-GIRLS-square) by organising events for girls at the stage and nearby, the central square is still dominated by men, and feared by women and girls, who choose not to come here apart from commuting.

Despite this reputation, Reumannplatz gathers many different groups. Some mothers say they like to come to the enclosed playground with their children. An area near the bus stops is daily occupied by a group of pensioner women. Some benches at the edge of the park are occupied by the homeless. Near the entrance to the U-Bahn is the spot where young refugee men stay at most times of the day, as they do not work. And the whole square is buzzing with different languages as the commuters are moving through and men of all ages, and some families and women occupy the benches and seats around the square.

64. City of Vienna, *Reumannplatz.*
The orginal quote in German: *Ein neuer "Hotspot" entstand, der die Lebensqualität im Herzen von Favoriten erhöht.*

99

residential courtyard
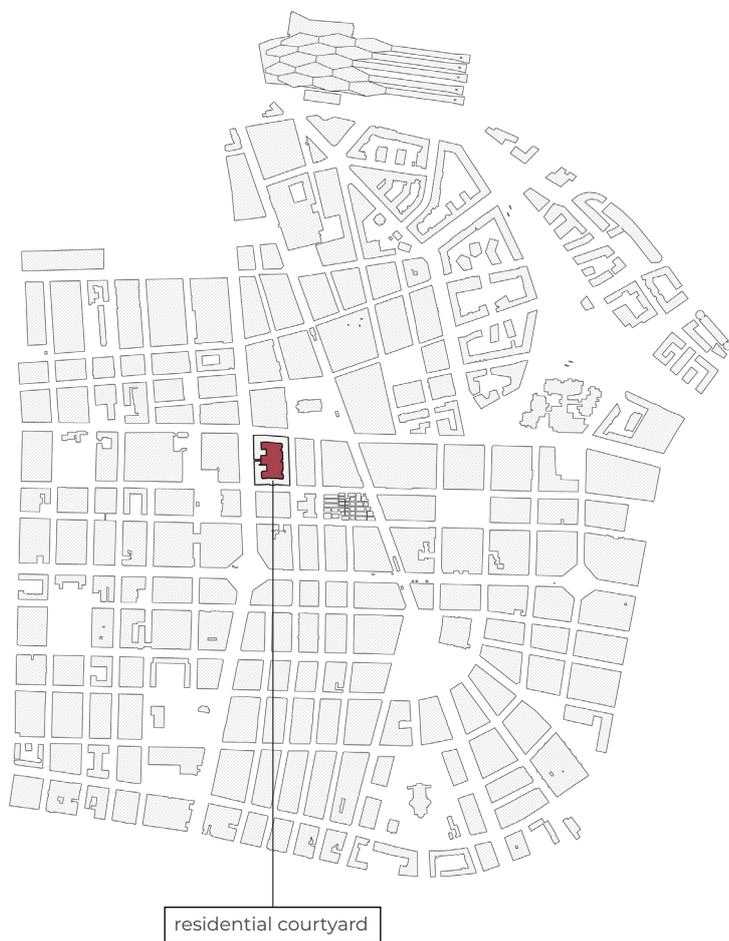
# Courtyards

The maintained residential courtyards as the quiet and safe refuge for women and girls, while the unmaintained as potential spaces of fear.
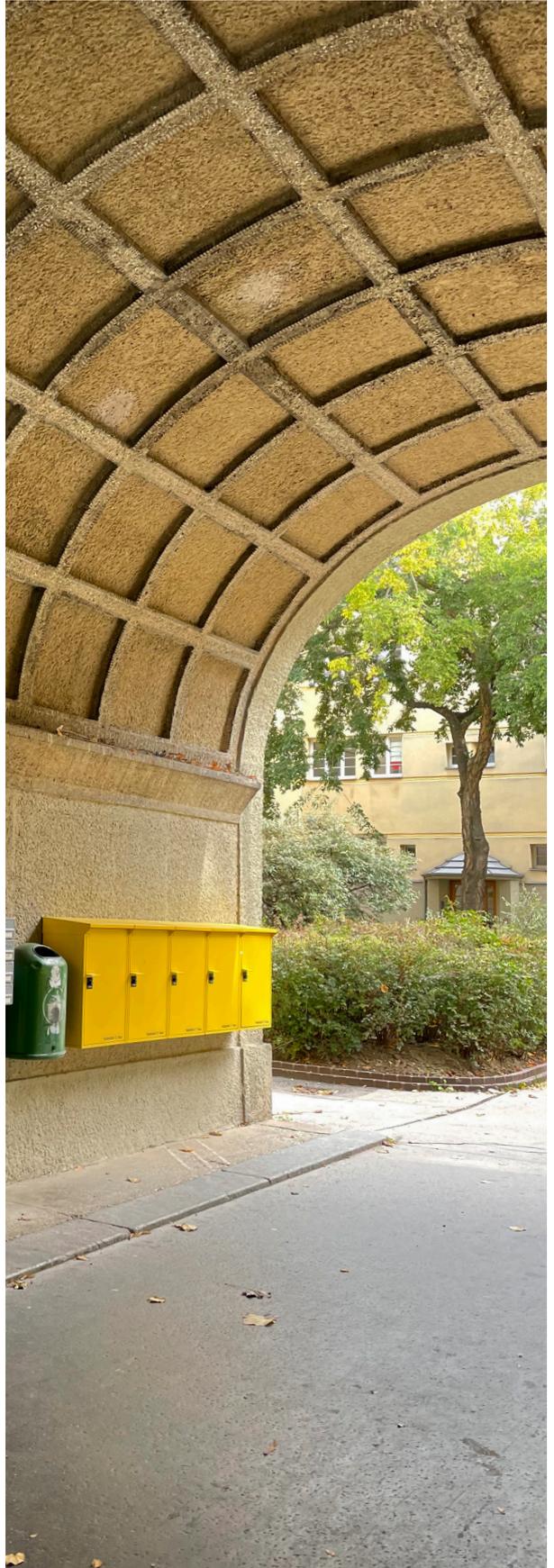
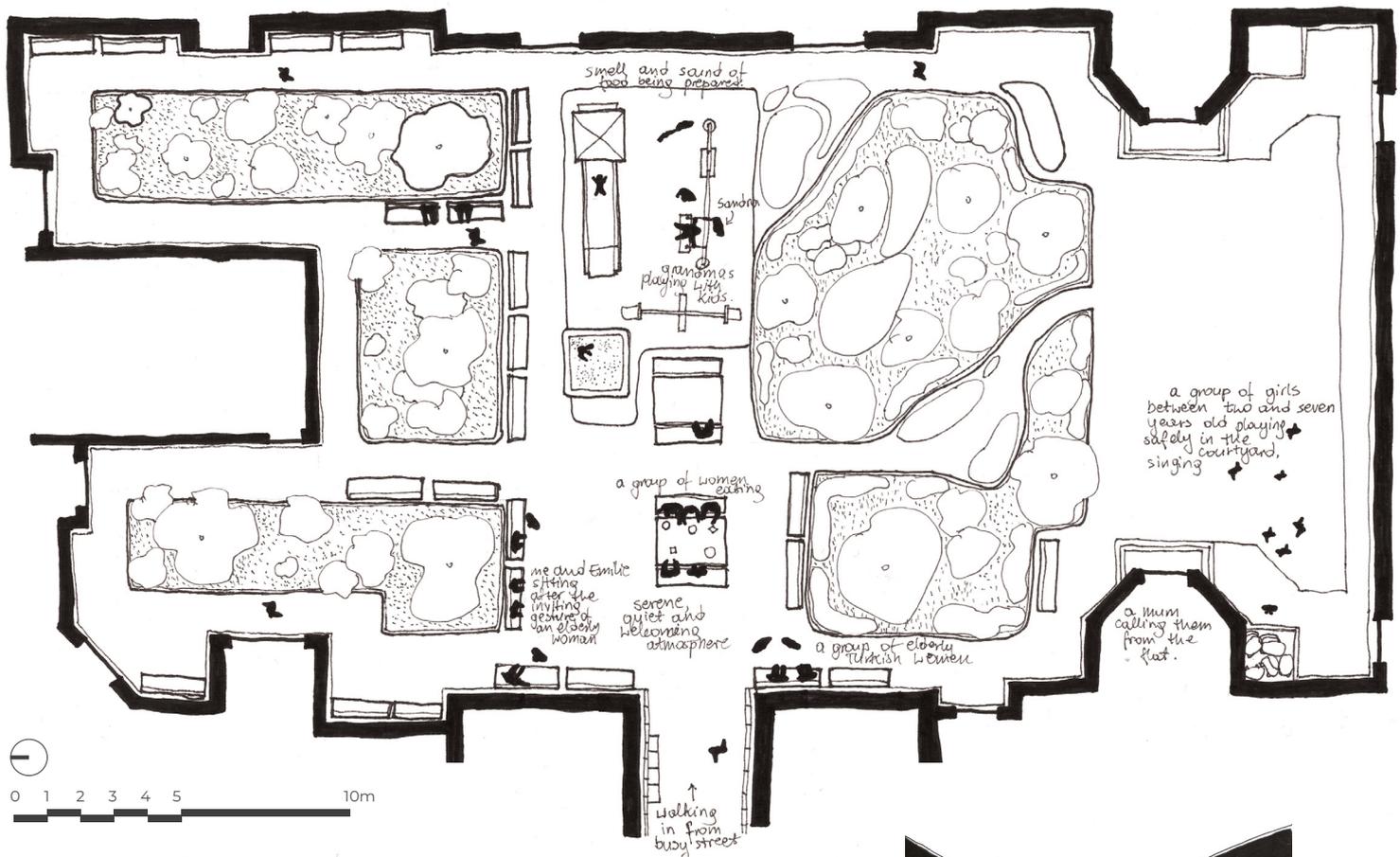▲ Figures 109-111. The photos of neighbourhood parks by author.
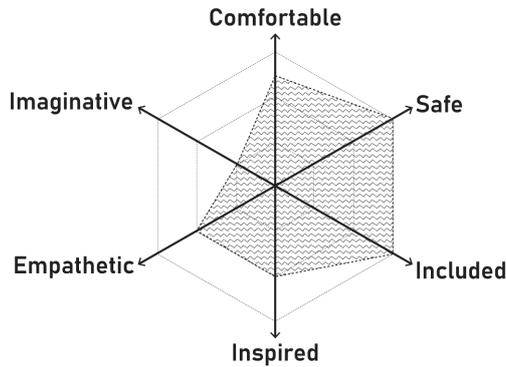
**Leebgasse courtyard, 16:55, Monday**

To get an sound insight of the courtyard, click here. 🔊

**Troststraße courtyard, 14:00, Wednesday**

To get an sound insight of the courtyard play, click here. 🔊

10



smell and sound of food being prepared!

sandan

grandmas playing with kids.

a group of women eating

me and Emilie sitting after the inviting gesture of an elderly woman

serene, quiet and welcoming atmosphere

a group of elderly Turkish women

a group of girls between two and seven years old playing safely in the courtyard, singing

a mum calling them from the flat.

Walking in from busy street

0  1  2  3  4  5          10m



*Disrupting the gendered order*

Comfortable

Imaginative

Safe

Empathetic

Included

Inspired

## 5.12. Observations - inner residential courtyards

Inner courtyards of residential buildings, if well-maintained, often become an important outdoor space for the community in many European cities. This is especially true in the densely built-up 10th district, where the streets between the blocks are fully paved in concrete, scarce in greenery, and occupied by cars parked along the narrow pavement. The loudness of the streets dominated by car sounds, trams passing by and a plane passing every five minutes landing in the nearby airport. Therefore, the occasional inner courtyard accessible from the street provides a much needed serene and quiet escape.

When I walked into one of them from the busy Leebgasse, the sudden calmness came as a surprise. It was just before 5pm and many older women with their bags and trolleys full of grocery shopping were having conversations in various languages. One of them, sitting alone on a bench and noticing our disorientation, offered us a free seat next to her. Other women, one of them Sandra (Figure 116), were entertaining their grandchildren at the playground. In a more southern part of the district, on Troststraße, I encountered an empty courtyard, only with a few small girls playing Green Light, Red Light, singing and running around with their backpacks safely rested by the entrance to their residential block. The girls were between the ages of 2 and 6 years old and their mum looking out through the kitchen window felt safe to let them play alone.

Even though not all buildings have access to a well-maintained courtyard, these spaces are important safe social spaces, especially for women and girls. Interestingly, the before mentioned pilot project of the Supergrätzl Favoriten does not include these spaces in their concepts.

Comfortable

Imaginative

Safe

Empathetic

Included

Inspired

BITTE
DIE HAUSTÜR
**TAG UND NACHT**
**VERSPERRT**
ZU LASSEN.

## 5.13. Observations - inner courtyards

The maintenance of the courtyards and hidden spaces is significant in its success as a comfortable semi-public space. The strong tradition of social housing in Vienna makes these spaces important for the community, as it is easily noticed that the social houses' inner courts are clean and well-maintained. However, where ownership, governance and service becomes more complex, the task of maintaining the outdoor spaces becomes nobody's duty, and makes the management of them impossible[65]. This can be seen in Figure 117, which represents a map of courtyards and their sizes in relation to location. It can be clearly identified that many blocks in the densely populated 'worker's district' have small inner spaces, often ill-maintained and dedicated to parking or service areas. The buildings more out of the central part of the district, as well as the gentrified Sonnwendviertel in the top-right corner of the map.

We stumbled upon one of those spaces near Leebgasse, and it had completely different appearance to the ones occupied by women and children. There was trash everywhere, the only bench was broken, and the walls were sprayed with swear words and drawings hinting that this is a prominent weed-smoking and drug-taking place. A note in one of the doors connected to the courtyard specified that the doors need to be locked at all times, showing there has been concern about the safety before. When we were leaving a group of young men just walked in.

65. Duivenvoorden et al. 'Managing
public space – A blind spot of
urban planning and design.'

Focus and discussion

06

# Interview cards

## 6.1. Portraits and profiles

In the following section, I present profiles of women and girls that I had an opportunity to speak to during the ethnographic research. The backgrounds of the portraits are accentuated to signify the places in which they feel well, as the space around them is a part of their identity. The drawings are accompanied by a short narrative of their life and a map showing the places of their daily practices.

## 6.1.1. Long-term, settled residents

These women have lived in Favoriten between 16 and 40 years. They where born abroad and immigrated to Vienna either as a child or in their 20s. The common thing they all mentioned is that the safety concerns become prominent around 2015 with the refugee crisis in Austria. Many of Syrian and Afghan refugees (mainly men) were placed in temporary abode in the 10th district. Especially the Bosnian pensioners, who worked for 40 years in Vienna as cleaners, complained about the costs of living and how little their retirement pay covers in terms of costs of the flat, food and the medications. Their pension is lower than the unemployment benefits received by the people with a refugee status. It is one of the contributing factors for the presence of men who are often drinking alcohol, sometimes harassing women, defecating and urinating in public, despite the access to toilets available at the metro station.

However, the common denominator was also the tight-knit community that these women are part of. They also like to go for walks but where depends on their life circumstances. If they have children or grandchildren, they move between playgrounds and parks of the district, the pensioners go for walks up and down Favoritenstraße, the commercial strip, sometimes taking the metro to the 1st district, while the only woman out of all nine who owns a car, likes to drive out to Oberlaa or 23rd district to go out to nature or larger parks outside the city.

**Narin\*, 31 years old**

Works in a home supply shop

**Working:** *Yes*

**Life circumstance:** *Not married, no children*

**Background:** *Muslim, Born in Turkey, grew up in Vienna*

**In Favoriten:** *for 16 years*

Narin describes her feelings towards Favoriten (10th district) as a love-hate relationship. The community is very supportive, but there is also a lot of conflict. She never goes to Reumannplatz because it is too loud and crowded. As she owns a car, Narin often goes to Oberlaa (south of the district) to go for walks in the park, where there are less kids' playgrounds. She also goes to the 23rd district out to nature, and sometimes goes for fitness nearby her house.
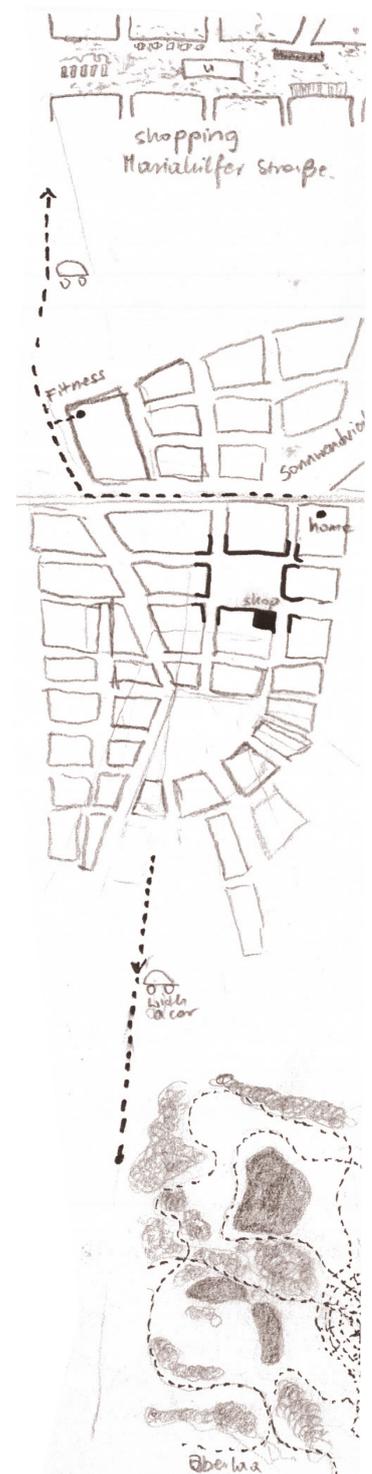


**Box 1.** Narin, the home-supply retailer.

*all names are changed for anonymity

**Elmedina and Ilda, 70 years old**

Pensioners



**Working:** *Not anymore, but used to work as cleaners*
**Life circumstance:** *retired, possibly no family here*
**Background:** *Bosnian, moved to Vienna in their 20s*
**In Favoriten:** *for 40 years*

They both live at the corner of Reumannplatz. Back in 1980s, when they first moved here, it was a lot safer. Ilda would work more on Thursdays and take Fridays off, so that she could go visit her family in Bosnia during the weekend. Then they had no fear leaving the house, but now there are a lot of unemployed men sitting around and drinking at all times of the day, who often urinate and defecate outside instead of using public toilets. Also they are unhappy that these men are getting money from the state, while they worked for 40 years and can barely afford the house (600 Euros) and medicine with their pensioner pay. Now, Ilda and Elmedina often hang around Reumannplatz, where in the summer they can go to Eissalon. At times they take a longer walk along Favoritenstraße towards Columbus Centre at Kepplerplatz.
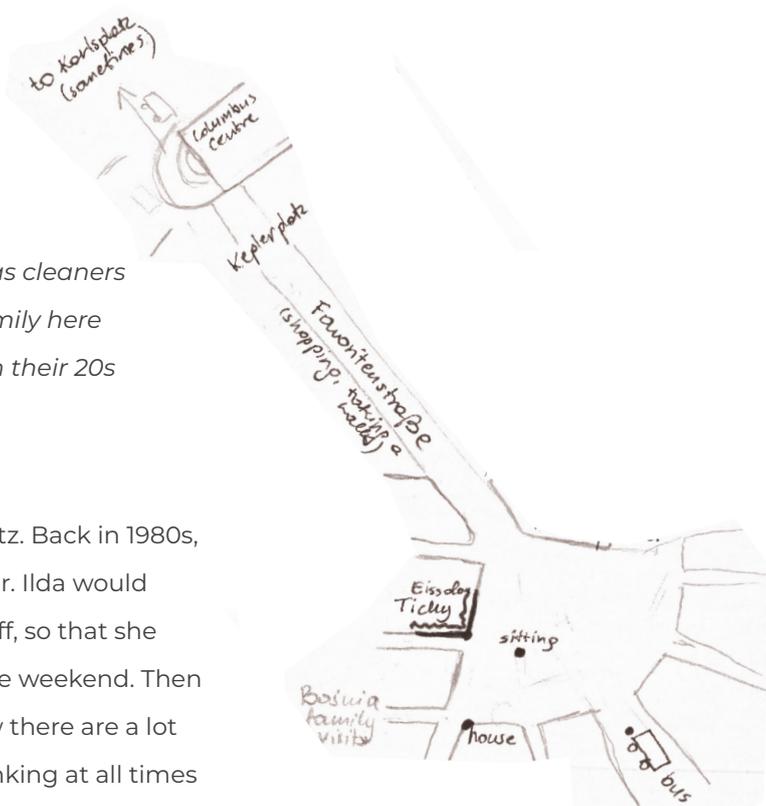
Box 2. Elmedina and Ilda, the Bosnian pensioners.

*Disrupting the gendered order*
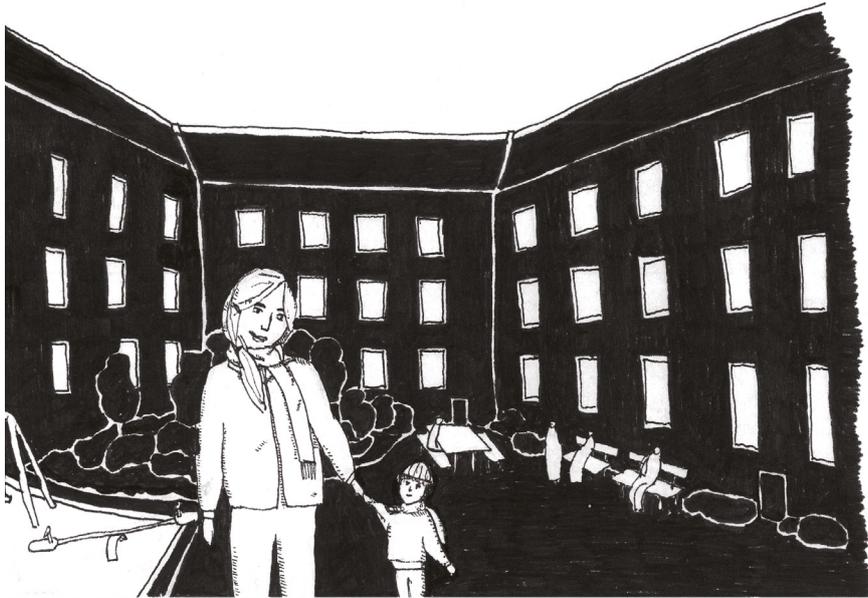
**Sandra**, 48 years old

Grandma, and care-taker

**Working:** *No*
**Life circumstance:** *Has children and grandchildren*
**Background:** *From ex-Yugoslavia*
**In Favoriten:** *for 18 years*
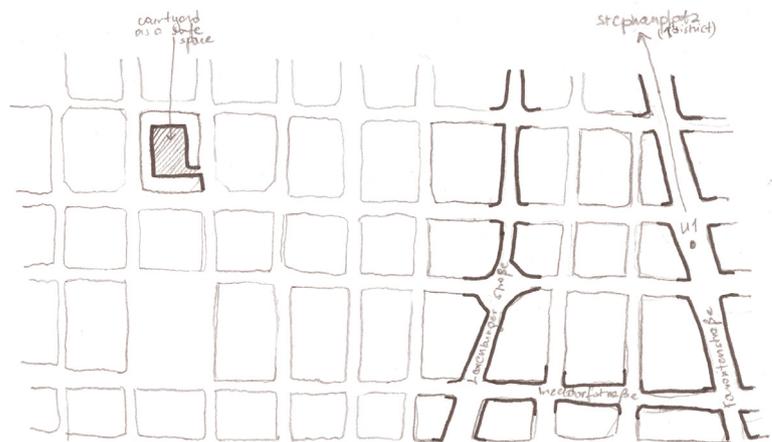
Sandra has moved from a Balkan region. Since 2015 refugee crisis she does not feel safe in Favoriten any more. There are also a lot of young people doing drugs in the park and they can be aggressive. For example they broke a lock on the park's gate nearby so the park cannot be closed for the night anymore, and the parents feel unsafe. She would not leave the kids alone, especially with many bushes limiting visibility. In a normal day she has breakfast at home, then takes kids to the kindergarten. Afterwards, they play in the park, take a nap, play some more and then go home. She shops for groceries in the district but sometimes goes to Mariahilferstraße. She also goes to Insledorfstadt, Stephanplatz and Laxemburgerstraße.

Box 3. Sandra, the grandma and child-carer.

### 6.1.2.Medium-term, or young Favoriten-born residents

These are women and girls who have lived in Favoriten for a couple of years, or were born here. The common thing about their experience is that they feel very well in the areas surrounding their neighbourhoods or designated spaces for play. Maseera, for example, appreciates many different places that are designated for small children, as she is a young mum herself, but does not have much time to do anything fun for herself. At the same time, girls between the ages of 6 and 13 are mostly allowed to go alone in their neighbourhood parks, where they feel safe and comfortable, but the younger ones only accompanied by adult or older sisters. The case of three 13-year-olds socialising in the neighbourhood park is quite unusual, as girls of that age are rarely feeling comfortable to be watched by boys, men or older women who also come to the park. Furthermore, Motorikpark, which is a part of new gentrified neighbourhood's Helmut-Zilk-Park is very popular among the girls.

**Maseera, 27 years old**
Young mum

**Working:** *No*
**Life circumstance:** *married, with two children*
**Background:** *Syrian*
**In Favoriten:** *for a few years*

Maseera is a young mum of two little babies. She likes living in Favoriten and is very happy with many parks and playground areas around. Three years ago, she was going for a German language course outside of 10th district, taking a bus from Reumannplatz. Though nowadays she does not have opportunity to do anything for fun, as now she has two little children. So they usually stay within the district and they go to parks nearby schools, and then she does groceries and housework.

Box 4. Maseera, the young mum.
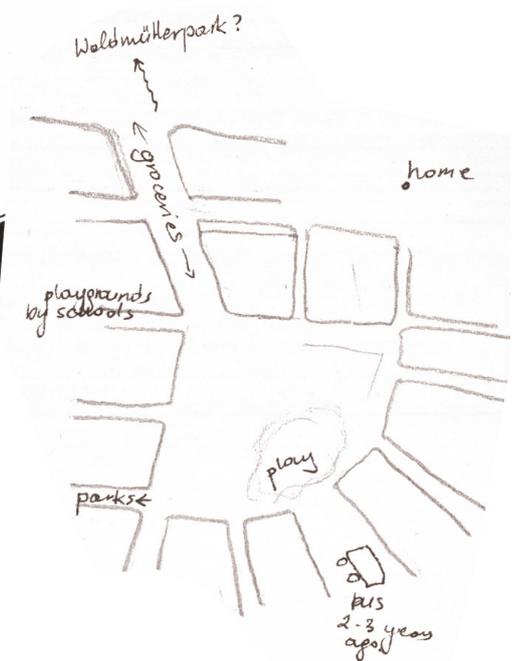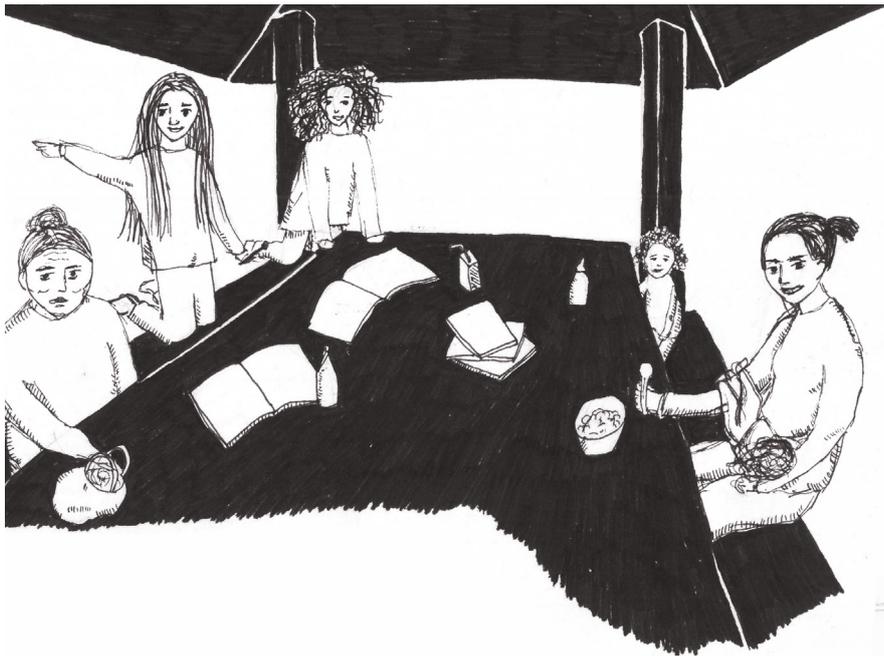
**Erika and Jena**, 6 and 7 years old

Primary school pupils

**Working:** *They go to school*

**Background:** *Romanian mum and grandma*

**In Favoriten:** They *were born here*
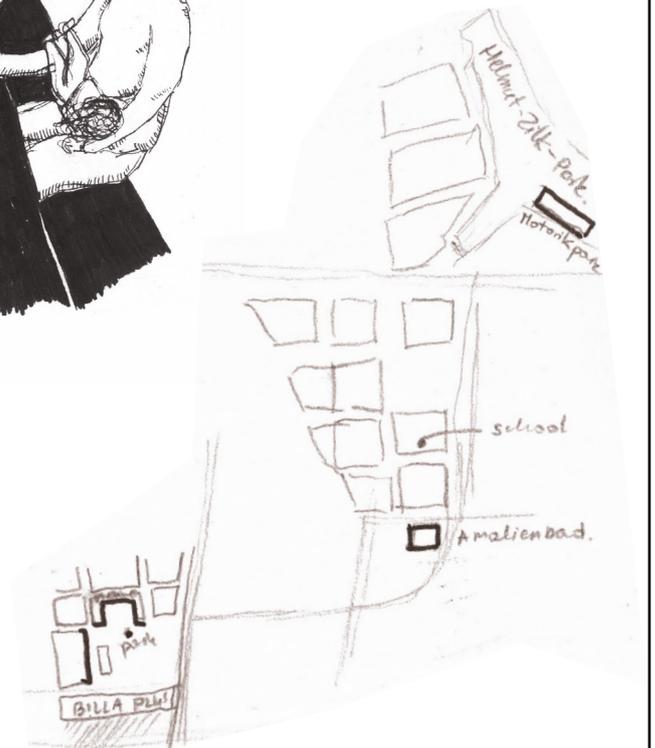
Erika is a very confident little girl and Jena is a little more shy. They both go to primary school in the 10th District and they live nearby the Arthaber Park, where they were sitting with their mum, grandma and younger sisters. Erika's favourite place is Amalienbad, a big swimming pool located at Reumannplatz. She goes there with her school often. For Jena favourite place is Motorikpark in Helmut-Zilk Park. They both do not really like Reumannplatz. During a normal day, they go to school and then they go home and do homework. If the weather is nice, like that day, they can sit and do their homework outside in the park with their parents or sometimes with older sisters. During our conversation, their grandma sat quietly and mum spoke occasionally, but the girls were a lot more confident in German.

**Box 5.** Erika and Jena, primary school pupils.

*Disrupting the gendered order*
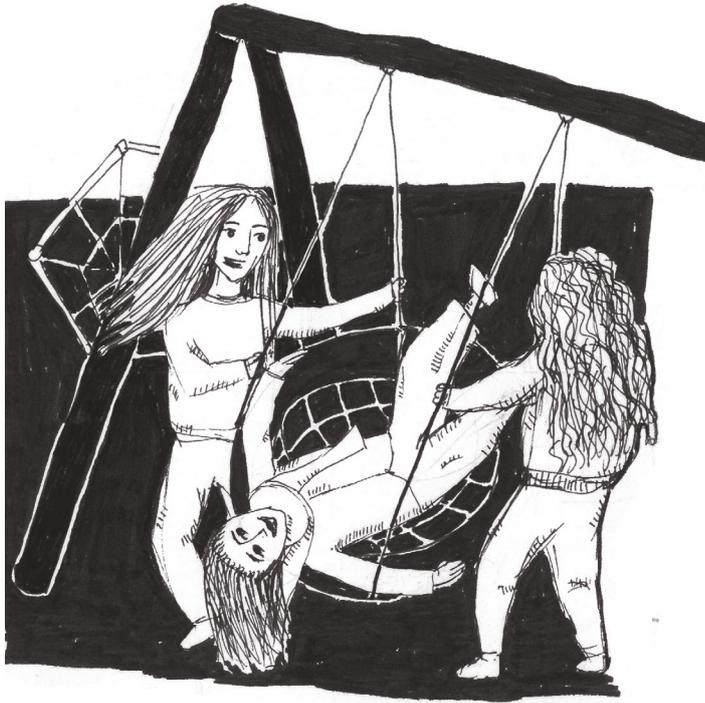
**Sana, Eliza and Maya,** 13 years old

Teenage girls

**Working:** *They go to middle school*
**Background:** *Austrian, ex-Yugoslavian parents*
**In Favoriten:** *they were born here*
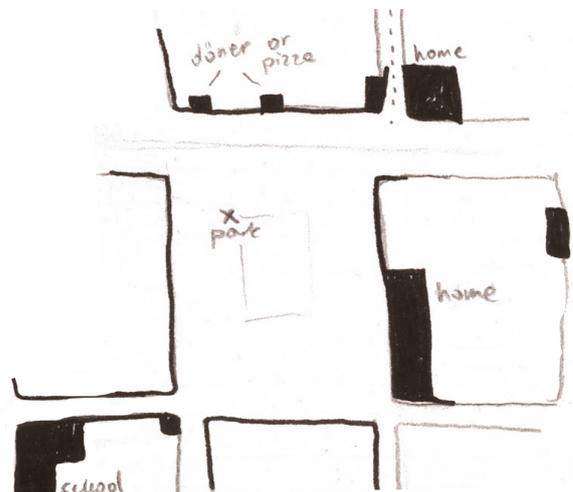
The girls were playing in Erlachspark in the small children area and they very confidently approached me asking if I could draw them. They feel very confident in this area, because this park and neighbourhood are theirs. They like living in the 10th district and they always hang around together (with another fourth friend). They really like going to Motorikpark too, but Waldmüllerpark they find boring. According to them, Erlachspark is the best. Their school is just around the corner, and after the classes finish they get a pizza or dönner together and eat it in the park or they go for walks. Sometimes homeless men approach them asking for money, but it is not a problem, because they are always together. On the weekends, Sana goes to Lower Austria with her parents for hikes in the nature.

**Box 6.** Sana, Eliza and Maya, the secondary school pupils.

### 6.1.3. Short-term or temporary residents

The women and girls who just moved to the district or do not live here, but come to school or for other reasons have a different relationship with the public spaces in Favoriten. They complain about feeling uncomfortable and watched, especially near Reumannplatz, where they sometimes need to take public transport. Amina feels comfortable and safe within the park where she often plays volleyball with her friends from school, but does not feel comfortable in the streets around, as she needs to get a tram home, especially in winter when it gets dark earlier.

They feel only comfortable in certain places. The other girls mention that they do not like to come out to the park or public spaces too much as they feel uncomfortable and prefer to spend time at home, or if they come out to be accompanied by their parents, either eating dinner in the neighbourhood or playing table tennis with her dad. They did also mention that it is difficult to find a place that will not be occupied by men who are often loud and intimidating, and at the same time not full of younger kids. All in all girls from certain age are not included in the planning of public spaces, and hence disappear from the public realm, which is either foreseen for men and boys and women only as mothers or child-carers.

**Daba and Mariana**, 16 years old

School pupils

**Working:** *They go to school*
**Background:** *Turkish and Romanian*
**In Favoriten:** *for 6 months*
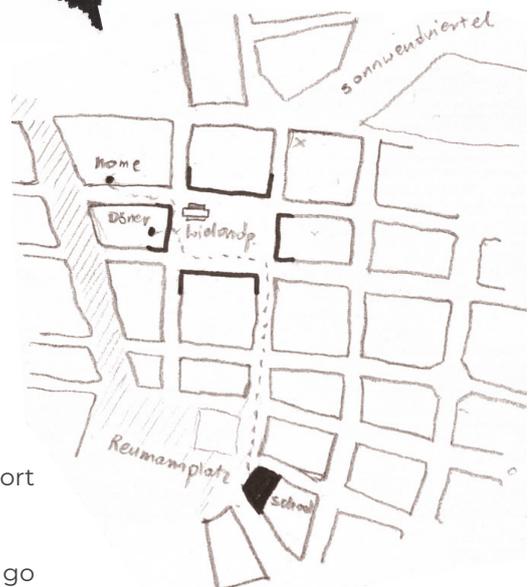
They are at year 10 of their education at Politechnik - a secondary school with a technical focus on jobs. For the short time that they have lived in Favoriten, they say that people here are very nice and helpful. However, they are scared to go around Reumannplatz and Keplerplatz, where there are a lot of bad people selling drugs. There, most benches are often occupied by people who make them feel uncomfortable. These strangers, usually men, are loud and sometimes get into fights, so the girls do not like to stay around these places. They prefer to go to places where boys do not come, like Wielandpark, despite the loud younger kids. Here, they feel seen in the open space and can safely hang around. When their school end around 1-2pm they usually go home to do homework, nap or watch Netflix, and then they go to a park or have dinner out with their parents.

**Box 7.** Daba and Mariana, the highschoolers.

**Amina**, 18 years old

Student, lives in the 15th district

**Working:** *Goes to school*
**Background:** *Turkish*
**In Favoriten:** *only comes here for school*
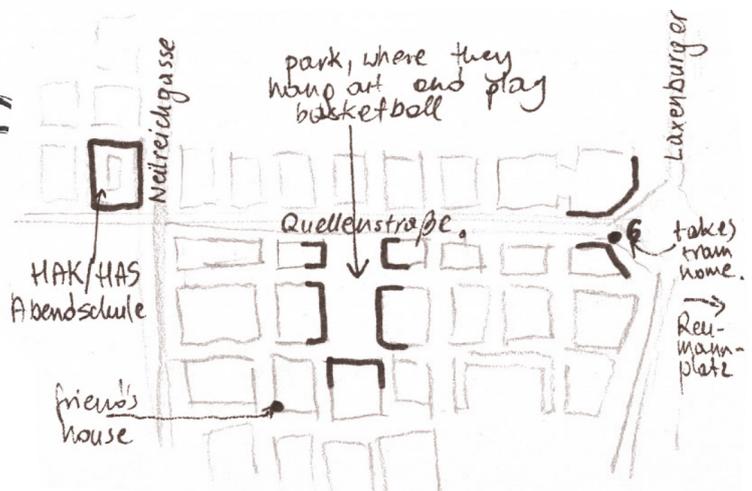
Amina does not really feel here at home, since she only comes to the 10th district for school - HAS, a school for accountants. She does not really like the area, because of all the men, and the worst is Reumannplatz. She takes the tram no. 6 there to go home, and when she goes to the stop, all these men (Syrian and Afghan) look at her strangely, making her uncomfortable. It is a lot worse in winter, because it gets dark a lot earlier. However, she enjoys playing basketball with her friends daily after school. One of them lives in the area, so they go around the friend's house. They go for walks around the area, but she does not feel safe around, only in the park.

Box 8. Amina, the student from 15th district.

**Ada**, 29 years old

Young mum

**Working:** *No*

**Life circumstance:** *married, with two children*

**Background:** *from Luxembourg, originally Turkish*

**In Favoriten:** *for 1 month*



Ada moved to Austria 1 month ago from Luxembourg. She really likes it here a lot. All the people are very friendly and the neighbourhood parks are very good for the kids, like this one - Paltramplatz. They live nearby here and also does all necessary grocery shopping in a SPAR. She really enjoys going outside to have fun with the kids, because everyday she talks with someone new - other women, friendly teenagers and children. The atmosphere in the 10th district is generally friendly, also in Reumannplatz.

Box 9. Ada, the mum who just moved from Luxemburg.
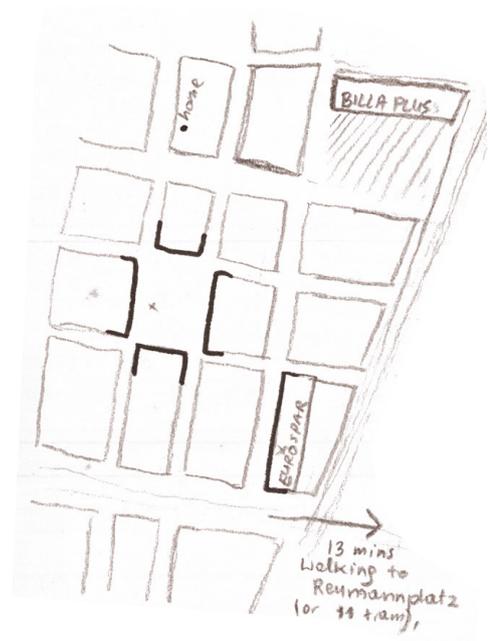
## Ethnographic data summary
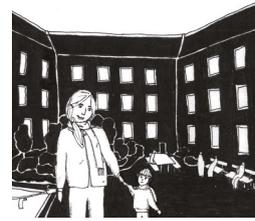


| Name (changed for privacy) | Narin | Elmedina and Ilda | Sandra | Maseera |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Age** | 31 y.o. | 70 y.o. | 48 y.o. | 27 y.o. |
| **Background** | Turkish, grew up in Vienna | Bosnian | ex-Yugoslavian | Syrian |
| **In Favoriten** | for 16 years | for 40 years | for 18 years | for 4 years |
| **Occupation** | works in a home supply shop | pensioners, used to be cleaners | babysitter | mum |
| **Married** | no | no information | yes | yes |
| **Children** | no | possibly no | children and grandchildren | yes, 2 |
| **Car** | yes | no | no | no |
| **Bus** | no | yes | yes | yes |
| **Tram** | no | yes | yes | no |
| **Metro** | no | no | yes | no |
| **Favourite place** | Oberlaa, 23rd district park | Reumannplatz, Columbus Centre | Laxenburgerstraße Stephanplatz and Mariahilferstraße. | Reumannplatz, school playgrounds |
| **Avoided place** | Reumannplatz | Reumannplatz | Keplerplatz | - |

Table 1. Information chart of all interviewed women.
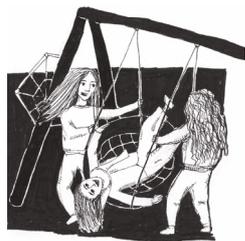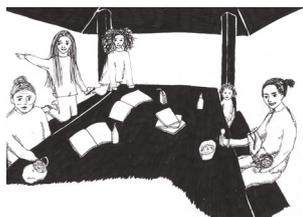
|  | Erika and Jena | Sana, Eliza and Maya | Daba and Mariana | Amina | Ada |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 6 and 7 y.o. | 13 y.o. | 16 y.o. | 18 y.o. | 29 y.o. |
|  | Romanian | Austrian | Romanian and Turkish | Turkish | Turkish, from Luxembourg |
|  | born here | born here | for 6 months | comes here for school | for 1 month |
|  | primary school pupils | middle school pupils | highschoolers | studies at HAS | mum |
|  | - | - | - | - | yes |
|  | - | - | - | - | yes, 2 |
|  | no | parents yes | no | no | no |
|  | no | no | no | yes | yes |
|  | no | no | no | yes | yes |
|  | no | no | no | no | no |
|  | Amalienbad, Motorikpark | Erlachspark, Motorikpark | neighourhood parks, their room | Erlachspark | Paltramplatz, Reumannplatz |
|  | Reumannplatz | Waldmüllerpark | Reumannplatz, Keplerplatz | Reumannplatz | - |

# Discussion

## 6.2. Drawing portraits as an analysis tool

As seen in the table on the previous page, I had an opportunity to interview and sketch nine women and girls (or groups of them) of different ages, migrant backgrounds, life circumstances and in distinct places. In the juxtaposition of these profiles, there are a few key findings that emerge. Firstly, the spaces of fear or places where they feel uncomfortable or uninspired almost uniformly include Reumanplatz and Keplerplatz, which are the most central public spaces of the district, and at the same time overshadowed by men. Another interesting finding relates to the independence and freedom of movement, as well as the scale of access. Out of all nine interviewees, only one owns a car - Narin. She is also the only one who is employed outside of care-work or maintenance. The other two who had a previous history of employment, were the pensioner cleaners Elmedina and Ilda, and a grandma who is a babysitter. The other migrant women that I met in public space do not have an official employment and take care of their young children. The independence brought by owning a car, employment or simply reduced care duties influences the range of movement within and beyond the district. The young mothers' movements are mostly confined to playgrounds and parks nearby, as well as grocery shops and other necessary amenities. This is also very different for young girls and teenagers. Some of them either feel uncomfortable in public spaces, or they feel safe only when accompanied by parents or older siblings. Therefore, their range of independent movement is limited within their closest neighbourhoods, parks and schools.

Furthermore, the drawing technique that emerged during the ethnographic exploration became an important tool for communication.

▶

66. Newton and Olmos Herrera, 'Drawing as a visual tool for critically understanding the urban.'

67. Verloo, 'Urban ethnography and participant observations: Studying the city from within.' In *Seeing the City: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Study of the Urban*, 39.

Drawing has been investigated by different scholars as an important method for understanding the urban context[66]. However, the portrait-focused expression is not a common way to show the framework of a place.  As I was meeting more women and observing more situations, I noticed a clear connection between where I met the interviewees and the places that they feel they belong in. Their personal relationship to a place is shown through an accentuation of the background in the portraits, hence, reinforcing the idea that these places are part of expression of our identity.

## 6.3. Spatio-temporal observations

Besides the portraits, another drawing technique emerged from the desire to record different activities in public spaces and the role of migrant women within them. The plan analysis of different squares and spaces across the district, document the daily practices as they happen in the context of Favoriten. These places from school pick-ups, central square, drug hotspots, main commercial axis, small parks and courtyards showcase the relationships between different users and space, as well as the impact the users have on each other. The maps are also accompanied by situational drawings, specifically showing migrant women's and girl's daily practices. The notes and drawings recording the activities, but also my own perception provide an important contribution to the rest of collected data on the historical development of the city or administrative statistics. The participant observation is processed through my own perspective, provides an epistemological layer to the research, which abandons the idea that there is a fixed truth, helping me to build social realities constructed solely from observations and social interactions.[67].

Interestingly, the main findings from these observations and dialogue are described as conflicts. The ever-present concern of Viennese feminist planners, and local activist organisations that girls are disappearing from public spaces tragically is true - and this is documented through the observations as well as the interviews. They not only do not feel safe and comfortable, but also feel like there are no places for them to feel relaxed and not watched. On top of that most women present in public realm are mothers entertaining their children or elderly women. Compared to the number of men at all times of the day, women are less likely to simply 'be' in the public space. Women and girls prefer places that are less loud and hidden away - such as well-maintained courtyards. The inner spaces that are not maintained on the other hand are occupied by men and boys who look for privacy for drug consumption.

## 6.4. Main conflicts discussion

The main research question of this project: *What strategies can improve the inclusion of vulnerable migrant communities in the gender discourse and process of urban planning in Vienna?* To fully answer this question, the research conducted through different quantitative and qualitative data collection methods can be summarised as an overview of conflicts. These have been revealed through the dissonance between the observations or social realities of Favoriten, and the efforts of the city administration in bringing policies or the activists' representation.

123
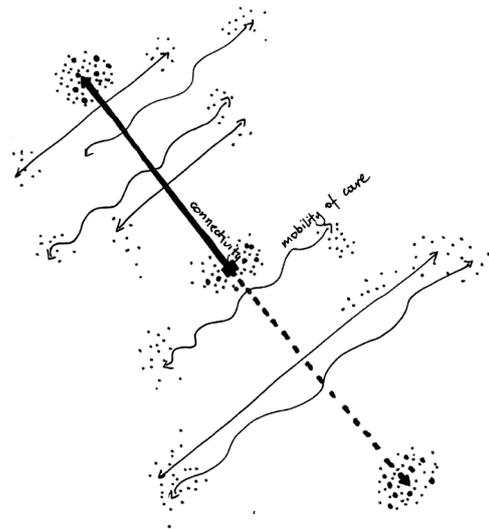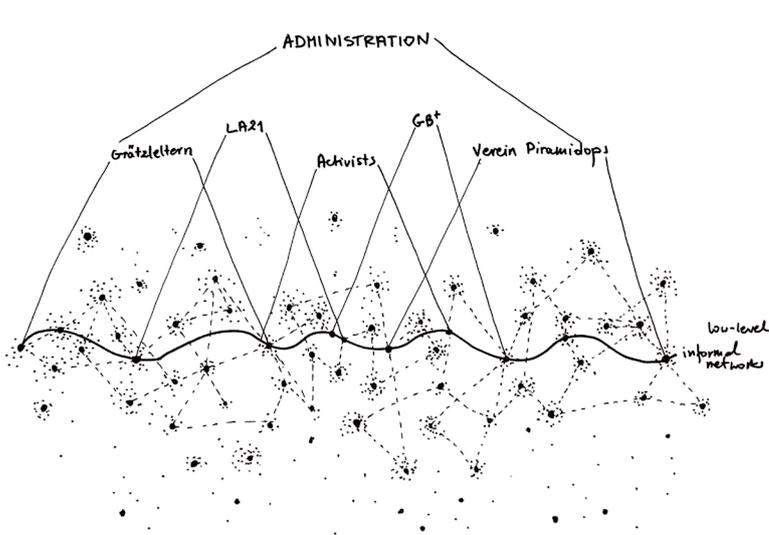
## 6.4.1. Policy level

Statement: *The institutionalisation of activism is good practice, but has limits of reach*. Vienna is one of the most developed cities in the world in terms of its gender-sensitive governance structure. Through the inclusion of activist organisations such as Lokale Agenda 21, GB* and many others, the city's administration on one hand make sure that these groups have enough funds to keep going, while on the other hand this relation provides the governance with an overview and certain level of control over the activist processes. However, what cannot be disregarded is that the informal networks are vital especially for women and for migrant communities, or in other words - anyone who is dispossessed to any degree. According to some of my academic and activist interviewees, multiple associations in Vienna are trying to work low-level, but there is little initiative to work with informal networks of women. There is a need for rethinking this approach, especially in the context of gendered domestic violence linked to migrant women's vulnerability.

## 6.4.1. Infrastructural level

Statement: *Most investment in the city is happening in wealthier areas.* There is a strong division in infrastructural investment between the inner or wealthier districts and the outer, usually more diverse and poorer districts. Therefore, this influences the daily lives of people who are dealing with the consequences of discrimination in terms of planning. Notably, as seen in the picture comparison earlier in this chapter, the main commercial street of Favoriten has not changed almost at all since the 1991, when the first photo was taken. Only recently, in 2017, the U1 line was extended beyond the central Reumannplatz, as before, most of the district was connected only by the overground trams and buses. Nowadays, despite the extension of the line, getting around Favoriten by public transport is lengthy and requires often a lot of walking. The parts of the district to the West and East of the U-Bahn are less accessible, which is not in line with the daily movement patterns, especially in terms of, widely discussed in previous chapters, mobility of care.

## 6.4.1. Social level

Statement: *There is a disparity of inclusive mindset between activists and affected communities.* The 2015 refugee crisis in Austria divided the country, raising conflict between the activists and city's administration wanting to include the refugees from the Middle East and provide them with necessary amenities versus the racist agenda of Austrian right-wing party wanting nothing to do with the displaced people. However, the latter sentiment is not only shared by white nationalists, as most of the women interviewed in Favoriten said that making their district better to live in "these people should go back to where they came from" - this often coming from immigrant women themselves. This view comes from them facing the men's overwhelming and boundary-crossing presence in public space everyday. Understandably, the city does not want to discriminate against anyone, but in this case two vulnerable groups are at odds, with one of them having their daily life, comfort and potentially safety profoundly compromised.
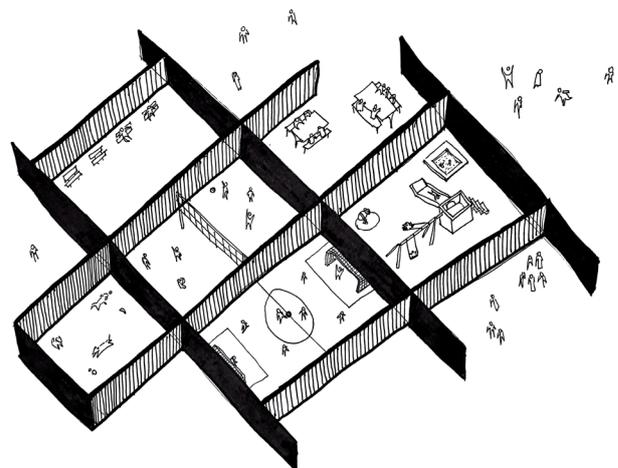
## 6.4.1. Spatial level

Statement: *The compartmentalisation of public spaces is a strategy that works, but it excludes a part of population.* Many women and girls have expressed their discomfort when in public spaces that are mostly occupied by men who are louder and intimidating. Some of them suggested that their perfect idea for a comfortable space for them would be a public area where only women and children are allowed. Others expressed that they wished for the streets and other areas to be more inclusive for women and girls. As seen in the spatio-temporal analysis drawings in this chapter, the neighbourhood parks and other public spaces are compartmentalised into areas assigned specifically for: sports, usually for male adolescents; play, for small children; seating for parents; and sometimes even dog running parks. These areas are fenced off from each other with a gate that leads into each of them. Some of these work very well by providing comfortable socialising areas for parents who can be calm about their children safely playing. However, due

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to the lack of accounting for them, it pushes out young girls, who have no space that would be fitting to their interests and needs. According to some studies that the municipality has been conducting in 2005, what matters most to girls and young women in parks are among others: games and physical activities, such as volleyball, badminton, roller-blading or football in their own safe environment; niches of seating for privacy; safety, including clearly visible and well-lit footpaths; as well as clean and functioning toilets close to the playground or park[68].

## 6.5. The project's impact in a wider context

The research presented in this chapter is specific the context of Vienna, and the daily practices and presence of migrant women in the city's 10th district. The fifth and final research questions reads: *What are the lessons learned that could be applied to empower migrant women elsewhere?*

First of all, it is important to note that transformative gender mainstreaming strategies need to be repeatedly evaluated. Embedding the critical feminist theory in urban planning and urban design can only be done successfully if it is compared with the very individual empirical information. Collecting information in such a way is often (with some exceptions in Vienna) not the main strategy of planning offices, as they operate with information specific enough to provide clear guidelines. An example that illustrates this perfectly is discussed by Tummers and Wankiewicz in the context of city of short distances being part of gender mainstreaming strategies. As they argue "whether a 400 metre walk to a bus stop is acceptable also depends on the conditions of the roads"[69]. Therefore, the collection of this kind of unique information can follow the methods developed in this project. These include creating vulnerability of the researcher through limited command of the language, producing drawings that are personal and act as profiles of real people, and as seen in the next chapter, developing new communication techniques such as a game linked to these profiles. This is, of course, largely possible thanks to Vienna's comprehensive gender mainstreaming mindset, but can be applied in different contexts.

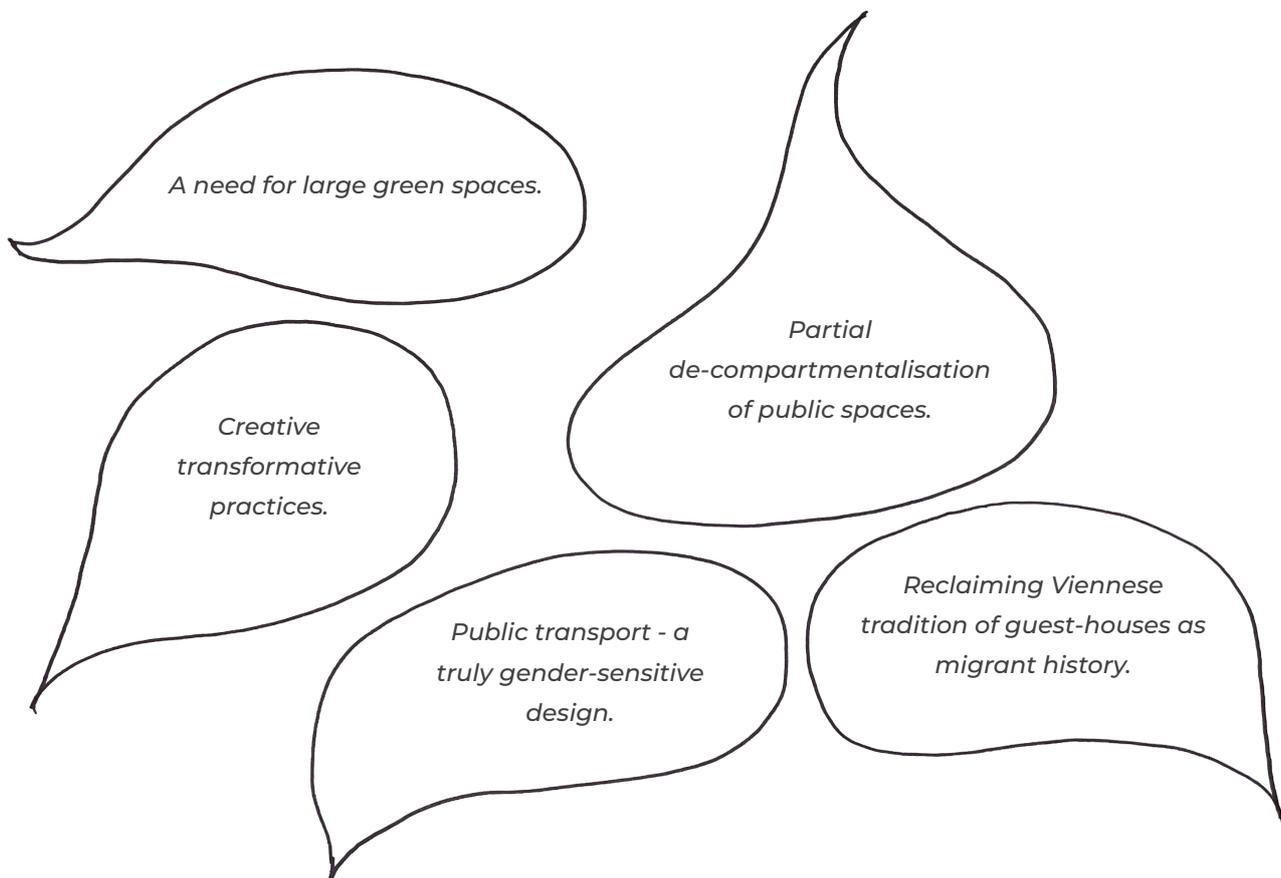68. MA 42. 'Planungsempfehlungen zur geschlechtssensiblen Gestaltung von öffentlichen Parkanlagen.'

69. Tummers and Wankiewicz, 'Gender mainstreaming planning cultures: Why 'engendering planning' needs critical feminist theory.'

# Spatial talking points

## 6.6. Spatial talking points

Apart from the conflicts, there are also more complex talking points which bring positive opportunities. Similarly, they emerged from interviews with the experts and with migrant women, as well as literature review and observation. These topics are an important input for debates, and are broken down and used in Chapter 7 as the base for the role-playing game, which serves as an alternative development decision-making tool.

*A need for large green spaces.*

*Partial de-compartmentalisation of public spaces.*

*Creative transformative practices.*

*Public transport - a truly gender-sensitive design.*

*Reclaiming Viennese tradition of guest-houses as migrant history.*

### 6.6.1. A need for large green spaces

The city of Vienna has a comprehensive strategy and a guide for tackling Urban Heat Island effect and mitigating the risks related to it. Undeniably, the city is heating, and "particularly high levels of heat stress were detected in the city centre, as well as in residential and industrial areas on flat terrain"[70]. The densely populated area of Favoriten is at risk of overheating, which by 2050 will reach even more difficult to tackle levels. And despite Vienna's comprehensive Urban Heat Island Strategy, including protecting urban air flow and open space networks or adaptation of the urban structure and development, the impermeability of surfaces and lack of green spaces in the residential areas are alarming. Especially, as per the findings of the previous chapter, girls and women spend significantly more time at home and public spaces are still not designed for their needs. The small neighbourhood parks are not green and not big enough to cool down the residential areas surrounding them. There will be a growing pressure on public spaces on hot days, as the city is growing. In order not to leave vulnerable girls and women, especially from migrant communities, the focus on creating comfortable, green and climate-responsive spaces needs to be directed towards its female users.

### 6.6.2. Public transport - a truly gender-sensitive design

Despite improved connectivity of Favoriten, and recent extension of the U1 line, the underground still follows only one axis across the district. A truly gender-sensitive design of a metro connection should go around all the outer districts to support the concepts of mobility of care. In addition, the U-Bahn stations are still places of fear, as seen in the example of the central Reumannplatz - this additionally limits connectivity for women.

70. Brandenburg et al., *Urban Heat Island Strategy.*
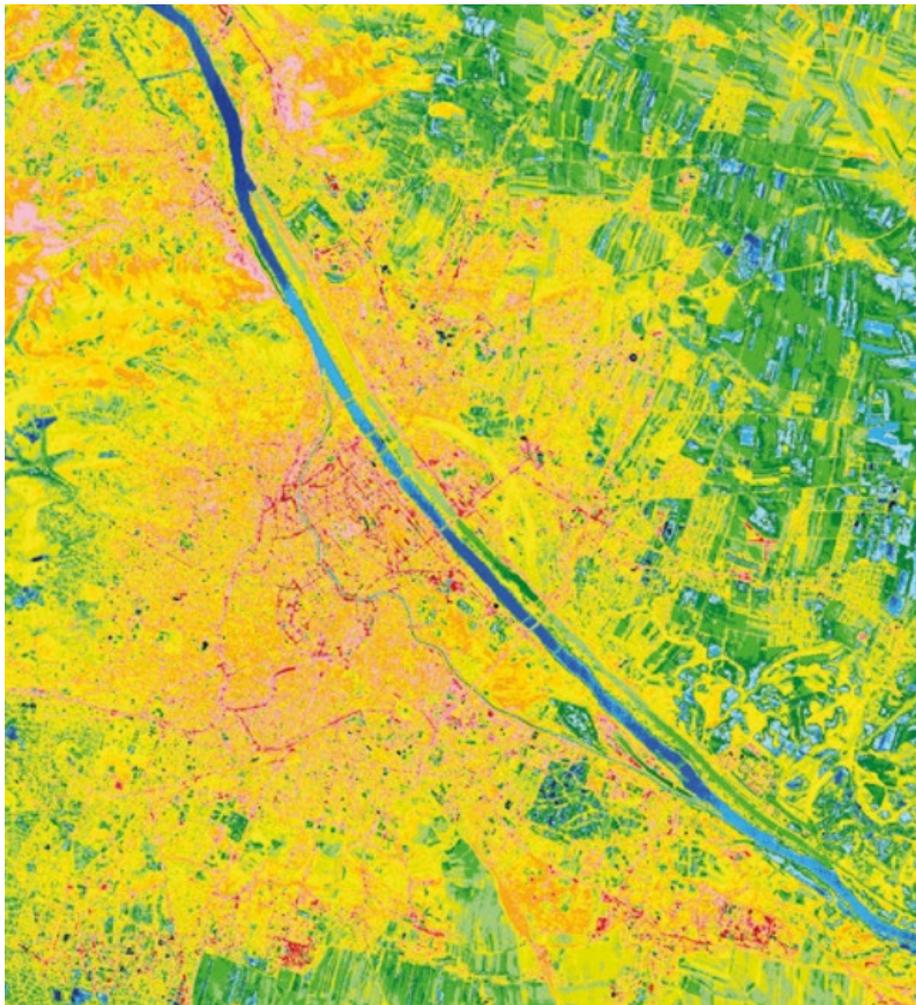
### 6.6.3. Partial de-compartmentalisation of public spaces

Many parks, playgrounds and squares in Vienna, and in Favoriten, are planned according to activities, and each of the activities is separated by a fence. This ensures a certain level of safety and comfort for users, where adolescent boys can play ball sports undisturbed, parents can calmly socialise while watching their safely playing young children, and dogs can run freely within the designated area with causing any fear to other users of the park or children. Keeping that safety in mind, there is still a need for providing more flexible spaces. This is due to the fact that some activities, mostly for girls above 10-years-old and women who are not parents, are not included in the planning, and hence are often not using public spaces, as they do not feel safe or comfortable. There are some spaces designed in a more flexible way such as Helmut-Zilk-Park, in the eastern, more gentrified part of Favoriten. According to Amila, the park was planned to be much more divided, but since the designers run out of time and money, it was left more free, to the joy of residents. There have been many different people coming to use this park, sitting on the blankets or older women who were Nordic walking. One popular destination amongst many girls is the Motorikpark - a fun installation of different physical activities

This separation possibly also reinforces the separation between social groups, making girls and women less likely to occupy spaces where they need to fight for their presence. As explored in the discussion in previous chapter, girls and women value certain physical activities, covered and semi-private seating location, lighting, visibility and cleanliness. This includes providing facilities for outdoor social activity for all types of weather in vital locations. The compartmentalisation and lack of proper considerations are the reasons that some of these designed spaces simply do not work, as they are not used (Figure 126).
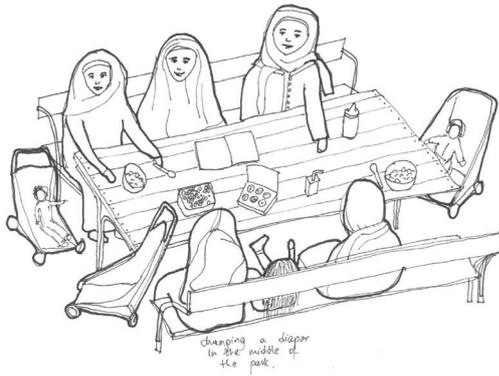
Figure 124. The surfaces in neighbourhood parks are heavily paved and activities separated, Arbatherpark, photo by author.

VS



◀ Figure 125. Comparison of informal vs formal play spaces from observations.



VS



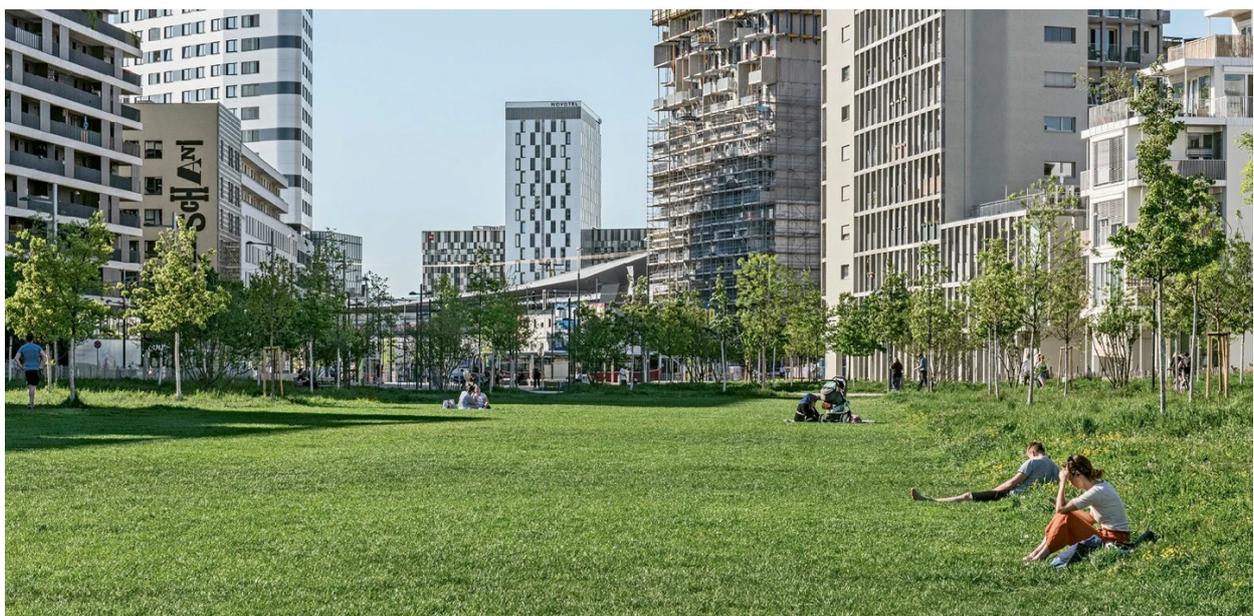◀ Figure 126. Comparison of informal vs formal socialising spaces from observations.

Figure 127. Helmut-Zilk Park as a new type of green space in Favoriten - open and with limited program, opens possibilities, but is part of a new gentrified neighbourhood of Sonnwendviertel. Source of the image: Google Maps.

▲ Figure 128.
Examples of locations
for the new maker
spaces in Favoriten.



◄ Figure 129. The
community project in
a former inn. Source of
the pictures: Caritas,
Herbststraße 15.

Figure 130. Gasthaus ISOPP Laxenburgerstraße. Source: Zu Gast in Wien: Beisl, Restaurants und Kaffeehäuser in historischen Bildern.

## 6.6.4. Reclaiming Viennese tradition of guest-houses as migrant history

What I learned from both ethnographic research and my conversation with urban experts, there is a need for non-commercial hang-out spaces, where everyone is able to freely use the space, but there is still some kind of control, predictability. According to interviews conducted by a group of students at TU Wien (according to Amila Širbegović, the study is not published) young girls prefer not to be in parks, but at home or in places where older boys, brothers or older women are not watching them, so that they can feel comfortable and free, if they do not want to follow the rules imposed on them. Places that provide this kind of non-commercial safe spaces are libraries, and surprisingly also locations of McDonald's, also those located along Favoriten.

Similar opportunities have been created previously by Caritas (as per previous chapter), where a former inn, a guest-house, was transformed into a maker space with courses for the community. Guest-houses were corner inns located outside of the old Linienwalls. Since they did not have to pay the alcohol tax and were located near factories, they were popular places for migrant guest-workers to socialise in. Reclaiming these corner locations for a network of community projects as spaces that are non-commercial for migrant women and girls, would be a beautiful way to empower them with growing social circles, opportunities to learn German and other useful skills. This could come as a possible collaboration with the local cafés and restaurants.

### 6.6.5. Creative transformative practices

Creative practices that are rooted in community are important elements of reclaiming the city by women. Some community projects, quoting diversity, are seen around Vienna and also in the 10th district. There is a need, however, for stronger transformative and radical installations that can move us beyond the formalised, neo-liberal and humanist practices of the city of Vienna. As Rosi Braidotti stated, it is the posthuman feminist voices that express the imaginative desire for alternative worlds. The local communities can create these alternative narratives that are personal and specific, but mutual and communal at the same time. Transcending beyond the formal composition of the city's outlook is uncomfortable and dividing, but often the only way to invite actors that would never be able to participate in the debate otherwise. This means finding communicative tools that are unorthodox and steer away from the formalities of administration, school or office. Some of the findings during my fieldwork uncovered a whole group of people who exist beyond the boundaries of traditional system, including homeless, particularly homeless women who are especially vulnerable, or drug-addicted youth moving between the city parks. These people are approached by foundations, organisations and administration to be re-introduced back into the system, but we might need to reconsider what exactly took them out of the loop in the first place.

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Figures 132-134.  ▶
Photographs of street
elements, community
projects which could
become creative
transformative
practices.

The synthesis of tools

07

Figure 135. ▶

A diagram of a
developed method of
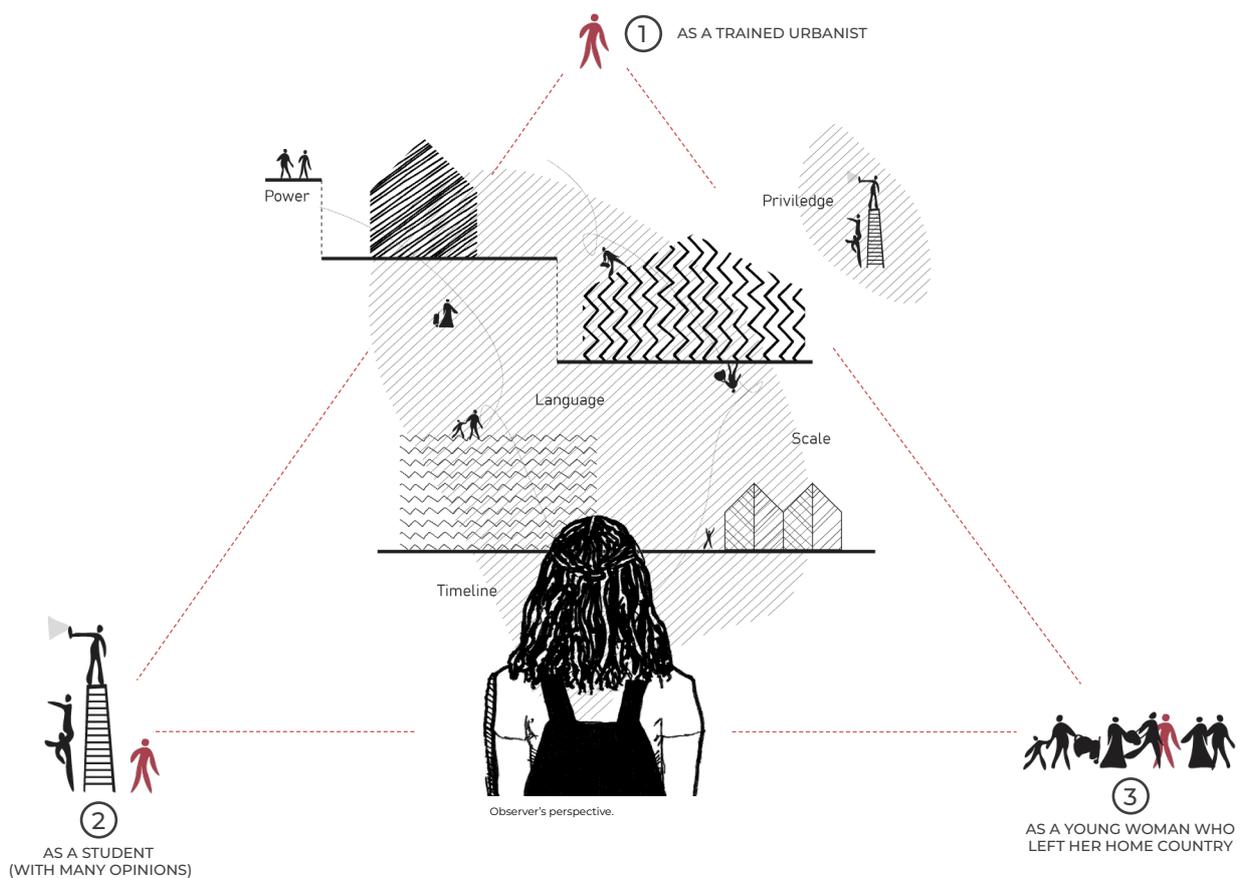ethnographic research
and observation.

# Tools developed

## 7.1. Project's tools for disrupting the gendered order

The implementation of the ideas presented throughout this research comes in different forms and at various stages of urban planning. Firstly, the method of investigation, observation, data collection and data representation in ethnographic research extensively shown in the previous chapters, is the first tool used to dissect the complex landscape of Vienna's social structures and the position of vulnerable communities within them. Even though, similar ethnographic observations are a known method of conducting urban research, they usually are processed and formalised in a way that removes the human element and seeks to over-systematise. On the other hand, this project uncovers that, where the formal tools might reach its limits, intuitive and gentle attitude opens new possibilities of communication, design and development by voicing and representing communities who have little power.

Some aspects that should be considered when carrying out research with a method developed in this report includes:

- appointing someone outside of the formal structures to conduct the research, as it reduces the institutionalised bias and allows for the development of dynamic of social realities, rather than being categorised as parties, actors or stakeholders;
- the researcher's use of language, especially if they have limited command of it, shifts the power relations between the observer and the observed.
- the collected information should be presented in an intuitive way with the use of drawing as it allows for non-verbal communication through image, and hence abandons the bias of verbal language.
- using an array of different perspectives, especially ones that often do not have an opportunity to intersect.

AS A TRAINED URBANIST

Power

Priviledge

Language

Scale

Timeline

Observer's perspective.

②
AS A STUDENT
(WITH MANY OPINIONS)

③
AS A YOUNG WOMAN WHO
LEFT HER HOME COUNTRY

Why is this method relevant? The collection of knowledge in this research provides context and exposes issues that are often hidden and nuanced, particularly in a city whose administration has a strong sense of achievement thanks to its comprehensive strategies targeted at different themes of diversity. Additionally, the in-depth exploration of different concepts, both theoretical and practical, establish deep rooted connections, which make the necessary link between the conceptualisation and practice. Among others, relating the critiques of poshuman feminism of Rosi Braidottii to the humanist values of Vienna, paves a way for further exploration of such interdependencies, possibly in a different setting.

In addition to collecting knowledge and detailing a method for ethnographic investigation and output, over the course of this project a universal way of encapsulating these ideas emerged naturally. It is a communication tool which can be used by the municipality of Vienna at various decision-making levels of a district, city or a region. It is a role-playing game based in Favoriten where the information collected and analysed throughout the course of this research, as well as the drawings, are used to kick-start discussions about the position of migrant women in a positive and inspired way.

# The communication tool

## 7.2. The reasoning for the game

Why is a role-playing board game an appropriate avenue for communicating the output of the research? Primarily, it sets rules for conducting a discussion with the purpose of minimising bias. In other words, just as the researcher being a mediator in ethnographic observations, the game can act as a moderator for a debate. It is also a universal way to represent the findings of the research that anybody can understand, with the use of portraits of migrant women and other visual material (see Figure 136). Furthermore, an unorthodox and informal direction of approaching solutions is much needed to permeate through the formalised planning practices in Vienna.

Possibly, this is a measure to gain the city's attention on much needed investments in Favoriten, and other fringe districts, supported by the direct input from the residents, in particular migrant women. Therefore the target audience can come from different social and professional backgrounds. The participants could include: urban planners, architects, policy makers, administrators from the Women's Affairs, and Diversity and Integration Offices, district council members, activist groups, contractors, transport officers, local business owners, and different groups of underprivileged groups in Favoriten. This wide range of stakeholders enables an interesting debate. This game could

be useful especially in the beginning stages of any development, when the decisions about the direction forward need to be made. Equally, it can be used as an evaluation tool after completion.

## 7.3. Levels of specification

The basic concept of the game is using the cards of personae to discuss any conflicts or decisions. These can be defined by the participating parties, and hence it ensures the adaptability of the concept to different sites, districts, cities and even regions altogether. The core concept can also be directed towards any different focus group of people, once the researchers conclude the ethnographic investigation.

For the purpose of this project, and to showcase how this tool can be used in practice, I propose a version of this tool equipped with a map, a set of spatial elements and conflicts that relate specifically to the 10th district and issues identified during this research. This version is fully described on the next page, as well as in the rulebook from page 145. Moreover, the current version could be possibly expanded to different personae, embodying either planners, activists, or other users of the public space, such as migrant men, drug circles and children.

**NARIN**

**31 years old**
Works in a home supply shop

Narin describes her feelings towards
Favoriten as a love-hate relationship.
She prefers places that are quieter
and less crowded, so she avoids
Reumannplatz. She has no children
and she likes to spend time in green
areas that are further away from
playgrounds, and closer to the nature.
Narin likes to join fitness classes in a
safe space and take trips with her car.

**SANDRA**

48 years old
Grandma, and care-taker

Sandra is concerned about young
people abusing drugs in the parks,
and influx of men in public spaces
since the 2015 refugee crisis. She
would not leave the kids alone,
especially with many bushes
limiting visibility.

**ADA**

29 years old
Young mum

Ada moved to Austria 1 month ago
from Luxembourg. She finds people
very friendly and the neighbourhood
parks are very good for the kids.
They live nearby here and also do
all necessary grocery shopping in a
SPAR. She really enjoys going outside
to have fun with the kids, because
everyday she talks with someone
new - other women, friendly teenagers
and children.

**SANA, ELIZA
AND MAYA**

13 years old
Middle-schoolers

The girls play and spend time in
Erlachspark, within in the small
children area. They live nearby and
their school is around the corner.
Motorikpark in Helmut-Zilk-Park is
their favourite place, as they like places
that are exciting and not boring.
Sometimes homeless men approach
them asking for money, but it is not
a problem, because they are always
together.

**MASEERA**

**AMINA**

**DABA AND
MARIANA**
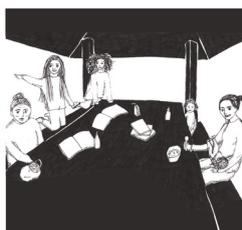
**ERIKA
AND JENA**

**ELMEDINA
AND ILDA**

▲
Figure 136.
The collection of
persona cards.

## 7.4. The game explanation

The general idea for this game is to use specific experiences of women and girls from Favoriten and match them with elements of public spaces, conflicts and places to kick-start a conversation and proposing solutions. This way, the different perspectives of migrant women, activists, urban planners and policy makers can be included in a discussion, that normally would be rather formal and selective. This proposal could potentially serve as a useful tool for Vienna's municipality to introduce informality, and, in other contexts, to increase the visibility of vulnerable groups.

## 7.5. The persona cards

The front face of each of the nine cards shows the portraits migrant women who have been part of the ethnographic research. The back outlines the main details and needs that were uncovered during the interviews. This helps the participants to empathise with migrant women and see the city through their perspective.

## 7.6. The spatial elements

There is a collection of spatial elements, such as benches, lights, surveillance, planters, trees, cooling water bodies or trampolines which help achieve practical spatial improvements for the usability and suitability for the migrant women recorded in this research. These parts of public and urban spaces can be positive or negative for the character. They fall into three categories that follow the method of compass of experience, described in Chapter 5: safety, comfort and imagination.

## 7.7. Conflicts and Opportunities

The quests for Conflicts cards are derived from the discussion in Chapter 6. They follow the categories of conflicts on a political, infrastructural, social and spatial level. Together with the persona cards, these force the players to address the disputes from the perspectives of their personae. These topics are rarely openly addressed, and hence the game provides mediation for different actors. Similarly to the Conflict cards, the Opportunity cards' prompts are derived from the discussion on the spatial talking points in Chapter 6. They, on the other hand, can steer the discussion towards a solution that might not be initially obvious, but has been addressed in this research through the findings from the extensive fieldwork.

## 7.8. Evaluation

Finally, the evaluation of each discussion allows the players, and hence the stakeholders, to reflect on how certain solutions can affect the city's administration and different users. It can also be an interesting de-stigmatising assessment, as indeed, some solutions that improve the presence of migrant women and girls in public space are not as complex and expensive as assumed.

The specifics of each mechanic are explained on the next pages in the rulebook.

FPÖ

SPÖ

CONFLICT
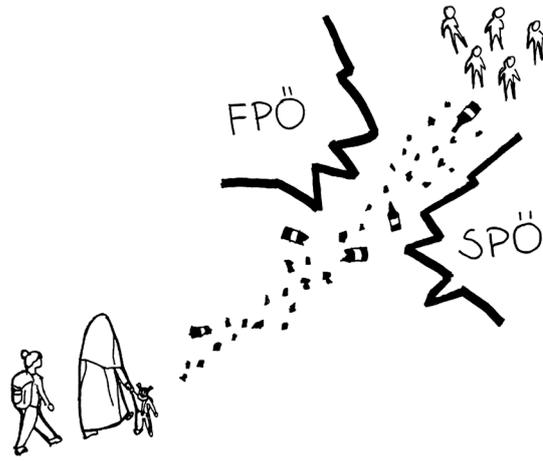
Reclaiming Viennese tradition of guest-houses as migrant history.
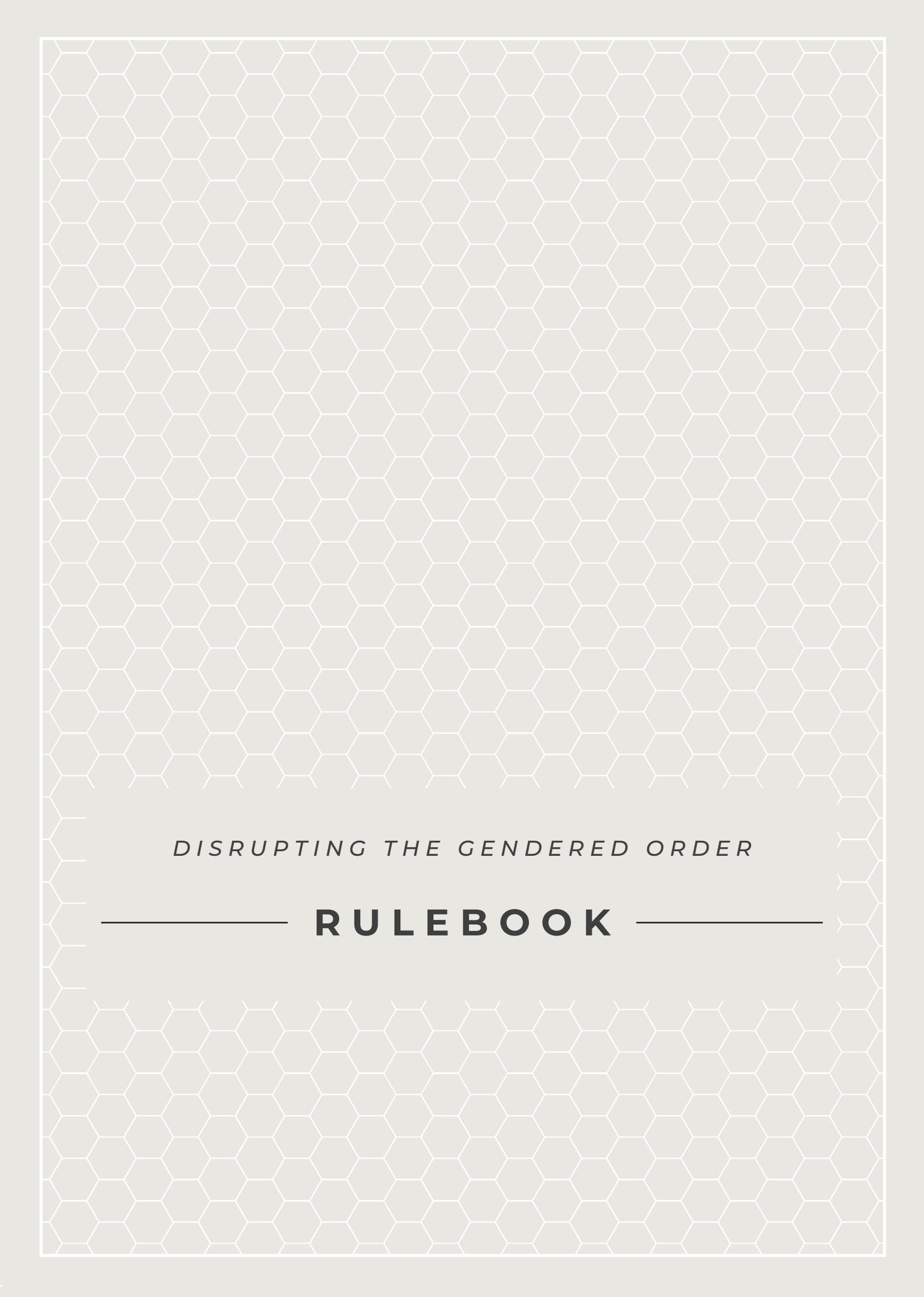
Public transport - a truly gender-sensitive design.

OPPORTUNITY

A need for large green spaces.

Creative transformative practices.

Partial de-compartmentalisation of public spaces.

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*DISRUPTING THE GENDERED ORDER*

—— **RULEBOOK** ——

# INTRODUCTION

Welcome to the heart of Favoriten, Vienna's 10th district. This is an area with a strong industrial past, holding the history of generations of immigrants. Since the beginning of the city's extensive gender mainstreaming campaign three decades ago, the densely populated district has seen little to no adaptation to its female residents, despite Vienna's constant evolution. To understand the importance of the development and the position of migrant women within it, you are invited to enter this role-playing game.

# OBJECTIVE OF THE GAME

No matter if you are an urban planner, developer, politician, researcher or simply interested in the perspectives of Vienna's migrant women, you have an opportunity to take on a role of one the district's female residents. Either as a teenage girl, Bosnian pensioner or a Turkish shop assistant, you can make decisions from the perspectives of Favoriten's residents. Hence, this steers conversation away from the expert/non-expert dynamic to prioritising the perspectives of one the most vulnerable groups in city.

The objective of the game is to resolve conflicts. All players work together towards the solution, using the perspectives of their persona(s), opportunity cards and spatial element tokens. The most important aim of this game is to begin a debate on conflicts that are rarely addressed openly. In each turn, the conflict needs to be resolved with spatial elements as representation of direction, and then evaluated from the perspective of the player as well as their persona.

At the end of the game, the evaluation sheets are compared between players to uncover and further dissonances.

# CONTENTS

## MAP OF FAVORITEN

The map is a central element of the game and helps the players to locate their debates and solutions. All ten sites are marked with numbers and red outlines. The tokens that form the solution should be placed within the highlighted hexagonal shapes around the sites, though they can also expand further.



Hexagonal overlay to guide the placement of spatial element tokens.

The scope area of marked up public spaces drawn in red.

Ten public spaces marked on the map.

Spaces for Conflict and Opportunity cards.

1 - Erlachpark
2 - Laubepark
3 - Arthaberpark
4 - courtyard
5 - Favoritenstraße
6 - Keplerplatz
7 - Humboldtpark
8 - Wielandpark
9 - Reumannplatz
10 - Antonspark

positions for elements

CONFLICT

OPPORTUNITY

# PLACE CARDS

The accompanying place cards give additional information about the sites, such as activities, layout, the compass of experience and the associated personae. When debating, it is key to keep in mind the existing condition of the places and their characteristics.



**9**

REUMANNPLATZ, MAIN SQUARE



**9**

...ATZ, MAIN SQUARE

Comfortable

Imaginative — Safe

Empathetic — Included

Inspired

ASSOCIATED PERSONAS:

ELMEDINA AND ILDA

MASEERA
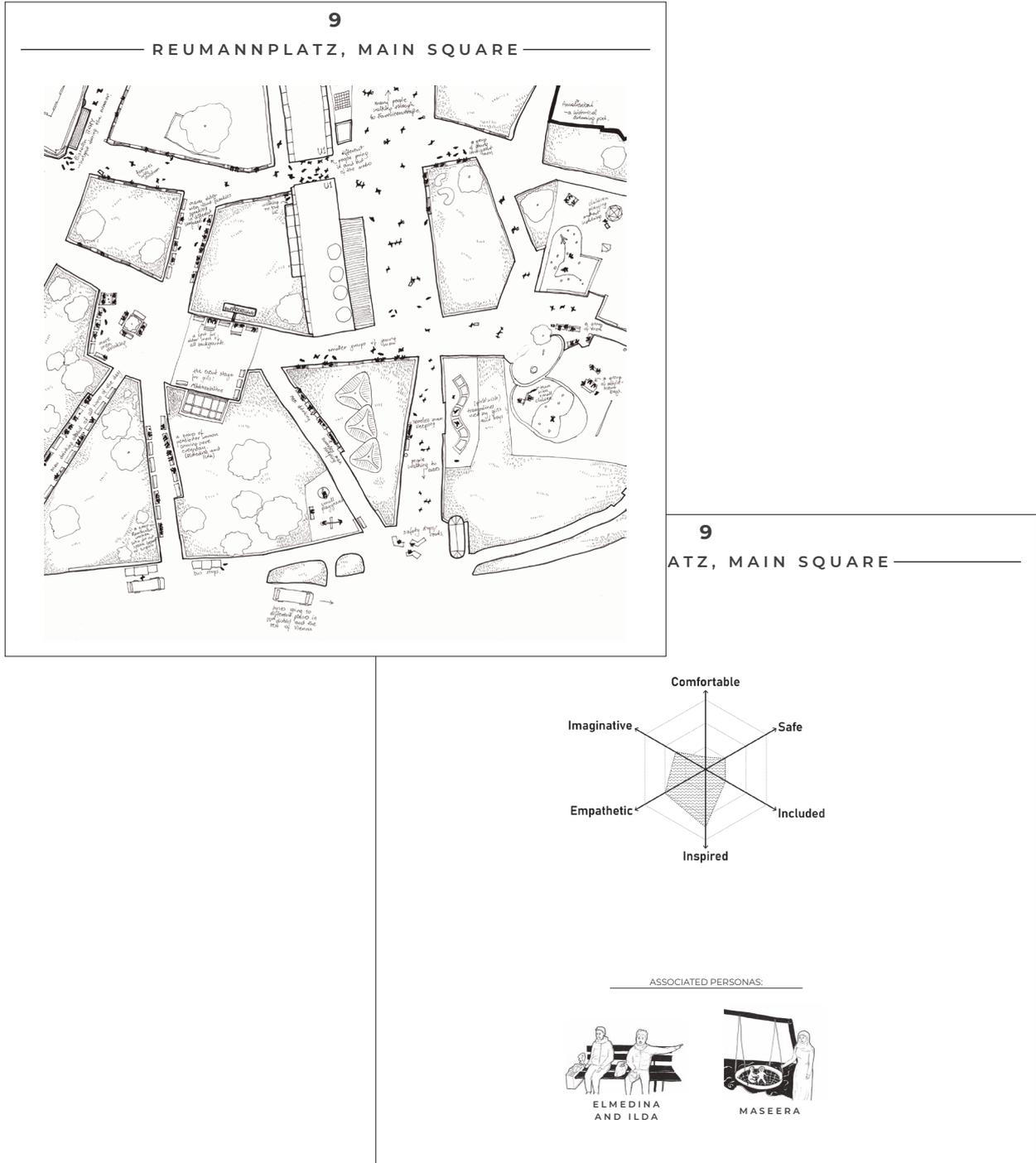
# PERSONA CARDS

The persona cards are the key element of the game. On the front side they show a portrait of a woman in an environment that she feels comfortable in. At the back of each card, there is a short description of their character and main objectives, activities and needs. Every player is assigned at least one card, and they are expected to play the role of their persona(s) throughout the rounds.



**NARIN**

**SANDRA**

**ADA**

**SANA, ELIZA AND MAYA**

### NARIN

**31 years old**
Works in a home supply shop

Narin describes her feelings towards Favoriten as a love-hate relationship. She prefers places that are quieter and less crowded, so she avoids Reumannplatz. She has no children and she likes to spend time in green areas that are further away from playgrounds, and closer to the nature. Narin likes to join fitness classes in a safe space and take trips with her car.

### SANDRA

48 years old
Grandma, and care-taker

Sandra is concerned about young people abusing drugs in the parks, and influx of men in public spaces since the 2015 refugee crisis. She would not leave the kids alone, especially with many bushes limiting visibility.

### ADA

29 years old
Young mum

Ada moved to Austria 1 month ago from Luxembourg. She finds people very friendly and the neighbourhood parks are very good for the kids. They live nearby here and also do all necessary grocery shopping in a SPAR. She really enjoys going outside to have fun with the kids, because everyday she talks with someone new - other women, friendly teenagers and children.

### SANA, ELIZA AND MAYA

13 years old
Middle-schoolers

[gir]ls play and spend time in [...]nspark, within in the small [...]n area. They live nearby and [...]chool is around the corner. [...]kpark in Helmut-Zilk-Park [...] favourite place, as they like [...]s that are exciting and not [...]. Sometimes homeless men [...]ch them asking for money, [...]is not a problem, because they are always together.

## SPATIAL ELEMENTS TOKENS

The tokens have three categories - safety, comfort and imagination, which relate to the places' compass of experience. One element of each category is picked by each player per round. The elements are determined according to the perspective of the persona, site and the conflict.
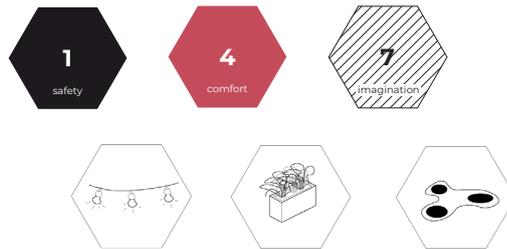


## CONFLICT AND OPPORTUNITY CARDS

A single Conflict card is picked up every round with the objective of collectively addressing the conflict presented on the card. There are two categories - one with a conflict in a given location and one with a general conflict, the location of which needs to be determined by a D-10 dice roll. An opportunity card also guides each round. There are also blank cards which gives an option for the players to develop their own discussion topics.



9. Reumannplatz

The main transportation hub of the district is not very safe for women at night.

Need for thermal comfort

With warming of the climate there is a need to provide girls and women friendly green spaces that have cooling effects in the residential areas.

roll the dice for location!

CONFLICT

OPPORTUNITY

Guesthouses

A corner cafe nearby is eager to make its space available during less busy times for local maker spaces.

# EVALUATION TOOL

At the end of every round, each player evaluates the solution proposed during the debate. On a 1-10 scale, they individually rate the level that signifies the cost (how expensive the solution is), time (how long it takes to complete it), complexity (how much expertise it requires) and finally, the suitability of the solution for the needs of player's persona. After each round, the completed evaluation is folded and the next row is used for the new evaluation. At the end of the game, the players can compare and discuss their results for each solution and how they differ, based on their own expertise as well as the perspective of their persona(s).

| 1 | PERSONA _____ | SITE _____ |
|---|---|---|
| COST | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |
| TIME | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |
| COMPLEXITY | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |
| SUITABILITY | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |

| 2 | PERSONA _____ | SITE _____ |
|---|---|---|
| COST | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |
| TIME | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |
| COMPLEXITY | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |
| SUITABILITY | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |

| 3 | PERSONA _____ | SITE _____ |
|---|---|---|
| COST | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |
| TIME | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |
| COMPLEXITY | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |
| SUITABILITY | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |

| 4 | PERSONA _____ | SITE _____ |
|---|---|---|
| COST | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |
| TIME | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |
| COMPLEXITY | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |
| SUITABILITY | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |

| 5 | PERSONA _____ | SITE _____ |
|---|---|---|
| COST | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |
| TIME | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |
| COMPLEXITY | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |
| SUITABILITY | 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 | |

The map of Favoriten is placed in the centre of the table and the place cards are near the map, accessible to the players. The Conflict and Opportunity cards are placed on top of the board in the designated spaces. Each player has an evaluation sheet placed in front of them.

At the start of the game, every player receives one persona card. With 1-6 players, the remaining cards are kept on a deck. Once the first round is completed, another card per player is distributed, until there are none left in the deck. This increases the complexity of perspectives with each round. If there are 7-9 players, everyone has one card (with less players, one or two will have an extra card) and after each round they are passed on clockwise, and the game finishes when the original card returns to each player.

The players go in turns to complete their rounds. A round opens when a player picks up a Conflict card from the pile. Next, they pick first three cards from the Opportunity deck and choose one that fits the direction of the conflict best, and put the remaining two cards back on the pile.

Afterwards, all players choose their tokens from the spatial elements bank. With 1-4 players, everyone picks up three tokens, one from each category. With 5-6 players two tokens are taken from categories of choice. When there are 7-9 players, only one token per player is picked up each round. With more players, the collaboration becomes more important. Everyone works together towards the solution by placing the most fitting tokens on the site and discussing the perspectives of their personae. The unused tokens return to the bank and new ones are chosen in the next round. After each round, an evaluation of the solution is recorded on the Evaluation sheet. The round ends when a consensus is reached on the solution.

# GAME SETUP

(3 players example)



SANA, ELIZA
AND MAYA

13 years old
Middle-schoolers

The girls play and spend time in
Erlachspark, within in the small
children area. They live nearby and
their school is around the corner.
Motorikpark in Helmut-Zilk-Park
is their favourite place, as they like
places that are exciting and not
boring. Sometimes homeless men
approach them asking for money,
but it is not a problem, because
they are always together.

MASEERA

AMINA

1 safety

4 comfort

| 1 | PERSONA _____ | | | | | | | | | SITE_____ | |
|---|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| COST | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | (6) | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | |
| TIME | 1 | 2 | (3) | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | |
| COMPLEXITY | 1 | 2 | 3 | (4) | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | |
| SUITABILITY | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | (8) | 9 | 10 | |

NARIN

31 years old
Works in a home supply shop

Narin describes her feelings
towards Favoriten as a love-hate
relationship. She prefers
places that are quieter and
less crowded, so she avoids
Reumannplatz. She has no
children and she likes to spend
time in green areas that are
further away from playgrounds,
and closer to the nature. Narin
likes to join fitness classes in
a safe space and take trips
with her car.

ADA

ELMEDINA
AND ILDA

3 safety

7 comfort

| 1 | PERSONA _____ | | | | | | | | | SITE_____ | |
|---|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| COST | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | (7) | 8 | 9 | 10 | |
| TIME | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | (5) | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | |
| COMPLEXITY | (1) | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | |
| SUITABILITY | 1 | 2 | (3) | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | |

SANDRA

48 years old
Grandma, and care-taker

Sandra is concerned about
young people abusing drugs
in the parks, and influx of
men in public spaces since
the 2015 refugee crisis. She
would not leave the kids alone,
especially with many bushes
limiting visibility.

DABA AND
MARIANA

ERIKA
AND JENA

9 safety

2 comfort

| 1 | PERSONA _____ | | | | | | | | | SITE_____ | |
|---|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| COST | 1 | (2) | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | |
| TIME | 1 | 2 | 3 | (4) | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | |
| COMPLEXITY | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | (6) | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | |
| SUITABILITY | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | (9) | 10 | |

**1, 2, 3, 7, 8**
CHURCH PARKS, DRUG HOTSPOTS



**4**
RESIDENTIAL COURTYARDS



**5**
FAVORITENSTRASSE, MAIN AXIS

Comfortable
Imaginative — Safe
Empathetic — Included
Inspired

ASSOCIATED PERSONAS:

NARIN · ELMEDINA AND ILDA · SANDRA · MASEERA



**9**
REUMANNPLATZ, MAIN SQUARE



**6, 10**
CHURCH PARKS, DRUG HOTSPOTS



**1** - Erlachpark
**2** - Laubepark
**3** - Arthaberpark
**4** - courtyard
**5** - Favoritenstraße
**6** - Keplerplatz
**7** - Humboldtpark
**8** - Wielandpark
**9** - Reumannplatz
**10** - Antonspark

75m

positions for elements

CONFLICT

OPPORTUNITY

9. Reumannplatz

The main transportation hub of the district is not very safe for women at night.

Guesthouses

A corner cafe nearby is eager to make its space available during less busy times for local maker spaces.

# END OF THE GAME

The players can decide to finish the game as soon as, either:

1) all tokens are used up,

2) all Conflict and Opportunity cards are used,

3) a satisfactory level of solutions have been discussed in-depth,

4) or when all rounds are completed, and every player has played with each persona (only for the version with 7-9 players).

# EVALUATION

Once the game is finished, there are two final products that can be reflected upon. The first is the setup of the tokens on the board, which shows the spatial connections to the discussions and identifies the implementations that are proposed at the various sites. The second are the evaluation sheets completed by each player at the end of every round. These can be revealed and compared between players, seeing which persona's interests were best represented during the discussion.

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Conclusion

08

MATZLEINSDORFERPLAT

# Concluding remarks

## 8.1. Summary of the research

The investigation of how we can include gender in urban planning and design started with a personal motivation and a co-authored publication *Who owns public spaces? The trailblazer exhibition on women's everyday life in the City of Vienna (1991)* which documented a forgotten, yet vital historical event in Vienna. With the city being a well-known case study of good practice in gender-sensitive urban planning, *Disruption of gendered order* is a critical exploration of a if and how this humanist city with feminist approach can transcend beyond the rigid definition of its feminist planning and what we can learn from that, aiming for a multi-perspective emancipation.

**MRsQ:** *What strategies can improve the inclusion of vulnerable migrant communities in the gender discourse and process of urban planning in Vienna?*

In order to arrive at valuable conclusions, I have built a theoretical framework through intersectionality and positioning feminism in urgencies. Notably, posthuman feminism theory by Rosi Braidotti was a key theoretical tool to deconstruct Vienna as a humanist city, in order to transcend beyond the neoliberal feminist into transformative and creative practices. The physical method to address this question, was ethnographic research through participant observation, and developing methods and tools that can aid communication. The role was to become a mediator not only as an urban planner, but also in expression treating drawing and exhibit as a healing process, particularly in reference to Sanja Iveković's project *Ženska kuća* (*Women's House*).

**RsQ1:** *How has the gender bias manifested historically in the morphology of the city designed predominantly by male planners?*

This question was addressed through analysing the history of Vienna's urban development, since the industrialisation era, and including the past 30 years of gender mainstreaming. This was also done through

the lens of immigration, especially migrant women, who arrived in Vienna to work in factories and resided outside the old Linienwalls. The conclusion to answer the first question is that the city's good practice improves the inclusivity, but the form of the city is inherently from the male perspective, which can be still visible in outer districts, notably Favoriten.

**RsQ2:** *How are migrant women using public space daily?*

To understand the practices, the profound understanding of the context, both historical and spatial is required. Therefore, at first I have introduced the observations of key public spaces of the densely populated central area of Favoriten. Then, I presented these spaces through spatio-temporal analysis making notes on daily practices, also with reference to social interactions and conversation I conducted. These spaces included neighbourhood parks, church parks, drug spots, schools, the main axis, main square, place of fear, and then a place of comfort, courtyards, but with a finding showing that it changes dramatically when not maintained properly. To conclude, I presented the profiles of women and girls who were interviewed to build a strong case of evidence of different perspectives. Through combination of all their data in a table, there are some main conclusions that can be draw. Firstly, women's practices are limited by men's intimidating presence, and the range of movement during daily practices, strongly depends on the circumstances of life.

**RsQ3:** **a.** *How have the gender mainstreaming strategies and feminist activism in Vienna created opportunities for migrant women?*

To build and understanding and perspective of Vienna's strategies, it is important to explain the efforts of monitoring and constantly improving the situation of both migrants and women, as well as any underprivileged groups. Despite the political and activist structure attempting to formalise the informal network and activism, there is a lot of research that goes into breaking down what can make cities more fair-shared, however, the implementation of that in practice, especially in diverse context, is more complex.

**b.** *Where have these strategies and actions reached their limits?*

One way to point out that some of the strategies might be reaching their limits are the growing and alarming rates of femicides in Austria and Vienna, to which the most vulnerable are migrant women. On the daily level of Favoriten, there are spaces of fear or places, where women and girls feel uncomfortable or at least uninspired, which are district's central places such as Reumanplatz and Keplerplatz.
There is also an array of potential conflicts that emerged during the research. Main conflicts are identified as: on policy level - as the institutionalisation of activism is good practice, but has limits of reach; on infrastructural level - as most investment in the city is happening in wealthier areas; on social level - as there is a disparity of inclusive mindset between activists and affected

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communities; and on spatial level - the compartmentalisation of public spaces is a strategy that works, but it excludes a part of population.

**RsQ4:** *What tools can assist in overcoming these limits?*

The tools proposed include the methodology of investigation and observation, as well as a game that can aid communication processes and involve public participation in planning processes in an informal way. Through discussions and identified conflicts, a set of talking points has been developed, and they include: a need for large green space due to climate change, public transport that is truly gender-sensitive, de-compartmentalisation of public spaces, social meet-points, reclaiming Viennese tradition of guest-houses as women's history and finally creative and transformative community practices. The final form of the tool is a game which consists of a collection of cards, elements, talking points connected to the spaces.

**RsQ5:** *What are the lessons learned that could be applied to empower migrant women elsewhere?*

To address the wider impact of the project, it needs to be pointed out that the collection of this kind of unique information can be follow through the methods developed in this project elsewhere. These include creating vulnerability of the researcher through limited command of the language, producing drawings that are personal and act as profiles of real people, and finally, developing new communication techniques such as a game linked to these profiles. Despite this being, naturally, largely possible due to Vienna's comprehensive gender mainstreaming strategies and inclusion, this method could be transferred also in different contexts.

## 8.2. Limitations

As any research, especially dealing with communities that are not investigated enough, there are important limitations that arose. Particularly difficult limitation was the context of a foreign (for me) country, city, administration and even the language. Even though the limitation of the language became a positive aspect of the ethnographic research, it was challenging, to say the least, in terms of de-coding information, but also understanding the complex structure of the multiplicity of Vienna's initiatives, organisations, associations, municipal departments, planning practices etc. This, of course, meant that I was not able to meet and have a conversation with every relevant representative or organisation. The goal was to create a general overview, but this report does not cover all of Vienna's practices, however, I believe, it shows the approach and mindset, which helps to identify key information and conflicts. Additionally, due to safety concerns, for me being a woman myself, I was not able to conduct many relevant observations at night. Finally, the time constraint on the project makes it stop at a certain point, and hence it takes a rather inventory/methodological approach, but with more time it could move towards an even more experimental route.

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## 8.3. Recommendations for further research

This project has been an exploration of a vast topic, the complexity of which requires due diligence and strong theoretical background. It is an attempt at prompting a discussion on limits of emancipation and ideas how we can overcome them. It is therefore not a complete solution, as there is no strategy that could ever claim that title. However, the continuation of this research could bring the much needed missing pieces in finding ways in which we can uncover the nuances of discrimination. First step would entail collecting larger set of information and data for the specific context of Favoriten. The investigation of different times of the day and year, as well as wider range of profiles of women would be desirable. This could be achieved by including other professionals who work from a various perspectives, such as social workers and educators, who have access to experiences of various groups.

Another possible recommendation for further research includes taking the method and findings developed and presented throughout this project and testing the application in a different context. Vienna is a peculiar case with its strong social and political support, hence these findings would show, very probably, much more contrasting perspectives in places where gender mainstreaming in urban planning and design is not present. However, including the understanding of nuanced complexities from Vienna has a potential of elevating any study or project.

Reflection

09

# Reflection

**The pressing relevance of the research**

My endeavour of expanding knowledge on Vienna's gender mainstreaming strategy in urban planning started with a relaxed summer reading of *Invisible Women* by Caroline Criado-Perez. In the meantime, it turned into an article that I have co-authored with María Novas in Planning Perspectives titled: *Who owns public spaces? The trailblazer exhibition on women's everyday life in the City of Vienna (1991)* documenting a forgotten, yet vital historical event that changed the course of gendered planning in Vienna, and possibly – in Europe. This project being titled *Disrupting the gendered order* is a natural continuation of this research, which from an admiration of the city's success developed into looking at the case of Vienna through a critical lens. This takes me through the intersection of many different disciplines such as sociology, gender studies, history, philosophy, political science, and urbanism, but it is very much rooted in the spatial studies that are core to the Master's track of Urbanism.

The relevance of this project lies in the global gender-related vulnerability that tends to have tragic implications in the form of victimisation through violence or even death. Vienna is a city advanced in defying gender bias, yet still struggles with, often hidden from plain sight, gender-related injustices, especially towards more vulnerable migrant women. With an impression of success, the city, and on the wider scale, Europe, might never move beyond this form of partial equality. Thus, this project aims to dissect and approach the city from a different, more disruptive, and creative perspective with a research output that is personal and undiscriminating. I believe that as experts in urban planning and design, we need to learn how to be vulnerable and find new routes of communication with diverse groups of actors, as the top-down, male-dominated approach is simply no longer relevant.

**The evolution of this project's *how* and *why***

Just as the notions within the theme of gender mainstreaming are often bound to be rather theoretical and multi-layered in ways that go far beyond the spatial aspects, urban design might often be anti-climactic as compared to its ambition. Therefore, building the research on literature of Rosi Braidotti, opened a way to transcend beyond the 'humanist' methods of Vienna's urbanity. It contributed to my critical approach when discussing the first research question (RsQ1) on the historical development in Vienna, and how for a major part of history, its morphology was not intended for anybody else, but men. However, to understand the true effect of this bias on daily life of one of the most vulnerable groups, migrant women, and therefore reclaim their historical role in the city, I aimed to establish strong relationships with different actors. Hence, a key step to this project was the ethnographic research in order to address the complexities of RsQ2 and RsQ3. In terms of the course this means that the methods developed in the next stages are not coming only from my own assumptions and interpretation. In a larger picture of the professional world, it means giving voice to those who are less likely to engage in an activist debate, while being the most dispossessed. This entailed interviews, observations and conversations which helped to gain perspectives from three groups of women who hold distinct levels of power and privilege: the administrative officers and planners, young activists, and migrant women. This method worked, but not in a way that I have anticipated. Building this multiple-perspective understanding of the city, I discovered Vienna's multiple layers

of extraordinary activism trying to tackle most complex issues, and at the same time forms of oppression and violence that are not measurable enough for current literature, and hence more invisible – among others the high occurrence of femicides. I discovered that the communication between these three groups, even though formalised in different ways is not fully permeable or transparent. Therefore, through the duration of this project, I have developed a method of research and a communication tool which is informal, and its language can be understood by all. During the remainder of the project, I will develop the details of a card game that will serve as such instrument.

**Important findings and their relevance for the wider context of urban research methods**

Progressively, the contemporary urban planning, especially the Dutch practice, seeks to formalise practices and find systems that make cities work like a machine. However, Vienna, and its 10th District, Favoriten, are a perfect example that this rationale has its limits. Firstly, it reinforces the inherent bias in decisions at every level, and secondly, creates an illusion that if there is a solution for every problem, then there are, surely, no problems. One of the most intricate examples of this is the division of Favoriten's public spaces into sections. Just like in psychology the compartmentalisation here acts as a defence mechanism, as when women, children, dogs, and teenage boys are given its own enclosed space there is no conflict, no need for the strongest to win. Indeed, in most cases, where public spaces are not partitioned, they are occupied by men who push women and girls out.

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I believe that this separation creates further social divides, and possibly contributes to the high quota of femicide and domestic violence against women, as the privacy of home in a situation of distress is, certainly, where the strongest wins. Hence, the importance of informality, and spaces where distinct perspectives blend cannot be underestimated. On a larger scale, we should all reflect on the definition of scientific approach in urban research that goes beyond systematic solutions. We tend to forget that these gentle approaches are equally scientific as they have capacity to expose limitations of traditional formal methods.

Another important finding, which challenges the systematic mindset is linked to the researcher's or observer's method of collecting information. As a Polish student at a Dutch university with an academic command of English, I chose to conduct my research in a city which I had no personal experience with, in a language that I am communicative enough, but only with limited capacity. Putting myself out of my comfort zone was challenging, but the vulnerability that it brought put me in a position of trust within the migrant communities. If my command of German is limited, I become more vulnerable in a conversation with a fluent German speaker, and hence the relationship is shifted from the traditional construct of the observer and the observed. I noticed that especially in situations where mothers and grandmothers, who did not speak German, felt more confident and tried to participate in the conversation when I was alone as opposed to when I was accompanied by someone who speaks German fluently. This unusual approach derived from my passion for languages, and it could be applied in different contexts. Learning a new language is demanding, but it opens a new perspective and as foreign speaker makes the observer participative in a way that cannot be replicated, especially when within migrant communities, many of which start here from this vulnerable place. This translates to an incredibly personal interpretation and techniques of data representation through my drawings, the expression of which is universal.

**Ethical considerations**

This leads me to reflexivity and positionality. As described in my motivation – the personal experience of growing up as a girl in Poland and moving abroad on my own at a young age provided me with a certain layer of criticality, yet it means I will always tend towards bias that is skewed by my own very specific experiences. This entails the fact that I will never fully be able to understand the implications of experiencing racist or homophobic pressures or an experience of moving to a city with completely different social structures. This has been expressed by urban geographer Gillian Rose, who, through her own practice, claims that it is virtually impossible to remove our own experience and not be an "all-seeing and all-knowing researcher." [71] Therefore, understanding the ethical implications on establishing a relationship between the researcher and the researched with the existing biases, as addressed by Kim England, is key[72]. Firstly, each issue or conflict has multiple perspectives. The most prominent example is

71. Rose, *Situating knowledges: Positionality, reflexivities and other tactics*

72. England, *Getting personal: Reflexivity, Positionality and Feminist Research.*

*Disrupting the gendered order*

Austria's welfare state policy and implementing a strong strategy for integrating refugees from Syria and Afghanistan. All administrative staff, activists and academics agree that, of course, the state is obliged to help those in need. However, the men who supported financially by the government simply have nothing to do, occupy public spaces in Favoriten, drinking alcohol and their strong presence and intimidation directed at girls and women is reinforced by intoxication. This is the point of view of different women and girls that I have spoken to in Favoriten.

Finally, the limitations of this research lay in the understanding of my role as an urbanist. Despite building an exhaustive picture of the position of migrant women in Vienna, I recognise that it is virtually impossible for a foreign person to fully understand the complexity of Vienna's strategies and organisations, especially when taking into account the multiplicity of overlapping disciplines. Firstly, I did not have enough capacity of time to interview representatives of all relevant institutions, while some did not have availability to meet with me. Secondly, due to concerns about my own safety I was not able to conduct research at night. Lastly, the role of an spatial planner and designer is restricted to public space, while the majority of violence against women occurs within the privacy of the domestic setting. Considering all the limitations and ethical issues encountered in the course this project, I would argue that opening the discussion on such a nuanced topic from the universal perspective of spatiality is key, and that is what I hope this project has achieved.

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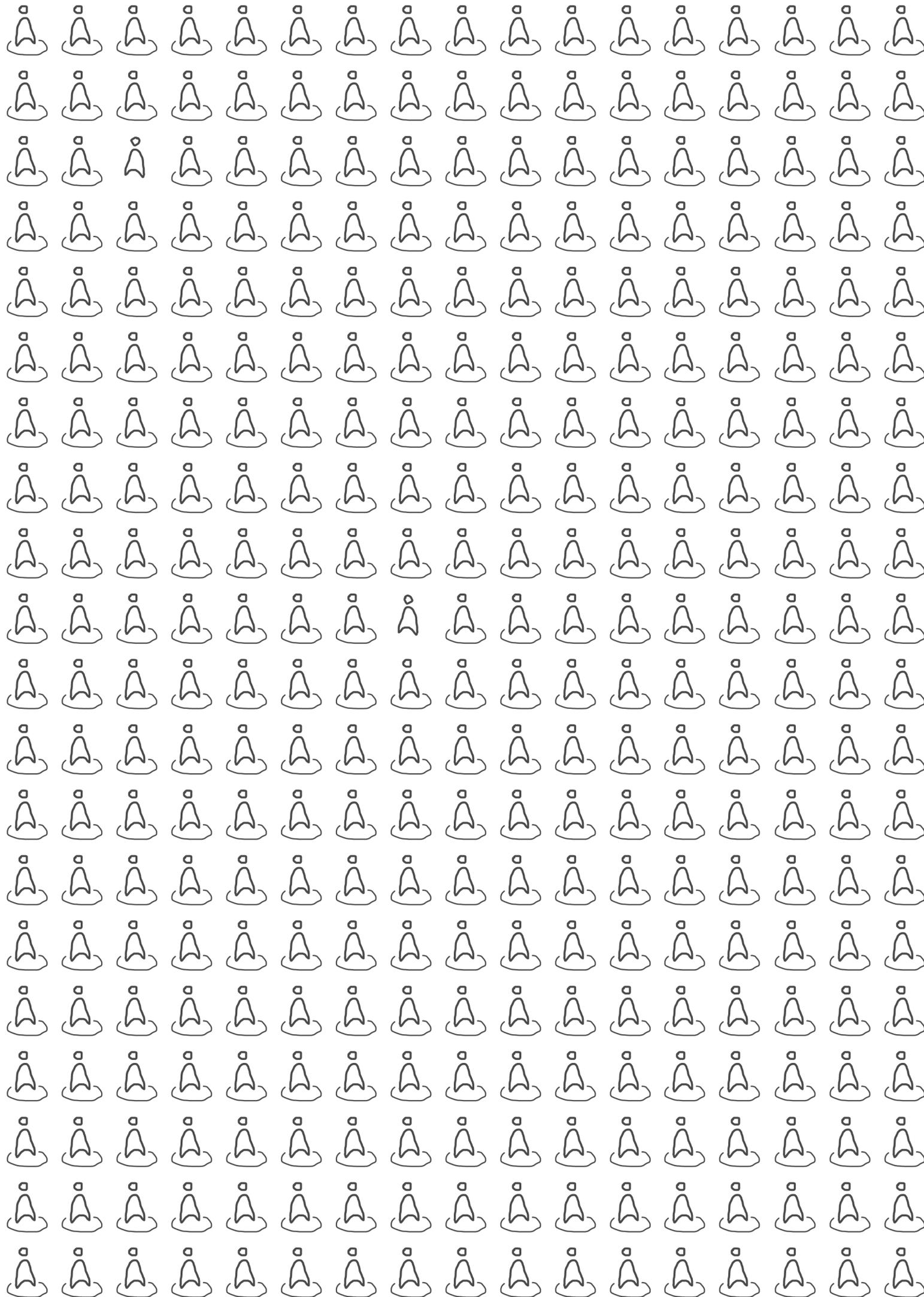
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# Acknowledgements

The challenges women encounter due to numerous disparities within social superstructures are finally finding their way into mainstream debates. Interestingly, Vienna is the first European city that has been incorporating the concept of gender mainstreaming into urban planning practices since the 1990s, by providing formal platforms for women to integrate their perspectives in the city's development. This research, however, reveals that the dialogue frequently remains trapped under the restricted label of 'feminist' or 'gender-sensitive', while it deserves a deeper, more nuanced discussion. Vienna's top-down planning leaves little space for informal strategies and hence, abandons the voices of under-represented people, particularly within immigrant communities of Vienna's outer districts. Therefore, this research dissects the city's gender sensitivity using a set of conflicts revealing the dissonance between the social realities of vulnerable migrant women in one of the city's fringe districts, Favoriten, and the efforts of female activists and the city administration. The data collected during extensive field interviews is documented through drawing as a method to showcase that women are less likely to simply 'be' in public space. These findings lead to proposal of a discussion-starter role-playing game, which places migrant women as central figures of planning processes. *Disrupting the gendered order* is a critical examination of how Vienna, the humanist city with a feminist attitude, can transcend beyond its rigid definition of formal urban planning and aim for multi-perspective emancipation, subsequently redefining gender mainstreaming worldwide.

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