

# Danish Urban Planning from the Gender Perspective

- An exploratory study -



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## Abstract

This thesis is focusing on the gender awareness in the urban planning in Danish context. The urban environment has a major influence on the residents' mental and physical health, and with the gender-sensitive urban planning a more inclusive, lively and safe city can be built. Therefore, it is important to take into account the gender perspective in the planning practice by the planners and decision-makers. In Denmark, the gender equality is being said as the essential part of the society, but according to several literatures the gender perspective has been actually neglected in the political agenda for several years. And there is also a gap in the literature on the urban planning with regards to the gender perspective. In this manner, it is unclear to what extent the gender perspective has been taken into consideration in the urban development projects, and in the practice of municipal planners in the context of Denmark. Thus, the objective of this exploratory study is to provide a clearer picture about the connection between the urban planning and gender awareness on the Danish scale. Therefore, a comprehensive literature review on gender equality and the gender-sensitive urban planning in the context of Europe, as well as conducted interviews with Danish urban planners, academics, and political figures has provided a better understanding of: *"What are some of the main barriers, which restrain the greater implementation of the gender perspective into the practice of urban planning in Danish Municipalities?"*

As one of the results of the research, the collected empirical data have presented, that some of the Danish urban areas were designed and built in a gendered way. The gendered urban spaces can be interpreted as the outcome of the lack of gender perspective. Therefore, the next step of the research process was to identify the most influential barriers, which hold back the gender-sensitive urban planning to be implemented to a greater extent. These obstacles derive from the field of education, the planning system, politics and the national media.

## **PREFACE**

The current research has been developed by a master student on the 4<sup>th</sup> semester of Urban Planning and Management study program at Aalborg University, under the semester's overall theme: "Master's thesis". The research project was written between the 1<sup>st</sup> of February 2019 and the 7<sup>th</sup> of June 2019.

Special thanks go to my supervisor, Malene Freudendal-Pedersen, who has provided constructive feedbacks, as well as helpful and competent guidance throughout the research process. Moreover, I would like to say thank you to Enza Lissandrello, Ask Greve Jørgensen, Cathrine Borum Hyldig and Siri Bonde Andersen for participating in the interviews, which are used in this research.

## **READING GUIDE**

The Harvard referencing system is used in this project, which means the authors and interviewees are referred to as (Last Name, Year), and the quotes are cited as (Last Name, Year, Page Number).

Furthermore, the different figures and tables are numbered by the chapters and figure number. For instance, the first table in chapter 3 is named as 'Table 3.1'.

Some words have been needed to add for the quotes from the interviews to clarify some imprecise statements, in this case parenthesis () has been used. If some grammatical corrections have been needed in the quotes, then square brackets [] has been used. If some words have been removed from the quote in order to make the statement more clear, in this case brackets with three dots inside [...] has been used.

The interview guides are included in the Appendix.

The references are presented in alphabetic order in the Bibliography, which are based on the surname of the author or the editor.

The picture on the cover is from: <https://disabroad.org/copenhagen/student-resource/transportation-in-and-around-copenhagen/walking-in-copenhagen/>

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

In the recent years, gender equality has been getting more focus in the media of many countries. This phenomenon can stem from the rising attention on gender issues, which resulted in the ‘#Me too’ movements, women’s marches all around the world, and the growing number of women in the politics, such as in New Zealand, USA, Estonia, Slovakia (Topping, 2019; Walker, 2019). These events led to the initial idea of this thesis to take a closer look, what is happening in Denmark in terms of gender awareness, where the gender equality is even part of the Denmark Canon (Ministry for Culture, 2016), and the country is already known as a forerunner in gender equality (Dahlerup, 2018).

The built environment has a major role on the daily life of citizens, which contributes to the exclusion or inclusion of different social groups, to the feeling of safety, and also to the mental and physical health (Bondi, 1998). In other words, cities can mean opportunities to some, but also constraints for others. Thus, the urban environment influences the well-being of women and men. Therefore, it is important to observe, how the gender perspective is taken into account in urban development projects and in the practice of planning. The gender perspective in the built environment can be manifested as the convenient access to public transport, kindergarten, playgrounds, or other public facilities, whether the residents can use the public areas, while also feeling safe and welcome there (Horelli, 2017). On the other hand, one can assume, that dividing the needs of women and men can be discriminative. However, according to different studies women are still the primary carers in households, who take care of elderly people, and children (Ortiz Escalante and Gutiérrez Valdivia, 2015). According to the survey of European Commission (2017), the majority of Danish residents think, that women spend more time than men on housework and caring activities, with proportions ranging 55%. While this result is lower, than the European average, it still implies, that women have

different needs, than men in using the urban environment due to their position in the society. In this manner, the responsibility of urban planning is to support them in the aforementioned responsibilities. Unfortunately, they are the ones whose needs usually do not take into account in the planning process due to the patriarchy - which is a particular way of gender-power relations - and the male-dominance in many professions (Greed, 2006). Undoubtedly, the urban planners have a major role in shaping the urban environment, still they are not the only ones, who are responsible for the lack of gender perspective in spatial planning (Greed, 1994). Even though the planners have influence on the planning process, they do not have unlimited resources and power to shape the cities as they wish. The problems in regards to 'gendered cities' are much more complex and the solutions to solve those problems imply varied actors from the urban governance (Greed, 1994). Furthermore, the work of municipal planners is highly dependent on the local authority, the government and its political agenda. In this sense, there are varied sources of the barriers, which need to be overcome in order to sufficiently carry out the gender-sensitive urban planning.

The initial idea of this paper was to focus on the strategy of gender mainstreaming, and the work of municipal planners from Copenhagen. Nevertheless, as the research process was proceeding, and the more literature were studied, the more it was realized, there are quite few literatures in regards to gender equality on the Danish level in general (Nielsen, 2017). To be more specific, there is a gap in the literature on the gender-sensitive urban planning in the Danish context. However, the gender mainstreaming is the main strategy in Denmark, therefore its influence on the urban agenda, and on the work of public authorities cannot be avoided in the research project.

In order to get a comprehensive understanding about the studied field, the project has studied some of the Danish policies and strategies in terms of gender equality, as well as literatures, which mainly focus on gender-sensitive urban planning especially on the



European scale. Interviews have been conducted with actors, who are working with gender equality and urban planning in Denmark. Furthermore, the collected empirical data provides the opportunity to analyze the Danish urban planning, which process was guided by the feminist theory. Thus, the goal of this exploratory study is to give a more detailed picture about the Danish urban planning, and explore to what extent the gender perspective is part of the planning process. Furthermore, what are those determinants, which influence the implementation of the gender-sensitivity into the practice of planning. Thus, the following research question was formulated:

**What are some of the main barriers, which restrain the greater implementation of the gender perspective into the practice of urban planning in Danish Municipalities?**

## 2. PROBLEM AREA

As it was already stated in the Introduction (see chapter 1) the gender equality is perceived, as a crucial part of the Danish society.

*“The so-called ‘normal Danish life’ contained the image of equal gender roles. This image played a central role in the construction of Danishness [...].”(Andreassen, 2005, p. 206)*

On the other hand, it seems, that it does not gotten a high priority neither on the academic level, nor in the public agenda as much as for instance the environmental issues, or racial inequality (Greed and Reeves, 2005; Nielsen, 2017).

Even though the aim of this research is not to make comparison between Denmark and the other Scandinavian countries, it is interesting to mention, that all of these countries are perceived as the forerunners in gender equality. However, Denmark has fallen behind the other Scandinavian countries in the Global Gender Gap Report (World Economic Forum, 2018) in the last years, in which for example the economic participation and political empowerment of women is analyzed. In the report, Denmark was on the 13<sup>th</sup> place in 2018, compared to 2006, when it took place on the 8<sup>th</sup>. This can be linked to the fact, that unlike in Sweden, the gender related issues have not gotten on the top of political agenda in Denmark in the last decade (Borchorst and Siim, 2008).

Since, gender equality is crucial part of the project, therefore it is important to clarify its meaning:

*“Equality disparities between women and men have been removed; it means equality of rights, representation, opportunities and outcomes between women and men.”*

(Reeves, 2010, p. 197)

Gender inequality can also be the part of the urban environment, which requires comprehensive solutions in order to solve them. However, the gender inequality is not the only problem, which requires solutions from the state and local authorities. The increased urbanization and immigration also implies new challenges, such as the rapid population growth (Horelli, 2017), which the different cities need to face, and these challenges require the inclusion of people from diverse cultures, ages and ethnicity. It is also needed to keep in mind, that the needs and everyday experiences of residents differ from each other depending on their socio-economic status, religion, age, ethnic origin and gender. Thus, there are many dimensions, which need to take into consideration in the urban planning (Evers and Hofmeister, 2011). In addition, the initial step of the gender-sensitive spatial planning is to recognize the different social roles of men and women (Snyder, 1995; Beall, 1996). Furthermore, as it was stated above, women and men do not experience the reality in the same uniform way, and women do not experience gender inequality similarly, since women are not one uniform group.

According to international researches, the needs and experiences of women have been neglected in the urban planning processes in the last decades (Greed and Reeves, 2005). This can cause segregation and exclusion of female citizens, and it can further increase the inequality between men and women on the urban scale. The gender inequality can appear in the cities as difficult access to the public transport system, lack of inclusive public spaces, such as parks and playgrounds, not sufficient street lighting or great distances between the residential area and public facilities, like hospitals, kindergartens etc (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2013; Van den Berg, 2013; Horelli, 2017).

However, in order to implement the gender perspective as an essential part of the planning system, there are many different obstacles, which need to be solved (Snyder, 1995; Greed and Reeves, 2005). Based on different literatures, these constraints, which restrict the inclusion of the gender awareness as the crucial part of planning praxis can be the attitude of planners, the lack of education and training, the male-dominance and

the technical orientation among urban planners and decision-makers, or simply the neglect towards gender equality (Greed and Reeves, 2005). Obviously, there are other reasons, which can stem from also the municipal and national level, thereby reinforcing the inadequacy of gender awareness in the practice of urban planning. In this sense, the project aims to observe the Danish urban planning from a gender perspective and determine, which barriers restrain the greater involvement of gender perspective into the practice of urban planning. In order to get a better understanding about the research process, which led to answer the research question, the following chapter will explain the different methods, as well as scientific and theoretical background of the project.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

The first section of the Methodology chapter introduces the research question and the two sub-questions of the project. These questions are presented in a table (see table 3.1.) with the empirical-, conceptual and methodological problem of the research, which is the research design of the project. Moreover, the next section describes the scientific approach of the project, while the last section presents the theoretical approach of the research.

#### 3.1. Research Question

The subject of this research is outlined in the previous chapters. The objective of the thesis is to get a better understanding, whether there is gender perspective in the Danish urban planning and to what extent it takes place in the practice of municipal planners, since there is a gap in knowledge about this field in the context of Denmark. Moreover, what are those barriers, which obstruct its greater implementation into the spatial planning. The scope of the research question helps focusing on the project, as well as investigating related fields of study (Farthing, 2016).

Thereby, the following research question and sub-questions have been formulated:

**What are some of the main barriers, which restrain the greater implementation of the gender perspective into the practice of urban planning in Danish Municipalities?**

- How has the concept of 'gender' been influenced the urban planning and the urban agenda in the context of Europe?
- What are some of the dominant characteristics of the Danish urban planning in regards to the gender perspective?

### 3.2. Research Design

The following table represents the design of the research in order to show how the research question and the sub-questions are going to be answered. Furthermore, the empirical problem, the conceptual and methodological problem of the project is also illustrated below. The research question and the sub-questions are presented with the different methods in the table, which contributed to answer the questions.

<b>Empirical Problem:</b>  Gender equality is part of the Denmark Canon and it is being said as an essential part of the Danish society. On the other hand, according to varied literatures, the gender perspective does not get enough priority in the political agenda, which also highly affects the urban agenda as well as the praxis of urban planners. The application of the gender awareness can contribute to create inclusive, safe, lively neighbourhoods for men and women from diverse social groups, which is essential, since the built environment has a meaningful impact on the citizens' life. Without the gender perspective in the mind of planners, the gender inequality can be manifested in the built environment.	
<b>Conceptual Problem:</b> How can the feminist theory be used as a conceptual framework to better understand the urban planning?	<b>Methodological Problem:</b> How can the Danish urban planning be analyzed in the light of feminist theory?
<b>Research Question</b>  <i>What are some of the main barriers, which restrain the greater implementation of the gender perspective into the practice of urban planning in Danish Municipalities?</i>	
<b>1<sup>st</sup> Sub-question</b>  <i>How has the concept of 'gender' been influenced the urban planning and the urban agenda in the context of Europe?</i>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Sub-question</b>  <i>What are some of the dominant characteristics of the Danish urban planning in regards to the gender perspective?</i>
<b>Methods</b> Literature review	<b>Methods</b> Interviews Literature review

Table 3.1. - Research Design of the project

Furthermore, in order to acquire a more complex knowledge of the research's problem, the following sub-questions will be answered:

*How has the concept of 'gender' been influenced the urban planning and the urban agenda in the context of Europe?*

The objective of this sub-question is to give a detailed picture about the role of 'gender' in the urban planning, which can further contribute to a better understanding of the gender-sensitive urban planning. This is especially important, since there is a lack of information about the gender awareness in urban planning on the Danish scale. Therefore, observing literatures from other European examples can provide the necessary knowledge in the field of study, which is essential in order to better understand the Danish context. Furthermore, the data, which was collected through the extensive Literature review also play an important role in the later phases of the research process.

*What are some of the dominant characteristics of the Danish urban planning in regards to the gender perspective?*

The aim of this sub-question is to seek how the gender perspective appears in the urban planning in the context of Denmark. In order to answer this question, the collected empirical data from the interviews and the comprehensive literature review has been used.

The analysis of this question relies on the feminist theory, which provides a framework for the analysis of the empirical data, which also helps answering the main research question.

### 3.3. Scientific Research Approach

The main subject of this study is the gender-sensitive urban planning on the Danish scale. Additionally, its objective is to discover what are the reasons behind the lack of gender perspective in urban planning. Since there are insufficient number of scientific and academic literatures in regards to this subject, therefore this research is considered as an exploratory study.

The exploratory study aims to explore a phenomenon, about which lack of information can be found so far (Ritchie *et al.*, 2003). Therefore the goal of this type of research is to get a more comprehensive understanding about the concepts, norms and values, which are connected to the field of study. Furthermore, it can help to the researcher to decide, whether the research problem is worth the further study in the future (Ritchie *et al.*, 2003).

The exploratory research can be conducted by:

*“A search of the literature, talking to experts in the field and conducting focus group interviews.”* (Gray, 2004, p. 32)

In this research paper, the aforementioned first two qualitative methods are used in order to get a better understanding about the Danish urban planning from a gender perspective. These methods are further detailed in the Methods section (see section 0).



### 3.4.Theoretical Framework

The aim of this section is to introduce the theoretical framework, which is used for the analysis and interpretation of the collected empirical data. Since the main focus of this research paper is the gender perspective in the planning practice, therefore it is crucial to look into the feminist theory with regards to planning practice theory, which is the analysis of the behavior and action of planners in different context (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992). The theories play a crucial role in the planning practice, and influence the work of planners.

*“A reflexivity is needed such that the experience of practice informs theory, and vice versa. If inequalities and domination continue to result from planning practice, as they so often do, one must examine the theory and methodologies behind that practice, and what is discovered there must be applied .”* (Snyder, 1995, p. 99)

The project is guided by the feminist theory, and take a feminist epistemological stance, which is being *“critical, emancipatory, and conscious of gender and other differences”* (Snyder, 1995, p. 103), while analyzing the urban planning in Denmark.

Snyder (1995) collected four main characteristics of the feminist theory, which describe the influence of feminist theory on the research as well as on practice. The first one is, that the people’s perception of roles, status, responsibilities, and values in the society are gendered. Furthermore, gender is socially constructed. The second point claims, that both theory and practice is political, which cannot be separated from the social world (Snyder, 1995). The third attribute of feminist theory reflects to the quote above, which states, that theory and practice should not be disconnected, since they mutually affect each other. The last point refuses the positivist stance, which claims, that the researcher or practitioner should be value-neutral, and objective. Additionally, as Farthing (2016)

also states, a research cannot be passion-free and value-free, as the positivism claims, since the researchers already have an assumption about the topic of study.

Therefore, when urban planning in the context of Denmark is observed and analyzed by the researcher, the aforementioned characteristics of the feminist theory are the “glasses”, in which the researcher is looking at the problem area. The feminist theory challenges its applicants to do not only involve the gender perspective into the research, but also to reconsider their perception of planning, as well as values and methodologies (Snyder, 1995).

The feminist theory, and the categorization of Snyder (1995), which is based on the dichotomies in the planning practice, contributed to shape the framework of the Analysis. She (1995) divides three dichotomies in the light of feminist theory, which is dominant in the planning practice:

- Theory/Practice
- Knowledge/Experience
- Public/Private

The ‘Theory/Practice’ refers to the need of theories behind the practice and the practice behind theories, thus, as it was stated above they need to reflect on each other in order to successfully apply the gender perspective into the planning (Snyder, 1995).

According to the feminist theory the ‘Knowledge/Experience’ means, that planners play the role of expert in the planning process, while the citizens have the actual experience about their neighbourhood (Snyder, 1995). Therefore it is necessary to involve both women and men into the planning process to create a ‘non-sexist’ city.

The ‘Public/Private’ presents, how the public space is tend to be built rather for men, than women. In addition, how this mindset can keep alive the gendered nature of the urban

environment, as it will be also stated in the *The manifestation of gender in the physical space* (see section 4.1).

This framework allows the researcher to analyze how these dualities take place in the Danish urban planning, which is used in order to shed light on the most relatable characteristics of the urban planning from the gender perspective.

### **3.5.Methods**

The following section describes the methods, which were used in order to collect the essential knowledge and information for proceeding the research process. Since it is an exploratory study, therefore the extensive literature review and the interviews with experts in the studied field have been crucial and valuable.

#### **3.5.1. Literature review**

The literature review plays an essential role to set the structure and foundation of the research project, besides the empirical data, which was collected through interviews. The research question and the sub-questions provided a framework for the literature review, therefore the literature is related to the investigated questions (Farthing, 2016).

In order to develop an understanding about the topic of the project, several different academic journals and professional publications in the field of feminist theory, gender equality, gender mainstreaming, as well as gender-sensitive urban planning were studied. Due to the fact, that this is an exploratory research and the Danish literature on gender-sensitive urban planning is very limited, therefore most of the literatures - which were found during the research process - were written about other European cases. The

European examples can provide a complex knowledge about the gender-sensitive planning in general, which can lead to the better understanding of the Danish scale.

*“These links give exploratory data some additional intellectual anchorage; they show how the data relate to the wider scholarly world.”* (Stebbins, 2011, p. 43)

Furthermore, the information and knowledge, which was collected through the literature review, was also provided a reliable background for the preparation and conduct of the interviews (Farthing, 2016).

Moreover, the literature review also contains different policy documents, official plans and reports from national as well as local level (Farthing, 2016). These documents are important in the research, since they can help to better understand how the discourse and the language, which is used in the policy is generating knowledge about the investigated field. Some of the documents, which were used in the research is for instance *The Danish Gender Equality Act; Perspective and Action Plans on Gender Equality; Strategic Framework for Gender Equality, Rights, and Diversity in Danish Development Cooperation* etc.

These plans and policies help to understand how the different authorities deal with the gender inequality, what they are focusing on in terms of gender awareness, and how have they affected the urban agenda and the praxis of urban planning.

The different journals, books, articles and reports were found mostly through the database of the Aalborg University's online library. Since the gender equality is deeply connected to the social sciences, therefore this concept was also studied related to other fields – not only to spatial planning. The most frequently searched terms in the database were for instance ‘gender equality’, ‘gender-sensitive urban planning’, ‘gender mainstreaming’ etc. However, the search for different literatures were restricted on the Danish and on the European scale in order to scope the research.

### 3.5.2. Interviews

Due to the shortage of academic papers and researches on the gender-sensitive urban planning in Denmark, therefore it was crucial to collect primary data through interviews, which can help to answer the research question. In addition, the project is an exploratory study, therefore it relies on qualitative methods (Ritchie *et al.*, 2003). The interviews have an important role to get a more comprehensive understanding about how the gender perspective take place in the urban planning processes. Additionally, the interviews also affected the structure of analytical framework and further the discussion. Since the research is guided by the feminist theory (see in section 3.4), therefore it also shaped the questions, which were posed for the interviewees. The interviews also helped answering the second sub-question:

*What are some of the dominant characteristics of the Danish urban planning in regards to the gender perspective?*

The interviews were conducted in semi-structured form, which means, the questions were formulated beforehand, and thus, the interview guide helped the interviewer to move towards the desired direction (Ritchie *et al.*, 2003). The semi-structured interview also provided flexibility to the respondents, so they could elaborate more on some of the questions, or talk about other related topics. Furthermore, the interviewer could add or transform some of the questions based on the given answers as the interview was moving forward (Farthing, 2016). Two interviews were phone-interviews, in which the responses were recorded, and transcribed afterward (Gray, 2004). The transcription of the interviews has contributed to the more transparent data, which helped in the formulation of the analysis. Furthermore, there were two conducted e-mail interviews, which were necessary, since the interviewees were not accessible for a face-to-face or a phone-

interview (Meho, 2006). The drawbacks of the e-mail interviews are further detailed in the next Limitation section.

Throughout the research process, four individual interviews were made, which were conducted with experts in the field of gender equality, as well as in urban planning. The interviewees were chosen based on the purposive sampling method, which is described by Stebbins (2011, p. 78) as:

*“[t]he sample units are chosen because they have particular features or characteristics, which will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and puzzles which the researcher wishes to study.”*

The individual interviews provided a better opportunity in order to develop a deeper knowledge and understanding of the researched phenomena (Ritchie *et al.*, 2003).

The following persons have been interviewed to this research project (in chronological order):

- Enza Lissandrello, Aalborg University
- Ask Greve Jørgensen, Aalborg University
- Cathrine Borum Hyldig, Feministisk Initiativ
- Siri Bonde Andersen, Feministisk Initiativ

Enza Lissandrello and Ask Greve Jørgensen were asked almost the same questions, due to the fact, that both of them working in the field of urban planning. On the other hand, Cathrine Borum Hyldig and Siri Bonde Andersen, who are working in the politics were asked questions based on their profession. All of them provided a unique perspective in the field of the gender equality in policy-making and urban planning. The interview guides - which contain the questions for the interviews - are attached in the Appendix chapter (see chapter 9).

**Enza Lissandrello:**

The interview with Enza Lissandrello - which lasted around 45 minutes - was conducted on 25<sup>th</sup> of April, 2019 on Skype. Lissandrello is an urban planner and researcher, who is working on different Danish and international urban development projects. On the other hand, she is also an associate professor in the Department of Planning at the Aalborg University.

She was interviewed in order to get a better insight in the field of Danish urban planning, and to know how she as an urban planner works with the gender perspective in her praxis. Since Lissandrello has a great experience in the field of planning in Denmark both on the academic and practical level, therefore she could provide a comprehensive perspective about the subject of research.

**Ask Greve Jørgensen:**

Jørgensen was interviewed on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May, 2019 on a Skype meeting. He is a PhD student at Sociology, and he studies '*How municipality can plan and make strategies around the term livability?*'. Additionally, Jørgensen also has been working at the Technical and Environmental Administration of the Copenhagen Municipality for years, where he is trained to become a planner.

Since he is working among urban planners at the department, where the planners create the local plans, writing strategies, as well as prepare the first draft of policies he has a great insight what is happening in a public authority in regards to gender-sensitive urban planning.

**Cathrine Borum Hyldig:**

The interview questions were sent to Hyldig in advance on her request on 17<sup>th</sup> of April, in order to be able to prepare well for the interview. However, as the time passed, due to

her busy schedule she answered the questions in written form instead of a face-to-face interview on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May.

The perspective of Cathrine Borum Hyldig in terms of gender awareness is interesting, since she is a member of the Danish Feministisk Initiativ (Feminist Initiative), a political party, whose main profile is the gender equality and feminism. Therefore, she has a critical feminist standpoint, and has an insight in the Danish political field.

### **Siri Bonde Andersen:**

Siri Bonde Andersen is also a member of the Feminist Initiative, and Andersen was answered to the questions in written form on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April, which were forwarded to her by Cathrine Borum Hyldig.

### **3.5.3. Limitations**

This section will describe the other crucial aspect of the project, which are the limitations that the researcher needed to face during the research process. These limitations can be connected to the scope of the research, and to the methods, which were used throughout the project.

The research process started on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February and finished on the 7<sup>th</sup> of June 2019. This gave a natural limitation of time to work on the project and thus, it also shaped the scope of the research. As it is already stated in the Introduction (see chapter 1) the initial focus of the project was a smaller scale. However, due to the lack of literature and academic papers on the Danish level it became more interesting to analyze the gender-sensitive urban planning on a bigger scale in Denmark. Moreover, broadening up the scope of the project (from Copenhagen to Denmark) also provided better opportunities to find interviewees, not only from the local authorities of Copenhagen. In spite of the



broader scale, it was still very difficult to find interviewees, who can give useful inputs for the research. There were several failed attempts to reach different actors in order to interview them. To be more specific, 12 persons from architecture firms, municipalities, consultancies from Denmark were asked for an interview via e-mail, in terms of gender-sensitive urban planning. 6 people out of 12 did not even respond to the e-mails, while an urban planner from Copenhagen Municipality and an architect from a private company replied, that they have a busy schedule and do not have time for an interview. Moreover, the office manager of the City and Culture Administration of Odense Municipality answered, that they cannot give an interview, since the gender perspective is not part of their work in the urban planning and development processes. These attempts also shaped and contributed to the research process and results, on the other hand it was time-consuming process in a limited period of time.

As it was stated before, two interviewees, namely Andersen and Hyldig answered to the interview questions in e-mails, to which the questions were sent in one e-mail. This method is less flexible, and do not allow follow-up questions directly, such as conducting an interview in person (Meho, 2006). Furthermore, this way of answering is limited the respondents to elaborate on their answers, thus restricts their interpretations of the research topic.

It is also worth mentioning, that the researcher does not speak in Danish, therefore some of the literatures, which were found in the research process were needed to be translated from Danish to English. The drawback of the translation is, that the nuances of expressions can lose its essences, due the minor differences in the meanings of the two languages. Fortunately, it was only a few literatures, which were needed to be translated, for instance the *Ligestillingsredegørelser 2017 - Hovedrapport* by Rambøll (2018).

## 4. LITERATURE REVIEW

The objective of the following section is to represent how the socially constructed concept of gender shaped the urban environment, and how the lack of gender perspective in urban planning facilitated gender inequality in the physical space. Furthermore, how has the 'gender' been emerged in the European urban agendas, as well as how the pursuit of gender equality in the built environment emerged in cities, like Vienna and Barcelona. This chapter also includes the structure of the Danish Planning System, and present how the gender equality appears in some Danish policies and strategies. The review of varied literatures with regards to the aforementioned concepts can contribute to get a comprehensive understanding about the scope of the project. Thus, the further goal of this chapter is to answer the following sub-question:

*How has the concept of 'gender' been influenced the urban planning and the urban agendas in the context of Europe?*

### 4.1. The manifestation of gender in the physical space

Women and men cannot seen as unitary social groups, since they are also composed of different socio-economic-, ethnic- and age-groups. Thus, planners and policy makers need to recognize the diversity of men and women, and at the same time, acknowledge their specific roles and responsibilities, which result in specified gender interests (Beall, 1996). Furthermore, women share common issues in terms of the physical space, and built environment due to "*their structural position in a patriarchal society.*" (Greed, 1994, p. 33) .

The invisible power relations shape, what is the role and responsibility of women and men, thus, it can further create segregation between genders (Horelli, 2017). In this sense, 'gender' is socially constructed and it has also had a major role in shaping the structure of society. Therefore, it is important to state, that 'gender' means:

*"[T]he socially and culturally defined differences between women and men, the relationships between them, the diversity and relativity of their roles within the community, and the social negotiations and power structures in which they are embedded."* (Zebracki, 2014, p. 56).

As it has been claimed by Snyder (1995), people influence the physical space, but the disposition of physical space also has a meaningful impact on the people's life. Since the cities and human settlements are planned by people, therefore the built environment reflects different power relations, which many times difficult to perceive, and even more difficult to reshape (Sandberg and Rönnblom, 2016). In addition, not only the power-, but also the gender relations, the distinction between men and women is responsible for the way, how the urban environment has been shaped (Bondi, 1998). According to Hayden (1980) the distinctions, which reflect on the built environment, come from the socially constructed and prejudiced concept, that women should stay at home, which perception also led to the social, economic and physical restraint of women in the cities. This aforementioned distinction appears as spatial expressions of inequalities from smaller scales, such as the interior design of houses, to bigger urban scales like dichotomies between public and private space, as well as between the city and suburb (Bondi, 1998; Greed and Reeves, 2005). According to feminist researchers, the distinction of suburb and the city derives from the idea of separating the physical space between women and men:

*"in which the public domain of the urban center was both deeply masculine and associated with social, economic, and political power. Conversely, the suburb came to be associated with middle-class domesticity, femininity, and dependence."* (Bondi, 1998, p. 161)

Harvey (2008) details in the 'Right to the City', that the citizens should have access to the urban sources, and the right to shape the urban environment, which was definitely not the case, for example in the process of suburbanization. The creation of suburbs resulted in the constraint of women to the daily access and participation in the city life, and form the city center as the space of men (Fenster, 2005; Andersen and Winther, 2010). This process also had influence on shaping the cities in the US, as well as in Europe, like in Denmark, and in the UK. Therefore, the suburbanization indirectly led to the further segregation between women and men:

*"[T]he suburbs had been built and the radical transformation in lifestyle that this betokened had all manner of social consequences, leading feminists, for example, to proclaim the suburb and its lifestyle as the locus of all their primary discontents."* (Harvey, 2008, p. 5)

Furthermore, dichotomy between the productive/paid work and reproductive/unpaid work can be connected to the formation of public and private space as well (Larsson, 2006). The reproductive tasks such as household chores, and the care of children, elderly and sick family members are still mainly considered as the responsibility of women (Larsson, 2006). The European Commission (2017) made a survey among European residents - which study is already mentioned in the Introduction (see chapter 1) - and it represents, that 73% of respondents agreed on, that women spend more time on caring activities and do housework than men. While only 22% believed, that men and women spend the same time on these activities. Despite these facts, the needs of women are usually overlooked and not taken into consideration in the spatial planning practice and policy, for instance in terms of public transportation (Greed and Reeves, 2005). In other words, women do not have access to public transport, or the public transport is in a great distance from their home. According to Horelli (2017) the most effective way to ensure gender equality in an urban development project is to plan a 'city of short distances',

which can provide a balance between public and private spheres, paid and unpaid work, and better access of public transport. This is also relevant to Denmark, where women drive cars 32 percent less, than men (Freudendal-Pedersen, 2014). Therefore the provision of short distances and the access of public transport can improve the daily life of women and it can support gender equality. According to Larsson (2006), when the gender is discussed in terms of urban policy and planning, it is many times limited to the biological differences between women and men. While the difference between gender is more socially constructed, than biologically defined (Beall, 1996). One of these biological differences, which are usually taken into consideration in the urban planning is the physical strength, in regards to the safety of women. However, other gender perspectives are many times overlooked by urban planners (Zebracki, 2014), thus, the lack of gender perspective can produce the aforementioned characteristics of a gendered city.

In this manner, the lack of gender-sensitive planning practice and policy has shaped several urban settlements around the world for long decades, and it contributed to the exclusion and segregation of women.

## 4.2. Gender-neutral and gender-sensitive planning

As it was stated in the previous section, the experiences of women and men, and how they use the city on a daily basis differ from each other, which is needed to be recognized by planners and decision-makers in order to avoid gender-blind planning praxis (Rakodi, 1991). First of all, a clear perception about what the gender perspective means in the practice of urban planners is inevitable for the further study:

*“[I]t means building an understanding of the different perspectives and interests of women and men as users and user groups, considering gender, as well as age, life situation and ethnic, cultural and social backgrounds, as an analytical tool to balance multiple differences and equality.”* (Damyanovic and Zibell, 2013, p. 25)

The ‘neutrality umbrella’ as Escalante and Valdivia (2015) has been described the gender-neutral professions in urban planning, in engineering and in architecture, which are focusing on the public interest, but seems to be exclusive, and neglect the varied roles and experiences of women in practice. This statement is also supported by Beebeejaun (2017, p. 325), who writes that *“[t]he concept of the public itself has relied upon the exclusion of different groups over time.”* Moreover, it does not only assume the great extent of uniformity and heterogeneity in the society, but the public interest can also be perceived as a division between the planners and citizens (Allmendinger, 2017).

Thus, it is argued by other scholars, that planners need to acknowledge diverse social groups and plan for multiple publics (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992; Moroni, 2004). In this manner - as many feminist scholars also has been claimed - the gender-sensitive urban planning does not blindly focus on the needs and experiences of women, but also involve the needs of men, kids, elderly, and other minority social groups into the planning.

According to Beall (1996) the gender-sensitive urban planning has two different approaches. The first one is the bottom-up approach, whose goal is to increase the involvement of female residents into the different stages of the urban development projects. The goal of this approach is to incorporate the experiences of women into the planning, so the planners can get a more comprehensive insight of the daily life of residents, who are tend to be discounted in the process (Preston and Ustundag, 2007). In Barcelona, female architects and urban planners formed an organization in response to a new policy, which requires to involve the gender awareness into the planning of public spaces and green areas in order to decrease the gender discrimination in the city (Ortiz Escalante and Gutiérrez Valdivia, 2015). The organization, named 'Col·lectiu Punt 6' aims to reach this goal through participatory planning with the active involvement of women. They have been used the participation of residents in order to get a better understanding about the realities of women, and how they experience their neighbourhood. The organization have been using different tools to ensure the gender perspective through the bottom-up approach, such as workshops, exploratory walks, questionnaires etc (Ortiz Escalante and Gutiérrez Valdivia, 2015). These tools can help the planners identifying and analyzing the neighbourhoods, where women feel the least safe and welcome.



*Figure 4.1. - Exploratory walk for women in Barcelona (Borraz, 2017)*

The public participation is also an essential principle in the Danish planning system, since the Planning Act (see section 4.4) demands to submit the municipal and local plans from the Municipalities for public hearing at least eight weeks before the final adaptation of the plan (Enemark, 2016). In this way the public authorities ensure that the perspectives of residents are also taken into account during the planning process.

As Larsson (2006) has been stated, the urban planners and policy makers are responsible for the adaptation of gender-aware urban planning. In this sense, the inclusion of gender perspective into the urban policies can:

*“redefine existing issues in important ways, and makes women visible not only as subjects of planning but also as active participants in planning and policy making processes.”* (Fainstein and Servon, 2005, p. 4)

Therefore, the top-down approach is crucial to reach the aforementioned goal. According to Jahan and Mumtaz (1996) women’s voice and participation in the decision-making process is indispensable to shape and transform the development processes and agenda-setting. On the other hand, it is not sufficient to only focus on the involvement of more female planners into the planning practice in order to aim gender awareness. Since they are not necessary experts in the gender-sensitive planning or they might not promote this mindset (Larsson, 2006). Thus, the actors need to challenge their knowledge about their political and planning profession, which is often represented as rational and gender-blind (Larsson, 2006). In this sense, the education and qualification about gender equality and gender perspective in the planning, and decision-making process is crucial (Beall, 1996). Sandercock and Forsyth (1992) is also agreed on this idea, and they have claimed, that the lack of gender perspective does not originate from the lack of women planners in the urban planning process. On the other hand, it derives from the male-dominance in the ideologies and theories, which influences the work of planners (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992). In this manner, the gender-sensitive planning is not equal with the idea, that



women need to outnumber male planners in an urban development project. On the contrary, the inclusion of gender perspective requires a more complex solution, which challenge the deeply-embedded ideologies and theories in the planning and decision-making processes.

### **4.3. Gender mainstreaming as a dominant strategy**

In order to create a 'non-sexist' city, in which the urban environment is planned equally for women and men - the gender perspective needs to be prioritized in urban planning (Beebeejaun, 2017). This means, that the gender differences - which derive from different social and cultural circumstances – are needed to be defined and assessed (Damyanovic and Zibell, 2013). Therefore, it is important to focus on the gender issues in the planning process, and include the gender awareness, as a tool into all steps of urban planning and policy-making. Since it can provide a more comprehensive approach, which can support to achieve gender equality in the spatial planning (Larsson, 2006). According to Woodward (2004) the gender awareness and gender equality should be a continual and steady goal in urban planning.

As it has been stated by Madsen and Agustín (2018), the most influential strategy - with regards to the fostering of gender equality - is the top-down approach called the Gender Mainstreaming, which has been promoted by different public authorities and organizations all over the world. The gender mainstreaming derives from the UN Beijing Platform for Action from 1995 and the Amsterdam Treaty from 1997 (Madsen and Agustín, 2018). The Treaty of Amsterdam obliged the European Union to incorporate the gender mainstreaming into all policies (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2013). Therefore, the main goal of the European Union was to implement the gender perspective and issues into all

EU policy areas in the 1990's (Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2009). However, the gender mainstreaming is usually undertaken in regards to economic development activities and policies, rather than applied into spatial planning and urban development projects, which can be seen in the UK (Greed, 2006). On the other hand, there are exceptions, where the gender mainstreaming has also been successfully applied in urban design, master plans, land use and development plans, as the example of Vienna represents (Damyanovic, Reinwald and Weikmann, 2013).

Based on the definition by the European Institute for Gender Equality (2019), the gender mainstreaming involves:

*"[T]he integration of a gender perspective into the preparation, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies, regulatory measures and spending programmes, with a view to promoting equality between women and men, and combating discrimination."*

According to Greed (2006, p. 179) the gender mainstreaming in regards to the work of local planning authorities can be defined as:

*"[t]he process whereby gender issues, relations, power differentials and identities are taken into account within all stages and aspects of the plan-making process."*

Based on the Gender Mainstreaming Guide from Vienna (2013) the involvement of gender perspective into every steps of the planning process grants the high quality of planning. As Horelli (2017) claims, the gender perspective can manifest in the urban environment for instance as safe and accessible public transportation system, barrier-free accessibility to public spaces and parks, short distances between housing and public services, such as school, kindergarten, hospital etc.

Since the application of gender mainstreaming into the local planning and policies requires varied tools from the local authorities, therefore the European Institute for Gender Equality (2019) proposed a tool kit, which can be used by planners and policy-

makers. The gender mainstreaming tools are divided into four phases, which represents the different stages of planning and policy-making process, as it is represented on the figure below.

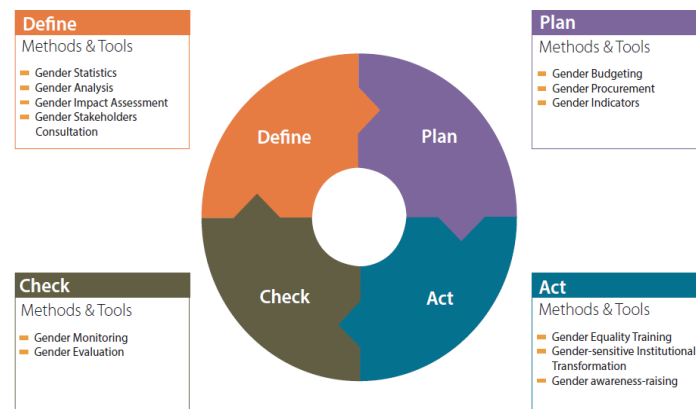


Figure 4.2. - Tools for Gender Mainstreaming (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2016, p. 7)

Some of these tools are:

*“the establishment of coordinating committees or networks of gender-mainstreaming officials; collection of gender-disaggregated statistics; checklists, manuals and handbooks; gender training; gender impact assessment of policies; post-hoc monitoring and evaluation; and enforcement through sanctioning of public officials.”* (Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2009, p. 123)

Even though the European Union facilitates the dissemination of gender perspectives with specific tools (see figure 4.2.) in the decision-making and planning process, the translation towards gender-sensitive planning is not consistent among European countries (Novick, 2013). Moreover, the application of gender mainstreaming is not dominant in every countries, and it also has varied meanings in diverse contexts. In addition, there are concerns among researchers in terms of the gender mainstreaming, that the strategy is only applied as a bureaucratic tool, and it does not aim to change the patriarchal paradigms (Reeves, 2010; Beebeejaun, 2017). Moreover, the strategy is also

criticized for the blurry linkage to the urban planning, and for the ambiguity about how the gender mainstreaming should be involved into the practice of spatial planning (Perrone, 2016).

Besides the critics, there are also positive examples from the European countries, for instance in Vienna, where the application of gender mainstreaming into the policies and planning has been a successful process. The strategy was implemented in varied areas of urban planning, like in housing, public urban spaces and urban mobility (Perrone, 2016). Based on the successful application of the strategy, the Municipality of Vienna (2013) - which is also referred to as the 'Gender Equal City' - released a *Manual for Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development*. This document contains specific examples of the Municipality's experiences of actively using the gender mainstreaming in the planning practice (Damyanovic, Reinwald and Weikmann, 2013). The objective of this manual is to represent a more specific, less ambiguous perspective of the gender mainstreaming, which can provide guidance for other local authorities.

It can be seen from the document, that the Municipality put emphasis on the implementation of gender awareness into many urban development projects, so the gender perspective is present to a great extent in public areas.



Figure 4.3. - Gender-sensitive design of the Rudolf-Bednar-Park (Damyanovic, Reinwald and Weikmann, 2013, p. 85)

A good example can be the Rudolf-Bednar-Park (see Figure 4.3), where the gender awareness is manifested in the inclusive design of the park, which provides public gardens, sport areas and playgrounds for different age groups, as well as proper street lighting, and public toilets (Damyanovic, Reinwald and Weikmann, 2013). These elements all contribute to the safe, lively, inclusive feeling for both men and women from different age and social groups.

#### 4.4. The Danish Planning System

Before the study is going into details about the Danish strategies and policies, which promote gender equality, it is also important to introduce the Danish planning system for a more comprehensive understanding about the actors and their power in the planning processes.

There are two milestones in the history of the Danish administration and planning system, which influenced to the largest extent the planning and decision-making procedures. The first milestone was in 1970, when the planning reform was introduced in 1970, and its implementation lasted until 1977 (Katz, 1988). One of the main cause of this reform was the rapid population growth and migration especially to Copenhagen, which left the smaller cities behind the Danish capital in the development, and economic growth (Galland, 2012). The aim of the reform was to establish:

*“[a] spatial coordination through a hierarchy of plans occurring at multiple scales and a certain degree of horizontal and vertical integration of policies across sectors and jurisdictions.”*

(Enemark, 2016, p. 3)

The figure below represents the four-tier planning system, which was established in the 70's. The reform's main idea was that the plans on different levels cannot confront the plans on a higher hierarchical level, thereby create controlled and hierarchical environment in the planning system (Enemark, 2016).

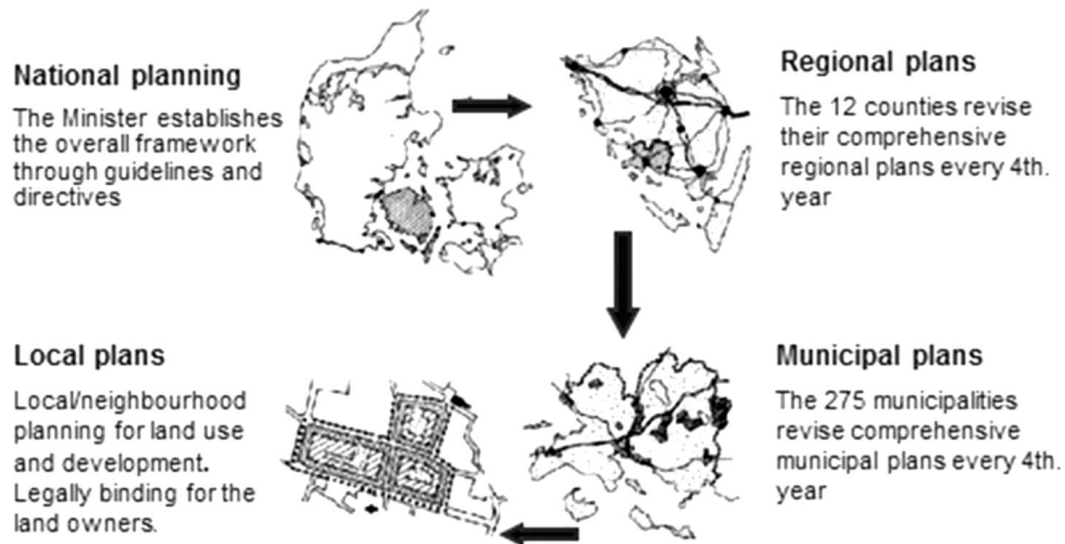


Figure 4.4. – Principle of framework control (Enemark, 2016, p. 3)

The second major change, which resulted in the transformation of the Danish planning system was owing to the Structural Reform in 2007 (Andersen, 2008; Galland, 2012). The 275 municipalities were merged into 98 municipalities, which also provided more responsibility and power to the local authorities, since their administrative boundaries were reduced. Furthermore, the 12 counties were also abolished, and reorganized into 5 regions, but most of the responsibilities of the counties were relocated to the municipalities (Andersen, 2008). On the figure below, it can be seen, that the municipalities and the state has been the key actors since the reform took place in many fields.

1970 reform	2007 reform
<b>State</b> Security, police, foreign policy, legislation. Guidelines for education, social and health services, environmental concern. Check on local governments.	<b>State</b> Security, police, foreign policy, legislation. Guidelines and policy goals for local governments services–check on local government performances.
<b>Counties</b> Regional functions, education, health services, labour market policy, local economic policy and coordination. Physical planning and environmental issues in relation to rural districts.	<b>Regions</b> Hospital services, public transport and environmental planning coordination.
<b>Municipalities</b> Citizen-related services: education, social and health. Urban planning and development	<b>Municipalities</b> Citizen-related services: Education, culture, social and health. Urban and rural planning and development, labour market policy and local economic policy.

Figure 4.5. - Comparison of the Danish Reforms (Andersen, 2008, p. 11)

This new two-tier arrangement of the Danish planning system is described by The Danish Ministry of the Environment as:

*“a simple and clear planning system with a strong decentralized division of tasks.”* (Roche, 2013, p. 34)

On the other hand, it is worth mentioning, that even though the municipalities has gained more power, than they owned before, the prevailing ideologies and ideas of the government highly affect their work and therefore the urban agenda and the planning processes (Galland, 2012). This is important in terms of the gender-sensitive planning as well, since the state the one, who create policy guidelines for the municipalities, therefore the municipalities have to follow the ideas and ideologies of the recent government.



## 4.5. Gender Mainstreaming in Denmark

The main top-down strategy in relation to gender equality is the Gender Mainstreaming in Denmark as well, nonetheless, there are very few scientific papers can be found about this strategy on the Danish scale (Madsen and Agustín, 2018). The gender mainstreaming in Denmark was introduced as an obligation in the Gender Equality Act in 2000 § 4, in which the responsibility of public authorities is defined to promote and involve the gender perspective and gender equality into all administration and planning processes (Madsen and Agustín, 2018). In spite of the effort to achieve gender equality - as Engberg-Pedersen (2018) describes in his study - it seems, that the definition of gender equality is not clearly clarified in the different policy documents. He (2018) analyzed the *Strategic framework for gender equality, rights and diversity in Danish development cooperation* (2014) released by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which the gender equality is mentioned in three different ways. Firstly, in the document the gender equality can be interpreted as a goal, which should provide equal opportunities for both men and women (Engberg-Pedersen, 2018). The other meaning of gender equality can be understand as the dispute of the male dominance in the society, which is a different approach as the previous one. While the last interpretation destructs the generalization of gender, since it is not a homogenous category, therefore the focus only on gender is not enough to understand the society (Engberg-Pedersen, 2018). The representation of problems in the policies affects what people think is problematic, and what is their understanding about the problem (Bacchi and Eveline, 2010). Therefore, it is crucial to clearly state, what is the meaning, which is attached to gender equality.

Denmark is obliged by different international treaties, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which was adopted by the United Nations in 1979, or the Article 2 and 3 of the Treaty on Europe

Union, which emphasizes the equality between men and women (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019). Furthermore, Denmark was also part of the Nordic Gender Mainstreaming project in the 1990's with other Scandinavian countries, such as Finland, which was launched by the Nordic Council of Ministers (Reeves and Zombori, 2016). Therefore the public authorities are not only obligated by the Danish Gender Equality Act on national scale, but also on the supranational level by international conventions.

The gender mainstreaming was also adopted in the Danish Perspective and Action Plans on Gender Equality (Rolandsen Agustin, 2015), however, these plans did not changed business as usual, and the results were disappointing (Madsen and Agustín, 2018). Therefore the Ministry for Children, Gender Equality, Integration and Social Affairs was introduced a new strategy in 2013. One of the main reason for this new strategy was to foster the implementation of the gender equality into the praxis of public authorities (Madsen and Agustín, 2018).

*“The strategy focuses on enhancing the quality and efficiency of law proposals by gaining in-depth knowledge of the target groups in order to be able to tailor the services covered by the law proposals better. It also emphasizes the need for proportionality, i.e., to incorporate a gender perspective when it is necessary and especially in citizen-related (rather than technical) services, like social affairs or transportation.”* (Rolandsen Agustin, 2015, p. 9)

With this new strategy, a new website was also launched, which contains different tools, that the public authorities can use in order to successfully implement gender mainstreaming assessment (Rolandsen Agustin, 2015). There are also best practices for specific areas, such as education and research, as well as transport-, urban and regional development, which can further guide and inspire the public actors on gender equality (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014). There are several justifications on the website, why is it crucial to adapt the gender mainstreaming assessment into the specific fields, for

instance it emphasizes the importance of gender differences in the development of urban areas and transportation systems.

As it can be seen the gender mainstreaming, or as the new strategy refers to it as gender mainstreaming assessment is an essential part of the Danish effort to implement gender-sensitive planning and policymaking. The aforementioned statement can be verified by the Gender Equality Report (2018), which was produced by Rambøll on behalf of the Danish Ministry for Gender Equality, obliged by the Gender Equality Act. Furthermore, all the municipalities and the different departments of the state need to create a Gender Equality Report in every other year in accordance with the Gender Equality Act § 5. This report represents, that 78-83 percent of all 98 municipalities have been agreed on the lack of policies and goals to promote and work on gender equality in the selected departments (see figure below).

	Politik		Målsætninger		Hverken politik eller målsætninger	
	2015 pct. (antal)	2017 pct. (antal)	2015 pct. (antal)	2017 pct. (antal)	2015 pct. (antal)	2017 pct. (antal)
Beskæftigelse og integration	18 pct. (17)	15 pct. (15)	12 pct. (11)	11 pct. (11)	76 pct. (72)	80 pct. (78)
Børn og unge	17 pct. (16)	16 pct. (16)	6 pct. (6)	10 pct. (10)	79 pct. (75)	79 pct. (77)
Uddannelse, herunder folkeskole	14 pct. (13)	14 pct. (14)	8 pct. (8)	11 pct. (11)	80 pct. (76)	79 pct. (77)
Kultur, fritid og turisme	11 pct. (10)	13 pct. (13)	7 pct. (7)	11 pct. (11)	83 pct. (79)	79 pct. (77)
Socialområdet	15 pct. (14)	12 pct. (12)	8 pct. (8)	9 pct. (9)	81 pct. (77)	82 pct. (80)
Ældreområdet	14 pct. (13)	12 (12 pct.)	4 pct. (4)	13 pct. (13)	81 pct. (77)	79 pct. (77)
Teknik og miljø	11 pct. (10)	11 pct. (11)	4 pct. (4)	9 pct. (9)	86 pct. (82)	83 pct. (81)
Administration og digitalisering	12 pct. (11)	13 pct. (13)	4 pct. (4)	7 pct. (7)	85 pct. (81)	83 pct. (81)
Sundhed og forebyggelse	-	11 pct. (11)	-	14 pct. (14)	-	78 pct. (76)

Figure 4.6. – Gender Equality Report (Rambøll, 2018, p. 37)

It can be seen that, despite the new strategy and the international influence, the Danish reforms on gender awareness are not successfully integrated into the state or municipal level (Rolandsen Agustin, 2015; Dahlerup, 2018). This can cause the lack of gender perspective in the developments of new urban and transportation projects in Denmark.

It can be concluded, that through the Literature review, several consequences of the lack of gender perspective in the decision-making and urban planning processes have been revealed, which have contributed to the segregation of women in the context of Europe. On the other hand, there are some exemplary methods from European municipalities, which have aimed to change business as usual, and decrease the discrimination through urban planning and related policies. These changes require strong political background, and gender sensitive mindset, which are also necessary in order to increase the gender awareness on the Danish scale. However, according to the data - which was collected through the Literature review - the Danish Municipalities have the potential to integrate the gender perspective in the planning process and in the urban agenda in theory. Since the Gender Mainstreaming strategy provides them a framework and varied tools, and the Planning Act has ensured more power to the Municipalities since 2007. Although, since there is limited amount of literature on the gender-sensitive urban planning in Denmark, it is not clear to what extent the gender perspective is implemented. Therefore, the next chapter will aim to get a more complex knowledge of how the gender awareness take place in the Danish urban planning - with the application of the feminist theory.

## 5. ANALYSIS

As it was stated in the Theoretical Framework (see chapter 3.4) the structure of analyzing the empirical data derives from the three different dichotomies from a feminist perspective, which were described by Snyder (1995). Thus, this chapter is organized as the following:

- Theory and Practice
- Knowledge and Experience
- Private and Public

The aforementioned dualities can help to reveal, how the gender perspective appears in the Danish urban planning, and it can contribute to further discuss the barriers, which restrict its implementation. In these three sections, the collected empirical data will be analyzed through the interviews with Lissandrello, Jørgensen, Hyldig and Andersen, as well as through the literature review in order to answer the following sub-question:

*What are some of the dominant characteristics of the Danish urban planning in regards to the gender perspective?*

### 5.1. Theory and Practice

In this section, the empirical data is analyzed in order to acknowledge, to what extent the gender perspective is involved into the planning practice, and whether the urban planners have a gender-sensitive mindset in the Danish municipalities. In this sense, the ‘theory’ refers to that *“many practicing planners, ideals of justice or equity are real, but are not often manifested in the actual practice within planning departments for a number of reasons.”* (Snyder, 1995, p. 99)

On the other hand, 'practice' means, that the gender perspective is part of the urban agenda due to policies and strategies, but it is not necessary embedded into the planners' mindset. The ideal case from the feminist perspective in terms of the gender-sensitive urban planning would be, if the theory and practice reflected on each other, and therefore, it would be able to influence and improve each other (Snyder, 1995).

As it was already stated by Madsen and Agustín (2018) the Gender Mainstreaming is the main top-down strategy, which the Danish public authorities need to implement into all of their administration as well as planning processes. This means, that the gender perspective needs to be involved into the urban planning. However, as Lissandrello (2019) - who is working together with planners from Aalborg Municipality - mentioned in the interview:

*"I do not think there is a specific guideline or specific rule about how we can include gender issues into a plan [in Denmark]. What I can see on the European examples is, that is more top-down in the sense, that there is a lot of discussion on the policy level about the differences, about the gender equality."*

As it was written in the Literature Review (see chapter 4), the European Institute for Gender Equality (2016) created a tool kit, in which different methods are involved, in order to help the work of planners from municipalities to apply the gender perspective into the decision-making and planning process. In spite of the Gender Mainstreaming Strategy and the aforementioned tool kit, Lissandrello (2019) states, that it is not always obvious for the municipal planners, in which way the gender issues can be included into the planning process. However, there are good examples from Europe, where the Gender Mainstreaming has been implemented successfully, such as in Vienna (Damyanovic, Reinwald and Weikmann, 2013). This example represents, that the gender-sensitive planning from top-down approach is achievable on the municipal level. One of the crucial step to ensure the gender awareness in the planning process was to employ gender

experts into the Planning and Building Construction department of Vienna Municipality, who can supervise the adequate implementation of the gender perspective into all level of the planning process (Damyanovic, Reinwald and Weikmann, 2013). However, during the interview with Jørgensen (2019) it became clear, that there is no expert in the Copenhagen Municipality, who is working directly with gender perspective. Nevertheless, Copenhagen is not the only Municipality in Denmark, where the gender perspective is neglected in the planning and decision-making processes. Similar answer were given by the City and Culture Administration of Odense Municipality:

*“This subject is not a part of our planning in Odense, so unfortunately, we are not able to help you [...].”* (Office Manager of Urban Development, 2019)

This statement can be connected to the Gender Equality Report (Rambøll, 2018), which represents, that the majority of employees from the Municipalities of Denmark are aware of the lack of attention and priority on the gender perspective in several departments. Jørgensen (2019) also mentioned, that there were suggestions from some of the planners from Copenhagen Municipality in order to involve the gender perspective into the planning in 2015. However, the Mayor of the Technical and Environmental Administration was against the idea to have a specific gender perspective. According to Jørgensen (2019) the Danish policies and strategies also rather focus on the sexual minorities, than gender, which is for instance the main focus of the *Perspective and Action Plan* from the Minister for Equal Opportunities (2018). Moreover, Jørgensen (2019) also points out the common belief among the municipal planners, which is that:

*“Gender equality is not an issue as much in Denmark, we got that covered basically. So the logic is that we got that covered, and we don’t have to deal with it anymore.”*

In this sense, there is a dichotomy, which can be found among planners in the Municipalities. On the one hand they are aware of the lack of gender perspective. On the

other hand, they do not believe, that the gender inequality is a major problem in Denmark.

However, this belief is contradictory with the results of the survey - which was already stated in the Problem Area (see chapter 2) - and claims that Denmark ended up on the 13<sup>th</sup> place of the Global Gender Gap Report last year (2018), which is a fall back compared to the 8<sup>th</sup> place in 2006. In accordance with these results, Andersen (2019) also believes, that gender inequality is still an issue in Denmark, on the other hand this problem have been neglected in the media and in politics for decades.

The next section will analyze the urban planning in the context of Denmark from the perspective of the municipal planner's knowledge and the residents' experience in the light of feminist theory.

## **5.2. Knowledge and Experience**

During the conducted interviews, other important aspect emerged, which can affect the gender perspective, namely the main focus on public interest in the Danish urban planning. According to the Mayor of the Technical and Environmental Administration in Copenhagen (Jørgensen, 2019) - in order to create a universal urban space - the city should be for everyone instead of taking care of a particular interest. In addition, Lissandrello (2019) believes, that only focusing on the gender perspective can exclude other social groups. This standpoint is in contradiction with the concept of the gender-sensitive urban planning, which does not only take into account the needs of women, but also paying attention on the perspectives and needs of diverse social groups (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992). On the other hand, the nature of public interest, which is the focus of Danish urban planning is distorted, and difficult to define, therefore, it can result in the exclusion of varied social groups (Allmendinger, 2017). Furthermore, as Jørgensen (2019) stated, the



exclusion of particular social groups can also stem from the uniform social backgrounds of the actors, for example planners and architects. Since these experts are usually coming from the same middle-class socio-economic background and have major influence on the urban development.

*“One of the pitfalls to making universal planning design is to make assumptions about what people need and how their life looks like.” (Jørgensen, 2019)*

In this manner, these experts from the same social and cultural background usually have similar perspectives and approaches, which can result in the overlooking of specific needs of diverse citizens in the planning process.

Therefore, in order to avoid planning for one specific social group, it is necessary to involve citizens from varied social backgrounds, and empower their participation in the different stages of planning process (Ortiz Escalante and Gutiérrez Valdivia, 2015). As it was already stated in the Methodology (see chapter 3), the expert role of the planners are often more significant, than the reality of citizens in the planning process:

*“This duality privileges scientific and technical knowledge over personal and grounded experience, granting greater authority, credibility, and legitimacy to the former. Experts, such as planners, have knowledge; the rest of us, the public, have experience.” (Snyder, 1995, p. 100)*

Since the residents are, who experience the neighbourhood on a daily basis, therefore the feminist theory emphasizes the importance of their experiences and opinions in order to provide a complex picture about the urban area. Based on the experience of Col·lectiu Punt 6, the feminist organization in Barcelona (Ortiz Escalante and Gutiérrez Valdivia, 2015), the gender-sensitive planning and the involvement of more female residents into an urban development project is not only beneficial for women, but also for people from different socio-economic, age as well as ethnic groups. Jørgensen (2019) also emphasized the importance of participatory planning in the conducted interview, where he claimed,

that the responsibility of municipal planners is not to speak on the behalf of women in the planning process, but to provide them a platform, where they allowed to express their own needs.

Therefore, in order to get a comprehensive and reliable knowledge, what are the needs of the public - which also involves the gender awareness - it is important to include as diverse gender, age, social groups as possible into the hearings (Beall, 1996; Ortiz Escalante and Gutiérrez Valdivia, 2015). Thus, to create an inclusive city for everyone, and avoid the exclusion of specific social groups, the planners need to acknowledge the differences of the residents and plan for 'multiple publics' (Snyder, 1995). For instance, due to the increased rate of migration, the Danish planners need to pay more attention to take into consideration the experiences of women from varied ethnical and cultural background.

*"When we talk about women, we not only talking about Danish women, we talk about women in general, also from different cultural background."* (Lissandrello, 2019)

In Denmark, the participation of residents is ensured by the Municipalities through public hearings, for instance the comprehensive municipal plans are sent to hearings, so the residents have at least eight weeks to express their ideas and opinions about the plans (Enemark, 2016; Jørgensen, 2019). As Lissandrello (2019) pointed out, the dialogues and storytelling has a crucial role in the public hearings, which can help the planners to understand the planning process as more a social, than a technical activity. The storytelling and usage of narratives are also popular methods among feminist planners, whose aim is to avoid the technical and professional language in order to get a better understanding of the citizens' reality (Listerborn, 2008). In theory, it is clear, which methods and approaches are needed for the municipal planners in order to ensure the gender perspective and plan for 'multiple public'. On the other hand, in practice the planners need to face several challenges during the planning process, such as the way to

successfully engage the residents, or to overcome the language and cultural barriers between the planners and the 'public'.

According to Lissandrello (2019) the involvement of female planners is an efficient way to ensure the gender perspective in an urban development, since they have more social sensitivity, than the male planners.

*"In Denmark, there are a lot of female planners, and I think this is a good thing, and I would say it should not be taken for granted. Because in many countries is not obvious, for example in Italy where I come from, or in the Netherlands, it is not that obvious, that there are so many women, who sit in the planning department."*

This point of view is different from the mindset of Larsson (2006), as well as Sandercock and Forsyth (1992) who believes, that only the involvement of more female planners cannot guarantee the gender perspective in the urban planning. In a similar vein, only the planners' knowledge cannot ensure to create an inclusive city for 'multiple publics', without the experience of the varied group of residents in the planning process.

### **5.3. Private and Public**

As it was stated in the previous section, the residents' input is inevitable in the different stages of the planning process in order to create an urban area, which is livable and inclusive for diverse groups of citizens. The focus on public interest and the participatory planning is one of the main characteristics of the Danish urban planning (Lissandrello, 2019; Jørgensen, 2019). Therefore, it can be assumed, if the urban areas are planned with the involvement of the public, then it results in inclusive public spaces for diverse social groups. However, according to feminist researchers the urban spaces have been shaped

in a gendered way, which caused the association of public as the men's space, and the private as the women's space (Hayden, 1980; Bondi, 1998). Based on the experiences of Lissandrello (2019), this phenomenon can also be found in the context Denmark:

*"The public space is namely the space for men in the sense, that the men are the ones that in general find normal to meet and spend time in the public space."*

Therefore, the object of this section is to analyze how the dichotomy between the public and private sphere from the feminist stance take place in Denmark. As Lissandrello and Hyldig (2019) pointed out during the interviews, women use the public areas in the cities less frequently, than men. Lissandrello (2019) continues, that women in Denmark have a mental obstacle to approach the public spaces as the same way as men. This mental obstacle can derive from the gendered structure of the public spaces, which make the female residents less safe and welcome there:

*"The ideal of separate spheres also reverberates through moral judgments made about the behavior of women and men in "public" spaces—for example, in relation to discussions of "stranger danger," which often suggest that women have less right than men to occupy outdoor urban spaces."* (Bondi, 1998, p. 64)

The feeling of unsafety in the public spaces plays a crucial part in how women use the built environment, for instance men rather use the public space to meet with new people and to interact also in a more spontaneous way (Lissandrello, 2019). On the other hand, women often go to the public space with a friend, and they do not intend to trigger new social interaction. Since it is a space, which is not formed in a way to ensure the feeling of safety for women (Lissandrello, 2019). This phenomenon can cause the exclusion of women from the public space and create gender inequality in the built environment. Additionally, this spatial expression of gender inequality can influence the mental and physical health of women on a long term (Hyldig, 2019; Lissandrello 2019). In this manner,

the gender perspective needs to be prioritized in the planning process in order to create a safe urban environment for diverse group of citizens. According to Hyldig (2019), the reason why less women are using the public spaces is not only the matter of safety, but the lack of gender perspective in the urban design:

*“Studies have shown, that outdoor installations for physical activities and play grounds primarily are used by boys/men and that differences in interests between genders have not been implemented in the design.”*

In this manner, there are many different aspects, which are needed to be taken into consideration by varied actors – planners, decision-makers, architects etc - to ensure the gender equality in the built environment.

### **Conclusion of the Analysis**

The analysis of the empirical data in the light of the feminist theory has assisted to get a clearer picture of what extent the gender perspective takes place in the Danish urban planning, and in the praxis of municipal planners. As it was claimed at the beginning of this chapter, the analysis seeks to answer the sub-question:

*What are some of the dominant characteristics of the Danish urban planning in regards to the gender perspective?*

The following table presents, some of the main characteristics of the urban planning from the gender perspective, which were found throughout the Analysis:

<b>Theory and Practice</b>	<b>Knowledge and Experience</b>	<b>Private and Public</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Uncertainty about the tools of Gender Mainstreaming</li> <li>○ Lack of gender perspective in the urban agenda</li> <li>○ No gender experts at municipalities</li> <li>○ Belief in gender inequality is not a problem in Denmark</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Misconception about gender-sensitive urban planning</li> <li>○ Challenges to involve diverse social groups</li> <li>○ The idea of female planners guarantee the gender perspective</li> <li>○ Plan for the 'public'</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Gendered public spaces</li> <li>○ Feeling of unsafety in public spaces</li> <li>○ Exclusion of women</li> <li>○ Gender-blind urban design</li> </ul>

*Table 5.1. - The main characteristics related to gender perspective in Danish urban planning*

Through the analysis of the empirical data, it became clear, how the dualities from the feminist theory manifested in the Danish urban planning. In terms of the 'Theory and Practice', even though the planners are aware of the lack of gender perspective in the Municipalities, it is not embedded in the mindset of planners. Furthermore, despite the Gender Equality Act and the strategy of Gender Mainstreaming - which provides a framework for the municipal planners to implement the gender perspective – the gender equality is not a priority in the national and local government. Nevertheless, the political agenda has a great influence on the work of planners. In other words, neither the Theory, nor the Practice of gender-sensitive planning is present in the Danish urban planning. In regards to the 'Knowledge and Experience', the Danish planners are focusing on the public interest in the planning process, thus, in order to get a better understanding about the experiences of citizens, they promote the residents' participation. On the other hand, the participatory planning and the increased number of female planners do not guarantee the gender awareness in the planning process, which will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Based on the collected empirical data, the gender inequality has been manifested in the Danish urban environment. This inequality can be seen as the result of the lack of gender perspective, which is present as the distinction between the 'Private and Public' spaces, where the public spaces are designed for and used mostly by men.

Thus, the objective of the next chapter is to discuss, where the dominant characteristics of the Danish urban planning - which were uncovered throughout the Analysis - have derived from. In other words, what are the main barriers, which cause the lack of gender awareness in the urban planning process of Danish Municipalities.

## 6. DISCUSSION

The analysis of the collected empirical data through the feminist theory has contributed to reveal the current situation in terms of the gender awareness in the urban planning in Denmark. In addition, it shows the gender inequality exists in the built environment, even in Denmark, which is considered as an exemplary country with regards to gender equality (Dahlerup, 2018). This finding of the analysis also proves, the gender perspective is a low priority in the urban planning, and there is still room for improvement related to gender equality in the urban environment. As it was also stated by Greed and Reeves (2005), there are different barriers, which can obstruct the involvement of gender perspective in the urban planning. Therefore, the next step is to seek, where does the neglect of gender perspective derive from, and what are those dominant barriers, which restrain its implementation into the urban planning practice. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to answer this research question:

*What are some of the main barriers, which restrain the greater implementation of the gender perspective into the practice of urban planning in Danish Municipalities?*

In order to answer this question, the different characteristics, which were found in the Analysis were organized in three sections:



<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Challenges to involve diverse social groups</li> <li>○ Plan for the 'public'</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Misconception of gender-sensitive urban planning</li> <li>○ The idea of female planners guarantee the gender perspective</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Uncertainty about the tools of Gender Mainstreaming</li> <li>○ Lack of gender perspective in the urban agenda</li> <li>○ No gender experts at municipalities</li> <li>○ Belief in gender inequality is not a problem in Denmark</li> </ul>
<b>Focus on the public interest</b>	<b>Lack of knowledge of gender-sensitive urban planning</b>	<b>Lack of political and media attention</b>

*Table 6.1. - Three main obstacles to achieve gender-sensitive urban planning*

Some of the main characteristics of the Danish urban planning from the gender perspective is divided into three sections, based on the three main reasons, which they stem from. The table was formulated based on the answers of interviewees. These three sections can be interpreted as the main barriers, which are responsible for the maintenance of gender-neutral planning in Denmark:

- Focus on the public interest
- Lack of knowledge of gender-sensitive planning
- Lack of political and media attention

## 6.1. Focus on the public interest

During the interviews with Jørgensen and Lissandrello (2019) one of the most frequently mentioned topics was the public interest as a main focus in the Danish urban planning. According to the interviewees, the goal of this approach is to create an inclusive city for

every citizen from diverse social backgrounds without the focus on specific social groups. On the other hand, as Lissandrello (2019) stated, the public interest also means to focus on the needs of women, even though the gender perspective is not explicitly part of the mindset of planners:

*“Because inclusivity, we have to take care about the vulnerable groups, who are there, and you got quickly about the women as well.”*

This way of thinking is in contrary with the standpoint of many scholars, who criticizes the public interest due to its exclusive nature (Moroni, 2004; Damyanovic and Zibell, 2013; Beebejaun, 2017). The focus on public interest can also be called as a gender-neutral or gender-blind approach. As the Mayor of Technical and Environmental Administration in Copenhagen said, it does not pay particular attention on specific social groups, but it focuses on the needs of everyone. In spite of the focus on inclusivity, as it was revealed by the interviewees, the gender inequality has emerged in the urban environment, such as the exclusion of women from the public spaces, the predominance of urban design for men or the insufficient number of public restrooms for women in the city (Hyldig, 2019; Lissandrello, 2019). In this manner, the gender-neutrality and public interest means, that the gender perspective has not been sufficiently taken into account in the urban planning by the planners and decision-makers.

Thus, the standpoint of public interest can raise some question, such as how it can be decided on what is the interest of the public? Since the society does not consist of uniform group of citizens, but diverse people from different age, gender, cultural and socio-economic background (Beall, 1996). Therefore it is very difficult to define what is the common interest of citizens, since their experience and needs differ from each other. In Denmark, owing to the Planning Act, the municipal planners need to organize public hearings in order to provide a platform for the citizens, where they can contribute and share their perspectives about the urban development (Enemark, 2016; Jørgensen, 2019).

Since the public consist of diverse groups of people, therefore in order to get a comprehensive and reliable picture about what are the needs of the citizens, it is important to involve as diverse group of people as possible, which can be definitely a challenging process for planners.

*"It [public hearing] complicates planning practice, interferes with efficiency, and opens up difficult questions of who may be invited to the table and what weight may be assigned to their words."*(Snyder, 1995, p. 102)

As the quote refers to it above, the planners decide on who they invite to the hearings, thus, whose voice is taken into account in the planning process. In this sense, the planners have a major role to decide on what the public interest is throughout the invitation of citizens from particular social backgrounds. The participatory planning can provide platform for the citizens to express their thoughts and needs, and the planners through storytelling and narratives can better understand the residents' reflections (Lissandrello, 2019). Thus, this approach can assist the planners to avoid the exclusion of specific social groups as a result of the urban development. On the other hand, the involvement of citizens through the participatory planning does not necessary guarantee the gender awareness, as it can be experienced in Denmark. Therefore, if the planners do not take into account the gender perspective and do not have a gender-sensitive mindset, the gender-awareness cannot be guaranteed to become the part of the planning process. In other words, the planners without the gender perspective in their mind, will not focus on the inclusion of sufficient numbers of female residents, from diverse age, cultural and social background into the hearings. This can cause inequality and the exclusion of different social groups in the planning process, and in the built environment of the city, which phenomenon can be seen in the Danish capital:

*“There is a problem about having strategies to make Copenhagen for everybody. But a lot of ways as the city is transformed is going to the opposite direction, towards more narrow defined, what it means to be a city.” (Jørgensen, 2019)*

Therefore, in order to integrate the gender perspective in the planning process, the planners need to learn the importance of the ‘gender’ in the built environment, as well as what can the gender-sensitive urban planning provide for the society.

## **6.2. Lack of knowledge on gender-sensitive planning**

As it was mentioned above, the planners have the responsibility to ensure the gender perspective in the planning process, for instance through the public hearings. However, during the interviews with Lissandrello and Jørgensen (2019), who are working with municipal planners, it has become clear, that there are misunderstandings among the planners about what the gender-sensitive urban planning actually means. Thus, it can be one of the reasons, why the gender perspective is neglected in the Danish planning process, since the planners have an unclear and ambiguous idea about it.

The first misconception is about the exclusive nature of the gender perspective, additionally, this issue was raised several times by Lissandrello (2019). However, as it was already stated by Sandercock and Forsyth (1992) the aim of gender-sensitive urban planning is not to exclude every social groups, except women from the planning process, or create an urban environment, which can be used only by women. According to several scholars, the gender perspective can facilitate lively, safe and healthy cities, with the safe and accessible public spaces and public transport, green areas, playgrounds, public sport facilities etc (Damyanovic, Reinwald and Weikmann, 2013; Horelli, 2017). These

developments are beneficial for women, men, children and elderly from different cultural and socio-economic background. Moreover the inclusive city as a positive outcome of the gender-sensitive urban planning can be recognized on the development of Vienna.

The other misbelief is, that the involvement of female planners guarantees the gender awareness in the planning process. As Lissandrello (2019) said, there are many female planners in Denmark, on the other hand the gender inequality still present in the built environment. Furthermore, she as a female planner also has doubts on focusing on the gender perspective in the planning process, which represents, that female planners do not necessary have a gender-sensitive mindset. On the other hand, the misinterpretation of the concept of gender-sensitivity is not the only issue, which was raised by the interviewees. The other problem is, the uncertainty, which methods can be used to promote the gender awareness, and how the gender perspective can be included into the planning practice (Lissandrello, 2019). This dilemma can also be the result of the deficiency of education and expertise on the gender awareness in the planning, as it was already pointed out by Snyder and Beall (1995; 1996). Therefore, in order to ensure the gender perspective in the planning process, it needs to become part of the planners' mindset, in other words, behind the practice needs to be a theory.

*"We should embed the gender dynamics into what planning means nowadays, and how we understand planning."* (Lissandrello, 2019)

Even though the gender perspective is currently not sufficiently embedded into the mindset of planners, this can be changed through the training and education of planners and decision-makers. The training in gender is also part of the toolkit for Gender Mainstreaming, which was created by the European Institute for Gender Equality (2016). Nevertheless, it has not been applied in the practice of planning in the Municipalities of Denmark. In this manner, the education seems as an inevitable step towards the greater inclusion of gender-sensitivity into the Danish planning practice.

### 6.3. Lack of political and media attention

The planners' mindset is not only influenced by the lack of education and training in gender awareness and gender equality, but also by the representation of the problem by the politicians and the media. Through the Analysis, it has emerged, that the planners have not perceived the gender inequality as a real problem in Denmark. In accordance with the gender equality in Danish strategies, as Engberg-Pedersen (2018) stated, the policies have an important role, how the problems are perceived in the society, and they need to clearly state the different issues. Therefore the politicians have a crucial role to communicate certain problems, and raise awareness on current issues, such as gender inequality, and what its effects are on the society. As it was also pointed out by Borchrost and Siim (2008), the gender inequality has been neglected in the Danish political agenda for decades. Thus, the misbelief about gender inequality can also stem from the insufficient representation of the gender issues in the media, and its low priority in the political agenda (Andreassen, 2005; Larsson, 2006). This thought is also affirmed by Andersen (2019):

*"I think the reason is that the Danish politicians and media have rested on the laurels since the 1970's."*

This means, that even though the Gender Mainstreaming provides tools and framework to implement the gender perspective into the practice of planners, without the political and financial support from the government, and the promotion of the problem, it cannot be successfully applied into the planning practice. This can be also the reason, why the interviewed planners have uncertain knowledge about the gender mainstreaming strategy (Lissandrello, 2019), since it is not promoted adequately by the government.

However, according to Jørgensen (2019), changing business as usual can also come from the Municipalities. They have more power and responsibilities, due to the Danish

Planning Act from 2007, than they owned before this reform (Galland, 2012). In this sense, the municipalities have the power to define the visions and plans of a city, which could foster the implementation of gender perspective into the urban planning.

*“At the moment financial and political pressure on the municipality, so they focus on get the case done without spend so much time on it.” (Jørgensen, 2019)*

On the other hand, as this quote represents, the government has a major influence on the work of the Municipalities. Thus, even though the local governments are responsible for the urban developments, the goals of the state are pivotal in shaping the urban environment. This means that, even though the planners and decision-makers are aware of the lack of gender perspective at the municipalities - as the survey of Rambøll (2018) also proved - they cannot act on their own to integrate gender-sensitive methods. For instance they cannot hire experts of gender equality at the different departments, as it was done by Vienna Municipality, or they cannot initiate workshops or exploratory walks in the neighbourhoods for female residents as it has been carried out in Barcelona (Damyanovic, Reinwald and Weikmann, 2013; Ortiz Escalante and Gutiérrez Valdivia, 2015). All of these initiatives can contribute to the greater implementation of gender awareness into the planning, but due to the restricted finances and focus on other political goals - such as the climate crisis or the immigration (Nielsen, 2017) - they cannot be accomplished. Which means, even though the planners are aware of the absence of gender perspective in the planning process, they cannot undertake the necessary steps to achieve gender-sensitive urban planning.

From another perspective, the planners themselves can be seen as the obstacles in the context of Denmark, since they believe, the gender inequality is not an urgent issue, as it was already claimed by Jørgensen (2019). Thus, it is not guaranteed, that with the sufficient financial support from the state, the gender perspective will be the part of the planning process, since it is not perceived as a problem on the first place. This issue can

also stem from the media, which has been not sufficiently communicating about the gender related issues in the last decades (Hyldig, 2019; Andersen, 2019).

Therefore, the media has an important role in order to raise awareness on the gender issues and communicate relating problems. However, based on the common mindset of planners and decision-makers about the gender issues, it seems, that the media failed in these tasks.

*“This news communication contributed to the hegemonic discourse of gender equality as an integrated part of Danish society and actively participated in maintaining this hegemony.”*

(Andreassen, 2005, p. 210)

The reason why the media and the politicians are not raising awareness on the gender inequality can be connected to the so-called ‘Kitchen table society’ (Freudendal-Pedersen, 2014). This idea refers to a society, like Denmark, which is known as a pioneer, modern and gender equal country. Therefore, giving attention to problems, like inequality in the political agenda or in the media, and acknowledge these issues, would mean to question the ideal image of Denmark:

*“So the logic would be there, that people do not want to make it a gender issues, because then they would admitting, that we still have some way to go in equality [...]”* (Jørgensen, 2019)

Furthermore, it is also needed to keep in mind, that the different political parties represent different political programs, which shapes the political agenda. And the politicians can be replaced from election to election, which means even though the recent government is not paying attention on the gender issues, the next one can prioritize it. On the other hand, if the residents are not well-informed, and aware of the gender issues through the media, they will not vote for parties, which aim to tackle these problems. In this sense, overcoming this obstacle and change business as usual seems as a vicious circle.



As a result, this chapter has aimed to answer the research question:

*What are some of the main barriers, which restrain the greater implementation of the gender perspective into the practice of urban planning in Danish Municipalities?*

Moreover, in this chapter all of the three barriers - focus on the public interest, lack of knowledge of gender-sensitive planning, lack of political and media attention – are detailed and connected to the aforementioned characteristics of the Danish urban planning. It has been revealed, that all of the barriers contributed to a great extent to keep doing business as usual, namely prioritize the gender-neutral planning and does not pay enough attention to the gender perspective. In order to successfully involve the gender perspective into the practice of urban planners in the context of Danish Municipalities, there are significant changes needed in the planning system, which can be only achieved with the united efforts of varied actors from the education system, the politics, and public sphere.

## 7. CONCLUSION

This chapter aims to summarize the findings of the project and thus presents the conclusion of the research process. As it was described at the beginning of the project, Denmark is acclaimed as a country, where the gender equality is known as a deeply embedded part of the society. However, according to different surveys, Denmark has been lagging behind the other Scandinavian countries in terms of gender equality in the last years. Furthermore, the gender related issues also have been neglected in the political agenda in the context of Denmark. Therefore, an extensive literature review was carried out to obtain an understanding of gender equality and more specifically of gender-sensitive urban planning. Through the literature review, it turned out there is lack of academic attention on the gender perspective in the Danish context of urban planning. This idea was also strengthened by the several failed attempts to conduct interviews with urban planners, architects and consultants, who refused to answer in relation to the subject of study. Thus, one of the aims of the research was to fill this gap of knowledge with the help of conducted interviews, which could help to get a clearer picture to what extent the gender perspective is prioritized in the practice of planning. Furthermore, the empirical data could contribute to seek the barriers, which restrain the greater implementation of gender-sensitive urban planning in Denmark. The literature review shed light on the essential role of 'gender' in the formulation of urban environment, and how the gendered urban spaces affect the residents' life and well-being. In addition, it provided an overview on how the different governments and municipalities from Europe approach the gender issues, and aim to find solutions for it in the urban agenda. These best practices, which can be found in the case of Vienna and Barcelona can provide exemplary methods to follow for the municipalities of Denmark. Undoubtedly, in order to change business as usual and tackle the gender issues, which are linked to the planning

practice, unified efforts are required. However, the first step in finding the right solutions is to determine those obstacles, which restrain the accomplishment of gender-sensitive urban planning.

The analysis of the interviews - in the light of the feminist theory - helped to identify the main characteristics of the urban planning, which are connected to the gender perspective. Even though gender inequality is manifested in the urban environment - such as the gendered public spaces, where women feel excluded and unsafe - several urban planners still believe, that gender inequality is not an issue in Denmark. They also have ambiguous ideas about the concept of gender-sensitivity in the practice of planning. In addition, the methods of gender mainstreaming, which aim to promote the gender equality on the municipal level, such as the training of planners and decision-makers, or hiring gender experts to the municipal departments are not implemented.

These characteristics can be seen as the results of planning for the public interest, the inadequate knowledge of gender-sensitivity among planners, and the lack of political and media attention on the gender issues. These barriers are all interlinked and related to each other, and involve varied actors from the political-, education- and planning system.

The aim of the project is not to seek solutions for these barriers, but to provide a more complex picture about Danish urban planning in terms of the gender perspective. However, the project can support further investigations and studies in the field of gender-sensitive urban planning in the Danish context, which aim to find solutions for the previously mentioned obstacles. Since this project is an exploratory study, it does not give a detailed insight into each discovered barriers, but provides a comprehensive picture of them. Therefore, this research can be a good point of departure for studies in the future, whose objective is to analyze and give a more detailed picture about each obstacle - for instance observing the relation between the education of planners and the lack of gender perspective in the practice of planning.

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## 9. APPENDIX

### Enza Lissandrello – Interview Guide

(25/04-2019)

1. How long are you working in the field of urban planning?
2. Have you ever worked with gender-equality or gender-sensitive urban planning in any project?
  - a. What was your experiences? How did it work out?
3. What does the gender-perspective in urban planning or (in the urban design) mean to you? How can planners ensure the gender perspective in the planning process?
  - a. Can these elements be part of the planning process, without the focus on the gender perspective?
  - b. Do you think the gender perspective is needed in urban planning practice?
4. The gender-sensitive urban planning is the main focus in Swedish, or Austrian urban agenda. Was the gender-equality ever in the focus in Danish urban planning?
5. According to different articles, the Gender Mainstreaming is the main top-down strategy not only on the European, but also on the Danish level. The Danish Gender Equality Act is stated that: *“Public authorities shall within their respective areas of responsibility seek to promote gender equality and incorporate gender equality in all planning and administration”*.
  - a. Based on your experiences as an urban planner, to what extent gender equality is part of urban agenda and planning right now?
    - i. If not much, then why is that?
6. Do municipal planners take gender equality into account in new urban development projects in DK?
  - a. If not, why?

- b. If yes, how do they endure the gender perspective in their practice?
7. What do you think who can change business as usual? Who is responsible for change?
  8. When the public interest is discussed, do you think it should be gender-neutral or the women's and men's need should be considered separately?

### **Ask Greve Jørgensen – Interview Guide**

(03/05-2019)

1. Can you tell me something about your academic and professional background?  
In which position are you working at the municipality?
2. What does gender-sensitive urban planning mean to you? How could you define it?
  - a. Do you think is it important to involve the gender perspective into the planning process?
3. To what extent gender perspective is part of the Danish planning processes?
  - a. If not much, why is that?
4. Have you worked with gender equality in any project at the municipality or at the university?
5. You mentioned in one of your email, that you think the reason of the lack of GP is the focus on the public interest. Can you elaborate on this thought a bit more?
6. According to different articles, the Gender Mainstreaming is the main top-down strategy not only on the European, but also on the Danish level. The Danish Gender Equality Act is stated that: *“Public authorities shall within their respective areas of responsibility seek to promote gender equality and incorporate gender equality in all planning and administration”*.

- a. Is there any department in the municipality whose focus is GE, or a position whose job is to focus on the GP?
- 7. What do you think about the perception of gender equality in DK among planners?
- 8. Do you think there is room for improvement in the urban planning in terms of gender equality? Can you say examples?
  - a. Who is responsible for these changes?

### **Cathrine Borum Hyldig and Siri Bonde Andersen – Interview Guide**

(23/04 and 14/05-2019)

- 1. How would you define gender equality?
- 2. Do you think the gender inequality is still an existing problem in the Danish society?
  - a. If yes, can you tell some examples, how does gender inequality take place in Denmark?
- 3. When the public interest is discussed, do you think it should be gender-neutral or the women's and men's need should be considered separately?
  - a. Can you explain your decision?
- 4. The gender equality is even part of the Denmark Canon, so it is said as the crucial part of the Danish society, still there is lack of focus on gender issues on the academic and political scale in Denmark. What do you think, what are the reasons behind this controversy?

5. Can you see any positive or negative changes, which have been taking place in the recent years in terms of gender related issues, or gender awareness on the Danish political agenda?
6. Whose responsibility is to change business as usual in terms of gender issues in Denmark, and raise awareness on this topic?
7. Which Danish legislations are focusing on gender inequality? Do you think, the current Danish legislations and directives about gender issues are sufficient?
8. According to different articles, the Gender Mainstreaming is the main top-down strategy not only on the European, but also on the Danish level. The Danish Gender Equality Act is stated that: *"Public authorities shall within their respective areas of responsibility seek to promote gender equality and incorporate gender equality in all planning and administration"*.
  - a. To what extent do you think the public authorities take into account and work with gender equality?
  - b. What is your opinion about the Gender Mainstreaming strategy in Denmark?
9. I know, that you are not an urban planner, but you are a woman, who experiences the city life on the daily basis in Copenhagen. Have you experienced any inconvenience related to public areas or public transport as a woman in

Copenhagen? Do you think there is a room for improvement in terms of a more gender sensitive urban planning in Denmark?