



# Gendered Urban Spaces

A case study of the framing of gender in urban planning



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Isabella Westergaard Bregtensted  
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***Participant:***

Isabella Westergaard Bregensted (20173780)

***Supervisor:***

Malene Freudendal-Pedersen

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*“The ordinary practitioners of the city live “down below,” below the thresholds at which visibility begins. They walk - an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, Wandersmänner, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban “text” they write without being able to read it. These practitioners make use of spaces that cannot be seen; their knowledge of them is as blind as that of lovers in each other’s arms”. (de Certeau, 1984, p. 93)*

# Abstract

The urban space represents a scene where gender inequality still plays out. However, the Gender Mainstreaming agenda presented by The European Union, aspires to even out these gendered power disparities, through urban development. Therefore, this project wishes to investigate how different cities push this agenda forward, by doing a multiple case study of Vienna, Umeå and Berlin. Subsequently, looking at tendencies in framing across the cities, and discussing opportunities and challenges related to these. The analysis is carried out by theorizing concepts of gender, equality/equity and justice, through the lens of framing and discourses. This is done with the purpose of seeing how the three cities articulate these concepts in their urban development strategies. Afterwards the cities are compared on each concept, to see tendencies in framing of gender mainstreaming. These tendencies constitute themes that are later on discussed.

The conclusion is twofold, since it both points towards considerations in framing that would help the gender mainstreaming discourse gain momentum, but also raises a critique of the discourse. First and foremost, gender planning must be framed as a tool that challenges path dependent planning practices, instead of viewing it as an “add-on” to existing routines. This is both relevant to the recognition that men and women represent different participation patterns, that gender planning should be seen as an innovative tool rather than a bureaucratic one, and also how the vocabulary must face drastic changes in order to process a new epistemology. At the same time, the concept of gender mainstreaming is critiqued for practicing gender blindness, losing the transformative essence of the concept. A solution could be to integrate the gender concern in the concept of ‘diversity mainstreaming’ instead, to bring focus back to the power disparities between social groups. Here it would be relevant to ensure that gender is still a concern, when looking at different social inequalities within urban spaces.

Keywords: Gender Mainstreaming, gender, equality, equity, justice, framing, discourse, urban space, urban planning, planning practices.

Front page picture: (*Ahlgren et al., 2020*)

# Preface

This master thesis is written as a part of the master programme *Sustainable Cities* at Aalborg University in Copenhagen. It has been carried out in the autumn semester 2022, from September 1st 2022 to January 6th 2023. It thereby concludes five and a half years of study at Aalborg university, including a very giving and inspiring exchange semester at the University of Copenhagen. This will be a period of my life that I will look back on in appreciation of the academic advancements, as well as the social and personal growth.

My personal interest in urban democracy, justice and planning practices works as a driver for this project. It goes hand in hand with the recognition that sustainability is not only a matter of low-carbon energy systems or efficient resource recycling - it is just as much about creating a social structure that is worth sustaining. Sustainable transitions should not happen at the cost of increasing injustices within our cities, and for that reason we need a new perspective on diversity in planning. I hope this project will contribute to this by looking into how urban planning schemes recognise diversity between genders, in order to push forward the gender equality agenda.

# Acknowledgements

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# Introduction

Globally, cities are facing significant challenges related to climate change, safety, water security, inequalities and fragmented governance(Nijkamp & Kourtit, 2013). In order to maintain European cities as knowledge and creativity hubs while also providing liveability, it is of utmost importance to strategically plan the future development focusing on the challenges for European cities(Nijkamp & Kourtit, 2013). One of these challenges is to create cities that embrace diversity. In 1996 the European Union presented the term 'gender mainstreaming'. Ever since, the purpose of this concept has been to ensure that member states integrate a gender equality perspective, by ensuring that both men and women have a voice throughout political processes(Shreeves & Hahnkamper-Vandenbulcke, 2021). The gender equality strategy from 2020 articulates how: *"The core challenges affecting the EU today – including the green and digital transitions and demographic change – all have a gender dimension. The inclusion of a gender perspective in all EU policies and processes is essential to reach the goal of gender equality"*(European Commission, 2020, p. 15) Thereby, member states are working towards an increased gender focus in public policy, hereby also in urban planning.

The urban space represents one of many scenes where gendered inequalities are present. Therefore, it seems essential to look into how the urban space, and more specifically the planning of the urban space, may reproduce gender inequalities. This change in ways of planning may require planners to give up their comfort zone(Nijkamp & Kourtit, 2013), since planners *"must work to change the center of gravity within their field."*(Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992, p. 49).

A significant part of changing this center of gravity in order to plan a 'sustainable city' appears to be the concept of framing, since this ultimately manifests what is worth sustaining and what is not. Framing is based on a normative dimension, and highly dependent on values and beliefs among individuals and social groups. (Mino & Kudo, 2020) In that way framing appears to be strongly related to epistemology, since the framing activates a certain epistemological framework that ends up being definitive for how urban planning can help to increase gender equality. Therefore, it seems relevant to look into different ways of framing gender equality through the urban planning scheme, to ultimately understand the possibilities and barriers that framing brings along for urban planners and for the gender mainstreaming discourse.



## Problem analysis

Terms such as *gender mainstreaming*, *gender planning*, *gender sensitivity* and *gender inclusiveness*, have become increasingly popular among planners and politicians. However, there appears to be a dispute between the uprising of a new gender oriented planning agenda and the traditional planning doctrine, since it is not as easy as expected to integrate new cultural and societal norms based on a gender oriented discourse into the planning regime. It therefore seems essential to assess how urban planning and gender are related, and how the two create either barriers or opportunities for each other in order to enhance the development towards gender equalized cities/'sustainable cities'. It also seems essential to look at what kind of struggles of gender inequality that do play out within the urban space, and how urban planning addresses these.

## Gender and the urban planning regime

According to Sandercock & Forsyth( 1992), one of the main struggles related to integrating gender into urban planning, is that it is rarely related to planning theory. Rather it is seen as a practical concern. A barrier could be that the epistemologies and methodologies within the planning scheme are highly built upon masculine traits, resulting in a blindness to feminist critiques. (Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992)

*"In mainstream planning theory women have scarcely even been seen as subjects of theory. The problem, however, is far more subtle and complex than a simple tradition of exclusion. The paradigms on which planning and theorizing about it have been based are informed by characteristics traditionally associated with the masculine in our society. There is a need to rethink the foundations of the discipline, its epistemology, and its various methodologies. Feminist critiques and feminist literature need to be incorporated into the debates within planning theory."*(Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992, p. 55)

Planning theory is an important cornerstone in the development of gender sensitive planning. Næss (2012) describes how planning theory can be used as a tool for planners to reflect upon their own practices - as well as the limits of their power. Furthermore, he describes how planning differs from the inherited routines, since the situation as of today is different from the situation yesterday. Hence, planning is an iterative process with defined goals for the future. Physical areas must be designed in a way to meet the economical, cultural and social needs of the citizens, and these complexities furthermore complicate the planning process. Discourses and framing seems relevant within the planning field, due to a

strong influence from hegemony, where politicians and planners may have re-produced certain planning processes for so long that the rationales are no longer questioned. (Næss, 2012) This appears significantly important when looking into the implementation of gender concerns in urban planning, since it is ultimately about questioning a discipline based on masculinity, with the purpose of evening out the ingrained gender inequalities within the regime.

## Gendered inequalities within the urban space

Several scholars point towards the fact that the design of our cities historically have been dominated by men. In modern society women are constrained by the dominating structures of urban spaces, since it does not align with everyday life of women. (Lindkvist & Joelsson, 2019) This reflects heavily on the mobility system, urban design, and access to public facilities.

As expressed by Mashhadi Moghadam & Rafieian (2019) in their comprehensive study of gender and urban planning:

*“Gender relationship in urban areas is one of the most important dimensions of current urban studies, and considers the wider relationship between urban areas and culture. Serious attempts have been made in feminist discourse to analyse gender relations in urban areas. As a result of such endeavors, issues such as gender justice, women's experiences and safety in urban areas, women's citizenship rights and their participation in city planning are today being raised and pursued seriously.”(Mashhadi Moghadam & Rafieian, 2019, p. 3)*

Thereby the gendered inequalities in the urban space, leads to injustice between the genders. Sandercock & Forsyth( 1992) articulates how the constraints of the city became clear when women started working. Since then, this has challenged everyday practices of women, since urban planning has been complicating the task of combining work and domestic responsibilities, by eg. not placing daycare centers close to workplaces or making roads improper for strollers. (Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992)

In a case from Karlskoga, Sweden, it becomes clear how gender roles have to be addressed in planning. The problems in the city arose when the roads were cleared from snow before the sidewalks, bus and tram lanes. This happened despite the fact that the women, who primarily walk and use public transport, were the first ones on the street in the morning, since they are primarily responsible for care work(paid and domestic). The local authority became aware of this discrepancy and reversed the routines accordingly. (Criado-Perez, 2020) Understanding the gender roles and the everyday lives related to them therefore is essential to ensure sustainable planning measures.

Beebeejaun (2017) exemplifies gender inequality in urban space with the example of access to public restrooms. Historically, men have tried to prohibit access for women to public restrooms, despite the fact that women for biological reasons are more dependent on access to toilets. Studies show that when women have access to public restrooms, it will increase time spent outside and being active within the city. It is however not enough to limit the access to restrooms to the enclosed areas such as malls and department stores, since this will create a class deficit. (Beebeejaun, 2017) Creating equal public access to restrooms is therefore both a gender as well as a class struggle, and thereby showcases how important it is to consider intersectionality in the planning of our urban areas.

Studies show that women rarely stay in urban places, but more so use the spaces for transit. This is highly related to the perception of safety that influences the everyday practices of women. A study from 2018 from Mexico shows how 70% of women change or modify their daily routines to avoid harassment or fear of it in urban spaces. Design factors such as poor lighting, improper sight lines, overcrowded public transport, and enclosed areas are often areas associated with danger and violence or fear of the same. (Terazza et al., 2020) The perception of safety is often related to the logic of social dominance of women, but several studies show how small local changes in design may reduce the perception of certain areas or passages as dangerous. (Abdul Rahman et al., 2019) Examples from Mexico, Spain and the US show how mapping places that women perceive as dangerous is a way of integrating the emotional aspect into the planning practices, by focusing specifically on how to combat the fear these places evoke among different groups of people (Beebeejaun, 2017). The effort of integrating emotions as a factor in planning practices is however facing challenges within a highly pragmatic and technocratic planning scheme (Huning, 2020). These essential external factors, such as emotions evoked from the specific urban spaces, are therefore highly affected by the internal practices within the planning departments, and the epistemology they base these practices on.

Thereby, gendered inequalities within the urban space can be boiled down to struggles over a misalignment of the combination of domestic/care work and paid work, access to public facilities and the perception of safety. Ultimately, these struggles show how the current planning regime does produce gendered injustices within the urban space, making the concept of justice an interesting concept to investigate.

## The concept of space

Even though the gendered inequalities within the urban space are made clear by several scholars, the understanding of the reproduction of inequalities seems more complex to understand. The understanding of space as a concept may help to uncover why gendered inequalities are so hard to challenge within the urban context.

According to Lefebvere (1991) spaces should be acknowledged as entities with both a physical, mental and social dimension. And these cannot be understood separately, since *“space considered in isolation is an empty abstraction”*(Lefebvere, 1991, p. 12) He also strongly advocates for not looking at space as a ‘neutral container’, but rather a social morphology. Additionally, he points towards language as an important contributor to the production of spaces:

*“There are thus relationships between language and space which are to a greater or lesser extent misconstrued or disregarded. There is doubtless no such thing as a ‘true space’, as once postulated by classical philosophy - and indeed still postulated by that philosophy’s continuation, namely epistemology and the ‘scientific criteria’ it promotes. But there is certainly such a thing as a ‘truth of space’ which embodies the movement of critical theory without being reducible to it.”*(Lefebvere, 1991, p. 132)

De Certau (1984) articulates space as a product of ‘ordinary practitioners’<sup>1</sup> and their everyday life. Therefore, he criticizes tendencies of synoptic planning, since this does not properly address how the space also consists of emotions, embodied experiences and political activity. Lehtovuori (2010) argues that it is widely acknowledged that the urban space both holds a physical and social entity, although there appears to be a missing link between them in practice. Additionally, he emphasizes that public spaces are *“not a blank canvas for all to use, but a dynamic and multilayered socio-spatial and historical construct”*.(Lehtovuori, 2010, p. 42) Furthermore, he establishes how the understanding of space appears to be obsolete in modern society:

*“The conceptualisation of space in planning (and urban design and architecture) has remained caught in the Renaissance, in the perspectival. The structures of thought, the representations of space and city it produces and the epistemologies through which it tries to ‘see’ the city out there have not changed. (...) The ‘city of urban planning’ or its ‘space’ must be understood as diverse, multifaceted, processual and open. The conceptualisation and representation of the city and the urban space need to be complex, hybrid or ‘trans-*

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<sup>1</sup> Ordinary practitioners: The users of the city(de Certau, 1984)

*discursive', crossing the line between discourse and action (Shields 1996: 234). In short, space in general and public urban space in particular must be reconceived to include vécu, the lived."* (Lehtovuori, 2010, p. 49)

Thereby, gendered inequalities within the urban space, may be hard to challenge due to the way the planning regime has worked until now - looking at spaces as 'containers' rather than producers of social inequalities. Wider acknowledgement of lived experiences may help to uncover otherwise invisible injustices. Additionally, understanding how spaces are highly dependent on language, shows how concepts of framing and discourses in urban planning may help to understand the production/reproduction of injustices within the urban context.

## A struggle over framing and discourse

This way of seeing space as a product of language, through framing and discourses, resonates with the findings of Beebeejaun (2017) in her study of the strategy plan for London's urban development. She describes how the plan is not a 'one of a kind' in the way it addresses inclusivity and gender, through vague and abstract terms:

*"This is not an unrepresentative example of planning language that asserts a viewpoint from which spaces become positioned as an independent container within which we are enabled to live with difference."*(Beebeejaun, 2017, p. 324)

This brings along a discussion over how framing and discourse are important tools when addressing concepts that appear relevant to a gender mainstreaming approach, such as gender, equality and justice. These concepts may have different connotations to different planners and politicians, and this shows the power of framing and thereby creating the epistemological framework. Walby (2005) expresses how *"gender mainstreaming is constructed, articulated, and transformed through discourse that is clustered within frames that are extended and linked through struggle and argumentation"*(Walby 2005, p. 338).

The ongoing debate over gender, sex, gender identity and gender expression brings along different perceptions of the term, making the task of integrating gender into the planning regime far more complicated. In terms of the theoretical discussion, Lindkvist & Joelsson (2019) articulates how we must acknowledge that researchers have different epistemological standpoints when it revolves around the understanding of gender as a term, and it is of utmost importance to facilitate a dialogue surrounding framing.

A Swedish report from 1996 shows that *“there is a systematic underestimation of women’s experience in physical planning.”* (Friberg, 2006) Often, the planning cultures end up defining whether status quo can be challenged without the planning department. Additionally, it appears to be a problem that gender equality often is articulated in a “de-gendered” way, since the gender problems are rarely explicitly highlighted, but rather wrapped into more general planning issues. (Friberg, 2006) This resonates with the framing of gender in urban planning, since it may be made part of a frame that does not explicitly address gender problems.

Sandberg and Rönnblom (2016) acknowledge along with other scholars that the gender mainstreaming discourse dissolves the underlying power struggles and works primarily as a bureaucratic tool, making us blind to the origin of the gender inequality problems. They emphasize how we need to politicize gender and have worked with the concept of ‘urban imageries’ as a tool that first of all makes the citizens aware of the ingrained inequalities. (Sandberg and Rönnblom, 2016) This shows how the power of the terms may vanish when they become institutionalized and routinized top-down measures, losing the essence of their purpose. It also shows how there is a need to create a language to be able to identify and articulate injustices regarding gender within our urban areas.

The World Bank emphasizes the difference between gender equality and gender equity in their handbook for gender-inclusive urban planning and design. They define gender equality as an equal starting point through equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities for all genders. Gender equity is defined as an equal ending point, established through provision of benefits. (Terazza et al., 2020) The two terms are therefore different ways of approaching gender sensitive planning, and may come to show conflicting discourses within the field. This creates two different perspectives on the needs of the urban citizens, and all boils down to a discussion over whether planning should be based on a normative or descriptive epistemology. This discussion also relates to the discussion over whether urban planning as a measure simply should merely provide the infrastructure for sustaining current gender roles or rather interfere by trying to change stereotypical gender roles. These are questions for political debate and create tension within the planning scheme as long as they are not being properly addressed.



## Findings for further investigation

Throughout the above assessment of urban planning and gender, there appears to be several challenges that planners are faced with when trying to make gender an integrated part of the planning process of urban space. It seems contradictory how planning should not be based on ingrained routines and norms. However, masculinity is still the dominating perspective in planning communities. It becomes apparent that there is a need for challenging these dominating structures that create the epistemological framework. Primarily, there is a need to look at how different European cities frame the concept of gender within their urban planning scheme, since framing and discourses are seen as an important link between theory and practice; language and action. The cities of Vienna, Umeå and Berlin appear to be on the forefront when it comes to working with increasing gender equality through urban planning (Horelli, 2017; Huning, 2013; Sandberg & Ronnblom, 2016). Therefore, they have been chosen as the focus of this study. Here it seems essential to unfold the concepts of gender, equality/equity and justice, since these may have different connotations across the cities. This results in the following research question:

***How does the framing of gender within the urban planning regime in Vienna, Umeå and Berlin affect the gender mainstreaming discourse? And what opportunities and/or challenges does this framing constitute for urban development?***

The purpose of the project will therefore be to uncover dominating framings within the urban planning scheme of these three cities, in order to understand different ways of driving the gender agenda forward. Subsequently, this will give an understanding of the opportunities or challenges the different framings contribute with for a sustainable urban development.

For this project the concept of gender will refer to men and women, however with an acknowledgement of gender as a spectrum that is far more complex than that. The hope is that opening up to a new epistemology also will create the foundation for an urban planning regime that embraces more than two genders.

## Project outline

Problem analysis: An assessment of existing research within the field, based on a literature review. Focuses on gender and urban planning; gendered inequalities within the urban space; the concept of space; and a struggle over framing and discourses.

Research question: The question is based on the findings of the problem analysis, and steers the focus of the project.

Philosophy of science: Works as a frame for the approach to methodology, theory and analysis. The chapter consists of reflections from concepts of limits to science, critical theory and social constructionism.

Theoretical framework: The framework is based on reflections over framing and discourse as theoretical concepts, as well as different theoretical notions of gender, equality/equity and justice. These concepts make up the analytical frame.

Methodological framework: The framework is based on the chapters: literature review; document analysis; coding and analysis; and case study.

Analysis: The analysis investigates how the cities of Vienna, Umeå and Berlin frame gender equality through their urban strategies, by assessing planning documents with concepts of gender, equality/equity and justice. Subsequently, the concepts will work as a structure to assess tendencies horizontally across the cities in a summary.

Discussion: The discussion is based on themes from the summary of the analysis. It will investigate: gender and the 'all-inclusive' city; equal participation; innovative planning processes; the need for a new vocabulary within planning; and gender and transformative politics.

Conclusion: The conclusion will answer the question of how the cities frame gender through urban planning, and how this affects gender mainstreaming as a concept. Additionally, it will answer what opportunities and challenges arise from these different framings.

## Philosophy of science

As previously stated, scholars point towards the fact that gender planning needs to be re-politicized in order to create the necessary structural changes to the planning scheme that will enhance the justice between genders within the urban space, *cf. A struggle over framing and discourses*. As of today, gender planning represents one of many fields where science is a deciding factor in decision-making. Even though, the debate over gender is highly political, depending on the ethics and values of the specific society. Rayner and Sarewitz(2021) describes how science is often being stretched in unreasonable ways, since we depend on it to solve social disputes. However, scientific knowledge cannot alone settle conflicts over injustices in urban spaces. Thereby gender planning in urban spaces represents a field where 'the limits to science' becomes visible. This recognition resonates with the branch within 'philosophy of science' called critical theory:

*"Critical theory places epistemological questions at the center of its research concerns, particularly relating them to their impact on politics and society. However, when science seeks truth, critical theory does not view it as a panacea, nor is science said to have an exclusive claim on progress and innovation. Science is another way for society to pursue truth, rationality, and progress, but it should never serve as a deus ex machina in defense of social instrumentality, in order to establish any scientific or political authority by means of scientific works and words. Science, for critical theorists, is rarely neutral or value-free."*  
(Marinopoulou, 2019, p. 137)

Besides establishing the fact that science is not necessarily the 'truth' and may advocate for certain values, since it often represents political debates disguised as scientific studies, the driver of the theory is to enhance justice within our societies. It is highly critical towards the dominating actors in it, especially those driven by the capitalist imperative, since these are seen as producers of inequalities. (Sørensen, 2012) Critical theory therefore aims towards pointing out critiques of the present society and tries to engage in a change - it is an exercise of social inquiry (Crossman, 2019). This means that it must explain the problems with the present society, point out solutions and actors to change it and preserve the norms that work as a basis of the criticism while also establishing goals for development. Explaining why the current society is problematic requires an interdisciplinary approach eg. by focusing on the different social, cultural and psychological aspects, but also demands a strong emphasis on how institutions produce/re-produce domination. (Bohman, 2021) The emphasis of interdisciplinarity represents the first generation of critical theorists, where Jürgen Habermas became the front runner of the second generation, highly driven by the concept of

communicative action (*Marinopoulou, 2019*). Habermas suggests that norms are developed by attaining understanding through language, which represents one of the main pillars of critical theory: the importance of dialectics. (*Bohman, 2021*) Habermas' approach to critical theory originates from the recognition that in modern society, the system 'colonizes' the lifeworld. The lifeworld represents our social, cultural and personal life where the system is driven by strategic action through the institutions of society. The two entities are driven by different 'aims', and thereby the problem arises when the epistemologies within the lifeworld become muted in order to work towards the agenda of the system. (*Baxter, 1987*) This works as explanation to some of the struggles with gender mainstreaming the urban planning regime, since the gender perspective calls for an emphasis on a social focus on emotions and cultural values, which may be hard to integrate into the system, which is characterized as a highly technocratic planning regime.

According to Habermas, the problem with the colonization of the lifeworld may also result in im-balances for the individual between private life and work life, since the aims are built on different epistemologies (*Baxter, 1987*). Even though Habermas presents an essential framework to get a grip of how modern societies struggle with disputes over a clash of epistemologies, Nancy Fraser (1985) argues that the gender perspective is absent. Fraser (1985) argues that "*male dominance is intrinsic rather than accidental to classical capitalism.*" (*Fraser, 1985*) and this is seen in the way 'the worker' (which historically has been represented by the male) links the private and the public sphere. However, to be able to participate in a dialogue, a central part in Habermas' understanding of 'citizenship', and link the private and public sphere depends on "*capacities which are connected with masculinity in male-dominated, classical capitalism.*" (*Fraser, 1985*). Due to the gender blindness of the concept of communicative action "*there is conceptual dissonance between femininity and the dialogical capacities central to Habermas' conception of citizenship.*" (*Fraser, 1985*). Fraser (1985) therefore proposes that critical theory should have gender-sensitive categories in order to make gender injustices in the decision-making arena visible. This appears to be a relevant perspective when considering how gender is framed through urban planning, since the gendered critical theory may help shed light on the 'taken for grantedness' of how men and women, in both historically and present society, represent different capacities to link the personal experiences with the public planning scheme.

Besides needing a scientific frame that offers a comprehension of the power struggles in gender mainstreaming in urban planning, the understanding of gender and its role in the creation of urban spaces may be necessary to view in the light of scientific framework. This resonates with 'social constructionism', since social interactions through language creates

meaning of the world, and thereby determines the 'structures' of society. It is thereby about how the collective meanings become internalized and sustained over time. (*Andrews, 2012*) This resonates with the recognition that discourses and framings of gender through urban planning, contribute indirectly to justices/in-justices in urban spaces, since the meanings are created and sustained throughout the act of planning. Anthony Giddens( 1984) presents the 'structuration theory' that helps to understand how this structuration process happens in practice. He argues that human agency affects the social structures and vice versa(*Giddens, 1984*), acknowledging that we are producers of the systems of society. Systems that we willingly critique, such as the collective neglect of the gender factor in planning. This understanding of the structure of our society may help shed light on the several dimensions of an urban space, since the spatial dimensions are one thing, the social and cultural ones are another. Meusbürger and Werlen (2017) describes how spaces are often considered as 'containers', thereby implying that we do not have the power to change the conditions of the space(*Meusbürger & Werlen, 2017*). However, from a constructionist's perspective, space transcends the three-dimensional view, and becomes an object of change. This seems relevant for gender planning, since the way we until now have thought of spaces has either been dominated by gender blindness or dominating masculinity.

Thereby, critical theory and social constructionism work together in synthesis, by giving critique of the structures that we produce through planning. This happens in practice by looking at the framing and discourses of gender through the planning regime, recognising that this indirectly is a part of a structuration process. The purpose of this project will not be to bring about a 'scientific proof' of gendered injustices within our urban spaces, but rather contribute to a political recognition that the language within planning represents a significant power and may have a great influence on power imbalances in urban spaces.

# Theoretical framework

In order to understand how urban planning is contributing to the gender mainstreaming discourse, this theoretical framework will present theoretical concepts relevant for the analysis. The overall understanding of framing and discourses will be used as a guideline for assessing the plans. More specifically, the concepts of gender, equality and equity, and justice will be the points of focus for the assessment of the plans. These will be unfolded below.

## Framing and discourses

Looking into how gender equality is articulated in the urban development strategies of Vienna, Umeå and Berlin, requires a framework that can help assess the frames and discourses of plans. It appears that there is a high degree of freedom for the specific planning institution to define gender as well as ways of increasing justice between genders, which makes different ways of articulating gender equality interesting. This can be executed by looking into the language, which as stated in the problem analysis is an essential factor in the concept of space, *cf. The concept of space*.

According to Hajer (2009), language is essential, since it builds into deliberation, which is a cornerstone in democracy. Language creates structures that include some perspectives while leaving others out. Framing and discourses are both dependent on language, and the two concepts have several overlaps, among others how they act as structures and encourage action. According to Lindekilde (2014), framing and discourses are based on identical pillars of ontological and epistemological assumptions, but work in different ways. They are similar when it comes to ideas, culture and ideology.

Framing is a political tool that, as the name suggests, frames a phenomenon in a certain light, and may therefore also neglect perspectives from the accentuated frame. Frames are often seen as guides for action through perception. (Lindekilde, 2014) A framing makes it clear why the specific phenomenon matters, as well as what should be done and by who (Mino & Kudo, 2020). Benford and Snow(2000) articulate how frames have a level of 'reality construction', since it is not only descriptive, but also action-oriented. Furthermore, Lakoff(2010) expresses the relation between framing and epistemology:

*"All of our knowledge makes use of frames, and every word is defined through the frames it neurally activates. All thinking and talking involves "framing." And since frames come in*



*systems, a single word typically activates not only its defining frame, but also much of the system its defining frame is in.”(Lakoff, 2010, p. 72)*

In relation to gender mainstreaming in urban planning, the frame is essential for the efforts made. It may appear that the current frame is inadequate in addressing the gendered imbalances within our urban spaces, since it is predominately based on masculine traits, *cf. Gendered inequalities within the urban space*. Re-framing urban planning can encourage new epistemologies to push forward the gender mainstreaming discourse. In the case of gender, it may be by redefining the ways of which we define what makes a ‘good’ urban space.

Hajer (2009) understands discourse as a bundle of notions, ideas, concepts and categorizations. Additionally, discourse is not only about what actors say, but also how it is said, where it is said and who the receiver of the message is. According to Lindekilde (2014) discourse analysis is highly related to a social constructivist worldview, since meaning is created through the language. Lindekilde articulates how understanding discourses may help reveal how social reality is created, as well as why some arguments are regarded as of higher value than others. This is highly relevant to the urban planning field, since certain epistemologies are seen to be reproduced when it comes to the understanding of gender. Understanding discourses will also reveal power relations, especially in social practices. Those who get to define social reality implicitly also produce/re-produce the hierarchy of discourses, by making one or more discourses more dominant than others. (Lindekilde, 2014) In a planning context this may affect what knowledge objects are considered when gaining understanding of an urban space. In relation to the scope of this study, it appears that the discourse of gender mainstreaming outcompeted that of the original feminist planning discourse (Beebeejaun, 2017; Horelli, 2017; Huning, 2020; Mashhadi Moghadam & Rafieian, 2019; Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992), and thereby activated new epistemologies in planning and new ways of framing urban development with a gender agenda. This shows how dominating discourses change over time and how certain framings affect whether a discourse gains momentum.

For this project a general discourse of concern is that of gender mainstreaming in urban planning. A discourse attributed with an ideology that gender should be strongly tied to the planning regime, so strongly that it becomes the ‘new normal’. However, the notion of ‘mainstreaming’ may in practice emphasize the discourse as a highly bureaucratic tool. Here it seems interesting to look into different ways of framing this discourse and raises the question of how the cities articulate the implementation of the gender concern, in a manner so the concept becomes a natural part of the local planning practices, while avoiding making

it a top-down bureaucratic tool as it has been criticized to be, *cf. A struggle over framing and discourses*. The analysis will reveal both opportunities and challenges of framing urban planning in a way that encourages the gender mainstreaming discourse.

The review of framing and discourses will work as a framework of understanding the different concepts of gender, equality/equity and justice, to unfold different ways of framing these, and thereby how these concepts more specifically affect the gender mainstreaming discourse.

## Gender

The many notions of the concept of gender, seems essential to understand how these contribute to how the cities frame gender equality. Scholars have increasingly been using the term gender, since the 1950's in an effort to distinguish between gender identity and sex, in the public discourse. The perception of gender is rapidly changing and appears to be a complex issue. Gender identity is highly related to the way people dress, patterns of movement and ways of talking, which suggests that looking solely at the biological sex would be a limiting view. Changxue (2009) describes how our perception of gender has changed over the years, from essentialism, looking at gender as a variable solely dependent on the constant biological sex, onto a social constructivist/constructionist view, where gender is a social and cultural dependent variable. The debate over whether gender is biologically constructed or culturally constructed is still ongoing. From a social constructivist approach, looking at framing and discourses are proper methods when trying to understand different gender perspectives, since studying language will give an insight to attitudes, emotions and memories. (Changxue, 2009) Wodax (2015), furthermore articulates how social constructivists look at gender as something created through talking and writing, as well as through ideologies, compared to something 'simply' embodied.

From a constructionist point of view, gender is dynamic, it is continuously remade and reconstructed. It is not something we are born as and it is not something we become. It is a process dependent on social and cultural interactions. This resonates with Goffman's (1976) description of gender as a 'display' as well as Butler's (1990) description of gender as 'performativity'. (Changxue, 2009) Franck (1985) resonates with the constructionist view on gender and emphasizes that expectations in society are essential, in order to understand why people act the way they do, as well as understanding how this may change over time. Additionally, Franck (1985) points towards the problem in research of gender, that the *"The roles referred to are described and analyzed as if they exist rather than as analytical*

*constructs developed as a tool to describe what exists.*"(Franck, 1985, p. 144). Thereby gender is rather a product of social structures, than the explanatory factor, creating a need for a different approach to gender research where the focus returns to a discussion over what the gender roles are a product of.

Additionally, Friberg (2006) suggests that planners are responsible for producing or reproducing certain gendered stereotypes. They are able to help men and women equally share domestic tasks. (Friberg, 2006) However, in order to do so it is essential to understand the everyday world of men and women, which ultimately resonates with the ideal of gender equity. According to gender research, there appears to be a dichotomy in how men and women are categorized into a hierarchy of public and private spheres. Often men are associated with the public sphere, related to work and politics, while women are associated with the private sphere, related to domestic duties. Often the public sphere is considered superior, even though in reality both men and women appear in both contexts. This creates a subordination of women that may be adjusted by balancing out the relation between public and private for men and women in their everyday lives. (Friberg, 2006) This narrative of gendered domains appears to be a dominating frame of the understanding of spaces, and resonates with the critique of Habermas, *cf. Philosophy of science*.

From a social constructionist perspective gender therefore becomes a concept that is produced by the structures of society, here among how urban planning frames gender through urban plans. Additionally, observing gendered behavior may help us understand how societal structures are definitive for our everyday lives, as well as our use and perception of urban spaces.

## Equality and equity

In the effort of gender mainstreaming, the concepts of equity and equality are used frequently. However, looking into the meaning of the concepts shows that they establish different frames for action within the gender mainstreaming discourse.

According to Pérez-Paredes & Krstikj(2020), equality is defined as a provision of the same benefits to everyone. In a gender context this would imply providing the same opportunities within the urban space to men and women. However, equity is more concerned with the specific needs of the gender, and is therefore about adjusting the benefits, by looking at the needs of men and women individually, to provide the same satisfaction. (Pérez-Paredes & Krstikj, 2020)

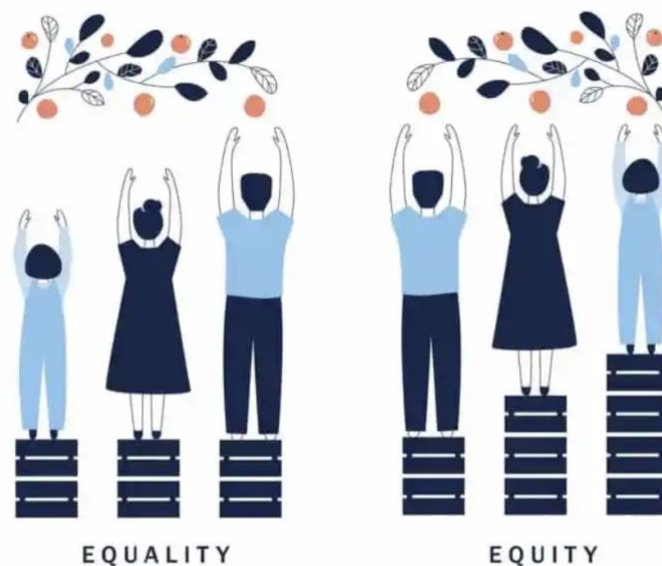


Figure 1: The figure illustrates the principle of equality vs. the principle of equity (Cecilia, 2021).

Pérez-Paredes & Krstikj (2020) accentuates the difference of the concepts of equality and equity:

*“The crucial difference lies in understanding the needs of vulnerable groups to receive disproportionately more benefits, thus equity differs from equality in taking in account the socio-economic profile of different groups of citizens.” (Pérez-Paredes & Krstikj, 2020)*

Comparing the concepts, gender equality is more commonly used in official documents, especially related to the human rights agenda. The crucial difference is that gender equity requires a gender analysis of the specific needs. (Sida, 2018) Where gender equity is accused of not properly being critical towards and addressing power relations and societal structures (Sida, 2018) since it works through mitigation of injustices, gender equality can be accused of giving a ‘false hope’ of creating equal opportunities for men and women. Walby (2005) identifies a tension between the gender mainstreaming discourse and the concept of gender equality:

*“Can there be an effective route to gender justice in which existing separate gender norms/standards are retained and become equally valued, or is it never really possible to be different but equal because the differences are too entwined with power and resources?” (Walby, 2005, p. 326)*

Thereby Walby (2005) challenges the ideal that gender equality is attainable if we want to still appreciate diversity between the genders. Friberg (2006) criticizes gender equality as being *“insufficient as a guiding principle to change physical planning”*(Friberg, 2006). In order to create a counter-discourse it is necessary to create a theory based on both feminist theory and planning theory. This will imply an adjustment of the forms of communication to include new knowledge objects, such as emotions triggered by specific urban spaces. (Friberg, 2006)

In relation to the creation of urban space with consideration to gender justice, creating equal urban spaces would not specifically address the need of the specific gender, more so it would make sure that all genders have equal access eg. by establishing restrooms for all. However, creating an urban space through a gender equity lens would demand an assessment of the needs of the gender and target them to ensure equal benefits eg. by assessing whether women may have different restroom needs than men. The World Bank (Terazza et al., 2020) draws upon Moser(1993) when articulating the difference between practical and strategic gender needs. Strategic gender needs do, opposing practical gender needs, address the subordination of women to men in society, by critically reviewing land rights, equal wages, domestic violence etc. (Moser, 1993) And thereby represents a perspective that resonates with the differences between equality and equity, since one is critical towards dominating structures where the other is more focused on mitigating the injustices.

Looking at the context of urban planning and gender mainstreaming, there appears to be a critical epistemological difference between equity and equality. These differences relate to whether one should be critical towards dominating power structures or mostly the fact that it may be an illusion that equality is feasible due to the differences of men and women. Which of these concepts helps to frame the urban planning agenda of the city, is therefore definitive for how people will experience the changes within the urban space.

## Justice

Another important concept in relation to how gender is framed through urban planning, is the concept of justice. Justice is tightly related to the concept of human rights, which according to Oomen et al. (2016) *“can be understood as a discursive frame, a specific way of packaging and presenting ideas that generate shared beliefs, motivate collective action and define appropriate strategies of action”*(Oomen et al. 2016, p. 11). Thereby the concept of

gender justice is an example of a frame that encourages in securing substantial rights between men and women. The concept of justice is relevant to the gender mainstreaming agenda, since injustices often work as catalysts for change in our urban spaces. Modern urban planning has been propelled by the desire to create more just societies. The ideal has been that the built environment has the power to intervene with societal imbalances. (*Fainstein, 2014*)

Nancy Fraser, a critical theorist and feminist, is world known for expanding the understanding of justice, by introducing the three-dimensional approach, in her book *Scales of Justice: Reimagining Political Space in a Globalizing World*. Fraser (2009) establishes three dimensions of justice: *Distribution, representation and recognition*. *Distribution* regards the question over injustices related to the access to certain resources eg. public toilets for women. But it is also about whether the distribution of resources creates the possibility of a certain group to participate in a democratic process. *Representation* is related to the procedural aspect, and focuses on the imbalances in who gets to make claims within the decision-making arena, eg. certain groups could be excluded from the planning process. *Recognition* is about whether the values of a certain group is recognized by the institution, eg. whether certain design choices may provoke fear among women. The three dimensions are interrelated, and it is therefore difficult to point towards just one of them as the reason for injustices regarding gender in an urban context. However, Fraser's three dimensions of justice helps articulate different ways of restoring balance in gendered injustices in urban planning. According to Fraser (2009) justice is highly related to framing. Historically, justice has been seen in the light of 'what' is essential in order to restore imbalances, but has developed towards also looking into 'who' seems necessary to engage to be able to answer 'what'. Fraser (2009) furthermore describes how this frame may either be re-produced or demolished, through either *affirmative* or *transformative* politics. *Affirmative* politics in an urban planning context, would accept the existing epistemology regarding gender in the city development, and would continue to reproduce plans within the traditional framing of gender. However, *transformative* politics would question whether the current epistemology is proper in order to answer 'who' and 'what' in the topic of how to create justice within the urban context. Transformative politics would therefore demand the establishment of a new frame that would be able to put light on previous hidden injustices. The debate over transformative or affirmative politics in order to create gender justice, ties in with the discussion over equality vs. equity, since it is either about challenging or mitigating the impact of current structures.



Fricker (2008) expands the understanding of justice, in order to shed light on epistemological differences in society. This is based on the idea of what knowledge seems legitimate and subsequently how it is organized in a planning situation. She develops a framework based on three dimensions of epistemic injustice: *Distributive unfairness*, *testimonial injustice* and *hermeneutical injustice*. *Distributive unfairness* relates to the level of engagement through knowledge, information and education a group may experience. *Testimonial injustice*, relates to a person's credibility to make claims. This can work in more than one direction, since a structural position may give a deflated level of credibility of claims where others may become disregarded. This adds nuances to Fraser's description of justice through representation, since it is not always enough to establish a wide-engaging process, if the actors are given different levels of credibility, based on the group they belong in. *Hermeneutical injustice* relates to our language and how we make sense of reality, and therefore appears at a prior stage. It relates to whether we, based on our understanding, will either accept or disregard certain social experiences, eg. whether we accept claims of gendered inequalities in urban spaces. (Fricker, 2008) Especially hermeneutical injustice as a concept resonates with the struggles identified within the current efforts of gender mainstreaming urban planning. This is due to the fact that the current structures are making the power imbalances invisible, and there is an absence of a vocabulary to express gendered inequalities on a more strategic level. It is also clear how we, in terms of gender, still are challenged in finding a common language to articulate what it is and what we want to achieve.

The above described aspects of justice seem essential in the debate over gender mainstreaming in our urban areas, since it all depends on who gets to define knowledge. Additionally, it defines who are respected in their capacity of 'knowing' what a good urban space is for them, which appears to be influenced by a gendered bias.

## Analytical framework

Knowledge gained from the previous chapters will help uncover how Vienna, Umeå and Berlin articulate gender, whether they frame gender mainstreaming as an equality or equity concern, and what measures they use to create gender justice within the urban spaces. The understanding of discourses and framing will help uncover, dominating epistemologies within the planning regime and subsequently how this affects the gender mainstreaming agenda gaining momentum. Ultimately, whether they plan on establishing new frames in order to increase hermeneutical justice and thereby create better structures to support the gender perspective in planning.

It appears to be a common theme that the frame may either challenge or mitigate gendered injustices within the structures of planning. Whether it is focused locally on the specific area, or behind the curtains of urban planning by looking at practices and routines of planners. The difference between the normative and descriptive approach is described both through the understanding of equality and equity, practical and strategic gender needs, as well as affirmative and transformative politics. These are all definitive frames that planning institutions may use to frame gender in planning and will result in different urban spaces. The criterias for success are therefore significant to what direction will make sense for the specific planning department.

The operational analytical framework, based on the described concepts, can be found in the *appendix*.

# Methodological framework

This chapter will provide an insight into the provision of empirical knowledge for the assessment of framing of gender within the urban planning scheme, as well as the processing of it. The primary methods have been literature review, document analysis, coding and multiple case-study. These will be described separately below.

## Literature review

Literature review as a method has been used multiple times within this project, and in different phases of the project period. The literature review can be described *“as a more or less systematic way of collecting and synthesizing previous research”*(Snyder, 2019, p. 333). In this way it has provided insight into this field of investigation. A literature review was conducted in the beginning, in order to comprehend existing literature within the field, by searching for literature on ‘web of science’ searching for ‘gender urban planning’. The review showed that existing literature points towards the remaining struggles over making gendered inequalities within the urban spaces visible, integrating new knowledge objects into the planning scheme, and a discussion over whether gender planning should be politicized(Beebejaun, 2017; Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992; Horelli, 2017; Huning, 2020; Mashhadi Moghadam & Rafieian, 2019; Sandberg & Rönnblom, 2016). Essential findings from this review constitutes the problem analysis, theoretical framework and analysis. The literature review was also the reason for choosing the cities of Vienna, Umeå and Berlin, since these three cities were the field of study in some of the articles. The academic works assessed stem from different branches of science eg. Geography, urban studies, transportation, environmental studies etc. Hence it is difficult to do a systematic review by comparing findings with each other. Thereby this method is more characterized as a semi-structured literature review, since it investigates a theme across different branches of science based on different approaches to scientific research (Snyder, 2019). The findings from the literature review have also contributed to a knowledge spiral by looking at references in the texts that may also appear relevant to this study.

## Document analysis

Another primary method used for the execution of this project, is document analysis. Document analysis is defined by Bowen(2009) as *“a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material.”*(Bowen, 2009, p. 1). The most common type of document used for this

project are urban plans and strategies, both general urban development plans and gender-specific plans. Bowen (2009) describes how document analysis is an efficient method in qualitative research studies, because it is about data selection rather than data collection. However, a pitfall may be 'biased selectivity', if the collection of documents appears 'incomplete'. (Bowen, 2009) Thereby, the plans selected for the purpose of the analysis in this project, may be subject to this limitation of the credibility of document analysis as a method, since the chosen plans may not give a complete picture of how the cities frame gender in their urban development. However, it has been a consideration to create a framework where comparison seems legitimate, by diving into each city's newest urban development strategy. As far as the gender concern goes, it has been a priority to look at the cities' strategic framing of gender in urban planning.

	Documents
Vienna	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Step 2025 - Urban Development Plan Vienna</li> <li>• Step 2025 - Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development</li> <li>• Gender Mainstreaming made easy</li> </ul>
Umeå	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Comprehensive plan for Umeå municipality</li> <li>• Umeå - Gender equal city(presentation)</li> <li>• Kön, makt och politik - 1989-2019(Gender power and politics)</li> </ul>
Berlin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Berlin Strategy - Urban Development Concept 2030</li> <li>• Urban Development Plan for Centres 2030</li> <li>• Berlin handbook - Gender mainstreaming in urban development</li> </ul>

Figure 2: Documents used for the analysis of how the three cities frame gender in urban planning.

In order to understand how Vienna has integrated considerations of gender in their urban planning scheme, two urban plans will be assessed. The newest urban development plan 'Step 2025 - Urban Development Plan Vienna'(Vienna city administration, 2014) from 2014 as well as the gender mainstreaming manual for urban planning 'Step 2025 - Gender mainstreaming in urban planning and urban development'(Urban development Vienna, 2013) from 2013 will be analyzed in terms of how they frame gender, equality/equity and justice. Additionally, the general gender mainstreaming manual 'Gender mainstreaming made easy'(Stadt Wien, 2021) from 2021 published by the state of Vienna will be used as reference.

In order to understand how Umeå has worked with integrating gender into their urban planning scheme, several sources have been assessed. The most recently adopted comprehensive plan 'Comprehensive plan for Umeå municipality'(Umeå kommun, 2018) from 2018, a presentation 'Umeå - Gender equal city'(Thurén, n.d.) created by an equality officer in the municipality specifically about gender equality in urban planning and an

anniversary paper '*Gender, power and politics - 1989-2019*' (Kön, makt och politik - 1989-2019) (Dahlqvist, 2019) about the city's work with gender equality.

For the case of Berlin the '*Berlin Strategy - Urban Development Concept 2030*' (Senate Department for Urban Development and the Environment, 2015) will be used. Additionally, the specific urban plan for town centers '*Urban Development Plan for Centres 2030*' (Senatsverwaltung, 2019) as well as the '*Berlin handbook - Gender mainstreaming in urban development*' (Senatsverwaltung, 2011) from 2011.

## Coding and analysis

An analytical tool used for this project has been the coding of the document described in the previous section. The documents have been coded with point of departure in the theoretical framework. Here the three main pillars of the coding frame have been to look at how the plans articulate gender, equality/equity and justice. A more detailed description of this analytical framework can be found in the *appendix*. Below the structure of the analysis is shown, illustrating it as horizontally oriented towards diving into the three concepts of each city.




	Vienna	Umeå	Berlin
Gender			
Equality/Equity			
Justice			

Figure 3: The horizontal structure of the analysis.

As a part of the summary of the analysis the three concepts will be the focus point, in order to see differences and/or similarities across the cities. This is shown in the figure below.

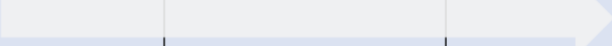

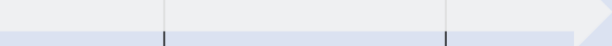
	Vienna	Umeå	Berlin
Gender			
Equality/Equity			
Justice			

Figure 4: The vertical structure of the summary of the analysis.

Framing and discourse in this project is described thoroughly in the theoretical framework, however there are overlaps between it as a theory and a method. Even though all of the comprehensive plans and most other documents, used for the assessment, are in English it must be noted that the anniversary paper published by the municipality of Umeå, as well as the specific development plan for town centers in Berlin, were respectively in Swedish and German. However, in the process of translating the documents into English, it has been a consideration to get as close to the original meaning as possible. This is especially essential, considering the fact that this project is specifically looking into the framing and discourses within the language. Another language factor that may be necessary to consider, is that German and Swedish, as well as other languages, may struggle to articulate the concepts of equality and equity in their own languages. This could potentially influence the way they use them in their English plans, if they even do so. Thereby it would be interesting to look into the semantics of the plans in their native language compared to the English plans, to see if the framing is the same or if a difference in vocabulary affects how they end up framing gender through urban planning. This is, however, out of the scope of this project.

## Case study

The analysis is carried out by a multiple case study, diving into different ways of framing gender equality through urban planning in Vienna, Umeå and Berlin. The advantage of doing a multiple case study rather than a single case study, is that it is possible to compare the cases and see similarities and differences, as well as the ability to change scopes from a single case to assess the cases as a whole. Additionally, knowledge gained from a multiple case study is often considered more reliable by nature and often more ideal for generalization of specific subjects. (*Gustafson, 2017a*) This increases the reliability of the project, which is based on the premise of inductive reasoning. The multiple case study helps



to provide a more nuanced picture of how gender is framed through the urban planning regime, both in terms of understanding the specific situations of the cities, but also to understand tendencies in framing. Choosing a multiple case study over a single one, brings along benefits as well as challenges. The single case study would have allowed a deeper understanding of each case, probably being able to assess more documents and academic papers about the chosen city. However, being able to see the bigger picture of how different European cities frame gender, by diving into several cases, ended up being a more suitable approach since it gives a more diverse picture and insights to different strategies.

The cities were chosen based on a literature review of gender in urban planning. All three cities articulate a certain way of integrating gender into the urban planning regime(*Horelli, 2017; Huning, 2013; Sandberg & Ronnblom, 2016*). Additionally, a predetermined criteria was to focus on European cities, to minimize the scope. The cities were ultimately chosen because of their relevance to the subject, location and accessibility of literature. Thereby the size of the cities were not a factor, however it must be noted that larger cities(such as Vienna and Berlin) in general have more resources in their planning departments to execute a more comprehensive gender planning strategy. However, it was also an essential factor to see the planning of the cities in the light of different national contexts, eg. How Vienna's efforts of gender mainstreaming resonate with the country's very traditional stereotypes. Thereby it was a factor to choose cities in different countries.

# Analysis of gender mainstreaming in different city contexts

Gender mainstreaming is increasingly gaining momentum in urban planning of European cities. In this analysis, three of these cities; Vienna, Umeå and Berlin, will be assessed by looking into their urban development plans, gender focused urban development strategies and external literature on the topic. The analysis will be focusing on how gender, equality/equity and justice are framed through urban planning, to see how different cities push forward the gender mainstreaming discourse and what this means in practice. After three vertically oriented assessments of the cities, the summary of the analysis will horizontally compare how the concepts of gender, equality/equity and justice manifest themselves into the urban planning regime. This horizontal comparison will shed light on relevant discussion topics. The operational analytical framework can be found in the *appendix*.

# Vienna



Figure 5: An illustration of Vienna as well as different urban spaces within the city. (Maps, n.d.; Hunt, 2019; Illien, 2021)

## National context

Austria is a nation made up of nine federal states (Länder/Bundesländer). The planning structure is highly hierarchical, and conflict of interests easily appear between the government, the federal states and the municipalities. The strategic planning framework is created on federal state level and concretized further at municipal level. It is the municipalities' responsibility to define planning targets and priorities within the 'urban development plan', which is renewed approximately every 10 years, with a 10-20 year scope. (Gruber 2018; Gruber et al., 2018)

Since 1998 gender equality has been an integrated part of the national constitution, and ever since then gender mainstreaming has been a pervasive strategy with the purpose of creating a *"a gender-equitable society and true equality between women and men."* (Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Budgeting - Federal Chancellery of Austria, n.d.). Gender budgeting and gender sensitive language have been a part of the strategy, implemented at different administrative levels (Austria, n.d.).

Austria is characterized by a 'separate gender roles'-model, which means that women often withdraw from the labor market until their children begin school (Gönenç et al., 2015). In 2017 29% of Austrian women were not working because of care responsibilities, compared to 3% of Austrian men (Weinberger, n.d.). Studies show how these gender differences often result in lowering well-being and may create differentiation in participation in democracy. (Gönenç et al., 2015) It is expected that the social structures in Austria will become *"increasingly polarized and segmented along gender and ethnic lines, with a tendency toward slowly-growing social inequality"* (Weinberger, n.d., p. 8).

This shows how, despite long fought efforts on gender mainstreaming, Austria is still fighting a battle with culturally ingrained gender roles, which causes a barrier for a gender equal society. They are dependent on a more systemic approach to the engendered differences, while still keeping the specific target in focus.

## City context

Historically, Vienna has been a powerful metropolis originating from the Roman empire. Today, the city is positioning itself in front when it comes to improving the *"mental, physical and overall well-being"* of the citizens. In the Urban Development Plan, the mayor articulates how *"Vienna is one of the most rapidly growing metropolises in the German-speaking region, and we view this trend as an opportunity."* (Vienna city administration, 2014, p. 6)

Furthermore, they establish that they must look far ahead to overcome challenges of social, technological or ecological characteristics( *Vienna city administration, 2014*).

The historical, cultural and natural qualities of the city are considered a part of the reason why Vienna In 2022 was ranked as the most liveable city by The Economist. ( *City of Vienna, 2022; Gruber, 2018*) Since the millenium, the city has developed urban policies with focus on social inclusion, sustainability, development of urban economy etc. Additionally, it is noted how “*Vienna continues to establish itself as an international leader in the field of gender equality policy.*”( *Vienna city administration, 2014, p. 14*) In 1991 the exhibition ‘*Who owns public space - women’s everyday life in the city*’ articulated a need for a new perspective on planning, more specifically to integrate gender as a general concern. Gender sensitive planning was afterwards implemented in the planning instrument, and is now an integrated part of strategy plans, urban development plans, sectoral programs etc. ( *Urban development Vienna, 2013*)

Today, Vienna is a front runner when it comes to gender mainstreaming in urban planning, which makes it an interesting case to look into when investigating how they frame it through their planning instrument. Below, gender, equality/equity and justice will be assessed with point of departure in the official planning documents, as described in *Document analysis in the Methodological framework*. Additionally, external academic literature and articles will contribute to the understanding of how the city is framing the concepts in terms of urban planning.

## Gender

The gender manual for urban development expresses how it defines gender according to the European Parliament definition. It defines how women and men should have “*equal opportunities for women and men in all activities and areas of life*”( *Urban development Vienna, 2013, p. 17*). Gender is expressed as a social factor, rather than a biological one. ( *Urban development Vienna, 2013*) Thereby the definition resonates with the social constructionist framing of gender *cf. Gender in the Theoretical framework*. Furthermore, it is articulated how gender is a product of a person's upbringing and experience with gender roles in the family, as well as expectations and norms in relation to gendered behavior in the childhood/adolescent sphere. They acknowledge how these norms and expectations vary across cultures within the city, making gender an even more complex factor to understand. However, the purpose of gender mainstreaming is to incorporate gender as an integrated

factor into the political and planning arena. This shows an increased focus on recognition and representation, as contributors to justice between the genders, *cf. Justice in the Theoretical framework*. A significant part of the manual is to emphasize how important it is to understand the everyday life of men and women, of all age groups. Giving greater attention to gender is articulated as a means to give a voice to the groups in society that are often underrepresented in the planning processes. (*Urban development Vienna, 2013*) According to the general gender mainstreaming manual, gender as a category alone in statistics does not properly address questions over inequalities. The manual emphasizes how:

*“Linking characteristics such as gender, age, language, income or level of education gives us more detailed information on access, barriers and discrimination. Often significant differences only become visible once several indicators are combined, e.g. women with children and women without children, or young girls/boys and older women/men.”(Stadt Wien, 2021, p. 10)*

This shows how data collection determines how inequalities become visible. Adding several indicators to gender analyses thereby increases epistemic justice, since it creates a new epistemology that may make previous hidden structural inequalities visible and recognised. It also helps overcome the discrepancy between the theoretical understanding of gender and the practical implementation(*Urban development Vienna, 2013*).

The manual on gender mainstreaming in urban planning explains how the gender roles are necessary to consider when creating a new frame to see gender in the light of urban planning. One of the areas they shed light on is what is considered work, since there is a tendency in how work is distributed between men and women. The manual articulates how urban planning must provide the necessary support in the urban scene for women doing the domestic/care work as well as paid work, but at the same time acknowledge a development towards more equal caretaking roles between men and women. (*Urban development Vienna, 2013*) The manual therefore does not challenge the traditional gender roles that still dominate in Vienna, by creating a transformative scheme, but tries to accommodate the current needs in an equity manner. However, it is part of their reflections that the gender roles are headed in a direction towards more equality in domestic/care work.

In this way, Vienna frames gender as a social construct, and gender roles are supported through affirmative politics. However, there is an acknowledgement of the general development of the traditional gender roles in society, and how the urban scene can support a development towards a more balanced split between paid work and domestic/care work between men and women.

## Equality/Equity

In the general manual on gender mainstreaming in Vienna, it is said how: *“The implementation of gender mainstreaming measures ensures that the products and services of the City of Vienna contribute to promoting the equality of women and men in Vienna.”*(Stadt Wien, 2021, p. 4) and:

*“This is done by analyzing the reasons for unequal treatment of women and men and developing suggestions for how organizations, institutions and areas of life have to be designed so that all people can use them equitably. Equality does not mean that all people have to be the same, but it does mean that nobody is discriminated against because of their gender.”*(Stadt Wien, 2021, p. 5)

Thereby, they establish equality as the endpoint rather than a measure, where equity becomes the measure towards gender equality.

In the Urban Development Plan, Vienna wants to establish itself as diverse, vibrant and ambitious. Furthermore, they articulate how *“for all stakeholders, this means being ready to invest – financially, politically and instrumentally – in intelligent resource-preserving, socially balancing, gender-equitable and economic competition-fostering forms of urban development.”*(Vienna city administration, 2014, p. 13)

In that way gender-equitability becomes a tool to embrace diversity. Additionally, they frame gender mainstreaming as equal to gender-equitable considerations in decision-making(*Urban development Vienna, 2013*). Thereby, gender-equitability becomes the main target in Viennas urban development. This becomes even more clear when framing the development of the urban spaces. They want to ensure the quality of the spaces, and describe how *“Urban public spaces should be qualitatively excellent, barrier-free, robust and suitable for everyday and flexible use; they should offer options for different user groups without excluding others. They should take account of gender-specific needs and the different play and role behaviors of girls and boys.”*(Vienna city administration, 2014, p. 115) This resonates with how equity is achieved through urban planning, since it is necessary to investigate the specific needs of the groups, in order to create gender-equitable urban spaces. However, it also raises a discussion over whether equity can be all encompassing by nature in just a single urban space, or if the urban spaces should be created to altogether encompass all groups, so that no user groups are excluded.

In the manual on gender mainstreaming in urban development it is further described how gender-equitability will be assessed.

*“Gender mainstreaming in urban planning aims at systematic quality evaluation with regard to the equality of opportunities allotted to different user groups. In the sense of ensuring “fair shares in the city” for all, it must be established what sort of benefits (or, possibly, impediments) result from planning decisions. For this reason, gender mainstreaming is crucial in order to deliberately assume different viewpoints and everyday life perspectives, thereby helping to keep “blind spots” in planning to a minimum.”(Urban development Vienna, 2013, p. 7)*

The paragraph emphasizes how equality is seen as the end-point in terms of ‘opportunities’ after ensuring ‘fair shares’ according to the needs of the group. It also articulates how viewing gender mainstreaming as an equity measure, makes the planning process more ‘bulletproof’, since it by nature assumes that there are differences, and thereby establishes a process that encompasses different perspectives from the beginning. In addition to this, Maria Vassilakou, vice mayor and city councilor for urban development in Vienna, expresses how the equity perspective has turned the approach upside down:

*“In Vienna Gender Sensitive Planning came first. Creating public spaces that are equitable for everybody that are people -centered not car- centered(...). In a way, gender-sensitive planning was kind of an eye opener.”(Palit, 2019, p. 16)*

Vassilakou articulates how the equity perspective thereby may help with several other struggles within the urban scene, since it helps to re-install the human back in focus in the planning process.

In that way Vienna is aiming towards gender equality through a gender-equity lense. This raises the question over whether these two can complement each other without heading in different directions.

## Justice

According to Viennas urban development plan, the city was declared the “most prosperous city in the world” by the UN, “since it does not only score with regard to infrastructure and productivity, but also in the fields of sustainability and distributive justice”(Vienna city administration, 2014, p. 21) This is furthermore explained:



*“Vienna embraces the tradition of European cities that support upward mobility and social justice. The “Viennese Model” assumes responsibility for the provision of efficient infrastructure, municipal services and, in particular, for affordable housing, thereby preventing segregation and facilitating a good social mix. (...) Social justice also involves planning the city in a way that ensures that all residents, irrespective of their income, can enjoy high quality building culture and urban aesthetics.”(Vienna city administration, 2014, p. 21)*

However, turning the diverse interests into action may pose a challenge:

*“The operationalisation of “public interests” constitutes a central challenge for planners, which must be efficiently represented in negotiation processes and duly safeguarded in statutory provisions for planning. Any serious thematic debate calls for the translation of gender specific planning demands into concrete instructions for action and reliable, practical criteria that take account of the work realities of the various municipal departments. The task therefore lies in successfully blending technological and social objectives.”(Urban development Vienna, 2013, p. 9)*

Establishing a framework that creates justice between genders is therefore highly reliant on integrating new variables into the planning scheme, that considers social factors such as emotions as well as the more physical variables. This will furthermore help establish a new language within the planning regime, improving hermeneutical justice. Furthermore, the plan establishes how gender sensitive planning should be viewed as a “vertical issue”, meaning that it should permeate the entire planning process, from initial analysis to evaluation. This is said to improve the way *“the divergent life realities and living conditions of men and women”*(Vienna city administration, 2014, p. 51) are acknowledged through the planning practices. This both increases recognition of the differences and thereby also makes injustices more visible, as well as increases chances of securing participation in a way that is able to give a truly representative picture. The justice aspect of gender sensitive planning is also considered through the objectives of the gender manual for urban development: *“equitable resource distribution through awareness of different spatial needs”* and *“representation based on equitable participation and involvement of all groups in development and decision-making processes”*(Vienna city administration, 2014, p. 24). This articulates how distributional justice is dependent on recognising the different needs of the gender groups, and how proper participation depends on distributive fairness, since there may be gendered differences in the ability to participate equally in the planning process.

Thereby, Vienna is aware of how equity is a key component when securing the epistemic aspects of justice, through their framing of gender mainstreaming. Additionally, there is a recognition of the need to establish new practices and vocabularies within the planning departments in order to increase hermeneutical justice.

# Umeå



Figure 6: An illustration of Umeå as well as different urban spaces within the city. (Gustafson, 2017b; Coi, 2022; Maps, n.d.; Roidou & Mpiziki, 2021; Thurén, n.d.)

## National context

Swedish spatial planning is built up of three hierarchies: the national level, the regional level and the local level(municipalities). The Swedish planning and building act gives great autonomy to the municipalities when it comes to land use planning. This is also known as “the municipal planning monopoly”. (*Koglin & Pettersson, 2017*) Since 1907 the municipalities have been obligated to create comprehensive plans. The implementation period of the comprehensive plan has to be between 5 years to 15 years. (*Kristjánsdóttir, 2017*)

Since 1994, gender mainstreaming has been in the vocabulary of the Swedish government, but after the election of a new, self-declared ‘feminist government’ in 2014, the efforts increased. Since 2018, Sweden has worked strategically with gender mainstreaming on a national perspective through a gender equality agency. The purpose of the agency has been to help create a proper integration of the gender perspective in all government agencies. (*Gender Equality, 2022*) Their efforts of gender mainstreaming resonate with Sweden positioning itself as ‘egalitarian’, to a point where it has become a national brand. This comes to show in the normalization of a switch in the traditional gender roles, shown in the balance between paid and domestic/care work between men and women. (*Gustafsson et al., 2019*) However, the goal for the Swedish government is to create an equal balance in the employment rate of men and women, as well as closing the pay gap. In terms of epistemology, Sweden has introduced sex-disaggregated data, with the purpose of making injustices visible(*OECD, 2017*). Despite framing itself as a ‘tolerant and multicultural welfare state’, Sweden faces challenges regarding ethnic segregation (*Rokem & Vaughan, 2019*). This may complicate the task of gender mainstreaming even further.

Thereby, for many years Sweden has been working towards gender mainstreaming their efforts in order to create gender equality. Even though the Swedish gender roles are equalizing, the government wants to establish a structure based on an equal share of men and women in employment. Additionally, the challenges of ethnic segregation may affect their efforts of gender mainstreaming, and demand an increased focus on diversity within genders.

## City context

Umeå is a city located in the northern part of Sweden, and is mostly characterized as a university town, with close to 100.000 residents. Umeå is an interesting case when investigating gender mainstreaming in urban planning, since they have worked actively with gender equality in the city administration for more than 25 years. In 1977 the city established an equality committee and in 1989 the municipality was chosen by the government to put significant focus on gender equality as a part of a pilot project. After the pilot project ended after 5 years, the municipality continued the work with integrating gender equality into their work, and they could now call themselves 'equality officer'. In 1998 it was decided that all decisions in the municipality should integrate gender in the process. (*Dahlqvist, 2019*)

For the city of Umeå, diversity is a strong argument in urban development. The comprehensive plan focuses on the social aspect of the city's development, by articulating "everyone included" and "putting people first". In that way the plan emphasizes the importance of creating a city that is embracing diversity and gender equality. (*Umeå Kommun, 2018*)

Being one of Sweden's front runners on gender equality, makes Umeå an interesting case, since they have gathered experiences on gender mainstreaming since 1989. Below, gender, equality/equity and justice will be assessed with point of departure in the official planning documents, as described in *Document analysis in the Methodological framework*. Additionally, external academic literature and articles will contribute to the understanding of how the city is framing the concepts in terms of urban planning.

## Gender

In the Comprehensive plan, it is acknowledged how gender contributes to the creation of urban spaces, since it affects certain social patterns and activities. The plan articulates this as: "*Sex and ethnicity work together in shaping the identity of the space.*" (*Umeå Kommun, 2018, p. 18*). This establishes a way of looking at gender as a biological construct rather than a social one. Additionally, gender becomes a factor in line with ethnicity, that should be considered in order to create a just city. Thereby, the gender mainstreaming efforts are integrated with efforts against ethnic segregation. The plan articulates how the goal is "*creating a city in which people come together irrespective of their sex, age or background.*" (*Umeå Kommun, 2018, p. 18*) Thereby gender becomes a factor along with other factors that shape individuals, such as age and ethnicity. This resonates with an ideal

of being “all-encompassing”, however this may have the effect that the power structures related to gender may become blurred out, since it is given little to none attention. Even though gender as a singular focus gets little attention, the *“plan is based on an understanding of experienced concern about safety and access to public spaces”*(Umeå Kommun, 2018, p. 18). Thereby concerns over gendered injustices appear in the way they want to tackle the problem, however the problem is not framed through a gender lens. This could problematize the effort towards creating greater perceived and experienced safety, as well as equal access to urban spaces. It raises a question on whether equality is a tangible goal, if it is not addressed through a concrete lens.

In a formal presentation about the plan, the concept “the gendered landscape” is introduced. This landscape is created through many differences in the way women and men use urban spaces. Some of them are the differences in expectations and needs, how free time is spent, mobility patterns, violence against women, gender segregated labour market and domestic and care work. Umeå has become a part of the URBACT-network named “the gendered landscape”. The purpose of the network is to showcase how the city is constructed through power structures engrained in gender roles. Umeå has chosen to work with the concept by offering tours that show specific spots in the city, where they have worked with gender equality. (Thurén, n.d.) It is articulated, how *“It is central to know what living conditions women and men have in the municipality, in order to really be able to create the conditions for all residents to develop based on their own hopes, and not be guided by stereotypical ideas about gender.”*(Translated from Swedish, Dahlqvist, 2019, p. 46) In that way the tour is a way of showcasing initiatives, but also creating a new way of making gendered inequalities visible, by acknowledging the urban space as significantly impacted by the gendered power structures. Additionally, it is a way of encouraging people to challenge ‘stereotypical ideas about gender’, and thereby a way of looking at gender mainstreaming in a transformative perspective. At the same time there is an acknowledgement of the different life patterns of men and women, and how this may create uneven power structures, if the different ways of living are not considered in planning. Therefore it seems necessary to understand the gendered practices when using the urban space, and learn from this to accommodate the needs of the genders. (Dahlqvist, 2019)

Thereby, gender is primarily seen as a biological construct by framing it as ‘sex’. It is acknowledged how this contributes to the production of spaces along with factors such as ethnicity, age and background. However, the initiative ‘the gendered landscape’ helps visualize that it is possible to accommodate different lifestyles among men and women in the city, and how the structures must challenge gender stereotypes.

## Equality/Equity

The overall goal, in relation to gender in urban planning, is to *“Create conditions for women and men to have equal power to shape society and their own lives”*(Thurén, n.d., p. 2). In the comprehensive plan, one of six strategic considerations is “everyone included”. This is articulated as:

*“A sustainable city can only be built with the people who will be living in the city. All planning must be characterized by openness, democracy and gender equality. We will develop public spaces so that everyone, girls and boys, women and men, can spend time in them on equal terms. When building a city we have to start out with children, young people and people with disabilities. The result is a city for everyone.”*(Umeå Kommun, 2018, p. 16)

The term ‘gender equality’ becomes the main target when talking about gender. (Umeå Kommun, 2018) The term gender equality is put in line with openness and democracy, and thereby given significant importance when trying to create an all-encompassing city. The term appears to become a means of creating “a city for everyone”, and even though it is said that men and women, boys and girls, should have “equal power” and spend time in urban space “on equal terms”, there is little attention to the struggles with the current power structures that may challenge this equalization as well as the challenge of trying to accommodate everyone in a city.

Umeå has a long history with gender equality work: *“Gender equality in Umeå’s urban planning has gone from being about representation, lighting and fewer bushes, to now primarily being about trying to plan and build a city that equalizes power relations.”*(Translated from Swedish, Dahlqvist, 2019, p.36) This shows how the approach to gender equality in urban planning has been turned upside down since the beginning. Where it may have started with more concrete initiatives, it seems to have become a more systematic and administrative task, hoping that they will trickle down throughout the urban development plans. This shows with the established gender equality committee in the municipality top structure and 30 years of experience with gender equality in the city administration(Thurén, n.d.). This could also help establish more transparency of inequalities and thereby help establish a language to articulate them, demolishing a hermeneutical injustice.

According to Sandberg and Rönnblom(2016) Umeå has interpreted gender equality, or more specifically how to create it, as a safety struggle. This is explained by a history of a sexual

offender in the area, which created a public sentiment, engaged with creating a different kind of city for women. This was also the point in time where urban planning in Umeå, turned from “gender neutrality” to “gender awareness”. (Sandberg & Rönnblom, 2016) The safety discourse is clear in the comprehensive plan: *“The city must be planned so as to increase people’s sense of safety and urban planning may be a way of evening out power disparities.”* (Umeå Kommun, 2018, p. 18) In that way it becomes clear that gender equality is specifically framed as a safety concern in Umeå, and how it is complementary to the “power disparity” struggle.

## Justice

Umeå exemplifies a long history of gender mainstreaming in urban planning, and thereby also many experiences throughout multifaceted projects. As stated earlier the work with gender in urban planning has changed its character, from initially focusing on the physical planning aspects to being more focused on the administrative and systemic approach. Helena Østerlund articulates the driver behind this change: *“We didn’t just want to talk about lights and bushes. Security is more than that. It’s about power structures and the right to one’s own body.”* (Translated from Swedish, Dahlqvist, 2019, p.39)

This resonates with their strategy about “putting people first”, since it reflects a way of changing the center of gravity from planning for the purpose of planning, to planning for the purpose of justice, using gender equality as the means.

Something as simple as putting gender equality higher in the hierarchy of the city’s administration has created a difference in the way it is naturally thought into all plans. Linda Gustafson, equality officer in Umeå municipality, puts into words how the approach to gender equality needs much more focus on the circumstances:

*“Sometimes gender equality is approached with these one-size-fits-all checklists — do this and you will have [it] (...) Instead, we need to understand the city, who lives there, how it’s built. And then we can figure out how to approach gender equality.”* (Translated from Swedish, Dahlqvist, 2019, p. 40).

Therefore creating justice in terms of gender equality is framed as dependent on understanding the needs of the residents, in order to truly recognise, distribute and represent. A study on the difference in citizen engagement, showed how women were less represented in the urban planning processes of the municipality, which had not been



properly addressed before the gender mainstreaming in the city administration. (*Dahlqvist, 2019*) This shows how the participatory aspect of justice is highly affected by epistemic injustices.

Thereby, the justice perspective of gender mainstreaming in Umeå has very much been driven by changing the center of gravity. They have changed the approach to make it possible to tackle gender equality from a more systemic perspective, hoping that injustices may become more visible throughout the planning process. Additionally, they have been framing justice through recognition, since the initiatives will only be relevant if they recognise the local struggles and offer place-specific solutions. It also comes with the realization that injustices may not be visible, if the participatory processes do not consider gendered differences in participation patterns.

# Berlin



Figure 7: An illustration of Berlin as well as different urban spaces within the city. (Creutzig, n.d.; Data and facts, 2022; Maps, n.d.; Technische Universität Berlin, n.d.; Urban development Vienna, 2013)

## National context

Germany has a three-tiered planning hierarchy, consisting of the federal state(Bund), 16 states(Länder) and city level. The planning system originates from 1949 and is based on the basic law(Grundgesetz). The federal state sets up guiding principles to secure cohesive planning objectives across the state/city level. (*Burgess, 2015*)

In relation to gender, Germany places itself as one of the most unequal countries in the EU, based on the pay gap from 2020. This is most likely caused by the fact that more women have low wage jobs, as well as a higher tendency among women than among men to work part-time in order to take care of the household. (*Borgen Project, 2022*)

Germany has a gender equality policy, and in the basic law it is prescribed that “*the state has to promote substantive, de facto gender equality*”. (*Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, 2020*) They recognise the need to consider the everyday lives of men and women, in order to properly gender mainstream German cities. Furthermore, they acknowledge how there is a need among single mothers and older women to live in mixed-use neighborhoods, because of their work-life balance. However, there is a national tendency that more and more women are being significantly better educated, since the 2000s, and looking at the population group under the age of 40, more women compared to men, live in the bigger cities in Germany today. (*Bundesinstitut für Bau, Stadt- und Raumforschung, 2015*)

This shows how there are still structural inequalities between men and women in Germany. However, tendencies in German society point toward a new development in the needs of the citizens of the city, since women in general are getting better educated and more women live in the bigger cities.

## City context

Berlin is a city state in the German federal republic, and the capital of Germany(*Burgess, 2015*). It is a city with a significant history, and since 1989, when the wall came down, the city has faced a dramatic change in urban planning and design, based on economic, social and political changes. The city has faced adjustments of urban spaces and transportation patterns. This has greatly influenced the ‘heimat’ feeling(Feeling home or identifying with a particular place)(*Schwedler, 2001*).

In present time, the city is world known for its diversity and 'testing ground of spaces' aspiring creative talents and developing individual lifestyles. When it comes to their urban spaces, they are highly impacted by the Berlin spirit:

*"This very special Berlin attitude to life is expressed in many ways, but particularly in the great breadth of cultural potential present in the city. Berlin promotes both individual creativity and community development. Intrinsic to Berlin are the many and varied opportunities to use and shape public spaces, which allow people to define and determine the future of their city."*(Senate Department for Urban Development and the Environment, 2015, p. 21)

A part of the urban development strategy for 2030, is to have inclusive communities/neighborhoods that encourage residents to "*develop their unique characters*"(Senate Department for Urban Development and the Environment, 2015, p. 9).

Being a city of high diversity and tolerance towards different lifestyles, makes it an interesting case to look into when studying gender mainstreaming in urban planning. It raises a question on whether this tolerance is transferred to gender as well, and how they manage to combine the gender aspect with the existing acknowledgement of mixed cultures and interests, as well as a general openness towards different ways of living.

Below, gender, equality/equity and justice will be assessed with point of departure in the official planning documents, as described in *Document analysis in the Methodological framework*. Additionally, external academic literature and articles will contribute to the understanding of how the city is framing the concepts in terms of urban planning.

## Gender

The Berlin strategy 2030, only mentions gender once in the plan. It is mentioned in relation to education. (Senate Department for Urban Development and the Environment, 2015)

Although, it is further articulated in the gender mainstreaming manual for Berlin's urban development, from 2011. In the manual from 2011, the framing of gender resonates with the view on gender as a social construction:

*"Conscious reference is made to all genders as we assume that the term gender contains a social construction, i.e. women and men are socially made. Roles, behaviour, views and much more are attributed to individuals on the basis of their apparently obvious biological gender. All genders also takes into account the diversity of our social conditioning, and in*

*addition to gender, dimensions such as age, ethnic and cultural origin, religion or outlook, a disability or sexual orientation.”(Senatsverwaltung, 2011, p. 9)*

However, gender is only framed partly as a social construction, since some attributes are dependent on the biological gender. Additionally, they define gender as a factor in line with age, ethnicity, religion etc. to have an influence on our personality. They articulate how many other circumstances than gender are influencing our “living patterns” such as “demographic, social and cultural conditions”. And thereby the gender must be understood in the light of the “reciprocal relationship” with these other conditions. (*Senatsverwaltung, 2011, p. 10*) They state that a single mother and a single father may have more similar needs, compared to the needs of a housewife versus a working mother. Thereby, injustices within one gender may in some cases be more essential to understand than injustices across different genders. This at least goes for the case of Berlin. (*Senatsverwaltung, 2011*) This approach differs from historical ways of looking at the needs of women and men in the urban space:

*“As opposed to earlier approaches to women-sensitive or women-oriented policies, GM does not focus on women as a uniform target group but directs attention to the relationship between the genders and to the varying situations of women as well as men.”(Senatsverwaltung, 2011, p. 11)*

Thereby, gender planning becomes more than just a single-axe spectrum, since understanding the differences within one gender is necessary in order to not reinforce stereotypes on the ‘traditional’ women or man. And thereby it becomes essential to add more dimensions to gender planning.

Throughout the manual it becomes clear that an important part of gender mainstreaming in urban planning in Berlin, is to *“avoid the reinforcement of so-called gender stereotypes and to develop spatial options for people of differing lifestyles, social structures, abilities and resources.”(Senatsverwaltung, 2011, p. 10)*. In order to do this they want to not only understand the different needs of men and women, but also understand the causes of gender-specific needs, with *“the goal of overcoming the assignment of gender-specific roles, dismantling structural inequalities and enhancing the equality of all men and women.”(Senatsverwaltung, 2011, p. 6)*

Thereby, gender mainstreaming policy in urban development in Berlin is signified by a desire to transform current power imbalances by taking a normative stance when it comes to the traditional gender roles. Additionally, gender along with other conditions are influencing the life pattern of each citizen. These other conditions may however, result in more differences

and injustices within one gender than across them, which argues that more effort should be put into a more diversified perspective on gender, in the case of Berlin.

## Equality/Equity

The urban development strategy of Berlin states how the city should be “*caring, inclusive and socially responsible*”. They also articulate how “*the need to stand up for diversity and equal opportunity is securely anchored in the city’s psyche and forms one of the cornerstones of Berlin politics*”(Senate Department for Urban Development and the Environment, 2015, p. 21). The term ‘Equal opportunity’ is often mentioned throughout the gender mainstreaming manual as well, and participation is highlighted as a means of creating this. (Senatsverwaltung, 2011) The overall goal is to assess all projects to see whether they are “*promoting the equality of women and men*”(Senatsverwaltung, 2011, p. 6). They acknowledge how it may be necessary to “*pinpoint where supplemental measures for the advancement of women are needed and will be worthwhile*”(Senatsverwaltung, 2011, p. 6). Thereby they implicitly frame gender mainstreaming in urban planning as dependent on an equity perspective. The gender mainstreaming manual makes it clear that the concept is strongly related to making gender a focus point when looking at social inequalities:

*“The goal of gender mainstreaming in urban development is to call attention to the social inequalities between diverse genders and to actively seek to eliminate them in all planning areas and during all planning and decision-making steps.”(Senatsverwaltung, 2011, p. 69).*

Thereby gender in-equality becomes an integrated part of a more general concern over social in-equalities. Other concerns of inequality is articulated:

*“In addition to gender, other factors such as age, mobility levels, socio-economic backgrounds and social roles should be considered as well. It must be established how different social groups appropriate spaces and how they utilize them. One can assume that the “typical” spatial patterns of social groups are socially constructed and therefore subject to change.”(Senatsverwaltung, 2011, p. 13)*

This shows how gender becomes a factor equivalent to age, socio-economic background etc., but also how transformation of ‘typical spatial patterns’ among social groups may be necessary in order to create equality. This faces us with the fact that our current ways of using urban spaces has to face a drastic change, in order to create equality, not only between genders. And also how gender as a factor may be irrelevant in some settings, since

other conditions may be more important when trying to understand how different user groups appropriate urban spaces.

Huning (2013) looks specifically at Berlin as a case of gender mainstreaming, and argues that *“Gender as a category of social inequality seems to have lost its relevance in relation to other categories of social inequality.”* (Huning, 2013, p. 2). She argues this is caused by a decline in the ‘empirical difference’ of the lifestyle of women and men. (Huning, 2013) In that way, the framing of gender inequality through a more general social inequality agenda, may blur out gender differences and shed light on other drivers of in-equality. However, as described in the previous chapter about the framing of gender in Berlin's urban development, it is argued that the true gendered inequalities may lay within the gender and not between them.

Thereby, Berlin's strategy may be more ‘future proof’ in this realization. However, it may be a concern that other social inequalities that appear in the urban spaces may steal the focus from the ‘gender agenda’. Additionally, using the term ‘equal opportunity’ creates a link between the equality and equity perspective. However, it raises a question whether it is possible to encompass both.

## Justice

Throughout the urban development strategy for Berlin, it becomes clear that they see diversity and inclusivity as a cornerstone in their planning strategy (Senate Department for Urban Development and the Environment, 2015). In the specific urban development plan for town centers, the development is said *“to take account of the requirements of all population groups on function and use in urban planning development.”* (Senatsverwaltung, 2019, p. 12) Additionally, Berlin makes it their goal:

*“To provide high amenity value, public space must satisfy the desired usages and expectations of the different user groups in terms of space and infra- structure. For health, social and aesthetic reasons, public outdoor spaces are important additions to the immediate living environment and should therefore be also made available to population groups who are physically challenged or have limited mobility.”* (Senatsverwaltung, 2011, p. 60)

This furthermore establishes Berlin's ‘all-inclusivity’ framing of gender mainstreaming in urban development. A central part of this framing is that gender is connected to more vulnerable groups.

It is emphasized throughout the gender mainstreaming manual that it is necessary to create a planning structure that allows innovative solutions. They encourage to not go through a standardized checklist, but rather focus on the procedural aspects instead:

*“Gender mainstreaming seeks to create room and space for innovation, for novel thought and structures, with the goal of actively promoting change.”(Senatsverwaltung, 2011, p. 3)*

An essential part of this is establishing an iterative process based heavily on citizen engagement. However, it seems essential to ask whether the approach to citizen engagement may result in gender or target group specific problems eg. Who is involved in the planning processes at what points in time? How are citizens included? And are divergent needs assigned equal levels of importance? (Senatsverwaltung, 2011)

They establish that there is a difference in how/when women and men participate in citizen engagement:

*“Nevertheless, it must be noted that differences continue to exist in regard to the interest in participation. As a general note; the smaller scale the project, the more women are involved in the processes and the larger scale the project the more men are involved. A critical assessment should also avoid the perpetration of existing structures.” (Senatsverwaltung, 2011, p. 27)*

They encourage to change the gendered tendencies of participation, and thereby frame it through a transformative lens. This would be the first step, and will most likely increase epistemic justice significantly within the planning scheme, since it would be necessary to uncover reasons that have been hidden until now.

Thereby, the gendered injustices become part of a bigger scheme of ‘all-inclusivity’ in Berlin's urban development. They encourage a systemic shift in the planning practices, since they need to be more iterative and open towards innovation. Additionally, participation becomes the key word in demolishing injustices, since it has been discovered how participation patterns are highly influenced by gender.



## Summary

In the previous chapters, Vienna, Umeå and Berlin have been assessed in terms of how they articulate gender, equity/equality and justice through their urban development scheme. It is necessary to see how the themes show similarities and differences between the city's approach to gender mainstreaming of urban planning, and shed light on relevant discussion points. In the table below, the characteristics of each city are shown in terms of how they frame gender equality through urban planning.

	Gender	Equality/Equity	Justice
Vienna	Social construct	Gender equitability	Affirmative politics
Umeå	Biological construct	Gender equality	Transformative politics(implicitly)
Berlin	Social construct	Equal opportunity	Transformative politics

*Figure 8: The table shows how the cities frame the concepts of gender, equality/equity and justice.*

## Gender

Both Vienna and Berlin articulate gender as a social construction, and simultaneously acknowledge how it goes hand in hand with other dimensions such as age, ethnicity, background etc. Umeå does, however, articulate gender as 'sex' and thereby from a biological construct perspective. Additionally, Umeå establishes specifically how 'sex and ethnicity' are the components in the creation of space, where the other cities rather acknowledge more than those two in combination. However, the three cities all agree that gender is a key factor in the creation of the identity of urban spaces.

When it comes to how urban planning must perform in an affirmative or transformative way in terms of stereotypical gender roles, the three cities differ greatly. Vienna acknowledges how the city still faces very traditional gender roles, but does not explicitly try to transform this through urban planning, rather they try to make everyday lives easier for women. However, they acknowledge the direction the gender roles may be turning towards. Hence they are creating an urban planning scheme that may support more equality in terms of domestic/care work. In their official documents Umeå does not address whether the gender roles should be challenged, but implicitly they frame gender stereotypes as something that should be challenged eg. through their guided tours in 'the gendered landscape'. Berlin articulates directly how gender stereotypes should not be reinforced through urban planning.

And also how recognising the needs of genders is not enough, it is essential to understand the causes of the gendered needs. Thereby the cities represent three very different ways of tackling gender stereotypes. This raises a question over whether urban planning practices should be driven by a top-down normative approach or an approach that observes the tendencies in society and try to fit the planning goals to encompass these tendencies. Both Vienna and Berlin point toward the fact that epistemic injustices will be reduced by improving the understanding of how there may be significant differences within each gender. As Berlin describes, gender should not be seen as a uniform target group, which challenges the way gender is often integrated in the planning process, since it requires a more complex and multi-dimensional assessment of gender. Subsequently, this will help to tell if it is more gender than certain social groups that truly exemplify cases of injustices.

## Equality/Equity

The three cities articulate the target of gender mainstreaming in three different ways. Vienna uses the term 'gender equitability', Umeå uses 'gender equality', and Berlin uses 'equal opportunity'. Vienna explicitly uses the terms equality and equity throughout their strategy, making equity the measure and equality the end-point. However, still saying that men and women should have equal opportunities, which makes it unclear whether these opportunities are seen as the end-point or the 'fair shares' that would work as a measure. The same unclear framing applies for Berlin, since they frame the target through an equality lens, but at the same time acknowledge the need for supplemental measures, which resonates with the equity perspective. Umeå only uses equality in their framing of gender mainstreaming. These differences raise a question over how these different perspectives do encourage the same kind of action, or whether they should be seen as clear stances when it comes to choosing if urban planning should challenge or mitigate social structures. The reasons for how the cities may use the terms may be found in their perspective on gender and gender roles, since the equity perspective that Vienna presents relates to affirmative politics, since it is a way of acknowledging the current power relations between the genders and seeing equity as the best way to overcome injustices. Whereas Berlin being highly transformative in their framing uses the equality term. The two different perspectives represent different ways of combating injustices, since the equity perspective requires a more human-centered investigation whereas equality represents a top-down justice perspective. However, the question is if equity is better at demolishing epistemic injustices between genders within the urban planning scheme, since it demands planners to understand the everyday lives of the citizens. At the same time equality can be argued to be better at challenging current norms.

All three cities use the 'all-inclusivity' agenda to push forward gender planning, talking about 'a city for everyone' and 'design for all'. This raises a relevant discussion point over whether gender mainstreaming can gain momentum in such a framing. Vienna explicitly speaks of creating spaces with "equitable use for some without excluding others", which raises a question over whether urban spaces can be all-encompassing. At the same time Umeå frames gender in line with ethnicity in their urban strategy. Academies point out how other social factors such as ethnicity may point out greater injustices than gender and thereby blur out the gender agenda. The case of Berlin shows there may be more differences within the specific gender, and thereby points how this 'empirical difference' between men and women is declining, making other social conditions relevant to look at in combination with the gender concern. However, this raises a struggle over keeping the remaining gender injustices in mind even when looking at other social injustices.

## Justice

All three cities agree on the need for a new structure within the planning regime, since gender injustices are seen as a systemic concern highly related to epistemic injustices. Vienna articulates how there is a need to encompass gender concerns into a highly technocratic regime, since new knowledge objectives (such as emotions) would need to resonate with traditional knowledge objectives. Thereby it is necessary to create a new language within the planning regime, increasing the hermeneutical justice. Additionally, they establish how gender planning must be represented in every step of the planning process. Umeå acknowledges how giving gender mainstreaming a higher position in the hierarchy of the city administration simply increases its legitimacy and makes it more easily integrated into urban plans, as well as other sector plans. Through practice the city of Umeå has also learned that a more systemic approach gives it a more natural role in urban plans, by changing the initial scope from originally driven by specific gender-oriented projects to a focus on permeating the city administration with a gender focus. Berlin acknowledges the need for more iterative processes and rejects the idea that gender planning must follow a standardized checklist. Thereby all three cities agree to some extent that an essential part of increasing gender justice is by looking at the city administration, empirical evidence and planning processes.

A significant part of planning processes is citizen participation. Both Vienna and Berlin point out how there are differences in the way men and women participate in urban planning. This raises a relevant discussion point over how to secure just participation processes. Berlin furthermore acknowledges how the participation processes may contribute to a

reinforcement of gender stereotypes. Thereby gender stereotypes should not only be a concern in the design of the urban space, but also in the democratic process of citizen engagement.

The gender agenda appears to be rapidly attached to the agenda of vulnerable groups and people with disabilities. This goes both for the cases of Umeå and Berlin, and is furthermore part of the 'all-inclusivity' agenda. It raises the relevant question over why this agenda is often seen together with the gender agenda. And furthermore whether these two agendas may complement each other, or rather mostly blur out the other one.

## Discussion

The previous analysis investigated how gender is framed through the urban planning regime in Vienna, Umeå and Berlin, by looking into the concepts of gender, equality/equity and justice. The analysis has shown how the cities agree with regard to some aspects of making the gender mainstreaming discourse gain momentum within the planning regime. In the analysis of the cities' ways of framing gender through urban planning, it appears that some framings may be relevant to discuss in order to figure out whether they truly help the gender mainstreaming discourse gain momentum.

One relevant framing, is the notion 'planning for everyone', since it can be discussed whether this mainly decelerates gender discourse or enhances it. This will be discussed in the chapter '*Gender and the all-inclusive city*'. Another framing is based on the recognition that men and women participate differently in planning processes, and thereby the term 'equal participation' may be relevant to discuss and how to frame participation in a way that is more aligned with the equity perspective. This will be discussed in the chapter '*Equal participation?*'.

Additionally, all three cities agree that the planning processes must change in some ways in order to accelerate gender discourse. Therefore, gender mainstreaming is highly dependent on re-framings of the planning practices. One of these is to establish that gender mainstreaming is based on a more innovative/iterative planning structure, represented in the chapter '*Innovative planning processes*'. Another one is based on the realization that there is a need for a new vocabulary within the planning regime to encompass the new language that may originate from the gender perspective. This will be discussed in the chapter '*A new planning vocabulary*'. Additionally, it is relevant to look into whether transformative politics help the gender mainstreaming discourse, this will be discussed in the chapter '*Gender planning and transformative politics*'. The five discussion topics are illustrated on the figure below.

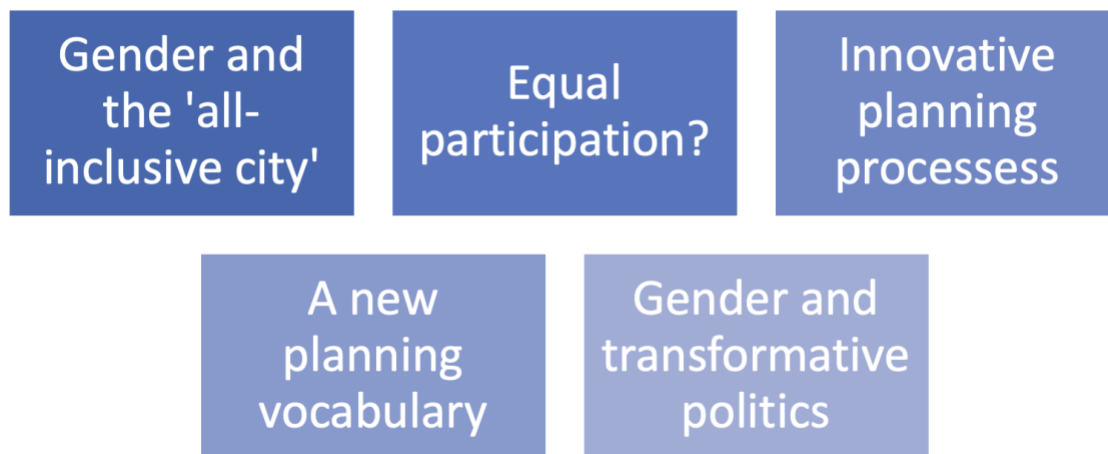


Figure 9: An illustration of the five discussion topics.

## Gender and the 'all-inclusive city'

Throughout the analysis of the three cities it becomes clear that there is a strong tie between the concept of gender planning and concepts such as: a city for everyone, an inclusive city, design for all etc. Thereby gender planning is presented as part of the strategy towards a city that embraces diversity, not only between genders, but between different cultures.

Additionally, the gender discourse is also strongly connected to a strategy of planning for vulnerable groups in urban spaces eg. people with disabilities. But what is it about gender planning that makes it appropriate to encompass many other variables of a person's identity? Or is it more likely that the question should be turned upside-down; by trying to understand why gender should be carried along in an all-inclusivity discourse?

One could argue that this is a way of proposing an increased legitimacy around the gender planning discourse, while also solving in-equalities on other levels than the gendered one. However, this discourse may make gender inequality invisible, since it moves the focus from gender to 'everybody'. Even though other social in-equalities play out in the urban space eg. discrimination of certain ethnic groups, LGBTQ+ people or people with disabilities, the gender agenda may vanish when looking at all of these problems at the same time. Additionally, it raises the question if/to what extent an urban space may lose its identity in the effort of making it all-encompassing?

Experience from the UK of gender mainstreaming in the urban planning regime showed that local authorities had a tendency of making the gender concern another 'checkbox' focus, along with a long line of diversity focuses. Greed and Reeves (2005) identified how it was a

central problem that planners were not capable of seeing the relation between gender and their field and thereby saw it mostly as a bureaucratic burden, as well as a tendency of marginalization of the gender equality agenda, due to a low level of female employees.

*(Greed & Reeves, 2005)*

Thereby it raises two important focus points for further investigation: 1) to put more focus on raising the legitimacy of a specific focus on gender and 2) to make gender inequalities visible when looking at general inequality issues in the urban context. Regarding the first one, the gender agenda would have to build a stronger momentum in order to gain legitimacy, so that the discourse does not have to be 'carried' along by another inequality agenda. Regarding the second, the original feminist claims of understanding the gendered power struggles would have to be an integrated part of the inclusive city design process. There would be a risk that gender becomes a category like age, ethnicity, background etc. and thereby loses the critical perspective.

The ideal solution seems to be a combination of the two points above, where gender planning is seen as a pillar in the scheme of engendering urban justice. However, this would probably require a transformation in planning practices as well, in order to see gender planning as a helpful tool to make injustices visible rather than a bureaucratic burden. Additionally, it would be necessary to create a specific language for gender planning to increase the hermeneutical justice. Here the concept of intersectionality could be an essential part of combining the different social in-justices within the urban space, without drowning certain agendas over others. Beebeejaun (2017) proposes that we should recognise the urban space as a scene for contested publics, and thereby we need a framework that engages with 'multiple uses of space' in a way that frames the urban space as a place where differences meet. This would probably in the end also enhance justice between gender, as well as recognising other social injustices within the space. Bacchi and Eveline (2010) proposes how the change from a 'gender mainstreaming' discourse to a 'diversity mainstreaming' discourse, may make it easier to address power structures directly. More specifically, going from the feminist planning discourse to gender mainstreaming, meant that little attention was paid to the power structures, and it became harder to frame the problems as 'women' problems. The 'diversity mainstreaming' approach would also encourage a deeper understanding of existing inequalities within the gender, since it would engage with the more complex personalities, and look more at social groups and their interactions in the urban space. *(Bacchi & Eveline, 2010)* This would also encourage a focus on inequalities within the genders.

To sum up, this discussion resonates with a more general planning struggle of taking different interests into consideration in the urban space. In that, exact struggle, discourses and framing have significant importance to whether a focus gains momentum. It appears that the gender mainstreaming discourse is having a hard time gaining legitimacy, and is therefore framed through other social inequalities. A different, more place-specific approach to social inequalities may be a way of avoiding the 'checklist' while keeping focus on structural inequalities, that may reveal how gender correlates with other character traits in the conflicts in the urban space.

## Equal participation?

Throughout the analysis of the three cities, it becomes apparent that there are gendered tendencies in participation patterns among men and women. This both shows a difference in what kind of projects men and women engage in, as well as a tendency that more men than women participate in public planning processes. Escalante and Valdivia (2015) points out how the framing of urban planning as a neutral act for the purpose of the 'common good', has resulted in a reproduction of excluding measures, since framing participation through a 'neutrality' discourse neglects power disparities. Hereby, it states the fact that men and women have different prerequisites of participating in public planning.

Drawing a line back to Habermas' understanding of system and lifeworld, as well as the public and private sphere, and Fraser's critique of the missing gender perspective, cf. *Philosophy of Science*, may help provoke new approaches to a more gender-sensitive citizen engagement strategy. Fraser's critique establishes how there needs to be an assessment of men and women's role in the public and private life, in order to understand how gender may affect the participation patterns. This includes looking at the balance between paid work and domestic/care work between men and women, and how well the current urban scenery supports gendered everyday practices. Escalante and Valdivia (2015) point out how "*the construction of the built environment prioritizes the work which goes on in the public sphere – work undertaken for pay – over the activities which go on in the home.*" (Escalante & Valdivia, 2015, p. 115). And in most societies women are still the primary part responsible for domestic and care work (Escalante & Valdivia, 2015). Thereby a way to create a surplus of energy among women, to participate in planning processes, may be to create an urban scenery that eases their everyday practices. Until now it appears that the 'neutrality' discourse has been more of a barrier than a help to an equal participation strategy.



However, ensuring that men and women have 'equal opportunity' to participate may not be enough to create/ensure justice in participation. Beall (1996) articulates different ways of approaching the differences between men and women in participation:

*"New forms of urban partnership, therefore, need to foster (on the part of all actors or groups involved) a commitment to developing genuinely participatory processes that include both women and men at all stages of development. Gender-sensitive urban partnerships have to recognise the different approaches that women and men adopt in organisation, negotiation, and planning as a result of their socialisation and experience of public life, and change their organisational practice accordingly."(Beall, 1996, p. 15)*

Thereby, planners would have to develop a frame that recognises how men and women come from different social experiences that create the foundation for how they engage. Additionally, it would be necessary to expand the window of participation, since there may be gendered differences in at what stage in the planning process men and women contribute the most.

Therefore framing seems essential in order to secure justice through participation, and it appears to be twofold. The framing of urban development as a neutral act may re-produce power disparities that indirectly prevent women from participating. Additionally, the way we think about participation may also have to change, since the gender factor may require a process that involves citizens at all stages of the process, as well as take into consideration the difference in participation practices between men and women. This could furthermore be driven along by a change in the way we frame citizen participation and the way we look at how citizens, disregarding gender, can contribute to planning.

## Innovative planning processes

Throughout the assessment of the three cities it becomes clear that the gender perspective requires a different approach in the urban planning department. This is both in terms of what kind of processes that are necessary; how to engage citizens and stakeholders, but ultimately it depends on a shift in the way planning is framed on the systemic level. This shows in the case of Umeå, where the gender planning perspective didn't gain momentum until it was implemented on a systemic level, which subsequently also changed the way planning was approached. Thereby it both depends on a change in the systemic agenda towards a more gender friendly planning frame, but maybe also a general paradigm shift

within planning. A shift towards more innovative and iterative processes, where the goal is not necessarily defined from the beginning, and the planning process is open to changes in order to incorporate new perspectives and knowledge along the way. Horelli (2013) prescribes how a new planning paradigm should incorporate measures that make it possible for planners to monitor activity at neighborhood level, in order to make initiatives more adjusted to the everyday lives of citizens. Furthermore, she describes how:

*“The development and appropriation of such instruments should change the way we see urban procedures, how we conceive of its actors and finally how we understand the actual meaning of urban planning processes for society.”(Horelli, 2013, p. 13.)*

Thereby gender planning, could be incorporated into a new framing of planning in general. A framing where planning is based on understanding the needs of citizens, grounded in a premise of creating just cities with a point of departure in everyday lives. Lavoie et al. (2021) articulates how many factors may work as drivers of a change in the framing of planning. Among which are: a change in the way people work; how leisure time is spent; and current and future environmental and climate crises. These drivers will challenge the way we have planned until now, requiring new measures in planning forcing us to ‘redefine’ the routines of planners. (Lavoie et al., 2021) One of the new routines could be through social innovation and integration of methods developed by private consultants. Lavoie et al.(2021) furthermore articulates how:

*“We must accept that these projects are invaluable sources of learning for meeting current and future urban challenges. The integration of these divergent approaches could also lead to the emergence of a new professional identity for planners: the ‘innovative planner’, as opposed to the ‘traditional rule-based planner’.”(Lavoie et al., 2021, p. 52)*

However, O’Hagan & Klatzer(2018) raise a critique of how the level of dedication in the specific department is definitive as to how well the gender equality policies are implemented into their practices. And often experts within the gender equality field, look at specific challenges of inequality, rather than a systemic scope. This results in targets and indicators of equality implementation efforts, often missing out on the connection to policies, as well as a blindness to the root causes of gender inequality in the first place. (O’Hagan & Klatzer, 2018) Thereby, in order for gender mainstreaming to be a tool that works as a fertilizer for new innovative planning processes, it must be related to the field and the potential of it improving planning must be emphasized.

In that way, the gender discourse could be enhanced by a new approach to planning, where the planner may be more critical towards path-dependencies and open towards new methods to solve the wicked problems that our cities are facing. However, the approach must be framed in a manner that relates to the work of the planning department and shows the potential of integrating a gender perspective into the respective fields.

## A new planning vocabulary

Even though focus may increase on establishing equitable participation and planning procedures that are more adjusted to the gender perspective, the procedural justice perspective is not enough to secure a gender oriented framing of planning. The cases show that gender planning forces the planning regime to integrate new knowledge objects, in order to comprehend the difference between men and women's experiences in everyday life. Especially, the experiences of women may be hard to articulate through the existing paradigm, and thereby women suffer hermeneutical injustice. There is so to say not a frame that can properly process the experiences of particularly women. Friberg (2006) articulates how:

*"Women's own 'language' must be the norm in communication with planners. Planners will have to accept different forms of knowledge such as talking (including narratives and gossip), listening (the social police of everyday life), and silent or intuitive knowledge. The task of the planner is to convert these forms of knowledge into technical language, a type of bilingualism. (...) A gendered perspective makes visible women's and men's divergent experiences and, by focusing on the users of spaces and places, introduces individual experiences as the basis of comprehensive planning."*(Friberg, 2006, p. 284)

However, this type of knowledge appears difficult to integrate into urban planning as of today. It highlights another important framing of gender planning, that in order to incorporate the gendered considerations of urban spaces, we must challenge our own ways of gathering and processing knowledge. Ultimately, it is a question of what counts as knowledge, and how we can legitimize new knowledge objects into the planning regime. Muñoz-Erickson et al. (2017) addresses the challenge of trying to change the existing epistemological frame:

*"Knowledge both is an outcome of governance and creates the conditions for it. It contributes to, comes to be embedded in, and helps to construct shared beliefs, discourse, practices, policies, and visions. Thus, the city transformations envisioned by advocates of*

*knowledge co-production cannot be understood as mere exercises in creating and applying knowledge, however broadly sourced across diverse participants; rather, they are exercises in reconfiguring the relationships between and institutional configurations of both how cities think and how they act. They are thus social and political exercises at least as much as they are epistemic ones.”(Muñoz-Erickson et al., 2017, p. 2)*

Thereby the construction within the planning scheme, can be explained with point of departure in structuration theory, as presented by Giddens, cf. *Philosophy of Science*. Even though planners may recognise a need for implementing new knowledge objects as acts of gender-sensitivity (representing their agency), the current planning structures, among others; including the ways in which knowledge is processed in the urban planning department, may stand in the way of properly addressing gender inequality.

Given the current structures of the planning regime, it is difficult to make power disparities visible and integrate a differentiated perspective on urban experiences from men and women, since it is inherently gender-blind. Ultimately, to create a new vocabulary would require a planning perspective framed through the everyday experiences of people. Additionally, it seems necessary to create a scheme that is critical towards the sources of knowledge, since the question of whose knowledge is legitimate is not just about the hermeneutical justice perspective, but also testimonial justice.

## Gender planning and transformative politics

The three cases show how the cities take different standpoints when it comes to being critical towards the current gender roles and stereotypes. This feeds into a discussion over whether gender planning should be about supporting the current gender roles in society, or whether it should try to challenge dominating stereotypes. It resonates with a more general discussion over what role planners have in urban development, with a recognition of the fact that the urban space is more than just a ‘container’ based on physical features, but also a junction of meanings and norms.

A discussion over the concept of ‘gender mainstreaming’ also raises the question: does ‘mainstreaming’ have a transformative capacity? Squires (2005) express *“the danger that, once accepted as a norm that resonates with the dominant policy frame, mainstreaming will be adopted as a technocratic tool in policy-making, depoliticizing the issue of gender inequality itself”* (Squires, 2005, p. 374) Inés and Roberts (2013) articulate how the gender mainstreaming is not transformative, and carried out by an ‘integrationist approach’ rather than an ‘agenda setting approach’. Thereby, the discourse of mainstreaming may dissolve

the transformative power of looking at urban spaces as inherently gendered. Furthermore, this establishes how the way the integration of the gender perspective is framed, may end up standing in the way of integrating it properly.

Squires (2005) articulates how the transformative power only gains momentum through mainstreaming, if it is carried by an enhancement of the deliberative democracy. (*Squires, 2005*) In line with the need to enhance deliberation, Horelli (2017) describes how a new turn in planning theory sees the agonistic planning scheme as a way to overcome the dissolution of the transformative capacity of gender mainstreaming. Additionally, it resonates well with the traditional feminist movement ideals, by acknowledging planning as a political act based on consensus thinking. (*Horelli, 2017*)

However, it seems that there is a need to establish a frame that emphasizes how the integration of the gender aspect may help increase the quality of urban planning in general. Thereby, changing the discourse of it from being seen as a forced bureaucratic tool to a tool that has the ability to 'bulletproof' planning and enhance democracy.

In order to show the potential of making gender planning a measure that can improve urban planning in general, it must be in alignment with the norms of politicians and practitioners, by eg. framing gender planning as beneficial for productivity and better governance (*Squires, 2005*). Horelli (2017) suggests 'engendering expanded urban planning', a concept that both tries to expand horizontally and vertically from a multi-level governance perspective. (*Horelli, 2017*)

Thereby, the concept of 'mainstreaming' may show its limitations, when revolving power relations. The concept may not be strong enough to challenge gender stereotypes and structures that enhance gender inequality, since it becomes a bureaucratic tool. The framing of gender planning, may need to go along with a different discourse within planning. A discourse that frames planning as a field in constant transformation, rather than a static field of 'mainstreamed' routines.

# Conclusion

This project has tried to answer the following research question:

***How does the framing of gender within the urban planning regime in Vienna, Umeå and Berlin affect the gender mainstreaming discourse? And what opportunities and/or challenges does this framing constitute for urban development?***

This has been done by analyzing how the cities of Vienna, Umeå and Berlin frame gender through urban development, to subsequently see common tendencies, and evaluate different opportunities or challenges related to these. The result is twofold, since it both points towards considerations in framing that would improve the gender mainstreaming discourse, but it also points toward in what ways the gender mainstreaming discourse is problematic.

In order to make the gender mainstreaming discourse gain momentum, several considerations must be made. First of all, gender planning must be framed, so that it is recognised that men and women contribute to citizen participation differently. Thereby, the gender neutrality approach adopted by the gender mainstreaming agenda, treating men and women with a sense of 'sameness', must be challenged. It must be framed in a manner, so that men and women's different participation patterns are recognised, to ensure their contributions to planning are met at an appropriate stage in the planning process. In continuation of this, the gender concern must be connected to the field of the relevant planning department, as well as framed as a tool with the potential of improving planning through innovation, rather than yet another bureaucratic tool. Gender planning also requires a new framing of knowledge processing within the planning department, since new variables would have to be integrated, to subsequently create a language to ensure hermeneutical justice. Thereby gender mainstreaming is highly related to re-framing some of the routines within the planning department. This is done in order to establish an epistemology to access and plan urban spaces, that do not simply consider gender planning as an 'add-on' to existing routines, but as a perspective that could and should transform path dependency within the planning department, in order to make ingrained power relations visible.

The gender mainstreaming discourse appears problematic in different ways. A general criticism is that it neglects gendered power imbalances, by not articulating certain problems as 'women problems'. Additionally, the concept of mainstreaming is highly critiqued for not

having a transformative power, and thereby cannot challenge existing gender stereotypes or problematic views on gender. The challenge is in the absence of the dynamic dimension, that represents how gender and gender roles are constructs in constant transformation. A new way of framing gender within planning could be through 'diversity mainstreaming', ensuring that the place-specific power imbalances between different social groups is the focus point of the planning of urban spaces. This would also be a way of considering all the other factors than just gender in planning. In that way, it would not be necessary to drive the gender agenda along on an 'all-inclusive' discourse, but rather the planning process could be giving attention to the social groups within the specific urban space from the onset, and see how different factors, such as gender, play a role in the creation of an equal urban space.

This project has provided insight to how our urban planning regime holds a great power in the way they frame their action towards creating 'just cities'. Gender planning is just one example of how planning departments must rethink their practices to ensure that the social structures within our cities are actually worth 'sustaining', in the strive towards sustainable cities. It appears that power imbalances unfolding between social groups within our urban spaces, is still a relevant topic of investigation. Subsequently, such a study will be reflecting whether our planning regime is capable of creating just urban spaces.

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# Appendix

## 1. Analytical framework

The purpose of the analysis will be to uncover the epistemological background of the planning authorities of the chosen cities.

The framework will be used on the plans of the cities individually.

The focus	Focus points
The national context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The planning regime</li> <li>- National strategies on gender equity/equality</li> <li>- Gender roles(historically and present)</li> </ul>
The city context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What characterizes the city(specifically in terms of gender, diversity and justice)</li> <li>- What is the general urban planning context of the city?</li> </ul>
Analysis of plans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What initiatives/projects/measures do they suggest to create gender mainstreaming in urban spaces?</li> <li>- What are their methods?</li> <li>- What is gender mainstreaming to them?             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- equity vs. equality?</li> </ul> </li> <li>- How do they articulate gender?             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- As a biological or social construct?</li> <li>- Do they articulate gender inequalities? how?</li> <li>- Do they differentiate between the genders? how?</li> <li>- Do they explicitly articulate needs for men and women?                 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What needs do they prescribe to the genders?</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Are they challenging the current gender roles? (affirmative or transformative)</li> </ul> </li> <li>- How do they integrate gender into urban planning strategies?             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Do they talk about it in an affirmative or transformative way?(does the regime need to change in order for it to work or is the current regime proper in implementing the strategy?)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
External literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What do academic papers and others say about the cities and the plan(s)?</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- How have the initiatives worked in practice? and what can we learn from that?</li></ul>
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