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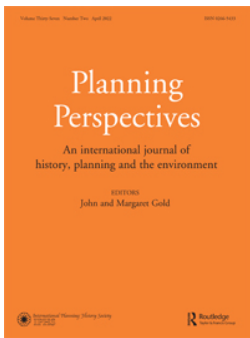
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# Who owns public spaces? The trailblazer exhibition on women's everyday life in the City of Vienna (1991)

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## ABSTRACT

This article contributes to shedding light, documenting, and disseminating a pioneer event that has not been part of the recorded history of urban planning. In 1991, two feminist engineers working at the City of Vienna's Urban Planning Office organized a ground-breaking exhibition with the aim of understanding gender bias in urban design. The event exceeded their prospects in an unanticipated way. Since 1991, the City of Vienna led the way to the conceptualization of gender mainstreaming that was happening at the European level – and that did not take place until 1997, when the Amsterdam Treaty came into effect. In 1992, the City of Vienna established the Women's Office, with authority in urban affairs. Paradoxically, the success of the exhibition did not allow the organizers to properly document and preserve it, nor was it conserved in the City's Archive. This unprecedented research relies on unreleased archival material gathered from the personal archives of the exhibition's photographers, as well as from ad-hoc interviews with the organizers, Jutta Kleedorfer and Eva Kail. Thirty years later, the City of Vienna is known for this approach to urban planning. The exhibition 'Who Owns Public Spaces? Women's Everyday Life in the City' was the turning point.


## KEYWORDS

Gender mainstreaming; urban planning; Vienna; Eva Kail; everyday life; exhibition

## Introduction

The history of gender mainstreaming in urban planning – the strategy that reinforces gender equality in decision-making procedures – is now being written. The reinforcement of wide range mainstreaming of equal opportunities across different disciplines in the European Union was only established during the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997, and finally came into effect in 1999.<sup>1</sup> More than 20 years later, the implementation of these policies is unequal. Nevertheless, there have been countries and cities within Europe which were pioneering in applying such strategies even before they were conceptualized.

The experiences that took place in the Austrian capital, Vienna, probably constitute the most renowned example in Europe. Starting in the 1990s and through the 2010s the city scored highest in terms of gender equality in spatial planning due to its conceptual depth and the wide range of implementations.<sup>2</sup> Every year between 2009 and 2019, the city also ranks highest in Mercer's global

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<sup>1</sup>Booth and Bennett, "Gender Mainstreaming in the European Union."

<sup>2</sup>Damyanic et al., "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development."

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survey ‘Quality of Life City Ranking’.<sup>3</sup> However, despite Vienna’s commitment to ensuring equality for women in the city, the complexity of issues set in the neoliberal climate still remain in the progress of being addressed.<sup>4</sup> Yet, the city’s transition from an unliveable and car dominated metropolis to the activated and inclusive urban space needs to be attributed to the leadership of a small group of urban planners.<sup>5</sup> But where and when did Vienna’s transition start?

The *Manual for Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development* was released by the City of Vienna’s Urban Planning Office in 2013. It outlines the main conclusions and recommendations drawn from the active gendered planning approach they have followed through the years. Since 1998, the main driver of change and incentive for operations has been the Coordination Office for Planning and Construction Geared to the Requirements of Daily Life and the Specific Needs of Women of the Executive Group for Construction and Technology. It was previously known as the Women’s Office, which was established in 1992.<sup>6</sup> But what led to the unusual founding of a Women’s Office at the Vienna’s Municipal Department for Urban Development and Planning was a significant but under-studied event.

In 1991, an exhibition titled ‘Who Owns Public Spaces? Women’s Everyday Life in the City’ (*Wem Gehört Der Öffentliche Raum? Frauenalltag in Der Stadt*) was the catalyst. The event was organized by two urban planners of the Department, Eva Kail and Jutta Kleedorfer, who explicitly addressed and questioned for the first time gender issues in planning and demanded a change in approach.<sup>7</sup> This happened as the sudden shift of progress in Vienna’s metropolis since the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 required a strong response to urban pressures.<sup>8</sup> The rapid expansion of the Austrian capital posed new challenges and gender issues had to be addressed in order to provide a safe and comfortable environment for every person in the city.<sup>9</sup> In parallel, there was strong activism emerging among Viennese women since the early 1970s, originally centred around reproductive rights and the demand for the legalization of abortion. During the 1980s, feminist initiatives and organizations diversified focusing on intersectional issues such as religion, ethnicity and migration, releasing related publications.<sup>10</sup> However, feminist initiatives mainly remained on the margins. When preparing the exhibition, Kail and Kleedorfer did not anticipate its influence on Vienna’s city planning.

The existing literature describing the origins of gender mainstreaming in Europe often mentions the shifts initiated by the exhibition as a starting point,<sup>11</sup> however, none of these secondary sources describe, explore, or analyse the event. In fact, the contents of the exhibition were never published before, apart from the original material at the time. There is an urgency to bring it to the light, not only to learn from the past but also to document a key moment in the history of feminism in urban design in Europe.

Therefore, this article fills the historical information gap in Vienna, while underlining the relevance of women’s participation in urban design, as a question of central importance for continuing building effective equality. Additionally, the pertinence of analysing gender mainstreaming is

<sup>3</sup>Antalovsky and Löw, “Why Vienna Gets High Marks.”

<sup>4</sup>Strohmeier et al., “Wien 1991–2006.”

<sup>5</sup>Sánchez de Madariaga and Novella Abril, “A new generation of gender mainstreaming in spatial and urban planning under the new international framework of policies for sustainable development,” ed. Zibell et al., *Gendered Approaches to Spatial Development in Europe*, 181–203.

<sup>6</sup>Irschik and Kail, “Vienna: Progress Towards a Fair Shared City,” ed. Sánchez de Madariaga and Roberts, *Fair Shared Cities*, 193–230.

<sup>7</sup>Damyanovic et al., “Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development.”

<sup>8</sup>Antalovsky and Löw, “Why Vienna Gets High Marks.”

<sup>9</sup>Irschik and Kail, “Vienna: Progress Towards a Fair Shared City.”

<sup>10</sup>Mayer, “Politik der Differenzen.”

<sup>11</sup>Reinwald et al., “Gender sensitivity in urban development concepts: the example of two case studies from London and Vienna,” in *Gendered Approaches to Spatial Development in Europe*, 103; Irschik and Kail, “Vienna: Progress Towards a Fair Shared City,” 194 and Damyanovic et al., “Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development,” 103.

especially relevant in present times, as any decline in economic situation, similar to the 2008 financial crisis, causes cuts in public funds, and subsequently de-prioritises the gendered approach to planning.<sup>12</sup> Also, the Covid-19 global pandemic since 2020 not only altered the way of living in urban environments but declined public economies, disproportionately affecting the lives and the civil rights of women from an intersectional perspective, who are still often inhabiting under-privileged positions.<sup>13</sup>

Consequently, this article relies on primary sources including personal archives and interviews with those involved in the preparation of the exhibition. Specifically, an interview with the planners, Eva Kail and Jutta Kleedorfer, as well as with two artists, the authors of the exhibited photographs Didi Sattmann and Barbara Krobath. Due to the absence of documentation in the city archive, the primary sources gather information from personal archives of the people involved in the exhibition and the media, as well as information gathered from the interviewees. This includes the report on the form of the exhibition (see Appendix 1), as well as scans of the main thematic exhibition panels (see Appendix 2) and the pictures from professional photographers.

On the other hand, the only published source that explains some of the contents of the exhibition is the book-catalogue *Wem Gehört Der Öffentliche Raum? Frauenalltag in Der Stadt* (eng. ‘Who Owns Public Space? – Women’s Daily Life in the City’), published in German by Eva Kail and Jutta Kleedorfer in July 1991 – only two months before the exhibition officially opened. This book compiles relevant pictures, graphs, and short texts by various authors. The contributors share their own experiences, research, and observations about different aspects thematically surrounding women’s life in the city. Even though the catalogue was published as part of the exhibition, it was a parallel project containing parts of the exhibition and parts of independent research on similar topics.

Other pertinent references include Eva Kail and Elisabeth Irschik chapter ‘Vienna: Progress towards a Fair Shared City’ (2016) which draws a timeline of the initiatives that followed the exhibition as a consequence – particularly the urban and architectural pilot projects Mariahilf, Frauen-Werk-Stadt I and II; as well as the book *Gendered Approaches to Spatial Development in Europe: Perspectives, Similarities, Differences* edited by Barbara Zibell, Doris Damyanovic and Ulrike Sturm (2019). This book compares Vienna’s urban design policies to other European cities and also provides an interesting outline of historical trends and movements around gender, policies, and planning.

Taking all of this into consideration, the article is divided into three parts. The first section addresses Vienna’s historical background and the origins of the exhibition in the context of the third feminist wave happening through the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>14</sup> The second breaks down the themes of the exhibition while analysing its representation through a comprehensive collection of data and images. The third section outlines the potential influence of the exhibition in the process of the conceptualization of gender mainstreaming in Europe and delineates its past and present relevance, as well as the challenges ahead.

The concluding remarks focus on how the lack of official documentation in the city’s archive, municipal office and mainstream media not only proves that the event exceeded the expectations of the organizers, – who were engaged in the preparations and could not properly record the event themselves –, but that there not have been, at the time of writing, further initiatives to officially

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<sup>12</sup>Irschik and Kail, “Vienna: Progress Towards a Fair Shared City.”

<sup>13</sup>European Commission, “2021 Report on Gender Equality in the EU.”

<sup>14</sup>Booth and Bennett, “Gender Mainstreaming in the European Union.”

archive this information. Today, the scarcity of resources and lack of documentation of key feminist historical events in urban planning poses a major problem in understanding and investigating their implications. Tragically, a common symptom of how women's practices in the city are later erased.

## A ground-breaking feminist exhibition in the City of Vienna

Vienna nowadays constitutes a well-known case that has been followed closely by feminists in urban planning. Experts in the field have identified it as a prototype for other cities to learn from due to its commitment to consistently improving the spatial justice for women over time.<sup>15</sup> For the past 30 years, the municipality continued its intersectional strategy of gender mainstreaming in urban planning and spatial development. In the first phase, there were about 60 pilot projects conducted at multiple planning scales, from residential buildings to whole neighbourhoods, while the second phase consisted of knowledge exchange and evaluation of the experiments.<sup>16</sup> Meaningful participatory planning and involvement of the inhabitants through interviews or workshops had been key in both phases.<sup>17</sup> The case of Vienna contributed to identifying general criteria to assess the pilot projects in Europe and their level of accomplishment. This includes polycentric structures, mix of uses, wide range of housing types, high-quality public and green spaces, safe and barrier-free city, everyday life and social service infrastructure, short travel distances and quality of public transport, as well as equal representation and participation.<sup>18</sup>

One of Vienna's pilot projects, the Apert Seestadt neighbourhood, constitutes an example of the systematic approach in the implementation of urban gender sensitivity in the city. This comprehensiveness of solutions can be observed across other pilot projects and, according to the city's ambitions, any new developments.<sup>19</sup> The described approach has its beginnings in the 1980s when the municipality started preparing strategic guidelines for spatial planning with Urban Development Plans, abbreviated to STEP from German *Stadtentwicklungsplan*. With various socio-economic and political changes happening in Vienna, the first STEP was released in 1984, and then every 10 years it was updated to meet the demands and challenges of the next decade. As the exhibition 'Who owns public spaces?' took place in 1991 and led to the formation of the Women's Office, when publishing the new STEP in 1994, the city included 'women-equitable city planning' in its strategic development for the first time. In 2014, Vienna's municipality published the latest version, STEP 2025 (Figure 1). It explicitly mentions gender equality in various planning goals and guidelines and includes a manual for applying the strategy and the lessons learnt from the pilot projects.<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, it is important to mention that the criteria set within planning should be continuously reviewed as they tend to contain a bias since the political scene until 1999 in Vienna could be described as exclusively 'white middle-class with Austrian background'.<sup>21</sup>

The change in planning strategy in the late 1980s might be attributed to the sudden shift that happened in Vienna after the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989. The rapid geopolitical changes throughout Europe affected the city and its development. From being a declining metropolis at the periphery of Western Europe, struggling with an ageing population and economic stagnation,

<sup>15</sup>Sánchez de Madariaga and Novella Abril, "A new generation of gender mainstreaming in spatial and urban planning under the new international framework of policies for sustainable development."

<sup>16</sup>Reinwald et al., "Gender Sensitivity in Urban Development Concepts."

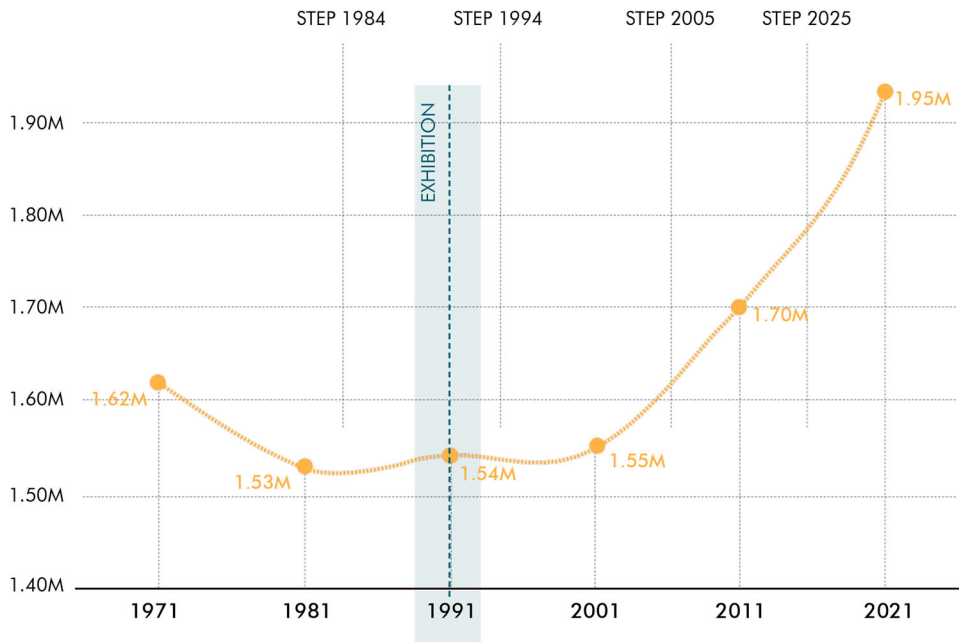
<sup>17</sup>Strohmeier et al., "Wien 1991–2006. Wem Gehört Der Öffentliche Raum?"

<sup>18</sup>Reinwald et al., "Gender Sensitivity in Urban Development Concepts."

<sup>19</sup>Damyanic et al., "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development."

<sup>20</sup>Reinwald et al., "Gender Sensitivity in Urban Development Concepts."

<sup>21</sup>Edthofer, "This Is What Radical Democracy Looks Like!"



**Figure 1.** The exhibition, Vienna's population growth and the STEPs. Source: Adapted from Antalovsky and Löw, 2019.

Vienna became an important gateway at the heart of the reunified continent.<sup>22</sup> As a result, within the next years, the social democracy in Vienna started to align more with the neoliberal politics of the other EU countries,<sup>23</sup> which aggravated social segregation.<sup>24</sup> To counteract this and address the city's growing population, the task of providing a safe and healthy environment for everyone, became a central point in Vienna's urban strategy.<sup>25</sup> This became even more urgent when the fall of the Iron Curtain prompted fears about a migration crisis, as the movement of Eastern European migrants intensified. After the extreme right-wing Freedom Party (FPÖ) used the situation to reinforce racist prejudices, xenophobia escalated.<sup>26</sup> In order to further prevent this, the government led at the time by the Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Vienna's municipal councillor Hannes Swo-boda, both affiliated with SPÖ (Social Democratic Party of Austria), pushed for a different agenda. Thus, the STEP in 1994 aimed to make Vienna an 'open-minded', 'sustainable', and 'economically competitive metropolis'.<sup>27</sup> New instruments emerged for introducing participatory urban planning, the principle of environmentally friendly transport and the importance of social and public housing. Gender mainstreaming was one of the tools used for addressing these concepts.<sup>28</sup>

In parallel to all these socio-political and economic changes, the feminist movement that intensified during the 1980s was growing stronger, even if it did not gain enough attention until the

<sup>22</sup>Antalovsky and Löw, "Why Vienna Gets High Marks."

<sup>23</sup>Novy et al., "The End of Red Vienna."

<sup>24</sup>Novy et al., "Radical Innovation in the Era of Liberal Governance."

<sup>25</sup>Irschik and Kail, "Vienna: Progress Towards a Fair Shared City."

<sup>26</sup>Novy et al., "The End of Red Vienna."

<sup>27</sup>Antalovsky and Löw, "Why Vienna Gets High Marks," 8.

<sup>28</sup>Reinwald et al., "Gender Sensitivity in Urban Development Concepts."



1990s.<sup>29</sup> After the United Nations declared the year 1975 as the International Women's Year, groups of women in architecture and urban planning explicitly declared themselves feminists and started to produce theories in this regard. In the USA, among others, the Women's School of Planning and Architecture (WSPA) was founded in Maine (1974–1981) and in 1977 the exhibition 'Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective', curated by Susana Torre, was held in New York. That year in the same city, The Heresies Collective published the first issue of the magazine *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics* (1977–1992), which in 1979 released an issue on public space. During these years Gwendolyn Wright and Dolores Hayden published several works, including the influential article by Hayden in *Signs: 'What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like?'* (1980). In London in 1984, the feminist design collective Matrix published the book *Making Space: Women in the Man Made Environment*.<sup>30</sup> Overall, in the English-speaking world, by the late 1970s, several scientific publications on urban and women's studies were well established.<sup>31</sup>

However, the European influence of the German-speaking countries cannot be overlooked. Already during the first decades of the twentieth century, the ambitious public housing policies developed during Red Vienna (1918–1934) drew on widely known feminist contributions. After the fall of the Habsburg Empire, the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Austria (SDAP) ruled the city and, for a short time, the country. During that period, the feminist sociologist Käthe Leichter worked at the Frauenreferat (the women's department at the Austrian Chamber of Labour) documenting the experiences of women workers through statistical surveys, defending their social and economic rights.<sup>32</sup>

Yet, as explained by researcher Stefanie Mayer, the contemporary history of feminist movements in Austria began in the early 1970s with a campaign for reproductive rights, the main demand of the activists being the legalization of abortion, partially achieved in 1975 with the so-called 'Fristenlösung' (regulation that allowed the termination until the third month of pregnancy). After that, Vienna's Action of Independent Women (AUF) started openly discussing the issues of female sexuality or autonomy. During those years, the books released by the German feminist publisher, *Frauenoffensive* and the feminist products at the Frankfurt Book Fair, contributed to the conversation. These enterprises became widely known, resonating not only in the German-speaking world but also in distant European cities such as Barcelona.<sup>33</sup> The late 1970s saw an array of initiatives in Vienna, such as Walpurgis Night, which was the first large-scale women's festival or the opening of a women's bookshop Frauenzimmer. Those projects aimed at bringing women together in unity. In the 1980s, the emergence of a multiplicity of independent projects contributed to the urgency of intersectional feminism in the city. Notably, feminist publications played a crucial role in disseminating these ideas. Founded in 1982 the magazine *Frauensolidarität* debated around the questions of 'international solidarity' and 'aid', starting initiatives such as 'Turkish Women's Project'. Another publication, *Frauennachrichten*, reviewed debates and published texts of a diverse array of feminist groups since 1979. By then, the AUF also publicated their discussions and presented them in the professionalized layout of their magazine *an.schläge*, trying to approach the general public.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup>Booth and Bennett, "Gender Mainstreaming in the European Union."

<sup>30</sup>Novas Ferradás, *Arquitectura y género*, 79.

<sup>31</sup>Peake, "Feminism and the urban," ed. Short, *A Research Agenda for Cities*, 82.

<sup>32</sup>Lewis, "Mobilising Working Women in Red Vienna."

<sup>33</sup>Segura Soriano, *Barcelona Feminista 1975–1988*.

<sup>34</sup>Mayer, "Politik der Differenzen."



Interestingly, the emergence of feminist publications coincided with the rise of independent media in the late 1980s, breaking the long-lasting monopoly of the Austrian Broadcasting Corporation (ORF, *Österreichischer Rundfunk*) during the Cold War era. Vienna became a stage for a lively pirate radio scene, with Radio Orange as one of the media outlets represented by young left-wing activists who addressed and advocated for attention to political and social issues. As a result, they were often facing many censorship issues.<sup>35</sup> Their activist approach still lays at the core of their mission, as it did from the beginning of their existence. One of its archival photos shows a small press conference with a hand-written red banner ‘the feminist media’ (Figure 2). The group of young journalists as a panel represents the effervescence of Vienna’s feminist activism in the 1990s.

Eva Kail and Jutta Kleedorfer mentioned in the interview that 36 media outlets reported about their exhibition at the time, and Radio Orange was one of them. However, due to the illegal nature of the station, digitalized archives from before 1997 are limited in their availability, and hence it has been impossible to access their report. Having an official and informative planning exhibition organized by the Vienna’s municipal department broadcasted by an activist pirate radio could be seen as a moment when the activist movement and the political sphere merged. On the other hand, the current absence of archival evidence in the mainstream media denotes the underestimation of such an event.

However, the support mentioned as crucial by Kail and Kleedorfer was the political climate in Vienna’s municipality. It was important not only for the realization and impact of the exhibition but also for the continuation of the momentum in the European Union. In this process, the support of the politician Hannes Swoboda was key. As a member of the SPÖ, he became Vienna’s municipal councillor and regional minister responsible for urban development, planning, transport and external relations in 1988. Swoboda also contributed to the publication of the exhibition’s catalogue, questioning the distinction between the ‘world of women’ and ‘the world of men’, and how these differences could be integrated in the city planning.<sup>36</sup> From 1996 till 2014, he served as a Member of the European Parliament, where he continued addressing inclusivity issues.

‘A city designed for women will also be a humane city’<sup>37</sup> advocated the curators in the opening text to the 1991 exhibition ‘Who Owns Public Spaces? Women’s Everyday Life in the City’. Feminist urban planners Eva Kail and Jutta Kleedorfer, working at the City of Vienna’s Planning Department, had the idea to make women’s struggles visible in a city dominated by traffic. Until this moment, there was no place for a sociological point of view in Vienna’s planning office. Planning was considered a technical problem and the solutions must have been developed only by technically trained experts,<sup>38</sup> usually men.<sup>39</sup> Due to the political culture of Austria’s aversion to conflict a top-down approach has been embedded in the process of policy making in Vienna, usually excluding all potential social conflicts.<sup>40</sup> Yet, two feminist urban planners trained at a technical university (TU Wien), managed to mobilize other experts and include women as participatory social actors.

The process of preparing the content for the exhibition was described as a ‘snowball effect’ through which the increasing numbers of stories, experiences and scientific studies, prompted a more complete story of ‘Women’s Everyday Lives’ in the city.<sup>41</sup> In the process, they appointed

<sup>35</sup>TATblatt, “Schwarze Flecken?! ... Das Aus Für ‘Nachrichten Orange.’”

<sup>36</sup>Kail and Kleedorfer, *Wem Gehört Der Öffentliche Raum*.

<sup>37</sup>“Eine frauengerechte Stadt wird auch eine menschengerechte Stadt sein.” Unless indicated, all quotes are translated from German by the authors.

<sup>38</sup>Novy et al., “The End of Red Vienna.”

<sup>39</sup>Irschik and Kail, “Vienna: Progress Towards a Fair Shared City.”

<sup>40</sup>Novy et al., “Radical Innovation in the Era of Liberal Governance.”

<sup>41</sup>Kail and Kleedorfer, *Wem Gehört Der Öffentliche Raum*.



**Figure 2.** A press conference at Radio Orange in the 1990s. Source: Orange 94.0, «Geschichte», <https://o94.at/de/about/geschichte>.

and met the photographers in charge: Didi Sattmann and Barbara Krobath. Drawing from her photojournalistic experience, Krobath suggested that they could document the lives of real-life women throughout a day. Already in 1985, she produced a photography series in which she followed elderly women through the city to capture their daily practices. This idea was well received and consequently, eight women of different ages and life circumstances were observed, photographed and portrayed in the panels (Figure 3). There was an (1) 8-year-old girl, (2) a 16-year-old photographer's apprentice, (3) a housewife with Austrian origins with 3 children, (4) a housewife with Turkish origins with 2 children, (5) a single-earner nurse, who was divorced and with 2 children, (6) a wheelchair-bound part-time student, (7) an elderly freelance woman, and (8) a retired woman. Their daily routines and journeys were documented to inform and represent the themes of the exhibition.<sup>42</sup>

The exhibition was first shown between the 10th of September and the 18th of October 1991 in Wiener Messepalast. Swoboda inaugurated the event. There were 28 information A0 panels with texts and photos, as well as data diagrams. The panels were organized thematically and were later used as part of the travelling exhibition displayed in other German-speaking countries such as Germany, Switzerland, and the north of Italy. Following the original exhibition's report (Figures A1 and A2), there were also two video films, one about women and traffic in the city (20 minutes), and the other about the spaces of fear (9 minutes). According to the organizers, the videos were, unfortunately, disposed of without any copies being made, as they could only be displayed with VHS, which was not relevant anymore for the archive of the planning office. Other parts of the installation were not transportable, but it was possible to rebuild them on location. At the Messepalast, for example, there was a 'walking, rolling and playing platform', as well as a representation of the weight of an average week's shopping – represented as a concrete block with a handle.

<sup>42</sup>Magistrat der Stadt Wien, "Wem Gehört Der Öffentliche Raum."



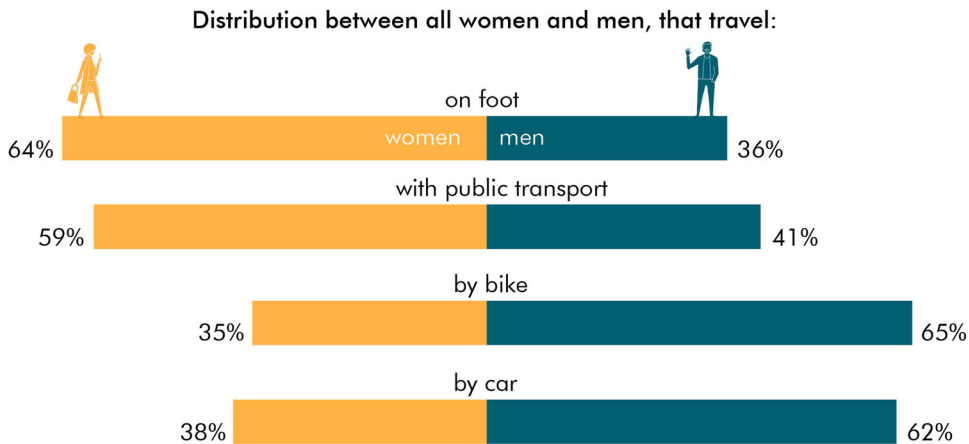
**Figure 3.** A man looking at the exhibition panels in 1991. Source: Robert Hutterer, Municipal Archive of Vienna.

The daily routines of the eight Viennese women photographed by Didi Sattmann, Barbara Kroboth, and later Milan Poupa, were presented as a photo series with a city map with their routes. Since this part of the exhibition was presented on a 3.40 m long and 30 cm wide plexiglass strip, its transportation was not easy, and therefore it could not be shown in the exhibitions abroad. Sattmann and Kroboth's photojournalistic backgrounds contributed to create coherent series through storytelling. The use of photography and accompanying text is a unique way to build an urban narrative, which transforms the 'city itself as an archive in the making, even as problems of method connect matters of the present'.<sup>43</sup> Hence, creating the ethnographic image of the city is both effective and difficult. Sattmann indicated the importance of gaining the trust of the recorded strangers and retaining their respect through sensitivity and well-timed restraint. The photographers adapted to the lives of these women, and only pressed the button in situations that were relevant for the exhibition. As they moved along through the routines, they often found themselves navigating mostly through small-scale neighbourhoods.

### **The exhibition themes on women's everyday lives in the city**

Each of the panels of the exhibition – the same ones that also travelled abroad –, presented a specific theme. The opening text on panel 2 stated that circa 836,000 women lived (54% of the population), drawing attention to the significance of the impact of gender inequality in planning, and hence women's well-being in the city. Pictures, stories, and quotes displayed the struggles of women in the city, as well as collected and organized data. The combination of all these methods, as well

<sup>43</sup>Arabindoo and Delory, "Photography as Urban Narrative" and Rao, "Embracing Urbanism: The City as Archive."



**Figure 4.** Different mobility patterns between women and men in Vienna in 1991. Source: based on the data from panel 4.

as its innovativeness, granted the success. It was the first time in Vienna that a feminist exhibition was realized by the municipal planners, but not the first time that these analytical methods were used in the context of fighting for women's rights. Similar in their precision, the surveys and the collected data on working women done by Frauenreferat in the 1920s and 1930s<sup>44</sup> allowed Kail and Kleedorfer to come up with a more detailed and diverse set of criteria for analysis almost 90 years later. The detailed and descriptive analyses now included women of different ages and levels of mobility, as well as an array of topics relevant in the contemporary urban setting. According to the organizers, it was the first time in Vienna's history that the traffic and pedestrian data was segregated, revealing the unanticipated disparities between women and men in their mobility patterns (Figure 4). The exhibition proved that two thirds of all pedestrians were women, while men were two thirds of all car drivers.<sup>45</sup>

These findings, combined with the consequences of vehicle traffic and the growing demand for car mobility, take a significant share of the exhibition. The relationship between women (as majority of pedestrians), and cars (as mostly owned by men) plays an important role in outlining gender inequalities. Besides introducing 'Mobility', the panels presented a comprehensive range of topics, including 'Public Transport and Fear', 'Infrastructures of Everyday Life', 'Playing', and 'Belonging and Public Space'.

In relation to mobility, the neoliberal approach to Vienna policies in the 1980s enhanced personal car usage. The increase in traffic created more obstacles for pedestrians, hence disproportionately affecting women's movement through the city. As reported in the published exhibition catalogue by a former Vienna's traffic planner Renate Semela: they were pushed to the edge. The author describes how traffic and gender roles pushed women into very uncomfortable and often dangerous pedestrian zones, resulting in a withdrawal from the public realm outside of the necessary endeavours.<sup>46</sup> The image that accompanied the text (Figure 5) illustrates the issues that mothers and child-caretakers used to face in the city. A glimpse of an unreasonably narrow pavement and

<sup>44</sup>Lewis, "Mobilising Working Women in Red Vienna."

<sup>45</sup>Kail and Kleedorfer, *Wem Gehört Der Öffentliche Raum*.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.





**Figure 5.** Exhibition photo with many women crossing the road in Vienna in 1991. Source: *Wem Gehört Der Öffentliche Raum?: Frauenalltag in Der Stadt*, 1991. Photograph by Barbara Krobath.

the crowd proves the disparities between the daily routines of pedestrianized women and the lack of quality infrastructure to accommodate them.

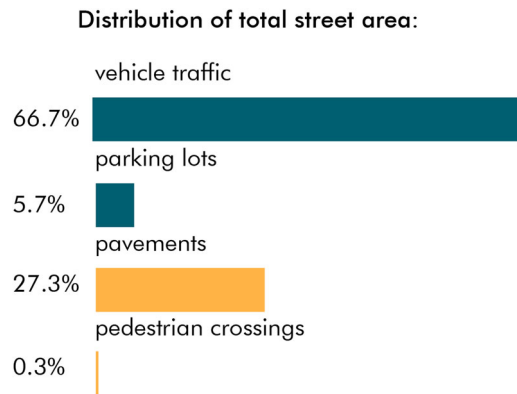
A graph from the panels showing the percentage distribution of the total street area in Vienna supported this bias. While the vehicle traffic and parking take around 70% of the space, just one quarter of the street area was for pedestrians (Figure 6). However, as panels 8 and 9 describe, private cars often claim the pavements and other pedestrian zones, which constantly diminish the available surface of these areas. On top of that, a person with a large stroller, a pack of disposable nappies, a shopping bag and a small child walking alongside requires a lot more width than a pedestrian that is not in charge of doing so, for whom the pavement widths have been determined.

The underlying importance of sidewalks and reclaiming of the pedestrian activity on the streets relate to the concepts of safety, contact and assimilating children defined and discussed by Jane Jacobs back in the 1960s.<sup>47</sup> Jacobs could have been an influential figure in the development of concepts for the exhibition.<sup>48</sup> However, the in-depth adaptation of these concepts in the context of Vienna, and rigorous assessment of urban elements sealed its strong influence in the history of the city. The city created a policy to ensure ‘slow, sensitive urban renewal’ to avoid the negative effects of the gentrification process already in the 1970s.<sup>49</sup> Apparently, this was first addressed in a neighbourhood in Berlin (Kreuzberg), where the devastating effects of the Second World War and the destructive traffic plans in the 1950s and 1960s forced thousands of residents to move

<sup>47</sup>Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*.

<sup>48</sup>Some books indicate that the first translation of “The Death and Life of Great American Cities” to German was published in 1963, suggesting the potential access to the book by the organisers of the exhibition. However, it became more accessible when the new version with the foreword by Gerd Albers was released in 1993.

<sup>49</sup>Novy et al., “Radical Innovation in the Era of Liberal Governance.”



**Figure 6.** Total street area distribution in Vienna in 1991. Source: based on the diagram included in panel 7.

out of the district.<sup>50</sup> In the 1970s the tensions between the residents and the urban planners heightened, and the urban strategy changed: the district stood for *Behutsame Stadterneuerung* ('careful urban renewal') and demolition and new construction were replaced by the rehabilitation of old residential buildings in the inner-city. This experience led to the development of Kreuzberg at The International Building exhibition, the IBA '87 in Berlin, that drew international attention to similar urban challenges.<sup>51</sup>

Another issue was the spatial-temporal design of the pedestrian activity and the speed at which pedestrians were expected to move. On Erdbergstrasse, one of Vienna's busiest street's crossings, the green light would allow the pedestrians to cross only within exactly 8 seconds. However, as shown, for a mother with a small child it takes on average 26 seconds to cross the road, while an elderly woman needs as much as 32 seconds to safely get to the other side (Figure 7). This example is used to demonstrate the inaccessibility of the public space for those who perform care work and for those who need more care than others. The simplest activity to move through the city becomes a task almost impossible to complete for many pedestrians.

One of these public space users was the wheelchair-bound working student, whose daily life and barriers were documented by Sattmann. The problems portrayed through the images include the inadequate width of the pavements and accessibility to amenities such as grocery stores and phone booths and the impeded wheelchair accessibility to certain public spaces (Figure 8). Panels 10 and 11 were dedicated to what extent the elderly and people with disabilities are dispossessed of their basic pedestrian rights. The data collected at the time of the exhibition proved that 50% of women over 75 years old were struggling to independently leave their houses on a daily basis. Consequently, circa 50,000 women in Vienna did not leave their homes at all. Additionally, almost 30,000 women moved through the city in a wheelchair, and yet the council has not made enough adjustments to improve accessibility standards. From the lack of wheelchair accessibility around public transport nodes to the inadaptability of the fast traffic on the street, the exhibition exposes how the city planners ignored the importance of spatial justice from a non-ableist perspective.

In relation to the theme of public transport and fear, to understand the inequalities and implications of the dependence on public transport and pedestrian spaces for women, urban planners needed to comprehend how gender roles work. More than two decades after the exhibition took

<sup>50</sup>Neto, "Careful Urban Renewal in Kreuzberg, Berlin."

<sup>51</sup>Liepe et al., "Wissenschaftliche Studie IBA '87 in Berlin."



**Figure 7.** Time disparities in the time needed to cross the street. Source: based on data from panel 10.

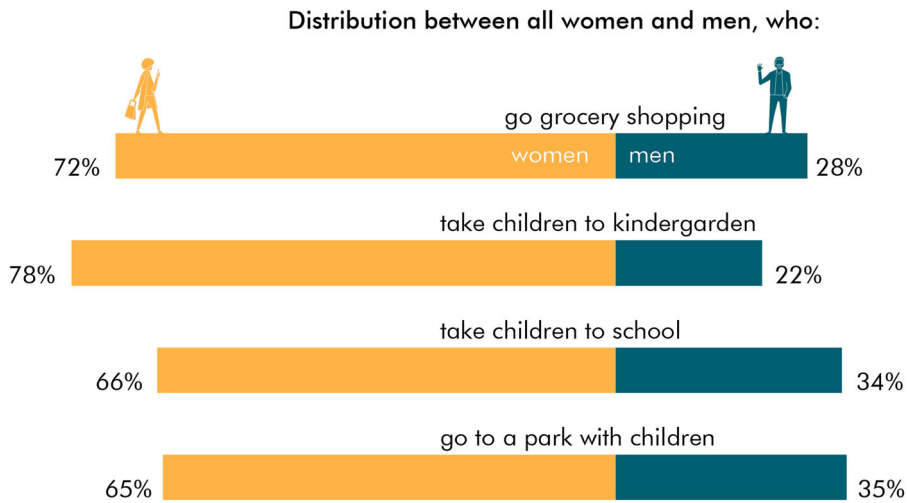


**Figure 8.** Wheelchair-bound woman through the city. Source: Didi Sattmann Archive.

place, experts in the field have identified the mobility patterns motivated through the unpaid reproductive work as the ‘mobility of care’.<sup>52</sup> This (spatial) division of work disproportionately affects women who, in 1991, spent significantly more time shopping for essential supplies, preparing meals, as well as taking care of the children and the elderly (Figure 9). It is important to underline that this is not an issue of the past – Gender Equality Index for Austria released by the European Institute for Gender Equality in 2021 shows that while the time spent on care activities is more balanced (seemingly due to improved quality of services), the daily cooking and household maintenance is still performed by 83% of women and only 28% of men.

<sup>52</sup>Sánchez de Madariaga, “Mobility of Care: Introducing New Concepts in Urban Transport,” ed. Sánchez de Madariaga and Roberts, *Fair Shared Cities*, 33–48.





**Figure 9.** Different activities of the unpaid reproductive work performed by Viennese women and men in 1991. Source: based on the diagram included in panel 4.

A picture by Barbara Krobath illustrated this idea ([Figure 10](#)). The image shows the goings-on of women with strollers and bags struggling to board a tram. In the background, there is a banner held by protesters who are demanding ‘freedom of movement for everyone’. In the corresponding section of the catalogue published along with the exhibition, Iris Käfer-Kraus, a trained planner and architect, turned housewife, writes a letter to Eva Kail. There, she describes her first-hand experiences of discomfort and aggression that she faced as a woman and a mother in public transport. An



**Figure 10.** The strollers, the shopping bags, the women, the toddlers, and the tram. Source: Barbara Krobath Archive.

‘absolute horror’ are the words she uses to illustrate the travel on buses or trams with a stroller filled with shopping and being dependent on strangers’ help to move around.<sup>53</sup>

Panel 16 explores this very wish: to be able to ‘go from everywhere to everywhere, with short intervals, as cheaply, conveniently, quickly and efficiently as possible’. The basis for effective mobility: well-placed access points to the public transport nodes and optimal accessibility of movement through the stops and stations. Other desired qualities of transport nodes include enough seats, luggage storage, enough lighting bright to feel safe, as well as rain and weather protection. A survey attached to the panel contributes to the identification of the spaces where women were not feeling safe and comfortable. Public transport stops (29%) were among the most frequently mentioned ‘fear spaces’. Others were spaces with dark corners and limited visibility: underpasses (23%), public parking (21%), parks and green spaces at night (18%), as well as house entrances and stairway cores (9%). The inadequate design of those spaces caused women stress, discomfort, and fear of being assaulted. Many of them admitted to either avoiding public places that cause them distress, or often spend money on taxis to get home safely. These concerns are still present in the current times, as the concept of costs of fear, meaning hidden costs or financial burden paid to feel safe in the public realm, as addressed by Leslie Kern in her book *Feminist City* in 2020.<sup>54</sup>

In relation to infrastructures of everyday life, as shown previously, women continue to constitute most of the unpaid care work necessary to sustain people’s everyday life, both in the past and present times. The inadequate design and location of the infrastructure in the neighbourhoods was another important issue. Very often, women must travel long distances to shop for supplies and groceries. For this reason, the exhibition panels 5 and 6 argue that the neighbourhoods’ quality should be defined by the diversity and density of local amenities. The three types of shopping functions identified in neighbourhoods are: local stores with personalized advice but products at higher prices; local open market providing a varied range of products, as well as a variety of social interaction in the public realm; and the supermarkets that are usually less local and require a planned trip. The increase of shopping centres is geared to the customers who are also car users. This affects the distribution of purchasing power, with local supply facilities declining in numbers and quality.

The access to amenities is not the only issue to which this part of the exhibition draws attention. The proximity of different functions to each other can significantly decrease the time of chore related trips. An example in panel 6 describes a polygonal trip in which on the way to the grocery store (Figure 11), it is convenient to stop in the dry cleaners, the office supplies shop, the shoemaker shop and a little street café or a bookstore. The more that is offered locally, the shorter and more comfortable the journey is. This has been addressed back in the 1980s by Lisa Horelli and Kirsti Vespä, who described a vision for ‘New Everyday Life’ which is

a concrete utopia of a postindustrial mosaic-like society consisting of varying self-governing units responsible for the use of local resources. Important elements are work, care, and housing, the separation of which is to be replaced by their integration in the living environment on the intermediary level.<sup>55</sup>

Since 2020, the emerging post-Pandemic reality further solidifies the importance of access to local amenities, which includes the re-emergence of the locality and variety of offers in neighbourhoods.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Kail and Kleedorfer, *Wem Gehört Der Öffentliche Raum*.

<sup>54</sup>Kern, *Feminist City*.

<sup>55</sup>Horelli and Vespä, “Search of Supportive Structures for Everyday Life,” 204.

<sup>56</sup>Moreno et al., “Introducing the ‘15-Minute City.’”



**Figure 11.** Woman in a shop with a stroller and two children. Source: Didi Sattmann archive.

In relation to playing, the exhibition touches upon both the importance of safe city spaces for children to play in, and on their caretakers, who often spend their time in sandpits or playgrounds, which are neither child nor parents friendly. Following the information displayed in panel 24, the designated play spaces for the youngest children in the parks are often small and segregated acting as a ‘mother ghetto’. In opposition to this controlled environment, children are often blind to the functional categorisations and transform urban spaces into their own playing areas.

In one of her pictures, the girl sits on a piece of grass next to a residential area (Figure 12). The background shows the pavement, some greenery and a street with cars parked, as well as a high-density residential building. The girl is occupying the space next to the pavement playing with her dolls on a small table. In the context of the exhibition, this picture represents the negative impact of the dominance of private car spaces in cities for children. The photo conveys a very strong message showing the fragile creativity of child’s play in the increasingly more segregated city spaces.

Finally, the exhibition advocates for improving and enabling the feeling of belonging of women to public space. In Vienna in 1991, streets were almost entirely overtaken by cars and other vehicles. This demanded urgent actions to claim this space back for pedestrian and participatory activities. The discussion provided by the exhibition indicates that women especially belong in the public realm, and their interaction within it contributes to a healthier city.

Despite the unfavourable circumstances, as the pictures proved, women have always belonged to the street life: a female singer entertaining the public, a female teenager photographing the scene, a girl who enjoys the music, and everything in the same scene (Figure 13). The foot of the photographer placed on the road, next to a car passing by, can be interpreted as a powerful symbol of unapologetic women making use of the public space.





**Figure 12.** A girl playing with her toys. Source: Didi Sattmann Archive.

According to the findings shown in panel 16, most women feel comfortable and enjoy spaces in the middle of the city and to be a part of the activities happening around them. Paradoxically, panel 19, pictured the stereotyped images of women's bodies in advertising and media, reinforcing misogynistic ideals (Figure 14).



**Figure 13.** Girl and women in public space. Source: Didi Sattmann archive.



**Figure 14.** The teenager sits on a bench next to a huge advertisement portraying a smiling woman that fits the standards of the feminine beauty ideal. Source: Didi Sattmann archive.

### **Past and present relevance, and challenges ahead**

The exhibition and the shift in Vienna's urban development strategies coincided with a turn of attention towards recognizing and addressing specific struggles faced by women and girls worldwide. The concept of gender mainstreaming was institutionalized following the 1985 UN Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi, but only became integrated in the agenda as an action to be addressed during the 1995 UN Conference on Women in Beijing. Only after the Treaty of Amsterdam came into effect in 1999, the guidelines for gender mainstreaming were officially engaged in the policies of the European Union.<sup>57</sup> In-between these official events, there was action taken by activists and media, as well as some local governments, to build gender equality all around Europe. However, it seems that the city of Vienna was ahead of its time probably due to a combination of different reasons. These include the city becoming a transitional territory in changing times, the progressive political climate (and its previous history), the strength of the feminist movement, the extreme hostility of urban space for women and girls, the in-depth awareness and commitment of the women city planners addressing the issue with their fellow colleagues, and the inspiring response from the citizens, who expressed their own concerns and opinions. All in all, it resulted in a long-lasting and ongoing project for promoting social justice in the city.

Following the organizers and the report outlining the plan for conducting the exhibition, we know about the exhibition's aftermaths. The panels travelled abroad. It continued to enable women's voices to be heard and implemented in planning. What were the influences in those other countries is less clear, but it could be argued that the lack of documentation and information

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<sup>57</sup>Booth and Bennett, "Gender Mainstreaming in the European Union."

does not necessarily mean it went unnoticed. As an example, the book-catalogue published by the organizers along with the exhibition, according to the WorldCat catalogue data at the moment this manuscript is being written, is not accessible through any of the Austrian universities. However, it is widely collected by university libraries around Germany and Switzerland, as well as the United States. The exhibition already addressed topics that kept feminist scholars extremely busy in urban geography during the 1990s. Among those topics – as social geographers Liz Bondi and Damaris Rose identified – are safety and fear in urban public space, women’s everyday life in the city and ‘urban land-use patterns and transportation systems’ that ‘reinforced gender inequities in access to employment, and, overall, helped to perpetuate traditional gender roles’.<sup>58</sup> The large amount of literature produced in the 1990s concerning these issues tells about the relevance of the Viennese exhibition.

As also identified by researcher Megan Heim LaFrombois, since the last decades of the twentieth century, feminist urban scholars have argued ‘that most US and European cities have historically been designed using gendered, racialised, and classed notions of divisions of labour’.<sup>59</sup> Since then, the creation of expert knowledge bloomed. Consequently, the development and use of the term ‘gender mainstreaming’ in literature, and hence the conceptualization of gender equality through strategic policies, started to grow in the late 1990s (Figure 15). However, the implementation of policy prescriptions has been unequal. Depending on the context, ‘gender mainstreaming’ can represent a cross-sectional strategy, or just a set of tools used to assess the impact of the implemented policies. The misunderstanding of what the transformative strategy of gender mainstreaming entails can provoke resistance and confusion, causing challenges in what it means to create a more inclusive city.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, through the gradual implementation of its transformative strategy, the city of Vienna possibly became a well-known example of good practices. Arguably, this fact could have catalysed the trend in the European Union. To contribute to bringing light to these issues, we argue that it is crucial to understand what the themes and issues were initially addressed in the exhibition.

In terms of the later impact, projects and actions taken after the exhibition have been documented in 2013 by Eva Kail and Elisabeth Irshik in *Fair-Shared Cities*, and also in 2013 by other planners within the Coordination Office through the handbooks and guidelines for the city’s strategy. In relation to the exhibition itself, the most recent evaluation which addressed the contents and themes was a report prepared in collaboration with the Urban Planning Department in 2006 for commemorating 15 years of gender-sensitive strategies.<sup>61</sup> The report acknowledged several improvements in relation to pedestrian areas and public transport infrastructure, spaces connectivity, lighting, benches, transportation nodes, safety and well-being of public transport users and participatory spatial planning practices. Especially participatory practices from a feminist-based perspective ensured that the quality of public spaces matched the needs of the inhabitants of the city. In a broader sense, as identified by geographer Casey R. Lynch, a feminist geopolitical perspective offers a useful angle to examine urban projects that enable giving voice to historically marginalized people. It highlights how diverse these people are while focusing on the material conditions in which new city projects trap them.<sup>62</sup> In this sense, it could be argued that the exhibition has contributed to create a form of limited expert knowledge that moves in that direction.

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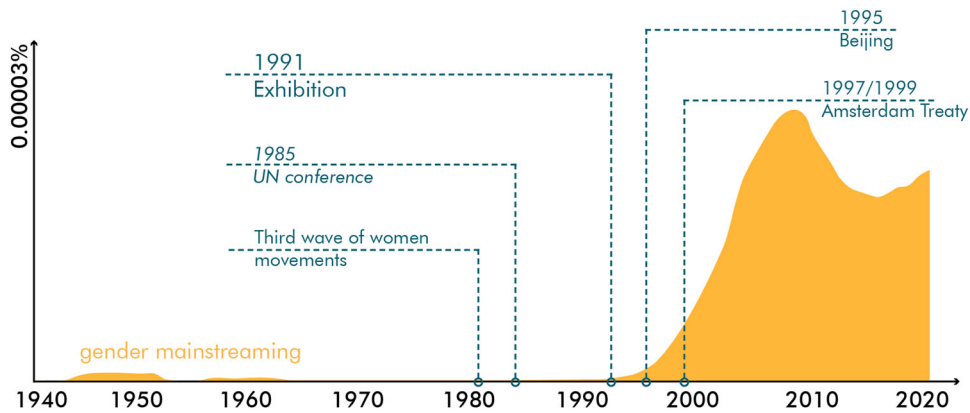
<sup>58</sup>Bondi and Rose, “Constructing Gender, Constructing the Urban,” 230.

<sup>59</sup>LaFrombois, “Blind Spots and Pop-Up Spots,” 423.

<sup>60</sup>Booth and Bennett, “Gender Mainstreaming in the European Union.”

<sup>61</sup>Strohmeier et al., “Wien 1991–2006. Wem Gehört Der Öffentliche Raum?”

<sup>62</sup>Lynch, “Representations of Utopian Urbanism and the Feminist Geopolitics,” 1164.



**Figure 15.** The term ‘gender mainstreaming’ in literature. Source: based on data from Google Ngram Viewer, June 2021.

However, the implementation of the strategy has been uneven within and beyond the city. Despite the increment of pedestrian areas, the spatial demand for private cars has been growing since 1991. The lack of regional planning instruments and the uncontrolled urban expansion impacted the peripheral parts of Vienna, where increased traffic reinforced social inequalities. In this sense, the previously mentioned pilot project of Aspern Seetadt serves as a prototype of good practices and solutions proposed for the outskirts.<sup>63</sup> Critical evaluation stays at the core of Vienna’s gendered approach to urban design through the constant exchange of the expertise of urban planners, politicians, citizens, and academia. However, the complexity of diversity within the population and the changing economic context pose new challenges and future adaptations.

The shift of general socio-economic conditions in Europe, as well as the dramatic development of digital technology in everyday lives, requires revisiting the approaches to urban design from the 1990s. Possible opportunities and risks of automation need to be considered as technologies have the potential to assist participatory planning, but also hide the decision making in algorithms, which often carry inherent biases.<sup>64</sup>

On the other hand, considering the changing political and social climate, how can this strategy in urban planning in Vienna be applied in other European cities or even global regions? International policy transfer is a complex process that requires a creative approach. The solutions cannot be simply copied, as it requires an adaptation process to cultural and linguistic differences, as well as political shifts and various power structures in any given context.<sup>65</sup> Urban design can contribute to fight spatial qualities but cannot redefine gender relations just on its own. The balance between developing a gender-sensitive planning and reinforcing stereotypes is challenging, and the intersectional approaches are always crucial.<sup>66</sup> In this regard, from the intersectional analysis, the exhibition moved beyond ageism including a girl, a teenager, and two elderly women with different economic backgrounds (a freelancer and a pensioner). Ableism was also addressed through the presence of the wheelchair-bound part-time student. Concerning mothering, there were also

<sup>63</sup>Strohmeier et al., “Wien 1991–2006. Wem Gehört Der Öffentliche Raum?”

<sup>64</sup>Tummers et al., “Gender mainstreaming and spatial development. Contradictions and challenges,” ed. Zibell et al., *Gendered Approaches to Spatial Development in Europe*, 78–98.

<sup>65</sup>Dąbrowski et al., “Introduction: Drawing Lessons from International Policy-Transfer Initiatives.”

<sup>66</sup>Collins, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*.



diverse profiles: a single-earner nurse, who was divorced and had two children, and two married women, one with Turkish origins with two children, and another with Austrian origins and three children. This was a deliberated approach taking place before intersectional feminism became prominent in the 2010s. However, including one woman with Turkish origins was necessary but insufficient evidence to deeply explore discrimination against racialised and migrant women in the city. Probably, as discussed earlier, also a consequence of the predominantly white political scene at that time. Lastly, the exhibition acknowledged the experiences of women performing unpaid reproductive work in the context of heteronormative couples with children, even if they were not the norm nor the majority. Yet, even if including many women living independently, heterosexuality was not explicitly addressed. All in all, these inherent paradoxes in the genesis of gender mainstreaming ought to be identified to plan for a future of different power distribution and social structures.<sup>67</sup>

### Concluding remarks

The present article contributes to document and analyse the exhibition ‘Who Owns Public Spaces? – Women’s Everyday Life in the City’, organized in 1991 by Eva Kail and Jutta Kleedorfer in Vienna. This led to establishing the relationship between the political and socio-economic climate of 1990s Vienna and the lives of diverse women in the city. The top-down strategic approach of the city, embedded in the neoliberal reality, proves that political shifts have the potential to determine meaningful transformations, like taking into account women’s voices in urban design. The connections between feminism, politics and urban planning have been key in the city’s history, as illustrated by Red Vienna’s Frauenreferat and the Women’s Office. It can be argued that the agency of Kail and Kleedorfer in the 1990s, as municipal urban planners, was essential to gather evidence that there was a need for change. By doing so, they developed innovative research methods in urban planning that certified gender discrimination and served as the basis for future discussions and lines of action.

From a feminist perspective, the exhibition critically explored different themes through the categories of ‘Mobility’, ‘Public Transport and Fear’, ‘Infrastructures of Everyday Life’, ‘Playing’, and ‘Belonging and Public Space’. The findings mostly rely on personal archives and the interviews (oral history) with the people involved in its production. However, the process of writing this article posed various challenges. Before undertaking this research, the only known piece of writing about the exhibition was the chapter ‘Vienna: Progress Towards a Fair Shared City’ published by Kail and Irschik in *Fair share cities* in 2013. This included the title, year, names of the organizers, and the fact that it attracted 4000 visitors in Vienna. The Vienna Archive Information System (WAIS) collected only three photographs showing two men looking at the exhibition panels, and a press conference outlining basic information. Even the published catalogue, which is limited in availability, does not fully represent the contents and topics addressed in the exhibition. The access to personal archives of those involved in the exhibition has been the most important factor in its documentation. This might imply, however, excessive reliance on the photographic documentary evidence. Yet, the limitations posed by the archives of activist movements are considerable, such as the feminist Radio Orange, which, due to its illegal nature, could not preserve its recordings. Tragically, the challenges associated with the completion of this article are a common issue when documenting women’s presence in the history of architecture and urban planning. More

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<sup>67</sup>Tummers et al., “Gender Mainstreaming and Spatial Development.”

specifically, they confirm – as architectural historian Elizabeth Darling has argued – how the absence of keeping in one space, has historically led to different ways of keeping in different forms of archive elsewhere.<sup>68</sup>

Vienna's Urban planners' experts, with Eva Kail as a centre figure, have been busy in creating, documenting, and disseminating Vienna's interventions in the first decades of the twenty-first century. However, both the organizers and the photographers regret that they did not document the exhibition as well as they wished. The intensity of organizing a well-prepared exhibition, while publishing a catalogue along it prevented them from ensuring proper documentation process. Apparently, no external person did it. The limited availability of official documentation in the city's archive, mainstream media, and the need to retrieve documents from personal archives prove that the event exceeded the expectations of its impact, but also denote the undervaluation of the importance of the event. In present times, the scarcity of resources and lack of documentation poses a major problem in understanding and investigating the implications of this key historical event. Despite being half of the world's population, women's history in the cities is generally in the margins and not equally present in all fields of knowledge. Since remote times, women have been de-legitimize in archival processes.<sup>69</sup> Such limitations persist today when pursuing research, requiring a large deal of archival explorations. What we archive matters, and public institutions must address their biases in collection policy and strive to settle this debt.

We wonder if architectural and urban planning archives need a gender mainstreaming strategy themselves.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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<sup>68</sup>Darling, "We Are What We Keep."

<sup>69</sup>Lerner and Cook in Cifor and Wood, "Critical Feminism in the Archives," 8.

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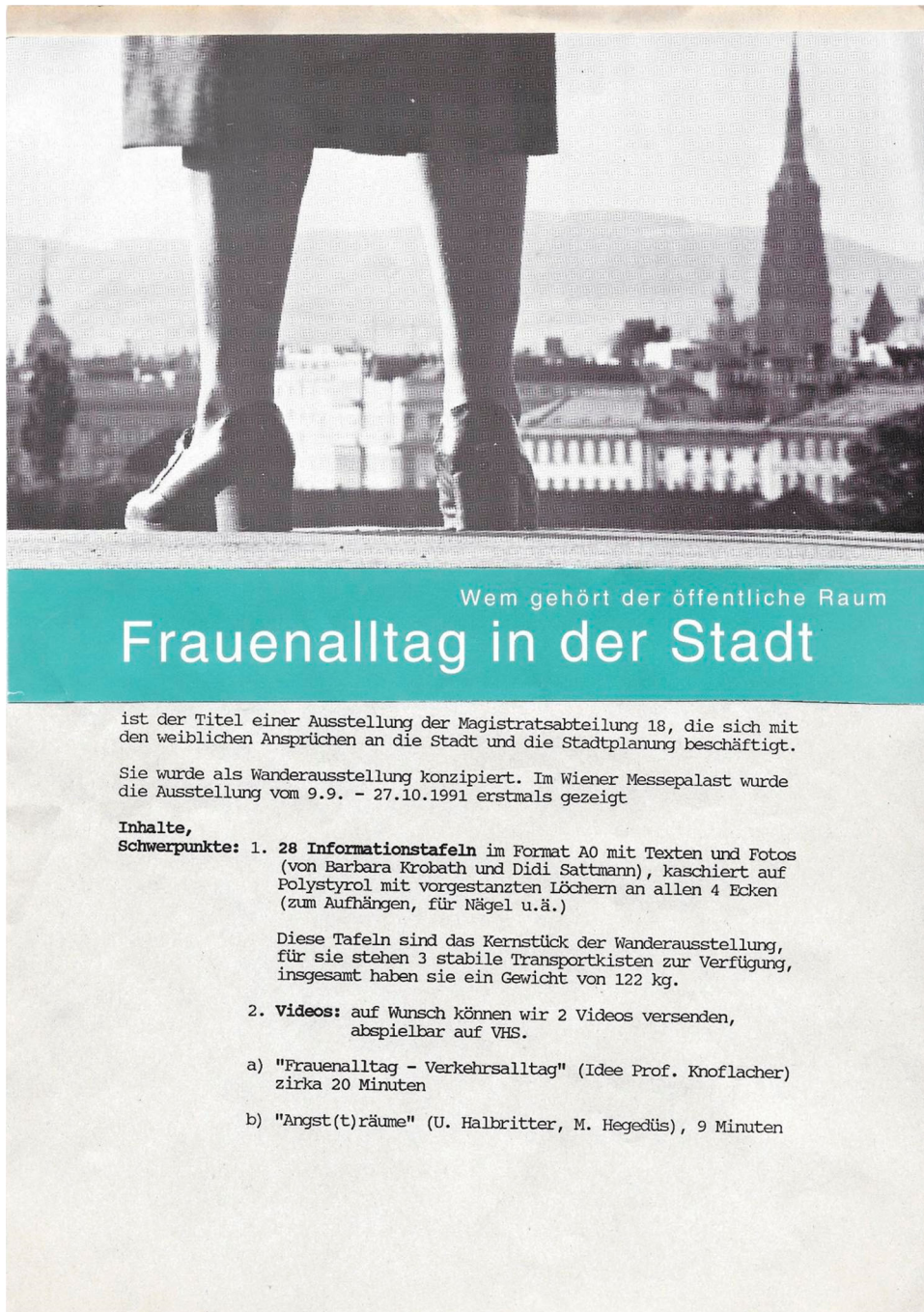
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## Appendices

### Appendix 1. Exhibition report



**Figure A1.** Exhibition report, page 1. Source: Jutta Kleedorfer, picture by Barbara Krobath.



3. **Tagesabläufe:** "Alltag" 8 konkreter Wiener Frauen, dargestellt als Fotoserien mit Stadtplänen auf 3,40 m langen (2 x 1,70 m) und 30 cm breiten Plexiglasstreifen mit Winkeleisen (zum Transport nur bedingt geeignet)
4. Für die Ton-Dia-Show zum Thema "Frauenangsträume" (Wiener Impressionen) bräuchte man 2 Projektoren mit Rundmagazinen sowie ein Gerät Tuscam für die Musik- bzw. Steuerungskassette
5. Die Installationen sind nicht transportierbar, aber nachbaubar. Im Messepalast gab es z.B. den "Geh-, Roll- und Spielsteig", sowie das Gewicht eines durchschnittlichen Wocheneinkaufs - oder Kinderwagens als Ytong-Paket mit Griff etc.
6. Das für die der Ausstellung zusammengestellte Informationspapier von Hanja Dirnbacher zum Thema "Gefährliches Pflaster" senden wir gerne zu.
7. Der **Katalog** zeigt nicht die Exponate der Ausstellung, sondern versteht sich als Lesebuch zum Thema, zu den Themenschwerpunkten. Er ist bereits völlig vergriffen, als BUCH jedoch nachgedruckt und im Fachhandel erhältlich: "Wem gehört der öffentliche Raum - Frauenalltag in der Stadt", Sonderband 12 der Reihe Kulturstudien, erschienen beim BÖHLAU-Verlag Wien, Köln, Weimar, ISBN Nr. 3-205-05426-1

**Kosten:** Die Ausstellung selbst wird kostenlos verliehen. InteressentInnen müssen nur für die Transportkosten (Versand jeweils bahnxpfeß), allfällige Zollgebühren und eine Versicherungspauschale von etwa S 900,-- (für Transport und Dauer der Ausstellung) aufkommen.

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**Figure A2.** Exhibition report, page 2. Source: Jutta Kleedorfer, picture by Barbara Krobath.

**Appendix 2. Exhibition panels (index)****Table A1.** Exhibition panels index.

Theme	No.	Original title (German)	Translation
Intro	1	Zur Ausstellung Frauenalltag in der Stadt.	To the exhibition Women's Everyday Life in the City.
	2	Alle Frauen von Wien – ... einige Zahlen	All the women of Vienna – some numbers
	3	Die Frau im öffentlichen Raum. Frauen sind überall	The woman in public space. Women are everywhere
Shopping	4	Arbeitsplatz Straße. Frauen unterwegs	Workplace street. Women on the road
	5	Einkaufen. Macht shopping happy?	Shopping. Does it make you happy?
	6	Lastentransport als Alltagsleistung. Vom Lastwagen über die Regale direkt auf die Wirbelsäule	Goods transport as an everyday task. From the trucks via the shelves directly onto the spine
Traffic vs. pedestrian	7	Die Nahversorgung. Der Vorteil der vernetzten Wege.	Local supply. The advantage of networked routes
	8	Wessen Straße ist die Straße? Der Verkehr überschwemmt die letzten Restflächen	Whose street is the street? Traffic floods the last remaining areas
	9	Der ruhrende Verkehr ... hat sich bequem auf der Stadt niedergelassen	The moving traffic ... has settled comfortably into the city
	10	Das Großparkplatz Wien. Wer bremst die Autos ein?	Vienna – the big car park. Who puts the brakes on the cars?
	11	Wer hat Vorrang? Die Schwächsten kommen zuletzt.	Who has priority? The weakest come last
	12	Weder ein noch aus können. 'Die Oma soll doch zu Hause bleiben!'	Not being able to go in or out. 'Grandma should stay at home!'
	13	Verkehrs 'kultur'. Frau am Steuer: Ungeheuer?	Traffic 'culture'. Woman behind the wheel: a monster?
Public transport Women in public space	14	Das Recht auf Langsamkeit. Auf welches Tempo wollen wir uns einigen?	The right to slowness. What pace do we want to agree on?
	15	Der öffentliche Verkehr. Wie der Blitz zum Nulltarif!	Public transport. Like a lightning at free fare!
	16	Angsträume. AngstTräume.	Spaces of fear. Nightmares
	17	Plätze zum Sich-Wohlfühlen. Der Traum vom Raum.	Feel good places. Dream spaces
	18	Anno dazumal. Früher war alles besser, oder?	Back in the day. Everything was better before, wasn't it?
	19	Die 50er Jahre. Die nicht so ferne Vergangenheit.	The 50s. The not-so-distant past
	20	Gefährliches Pflaster. Frauen auf der Straße – Straßenfrauen?	Dangerous pavement. Women on the street – street women?
	21	Raumnutzung. Wieviel Raum braucht frau?	Use of space. How much space does a woman need?
Living and play	22	Stadt der Frauen. Mehr Stadt – statt weniger.	City of Women. More city – not less
	23	Freiraum. Wo gibt es überhaupt noch freie Räume?	Free space. Where are there any free spaces at all?
	24	Der Park als funktionelles Ghetto. Der 'Flächenwidmungsplan' im Beserlpark.	The park as a functional ghetto. The 'zoning plan' in Beserlpark
	25	Freizeit. Arbeitsplatz: Sandkiste.	Free time. Workplace: sandpit
	26	Begrünung. Der Blumentopf als Vorgarten.	Greenery. The flowerpot as a front garden
	27	Der 'Ein-' und 'Übergang'. Nicht öffentlich und nicht privat.	The 'entry' and 'transition'. Not public and not private
	28a	Aneignungen ... unter dem Pflaster ist immer noch der Strand.	Appropriations ... under the pavement there is still the beach
	28b	Das Angebot der Stadt. Frauen ziehen ihre Stadtkreise.	The city's offer. Women draw their city rounds
Other	29	Alle Stadt der Frau – Frauen in die Stadt – Planung, Verwaltung, Projektgruppen, Beratergremien, Expertenrunden, Beiräte.	All Women's City – Women in the City – Planning, Administration, Project Groups, Advisory Boards, Expert Panels, Advisory Councils