



LUNDS
UNIVERSITET

Gender Equal Cities

An empirical analysis of Vienna and Bratislava

Laura Fritz

Department of Human Geography
SGEM08
Autumn Semester 2020/21

Examiner: Mads Barbesgaard
Supervisor: Karin Lindsjö

Contents

Abstract	1
List of Acronyms	2
List of Tables and Figures	3
Chapter 1: Introduction	4
1.1 Relevance	5
1.2 Aim and research questions.....	6
1.3 Ethical considerations	7
1.4 Disposition	7
Chapter 2: Literature review	8
2.1 Previous studies	9
2.2 Non-academic work	10
Chapter 3: Theoretical framework	11
3.1 Gendered Space	11
3.2 Gender Mainstreaming	13
3.3 Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning	14
3.4 Gendered Cities.....	15
3.4.1 Gender and power relations	15
3.4.2 Exclusion and boundaries	16
3.4.3 The Right to the City	16
3.5 Gender Equal Cities.....	16
Chapter 4: Background	18
4.1 Vienna	20
4.1.1 History of Gender Equal Planning in Vienna	20
4.1.2 Goals and Strategies	21
4.2 Bratislava.....	21
4.2.1 Gender Equality in Slovakia.....	22
4.2.2 Attitude towards gender equality in Slovakia.....	22
4.2.3 Anti-gender discourse.....	23
Chapter 5: Methods and Methodology	23
5.1. Research design	24
5.2 Research Philosophy	24
5.3 Research Approach	26
5.4 Data collection: Online questionnaire	26
5.4.1 Structure of the questionnaire	27

5.4.2 Sample size.....	28
5.4.3 Sampling method	29
5.4.4 Survey implementation.....	30
5.5 Content analysis of the questionnaire	31
5.5.1 Descriptive statistical analysis.....	31
5.5.2 Thematic Analysis	32
5.6 Reliability, Generalizability, and Validity of Data.....	33
5.6.1 Validity	33
5.6.2 Reliability.....	34
5.6.3 Generalizability	34
5.7 Positionality.....	34
5.8 Limitations.....	35
Chapter 6: Analysis and Results.....	36
6.1 Profile of Respondents.....	37
6.2 Theme 1: Transport and Mobility	39
6.3 Theme 2: Health and Hygiene.....	46
6.4 Theme 3: Fear in the City.....	50
6.5 Theme 4: Visibility.....	55
Chapter 7: Conclusions.....	59
7.1 Answers to research questions.....	60
7.2 Implications.....	61
7.3 Recommendations for future research.....	62
Reference list	64
Appendix A: Studies included in the literature review	74
Appendix B: Questionnaire	79
Appendix C: Thematic Analysis.....	84

Abstract

This thesis set out to examine the level of gender equality in the urban landscapes of Vienna and Bratislava based on the urban experiences on the women living in the cities.

Vienna and Bratislava are part of the Vienna-Bratislava metropolitan area, which exhibits not only a close proximity (60km) but also a close economic cooperation. However, if the social landscape of the region is as similar as the economic one, is questionable and proved ground for further investigations. Vienna on the one hand, functions as a role model example for gender equal cities and Slovakia, the country Bratislava is located in, on the other hand, promotes a public 'anti-gender' discourse.

Using the city as analytical framework, the study sought to get answers to the questions if the supposedly different levels of gender-equality are reflected in the everyday urban lives of the inhabitants of the city and which differences and similarities the two cities exhibit. The gendered landscape of cities is characterized through constant negotiations over access to space, with gender being the factor that regulates and dominates this access.

The data for this study was collected through a questionnaire, that used both quantitative and qualitative elements to get a variety of data. The questionnaire is based on four themes that are important for the creation of a gender-equal city: Transport and Mobility, Hygiene and Health, Fear in the City and Visibility.

Despite the small sample size in the case of Bratislava, the findings showed that the initial assumption about Vienna being a more gender-equal city could not be verified through the empirical analysis. The differences between the two cities are also rather marginal. However, further research is needed to get deeper insights into the reasons behind the findings obtained through this study.

Word count: 20,682

List of Acronyms

EU (European Union)

GEI (Gender Equality Index)

GM (Gender Mainstreaming)

TA (Thematic Analysis)

UN (United Nations)

List of Tables and Figures

List of Figures

Figure 1: Age distribution of participants (Bratislava).....39

Figure 2: Age distribution of participants (Vienna).....39

List of Tables

Table 1: Percentage of sample in comparison with population of Bratislava (edited after UrbiStat, n.d.).....40

Table 2: Percentage of sample in comparison with population of Vienna (edited after Stadt Wien, n.d.).....40

Table 3: Do you use public transport in the city regularly?.....41

Table 4: What are the reason(s) for not using public transport regularly?.....42

Table 5: Did you ever experience issues with the accessibility of public transport?.....43

Table 6: What are the reason(s) for the inconvenience(s)?.....44

Table 7: Do you feel safe when using public transport?.....46

Table 8: Are there enough public toilets in the city?.....47

Table 9: Have you ever needed to use a public toilet and could not access one?.....48

Table 10: Did your access or restriction from public areas in the city ever influenced your health?.....49

Table 11: In which way did your access or restriction from public areas in the city ever influence your health?.....49

Table 12: What are the reason(s) for the negative or positive influence?.....50

Table 13: Have you ever experienced any type of violence in the city?.....51

Table 14: What type of violence have you experienced?.....52

Table 15: Have you ever avoided certain neighborhoods or streets in the city?.....53

Table 16: Why did you avoid certain areas in the city?.....53

Table 17: Have you ever been afraid to walk in the city alone?.....54

Table 18: Why have you been afraid to walk in the city alone?.....55

Table 19: Have you seen any advertisement that objectifies women in the city?.....56

Table 20: Did you ever had the impression that public space was dominated by men?.....57

Table 21: Do you think women or men are more visible in the public areas of the city?.....57

Table 22: Why do you think men or women are more visible in the city?.....58

Chapter 1: Introduction

Within the next 30 years, 6.3 billion people of the world's population are expected to live in cities (Zhang, 2016, p. 241). This accounts already for more than half of the world's population and migration from the countryside to the cities is increasing every day. Due to that, the ongoing urbanization can be described as a phenomenon that has the power to change human settlement patterns around the world (Zhang, 2016, p. 241). This fast-advancing urbanization process demonstrates the importance of researching cities. To put it in Ward's words "Cities are important elements of global systems and processes" (Ward, 2010, p. 482).

Cities can work as an analytical framework for analyzing governance and everyday life. However, not all inhabitants of a city necessarily have the same opportunities and power as others to exert their everyday life's activities. To be more concrete, urban inequalities exist among the different genders.

Gender equality has become an important topic on international and national agendas over the past 70 years after the United Nations (UN) incorporated the topic in their charter (Vogelstein 2016). Nowadays it is one of the Sustainable Development Goals that the UN aims to achieve on a global scale until the year 2030 (United Nations, n.d.). Although the quest for ensuring global gender equality has come a long way since its first establishment, there is still much work that remains to be done (Vogelstein, 2016).

It can be argued that urban space offers many possibilities to challenge the existing gender norms (Bondi, 2005, p. 6) and it is therefore an appropriate research site to work on issues related to gender inequality. Feminist researchers also suggest analyzing gender roles and gender relations to gain an understanding of the city (England, 1991, p. 135). As a result, this thesis is working with the topic of gender-equal cities for to also include the urban dimension to gender (in)equalities. Some cities around the world have already made progress in ensuring gender equality in their cities. Urbact, the European exchange, and training program that is responsible for the promotion of sustainable urban development, published a report on guidelines for gender-equal cities including some best practice examples (Kneeshaw & Norman, 2019). One of these examples is the city of Vienna.

Vienna, the capital of Austria, located in the Eastern part of the country, is part of the Vienna-Bratislava metropolitan region. Both cities in this region have a dynamic relationship with each other based on economic cooperation and trading (Jaššo, 2007, p. 355). Despite the economic adjustment of the cities through cooperation after the fall of the Iron Curtain (Jaššo, 2007, p. 356), it is questionable whether this adjustment also applies to their social context, since Eastern European cities, in general, are often still lagging in terms of gender equality (Valkovičová, 2019, p. 90). Therefore, this thesis is going to examine the level of gender equality in both cities in the metropolitan region: Vienna and Bratislava. The study is based on a comparative point of view because analyzing the differences and similarities among cities has the potential to better help us understand gender struggles in an urban context (Binnie, 2014, p. 591).

1.1 Relevance

The relevance of the chosen topic is given through the importance of making inhabitants of a city feel welcome and safe, no matter their gender, ethnicity, or race, to build sustainable and thriving cities (Hudson & Rönnblom, 2008, p.75; Kneeshaw & Norman, 2019). In Watson's (2006) words,

"[If] we cling to the rightness of our own beliefs and practices and do not tolerate those of another in the public spaces of the city, [...] there will be no such thing as city life, as we know it" (Watson 2006, p. 6)

Furthermore, geography matters to the construction of gender, and both factors influence each other (Massey, 2001, p. 4). As a result, when working with the topic of gender equality, the concept of urban geography, as well as gender, needs to be considered. It can be said that "experiences of being gendered vary across places, contexts, and political regimes" (Beebeejaun, 2017, p. 323), and in order to achieve a gender-equal city it is necessary to first get a basic understanding of the different viewpoints and interests of the city dwellers (Sandberg & Rönnblom, 2016, p. 1753). In that sense, it is important to look at each case individually and at the specific context one is working with. Bratislava is placed in the context of gender inequalities in Eastern Europe. However, the study tries to examine the assumptions by gaining empirical data to be able to compare the two cities chosen for this study. Comparison can also be seen as immanent to geographical studies because of the geographical interest in

how space and places are lived and perceived (Gough, 2012, p. 870), which this study of gender-equal cities also aims at.

Several scholars have criticized that urban studies often tend to focus on anglophone cities, in most cases on the American context, rather than broaden their research on a spatial scale (Bondi, 2005, p. 5; Law, 2018, p. 95). Especially in Eastern Europe, analyses of gender inequalities have not been a popular research field and, even if research had been conducted, the research is seldom available in English (Law, 2018, p. 94; Noe 2016, p. 154). That is the case even though research on gender inequality exhibits the potential to not only uncover differences in opportunities between male and female city dwellers but also to tackle these inequalities (Law, 2018, p. 94). Consequently, it is important to also include urban areas that have been underrepresented in studies on gender equality in the research. This poses the possibility to layout the way to more analysis of gender equality in Eastern Europe and making a change in these underrepresented areas. This thesis is therefore another step in the process of moving away from the anglophone, western focus of gender equality research.

1.2 Aim and research questions

Within the scope of this thesis, the status quo of Vienna and Bratislava is compared and potential differences and similarities are analyzed. Studying ways in which the potential gap in gender equality between the cities can be closed is a suggestion for further research and is not included in the thesis. The research questions are based on the assumption derived from the literature, that despite the close cooperation in the Vienna-Bratislava metropolitan region, the different political, cultural, and social attitudes towards gender equality in the cities are reflected in the gendered landscape of the cities. Therefore, this study aims to answer:

1. How does the assumption that Vienna is a more gender-equal city than Bratislava gets reflected in the urban experiences of the women living in the cities?
2. What are the main differences and similarities in terms of gender aspects in an urban context between Bratislava and Vienna?

Through the study, these research questions are answered, and further implications that these results have for the two regions are analyzed.

1.3 Ethical considerations

Some parts of the questionnaire raise ethical concerns. Asking questions about potential experiences with violence in the urban environment is a very personal topic and may evoke painful memories of the experience. A questionnaire gives the participants the possibility to skip the question. Also, the online format gives the option to withdraw the participation and not finish answering the questions, which in a face-to-face situation could be harder to do.

Furthermore, the absence of topics like intersectionality and the private sphere might lead to the fact that some women feel like they are „only“ reduced to the attribute of being a woman even though other factors might cause them even more issues. However, it is difficult to find a solution that suits everyone in all situations and because the scope of the study is limited and the focus lies on the gender aspect of everyone, it is nearly impossible to include the different facets of intersectionality in the questionnaire as well.

1.4 Disposition

This thesis is structured in eight chapters that follow after this introduction. Chapter 2 briefly summarizes the already existing literature on the topic. After that, the theoretical framework for the study is described in Chapter 3. The focus in this case is on gendered cities, Gender Mainstreaming (GM), and important factors for a gender-equal city. Chapter 4 then gives an overview of the background to the study regarding the two studied cities and their relationship to one another. In Chapter 5 the methods for answering the research questions of the study will be described as well as the methodology. The results of the study will be analyzed in Chapter 6, followed by a conclusion in Chapter 7.

Chapter 2: Literature review

Several studies have already been done in the subject area of gender, urban space and gendered cities, but not with a specific focus on the interplay of the different themes chosen for this study to get insights into how gender-equal the studied cities are according to my literature research. The themes are explained in more detail in Chapter 3.5. Moreover, if studies on gender equality in general, or gender and the city, have been conducted in either Vienna or Bratislava, they were executed separately from each other, and no connection to the Vienna-Bratislava metropolitan region was made.

Appendix A gives an overview of the most relevant academic studies (according to the number of citations by other scholars) that have been done in the field of gender and urban space so far. The literature illustrated in the table in the Appendix examines topics related to gender inequality in the urban realm from different angles. One theme that most of the reviewed studies have in common is the emphasis on the interplay of gendered power relations and inequality.

This literature review reflects mainly Western views and studies on gender and the urban area and, therefore, reflects again mainly the Anglo-American view on gendered cities that got criticized in Chapter 1. In Chapter 4, this limitation will be brought up again and it will be explained how this study contributes to the existing research.

The starting point for including the city as a spatial framework for research on gender issues was explained in the mid- till the late-1970s when the then existing research was criticized for ignoring gender aspects in studies in Human Geography (Bondi & Rose, 2003 p. 231). What followed was McDowell's work on the gendered division of urban space, which also took the differences of temporal and spatial activity patterns of men and women into account (McDowell, 1985, pp. 61). At the same time, at the beginning of the 1980s, gender became more prominent in urban and spatial planning through the recognition of different gender identities (Zibell et al., 2019, pp. 27). Thus, the debate shifted towards gendered cities and, hence, towards the structural inequalities between the genders and how they become apparent in the urban area. (Zibell et al., 2019, p. 33)

2.1 Previous studies

This section displays different approaches to the many facets of a gendered city and what more contemporary authors in the field have written about ways in which cities are gendered.

Fenster (2005), for example, who is one of the most-cited authors in the field of gendered cities, bases her study on a qualitative content analysis of people's narratives in Jerusalem and London. The author suggests that the concept of the right to the city, introduced by Lefebvre (1968), is lacking attention to patriarchal power relations (Fenster, 2005, p. 217), which play a role in cities and shape women's everyday lives. Therefore, this study draws on Fenster's interpretation of the right to the city and investigates the effects and causes of the restriction of women's right to transform and access the city.

This argument is supported by Bondi & Rose (2003), who, in their research, discuss published material on Anglo-American feminist urban geography. The study implies that access to public space is based on what gendered relationships a society represents (Bondi & Rose, 2003, p. 235). Beebejaun (2017) and Young et al. (x) also uncover boundaries and exclusions related to the gendered landscape of the city. Beebejaun (2017, p. 331), furthermore, claims that "spaces, such as pedestrian walkways and underpasses, public restrooms, and bus stops" are often overlooked during urban planning, which will also be considered in this study (see Chapter 3). Beebejaun (2017, p. 331) and Young et al. (1999, p. 71) also discuss the intersection of women and urban mobility in the form of public transport and how transport planning can be disproportionately biased towards the mobility needs of women.

Furthermore, studies that relate gendered power inequalities in the urban realm to fear in the city can also be found. This approach offers a new point of view because, when discussing gendered exclusions from urban areas, the focus is on fear as the main factor for these restrictions. Pain (2001), as well as Valentine (1999), or more recently Hudson & Rönnblom (2008) published important studies demonstrating how unequal distributions of power and social relations in space contribute to women's fear and, as

a result, the exclusion of women from certain areas of the city. The authors in all cases used qualitative methods: Pain (2001) conducted a discourse analysis; Valentine (1999), qualitative interviews with women living in Southern England; and Hudson & Rönnblom (2008), interviews with focus groups. In her work, Pain (2001, p. 908) even criticizes using surveys as a method to conduct studies in research on fear of crime. However, Condon et al. (2007) demonstrated that, when combining quantitative and qualitative methods, it is possible to explore new phenomena.

2.2 Non-academic work

Overall, it can be said that several academic studies dealing with the topic of gender-equal cities are available. However, as already mentioned, this study takes yet a new approach by combining four different topics that will be elaborated in more detail in the next chapter. As the table in Appendix A shows, most of the studies previously conducted in this field used a different method than the one used in this work (mainly interviews and reviews). Therefore, to obtain insights from surveys that were already implemented in this field, non-academic work regarding gender-equal cities was consulted as well. In the end, a combination from previous studies in the academic field presented in this chapter and studies by established organizations were combined to be able to obtain a holistic picture of the level of gender equality in the studied cities through data collected through a questionnaire (see Chapter 3).

The next paragraphs will give a brief overview of publications from the mentioned established organizations, touching on the topic of gender-equal cities. Most of the organization's work got published in form of guidelines and handbooks based on previously conducted case studies.

One of these organizations is Urbact, which was previously mentioned in the introduction of the thesis. The organization published an informative manual for the creation of gender-equal cities in 2019, including case studies on different European cities (among others, as mentioned, Vienna) (Kneeshaw & Norman, 2019). Urbact and the World Bank's report both focus on a broader picture (Kneeshaw & Norman, 2019; Terraza et al., 2020), whereas studies on gender-equal cities with a focus on violence or mobility can also be found (Civitas, 2020; Dorsch, 2011).

Vienna's City Council also conducted previous studies on the usage of urban public places (Magistratsabteilung, n.d.) and conducted several case studies for the creation of their manual on GM (Damyanovic et al., 2013). However, studies on gendered landscapes of cities that are focusing on Bratislava were barely available, at least in English, as the literature research revealed. The only English material touching on the topic of gender equality is the publication "She and He in Slovakia" from the year 1996 (Butorova et al., 1996). This book contains the results of a nationwide sociological survey on the public opinions of men and women living in Slovakia on gender equality. Apart from not being a recent publication, the spatial aspect is completely absent and, therefore, this work cannot be used as the basis for the current research. However, this shows that work on the local opinions on gender equality has been done before, even if not in, the currently studied field.

I, as the author of this project, agree that gender-equal cities are a complex topic often related to unequal power relations. However, the literature review has demonstrated that the phenomena this study is going to examine (see Chapter 3) are rarely dealt with in combination. This points toward the need to involve these different aspects in combination with each other when getting insights into the lived experiences of women living in urban areas. Therefore, this study is carrying the subject of gender-equal cities further through combining four of the aspects of a gender-equal city and using this combination to study a region that has not been studied before from the perspective of gender and urban space.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

This chapter will explain the concepts of Gendered Space, Gender Mainstreaming, Gendered cities and Gender Equal Cities. The theoretical framework aims to provide the reader with an understanding of the different theoretical concepts used in this thesis.

3.1 Gendered Space

When working with the theory on gendered cities it is important to first have an understanding of the concept of gendered space. This is the case because the theory

of gendered cities concerns all public spaces within the city. Ortiz et al. (2004, p. 219) state that it is crucial to include the use of public space in the study of the everyday lives of men and women, which is what this thesis aims at researching.

Gendered space refers to how space is shaped by the dominant gender definition in that place (Massey, 2001, pp. 2) and the presence of women in space is restricted by their assigned gender role (Zebracki, 2014, p. 55). These implications also apply to the construction of urban space.

One of the biggest influences on how public spaces turn into gendered spaces is the interplay of power relations within the space. One of the first attempts to approach the connection between power and space can be traced back to the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991). In his book 'The production of space' the author argues that space is all about power relations and how this power is exercised in and through space. Several other scholars (Sandberg & Rönnblom, 2016, p. 1752; Watson, 2006, p. 6; Massey 2001, p. 4) also describe how space is constructed and constituted through power relations. Spain (1992, p. 15) furthermore claims that these power relations can give a group with greater power advantages and the possibility to claim the space for themselves. In Western societies, historically speaking, it often was the case that men owned greater power and, as a result, adjusted the space in which they live according to their needs (Doan, 2010, p. 2). This power imbalance is still reflected in the urban spaces of our lives today. As a result, women continue to often be excluded from public space and the planning process of cities (Fenster, 2005, p. 224).

The exclusions mentioned above allows men to have better access to the public domain, no matter the time of the day (Ranade, 2007, p. 1525). Bondi & Rose (2003, p. 236) describes how public space as a result is influenced by constant negotiations and contestations over which group is in control of a space. Gender plays an important role in these contestations because it serves as a norm that regulates and dominates women's access to public space and can lead to spatial segregation (Tuncer, 2015, p. 2; Spain 1992, p. 15).

It is furthermore important to pay attention to relations in space because (gendered) space is ultimately a product of these social relations within the space. Space can be seen as produced through social practices and dominant cultural and social

organizations that support traditional gender roles (Hille, 1999, p. 112; Doan, 2010, p. 2).

3.2 Gender Mainstreaming

The concept of Gender Mainstreaming (GM) got first introduced at the UN Women's Conference 1995 in Beijing (Larsson & Jarlakas, 2014, p. 37; Parpart & McFee, 2017, p. 243). GM is a strategy to realize and promote gender equality (Walby, 2005, p. 321; EIGE, n.d.; Parpart & McFee, 2017, p. 243). This strategy is supposed to be easily applicable and continues to be viewed as the number one strategy to fight gender inequality and disempowerment around the world (Parpart & McFee, 2017, p. 244). The implementation of GM works through integrating the gender perspective into the political agenda (Walby, 2005, p. 321; Dalby 2005, p. 435; Eveline & Bacchi, 2010, p. 88). This includes the design, evaluation and monitoring of policies and programs (Parpart & McFee, 2017, p. 243). Mainstreaming in this context refers to the goal of implementing the strategy as an essential part of every political and planning decision (Damyanovic et al., 2013, p. 17).

It is important to mention that GM itself cannot be seen as a policy goal, but rather as a tool to ensure gender equality (EIGE, n.d.). Yet, the political component of GM underlines how different political agendas and the existing history of the country influence how gender equality is perceived in the country (Dalby, 2005, p. 437; Eveline & Bacchi, 2010, p. 91). Once again, this demonstrates the significance of paying attention to the local context in which gender equality is situated, which this thesis is aiming at doing by comparing two different cities in two different countries. Even though the European Union (EU) defines gender equality as a fundamental right (EIGE, n.d.), in reality, it is often the case that economic considerations are seen as more important than equality rights (Walby, 2005, p. 323). These problems can also be found in the case of the implementation of gender equality in the political agenda of Slovakia, which will be described in more detail in Chapter 4.

Besides the praising of GM as the key factor in the achievement of gender equality, the tool is also facing criticism from different sites. According to Walby (2005, p. 321), a variety of definitions for the term GM exists, which can reinforce the fact that different countries refer to different meanings when they claim to implement GM in their national

policies (Dalby, 2005, p. 438). Furthermore, if the focus of GM policies is only on measurable gender differences, it is difficult to also include an analysis of the power relations between men and women (Eveline & Bacchi, 2010, p. 88). As a result, these power relations are likely to be ignored even though they play a key role in creating gender inequalities.

3.3 Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning

The introduction of GM as a key strategy to achieve gender equality was integrated in mainstream politics. However, according to Malaza et al. (2009, p. 1), urban planning for a long time has turned a blind eye on the topic of gender. Ten years after Malaza's study, the implementation of GM into urban planning practices remains to be lagging (Carpio-Pinedo et al., 2019, p. 221). Urban planning touches on different topics that are relevant to gender (Malaza et al., 2009, p. 1) which will be further approached in the paragraph on gender-equal cities. Therefore, it is important to pay specific attention to how the concept of GM can be applied to urban planning and which advantages can potentially be drawn from this implementation.

Damyanovic et al. (2013, p. 17) state that GM, when applied to urban planning, has the potential to improve the quality of planning in general. Furthermore, GM leads to a more gender-sensitive way of planning a city and, as a result, this approach takes the different needs of men and women into account when creating the design of the physical and social infrastructure of the city (Malaza et al., 2009, p. 4; Damyanovic et al., 2013, p. 14). The goal is to have a gender-sensitive perspective influencing the entire planning process and therefore create urban spaces that support the users in shaping their everyday lives and satisfying their different needs (Damyanovic et al., 2013, p. 15).

However, urban policymakers and urban planners claim that the actual implementation of GM in urban planning can be difficult, unsuccessful (Zebracki, 2014, p. 56), and full of obstacles (Carpio-Pinedo et al., 2019, p. 230). The example of the supposedly successful adoption of GM will be described in Chapter 4 using the example of Vienna.

3.4 Gendered Cities

“Your City Has a Gender and It’s Male” (Khan, 2018)

This quote from Khan is a good starting point to have a closer look at how the gendered landscape of cities looks like. Considering gender differences in the production of urban space into account is necessary when it comes to analyzing social relationships, public life and the forming of identities (Neaga, 2014, p. 35). Gender divisions are an important element for urban studies to avoid ignoring a crucial structuring element of urban procedures (McDowell, 1985, p. 72).

The spatial structure of the city cannot be described as neutral (England, 1991, p.136) but is rather mutually constituted by social structures (Spain, 2014, p. 582; Collie, 2013, p. 10). Likewise, gender and urban structures are mutually composed, whereby the city is the key scale in which the arising gender inequalities are spatialized (Bondi, 2005, p. 6, Bondi & Rose, 2003, p. 236).

3.4.1 Gender and power relations

Gender inequality is created foremost through the classification of human beings into gender categories (Bondi, 2005 p. 4) which are built upon the socio-cultural constructions of differences based on biological sex categories (Oakley, 1975). Our everyday urban experiences and our use of urban space are influenced by this classification (Bondi, 2005, p. 5; Young & Miranne, 1999, p. 71). The structure of social relationships in a city, the underlying organizing principles, as well as the gendered norms and expectations, are all factors that reinforce and shape the unequal power relations between men and women in cities (McDowell, 1985, p. 61; Bondi, 2005, p. 6; Butcher & Maclean, 2018, p. 689). As described by Deutsche (1999) the urban is a "space of heterogeneity where differences are acknowledged and constituted in power relations" (Deutsche, 1999 in Watson, 2006, p. 7). This heterogeneity in cities is reflected in the gender dichotomies that are visible in cities.

Cities are the places that reproduce and produce structures of powers within societies (Sandberg & Rönnblom, 2016, p. 1752). The order in cities is often accepted as something normal to ensure that hidden power relations remain hidden (Hudson & Rönnblom 2008, p. 76). However, these unequal power structures must be challenged

to uncover gendered power relations, which this thesis supports by having a look at the status quo in two different cities that can potentially benefit from learning from each other.

3.4.2 Exclusion and boundaries

The gender dichotomies mentioned above, lead to limitations and boundaries in cities. Through methods like suggestive jokes or the threat of rape that women often see themselves exposed to when being in public urban spaces, women are pressured to stay in the private, domestic space, rather than the public sphere (McDowell, 1985, p. 70).

Some of these negotiations and resilience have proven to be successful in the past and therefore, it is relevant to emphasize on Bondi's viewpoint that women are not just "passive victims of male domination" (Bondi, 2005, p. 5), but rather play an active role in challenging dominant norms (Bondi, 2005, pp. 5-6).

3.4.3 The Right to the City

The right to the city refers to how every citizen should have the right to access and transform the city (Lefebvre 1986), however, these rights can be weakened by unequal experiences and tension with other citizens (Beebeejaun, 2017, p. 332), which is what women have to face in their everyday urban experience. This fulfillment only gets satisfied when people of a different gender can use the same urban areas without trouble (Fenster, 2005, p. 224). However, rights can be described as embodied (Beebeejaun, 2017, p. 331) and are therefore not able to be escaped from or changed if society does not change.

3.5 Gender Equal Cities

After establishing how cities are gendered and demonstrating how that creates an imbalance between the genders, the next step is to investigate theory on how this can be changed to create a more gender-equal city.

During traditional planning processes, the focus normally lies on the physical appearance and the built environment of a city. However, cities also consist of social relationships, values, and attitudes of the inhabitants, which should also be considered

to achieve a holistic planning process (Hudson & Rönnblom, 2008, p. 80). Therefore, when planning a gender-sensitive city, a vast number of factors should be included. While no checklist or a fixed statement for a solution to create a gender-equal city can be consulted (Beebeejaun, 2017, p. 331), some factors can be considered as crucial for ensuring gender equality in cities. Chapter 2 already touched upon some of these topics, but this section demonstrates the combination with non-academic work.

This list is not intended to be exhaustive, but a starting point to ensure gender equality in cities. Four topics that are constantly reoccurring in the literature consulted for this study were selected and are suitable for the approach of the topic. The topics that will be elaborated on in the following paragraphs are appropriate for having an idea of the level of gender equality within a city. The topics for approaching the study are: transport and mobility, health and hygiene, fear in the city and visibility.

During the research, different guidelines by established and relevant organizations on how to realize the aim of gender equality in cities and how to make urban planning more gender-inclusive were found (see Chapter 2). However, some of these guidelines are rather focusing on issues in the global South (Cities Alliance, 2019), whereas the two cities studied are located in the global North. Therefore, the questionnaire is based on common literature related to my field and, in addition to that, on the key issue areas identified in the World Bank report (Terraza et al., 2020) on gender-inclusive planning, which exhibits a broader view.

The first topic is transport and mobility. The importance of accessibility and safety on public transportation gets stressed by Fenster (2005), who states that fear is a key factor that can prevent women from using public transport. Different sources like Civitas (2020), the World Bank report (Terraza et al. 2020), or Hudson & Rönnblom (2008, p. 81) furthermore mention that women are more likely to not have access to a car or prefer walking and biking as modes of transportation. These different travel patterns should be considered when planning the infrastructure of a city to support women's needs to create a gender-sensitive infrastructure that is safe and comfortable (Civitas, 2020).

Another factor is health and hygiene. The World Bank report about gender-inclusive urban planning suggests health and hygiene as one of the key issue areas where

gender inequality interferes with the urban environment (Terraza et al., 2020). One aspect of the problems with health and hygiene that women confront with in cities is the lack of public toilets. Women need to use toilets more often than men due to more frequent urination, menstruation hygiene, and childcare and, as Beebeejaun (2017, p. 329) demands, these “sites of everyday life” should be included in a study. A lack of toilets in public places creates a higher issue for women than for men and needs to be improved to establish a gender-equal city. Besides, exclusion from the public realm can lead to restrictions from health care and from living a healthy lifestyle for women (Terraza et al., 2020).

As mentioned in Chapter 2, fear in the city also plays an important role in women's everyday experiences. As a result, it is important to research how much a city works on ensuring that all its citizens feel safe when moving around the city, independent of the time of the day.

The last theme deals with the topic of visibility in the city. The visibility of women as urban actors plays an important role in the creation of a gender-equal cities (Bondi & Rose, 2003, p. 235). Therefore, the questionnaire aims at getting insights into the level of visibility of women in both cities and whether this visibility is of a more positive or negative nature. In addition, the visibility also has influence on the access to the space because, as mentioned before, access to public urban space can be regulated through gender (Bondi & Rose, 2003, p. 236).

If a city works on improving these factors, the city can become more gender-equal and hence more inclusive for all its inhabitants.

Chapter 4: Background

As mentioned above, the two study cases, Vienna and Bratislava, are not only connected by their geographical proximity (only 60km, which makes them the worldwide most closely located capitals) but also through close economic cooperations (Brzica, 2009, p. 254; Jaššo, 2008, p. 94). The so-called Vienna-Bratislava Metropolitan Area includes a territory of 30,000 km² and consists of the Vienna Metropolitan Area and the Bratislava region (Brzica 2009, p. 241). The area is

furthermore located at one of the main historical, infrastructural, and culturally important cross-roads of Europe (Jaššo, 2008, p. 91) and there is an intense socio-economic dynamic in the area (Brzica, 2009, p. 241). Throughout their history, the two cities managed to build strong functional ties that still exist today (Jaššo, 2007, p. 355). The process of cross-border cooperation started around the early 90s and proved to be favorable for both sides of the Metropolitan area (Jaššo, 2007, pp. 355-356).

Both capital cities are of high importance for their countries. Vienna is responsible for one-quarter of the GDP of Austria, and the Bratislava Region constitutes almost 30% of the GDP of Slovakia (Hanzl-Weiss et al., 2018, p. 1). The entire region is home to 42% of the Austrian and 21% of the Slovakian population (Jaššo, 2007, p. 358). The goals of the Metropolitan region are, among others, "to become a residential, economic and cultural center of the upper and middle Danubian line" (Jaššo, 2007, p. 358). Through their diverse landscape, together with the variety of languages and culture, the region aims at gaining an advantage for spatial development (Jaššo, 2007, p. 358).

Nevertheless, the focus of strengthening the metropolitan area seems to be mainly on economic aspects (Jaššo, 2007). However, it is also important to make sure that all inhabitants of the area profit from the advantages of the cooperation between the two main cities equally. Besides looking at economic cooperation, social inclusivity or more specific the inclusivity of women in the cities should play a role as well.

It makes sense to first get an understanding of the physical and human geography of both cities as well as certain demographic factors. This chapter aims to give a summary of the national and regional scale of the two cities to build a foundation for the empirical study to move to a deeper understanding of the level of gender equality in the cities.

One starting point for this is to examine the gender equality index (GEI) of the countries the cities are located in. The European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) published the GEI to measure the progress of gender equality in different countries in Europe. The criteria of this index are work, power, money, time, health, and knowledge. The topics of violence against women and intersecting inequalities were also considered in the development of the index. According to the EIGE Index, Slovakia has a score of

54.1 in the year 2019, which is lower than the Austrian score of 65.3 points. It has to be mentioned, that the overall EU score is 67.4, which is consequently higher than the Austrian score (EIGE, n.d.). Despite the praising of gender equality in the city of Vienna, the country itself does not have the highest level of gender equality in the European context. An interesting observation for further research would be comparing the capital with the rest of the country and looking into reasons for this bias.

4.1 Vienna

Vienna, the capital of Austria, located in the Northeastern part of the country and has an estimated population of 1.9 million inhabitants (Stadt Wien, n.d.). The city has always had the reputation and prestige of a vivid center of education, science and culture, and aims at becoming a role model for competition and collaboration of cities and regions in Europe, based on successful flexible regional policies (Jaššo, 2007, pp. 356-357). 972,488 women live in Vienna as opposed to 925,003 men. More women than men live in the city, namely 51% of the population of the city are women. 804,760 of these women are more than 18 years old and are therefore eligible for the study as the target population (Stadt Wien, n.d.).

4.1.1 History of Gender Equal Planning in Vienna

The city of Vienna has a history of more than two decades of implementing GM in spatial planning and urban development (Zibell et al., 2019, p. 103; Damyanovic et al., 2013, p. 13; Kneeshaw & Norman, 2019; Hunt, 2019). Vienna incorporated the GM perspective even before the official adoption of the UN (Hunt, 2019). The official starting point of the gender-sensitive planning approach was the 1991 exhibition 'Wem gehört der öffentliche Raum – Frauenalltag in der Stadt' (Who Owns Public Space – Women's Everyday Life in the City). The establishment of the Women's Office followed, together with a coordination office for the requirements of daily life and the specific needs of women in 1998 (Damyanovic et al., 2013, p. 13; Zibell et al., 2019, p. 103).

Starting in 2000, GM reached the status of a core strategy in the whole municipality (Zibell et al., 2019, p. 103). In addition to a total of 60 implemented pilot projects, different documents including guidelines, checklists, and manuals for GM were

created. Nowadays, GM is well implemented as a strategy for gender-sensitive urban planning in Vienna (Zibell et al., 2019, p. 104; Hunter, 2019).

4.1.2 Goals and Strategies

One of the main goals of the gender-sensitive planning approach of Vienna is to ensure the social inclusion of all citizens to be able to create a fairer society (Zibell et al., 2019, p. 105; Observatory, n.d). One of the measurements to achieve this goal is to include gender equality in all stages of the planning process, starting with the analysis and the formulation of the tasks and goals, until the implementation and the evaluation. In addition to that, drawing attention to differences caused by gender in all policy areas plays a role as well (Zibell et al., 2019, p. 104; Damyanovic et al., 2013; p. 13; Hunt, 2019).

The gender-sensitive planning approach is supposed to be continuously evaluated and not tied to a specific point of time according to the city's authorities (Bauer 2009, p. 64).

The fact that the city, besides advertising GM, also continuously implements projects that support the goal of gender equality shows that branding Vienna as a gender-equal city is not only a strategy to improve the image of the city and gain a good international reputation.

4.2 Bratislava

The city of Bratislava is the national capital of Slovakia. It is located in the Southwestern part of the country (Encyclopædia Britannica n.d.) (hence only 60km away from Vienna). Since the fall of the Communist Regime in 1989, Bratislava has become a catalyzer for culture, innovation, and international activities. The city has a beneficial location in Slovakia, and the entire region of Bratislava has some competitive advantages compared with other regions in the country (Brzica 2009, pp. 245-246).

Bratislava had a population of 429,564 inhabitants in 2018. Out of these 429,564 inhabitants, 22,687 are women, which makes a percentage of 53% of the population (Podmanická et al. 2019, p. 6). Similar to Vienna, women account for a bigger part of

the city's population than men. 83% of the female population is 18 years or older (a total number of 191,992) (UrbiStat n.d.), which represents the target population for the study.

However, it should be acknowledged for both cases that, for the study, and in the case of the gender-equal city plans of Vienna, gender equality refers not only to individuals that have the female biological sex but rather identify themselves as women from a gender perspective. It is likely though that the population census of a city only collects data of inhabitants that are women from a biological perspective rather than considering that not everyone identifies themselves with their biological sex, which creates a potential bias of the data that unfortunately cannot be solved, since there are no statistics on the number of people that identify themselves as a woman in the cities available to conclude about the size of my target population.

The cities exhibit certain similarities such as the higher number of women living in the city, however, the population size is quite different. Despite this fact, the comparison of the two cities was chosen because of the close linkage between the cities that are explained in the first paragraph of this chapter.

4.2.1 Gender Equality in Slovakia

It is a difficult task to find already existing research about the level of gender equality, especially in English. Thus, the assumption that there is potentially gender inequality in Bratislava is based on the literature that was found about the situation in the entire country. It is one of the aims of the study to enrich the literature on gender equality in Bratislava.

4.2.2 Attitude towards gender equality in Slovakia

Slovakia is on the third to last place in the gender equality index that measured 28 EU countries. Only Hungary and Greece performed worse than Slovakia (EIGE, n.d.). This goes in line with the findings of the study of the Pew Research Center on European public opinions which shows that 57% of Slovakian men consider gender equality as a very important topic in contrast with the 76% of the female population. Since the number of women in the country who are in positions to make political decisions is rather low (Maďarová 2014, p. 3), the difference of opinions between the genders

when it comes to gender equality could explain why the topic continues to play only a minor role in the politics of the country (Staronova & Hondlíková 2017, p. 100; Maďarová 2014, p. 7; Valkovičová & Maďarová 2019, p. 4). Not even the country's efforts to become a member of the EU changed or improved the attitude towards gender equality in Slovakia (Maďarová 2014, p. 3). Instead, a backsliding of gender equality policies can be seen (Valkovičová 2019, p. 90) with the focus of the country continuing to be on economic matters (Staronova & Hondlíková 2017, p. 100)

In general, it can be said, that women in Slovakia are still facing stereotypes and discrimination, especially regarding their household duties, which are viewed as a female task (United Nations 2015, p. 5). If efforts are made, it is often not successful and rather a formal strategy to improve the image of the country (Staronova & Hondlíková 2017, p. 100).

4.2.3 Anti-gender discourse

For several years, the 'anti-gender' movement has been getting more popular in Slovakia. Whereas in the beginning, it was a rhetoric mainly used by religious actors, it turned into an important topic for political actors, such as the far right and other conservative actors (Valkovičová & Maďarová 2019, p. 4). The term gender equality gets equated with being a 'gender ideology'. This so-called 'gender ideology' gets represented as posing a threat to traditional family perceptions and heterosexual marriages (Valkovičová & Maďarová 2019, p. 1; Valkovičová 2019, p. 97). By now, the 'anti-gender' rhetoric has become a normalized topic in the country which was even visible during the 2019 presidential elections (Valkovičová 2019, p. 92).

It is interesting to see if these facts about the poor treatment of gender equality on a national level reflect themselves in the daily experiences of the residents of the country's capital Bratislava.

Chapter 5: Methods and Methodology

The different layers of the methodology are connected and depend on one another (Saunders, 2009). Therefore, the following chapter first gives an overview of the

research design including the research philosophy and the chosen research. Afterwards, the chapter will cover the choice of data collection, method and sampling technique.

5.1. Research design

The study uses a mixed-method approach to collect primary data through the usage of an online questionnaire that combines open- and close-ended questions. The close-ended questions aim to make the results measurable and facilitate the use of statistics, whereas the open-ended questions help improving the interpretation of the results.

Different methods, both quantitative and qualitative, are combined to obtain the best results. By implementing not only one, but several methods, it can be ensured that a researcher does not foreground a certain way of looking at the social world (Seale, 2004, p. 296). Furthermore, using different methods allows different voices to be heard and enables exploring different truths (Seale, 2004, p. 296). Because of the existing language barrier in one of the cases, a mixed-method approach is also necessary to prevent a potential misinterpretation of the collected data. Whereas quantitative methods allow for the explanation of events based on numerical data, qualitative methods offer in-depth insights into data (Yilmaz, 2013, pp. 311) and are used to obtain a better understanding of the results.

Large sample sizes are desirable for more accurate and representative results (Denscombe, 2007). However, as described in point 5.2.2, a relatively small percentage of the population was mobilized to participate in the study and, therefore, it could be argued that the sample size is lacking in representativeness

5.2 Research Philosophy

This research is positioned within the philosophic paradigm of pragmatism. Defining the research philosophy is important because it determines the development of knowledge, its nature, and the assumptions the research is based on (Žukauskas et al., 2018, p. 122). A pragmatic research philosophy deals with accepting that there are different ways of interpreting reality and that it is not possible to get a complete picture of a situation by only taking one viewpoint (Saunders, 2009, p. 144; Morgan, 2014, p. 1046). Thereby, I acknowledge that I, as the researcher, cannot claim that my work

gives an entire picture of the current situation of women in Bratislava or Vienna, especially without speaking the native language in one of the cases. I can also not claim that I am free from prior beliefs and ideas of the research topic, as pragmatism describes (Morgan, 2014, p. 1048). I am interested in examining the topic of gender equality in a specific context and believe the results can only be applied to this specific context of women in either Vienna or Bratislava who belong to the age range of 18 years and older.

Pragmatism gets often described as the most common philosophic approach used within mixed-method research (Žukauskas et al. 2018, p. 125; Morgan 2014, p. 1045; Maarouf 2019, p. 1, Bashir et al. 2017, p. 38). According to Žukauskas et al. (2018, p. 123) and Maarouf (2019, p. 9), it allows the researcher to choose the methods and procedures of their study freely without being restricted by philosophical systems and realities. This freedom is, however, criticized by scholars stating that pragmatism has developed an “anything goes attitude” (Maarouf 2019, p. 6), because the differences of the philosophies of quantitative and qualitative research are not considered (Morgan 2014, p. 1051). In order to account for this criticism that often comes from the supposed lack of an ontological and epistemological stance, the clarification of the ontological and epistemological standpoint will be ensured.

However, this study agrees with Saunders’ (2009, p. 137), viewpoint of the ontological stance that reality is the result of the practical implementation of ideas and, especially, that experiences and practices shape our reality. This can be seen in the research approach because instead of relying on the literature that reports about the low level of gender equality in Slovakia in general and derives assumptions from that, this study aims to obtain its own conclusions about how the people who live in Bratislava perceive their lived reality.

From an epistemological perspective, it can be said that according to the pragmatic research, theoretical knowledge is deducted from experiences that a researcher gains throughout the study (Žukauskas et al. 2018, p. 126). The research is also positioned within the epistemological idea of pragmatism, that the focus of research should be on the problem and the relevance (Sanders 2009).

5.3 Research Approach

Every research can follow either an inductive or deductive approach to process the results and theory of a study. In this case, both inductive and deductive elements can be recognized in the research. An inductive approach claims that theory is always the result of research (Brymann & Bell, 2007). A deductive approach, on the other hand, is based on already existing literature on the topic and concludes the research from the theory (Azungah, 2018, p. 391)

Whereas the theory used in this research and the creation of the questionnaire was evaluated from a deductive approach in terms of the theoretical framework and the previous research on the topic, the data collection was used to advance the knowledge about the level of gender equality in the examined cities based on an inductive approach. The motivation for this research approach, categorized as abductive, is supported by Morgan (2007, p. 71), who argues that it is impossible to do research in an either solely data- or theory-driven way.

The abduction approach allows the researcher to move back and forth between observation and theories (Feilzer, 2010, p. 10) and this study starts with an argument coming from already existing beliefs in the literature (deductive approach) and, the lack of gender equality in Slovakia, and moves on to filtering out or confuting the theory this argument is based on (inductive approach). Hence, a combination of the two traditional research approaches is expected to offer the best solution in this case

5.4 Data collection: Online questionnaire

For the data collection of the study, an online survey was conducted. The questionnaire created for this survey had a total of 21 questions and was designed to get insights into potential differences between the level of gender equality in Bratislava and Vienna. By testing how gender-equal the certain cities are, it is possible to conclude the research questions described in Chapter 1. An English and a German version of the questionnaire were created. The English version of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix C.

Online surveys are a useful tool of data collection, especially during the current worldwide pandemic, because they make it possible to avoid face-to-face interactions

as well as traveling to a certain geographical location to collect the data. Furthermore, the questionnaire also consists of some sensitive questions about, for example, experiences with violence, and an online questionnaire makes it easier to answer these questions because of the anonymity of it (Brickman Bhutta, 2012, p. 60).

On the other hand, online questionnaires are limited in the sense that participants need access to the internet to fill out the survey. Therefore, individuals with restricted financial resources, older, less educated people, and members of some ethnic groups are often excluded from participation in online surveys (Brickman Bhutta, 2012, p. 60) and this exclusion can lead to a bias. This effect has been tried to be counteracted by contacting companies that work with women of all ages in the target cities, so that they could give participants that are underrepresented in the study the chance to fill out the survey by providing internet access but, as described in point 5.2.5, the attempt was, unfortunately, failed. However, according to statistics, 81% of all households in Slovakia and 89% in Vienna have access to the Internet (Statista, 2020a; Statista, 2020b). Even though these numbers give information about the whole country, instead of just the target cities, it still gives valuable insights into how many people of the target population approximately have the tools to participate in the study. The number of people with Internet access is sufficiently high in both countries and, therefore, using an online survey seems to be a suitable choice for this research. It was also ensured that every participant could fill out the questionnaire only once by disabling the option for multiple completion in the google form created.

5.4.1 Structure of the questionnaire

The questions of the questionnaire are organized along the thematic blocks described in Chapter 3: Mobility, Fear in the City, Health and Hygiene, and Visibility.

This order was chosen because the theme of fear in the city touches on sensitive topics such as experiences of violence, so the questionnaire does not start with such a sensitive topic and instead starts with easier topics, such as transport and mobility. By the end of the questionnaire, it comes back to questions that are easier to deal with and finishes with a demographic question to obtain an overview on the age distribution of the respondents. The multiple-choice question allows the respondents to indicate their age based on predefined age groups within a range of 10 years. The

questionnaire is directed only at adult women who are older than 18 because surveys that are supposed to target girls and young adolescents that are younger than 18 need a different design and an even more sensitive approach to the topic (Women in Cities International, 2011, p. 10), which this online questionnaire cannot account for.

Suggestive questions were avoided, and the questions were kept broad instead of including all the knowledge gained through the literature in the questions. This way the questionnaire is more open to own ideas and input from the respondents, and their answers do not get influence by suggestive questions. After collecting the data, the data were analyzed using the software Excel. The results of the analysis can be found in Chapter 6.

5.4.2 Sample size

The target population is the female population of both cities that is older than 18 years old and gets described in more detail in Chapter 4. The determination of the sample size was not guided by aiming for the highest confidence level and smallest margin of error due to the limited time and financial resources of this research. A confidence level of 95% and a maximum margin of error of 10% has been chosen to guarantee a wider scope in the collection of the data, which turned out to be more difficult than expected in the case of Bratislava.

In the end, 81 questionnaires were gathered from the female citizens of Bratislava, which accounts for a margin of error of 11%, instead of the 96 answers that would have been needed for a margin of 10%.

224 participants filled out the questionnaire for Vienna. This accounts for a noticeably smaller margin of error, which is smaller than 7%. However, in comparison with the target population, 81 participants account for 0.04% of the female adult population in Bratislava, whereas the 224 participants in the case of Vienna only account for 0.02% of the target population. In conclusion, even though fewer citizens responded to the questionnaire of Bratislava, both samples similarly depict the overall population. Since the study is not aiming at detecting very small differences but rather large differences between the two samples, a smaller sample size is sufficient (Berkowitz & Lynch, 2015, p. 2).

5.4.3 Sampling method

The sampling type used is the method of convenience sampling. It is a non-probability sampling method and is, therefore, based on the judgment of the researcher itself, rather than a random selection (Lund Research Ltd., n.d.; Jager et al., 2017, p. 14). Convenience sampling furthermore refers to researchers recruiting participants who are easily available (Setia, 2016) and easily accessible (Lund Research Ltd., n.d.; Etikan et al., 2016, p. 2; Jager et al., 2017, p. 15).

There are several disadvantages caused by a non-probability sampling method, that will be discussed later. However, according to Rice et al. (2017, p. 63), it is impossible to get a perfectly random sample with an internet-based method, which is used for the study. This sampling type was chosen, because as stated by Kriska et al. (2013), "all samples of human participants are convenience samples to some degree" (Kriska et al., 2013, p. 2828). Therefore, it was deemed nearly impossible to achieve a sample based on random sampling techniques for the study.

One of the biggest advantages of convenience sampling, as opposed to random sampling, is that it is a cheap method to find respondents for the survey (Etikan et al., 2016, p. 1; Jager et al. 2017, p. 15) and, as a result, makes it possible to afford the implementation of large studies (Brickman Bhutta 2012, p. 57). Furthermore, it has proven to be a useful method when the researcher has a limited workforce and resources (Etikan et al., 2016, p. 2). It is also less time-consuming than probability sampling and it is possible to achieve quick results (Etikan et al., 2016, p. 1; Rice et al. 2017, p. 64). The broad sampling frame that got defined in Chapter 4 required a fast gathering of a relatively big amount of data, which is achievable using convenience sampling. This sampling type furthermore is an effective way to reach a set of diverse participants who would have been hard to reach by using traditional research methods, especially if a complete list of the population is missing (Laerde Dissertation, n.d.; Rice et al., 2017, p. 59), as it is in the case of this study.

However, non-probability sampling methods, such as convenience sampling, are often described as being prone to exhibiting a bias (Etikan et al., 2016, p. 2; Farrokhi & Mahmoudi-Hamidabad, 2012, p. 785). This bias can come from the high self-selection rate of participants (Farrokhi & Mahmoudi-Hamidabad, 2012, p. 785) or the

participants pretending they are someone they are not (Rice et al. 2017, p. 63). Other risks arise from the lack of generalizability of non-probability samples and the potentially bad representation of the population (Etikan et al., 2016, p. 4; Robinson 2014, p. 29; Jager et al. 2017, p. 16; Schonlau et al., 2002, p. 35). To compensate for these known biases, the study tries to identify which participants are over- or underrepresented in the sample and the influence of these biases in the results.

The restraints and challenges created by using non-probability sampling techniques are acknowledged. However, convenience samples also exhibit certain values, and they outweigh the risks and challenges that come with this sampling type for the purpose of this study. Considering the limited time, financial resources and expected accuracy of the results, a non-probability sampling method has been chosen as the most appropriate method to conduct this research.

5.4.4 Survey implementation

The survey was created using the tool Google forms, and spread online, approaching the participants by the social media site "Facebook". In the case of Bratislava, the survey was posted in 21 different Facebook, both English and Slovakian to ensure a bigger reach of the survey. In the case of Vienna, the survey was posted in 18 Facebook groups, both English and German. Despite having insights into the total number of members in each Facebook group, it is not possible to calculate the response rate, since comparing the total number of members of a group with the number of participants would lead to excessive numbers of uncertain size (Brickman Bhutta, 2012, p. 68).

Emails including a link to the survey were sent out as well. These emails were sent to six English speaking companies and organizations in Bratislava that are dealing with topics of social inclusion or women's rights, but the organizations did not reply. In the case of Vienna, it was less urgent to contact companies because the age distribution of the participants of the study was more varied and the data collected from the Facebook groups seemed to be sufficient.

5.5 Content analysis of the questionnaire

In line with the mixed-method approach to obtain both quantitative and qualitative data, the content analysis of the results is also using two different methods for data analysis, depending on the type of data. Below, the analysis used on the results is explained along with the advantages and disadvantages that come with the methods.

5.5.1 Descriptive statistical analysis

As stated by de Vaus (2002, p. 203), factors that influence how data is analyzed are, amongst others, if the data is used for descriptive or inferential objectives and ethical considerations. The last factor was previously discussed in Chapter 1. However, there is little focus on inferential purposes and rather on descriptive purposes and, as a result, the quantifiable data that was collected with the questionnaire is mainly descriptive in nature. Therefore, the most appropriate approach to analyze this data is using descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics are the numbers used to describe what results or patterns occurred in the data (Thompson 2009, p. 56; Fisher & Marshall, 2009, p. 93). The goal of descriptive statistics is to illustrate the variability and the distribution of the data (Fisher & Marshall, 2019, p. 95; Chan et al., 2015, p. 30).

According to Thompson (2009, p. 57), descriptive statistics are a useful method to compare samples of different studies with each other, which is in line with the comparison of samples from two different cities the study is aiming to make. Furthermore, descriptive statistics are one of the easiest methods to interpret (Fisher & Marshall 2009, p. 97), and hence, the results are accessible for a big part of the population (United Nations 2005, 389). The aim of this project is enriching the research on gender equality in both target cities and therefore, it is important to be able to communicate the findings simply and straightforwardly.

However, the decision to use descriptive statistics as an analysis method does not only have advantages. Reports based on descriptive statistics may exhibit standard errors of estimate (United Nations 2015, p.391). In addition to that, it can be said that generalization is a nearly impossible task when using descriptive statistics (Fisher & Marshall 2009, p. 93). However, as mentioned before, there is no claim that the research results can be generalized to the whole population, to begin with. It can also

happen that the researcher only uses data that fits their research question and ignores the rest of the data (Baha 2016, p. 9). As the researcher, I am aware of this risk, and aim to ensure that not only specific data that is to my convenience is used.

5.5.2 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis (TA) describes a method of analyzing qualitative data based on a six-phase analytical process (Terry et al. 2017, p. 12) with the goal to identify common themes in the data. The analytical process of TA, as documented by Braun & Clarke (2006) involves: familiarizing yourself with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report. This process is not linear but rather recursive (Braun & Clarke, 2006, pp. 16).

For this study, a latent TA approach was chosen, which means that the underlying ideas and assumptions of the data are analyzed as well (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 13). The thematic analysis table showing how the data is categorized can be found in Appendix B. Since the analysis is following a topic-based approach, each of the topics has its own themes that are the foundation for the analysis, rather than a few big themes for the whole research.

One of the biggest strengths of TA is its high flexibility. It can be used to answer a broad range of research questions, choose different analytical options and is not tied to a specific theoretical framework (Nowell et al., 2017, p. 2; Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 27; Terry et al., 2017, p. 9). This also applies for any epistemological or ontological base (Terry et al., 2017, p. 9), which goes in line with the flexible research philosophy chosen for this study. Besides that, TA allows researchers to use different research methods (qualitative and quantitative) to combine the two of them (Nowell et al., 2017, p. 2). TA has also proven to be a good choice for inexperienced researchers due to its easy accessibility (Nowell et al., 2017, p. 2; Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 9; Terry et al., 2017, p. 28).

Nevertheless, the flexibility of TA does not only have advantages. It can also lead to a lack of consistency when developing themes (Nowell et al., 2017, p. 3). Another pitfall comes from the fact that TA does not allow the researcher to make claims about the language use of the data (Nowell et al., 2017, p. 2; Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 28). The

aim of the analysis is to make the choice of themes transparent and therefore, prevent inconsistencies.

Even though the number of responses to the open-ended questions is noticeable smaller than to the closed questions, the outcome is used to interpret the overall results better and potentially discover themes that are not covered by the posed questions in the questionnaire.

5.6 Reliability, Generalizability, and Validity of Data

In order to ensure the good quality of the research, the concepts of validity, reliability, and generalizability are evaluated below.

5.6.1 Validity

One of the most important steps in survey-based research is to ensure that the survey is well designed. If the survey lacks quality it can, consequently, suffer from validity issues. The process of instrument validation can strengthen the empirical part of a study (Straub, 1989). To be able to improve the instrument validity for the questionnaire, a pre-test was performed.

Ten participants were asked to answer the questionnaire in English and another ten to answer the German version. The participants are not representative of the target population, but rather from my circle of friends and acquaintances. However, at least, a broad age distribution was given, with the youngest participant for the pre-test being 20 years old and the oldest being 61.

After the participants of the pre-test finished the survey, they were asked to evaluate the questions one by one and point out potential misinterpretations of the questions. The questionnaire was afterwards modified accordingly; some questions that were originally included in the survey were removed or edited. Additionally, it was found that participants take approximately 5 to 7 minutes to complete the questionnaire, after measuring the time it took each participant to complete the survey.

5.6.2 Reliability

Reliability is concerned with the question whether research could be exactly repeated under similar conditions (Seale, 2004, p. 72), such as a different researcher or a different time (Silverman, 2020). All the participants in the study were asked the same questions and, consequently, it is doubtful that the same research with the same participants would create different results. Therefore, the repeatability of the research is given. Displaying the research process and the choice of theory in an understandable and transparent manner also helps increasing the reliability (Silverman, 2006), as it has been done in this chapter.

If the time frame would have allowed it, it would have been interesting to conduct the study again to see if it would get the same results. However, due to the limited amount of time, this was not possible.

5.6.3 Generalizability

As mentioned before, the study does not aim for generalizability. To be more precise, statistical generalization cannot be reached because of the chosen methods for data collection and data analysis. As mentioned before, the sample size is also not representative of the population. Despite lacking on generalizability, the study can still manage to expose tendencies and the overall orientation of the inhabitants of the city.

5.7 Positionality

As explained, I position myself within the philosophy of pragmatism. Furthermore, this work can be classified as political, aiming at unravelling and comprehending social inequity through capturing the lived experiences of the participants. This research was motivated by an interest in urban geography as well as gender equality and the interplay of these two topics.

I identify myself as a woman and bringing an academic background in human geography studies at a University in Sweden to this study, I acknowledge the way my knowledge has been influenced by western environments and universities. I therefore, want to clarify that I do not want to force Western views on the „poor“ Eastern European cities as it often gets depicted. It is hopefully ensured that the participants of the study know that I do not want to take the position of the superior researcher but

rather meet them on an equal footing. Therefore, opportunity to contact me via email and ask questions about the study is offered. Anybody of the participants who is interested also gets the opportunity to read the final thesis. However, I recognize that my identity is located within the context of a privileged academic background and therefore, my lived experiences can potentially vary from some of the participants, which makes it harder to draw valid conclusions.

5.8 Limitations

This study has several limitations. The most important ones are described in this subchapter.

A potential bias when distributing the questionnaires appears because of the fact that I, as the conductor of the research, speak fluent German and not Slovakian, and, therefore, I could redact the questionnaire in the native language of the target group only for Vienna. As a result, only Slovakian women who can speak English get the chance to participate in the study. However, I do not want the fact that I cannot speak the native language of one of the cities fluently prevent me from conducting the research. Therefore, the aim is to make the questionnaires as easily understandable as possible by avoiding technical terms or multi-clause sentences, so the English questionnaire for the Slovakian interviewees is easy to complete.

A further limitation caused by the language barrier is that I am not able to include Slovakian research in the body of literature I use for the study, because I do not understand the language and could therefore miss some important work. However, as mentioned above, the fact that not much gender equality research has been done in Eastern Europe (Law 2018, p. 94), makes this limitation less significant

Due to my choice for the survey implementation, another bias is created through the fact that only women who have a Facebook account and are members of groups on the platform get the chance to participate in the survey. My attempts at counteracting this failed.

A big body of the literature concerning gender and the city, and gender and space, makes a distinction between public and private space, and demands that gender-equal city planning also takes the private into consideration when working with inclusive

planning (Hudson & Rönnblom, 2008, p. 74; Pain, 2001, p. 892; Doan, 2010, p. 290; Fenster, 2005, p. 225). I nevertheless decided not to include the private sphere into my study, because agreeing with Dymen & Ceccato's viewpoint that it is naive and unsuitable to expect that urban planning can tackle domestic violence (Dymen & Ceccato, 2011, p. 332). Since my study aims at getting a first impression of the status quo in the cities through empirical data collection, I believe that including the private sphere into research on gender-equal cities is rather a topic for follow-up studies on cannot be included in the scope of this study.

Another factor that is not included is intersectionality. I am conscious of the fact that the experiences of an individual often not only depend on their gender that the certain individual has, but that factors such as social class, ethnicity, sexuality also shape the experiences of everyday life (Young & Miranne, 1999, p. 69; Bondi 2003, p. 230). It is yet a very complex topic and would go beyond the scope of this study. I suggest, however, to include intersectionality in further research on this topic and do not try to undermine its importance.

Another limitation that became apparent over the course of data collection is the significantly lower sample size of the participants who live in Bratislava. The data collection process as well as the attributes of the sample size populations is explained in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6 but it can already be said that the sample size from Bratislava is not even half the size of the sample size from Vienna. If I were to repeat the study, I would try to conduct the data collection on-site and try to get personal contacts but for now, I try to work with the available data.

Chapter 6: Analysis and Results

The analysis is divided into four thematic sections. The goal of the analysis is to answer the research questions and accomplish the purpose of this thesis.

The analysis is organized in a topic-to-topic-based manner, following the five themes introduced in the theoretical framework and used in the structure of the questionnaire, namely: transport and mobility, fear in the city, health and hygiene and, visibility. Both quantitative as well as qualitative data get presented side-by-side in the sections. The

chapter will derive conclusions from the data presented. For this, secondary data in the form of previous research in the field, as well as theoretical concepts and perspectives were used to get a better and more in-depth understanding of the results. However, the analysis will first start with a presentation of the demographic age groups of the respondents.

6.1 Profile of Respondents

In the last section of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to indicate their age. Figure 1 shows the demographic distribution of the respondents for the questionnaire for Bratislava. Most of the respondents are between 25 and 34 years old (40.7%). After that, the biggest group is between 18 and 25 years old (30.9%). 21.0% of the respondents belong to the age group “35-44 years old” and 4.9% are 35-44 years old. Only 2.5%, namely two respondents, belong to the age group “55-64 years old”. None of the respondents is older than 64 years.

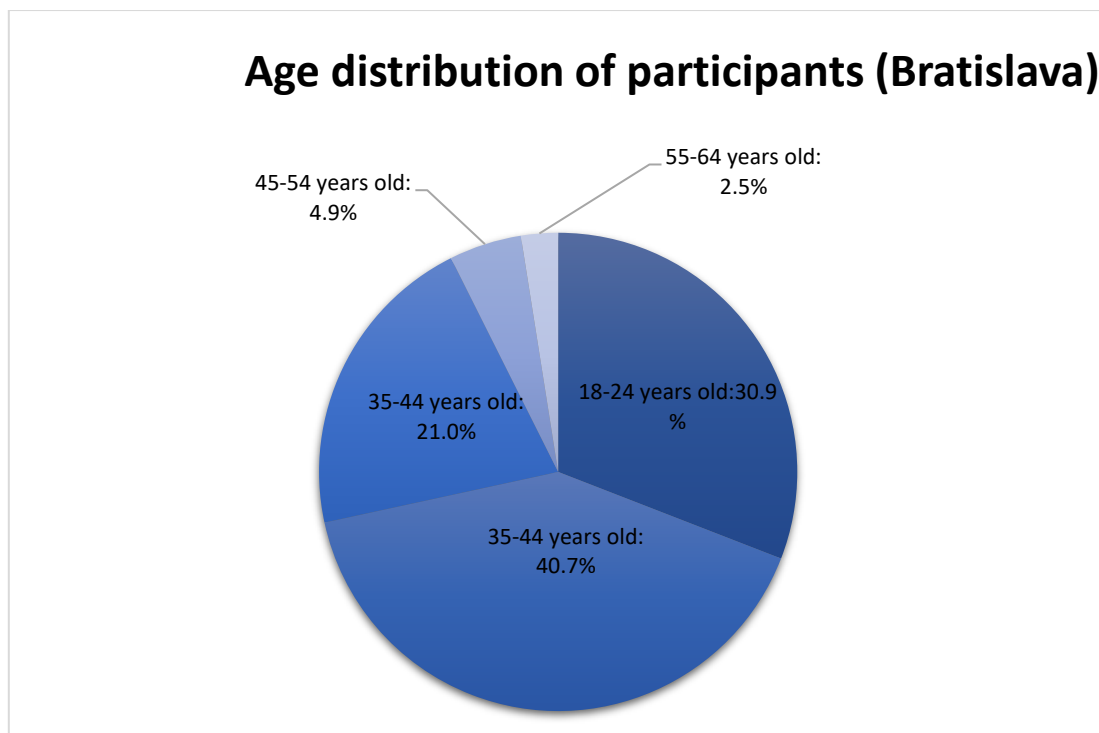


Figure 2: Age distribution of participants (Bratislava)

As shown in figure 2, in the case of Vienna, the survey managed to get a wider range of participants up to the age group of “75 years and older”. Most of the participants (33.1%) belong, like in the case of Bratislava, to the age group of “25-34 years old”.

The second biggest age group is with 22.0% the one of the “35-44 years old”. The age groups “18-24 years old” and “45-54 years old” depict almost the same percentage. The smallest age groups of the sample from Vienna are the age groups “55-64 years old” with 7.0%, “65-74 years old” with 6.2% and “75 years and older” with 0.3%.

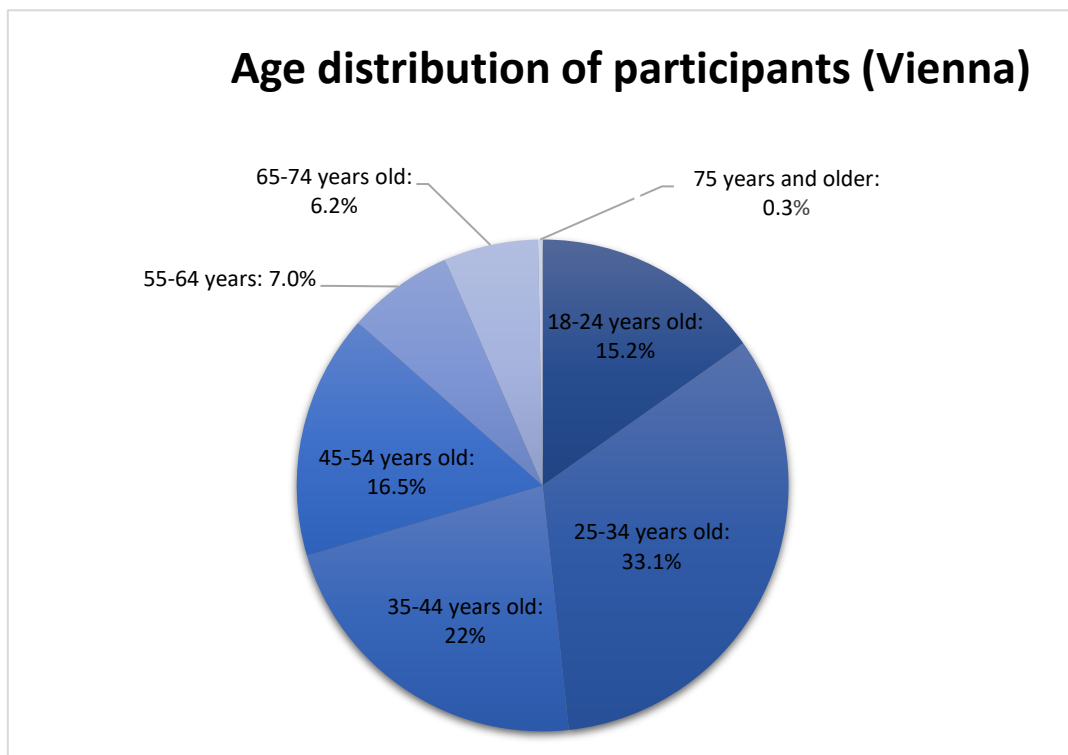


Figure 3: Age distribution of participants (Vienna)

The age distribution of the respondents shows that I failed to get a representative sample of the women in either city. I do not claim that the sample is representative for all women living in the studied cities, but instead, the samples only involve women of Bratislava between the age of 18 and 64 and in Vienna from 18 to 75 years and older and the results can therefore not be generalized beyond this study.

Tables 1 and 2 show a comparison of the age groups of the total population of women living in Bratislava and Vienna in comparison with the age groups of the participants of the study to give an overview of how much the sample population of the study differs from the total population in terms of demographics.

Table 1: Percentage of sample in comparison with population of Bratislava

Age group	Percentage of population of Bratislava	Percentage of population of this study
18-24	6.7%	37.3%
25-34	22.6%	37.3%
35-44	29.5%	19.6%
45-54	19.6%	3.9%
55-64	21.5%	2%

Table 2: Percentage of sample in comparison with population of Vienna

Age group	Percentage of population of Vienna	Percentage of the population of this study
18-24	10.3%	15.2%
25-34	19.3%	33.1%
35-44	16.8%	22.0%
45-54	16.7%	16.5%
55-64	14.5%	7.0%
65-74	10.7%	6.2%
75 and older	11.7%	0.3%

It should be considered that the choice of using a convenience sampling method and an online distribution of the questionnaire, could have caused the bias of the sample distribution towards the age groups younger than 45 years old. However, according to official statistics, the biggest age group of women in both cities are in total the ones who are 44 years and younger (UrbiStat, n.d; Stadt Wien, n.d.), which is the same in the sample of this study. To still compensate for this unequal distribution of age, opinions from different age groups are presented to illustrate a more complete picture of the situation.

6.2 Theme 1: Transport and Mobility

As mentioned before, transport and mobility are the first thematic section of the questionnaire. This first section is supposed to give insights into the mobility patterns and the usage of public transportation systems of women in Vienna and Bratislava.

60.5% of women in Bratislava and 73.7% of women in Vienna stated that they use the public transportation system in their cities regularly, which in both cases account for the majority of the respondents (see table 3).

Table 3: Do you use public transport in the city regularly?

Responses	Bratislava		Vienna	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	49	60.5%	165	73.7%
No	32	39.5%	59	26.3%
Prefer not to answer	0	0%	0	0%
Total	224	100%	81	100%

The participants in Bratislava conclusively state that they use public transport less regularly than the participants living in Vienna. However, only looking at the frequency of the usage of public transport in the cities, is not enough to draw conclusions in this case. Therefore, the reasons for not using this mode of transportation were sampled as well. The results get illustrated in table 4.

Whitzmann (2007, p. 2721) and Bauer (2009, p. 69) both argue that the main reason women often abstain from using public transport is the feeling of fear and unsafety when using public transport vehicles. Fenster (2005) makes the same observation and states that fear of using public transport can even contribute to hindering women in the fulfillment of their right to the city (Fenster, 2005, p. 224).

Nevertheless, as table 4 demonstrates, the factor of avoiding the usage of public transport out of fear, that gets mentioned by relevant authors in the field, does not mainly influence the decision of the surveyed women to not use public transport regularly. In both cities, the main reason stated is, as opposed to what the literature suggests, the lack of the need to use public transport instead. With a percentage of 59.3%, even more women in Bratislava do not feel the need to use public transport than 50% of women in Vienna. This could however, be explained by the differences in size and distribution of the cities.

Table 4: What are the reason(s) for not using public transport regularly?

Responses	Bratislava (n=27)		Vienna (n=62)	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Not convenient	3	11.1%	4	6.5%
Not safe	2	7.4%	3	5.0%
Do not want to	2	7.4%	3	5.0%
Do not need to	16	59.3%	31	50.0%
Prefer other transport	9	33.4%	27	43.3%
Corona-related reasons	1	3.7%	6	10.0%
Other reasons	2	7.4%	3	5.0%
Prefer not to answer	0	0%	2	3.2%

But even after that, the results of the survey clearly show that for both cities the factor of “not feeling safe” plays a minor role in not using public transport frequently. Only 7.4% of participants in Bratislava and 5% of participants from Vienna are influenced by this reason.

Another factor affecting the public mobility patterns of women gets mentioned by Terraza et al. (2020):

“Transit and transportation systems are often shaped by male-dominated commuting patterns that do not serve the complex needs of female caregivers” (Terraza et al., 2020, p. 36).

The factor “not convenient” reflects this statement on how public transport systems are supposedly only suitable for the needs of men living in the city, as also argued by Dymen & Ceccato (2011, p.12). With 11.1% of women in Bratislava and 6.6% in Vienna, the answer “not convenient” plays a more important role than the fear of using public transport in both cities, however, it still cannot be counted as a significant factor that influences the travel behavior of women in the cities.

A topic that plays a bigger role in the travel patterns of women in Vienna than safety or convenience is the current topic of the corona crisis. This crisis is not mentioned in the previously revised literature because it only started within the last year. Despite the high relevance of the topic, this factor was not considered when creating the questionnaire. The COVID-19 pandemic is said to have a negative influence on

women especially when it comes to unpaid domestic work (UN Women, 2020), however, I would argue that this factor does not influence potential differences in gender equality in the cities caused by the planning or the urban geography of the cities and will consequently not distort the results.

In the context of the argument that the transportation system is less in favor of women, Bondi & Rose (2003, p. 231) mention that barriers to public transport can increase gender inequality as well and additionally amplify traditional gender roles. This goes in line with Dymen & Ceccato (2011, p. 12) and Terraza et al. (2020, p. 36) describing how, women, who are often being assigned the role of childcare, use public transport differently than men. Therefore, the next question engages with the accessibility of different aspects of the public transportation system.

The study revealed that only a minority of the women in both cities who use public transport report issues with accessibility. In Vienna, it is 14.7%, and in Bratislava 16.4% (see table 5).

Table 5: Did you ever experience issues with the accessibility of public transport?

Responses	Bratislava		Vienna	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	13	16.4%	33	14.7%
No	62	76.5%	183	81.7%
Do not use public transport	3	3.7%	6	2.7%
Prefer not to answer	3	3.7%	2	0.9%
Total	81	100%	224	100%

Question 4 gives more detailed insights into how the accessibility issues manifest themselves. Three themes were identified in the reasons for the bad accessibility of public transportation given by the participants of both cities: Schedule issues, technical issues, and childcare. The Viennese participants raised another theme, which is summarized as childcare. Table 6 gives an overview of how often these themes got mentioned by the women in either city.

Table 6: What are the reason(s) for the inconvenience(s)?

Responses	Bratislava		Vienna	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Technical issues	5	62.5%	12	40%
Delay	3	37.5%	8	26.6%
Way to destination	1	12.5%	5	16.6%
Childcare	0	0%	10	33.3%

In both cases, the most frequent reason for experiencing issues with accessibility are technical issues. These kinds of issues are ranking from broken elevators to service disruptions and get mentioned particularly often by the participants from Bratislava. More than a third of women living in Bratislava furthermore list schedule issues of the vehicles (e.g. delay) as the second frequent stated reason for accessibility issues. In Vienna, this reason only gets mentioned by a fourth of all women who answered this question. In total these two factors get stated by a majority of participants in both cities. Unfortunately, I am not in the position to compare women's and men's experiences with inconveniences in the public transportation system. However, because in the reviewed literature arguments claiming that these factors ("technical issues" or "schedule issues") are connected to a low level of urban gender equality are important, the majority of the reasons given for issues with the accessibility of public transport are not pointing towards measurable gender inequalities in public transportation systems, of neither of the cities.

Not only the vehicles or the feeling of safety can negatively influence women's mobility patterns, but also the stops and stations, and the way leading there (Beebeejaun 2017, p. 331). The results of question 4 show that bad experiences with reaching their destination get mentioned by the participants, but they only account for a small amount of 16.6% (Vienna) and 12.5% (Bratislava), and this factor, therefore, seems to not have a big influence on the issues with accessibility.

While a slight majority of women living in Vienna (66.6%) mention reasons for the issues with accessing public transport, that cannot conclusively be connected to the topic of gender-equal cities, a non-negligible number mention accessibility issues related to child care, as also described by common literature (see above).

It can also be observed that issues with childcare while using public transport are often connected with technical difficulties. To be more precise, five of the statements taken from the answer pool from Vienna, exhibit a connection between these two codes. As one woman describes

“Not everything is barrier-free with [a] baby stroller (elevators out of order; trains not barrier-free, ...)” (Participant living in Vienna, 35-44 years old)

In several cases, having issues with taking care of children within the public transportation system get caused by struggling with finding a way around said transportation system with a baby stroller. None of the surveyed women of Bratislava mention the topic of care economy at all but due to the low number of replies, it cannot undoubtedly be concluded that this issue does not play a role at all in Bratislava.

Even though question 2 already demonstrated that most of the participants do not get influenced by the feeling that public transport is not safe, question 5 underlines this result yet again. Based on the literature used for creating the questionnaire, two questions on the feeling of safety in public transport were included without knowing in advance that this factor does not play a crucial role in the everyday experiences of the participants. However, it is still important to look closer into that topic because it can help to get an understanding of how the situation of violence against women looks like in the cities. After all, according to the study of Condon et al. (2007, p. 117), three-quarters of all assaults happening to women occur on public transport and it is, therefore, an important factor that can hinder women from using public transport.

Only 3.1% of women in Vienna have the opinion that public transport is not safe and with a percentage of mere 1.2%, women in Bratislava feel even safer in public transport (see table 7). However, taking the time of the day into account shows that more of the participants display a feeling of unsafety on public transport in general. Condon et al. (2007, pp. 107) suggest that precautions and the feeling of fear often can be related to the time of the day but that fears are still mainly associated with the nature of a place rather than its socio-temporal attributes.

Table 7: Do you feel safe when using public transport?

Response	Bratislava		Vienna	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	53	65.5%	158	70.6%
No	1	1.2%	7	3.1%
Depends on the time of the day	27	33.3%	56	25.0%
Prefer not to answer	0	0%	3	1.3%
Total	81	100%	224	100%

A fourth of the participants from Vienna stated that their perception of fear on public transport depends on the time of the day, as opposed to a third of women in Bratislava. Adding up the percentages of both answer possibilities that point towards a feeling of unsafety (“No” and “Depends on the time of the day”), it can be said that in summary out of the women who participated, women in Vienna feel slightly safer when using public transport than women in Bratislava. Table 4 strengthens this statement because more women from Bratislava stated this reason as a factor hindering them from using public transport. However, following the assumptions extracted from the literature mentioned above, I would still argue that neither city has to deal with significant problems causing gender inequality in a city when it comes to travel patterns regarding public transport in general. Minor differences can be observed, most of the time in favor of Vienna, but no significant difference can be concluded.

This observation is unexpected because the city council of Vienna claims that they are actively working on making public transport safe for women and also consider the different travel patterns in the planning process (Damyanovic et al., 2013, p. 60). As opposed to that, at least according to my research, the city of Bratislava has no specific measurements or plans to make women feel more welcome to use the public transportation system of the city. I would also confute that as stated by Loukaitou-Sideris (2016, p. 560) women-friendly transport policies implemented by the government will improve the mobility of women. The results of the study do not reflect a higher success rate of the implemented gender-sensitive transport policies in Vienna in comparison with a city that does not follow a gender-sensitive approach.

6.3 Theme 2: Health and Hygiene

As indicated in Chapter 2, the importance of access to toilets for women, in general, gets stated by several scholars (Beebeejaun, 2017, p. 332; Terraza et al., 2020, p. 41; Bauer 2009, p. 69). Public toilets themselves already function as gendered space, built on notions of binary gender division (Gershenson & Penner, 2009, p. 1), and therefore it is important to pay attention to the needs of women when it comes to the provision of public toilets.

Table 8: Are there enough public toilets in the city?

Responses	Bratislava		Vienna	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	9	11.1%	73	32.6%
No	68	84.0%	130	58.0%
Prefer not to answer	4	4.9%	21	9.4%
Total	81	100%	224	100%

In both cities, most of the women believe that there are not enough public toilets in the city (see table 8). Whereas this holds true for only a slight majority of women living in Vienna (58.0%), it becomes apparent for an irrefutable majority (84.0%) in Bratislava, which paints the picture of a lower toilet provision in Bratislava. In this case, the result indicates that it can be concluded that the public toilet situation in Vienna is distinctively better than the one in Bratislava. This improves the lives of women in the city significantly because women are more suffering from a lack of toilets than men (Terraza et al., 2020, p. 41). The city of Vienna, furthermore, includes the availability of clean public toilets in their planning strategy for gender-sensitive planning (Damyranovic et al., 2013, pp. 82) and seems to be successful in implementing this strategy.

The absence or presence of public toilets gets, inter alia, described as an embodied experience, especially when finding oneself in the absence of toilet facilities when in need of them (Gershenson & Penner, 2009, p. ix). When researching the lived experiences of the participants of the study with the unavailability of public toilets, the results indicate a different attitude than the previous question (see table 9).

Table 9: Have you ever needed to use a public toilet and could not access one?

Responses	Bratislava		Vienna	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	48	59.3%	129	57.6%
No	30	37.0%	86	38.4%
Prefer not to answer	3	3.7%	9	4.0%
Total	81	100%	224	100%

In both cities, a small majority (59.3% for Bratislava and 57.6% for Vienna) has been in a situation in which they wanted to use a public toilet and could not access one. In this case, only a minor difference in the opinions of the participants of the cities can be detected. However, it should be kept in mind that public toilets are often viewed as marginalized urban spaces and are often only used as a last resort in emergencies (Afacan & Gurel, 2015, p. 259). This could explain the differences in the perceived lack of public toilets and the experienced one because women often avoid using public toilets in the first place due to unsanitary conditions (Hartigan et al. 2020, pp. 10). Unfortunately, it was omitted to include a question about the condition of the public toilets, and consequently, further research would be needed to conclude the reasons for the differences in perception and experience of the availability of public toilets in the cities.

Furthermore, following the argumentation of Terraza et al. (2020, p. 41) who are indicating that restricted access to the public realm can influence the health and wellbeing of women negatively, question 3 investigates this factor in the two cities. It is often women and girls who are confronted with challenges when trying to access recreation sites or healthcare in general (Terraza et al. 2020, p. 41). Moreover, it is particularly important for the population group that is responsible for household duties (which is often assigned to women) to have access to an adequate social infrastructure (e.g., healthcare) (Damyanovic et al., 2013, p. 39).

Table 10: Did your access or restriction from public areas in the city ever influenced your health?

	Bratislava		Vienna	
Responses	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	5	6.2%	20	8.9%
No	71	87.6%	193	86.2%
Prefer not to answer	5	6.2%	11	4.9%
Total	224	100%	224	100%

The results of question 8 demonstrate that the vast majority of women in both target cities do not feel limited in regards to their health when it comes to potential restrictions from or access to public urban space (see table 10).

Because suggestive questions were avoided, the first question is broadly defined, and only the participants that felt like their access or restriction to public urban areas influenced their health were asked to continue. The follow-up question revealed significant differences between the access of the public urban areas of the cities (see table 11) and allowed the participants to report on any positive or negative experiences.

Table 11: In which way did your access or restriction from public areas in the city ever influence your health?

	Bratislava (n=10)		Vienna (n=37)	
Responses	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	0	0%	16	43.2%
Negative	6	60%	7	19.0%
Prefer not to answer	4	40%	14	37.8%
Total	10	100%	37	100%

None of the women living in Bratislava reported positive experiences with the connection of their health to the access to the public realm of the city. The majority (60%) had only made negative experiences. The women living in Vienna on the other hand described the way their health access is connected to the public areas in the city

with 43.2% mainly as positive. This is also reflected in the reasons the participants gave for the negative or positive experiences (see table 12).

Table 12: What are the reason(s) for the negative or positive influence?

	Responses	Bratislava (n=3)		Vienna (n=15)	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
negative	Not barrier-free	1	33.3%	3	75%
	Toilets	2	66.7%	3	75%
	Threat from others	0	0%	2	50%
positive	Infrastructure	0	0%	3	30%
	Green Areas	0	0%	6	60%

A total amount of four participants from Bratislava and three participants from Vienna elaborated in which way restrictions to public areas impact their health negatively. One of the most frequent factors named is access issues to toilets. Women living in both cities stress the importance of public toilets once more by also pointing out how gender differences can increase the demand for public toilets. One participant who lives in Bratislava recounts:

“I have endometriosis and not being able to have toilets at hand is a big problem as my period[s] are extremely strong and irregular.” (Woman from Bratislava, 18-24 years old)

Greed (2016) argues that menstruation is a crucial gender difference, often treated as a taboo subject, that can even restrict “women’s contribution to the economy and urban development” (Greed, 2016, p. 509). However, there are no major differences regarding this topic between the two cities because some participants from Vienna also complain about the lack of toilets due to menstruation-related needs.

The reasons (toilet, not barrier-free, threat from others) that the participants gave for the negative associations with health restrictions in urban space are rather similar overall but most participants from Vienna describe the interference of public space with their health as positive rather than negative. These narratives are ranking from a good infrastructure to the availability and accessibility of green areas in the city (see table 12). The public parks of Vienna get mentioned by several participants. As one participant puts it:

“Vienna is full of parks and green area and this can be a very relaxing break or change for people working or studying all day” (Participant living in Vienna, 25-34 years old)

It is interesting to find that only the surveyed participants living in Vienna had something positive to tell about the interplay of individual health and the public realm. Accordingly, the city council of Vienna works on the high quality of accessible green areas and parks (Damyanovic et al., 2013, p. 70), in contrast to no available literature on such efforts in Bratislava, which gets reflected in the results of the survey.

The second theme of the questionnaire sheds light onto more and new differences between the cities than the first theme. Overall, the inhabitants of both cities agree on the importance but the yet lack of public toilets. Differences can be found in the access to the public realm in connection to health.

6.4 Theme 3: Fear in the City

Sandberg & Rönnblom (2016, p.1755) claim that the gender-equal city is often used as a synonym for the safe city. Hence, it proves useful to get insights into the level of fear women experience in Bratislava and Vienna, also because women’s fear in public places is created by the unequal gendered power structures that exist in societies (Hudson & Rönnblom, 2008, p. 77).

Table 13: Have you ever experienced any type of violence in the city?

	Bratislava		Vienna	
Responses	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	28	34.6%	85	37.9%
No	53	65.4%	138	61.6%
Prefer not to answer	0	0%	1	0.5%
Total	81	100%	224	100%

To gather information about the experiences of women who reside in the examined cities, questions about their experiences with violence were asked. As the results illustrated in table 13 indicate, most of the women in both cities have not experienced violence in the city. More women living in Vienna have made experiences with violence (37.9%) than the women in Bratislava, but nevertheless, it can be said that the difference is only marginal.

According to Valentine (1990, p. 301), men can use threats of male sexual violence to gain control over women's fear in public places. Because this type of violence-related fear is directly targeted at women, I argue that in the context of gender equality it is the type of violence that undermines women's feeling of safety in public urban areas the most and hence can decrease women's eagerness to use public spaces. Therefore, it is useful to get insights into what type of violence is most common in the cities.

Table 14: What type of violence have you experienced?

Responses	Bratislava (n=21)		Vienna (n=87)	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Sexual Harassment	16	76.2%	53	60.9%
Repetitive Insults	8	38.1%	34	39.0%
Physical Violence	5	23.8%	33	37.9%
Xenophobia	1	4.8%	3	3.4%
Terrorism	0	0%	2	2.3%
Others	1	4.7%	5	5.7%

The results presented in table 14 indicate that in both cities the above-addressed form of sexual violence is the most common type the participants have experienced. With a majority of 76.2%, the women in Bratislava have experienced forms of sexual harassment more frequently than the women in Vienna. Overall, the table does not exhibit significant differences in the experiences with violence in the two cities. It is nevertheless interesting to find that more women living in Vienna (37.9%) have experienced physical violence even though Vienna implemented planning projects that are aiming at tackling the risk of crime (Dymen & Ceccato, 2011, p. 321). However, according to Hudson & Rönnblom (2008, p. 77), it is not possible to design the threat of violence away but instead, a change in the gendered power relations in society is necessary to achieve change. This brings us back to the concerns voiced in Chapter 4 when talking about the comparatively low gender equality index of Austria. It would extend the scope of this study to examine the reasons for the low GEI more closely but the fact that even though Vienna claims that the city includes gender mainstreaming in their planning process, it is still questionable if there are structural gendered power relations that can be found in the Austrian society as a whole and are

responsible for the higher number of physical attacks. It should be kept in mind though that physical violence is still the type of violence that gets listed the least of all by the participants.

Studies have shown that women are the gender more likely to evolve avoidance strategies when it comes to public places. As a result, the fear felt in public places is often linked to these avoidance strategies (Condon et al., 2007, p. 114).

Table 15: Have you ever avoided certain neighborhoods or streets in the city?

	Bratislava		Vienna	
Responses	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	32	39.5%	59	41.5%
No	48	59.3%	129	57.6%
Prefer not to answer	1	1.2%	2	0.9%
Total	81	100%	224	100%

Most of the women in both cities indicate that they do not use certain strategies by avoiding neighborhoods or specific areas of the city (see table 15). 59.3% of participants from Bratislava say they do not use avoidance strategies, while almost a likewise high number of women living in Vienna (57.6%) say the same.

Even though most women still say that they do not avoid certain parts of the city, there is still a high number of citizens who use avoidance strategies. Table 16 gives an overview of the reasons for these strategies.

Table 16: Why did you avoid certain areas in the city?

	Bratislava (n=21)		Vienna (n=75)	
Responses	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Threat from others	9	42.8%	18	24.0%
Fear	4	19.0%	33	44.0%
Darkness	7	33.3%	11	14.6%
Bad reputation	3	14.2%	23	30.6%

The results of the open-ended question reveal that the reasons women state for their avoidance of urban areas or neighborhoods differ between the cities quite much. Whereas the women who live in Bratislava see threats from others as the most

frequent reason (42.8%) for their behavior, most of the participants from Vienna (44.0%) state fear in general as the reason. Notwithstanding the differences in frequencies of the reasons, all the reasons presented above can be related to a sense of fear in the city. The feeling of being threatened by others is often used to “remind women of the role they are supposed to play, and the practices expected of them” (Condon et al., 2007, p. 122).

The concept of darkness can be described as a social construct that evokes fear. Women are under the impression that after a certain hour they are not advised to be outside alone anymore even though most violence happens in daytime (Condon et al. 2020, pp. 104). The perception of danger can sometimes be an even bigger problem than the actual incidents (Condon et al., 2020, p. 120), and this emphasizes once again how important it is to change the social structure of a city to achieve change in the level of gender equality.

The women who reported “bad reputation” as a reason to avoid urban areas, related this bad reputation in almost all the cases to associating these places with danger or risk of harassment.

“Areas reputed for street harassment.” (Woman living in Vienna, 18-24 years old)

“[They] seem dangerous (homeless/mentally ill people)” (Woman living in Bratislava, 55-64 years old)

Overall, both participant groups gave similar reasons for their avoidance strategies related to fear in the city. The only difference comes from the frequency the reasons were stated.

Fear in public places gets often related to women walking alone (Valentine, 1989, p. 385). In many cases, this unease coming from being outside alone occurs in situations at night (Valentine, 1990, p. 300). However, the study aims at getting an understanding of fears related to walking alone in general, not only at nighttime, and therefore question x is more broadly defined than just focusing on a specific time of day.

Table 17: Have you ever been afraid to walk in the city alone?

Responses	Bratislava		Vienna	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	87	39.9%	35	43.2%

No	132	58.9%	41	50.6%
Prefer not to answer	5	2.2%	5	6.2%
Total	224	100%	81	100%

More than half of the interrogated women in both cities have never been afraid to walk in the city alone (see table 17). In the case of Bratislava though, the majority is a quite slim one (50.6%) and the 43.2% of the participants who indeed have experienced this feeling should not be neglected. The same goes for the 39.9% of Viennese women who did experience a sense of fear when walking alone. Even though the results of both cities are rather similar and no major differences between the cities can be found, the reasons for 'being afraid' are worth being investigated more (see table 17).

Table 18: Why have you been afraid to walk in the city alone?

Responses	Bratislava (n=25)		Vienna (n=48)	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Darkness	15	60.0%	19	39.5%
Threat from others	13	52.0%	27	56.2%
Previous experiences	3	12%	7	14.5%

The results in table 18 differ from those in table 16 because in this case, it is the majority of women in Vienna (56.2%) who see the factor "threat from other people" as the most frequently named reason for their fears. The women living in Bratislava on other hand, state "darkness" as the biggest factor for being afraid to walk around alone (60.0%), as predicted in the literature.

Most of the threats or previous experiences the participants from Vienna describe, cannot be unquestionably linked to a specific daytime. Only in four cases, the connection can be made. One example would be:

“More of a kind of discomfort as it was dark, and groups of men lounged in front of cafes.” (Woman living in Vienna, 18-24 years old)

Conclusively, the results show that the participants living in Bratislava seem to connect the feeling of being afraid to walk alone mainly to situations in which it is dark outside but in the case of Vienna, the reasons seem to go beyond the mere fear around “the

dark” and are more linked to the fear or threat coming from strangers. Overall, it can be observed that only a small minority of Viennese participants has made experiences with violence in comparison with Bratislava, and out of the ones who experienced violence before, the reasons stated are most widely similar in both cities. Therefore, none of the cities shows a noticeable higher number of experiences with fear in the city.

6.5 Theme 4: Visibility

In the last paragraph of this chapter, the results of the theme “visibility” are going to be analyzed. Neaga (2014, p. 33) and Hudson & Rönnblom (2008, p. 124) expressed concerns over the way in which gender gets displayed in urban public places. One way in which women can be disadvantaged in this context is through advertisement that publicly objectifies women. This advertisement can cause “institutionally implicit sexism” (Neaga, 2014, p. 47) and can lead to hyper-sexualization of women (Neaga, 2014, p. 47).

Table 19: Have you seen any advertisement that objectifies women in the city?

Responses	Bratislava		Vienna	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	42	51.9%	118	52.7%
No	38	46.9%	85	37.9%
Prefer not to answer	1	1.2%	21	9.4%
Total	81	100%	224	100%

Question 17 deals with the issue if the interrogated women have recently seen this kind of advertisement in the city, they live in. Both cases show that most of the women have noticed advertisement that objectifies women recently. The number is thereby very similar with a majority of 51.9% in Bratislava and 52.7% in Bratislava (see table 19). Even though it does not get explicitly mentioned in the gender-sensitive planning approach of Vienna, the city has a ‘Center for Complaints against Sexist Advertising’ (City of Vienna n.d.). Consequently, the city council is already aware of the problem and works on fighting it, but the results of the survey show that despite these efforts the proportion of women from the sample of Vienna who has seen objectifying

advertisement is even higher than the proportion of a city (Bratislava) that does not offer such a support program.

Another important goal brought up by Bondi & Rose (2003, p. 231), is to make women visible as urban actors. If one group dominates a public place in the city, it can lead to the marginalization of the less powerful group (Watson 2006, p. 11).

Table 20: Did you ever had the impression that public space was dominated by men?

Responses	Bratislava		Vienna	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	28	34.6%	111	49.5%
No	44	54.3%	104	46.42%
Prefer not to answer	9	11.1	9	4.0%
Total	81	100	224	100

More than half (54.3%) of the participants from Bratislava state that they never had the impression that a public place was dominated by men (see table 21). It is a slim majority but nevertheless a majority, in contrast to the sample from Vienna. In the case of Vienna, there is no absolute majority for one of the answer possibilities and therefore it can be concluded that the gender landscape of public places in the city is balanced. However, it also points towards the fact that more of the Viennese participants have seen places dominated by men in comparison with the participants living in Bratislava.

Table 21: Do you think women or men are more visible in the public areas of the city?

Responses	Bratislava		Vienna	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Both	54	66.6%	155	69.2%
Men	14	17.3%	46	20.5%
Women	9	11.2%	3	1.4%
Prefer not to answer	4	4.9%	20	8.9%
Total	81	100%	224	100%

To continue investigating the visibility and/or invisibility of women in urban public space, the second to last question addresses the participant's opinion on whether men or women are more visible in public urban spaces. Table 21 shows that most women

from both cities agree on the fact that there are no major differences in visibility and both genders are equally visible in public. The biggest difference between the two cities can be found when it comes to the stronger visibility of women in urban areas. 11.2% of the women living in Bratislava believe that women are more visible in public. Even though 11.2% is clearly a minority of the asked participants, it is significantly higher than the 1.4% of Viennese participants who stated the same. According to Neaga (2014, p. 34), it is important to transform urban space, so women can demand the cities back. However, when talking about gender equality, the goal is not to suppress men out of the urban space but rather to enable equal access to all resources and opportunities no matter the gender (Cambridge Dictionary n.d.). and therefore, the fact that a small but noticeable number of participants stated that women are more visible in Bratislava points rather against a high level of a gender-equality in the city.

To understand the choices for the answers of the participants better, the reasons for them are analyzed further. Similar reasons for their answers are given by participants of both cities, however, the frequency with which these reasons are stated, differ (see table 22).

Table 22: Why do you think men or women are more visible in the city?

	Responses	Bratislava (n=12)		Vienna (n=29)	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Men are more visible	Traditional gender roles	2	16.6%	4	13.7%
	Politics	3	25.0%	3	10.3%
	Safety	1	8.3%	3	10.3%
	Group formation	0	0%	9	31.0%
Women are more visible	Get more attention	2	16.6%	1	3.4%
	Spatial segregation	1	8.3%	1	3.4%
Both are equally visible	Same rights	2	16.6%	4	13.7%
	Socio-temporal factors	0	0%	2	6.8%

Hudson & Rönnblom (2008, p. 76) describe the creation of a dichotomy within cities, in which the public sphere is the male-dominated, political one. Accordingly, the samples of both cities claim that politics is one reason for the higher visibility of men in urban public spaces. In the case of Bratislava, it is even the majority of women who stated this reason. This goes in line with the in Chapter 4 described low presence of women in the political landscape of Slovakia.

Conclusively, even though the city of Vienna includes GM in their political agenda, the political landscape is seemingly still exhibiting some disadvantages towards women as the results of question 20 demonstrate. Nevertheless, only a small number of 10.3% of women living in Vienna listed politics as a reason.

The biggest issue in Vienna apparently comes from the fact that men often form groups when occupying public space. This aspect got already, as mentioned above, described by Watson (2006, p. 11) when talking about how one group can dominate a place. It is interesting, that Vienna published guidelines on how to create gender-sensitive parks to compensate for the often numerical superiority of men in parks (Magistratsabteilung n. d.) but the women living in the city nevertheless feel like the formation of male groups is an issue with 31.0% of the surveyed participants stating that reason. However, the .. implementation of the guidelines could be because the root of the problem did not seem to get addressed. As Bondi & Rose (2003) point out, design can often only provide a superficial solution, whereas the uneven gendered power dynamics need to be addressed for a permanent change. This goes in line with the call for social action explained when analyzing the topic of the type of violence experienced by the participants. In the case of Bratislava, group formation did not get mentioned at all as a reason for the higher visibility of men.

In general, more research on why women are more invisible than visible in public can be found. Yet, the number of women who stated that women are more visible cannot be neglected. The reasons stated by the participants point however rather towards spatial segregation that can occur when one group has control over a space, as described in Chapter 3. Two participants found that,

“Because I see more women” (Participant from Bratislava, 55-64 years old)

“I find more women in public areas who are along with their children for going to school or walking” (Participant from Vienna, 35-44 years old)

If women in the cities are segregated and use space differently than men, for example mainly for childcare like it gets hinted at in the statements of the participants, then the results of question x emphasize the gender division in urban public space once again. This argument points towards the fact that in some cases even the participants who stated that women are more visible in the urban realm than men, in their reasoning for making this statement, rather point towards how the urban realm reflects traditional gender roles. However, in both cities only one participant listed reasons related to the enforcement of traditional gender roles and therefore, it cannot be finally concluded if this spatial segregation is more visible in one city than the other.

The same goes for the women who claimed that both genders are equally visible in public space. Due to a very small number of answers, it is not possible to draw profound conclusions, but I would still like to point out that most of the participants connect these statements to socio-temporal factors or to the fact that women and men have equal rights to occupy space. In both cities similar proportions of participants described how gender does not influence one's visibility in the landscape of the city and therefore, both cities do exhibit gender equal traits in this case.

Summarizing the finding on visibility of women in the cities, it can be said that the participants in both cities agree in most parts on the fact that men and women are most of the time equally visible in the urban landscape, except that the participants living in Bratislava clearly agree on the fact that they have never witnessed men dominating a public urban space.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

This thesis aimed to answer the questions of what differences and similarities can be found in the gendered landscape of the cities of Bratislava and Vienna and if the assumption that Vienna is a more gender-equal city is manifested in the urban experiences of the local women in the cities.

As shown in the introduction and background included in this work, Vienna's City Council is actively working on creating an urban landscape that is inclusive for all citizens, with a special focus on gender equality. As opposed to this, Slovakia, the country which the examined city of Bratislava is the capital of, is still lagging behind in

gender equality measurements. The study set out to examine these supposedly differences in gender equality in the urban realm through the collection of empirical data.

7.1 Answers to research questions

The results and the analysis uncovered a different narrative than the one derived from the literature. At the end of Chapter 4, I already raised the question of whether the poor treatment of gender equality in Slovakia can also be observed in Bratislava, especially when comparing the city to an alleged role model example like Vienna. However, the results of this study do not point towards major differences in the daily gendered experiences of the inhabitants.

The first research question was about the manifestation of the assumption that Vienna is a more gender-equal city than Bratislava. As demonstrated during this chapter, in most cases, such as the regular usage of public transport, the feeling of safety while on public transport, the perceived and experienced availability of public toilets, and the positive influence on health through the accessibility of public urban areas, Vienna exhibited a slight advantage, but the difference does not allow concluding that the city exhibits a higher level of gender equality. In some cases, the analysis of the findings was even in favor of Bratislava, as the example of the questions on experiences with avoiding certain neighborhoods or areas in the city, and the visibility of advertisement that objectifies women. Even though the city of Vienna included gender-sensitive planning into their city's planning culture from earlier times, the initially made assumption cannot hold true for the experiences of the women who participated in my study as captured by the survey questions. Generally, the findings of this study do not point towards a low level of gender equality in Vienna in most areas. However, it is interesting to observe that a city that is including gender equality in every step of its planning process does not exhibit a noticeably higher level of urban gender equality than the capital of a country where gender equality is often seen as a threat to the values of the country. I would yet argue that it should still not be neglected that the results indicate that Vienna exhibits many traits of a gender-equal city, just not distinctively more gender-equal than its neighboring city Bratislava.

The second research question aimed at identifying differences and similarities in the gendered landscape of the two studies cities. It is evident from the results that, as

mentioned above, if there are differences in the answers given by the participants to the different questions, they are rather marginal. The participants from both cities agree especially on the topics of a low necessity of the usage of public transport, the experienced lack of toilets and the frequent visibility of objectifying advertisement.

The qualitative data gives more insights into how the participants experience the surveyed factors in their everyday lives, and what differences and similarities can be detected in these experiences. The thematic analysis demonstrates that, in most cases, the participants of the cities gave answers to the open-ended questions that exhibit similar patterns that are summarized into the same themes. However, in two cases, themes that got stated by several participants living in Vienna did not get mentioned by participants living in Bratislava: childcare as a reason for inconveniences with the accessibility of the public transport system and group formation as a cause for higher visibility of men in the public realm.

One topic that emerged as very important for the participants during the analysis of the data is the topic of the availability of public toilets. The closed-ended questions targeted at measuring this already indicated that the availability of public toilets is low, but in addition to that, the participants also pointed out this unavailability during their statements captured by the open-ended questions.

7.2 Implications

I do not believe that this study is a reflection of the entire population of the Metropolitan area. However, it gives valuable insights that can be used for future studies. The findings present in this study also contribute to getting an impression about the situation of gender equality in a part of Slovakia in form of an English publication based on an opinion poll, firstly since the 1996 conducted study 'She and He in Slovakia' (Butorova et al., 1996). Therefore, it implies that it is necessary to constantly gather and revise opinions and reports of everyday life experiences to gain information about the implications of gender equality for urban studies and planning.

Both studied cities should also ensure that constant communication with their citizens exists concerning, not only gender equality but other aspects that create a more inclusive city (e.g., age, race, ethnicity).

7.3 Recommendations for future research

Due to the practical constraints of this study, coming from the small sample size and the language barrier, the study could only contribute a small insight into the topic. To get a better understanding of the situation in the region and gain more in-depth knowledge about the reasons for the answers the participants provided, a more detailed and broader study is necessary. This includes having a larger and more varied sample size and working with researchers that speak both native languages fluently. Qualitative interviews would be necessary to gain insights from new angles, unravel the reasons for the answers in more detail and give the interviewed women the chance to voice their opinion. I, however, still believe that, for this study, a mixed-method questionnaire was the right methodic choice because of, among other reasons, the language restraints. The advantages of in-depth interviews can only be obtained when speaking a language the interviewees are fluent in, which was not the case. This research can be used as a basis for conducting qualitative interviews. Additionally, to get a holistic picture of the situation and draw more reliable conclusions, it is necessary to also include the opinions of men in future research in the region.

The results of the study also underline the importance of including intersectionality when dealing with the topic of gender equality. The topics of “xenophobia” and “racism” got mentioned several times during the data collection and, therefore, it can be concluded that this plays an important role in the lives of some of the participants. Neglecting the importance of considering intersecting inequalities when working with gender studies was never my aim but, due to the limitations of my thesis, this aspect was not included, as argued in Chapter 5. I, however, recommend paying more attention to this topic for future studies on gender-equal cities.

Another factor that has to be pointed out, is that it is possible that topics like ‘objectifying women’ or ‘sexual harassment’ have a different meaning in Vienna than it has in Bratislava, because as the literature presented in Chapter 4 claims, gender equality and topics relate to gender equality experience a different treatment in Slovakia and, hence, it is possible that women in the studied cities define for example ‘objectifying’ advertisement differently. It goes beyond the scope of this study to examine the definition of this topic in more detail but it is important for future studies.

The departure point of this study came from the lack of an analysis of the level of social inclusivity in the existing research on the Vienna-Bratislava metropolitan region, specifically, with a focus on gender equality in the cities. The results that were presented in this thesis represent a new contribution to the research on gender-equal cities in general by combining different aspects that can be considered for making cities more gender-equal and, more specifically, in the studied region.

Reference list

- Afacan, Y., & Gurel, M. O. (2015). Public toilets: an exploratory study on the demands, needs, and expectations in Turkey. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 42(2), 242-262.
- Arendt, H. (2010). Excerpt from the Human Condition. In Gripsrud, J., Moe, H., Molander, A. & Murdock, G. (Ed.). *The idea of the public sphere: A reader* (pp. 93-113). Lexington Books.
- Baha, H. (2016). An introduction of descriptive analysis, its advantages and disadvantages. *Unpublished Thesis, Leuphana University of Lüneburg*.
- Bashir, S., Syed, S., & Qureshi, J. A. (2017). Philosophical and methodological aspects of mixed-methods research: A review of the academic literature. *Journal of Independent Studies and Research*, 15(1), 32-50.
- Bauer, U (2009). "Gender Mainstreaming in Vienna. How the Gender Perspective Can Raise the Quality of Life in a Big City." *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning* 3-4.
- Beebeejaun, Y. (2017). Gender, urban space, and the right to everyday life. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 39(3), 323-334.
- Berkowitz, J., & Lynch, T. (2015). Sample size estimation. Retrieved from <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwi-webCtpPuAhXVuaQKHRfQBiwQFjABegQIARAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.columbia.edu%2F~mvp19%2FRMC%2FM6%2FM6.doc&usg=AOvVaw2Nu7fWpm6dLxk5Q770x643>.
- Bertilsson, T. M. (2004). The elementary forms of pragmatism: On different types of abduction. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 7(3), 371-389.
- Bianchi, G., & Láštiová, B. (2004). Gender and Sex Aspects of Multiple Identities: Young Women and Men from Bratislava and Prague Heading Toward the EU. *Sociológia*, 36(3), 293-313.
- Binnie, J. (2014). Relational comparison, queer urbanism and worlding cities. *Geography Compass*, 8(8), 590-599.
- Bondi, L. (2005). Gender and the Reality of Cities: *embodied identities, social relations and performativities*, online papers archived by the Institute of Geography, School of Geosciences, University of Edinburgh.
- Bondi, L., & Rose, D. (2003). Constructing gender, constructing the urban: a review of Anglo-American feminist urban geography. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 10(3), 229-245.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.

- Brickman Bhutta, C. (2012). Not by the book: Facebook as a sampling frame. *Sociological methods & research*, 41(1), 57-88.
- Brzica, D. (2009). Urban Dynamism within the Vienna-Bratislava Metropolitan Area: Improving Regional Competitiveness and the Constructed Regional Advantage Concept. *Managing global transitions: international research journal*, 7(3), 241-258.
- Butcher, M., & Maclean, K. (2018). Gendering the city: The lived experience of transforming cities, urban cultures and spaces of belonging. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 25(5), 686-694.
- Bútorová, Z. (1996). She and He in Slovakia. *Gender Issues in Public Opinion*.
- Cambridge Dictionary (n.d.). Gender Equality. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/gender-equality>.
- Carpio-Pinedo, J., De Gregorio Hurtado, S., & Sánchez De Madariaga, I. (2019). Gender mainstreaming in urban planning: the potential of geographic information systems and open data sources. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 20(2), 221-240.
- Chan, S. W., Ismail, Z., & Sumintono, B. (2015). Assessing statistical reasoning in descriptive statistics: A qualitative meta-analysis. *Jurnal Teknologi*, 72(2), 1-6.
- Chant, S., & McIlwaine, C. (2013). Gender, urban development and the politics of space. *e-International Relations*, 4.
- Cities Alliance (2019). *Realizing Gender Equality in Cities*. <https://www.citiesalliance.org/resources/knowledge/cities-alliance-knowledge/realizing-gender-equality-cities>.
- City of Vienna (n.d.). *Viennese Centre for Complaints against Sexist Advertising*. <https://www.wien.gv.at/english/health-socialservices/sexist-advertising.html>.
- Civitas (2020). *Smart choices for cities - Gender equality and mobility: mind the gap!*. https://civitas.eu/sites/default/files/civ_pol-an2_m_web.pdf.
- Collie, N. (2013). Walking in the city: urban space, stories and gender. In *Gender Forum: An Internet Journal for Gender Studies* (Vol. 42, pp. 3-14).
- Condon, S., Lieber, M., & Maillachon, F. (2007). Feeling unsafe in public places: Understanding women's fears. *Revue française de sociologie*, 48(5), 101-128.
- Daly, M. (2005). Gender mainstreaming in theory and practice. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 12(3), 433-450.
- Damyanovic, D., Reinwald, F. & Weikmann, A. "Gender mainstreaming in urban planning and urban development." *Urban Development Vienna, Vienna* (2013).

Day, K. (2001). Constructing masculinity and women's fear in public space in Irvine, California. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 8(2), 109-127.

De Vaus, D. A. (2002). *Surveys in social research*. Crows Nest. *New South Wales: Allen and Unwin*.

Denscombe, M. (2014). *The good research guide: for small-scale social research projects*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

Doan, P. L. (2010). Gendered Space. *Encyclopedia of urban studies*, 298-302.

Dorsch, P. (2011). Gender Audit in the local public transport planning. In Senate Department for Urban Development (Eds.), *Gender in Mainstreaming Urban Development* (pp. 95-97).
https://digital.zlb.de/viewer/rest/image/15479437/gender_broschuere_englisch.pdf/full/max/0/gender_broschuere_englisch.pdf.

Dymén, C., & Ceccato, V. (2011). An international perspective of the gender dimension in planning for urban safety. In *The urban fabric of crime and fear* (pp. 311-339). Springer, Dordrecht.

EIGE (European Institute for Gender Equality) (n.d.). What is gender mainstreaming. Retrieved June 08, 2020, from <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/what-is-gender-mainstreaming>.

Encyclopædia Britannica (Ed.) (n.d.). Bratislava.
<https://www.britannica.com/place/Bratislava>.

England, K. V. (1991). Gender relations and the spatial structure of the city. *Geoforum*, 22(2), 135-147.

England, M. R., & Simon, S. (2010). Scary cities: Urban geographies of fear, difference and belonging. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 11(3), 201-207.

Etikan, I., Musa, S. A., & Alkassim, R. S. (2016). Comparison of convenience sampling and purposive sampling. *American journal of theoretical and applied statistics*, 5(1), 1-4.

Evans, J. R., & Mathur, A. (2005). The value of online surveys. *Internet research* (2005).

Eveline, J. & Bacchi, C. (2010). What are we mainstreaming when we mainstream gender?. In Bacchi, C. & Eveline, J. (Eds.), *Mainstreaming politics: Gendering practices and feminist theory* (pp.87-110). University of Adelaide Press.

Farrokhi, F., & Mahmoudi-Hamidabad, A. (2012). Rethinking Convenience Sampling: Defining Quality Criteria. *Theory & Practice in Language Studies*, 2(4).

- Feilzer, M. (2010). Doing mixed methods research pragmatically: Implications for the rediscovery of pragmatism as a research paradigm. *Journal of mixed methods research*, 4(1), 6-16.
- Fenster, T. (2005). The right to the gendered city: Different formations of belonging in everyday life. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 14(3), 217-231.
- Fenster, T. (2004). *The Global City and the Holy City: narratives on knowledge, planning and diversity*. Pearson Education.
- Fisher, M. J., & Marshall, A. P. (2009). Understanding descriptive statistics. *Australian Critical Care*, 22(2), 93-97.
- Fortuijn, J. D., Horn, A., & Ostendorf, W. (2004). 'Gendered spaces' in urban and rural contexts: An introduction. *GeoJournal*, 215-217.
- Gershenson, O., & Penner, B. (Eds.). (2009). *Ladies and gents: Public toilets and gender*. Temple University Press.
- Gough, K. V. (2012). Reflections on conducting urban comparison. *Urban Geography*, 33(6), 866-878.
- Greed, C. (2016). Taking women's bodily functions into account in urban planning and policy: public toilets and menstruation. *Town Planning Review*, 87(5), 505-525.
- Gwiazda, A. (2019). Introduction to the Special Issue on Politics and Gender in Eastern Europe. *Politics & Gender*, 15(2), 175-181.
- Hanzl-Weiss, D., Holzner, M., & Römisch, R. (2018). *BRATISLAVA and VIENNA: Twin Cities with big Development Potentials* (No. 24). Policy Notes and Reports.
- Hartigan, S. M., Bonnet, K., Chisholm, L., Kowalik, C., Dmochowski, R. R., Schlundt, D., & Reynolds, W. S. (2020). Why Do Women Not Use the Bathroom? Women's Attitudes and Beliefs on Using Public Restrooms. *International journal of environmental research and public health*, 17(6), 2053.
- Hille, K. (1999). 'Gendered exclusions': women's fear of violence and changing relations to space. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 81(2), 111-124.
- Hudson, C., & Rönnblom, M. (2008). The woman-made city—feminist utopia or practical possibility?. *Utopies féministes et expérimentations urbaines*, 73-90.
- Hunt, E. (2019, May 14). City with a female face: how modern Vienna was shaped by women. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/may/14/city-with-a-female-face-how-modern-vienna-was-shaped-by-women>.

Jager, J., Putnick, D. L., & Bornstein, M. H. (2017). II. More than just convenient: The scientific merits of homogeneous convenience samples. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 82(2), 13-30.

Jaššo, M. (2008). Cross-border cooperation challenges: Positioning the Vienna-Bratislava region. In Müller, B.; Erbguth, B. (Ed.). *Cross-border Governance and Sustainable Spatial Development* (pp. 87-100). Springer Verlag.

Jaššo, M. (2007, October). Competition and cooperation of the cities: Vienna-Bratislava Metropolitan Region. In *Proceedings from conference 2nd Central European Conference in Regional Science*, Nový Smokovec (pp. 10-13).

Kail E. , Gender Implementation in Vienna – an overview, Barcelona, 5th October 2011, 2011

Khan, F. (2018, January 11). Your City Has a Gender and It's Male. *Nautilus*, Retrieved from <http://nautil.us/issue/56/perspective/your-city-has-a-gender-and-its-male>.

Kneeshaw, S. & Norman, J. (2019). *Gender Equal Cities*. URBACT. <https://urbact.eu/sites/default/files/urbact-genderequalcities-edition-pages-web.pdf>.

Kneeshaw, S. (2019, June 24). Gender Equal Cities: Inspiration from Vienna. <https://urbact.eu/gender-equal-cities-inspiration-vienna>.

Kriska, S. D., Sass, M. M., & Fulcomer, M. C. (2013). Assessing Limitations and Uses of Convenience Samples: A Guide for Graduate Students.

Lans, W., & Van Der Voordt, T. (2002). Descriptive Research. *Ways to Study Architectural, Urban and Technical Design*, 53-60.

Law, H., & Sikora, J. (2018). Gender Stratification and Feminist Sociology: Why East-Central Europe Needs More Quantitative Gender Stratification Research.

Lefebvre, H., & Nicholson-Smith, D. (1991). *The production of space* (Vol. 142). Blackwell: Oxford.

Lefever, S., Dal, M., & Matthiasdottir, A. (2007). Online data collection in academic research: advantages and limitations. *British Journal of Educational Technology*, 38(4), 574-582.

Loukaitou-Sideris, A. (2016). A gendered view of mobility and transport: Next steps and future directions. *Town Planning Review*, 87(5), 547-566.

Lund Research Ltd. (n.d.). *Convenience sampling*. <https://dissertation.laerd.com/convenience-sampling.php>.

Maďarová, Z., "Gender Equality as Issue with Content and Context Ten years of Slovakia's Membership of the European Union." (2014). Heinrich Böll Stiftung Warsaw.

Maarouf, H. (2019). Pragmatism as a supportive paradigm for the mixed research approach: Conceptualizing the ontological, epistemological, and axiological stances of pragmatism. *International Business Research*, 12(9), 1-12.

Magistratsabteilung (n.d.). *Planungsempfehlungen zur geschlechtssensiblen Gestaltung von öffentlichen Parkanlagen*. <https://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/alltagundfrauen/pdf/planung.pdf>.

Massey, D. (2001). *Space, place and gender*. University of Minnesota Press.

McDowell, L. (1983). Towards an understanding of the gender division of urban space. *Environment and planning D: Society and Space*, 1(1), 59-72.

McFarlane, C., & Robinson, J. (2012). Introduction—experiments in comparative urbanism. *Urban Geography*, 33(6), 765-773.

McFarlane, C. (2010). The comparative city: Knowledge, learning, urbanism. *International journal of urban and regional research*, 34(4), 725-742.

Morgan, D. L. (2007). Paradigms lost and pragmatism regained: Methodological implications of combining qualitative and quantitative methods. *Journal of mixed methods research*, 1(1), 48-76.

Morgan, D. L. (2014). Pragmatism as a paradigm for social research. *Qualitative inquiry*, 20(8), 1045-1053.

Neaga, D. E. (2014). Doing and Undoing Gender in Urban Spaces. The University Square Bucharest. *AnALize: Revista de studii feministe*, 3(17), 28-49.

Nijman, J. (2007). Introduction—comparative urbanism. *Urban Geography*, 28(1), 1-6.

Noe, B. (2016). The Gender Gap in Public Support for EU Integration in the CEE Countries. A Theoretical Overview. *Intersections. East European Journal of Society and Politics*, 2(4), 152-168.

Nowell, L. S., Norris, J. M., White, D. E., & Moules, N. J. (2017). Thematic analysis: Striving to meet the trustworthiness criteria. *International journal of qualitative methods*, 16(1), 1609406917733847.

Oakley, A. (2015). *Sex, Gender and Society*. Ashgate Publishing.

Observatory (n.d.). Vienna – a model city for Gender Mainstreaming. <https://charter-equality.eu/exemple-de-bonnes-pratiques/a-model-city-for-gender-mainstreaming.html>.

Ortiz, A., Garcia-Ramon, M. D., & Prats, M. (2004). Women's use of public space and sense of place in the Raval (Barcelona). *GeoJournal*, 61(3), 219-227.

Pain, R. (2001). Gender, race, age and fear in the city. *Urban studies*, 38(5-6), 899-913.

Parpart, J., & McFee, D. (2017). Rethinking Gender Mainstreaming in Development Policy and Practice. *Caribbean Review of Gender Studies*, (11), 241-252.

Pew Research Center, October, 2019, "European Public Opinion Three Decades After the Fall of Communism".

Pew Research Center (n.d.). Questionnaire.
<https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/u-s-survey-research/questionnaire-design/>.

Ranade, S. (2007). The way she moves: Mapping the everyday production of gender-space. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1519-1526.

Rice, S., Winter, S. R., Doherty, S., & Milner, M. (2017). Advantages and disadvantages of using internet-based survey methods in aviation-related research. *Journal of Aviation Technology and Engineering*, 7(1), 5.

Robinson, O. C. (2014). Sampling in interview-based qualitative research: A theoretical and practical guide. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 11(1), 25-41.

Sandberg, L., Rönnblom, M. (2016) Imagining the ideal city, planning the gender-equal city in Umeå, Sweden. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 23(12): 1750-1762.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2009). Understanding research philosophies and approaches. *Research methods for business students*, 4(106-135).

Schonlau, M., Fricker, R. D., & Elliott, M. N. (2002). Choosing among the various types of internet surveys. *Conducting research surveys via e-mail and the web*, 33-40.

Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J. F., & Silverman, D. (Eds.). (2004). *Qualitative research practice*. Sage.

Setia, M. S. (2016). Methodology series module 5: Sampling strategies. *Indian Journal of Dermatology*, 61(5), 505.

Silverman, D. (Ed.). (2020). *Qualitative research*. Sage Publications Limited.

Spain, D. (1992). *Gendered spaces*. University of North Carolina Press.

Spain, D. (2014). Gender and urban space. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 40, 581-598.

Stadt Wien (n.d.). Bevölkerung nach Altersgruppen, Geschlecht und Gemeindebezirken 2019.

<https://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/bevoelkerung/tabellen/bevoelkerung-alter-geschl-bez.html>.

Staronova, K., Hejzlarova, E., & Hondlíková, K. (2017). Making Regulatory Impact Assessment Gender Sensitive: The Case of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. *Transylvanian Review of Administrative Sciences, Issue, (51)*, 89-105.

Statista (2020a). Share of households with internet access in Slovakia from 2007 to 2018. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/377764/household-internet-access-in-slovakia/>.

Statista (2020b). Share of households with internet access in Austria from 2007 to 2018. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/377751/household-internet-access-in-austria/>.

Straub, D. W. (1989). Validating instruments in MIS research. *MIS quarterly*, 147-169.

Terraza, H., Orlando, M. B., Lakovits, C., Janik, V. L., & Kalashyan, A. (2020). *Handbook for Gender-Inclusive Urban Planning and Design*. The World Bank Group. <https://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/pdf/10.1596/33197>.

Terry, G., Hayfield, N., Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2017). Thematic analysis. *The Sage handbook of qualitative research in psychology*, 17-37.

Thompson, C. B. (2009). Descriptive data analysis. *Air medical journal*, 28(2), 56-59.

Tuncer, S. (2015). Going public: women's narratives of everyday gendered violence in modern Turkey. *International Conference on Knowledge and Politics in Gender and Women's Studies*, 904. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.1.2111.6646.

United Nations (2015, November 25). Concluding observations on the combined fifth and sixth periodic reports of Slovakia. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/833826?ln=en#record-files-collapse-header>.

United Nations (n.d.). Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. *United Nations*. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/gender-equality/>.

United Nations. Statistical Division, & National Household Survey Capability Programme. (2005). *Household Surveys in Developing and Transition Countries* (Vol. 96). United Nations Publications.

UN Women (2020). *Whose time to care: Unpaid care and domestic work during COVID-19*. <https://data.unwomen.org/publications/whose-time-care-unpaid-care-and-domestic-work-during-covid-19>.

UrbiStat (n.d.). Maps, analysis and statistics about the resident population. <https://ugeo.urbistat.com/AdminStat/en/sk/demografia/eta/bratislava/101/3>.

- Valentine, G. (1989). The geography of women's fear. *Area*, 385-390.
- Valentine, G. (1990). Women's fear and the design of public space. *Built Environment (1978)*, 288-303.
- Valkovičová, V. (2019). *Indicators of gender: the Europeanisation of Slovak policies tackling 'violence against women'* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Antwerp).
- Valkovičová, V. (2017). Regrettably, it seems that breaking one border causes others to tumble. *Politique européenne*, (1), 86-115.
- Valkovičová, V. & Maďarová, Z. (2019, May 11). From weirdoes to political actors - the journey of Slovak gender ideology rhetoric. <https://www.gwi-boell.de/en/2019/05/03/weirdoes-political-actors-journey-slovak-gender-ideology-rhetoric>.
- Vogelstein, R.B. (2016, March 16). Global Progress Toward Gender Equality: A Timeline. *Council on Foreign Relations*, Retrieved from <https://www.cfr.org/blog/global-progress-toward-gender-equality-timeline>.
- Walby, S. (2005). Gender mainstreaming: Productive tensions in theory and practice. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 12(3), 321-343.
- Ward, K. (2010). Towards a relational comparative approach to the study of cities. *Progress in human geography*, 34(4), 471-487.
- Watson, S. (2006). *City publics: The (dis) enchantments of urban encounters*. Psychology Press.
- Whitzman, C. (2007). Stuck at the front door: gender, fear of crime and the challenge of creating safer space. *Environment and Planning A*, 39(11), 2715-2732.
- Whitzman, C. (2013). Women's safety and everyday mobility. In Whitzman, C., Legacy, C., Andrew, C., Shaw, M., & Klodawsky, F. (Ed.), *Building Inclusive Cities: Women's Safety and the Right to the City* (pp. 35-52). Routledge.
- Women In Cities International (2011). *Tools for Gathering Information about Women's Safety and Inclusion in Cities: Experiences from the Gender Inclusive Cities Programme*. <https://femmesetvilles.org/downloadable/tools%20for%20gathering%20information%20en.pdf>.
- Young, Alma H., and Kristine B. Miranne, eds. *Gendering the City: Women's Boundaries and Visions of Urban Life*. Rowman & Littlefield, 1999.
- Zebracki, M. (2014). Sex in the city: Gender mainstreaming urban governance in Europe. The case of Sweden and Italy. *Fennia-International Journal of Geography*, 192(1), 54-64.

Zhang, X. Q. (2016). The trends, promises and challenges of urbanisation in the world. *Habitat international*, 54, 241-252.

Zibell, B., Damyanovic, D., & Sturm, U. (Eds.). (2019). *Gendered Approaches to Spatial Development in Europe: Perspectives, Similarities, Differences*. Routledge.

Žukauskas, P., Vveinhardt, J., & Andriukaitienė, R. (2018). Philosophy and paradigm of scientific research. *Management Culture and Corporate Social Responsibility*, 121.

Appendix A: Studies included in the literature review

Author(s)	Title	Main Results	Method	Source
Fenster 2006	The right to the gendered city: Different formations of belonging in everyday life	“The right to the gendered city means that the right to use and the right to participate must engage a serious discussion of patriarchal power relations”	Literature analysis	Journal of Gender Studies
Fenster 2005	Gender and the city: The different formations of belonging	“This chapter exposes the multilayered nature of gendered belonging in the city”	Qualitative–content analysis of peoples’ narratives	Journal of Gender Studies
Sandberg & Rönnblom 2016	Imagining the ideal city, planning the gender-equal city in Umeå, Sweden	“It is important to remain attentive to the gender dynamics in urban politics and space production. It is about creating tools for people to see the inequality”	Case study analyses	Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography
Beebeejaun 2017	Gender, urban space, and the right to everyday life	“The continuing neglect of gendered and embodied rights to everyday life reveals the limits of the right to the city as conventionally understood”	Walking methodologies	Journal of Urban Affairs
Bondi 2005	Gender and the Reality of Cities: embodied identities,	“Just as gender is an integral and ubiquitous	Literature review	Online papers archived by the Institute of Geography,

	social relations and performativities	feature of urban life, so too is emotion”		School of Geosciences, University of Edinburgh
Butcher & Maclean 2018	Gendering the city: The lived experience of transforming cities, urban cultures and spaces of belonging.	“The city remains an important analytical and concrete framework for understanding governance, dissent, subjectivity, and everyday practice”	Literature review	Gender, Place & Culture
Carpio-Pinedo & De Gregorio Hurtado & Sanchez De Madagiara 2019	Gender mainstreaming in urban planning: the potential of geographic information systems and open data sources	“Our study suggests that the inclusion of this vision in the city agenda could be transformative from a gender perspective and guide relevant decision-making with regard to the location of amenities and budget priorities”	Open data and GIS	Planning Theory & Practice
Condon & Lieber & Maillochon 2007	Feeling unsafe in public places: Understanding women's fears	“Women resist against dominant norms in public places, going out despite their fear and developing avoidance strategies”	Survey analysis and qualitative interviews	Revue française de sociologie
Dymen & Ceccato 2011	An international perspective of the gender dimension in planning for urban safety	“Gender should be placed in a wider context of policy goals, such as promoting inclusion and combating socio-economic inequality”	Case studies and qualitative interviews	The urban fabric of crime and fear
England 1991	Gender relations and the spatial structure of the city.	“The spatial structure of the city] provides the conditions for the reproduction of gender relations and	Discourse analysis	Geoforum

		gender roles, but [...] also [...] for the transformation [...] into a more spatially equal city”		
England & Simon 2010	Scary cities: Urban geographies of fear, difference and belonging	“Not only to illuminate fear and the city, but to ask for more critical examinations of how fear is mobilized and understood”	Conference analysis	Social & Cultural Geography
Hille 1999	‘Gendered exclusions’: women's fear of violence and changing relations to space	“Make visible some of [the] power relations which have spatial consequences and which contribute to the gendered exclusions that take place in contemporary cities”	Qualitative interviews and written stories	Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography
Hudson & Rönnblom 2008	The woman-made city–feminist utopia or practical possibility?	“Stop the media and the police from reproducing women as passive victims in a society dominated by men”	Focus group interviews	Utopies féministes et expérimentations urbaines
Massey 2001	Space, place and gender	“The majority of women in the city are defined in relationship to men”	Method and introduction book	University of Minnesota Press
McDowell 1983	Towards an understanding of the gender division of urban space	“Neither class nor gender divisions should be ignored, but the two integrated in an analysis that has the	Critical review	Environment and planning D: Society and Space

		changing relations between production and reproduction at its heart”		
Neaga 2014	Doing and Undoing Gender in Urban Spaces	“They tell us that the city lives and thus everyday life is unfolding beyond formal constrains as well, and that all this dynamic can constitute at a certain point, why not, the engine of new structural changes”	Case studies analyses	AnALize: Revista de studii feministe
Pain 2001	Gender, race, age and fear in the city	“When gender, age and race are viewed as social relations which are based upon unequal distributions of power, they begin to explain who is most affected by fear, and where”	Discourse analysis	Urban studies
Ranade 2007	The way she moves: Mapping the everyday production of gender-space	“In accessing public space, women’s bodies are doubly marked. In their everyday movement through and occupation of public space, [they] perform their femininity and legitimize their being “out of place” “	Analyses of ‘mapping’ studies	Economic and Political Weekly
Spain 2014	Gender and urban space	“Cities of every era have exhibited a type of gendered space. [They] are all visible reminders	Literature review	Annual Review of Sociology

		of the power of gender norms to shape urban space”		
Valentine 1990	Women's fear and the design of public space	“Social relations within a space and the group(s) who control that space socially are more important influences on how safe women feel than its design”	Interviews and group discussions	Built Environment

Appendix B: Questionnaire

Comparison of Gender Equality in the City

I am a student at Lund University, and I am writing my master thesis about gender equal cities. I am conducting a survey to examine if there are differences in levels of gender equality in the cities of Bratislava and Vienna and I would be grateful if you could complete this survey. Your participation in the survey will be anonymous and the results will only be used in my master thesis in Human Geography. The participation is voluntary, and you can withdraw it at any time.

The survey is aiming at everyone who identifies themselves as a woman, lives in Vienna or Bratislava and is at least 18 years old.

If you have any questions about the survey or the thesis you can send an email to la2068fr-s@student.lu.se.

The survey should take between 5 to 7 minutes to complete.

Transport and Mobility

Q1. Do you use public transport in Bratislava regularly?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to answer

Q2. If no, reason(s) for not using public transport: (Several answers possible)

- It is not convenient
- It is not safe
- I don't want to
- I don't need to
- Prefer to use other modes of transportation (car, bike, ...)
- Prefer not to answer
- Other...

Q3. Did you ever experience issues with the accessibility of public transport (vehicles, stations, ...)?

- Yes
- No
- I don't use public transport
- Prefer not to answer

Q4. If yes, what were the reason(s) for the inconvenience(s)?

Q5. Do you feel safe when using public transport?

- Yes
- No
- Depends on the time of the day
- Prefer not to answer

Health and Hygiene

Q6. Are there enough public toilets in Bratislava in your opinion?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to answer

Q7. Have you ever been in a situation in which you needed to use a public toilet while being in the city and couldn't access one?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to answer

Q8. Did your access or restriction to public areas in the city ever had an influence on your health?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to answer

Q9. If yes, in which way?

- Positive
- Negative
- Prefer not to answer

Q10. What are the reason(s) for the negative or positive influence?

Fear in the City

Q11. Have you ever experienced any type of violence inside the city?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to answer

Q12. If yes, what type(s) of violence? (Several answers possible)

- Repetitive insults
- Sexual harassment
- Physical violence
- Other...

Q13. Have you ever avoided certain neighborhoods or streets in the city?

- Yes
- No

Prefer not to answer

Q14. If yes, why?

Q15. Have you ever been afraid to walk in the city alone?

Yes

No

Prefer not to answer

Q16. If yes, why?

Visibility

Q17. Have you seen any advertisement that objectifies women within the last year in Bratislava?

Yes

No

Prefer not to answer

Q18. Did you ever had the impression that a public space was dominated by men?

Yes

No

Prefer not to answer

Q19. Do you think women or men are more visible in the public areas of the city?

Women are more visible

Men are more visible

Both are equally visible

Prefer not to answer

Q20. Why do you think men or women (based on the answer you chose) are more visible in the city?

Demographic question

Q21. What is your age?

- 18-24 years old
- 25-34 years old
- 35-44 years old
- 45-54 years old
- 55-64 years old
- 65-74 years old
- 75 years or older

Appendix C: Thematic Analysis

Table 1. Objective 1. Vienna

“What were the reason(s) for the inconvenience(s)?”

(Schedule issues, Technical issues, Childcare, Way to destination)

Statement	Theme
“Bus often departs before scheduled departure time”	Schedule issues
“Late, didn't arrive at all”	Schedule issues
“Delays, especially when people commit suicide by throwing themselves under the subway or a train#	Schedule issues
“Long wait”	Schedule issues
“Delays, traffic jams”	Schedule issues
“Snow in winter - as a consequence, transport delay. Or something fell on the rails ...”	Schedule issues
“The metro is always stopping or the trams for example are not working”	Schedule issues
“Metro stopped in the middle and had to walk to the exit and no other way to go. Missed all the strain and lost my lecture. This happened around 3 times”	Schedule issues
“Construction, service disruptions”	Technical issues
“Disturbance in the street like this tram 2 sometimes gets problem (well not always, but almost!)”	Technical issues
“Repairs”	Technical issues
“Metro line down, no working elevator or electric stairs”	Technical issues
“Technical issues”	Technical issues
“Trains having emergency stop”	Technical issues
“Not everything is barrier-free with strolleys (elevators out of order; trains not barrier-free, ...”	Technical issues Childcare
“Broken lifts make it difficult to travel with a young chicks in a buggy”	Technical issues Childcare
“Elevator/escalator broken while with a baby.”	Technical issues Childcare

“Elevators and escalators broken and difficult with the buggy/stroller”	Technical issues Childcare
Lift broken and I had my baby in a stroller”	Technical issues Childcare
“Long distances to walk, elevator just on one side of the station, usually the “wrong” side of course. Also not always escalators, lots of stairs.”	Technical issues Way to destination
“Stroller”	Childcare
“Sometimes difficult with a stroller or with several small children.”	Childcare
“When i have my kids with people sometimes won’t move from the standing area to make space for the stroller”	Childcare
“With a stroller.”	Childcare
“The connection to my destination was bad”	Way to destination
“Life-threatening way to the bus station”	Way to destination
“A lot of ppl and was carrying a bike when outside was a storm”	Way to destination

Table 2. Objective 1. Bratislava

“What were the reason(s) for the inconvenience(s)?”

(Schedule issues, Technical issues, Way to destination)

Statement	Theme
“Traffic jam”	Schedule issues
“It is not convenient. it is full and it takes long time to get somewhere (because of repairs)”	Technical issues
“Delays”	Schedule issues
“Accessibility of platforms (defects)”	Technical issues
“Old, defect, overcrowded vehicles”	Technical issues
“Not really suitable for people with a disability or seniors”	Technical issues
“Old electric and high boarding trains, people with health awards”	Technical issues
“It’s sometimes hard to find bus stops, or buses are late”	Way to destination Schedule issues

Table 3. Objective 2. Vienna'

"If your access or restriction to public areas in the city ever had an influence on your health, in which way?"

(Infrastructure, Green Areas, Not barrier-free, Toilets, Threats from others)

Statement	Theme
positive	
"Good infrastructure, possible to come to the doctor at any time, flexible to work, to school"	Infrastructure
"It's a clean city with less pollution and very good infrastructure"	Green Areas Infrastructure
"Many green areas: my mental health improved"	Green Areas
"My commute (although quite far) is very quick, meaning I can sleep pretty late in the morning"	
"Parks"	Green Areas
"Socializing and relaxing in parks"	Green Areas
"There are many parks and green spaces in Vienna that everyone has access to, and they are very nice"	Green Areas
"Vienna is full of parks and green area and this can be a very relaxing break or chance for people working or studying all day"	Green Areas
negative	
"With irritable bowel syndrome, an "excursion" is not fun"	Not barrier-free
"I needed access to parks in order to do sports and it wasn't possible, after or before certain hours it was particularly difficult, and it is in those hours when I was available. Also, more than once I had to run back home to use a toilet since I couldn't find a public one"	Not barrier-free Toilets
"Women Menstruation accessibility, why do I have to pay €.50 for being a woman?"	Toilets
Nature calls, Payment, Weirdos hanging around the station"	Toilets Threats from others
"Drunks"	Threat from others
"Difficult with the rollator"	Not barrier-free

Table 4. Objective 2. Bratislava

““If your access or restriction to public areas in the city ever had an influence on your health, in which way?”

(Toilets, Not barrier-free)

Statement	Theme
negative	
“Having to hold on until I found a toilet”	Toilets
“I have endometriosis and not being able to have toilets at hand is a big problem as my period are extremely strong and irregular”	Toilets
“Difficult to release stress, stay in good health and good condition”	Not barrier-free

Table 5. Objective 3. Vienna

“Why do you avoid certain neighborhoods or streets in the city?”

(Bad reputation, Fear, Threat from others, Darkness)

Statement	Theme
"Because they are areas where attacks take place more often"	Bad reputation
“Because there are areas where women don't want to be alone.”	Bad reputation
“Areas reputed for street harassment.”	Bad reputation
“Bad reputation, presence of drug users”	Bad reputation
“Because of larger concentration of Arabian people who are known for their bad reputation of harassing women”	Bad reputation
“Because of the people who live/hang around there”	Bad reputation
“Because of the reputation of the neighborhoods or because of the people that hang around, for example drunk or high people.”	Bad reputation Threat from others
“Because they are known for bad events such as rape or robbery.”	Bad reputation
“Because they are known to be dangerous”	Bad reputation
“Because they are not appealing, or ugly”	Bad reputation
“Because they feel unsafe and most people who come from my country live	Fear Bad reputation

there and they love to comment on women and/or insult them	
“Certain districts are not the safest for a white ‘uncovered’ female”	Bad reputation
“Certain districts have many foreigners and beggars on the street which makes me a bit nervous”	Bad reputation
“Dodgy areas”	Bad reputation
“Drug dealers	Threat from others
“Drug dealers, too noisy”	Threat from others
“Drunk crowds at nights on the weekend”	Threat from others
“Drunks”	Threat from others
“Due to last terror in the neighbor of Stephen Church”	Bad reputation
“For being point out as dangerous during the night”	Bad reputation
“Got jumped, or heard about it in the news”	Bad reputation
“I have heard they were not safe”	Bad reputation
“They are known for being dangerous, especially at night”	Bad reputation
“They are not safe neighborhoods”	Bad reputation
“They have bad reputation”	Bad reputation
“They seem kinda dangerous”	Bad reputation
“They seemed sketchy”	Bad reputation
“Bad lighting, loud roaring aggressive men in the area”	Darkness Threat from others
Dark and lonely paths	Darkness
“Not safe, dark”	Darkness Fear
“Little lighting, few people”	Darkness
“Too dark, insecure feeling, drunk people”	Threat from others Fear
“a dark park/ cemetery because it's not well lit and not a lot of people are walking there during the night so it feels unsafe”	Darkness Fear
“Only at night —Some are less well lighted”	Darkness
“Poorly lit areas - Venediger Au for example”	Darkness
“Safety. Walking alone at night down dark streets, or filled with groups of men.”	Darkness Fear
“It was dark and I saw a few people in a park I had to go through who seemed to be just standing there. I thought it was safer to go around the park. On an open	Darkness Fear

and well lit street where if something happened or I got attacked, it would be clearly visible to pedestrians and car drivers. In a dark park no one could see it and help me.”	
“Fear”	Fear
“Fear of harassment”	Fear
“Out of fear”	Fear
“I am afraid to be harassed”	Fear
“A feeling of insecurity”	Fear
“Unsafe”	Fear
“Unsafe (especially at night)”	Fear
“Unsafe, bad feeling”	Fear
“Unease”	Fear
“Because I don’t feel safe there”	Fear
“Because I feel anxious of something happening.”	Fear
“Because I know that they are not safe enough or that there is not enough light.”	Fear Darkness
“Because they feel unsafe and most people who come from my country live there and they love to comment on women and/or insult them”	Fear Bad reputation
“Dangerous”	Fear
“Didn’t feel safe”	Fear
“Don't feel safe”	Fear
“I don’t feel safe on the 10th district after a certain hour.	Fear
“Looks and feel dangerous”	Fear
“Praterstern and Reumannplatz because of uncertainty”	Fear
“Safety”	Fear
“Safety reasons”	Fear
“The Feeling of lack of security”	Fear
“There are a few areas where I don’t feel safe at night, but only a few”	Fear
“When it’s too crowded, I have to avoid it maybe someone would take a chance and steals my phone or purse. But when it’s also too late or too quiet, I have to avoid it for safety”	Fear
“Parks in the evening – unsafe”	Fear

“Because I don't want to be out alone late at night”	Fear Darkness
“I try to choose streets that don't have sketchy businesses where someone could bother me and there would be no one around to help”	Fear
“Too strange people for the time of day around”	Threat from others
“Too much rabble”	Threat from others
“At night with crowds of men gathering in some public spaces, it's better to avoid certain streets/corners”	Threat from others
“Bad reputation, presence of drug users”	Threat from others Bad reputation
“Homeless people or gangs”	Threat from others
“Scary faces, unfriendly looking”	Threat from others
“The Danube Canal is crowded with people who are not sober on the weekend. The 10th district has some very isolated areas, especially at the border with the 23th district (Matzlersdorferplatz)”	Threat from others
“To many Muslims (males)”	Threat from others
“Weird people/drunks”	Threat from others

Table 6. Objective 3. Bratislava

“Why do you avoid certain neighborhoods or streets in the city?”

(Bad reputation, Fear, Threat from others, Darkness)

Statement	Theme
“Certain part..alcoholic and drug addicted people”	Bad reputation Threat from others
“Seem dangerous (homeless/ druggies/mentally ill people)”	Bad reputation Threat from others
“They don't look safe.”	Bad reputation
“Two people were killed in the main shopping street”	Bad reputation
“They are too dark, too quite or lonely”	Darkness
“Very dark in the night nobody (not even cars) on the street”	Darkness
“Some places are not safe in the night”	Fear Darkness
“For safety reasons”	Fear

"I don't feel safe enough to be there, around junkies, etc."	Fear Threat from others
"It's not safe"	Fear
"Drunken people in Obchodna street"	Threat from others
"Harassment"	Threat from others
"Have been avoiding Pentagon cause of the drug abuse around there."	Threat from others
"Racists, gangs"	Threat from others
"To avoid groups of dangerously looking people."	Threat from others

Table 7. Objective 3. Vienna"

"Why do you not feel safe when walking in the city alone?"

(Darkness, Threat from others, Previous experiences)

Statement	Theme
"In the evening, when there are few people around, it is uncomfortable"	Darkness
"In the evening ... for known reasons"	Darkness
"Dark and winding"	Darkness
"More of a kind of discomfort as it was dark and groups of men lounged in front of cafes. They didn't do anything at all, so actually I didn't really have a reason to be uncomfortable."	Darkness Threat from others
"Applies with restrictions. I avoid e.g., walking around alone in train station areas or in completely deserted area at night (e.g. Prater). Otherwise: go everywhere, but always be careful (if other people are there, nobody follows me, ...)	Darkness Threat from others
"At night from the tram stop to my apartment it is very remote"	Darkness
"Only in the evenings/ at night"	Darkness
"Poorly lit alleys in the city seem particularly interesting for southern men"	Darkness
"Bad lighting, loud roaring aggressive men in the area, empty streets late at night"	Darkness Threat from others
"Because it was late"	Darkness
"Because I was outside alone at night"	Darkness
"Too dark"	Darkness
"In the nights, because it is dark."	Darkness

“It gets dark too early and just frightening to walk alone”	Darkness
“It was a late night and I was walking home via some empty streets”	Darkness
“It was dark and you never know”	Darkness
“It was dark, late and I am a woman”	Darkness
“Just the usual feeling of being unsafe at night when there is nobody on the streets. Even though nothing had ever happened to me, I always hurry my pace and try to get as fast as possible to my destination”	Darkness
“Only at night - darkness, drunk individuals”	Darkness Threat from others
“Afraid of harassment”	Threat from others
“Afraid of sexual harassment”	Threat from others
“Afraid of sexual harassment”	Threat from others
“It is uncomfortable alone as a woman in some districts”	Threat from others
“Insecurity or fear of other people on the street”	Threat from others
“Because I feel uncomfortable when I'm around too many people”	Threat from others
“Too many drunks”	Threat from others
“Too many crimes”	Threat from others
“Because I am a girl, and I am afraid sometimes of physical violence that can occur everywhere in the world, and it affects mostly the women.”	Threat from others
“Because I can't stand for myself if the person is strong”	Threat from others
“Because of men”	Threat from others
“Dangerous, somebody can attack me”	Threat from others
“Harassment, cat calling”	Threat from others
“I'm afraid of someone assaulting me or following me home”	Threat from others
“In my country, we grew up knowing that a girl is not safe when she walks alone”	Threat from others
“It is not a nice feeling being a woman and walking alone around the city, especially when there are not many people around”	Threat from others
“Many reasons. Anything could happen, especially when you're alone and can't really defend yourself.”	Threat from others
“Men are creepy”	Threat from others

“Safety reasons, but only in certain neighborhoods”	Threat from others
“Sexual harassment”	Threat from others
“There are many drunk and drug addicted people close to the subway”	Threat from others
“This is a general feeling nothing to do with Vienna. I am afraid as I am a woman and as such weaker”	Threat from others
“Because I had already experienced violence there and didn't want to be reminded again.”	Previous experiences
“Someone came after me.”	Previous experiences
“At night it has happened that guys followed me. Once a guy followed me all the way to my dorm at night, trying to convince me to go out with him. Another time a guy at the train station at night kept asking me to kiss him.”	Previous experiences
“Because of comments from men, being followed”	Previous experiences
“Because somebody was following”	Previous experiences
“Being cat called, being followed by men and because of receiving unsolicited attention.”	Previous experiences
“Men hassling me, mostly when I jog”	Previous experiences

Table 8. Objective 3. Bratislava

“Why do you not feel safe when walking in the city alone?”

(Darkness, Threat through other people, Previous experiences)

Statement	Theme
“Because I’m a woman and generally walking alone at night isn’t a good idea. No matter which city.”	Darkness
“Because it was too late and not in the city center and I preferred to take a taxi than to risk my safety”	Darkness
“Because of the time of the day”	Darkness
“During the night is scary someone will attack you”	Darkness Threat from others
“During the night, you never know who you meet”	Darkness Threat from others
“Empty streets.”	Darkness

“Experience with harassment later in night.”	Previous experiences Darkness
“I am afraid to walk alone at night in any city. I am extremely careful!”	Darkness
“It was dark and the park has no lights”	Darkness
“Late in the night walking home, if there are loud people / visibly drunk people around, I do not feel safe”	Darkness Threat from others
“Later at night near certain neighborhoods because I am on the smaller side and probably couldn't fight off an attacker”	Darkness Threat from others
“Night time”	Darkness
“Sometimes e.g. at night I worry someone may follow me on my way home”	Darkness Threat from others
“Only in the dark”	Darkness
“There should be more lights - we can see more at night and police should patrol risky parts of neighborhoods more often, I don't feel safe enough during nighttime”	Darkness
“Drunken/under influence idiots”	Threat from others
“For safety reasons”	Threat from others
“Men's catcalling”	Threat from others
“Potential harassment by groups of people”	Threat from others
“Racists, gangs. Sometimes in some places”	Threat through other people
“The city (especially around the center) is full of drunks, people under the influence of drugs and I have to say it, it's full of men. I've been raped and I don't wish for it to happen again”	Threat from others Previous experiences
“Well there are many stories about young girls and how they were kidnapped or other things happen to them, so that's why”	Previous experiences

Table 9. Objective 4. Vienna

“Why do you think men or women (based on the answer you chose) are more visible in the city?”

(Group formation, Politics, Traditional gender roles, Safety, Get more attention, Same rights, Socio-temporal factors, Spatial segregation)

Statement	Theme
Men are more visible	
“Advertisements and usually the places they tend to hang out (parks where mostly men are)”	Group formation
“Because they do not hesitate to just sit around”	Group formation
“Cuz they are loud and always in groups”	Group formation
“Groups of men tend to group in some parks of the 5 th district, just to drink in the parks. That doesn’t happen with women”	Group formation
“Because the men often group together”	Group formation
”They are just louder”	Group formation
“Because there are some places where only men stand around. Women don’t do that”	Group formation
“Men sit together in the parks, women are probably busy looking after children”	Group formation Traditional gender roles
“Because there are usually several in one place”	Group formation
“More represented in local and federal government, high power positions in general”	Politics
“Men are seen as more “important” in Vienna... as having more power and more money (and more cars)”	Politics
“More men in politics and positions of power”	Politics
“2000 years of male supremacy doesn’t disappear that quickly...”	Traditional gender roles
“I never thought about the reasons, it could be a cultural reason, or they just prefer a safer way of transportation such as by a bike, or car”	Traditional gender roles
“Traditional gender roles; women take care of the children”	Traditional gender roles
“During the day I think it’s equal but at night I see more men out in the street	Safety

than women. They feel more safe, not sure though”	
“Men are not scared”	Safety
Women are more visible	
“Because women do work more (while getting paid less)”	Spatial segregation
“I find more women in public area who are along with their children for going to school or waking”	Spatial segregation
“I find more women in public area who are along with their children for going to school or walking, ...”	Get more attention
Both are equally visible	
“I think it’s equal numbers on the streets, underground etc.”	Same rights
“Never really looked at it, not an obvious difference to me, anyway”	Same rights
“I think both are visible”	Same rights
“I think they are both visible. The only objectifying advertisement is due to the promotion of legal prostitution, which tries to draw attention with visible signs with sexy female figures on them”	Same rights
“This varies with time of day and location”	Socio-Temporal factors
“This cannot be said in general, depends very much on the location and composition of the immediate resident population”	Socio-Temporal factors

Table 10. Objective 4. Bratislava

“Why do you think men or women (based on the answer you chose) are more visible in the city?”

(Politics, Traditional gender roles, Safety, Get more attention, Same rights, Spatial segregation)

Statement	Theme
Men are more visible	
“Men are visible in leading positions, many politicians or businessmen. Women are seen on advertisements around the city, often objectified or sexualized”	Politics
“The majority of members of parliament and city council are men”	Politics

“Elections, advertisements, marketing information”	Politics
“Maybe because the women here still take on quite traditional stay at home roles”	Traditional gender roles
“Some things may be designed without consideration for women (who usually are the ones to navigate the city with a pram). Overall, too much space is given to cars and traffic”	Traditional gender roles
“When you want to sit somewhere you don't sit near groups of men for example. During night it's easier for men to walk home alone and as a woman I don't feel safe walking on less crowded streets. I usually use Bolt to avoid walking but I also cannot choose driver (if I prefer women drivers i.e.)”	Safety
Women are more visible	
“Less casual looking. Maybe looking less comfortable than men?”	Spatial segregation
“They're more often "checked out", people often pay more attention to women”	Get more attention
“Because I see more women”	Spatial segregation
Both are equally visible	
“Both have enough freedom to do what they want”	Same rights
“Because it is a civilized country, and the people are generally polite and courteous to one another. Women's and men's roles are in some ways classical and traditional, but women are treated with respect by men and not expected to stay at home. Women and men are equally able to share the public space. Only foreign tourists having stag parties create a slight dominance of men's groups at weekends.”	Same rights