VIENNESE PLANNING CULTURE:

UNDERSTANDING CHANGE AND CONTINUITY THROUGH THE HAUPTBAHNHOF

by

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Abstract

Today, cities across the globe face a multitude of similar challenges – climate change, new disruptive technologies, new conceptions of both labour and capital, and mass migration, among others; simultaneously, planning scholars are continually acknowledging the diversity of both the conception and practice of planning around the world. As such, the concept of planning cultures has grown in recognition and importance. While the literature around planning cultures grows, few area specific studies have been completed. This thesis seeks to contribute to the understanding of the planning culture of Vienna, Austria, through an exploration of the history of urban planning in Vienna and through a contemporary case study of the planning of the Vienna Hauptbahnhof project, the recently completed central train station. This thesis seeks to expand the understanding of planning processes, practices, and outcomes in Vienna, a city world renowned for its affordable and social housing, as well as for its high quality of life.

Lay Summary

This thesis seeks to expand the understanding of spatial planning processes, practices, and outcomes in Vienna, Austria, a city world renowned for its affordable and social housing, as well as for its high quality of life. This is done through an exploration of the history of urban planning in Vienna and through a case study of the planning process of the recently completed Vienna central train station.

Preface

This dissertation is an original intellectual product of the author, Veronica Reiss. The interviews reported in Chapters 4 - 5 were covered by UBC Ethics Certificate number H16-01574.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

FPÖ – Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs. Austrian Freedom Party, the right-wing party that ruled in a coalition with the conservative ÖVP from 2000-2005.

ÖBB – Österreichische Bundesbahnen. The Austria Federal Railways, the major developer of the Hauptbahnhof project, along with the City of Vienna and Austrian Federal Government.

ÖVP – Österreichische Volkspartei. The Austrian People's Party, one of the two main parties that have historically dominated Austrian politics. The ÖVP is a centre-right conservative party.

SPÖ – Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreich. The Social Democratic Party of Austria, one of the two main parties that have historically dominated Austrian politics, particularly in Vienna.

SDAPÖ – Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei Österreichs. Social Democratic Workers Party of Austria. The Austro-Marxist Party in Power during the time of Red Vienna and the precursor party to the modern SPÖ.

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With eternal gratitude I thank you all.

Veronica

Dedication

I dedicate this work to John Friedmann in gratitude and appreciation.

Chapter I - Introduction

This section provides a brief overview of and introduction to the thesis. Firstly, the main theoretical impulses that motivate this thesis are presented through a presentation of academic discussions of urban planning cultures and its importance. Then a basic rationale for the selection of the case study is presented. Finally, the theoretical framework, methodology, and research questions that guide the research are laid out.

Introduction

Urban planning practices differ markedly across the different geographies within which they exist. In each place planning, both the ideas that shape it and the way in which it is carried out, has been affected by a multiplicity of factors. Planning is not a purely technical practice. It is embedded in the local context within which it arises. This relates in large part to the fact that urban planning is inherently political. By virtue of the fact that planning concerns itself with human organization, both physical and social, questions around the practices and outcomes of planning are inextricably intertwined with questions concerning the relationship between the individual, the state, and society, as well as views on their appropriate role in the accumulation and distribution of resources. These political ideas, themselves influenced by the history and institutional structures of a given locale, are further refracted through the lens of urban planning history and institutions. Planning takes political ideas a step further by contemplating the physical manifestations of these relationships. In this way a city itself reflects attitudes and beliefs about these relationships. This unique mix of the conception of planning, its institutionalization, and its enactment in a given location has been termed planning culture.

Why Study Planning Cultures?

The recognition that planning cultures exist, whether using this terminology or not, has been present for quite some time. While this area of study has mostly been confined to the fields of planning history and explorations into the transfer of planning ideas (Taylor, 2013), in recent years it has taken on a significance in its own right. The

continued study of planning cultures is important for a multiplicity of reasons related to both the practice and theory of planning, which, while not divorced from one another, have at times complicated each other.

From its beginning, planning has been seen as a 'modernist' endeavour (Leaf, 2005, p. 92). That is to say, planning has been seen to employ a rational decision making model to provide solutions for human organization. Very often, this has led planning to become a utopian project attempting to create new societies instead of reacting to existing ones. While this view has historically dominated western or Anglo-American planning thought, more recently, scholars have pointed out that planning is not simply a rational, modernist exercise. Planning is deeply embedded in the historical and political context within which it developed, thus making planning practice highly relative to its context and planning theory not easily universalized.

This universal narrative creates what Leaf refers to as "interpretive blinders", blocking effective analysis of and reaction to planning phenomena (2005, p. 92). A shift towards recognizing individual planning cultures and away from universalized planning theory also has profound implications. Planning cultures can explain why particular planning practices exist in a certain area and why changes occur to planning practices over time. The lack of a localized understanding of planning culture complicates and even hinders the successful adoption of positive planning practices. The recognition that planning is not simply a rational comprehensive endeavour demands a new literature that takes into account the localized particularities of planning and eschews the idea that planning theory from one cultural context can be universalized.

The importance of individualizing planning research to account for planning cultures is made all the more pressing by the fact that cities across the world face similar, global issues. Most recently, changes in technology, economic globalization, migration, and climate change profoundly impact cities and urban regions across the globe. Finding solutions to these problems demands cooperation and creative problem solving. The recognition that unique planning cultures affect the way planning policy is created and implemented in different regions should not hinder cooperation, but allow cooperative solutions to be more successful, particularly at a local level. As Friedmann (2005a)

stresses, communication should not be discouraged or hindered, but "communication must take place with a full understanding of the differences that divide us" (pg. 43). If the successes of one city are to be effectively learned from, there must be an understanding of how those achievements came to be, and in what context. Most importantly, if planning practices or ideas are to be transferred from one context to another, there must be an explicit understanding of the unique conditions that exist in both places that may or may not be compatible. The recognition of locally specific planning cultures coupled with an analysis of global macro level forces helps to explain changes and phenomena in a given location that universalized planning theory fails to account for or cannot address. It also allows for more effective communication and the transfer of ideas that may contribute to solving universally shared challenges.

Purpose and Significance of Research

This thesis seeks to contribute to the literature and scholarship surrounding the discussion of planning culture. Specifically, it will expand the understanding of Austrian and Viennese planning culture, building directly on the work of Dangschat and Hamedinger (2009) from their chapter in the book *Planning Cultures in Europe* entitled 'Planning Culture in Austria – The Case of Vienna, the Unlike City', wherein they outline the main feature of Viennese planning culture while also highlighting recent changes and trends. This thesis also builds on the work of Novy et al. from the 2001 article 'The End of Red Vienna – Recent Ruptures and Continuities in Urban Governance'. Both articles argue that a fundamental shift has occurred in Austrian planning over the last decades. While a fair amount has been written about these changes, example case studies that challenge or prove these changes are limited. A case study also serves to provide a clear model of how changes to planning culture materially affect the city. Through the study of the recently completed Vienna *Hauptbahnhof* (Central Railway Station), the knowledge around these issues can be expanded. By providing a case study through which to examine the claims of Dangschat and Hamedinger as well as Novy et al., this thesis will seek to expand on their work and clarify the understanding of Viennese planning culture and the effects of recent changes on Vienna's built environment. As such, the main research questions of this thesis are:

- What are the most prominent features of Vienna's planning culture?
- How does the *Hauptbahnhof* development fit into this narrative?
- How are any shifts in Viennese planning culture reflected in the *Hauptbahnhof* development?

Why Vienna?

A number of factors position Vienna as an important city for planning culture research. Firstly, Vienna has consistently ranked among the most livable cities in the world. It is ranked first in the Mercer Quality of Living Survey and has held this title in the ranking since 2009. Vienna is ranked second in both the Economist's Global Liveability Ranking and Monocle's Quality of Life Survey in the most recent rankings from 2016. Despite the different criteria and weighting of different factors in each ranking system, Vienna is the only city to be found in the top two of each ranking. While city rankings are justifiably criticized as being biased toward western cities and focused on wealthy, mobile individuals, they do present an easy comparison of multiple cities across a range of variables. Such rankings provide a snapshot of cities where inhabitants are generally able to access robust infrastructure, education, health care, green spaces, and countless other important services.

	Mercer	**Economist**	**Monocle**
Rank 1	Vienna	Melbourne	Tokyo
Rank 2	Zurich	Vienna	Vienna
Rank 3	Auckland	Vancouver	Berlin

Table 1 – Comparison of top three positions in the most recent livable cities rankings.

In addition to its reputation as one of the world's most livable cities, Vienna has been able to distinguish itself as the city with arguably the best housing regime in the world. In housing policy circles, the statistic that nearly two out of three of Vienna's residents (62%) live in socialized housing, that is, either government owned or subsidized housing, is very often cited. Innovative practices around social mixing and new planning

paradigms, such as gender mainstreaming in planning, have also garnered Vienna praise in planning circles. Many cities hope to learn from Vienna's success with both quality of life and housing. Indeed, an exhibition entitled "The Vienna Model – Housing for the 21st Century" has been presented in eight different countries including the US, Canada, China, and Turkey since 2013. This exhibition is supported by the government of Vienna and clearly promotes Vienna as a city to be emulated. While Vienna has much it can teach other cities, the particular planning culture of Vienna is an important factor in understanding how Vienna has succeeded where many other cities have failed, and in understanding the ways this model can and cannot be implemented in other places.

Finally, Vienna is often seen, both by itself and others, as a place that does things differently. *Wien ist Anders*, 'Vienna is Different', was for a long time the slogan of the city. In the title of their chapter on Viennese planning culture, Dangschat and Hamedinger (2009) call Vienna the 'unlike' city, directly referring to the way Vienna tries to find a way of doing things differently. They note that Vienna constantly looks for specific 'Austro' styles of adapting wider trends and looks for a 'third way' of reconciling past and future orientations (p. 95). The Viennese way of doing things differently, with results that are often extoled as successful, suggests that a closer look at the exact reasons for this are worth exploring.

Justification of Research

Some may question, understandably, why a student from Canada would study planning culture in Austria, a topic that is both highly nuanced and particular to its time and place. As with any piece of research, this thesis was not developed in a vacuum. My interest in Austrian planning culture developed in large part out of my personal experience. Later, my interests in Austrian planning culture was stirred through my conversations with John Friedmann, who was born in Vienna but like some many others was exiled by the horrors of fascism.

Like millions of other Canadians, I am the child of immigrants. My parents emigrated from Austria in the late 1980s. I grew up speaking German, following Austrian customs, and visiting family in Austria. In a typically Canadian way, I had one foot firmly

planted in the realm of Austrian culture and the other in Canadian culture. Because of this, I have often felt that I am an insider and an outsider of both cultures. Whether consciously or unconsciously, this has often led me to look at cultural and political phenomenon in each context through something of a comparative lens. While the research presented here is not comparative in nature (at least not between Canadian and Austrian planning cultures), the observations made about planning culture in Vienna are at once those of an insider and an outsider. This allowed me to delve into my research without having to acquaint myself with the basics of Austrian culture (or indeed politics, as I consistently follow Austrian politics). I provide this context in order to pre-empt questions of my ability to explore Austrian planning culture in a nuanced way, but also because I believe this unique perspective can provide important insights and broaden the discussion of planning culture in Vienna.

Theoretical Framework

As an explicit area of research within planning theory, planning culture was introduced in the early 1990s within the context of EU expansion and the need to understand the different planning practices of EU member states. As a relatively young area of study, and as an area of study that explores such a broad concept as culture, establishing a framework within which to explore planning culture has been difficult. This is reflected in the lack of a widely agreed upon definition of planning culture and on a tendency for each new scholar wading into the topic to provide their own definition. Multiple scholars have noted the lack of a framework through which to systematically study planning cultures (See Knieling & Othengrafen 2009; Taylor 2013). Taylor (2013), in his paper proposing a new framework for planning culture research, argues that the analytic power of culture as an explanatory factor is undermined by the fact that, "quite different social phenomena have been conflated under the rubric of 'planning culture'" and that work on planning cultures has been "vague and unfocused" (p. 683). While some of the vagueness of scholarship is inherent to the subject matter and the fact that planning culture encompasses everything from language to planning education to legal traditions, Taylor's point that this breadth can undercut explanatory power is important. As such, this thesis approaches planning culture through the lens of historical institutionalism, focusing on institutions as sites of cultural production and reproduction (Taylor, 2013, p.

689). While institutions will provide a main reference point for exploring the development and change of Viennese planning, especially its historical development, any exploration of planning cultures necessitates a move beyond pure institutional exploration, thus other elements of Vienna's planning culture will be highlighted throughout.

Methodology

The primary method of inquiry that this thesis employs is a case study. A case study allows for the testing of the theories put forward in Dangschat and Hamedinger (2009) and Novy et al. (2001) against a recent case of development in Vienna. It will also allow for a temporal comparison of the *Hauptbahnhof* with the historical development of planning in Vienna. This thesis will provide a detailed account of the planning and implementation history of the development of the Vienna *Hauptbahnhof*. It will focus on the interactions between key actors, interests, and institutions, with particular attention paid to the relationship between, and relative power of, the state and private actors. It will also explore the interaction between the new development and modernisation orientations of Vienna outlined in Dangschat and Hamedinger (2009) and Novy et al. (2001).

The principal sources of information for this case study have been the *Hauptbahnhof* planning documents published by the City of Vienna, long-term planning documents such as the Vienna City Development Plan, as well as media reports about the *Hauptbahnhof* project. This information is supplemented by a personal site visit and interviews with key municipal staff involved in planning and carrying out the project. My fluency in German and acquaintance with the city of Vienna were assets in facilitating this research. A summary of Viennese planning history is presented, followed by a summary of the *Hauptbahnhof* project. Reflections on the state of Viennese planning and changes in planning culture are then presented with an eye to support or refute the claims made by Dangschat and Hamedinger (2009) as well as Novy et al. (2001). The thesis has been positioned so as to be a coherent extension of existing scholarship on Austrian planning culture.

Chapter II - Literature Review

In order to begin an exploration of planning culture in Vienna, we must first step back and explore the idea of planning culture itself. The following chapter presents a review of the literature around planning culture, with an eye on the origins of the idea and on understanding what is meant by the term itself. I then move on to look at how Vienna's political culture has been characterized by scholars. This section draws heavily on political science literature that compares the various types of political cultures as well as institutional structures that exist in social democracies. Finally, this review looks specifically at the scholarship on Viennese planning culture. Through this literature review, I ultimately seek to answer the question of what is meant by the term planning culture and to understand how Austrian and Viennese planning culture have been characterized up to now, in order to expand on these ideas.

What's in a Name? - The Language of Planning

In order to demonstrate the concept of planning culture, I will begin with a brief discussion of the nomenclature of 'planning', specifically, the term 'urban planning' as used in different European based languages. This review is based on a very similar discussion presented in Keller et al. (1993). The authors use a discussion of planning terminology in different languages to demonstrate some of the complexity and nuance that is lost in translation, both literally and figuratively, when planning is discussed across different cultural contexts. The terms used to refer to urban planning in different languages – for example, *aménagement du territoire* in French, *sviluppo e planificazione regionale* in Italian, *Städtebau* or *Landesplanung und Raumordnung* in German, *urban planning* or *town and country planning* in English – each carry with them slightly differing connotations. It is important to recognize that within one language there are often multiple ways of referring to planning, depending on the local context or specific scale, type, or area of planning being referenced. In German, *Städtebau* can be translated as city building or city development, which carries with it a particular growth-oriented urban slant, while *Landesplanung und Raumordnung* translates as land planning and spatial organization. The use of the word *ordnung,* meaning order or organization,

conveys the importance of these ideas in German planning and reflects the German origins of zoning. The difference between the usage of urban planning, most commonly seen in North American English, and town and country planning, used more commonly in British English, reflects different histories and contexts in these different geographical locations. The romance languages each have a term which literally translates to urbanism but which is commonly translated as urban planning – *urbanismo* (Spanish), *urbanistica* (Italian), and *urbanisme* (French). These terms relate to urban design and architecture more than to the idea of planning and organization. They also reflect the historical position of architects as urban planners and focus on urban form over area planning.

These differing terminologies reflect the differing underlying philosophies, approaches, views, and assumptions about the nature of urban planning. They reflect different approaches to the education of planners, different views on who legitimately carries out the practice of planning, and what the ultimate goals and outcomes of planning are or should be. This discussion of the language of planning serves to highlight what is meant by planning cultures. While my linguistic knowledge is limited to European languages, the exploration of planning nomenclature across the various languages of the world could serve to further illuminate the underlying philosophy around planning present in different cultures. Most importantly, this discussion serves to highlight the need to understand the history and development of planning in different cultural contexts to ensure clear communication across cultural boundaries.

How is Planning Culture Defined?

Planning academics have a long history of acknowledging the different practices, styles, and traditions of planning that exist in different areas. This is particularly true among planning historians, and has led to a breadth of literature that addresses the complexity of different planning regimes and styles. Various planning scholars have explored elements of planning cultures without using such terminology. These include reviews of 'planning systems', which take a legal and institutional approach (Larsson, 2006; Masser and Williams, 1986; Newman and Thornley, 1996), discussions of the spread of planning ideas globally (Healey and Upton, 2010; Home, 1997; Ward, 2000), and comprehensive planning histories (Hall, 1988).

The term 'planning culture' finds its roots in Europe, specifically during discussions in planning that occurred as the European Union (EU) was being formalized and expanded in the early 1990s. The project of European integration presented new challenges to the organization and coordination of the diverse practices of urban and regional planning present across the new EU member states. This challenge demanded a better understanding of the conception, approach, and implementation of planning ideas and practices in each national context. Planning culture as an issue was first raised in an article published in 1993 in the Swiss planning journal *disP – The Planning Review*. The article, first published in German and then published in 1996 in English in *Planning Perspectives* under the title, "'Either/or' and 'and': First Impressions of a Journey into the Planning Cultures of Four Countries" by Keller, Koch, and Selle, provided a characterisation of the different planning cultures present in Germany, France, Italy, and Switzerland at the time. This article is the first to explicitly use the term planning culture and serves as a starting point of planning cultures exploration.

Although the first to use the term, Keller et al. shy away from providing their own formal definition of planning culture, instead, they focus on a range of inputs they see as comprising the basis of planning culture. In their research, planners from the different countries reviewed were asked to think about the tasks planners are given, the organization of planners and the legal framework within which they work, and finally the background assumptions and values that direct planners. In Keller et al.'s view, these factors make up the base of a planning culture, determining who plans, what they plan for, and how they plan.

The fact that Keller et al. do not provide a formalized definition of planning culture has presented a problem to scholars of planning culture, as there is no original definition to reference or even debate. Multiple definitions can be found for planning culture throughout the literature; indeed there is a tendency for each scholar that delves into the topic to provide their own definition. John Friedmann, in his 2005 article entitled *Globalization and the Emerging Culture of Planning*, provides a definition of planning culture as, "the ways, both formal and informal, that spatial planning in a given multi-national region, country or city is conceived, institutionalized, and enacted" (p.184). He goes on to stresses that, "[planning] is deeply embedded in the political culture of the

country and/or individual cities and, as such, is always historically grounded" (p.184). This definition provides a comprehensive description of the many facets of planning culture, but has failed to become the standard definition despite Friedmann's two 2005 essays (the other is his introductory chapter in Sanyal 2005) on planning cultures being widely referenced and seen as the starting point for more recent discussions on planning culture.

In the opening to his 2005 book *Comparative Planning Cultures,* Bishwapriya Sanyal does not provide a comprehensive definition of planning cultures, but instead poses a number of questions around the ways planning is conceived, practiced, and effected by global changes in different areas in order to highlight the various components of planning cultures. Joerg Knieling and Frank Othengrafen, in their book entitled *Planning Cultures in Europe: Decoding Cultural Phenomena in Urban and Regional Planning*, describe planning cultures as follows,

> Each national or regional context is characterised by particularities of history, by attitudes, beliefs and values, political and legal traditions, different socio-economic patterns and concepts of justice, interpretations of planning tasks and responsibilities, and different structures of governance – in other terms: by its specific cultural characteristics. (2009, Preface, p. xxiii)

The authors also provide a Venn-diagram of sorts which reflects their understanding of planning cultures as embedded within society and overlapping with the areas of political, legal, and administrative traditions, economic practices, demographic development, and technical standards (Knieling & Othergrafen, 2009, p. 44). They also provide a framework for analysing planning cultures which they call a 'culturised planning model'. The model focuses on the following three dimensions of planning: the products of planning, the shared norms of planning professionals, and societal norms and beliefs (Knieling & Othergrafen, 2009, p. 57).

The lack of an agreed upon definition for planning culture and the wide range of inputs that shape planning culture have been criticized by some, as they complicate a simple analytical lens of the idea. As noted previously, Taylor (2013) suggests that the analytic power of culture as an explanatory factor is undermined by the fact that, "quite different social phenomena have been conflated under the rubric of 'planning culture'",

rendering the scholarship surrounding planning cultures "vague and unfocused" (p. 683). However, the lack of a widely recognised definition does not in fact reflect disagreement between scholars on what planning culture is or why this perspective is highly valuable. Indeed, scholars broadly agree on what factors shape planning culture. Each author highlights the cultural embeddedness of planning and recognizes the value of the idea of planning culture incorporating themes that move beyond formal structures to explain the outcomes of planning. Planning culture incorporates informal systems in its analysis. This informal input is what Sanyal calls the "collective ethos and dominant attitude" in planning (2005, p. 3). Friedmann calls attention to the fact that a planning cultures perspective, "goes beyond narrow professionalism and public institutions. Planning in this more inclusive sense can be seen as contributing to, but not necessarily shaping, the complex processes of city-building" (2005b, p. 213). This incorporation of informal structures with formal structures of planning lends value to planning culture theory both as an explanatory force but also as a challenge to dominant narratives within planning theory.

The Critique of the Rational-Comprehensive Planning Model

While the original Keller et al. (1993) article focused on planning cultures in a comparative, European framework, the more recent works on planning culture, most notably Sanyal (2005), Friedmann (2005b), Knieling and Othengrafen (2009) and Reimer et al. (2014) have taken a more global perspective. They have been united in their critique of universal planning narratives and present the planning cultures discourse as a counter to the historically rational, universal, and normative currents within both planning theory and practice.

Friedmann notes that his aim in writing about planning cultures is to counter "one of our fondest fantasies *that planning is somehow a rational, orderly, and universal process*, like engineering, for example" (Friedmann, 2011, p. 205 [emphasis added]). Taylor (2013) notes that Anglo-American planning has a long tradition of being "a meliorative and sometimes utopian project of social transformation" (p. 697). This perspective has led many planners to be highly normative and to focus on institutional design, instead of assessing existing formal and informal institutional make ups and their

effects on planning outcomes (Taylor, 2013, p. 697). Knieling and Otherngrafen (2009) criticize modern planning as it strives for "universal theories and master-narratives in terms of using rational decision making processes with regard to a 'homogenous' public interest" (p. 53).

This problem becomes compounded when scholars search for overarching, universal theory, particularly when one voice within planning theory, namely an Anglo-American perspective, becomes dominant. Scholars have begun to recognize the limits and pitfalls of ostensibly universal theory, calling for more context specific research and case studies (see Friedmann, 2004a; Friedmann 2005b; Leaf 2005; Reimer 2013). Reimer (2013) summarizes this call for more planning culture study, stating,

> ...The exact patterns of how spatial planning is practiced in different cultural, spatial, temporal and thematic contexts need to be analyzed more carefully. As regards the "reinvention" of spatial planning, it is important to focus on the diversity of spatial planning activities that cannot be captured by universalized planning discourses. (p. 4654)

Planning Cultures in Europe begins by highlighting the importance of planning scholarship focusing on planning cultures, especially within the context of modern planning theory that strives for "universal theories and master-narratives in terms of using rational decision making processes with regard to a 'homogenous' public interest" (Knieling & Othergrafen, 2009, p. 53).

A shift towards recognizing individual planning cultures and away from universalized planning theory also has profound practical implications. Multiple authors note that a localized understanding of planning culture complicates and even hinders the successful adoption of positive planning practices. Michael Leaf (2005) provides a succinct summary of this problem in his chapter in Sanyal 2005 on Chinese planning culture, noting that,

> [The] often-unquestioned assumption about the role of planning [in a liberal, democratic context] creates interpretive blinders in looking at planning in sociopolitical formations that differ from this modern, liberal ideal of governance. The lack of a culturally embedded body of planning theory... thus presents challenges to the adoption and local adaptation of planning practice, which all too often is still presented to the world as a modern, and thus universalistic, undertaking. (p. 92)

Friedmann also recognizes the practical implications of the historical narrative of urban planning. He calls on planning theorists to reflect more fully the complexity of policy making and implementation. Professionally, he argues that, "spatial planning needs to be oriented more to articulating these diverse processes of city-building than to the preparation of formal plans" (Friedmann, 2005b, p. 213).

Global Problems, Local Responses

Finally, the literature on planning cultures is also united in drawing attention to the common, global problems facing planning today. Sanyal, in his introduction notes that,

> To understand the impact of contemporary social change on planning culture, we must acknowledge the trend toward global connectivity through increasing movement of investment, trade, ideas, and people. (Sanyal, 2005, p.23)

He follows this statement by claiming that both the costs and benefits of these changes have at times been exaggerated (2005, p.23). In his own chapter in Sanyal, Friedmann points out that planning cultures are in a constant state of flux, adapting to and being changed by external factors such as globalization, technological change, and migration. Thus, planning, "must continuously reinvent itself as circumstances change" (Friedmann, 2005a, p. 29). It is important to note here that from this perspective a planning culture not only has an effect on local planning, but is also affected by global forces and impulses.

The recognition of the effect of global forces on planning cultures has led to discussions around whether there is a tendency towards an assimilation of planning cultures or the possibility of a global planning culture. Friedmann (2005a) argues against such a conclusion, noting that,

> Even as the economy becomes ever more global, it would be wrong to conclude that... a universal planning discourse based on the American model is about to emerge. The slate of history cannot be wiped clean, and the diversity of national and even local planning cultures will continue to flourish. (p. 43)

Reimer et al. (2014), reach a similar conclusion through their exploration of planning cultures in Europe, focusing on whether the 'Europeanisation' of planning is having a converging or diverging effect on planning cultures (p.6). The authors conclude that there

has not been a homogenisation of planning models due to the Europeanisation of planning, instead planning cultures differ widely based on different path dependencies (p. 303).

Summary

Over the last decades the notion of planning culture, as separate and distinct from planning history or the characterization of planning traditions, has become an important area of discourse in the planning literature and garnered a fair amount of research. As a young topic, however, scholars are still looking to solidify an agreed upon definition and a robust framework for analysis and comparison of different planning cultures. What has been provided up to now has been a collection of publications that have explored local planning cultures and provided detail and nuance to discussions of planning in selected locations. As the literature grows, such case studies will continue to be valuable.

The planning cultures literature is united in its critique of the historical dominance of Anglo-American planning theory and its presentation as a rational, universal, and normative planning narrative. The importance of localized, planning cultures narratives is stressed as a counter to this history, both in terms of creating a new body of planning theory, but also in considering approaches in local planning practice. The authors also recognize that planning culture not only affects outcomes but is itself affected by external political and socio-economic forces. This raises the question of global convergence among planning cultures; however, this is not seen as an existing or plausible outcome as the nature of planning culture, being historically embedded and relating to the particular formal and informal structures of planning, is different in each locality.

Austrian Political and Planning Culture

This section presents literature that characterizes Austrian planning culture, with particular attention paid to Dangschat and Hamedinger (2009) and Novy et al. (2001). It also briefly presents planning culture and political culture characterizations from other texts as they relate to Austria and Vienna, so as to broadly present the existing view of Austrian and Viennese planning culture.

Austrian Political and Institutional Culture

Gøsta Esping-Andersen, in his seminal work *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, characterizes Austria as part of the conservative and corporatist welfare state (Esping-Andersen, 1999, pg. 27). Indeed, Austria typifies Esping-Andersen's characterization of such welfare states as it has strong regulation of the labour market, welfare provision based on fragmented systems of social insurance, a strong role of the family vis-a-vis market and state, and kinship, corporatism and etatism as the dominant mode of solidarity (Esping-Andersen, 1999, p. 85). These political characteristics are further reflected in the categorization of Austria within existing models of planning institution types.

In the EU's *Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies* (1997), Austria is categorized as a country whose planning system represents a comprehensive integrated approach. This system is characterized as follows,

> Spatial planning is conducted through a very systematic and formal hierarchy of plans from national to local level, which coordinate public sector activity across different sectors but focus more specifically on spatial coordination than economic development… It requires responsive and sophisticated planning institutions and mechanisms and considerable political commitment to planning process. (CEC, 1997, p. 36-7)

In Peter Newman and Andy Thornley's Urban Planning in Europe (1996), Austria is classed under the Germanic legal and administrative family. This represents a system that gives great importance to the written constitution and its division of responsibilities between the various levels of government (Newman & Thornley, 1996, p. 34). While Austria is grouped in the Germanic family, there are some important differences between institutions in Germany and Austria, namely that Austria has a more centralized government, where less power sits with the provinces. In Newman and Thornley, as in the EU Compendium, the formal hierarchical character of Austrian planning is highlighted.

Austrian Planning Culture

Without using the language of planning culture, Andreas Novy, Vanessa Reday, Johannes Jäger, and Alexander Hamedinger (2001) provide a comprehensive description

of Vienna's planning culture since the establishment of Red Vienna through a case study of the Donau City urban mega project. In their article 'The End of Red Vienna – Recent Ruptures and Continuities in Urban Governance', the authors discuss some of the currents of change that have affected Viennese planning at the end of the 20th century and the significant divergence from historical planning processes that characterized the Donau City project.

The article provides an overview of developments in planning through the lenses of the political economy, real estate, and urban planning. The authors describe Viennese planning as being historically dominated by a corporatist model of regulation that seeks compromise while keenly avoiding conflict. They highlight the primary role of the government in the provision of social services and the historic strength of the bureaucracy (p. 138). This system created strong clientelist relationships between the state and political factions; however, the authors also argue that the importance of this corporatist model is declining, slowly being pushed out by a newly emerging class of urban elite dominated by business interests. There is also some brief discussion of the role xenophobia and a mistrust of foreigners has had on popular sentiment. The authors then move on to describe the decline of power of the social democrats and the gradual dismantling of the clientelist networks of both the social democrats and the conservatives in the face of new political actors (p. 141).

A case study of the Donau City development shows how the traditional corporatism of Viennese planning was by-passed, calling the development the "prime expression of a new urban policy" (p. 142). This new urban policy is characterized by the rise of real estate as business (forming a new urban elite), a reduction in regulation of rents and a general re-commodification of housing, new planning structures, and the perceived need for Vienna to project a modern, competitive image (p. 142). This new policy direction reflects the wider trend of neo-liberalization during the 80s and 90s in much of the western world. According to Novy et al. (2001), in Vienna, this change was directed by an, "ideological shift towards entrepreneurialism, managerialism and business-friendly policies" as outlined in Vienna's strategic plan initiated in 1998 (p. 139). Generally, the authors are highly critical of both the Donau City project and this turn in Viennese planning culture. They argue that there have been fundamental shifts in planning in Vienna, which mixes

the traditional top-down approach with new business interests, leading to a planning model that is elitist, exclusionary, and authoritarian (p. 142).

In their chapter in Knieling and Otherngrafen (2009) on Austrian planning culture entitled 'Planning Culture in Austria – The Case of Vienna, the Unlike City', Jens Dangschat and Alexander Hamedinger provide a characterization of Austrian planning with the planning culture literature in mind. Much like Novy et al, the authors provide a historical overview of the development of planning over the course of the 20th century. They reiterate many of the points made in Novy et al. (2001). They stress the prominent role of Red Vienna in shaping development trajectories, the slowly waning power of the corporatist social partnership in policy decisions, the culture of conflict avoidance and compromise in politics, and the primary role the state has played in providing quality social services as well as its concentrated decision making power. While Dangschat and Hamedinger (2009) do not address xenophobic tendencies outright, they do highlight a history of excluding migrants from social services. Unlike Novy et al. (2001), they also draw attention to the current emphasis on global inter-city competition, wherein cities try to distinguish themselves through a unique selling point in order to gain more recognition. They also focus on a more general inter-city economic competitiveness. Dangschat and Hamedinger also draw attention to a renewed area-based integrative approach to strategic planning and urban renewal (p. 105). Finally, the authors focus on new movements towards wider regional cooperation, including CENTROPE (p. 108). They sum up this recent shift as follows:

> The advent of more integrated and more area-based approaches in urban renewal and efforts to foster participation processes as well as to strengthen regional cooperation (CENTROPE) indicate certain shifts in urban planning. (p. 110)

Dangschat and Hamedinger provide a good first look at the features of Vienna's planning culture. Through the lens of understanding Vienna's navigation of globalizing forces and local political and social currents, they summarize current processes of change in Austria's planning culture. The main features of Viennese planning culture as outlined in these two pieces of work can be summarized as follows:

- Strong Social Democratic governance originating with Red Vienna

- Importance of corporatist social partnership model of policy negotiation with a view to avoid conflict and seek compromise. Associated with this corporatist system are clientelist relationships between the government and political power bases.
- City competition and a new focus on economic competitiveness
- Area based and integrative urban development
- Exclusionary policies for migrants and a general undercurrent of mistrusting foreigners
- Cross national and regional cooperation
- A slow movement towards more participatory and inclusionary planning processes

Urban Mega-projects and Planning Culture

There is a limited body of work that specifically looks at the interaction between urban mega projects (UMPs) and planning cultures. This is due in part to the fact that the literature on planning cultures has not focused on many specific case studies but on presenting broad characterizations of cultures in given cities or countries. It is undeniably difficult to apply a planning culture lens to a specific urban development project, not least because a planning culture develops over long periods of time and is heavily influenced by political, social, and cultural histories. In addition, large urban development projects tend to take place outside the usual process of planning. Their time and resource scales do not generally correspond to five or ten year community planning cycles, and they are often singled out as prestige projects. Yet, precisely because such projects are exceptions to the general rule, urban mega-projects can provide insights that are at other times hidden. Their size and scope also mean they often interact with more variables of planning culture than a regular development. The dynamics of UMPs mean that they both reflect existing planning culture and can be a medium for change, much as the Donau City project was seen as a vehicle through which new neo-liberal planning structures and relationships were realized. Moulaert et al. (2003) in their book *The Globalized City: Economic Restructuring and Social Polarization in European Cities* sum up this complex relationship as follows,

UDPs are concrete interventions that embody, express, and shape transformations in the political and economic configurations but also in the physical networks and their nodes... They illustrate the real-life processes through which post-modern forms, post-Fordist economic dynamics, and neo-liberal systems of governance are crafted. (p. 3)

Chapter III - A History of Urban Planning in Vienna

The following chapter provides an overview of the development of urban planning in Vienna during the 20th century, drawing on earlier developments in governance and policy making under the Habsburg Empire. This historical context provides the basis for understanding Vienna's planning culture today, as these events shaped the development of planning in the city. As Novy et al. (2001) note in the opening of their article, Vienna has long been held as *the* model of corporatist, social democratic urban governance (p.131). It is often touted as the "Most Livable City" in the world, and exports its world famous housing policies and governance as "The Vienna Model". Urban governance in Vienna has undergone significant changes over the last number of decades, but the influence of social democratic ideals and institutions remains strong today. The ground work for this system was set long ago and reinforced over the course of the 20th century. A history of urban governance in Vienna is presented here, highlighting important changes in the politics, laws, and institutions that have come to define Vienna's urban planning culture.

The Habsburg Empire and Bureaucracy

Accounts of the urban history of Vienna often begin in 1918 with the end of World War I and the Habsburg monarchy, and the subsequent birth of the First Austrian Republic; however, a number of important conditions and events in the years leading up to this turning point, as well as conditions set during the height of the Habsburg Monarchy, have had a profound effect on the trajectory of development in Vienna.

The bureaucracy played a vitally important role in the functioning of the Habsburg Empire and indeed affected the lives of all the empire's inhabitants. Once her claim to the Habsburg throne was solidified through the War of Austrian Succession, Maria Theresia set about implementing wide-reaching reforms, including taxation of the nobility, military standardization, and improvements to the medical system. Perhaps most significantly, she undertook major education reforms, such as compulsory primary

education for both boys and girls, thus wresting some control over universities and higher education from the Catholic Church (Gruber, 1982, p. 260). These education reforms supported the expansion and professionalization of the bureaucracy, which symbolized state power. As Karl Heinz Gruber notes, "the driving force behind the educational reforms of Maria Theresia and her son Joseph II were the pragmatic demands of a consolidating bureaucratic and highly centralized state." (1982, p. 260)

Over time, the bureaucracy grew into a power centre in its own right. It is no coincidence that Franz Kafka's writings grapple with the challenge of navigating a complex and faceless bureaucracy. His works reflect a reality of life in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Bureaucrats became the symbol of the imperial power in the furthest reaches of the empire. As William Johnson notes in *The Austrian Mind*,

> The bureaucracy that Maria Theresa and Joseph II had created infiltrated every corner of Austrian life… In Bukovina as in Vienna, railroad officials wore identical dark blue uniforms and rang identical bells. Cafes and hotels from Lemberg [Lviv] to Laibach [Ljubljana] imitated those of Vienna; tradesmen and fiacre drivers dressed and gesticulated in the same fashion, so that a traveler could feel no less at home on the Russian frontier than in the Italian Alps. (1972, p. 45)

The education system of the empire was again overhauled in 1850 and readapted to stress inquiry and research at universities (Johnson, 1972, p. 67). This rigorous and hierarchical education system became the backbone of the bureaucratic system. Johnson explains that professors of economics and law routinely served as high officials, while also carrying out the examinations of new recruits to the bureaucratic professions. While high-ranking bureaucrats influenced the potential careers of new bureaucrats, an overwhelming power to influence bureaucratic careers, and thereby the entire bureaucracy, lay with the aristocracy. Johnson explains that,

> Because members of the court society granted favors to leaders of the bureaucracy, any enterprise required preliminary backing from court if it was to win bureaucratic approval. Through the institution of *Protektion*, archdukes and princes influenced nearly every aspect of public life, tempting the middle class to curry favour through the back door. (1972, p. 43)

Johnson (1972) also offers the promotion of Sigmund Freud to a professorship as an example of *Protektion*. Freud petitioned for three years for a professor position but was

unsuccessful. Freud only received his professor position after an aristocrat patient of his, Baroness Marie Ferstel, promised to provide a picture to the Minister of Education for his soon to be opened Modern Gallery. After the promise of the picture, Freud received his position within a few weeks (p. 69).

It is during this time we see the emergence of clientelism in Austrian bureaucratic culture. While this *Protektion* is not the same as the clientelism later practiced by the major political parties in Austria, it does lay the foundation for an institutionalized dependence on patronage and relationships in policy. The bureaucratic culture under the Habsburg Monarchy had another lasting effect, namely, the establishment of the bureaucratic class as a highly educated and professional social actor. The robust education system that trained them, with universities and technical schools in every major city of the empire as well as many smaller cities, had the side effect of producing a myriad mathematical, sociological, artistic, technological, and philosophical advances. This is evidenced by the sheer number of new and radical ideas, including political ideologies, that shaped 20th century western thought in nearly every area of study that came out of fin-de-siècle Vienna (not from the bureaucrats, but from the bourgeois intelligentsia). This is exemplified by the works of Freud, Wittgenstein, Schumpeter, Schrödinger, Hayek, Popper, Klimt, Loos, Wagner, Kafka, Rilke and countless others. Paradoxically, Johnson (1972) notes that the sheer size of the bureaucracy also produced a strong conservative tilt in the empire that stifled change, arguing that, "After 1880 administrators proliferated formalities, which strangled not only innovation but routine as well" (p. 50).

1848-1918: Vienna in the Twilight of the Monarchy

In 1848, peasant-led revolutions sprang up across much of Europe. In Austria, this led to major conflicts within the Austrian Empire and an uprising in Vienna itself. The city was occupied by revolutionary forces and for a short time the imperial family fled Vienna to Innsbruck, in the west of Austria. The uprisings were quelled, but the events ignited a wave of change across the Empire. Firstly, the revolutions cemented the view within the minds of the Viennese elite and imperial family that the enemies of the empire were not just foreign invading forces, but also domestic revolutionaries agitating for rights and recognition. The fortifications of Vienna, that for centuries had protected the city

from enemies, were no longer effective, as the enemy was now internal. Despite this view, major political concessions were gained through the revolution. In the aftermath of the revolution, Austria drafted its first constitution. This ushered in the end of the corvee (a lingering type of serfdom) and the end of inequality of the nobility and commoners before the law. It also brought about self-governance in cities with the establishment of statutory cities. Limited voting rights were also extended to property owners as a result of the revolution (Sperber, 2005, p. 12).

While new political rights were won, the emperor reacted to the revolutionary threat from within the empire by rebuilding large parts of Vienna. He undertook a mission of both the militarization and beautification of the city. Almost immediately after the uprisings in the city were quelled, work began on the Arsenal, a large military complex strategically located near the South Train Station (Schorske, 1979, p. 30). The Arsenal was one of three military complexes built in Vienna in the aftermath of the 1848 revolution meant to avoid the capture of the city as experienced during the uprisings. The fortification walls of the city were torn down and replaced with a large boulevard, while the exurban areas of the city previously found outside the city walls were incorporated into the city. The boulevard that replaced the fortifications, today the world famous *Ringstraße*, had two main functions. Firstly, it represented the grandeur of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and later, as the power of the Empire within Europe waned, the aspirations of the newly ascendant bourgeoisie (Schorske, 1979, p. 31). The *Ringstraße* was to be defined by grand public buildings – a national parliament, a new city hall, museums, the stock exchange, opera houses and more – all built in a different historical architectural style – Gothic, Classical, Renaissance, and Baroque – as well as some buildings showcasing the new *Jugendstil* of Vienna. A significant number of apartments and other housing for the bourgeoisie were also built along the *Ringstraße*. Much of this housing stock survives to this day. This new space and new architecture of the *Ringstraße* provided a new sense of architectural identity. As Carl Schorske (1979) writes in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna,

> Not palaces, garrisons, and churches, but centers of constitutional government and higher culture dominated the Ring. The art of the building, used in the old city to express aristocratic grandeur and ecclesiastical pomp, now became the communal

property of the citizenry, expressing the various aspects of the bourgeois cultural ideal in a series of so-called *Prachtbauten* (buildings of splendor). (p. 31)

On the other hand, as the *Ringstraße* replaced the old city defences, the military had a significant say in the construction of the new boulevard. The *Ringstraße* was integrated into the defence plans of the military and built according to the latest defence ideas imported from Paris (Schorske, p. 30). A very wide avenue allowed for rapid troop and artillery transport while minimizing the ability to erect barricades in the street. As mentioned above, the construction of the *Ringstraße* also incorporated the construction of significant new military complexes.

Figure 1 - View of the Austrian Parliament building along the Ringstraße circa 1900. Source: Public Domain

At the turn of the century Vienna was booming. Between 1840 and 1870 the population of Vienna doubled, as did the number of businesses (Schorske, 1979, p. 27). By 1910, Vienna reached a population of over 2 million inhabitants. The city drew in migrants from all over Europe, in particular Jewish migrants from all corners of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and fin-de-siècle Vienna was seen as a capital of intellectual exploration, culture, art, politics, and internationalism. Famously, Sigmund Freud, Leon

Trotsky, Josef Tito, Joseph Stalin, and Adolf Hitler (among other well-known 20th century figures) all lived in Vienna within mere kilometres of one another in 1913 (BBC, 2013).

It is no coincidence that these men, who would come to profoundly shape the 20thcentury and unleash unspeakable violence on the European populaces, should all be in Vienna during the first decades of the 20th century. Vienna was a centre for political debate and action. The presence of these people reflected the societal debates in Vienna around the organization of the economy and society, centering on the opposing ideologies of communism and neo-liberalism.

While many see the United States as the birthplace of neo-liberalism and modern capitalism, its origins lie with the Austrian School of Economics and with Austrian thinkers whose names are today world famous – Eugene von Böhm-Bawerk, Ludwig von Mises, and Friedrich von Hayek. While Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels are obviously the most renowned communist theorists, in Vienna, countless communist and socialist theorists congregated to expand on the work of Marx and to fight for labour rights. A unique type of communism began developing in Vienna at this time, led by Karl Renner, Max Adler, and Otto Bauer; it was called Austro-Marxism. This Austro-specific Marxism in-turn influenced the aforementioned communist leaders, for example, Leon Trotsky, who while living in Vienna from 1911-1914 met with Adler, Bauer, and Renner on a near weekly basis at the famous Café Central (Johnson, 1972, p. 101). As we shall later see, the debate of that time about the socio-economic organization of society would be decisively won by the Austro-Marxists in Austria, at least politically, but it is important to note that fin-de-siècle Vienna was the context within which the ideological fathers of the great 20th century battle over how to organize the economy and society developed many of their views. It is an ironic twist of history that von Mises and Hayek's neo-liberalism and Stalin, Trotsky, Tito's communism should both have been shaped in Vienna.[1]

In 1895, supported in large part by the landlords of Vienna, as universal suffrage was not yet realised, Karl Lueger, the populist, anti-Semitic leader of the Christian Social Party, became mayor of Vienna (Förster, n.d., pg.5). He is often credited with

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[1] Perhaps an even odder twist of history is the fact that Nazi Fascism and Zionism also have their roots in Vienna. Both Hitler and Theodore Herzl, the father of Zionism, were Austrian and spent formative years in fin-de-siècle Vienna.

transforming Vienna into a modern city. He did indeed change life for many Viennese by undertaking major infrastructure development programs, including for municipal water, energy and transportation. He commissioned new schools, poorhouses, and a new hospital. He also tried to beautify the city by doubling the number of parks and creating a beach along the Danube River (Johnson, 1972, p. 65). It is noteworthy that Lueger brought the provision of the most important utilities in the city - water, power, and transportation - under public administration and took them out of private hands. He also bought out two funeral homes in Vienna that were charging extortionist rates, and he brought a savings bank, an insurance company and a pension fund under municipal control (Johnson, 1972, p. 65). He was not afraid to exercise and expand the power of the municipal office he headed. He was loved for it. As Johnson notes, "[Lueger] so dominated public life that next to [Emperor] Franz Joseph he was the city's best known citizen" (p. 63). Once he died, Lueger was celebrated with the largest funeral the city had yet seen (p. 64). This popularity because of his social policies is especially important in light of the fact that Lueger headed the Christian Social Party which represented conservative elements of Viennese politics. As Johnson notes,

> Lueger represented above all the lower middle classes, who were suffering from industrialization. He implemented municipal socialism, on the premise that small proprietors and shopkeepers needed to be protected from monopoly entrepreneurs. (pg. 64)

While one may call his administration socialist in some sense, Wolfgang Förster, in his paper *80 Years of Social Housing in Vienna* points out that under Lueger, "social politics, being understood merely as a poverty relief programme, were almost non-existing. And in no other area this became more obvious than in housing." Karl Lueger's legacy is contentious for multiple reasons, but ultimately, he is an important figure in the history of Vienna's urban development because he was one of the first civilian politicians to exercise municipal power and legitimize the intercession of the government in economic affairs in the name of the everyday citizen. [2]

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[2] Lueger's virulent anti-Semitism has rightfully complicated his legacy more recently. In 2012, a section of the Ringstraße, the Dr. Karl Lueger Ring, was renamed the University Ring, in large part due to the advocacy of Austrian-born Jewish-American Nobel Laureate Eric Kandel. The renaming was not without controversy in Vienna,

The grandeur and splendour of the *Ringstraße*, the ascendance of the bourgeoisie, the infrastructure projects, and the flourishing intelligentsia of Vienna in the early 20th century belied an ugly reality in the city. Vienna was experiencing an acute housing crisis during this time, and the vast majority of the population lived in squalor. Housing in Vienna at the turn of the century was left almost entirely in the hands of private interests with little to no public intervention (Förster, n.d., p. 2). The sheer number of units of housing was far short of the number needed to house the expanding population. The problem was exacerbated by the fact that there were no protections for renters. Evictions and rent increases could happen at any time and were very common. Those who could afford to rent a flat in turn rented out beds, during the day and the night, to one of the thousands of poor, transient city dwellers. As a result of these arrangements, and the general lack of housing, it was typical to have over 10 people sharing one flat (Förster, n.d., p.3). In addition to cramped conditions, sanitation was very poor. Over 95% of all apartments in Vienna at this time had no running water or toilet and consisted of a kitchen and one bedroom (Förster, n.d., p.3). These conditions led to widespread disease. As Förster (n.d.) notes, "Not accidentally, tuberculosis was also called 'Vienna disease' internationally" (p. 3).

This housing situation in Vienna at the turn of the century naturally led to high levels of homelessness. This problem was dealt with in large part through workhouses and poorhouses (shelters), both public and private. Hitler famously lived in one of these Viennese poorhouse from 1910-1913. Förster (n.d.) provides numbers on homelessness at the time which indicates the following trends: In 1910 there was a census which counted Vienna's total population as 2,083,630. That same year 64,222 people were counted living in public shelters, accounting for 3.28% of the total Viennese population. Of this, 7,058 were children. In 1912 these figures increased significantly, with 96,878 people counted living in public shelters, of which 20,071 were children. In 1913, there was a count of people living in private shelters and workhouses which totalled 461,472 people, of which 29,915 were children (p.3).

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sparking discussions about how best to deal with the past. While the Ring was renamed, several monuments and places still commemorate Lueger.

The city administration slowly began to address some of these housing issues, notably protecting the families of soldiers fighting in World War I from eviction and rent increases. In 1917 the Tenancy Act came into effect which regulated rents. While the tenancy act has changed significantly over time, mostly offering more protections to renters, it remains in effect today (Förster, n.d., p. 24). As World War I ended and the Austrian Republic emerged from the ashes of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the most pressing issues facing the new government in Vienna was the squalor conditions of the poor and the housing crisis.

The period from 1848-1918 was important in shaping Vienna not only because it saw the modernization of the city and the construction of grand architectural works of art that thousands of tourists flock to see today. This period brought about major social changes and the stark divide between the wealthy and poor in the city was no longer accepted as before. People agitated for more rights, and slowly the power of the monarchy began to wane. Dissatisfaction with the status quo was building, while simultaneously Vienna attracted millions of people and saw a renaissance in the arts, sciences, politics, and nearly every other area of study and inquiry. The culture of debate and inquiry that permeated the bourgeoisie in Vienna also gave rise to the great battle between socialism and free-market capitalism that would dominate the 20th century around the world. This debate hit at the core of social and political organization and would be reflected in the way Vienna developed over the next number decades. These conditions built the foundation for radical change once World War I ended and the Austro-Hungarian Empire fell.

1918-1934: Red Vienna

The end of the Habsburg monarchy was a turning point in history not only in Vienna but indeed much of Europe. Vienna, once the diverse, metropolitan centre of an empire of 50 million stretching across most of Central and Eastern Europe, was now the capital of one of many small central European countries. There was a desire for change within society and new ideas – socialism, communism, and nationalism – were starting to manifest in politics.

It is an understatement to say that the political landscape in Austria changed significantly after the war. There is the death of the monarchy and collapse of the empire

followed by the birth of a democratic republic, but other fundamental changes also occurred. Suffrage was extended for the first time to all Austrians, men and women. Previously, only men had been able to vote, and before 1907, only men with a high enough income. This heavily favoured the conservative Christian Social Party, which dominated Viennese politics at the turn of the century.

By the mid-19th century the social democratic movement had already begun in Austria. In 1889, the Social Democratic Workers Party of Austria (SDAPÖ) was officially founded. The party represented the rights of workers and played an important role in organizing the general strikes of the Metal Workers Union in 1917 and general strikes in 1918 that expedited the end of the war and the fall of the monarchy in Austria. Elections were held in 1919, for the first time under conditions of universal suffrage. The Social Democratic Workers Party of Austria won decisively, both in Vienna and nationally. Karl Renner, one of the fathers of Austro-Marxism, became Chancellor of Austria, while Otto Bauer became Foreign Minister. It is also noteworthy that economist Joseph Schumpeter was part of this government as Finance Minister. At the local level, Jakob Reumann became the Mayor of Vienna.

This ideological shift towards Austro-Marxism is exemplified through the new coat of arms that Austria adopted in 1919. On it, a black eagle holds in one talon a hammer, and in the other, a sickle. These widely recognisable symbols remain on the Austrian coat of arms today, making it perhaps the only country in the world that was never communist to use the hammer and sickle on national emblems. The shift towards socialism was more than symbolic. Both the city and national government immediately undertook ambitious reform programs based on socialist ideals. This program, in the city, became known as Red Vienna. Today it is held up as a model of social democratic urban development and is one of the main explanatory factors for Vienna's success in housing policy today.

The election of the Austro-Marxists and the establishment of the Red Vienna urban model was an important turning point in Viennese and Austrian history, but had repercussions across Europe. With the election of the SDAPÖ, Vienna became the only city in the world governed by social democrats, looked upon eagerly by the rest of the world to see what might happen. It became a test case for socialist reforms. It was also

different from other socialist cities, for example, in communist Russia, because Austro-Marxists believed firmly in the democratic process and were in no way aiming to institute a dictatorship of the proletariat. As Förster (n.d.) explains,

> At this moment Vienna was the only metropolis in the world with a social-democratic municipality; the implementation of a left-wing reform policy could be tested here for the first time. On the other hand, the ideology of 'Austro-Marxism' was strictly based on the principles of a parliamentary constitution aiming at achieving a comprehensive change of society in a democratic way – in spite of the revolutionary mood in the Austrian labour force, and contrary to the Marxist regimes in neighbouring Bavaria and Hungary. Not surprisingly, this created considerable international interest. (p. 6)

The sheer number of reforms and programs undertaken by the new socialist government are hard to imagine today, and yet in this moment of historical flux, the socialists drew up plans for a new society and set about implementing them with great efficiency. Labour rights were enshrined with such policies as the eight-hour workday, paid vacation, the Works Council Act, the establishment of the Chamber of Labor, and rent-control legislation (Duma and Lichtenberger, 2017). An ambitious program of investment in basic infrastructure and the public provision of services through the nationalization and municipalisation of enterprises followed. There was a great emphasis on investing in and improving education and health care (Förster, n.d., p. 6).

Housing became the central policy piece of the urban development program of Red Vienna. This was due in part to a radical squatter movement called the *Wildsiedler* or 'Wild Settlers' movement. These settlers were mostly migrants who moved to Vienna from the far reaches of the empire when it collapsed (Förster, n.d., p. 3). The settlers organized into cooperatives and began building houses on allotments outside Vienna, largely ignoring property rights (Förster, n.d., p. 3). They held demonstrations demanding support from the government. In response, the new government of Red Vienna promised to undertake a comprehensive new housing policy, establishing a municipal settlement office and a city housing developer, GISBA, which remains an important housing developer to this day (Förster, n.d., p. 4). This policy replaced the settlers' independent housing development with a top-down government directed housing boom. Thus,

housing became a cornerstone of social policy in Red Vienna. From 1920-1934 the city built over 65,000 units of housing for over 260,000 people (Weber, 1927, p. 330).

The importance of housing to the government of Red Vienna went well beyond the housing crisis they had inherited from the empire. The Austro-Marxists believed that housing policy should encompass more than the provision of shelter (Förster, pg. 6). Practically, housing was a medium through which the government could connect with its people and integrate services of every kind – childcare, education, leisure, and culture. The government was also able to shape housing in its social and communal ideal. Housing estates were built with a focus on communal facilities, including communal kitchens, living or gathering rooms, and courtyards. In this way, the government was able to present their new socialist utopia, where daily life was different than under "capitalistic 'usury'" (Förster, p. 6). These improvements were closely linked to the Social Democrats as a political movement and effected people's lives down to a personal level. As Novy et al. (2001) notes,

> The Social Democratic Party was closely linked to trade unions and established a territorially based sectional structure embracing the whole city. Social democratic organizations also involved sister organizations in diverse aspects of life – from kindergartens to sports. (p. 135)

The large housing estates with their socialist architecture also served to solidify a presence of socialism in the city and to project the ideals of Austro-Marxism onto the new city landscape. The city government proudly publicized their accomplishment on the facades of nearly every building they erected, both housing estates and nearby or integrated amenities, such as kindergartens, primary schools, libraries, pools, spas, theaters, and community centres.
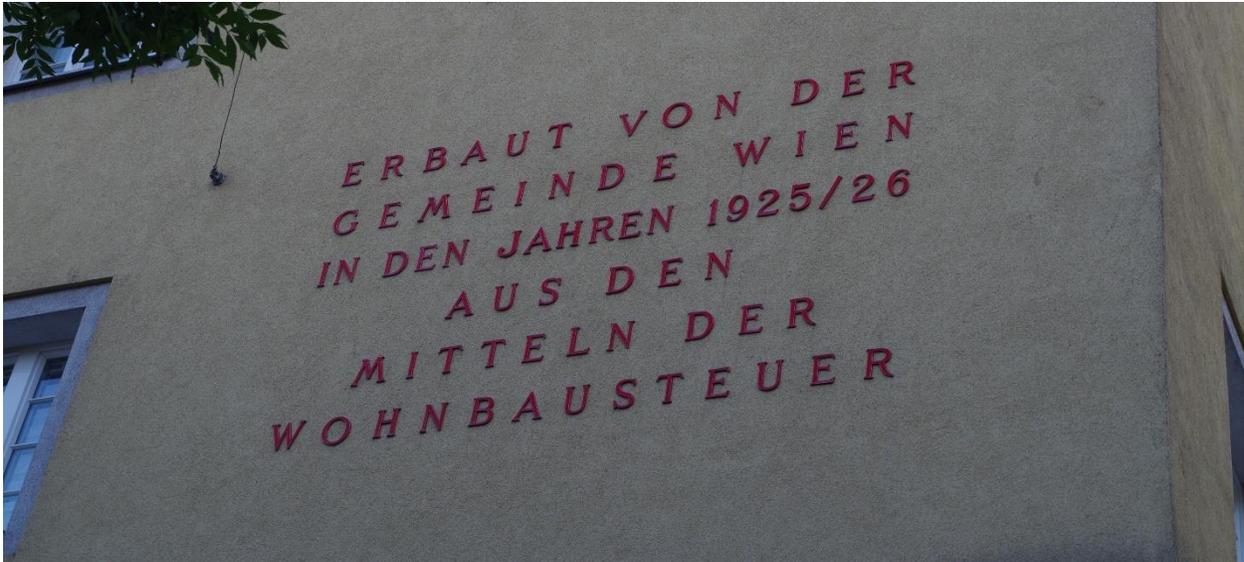
Figure 2 - Signage on the exterior of a social housing estate noting that the build was, "Built by the City of Vienna in the years 1925/26 using the funds of the housing tax" (Translation by author). Source: Author

These signs are a testament to the ideals and achievements of the socialist government and can still be found throughout Vienna today. They note that the building was erected by the City of Vienna (Gemeinde Wien) and present the year of construction. The housing estates from the period of Red Vienna also generally note that the development was made possible through the progressive housing tax (Wohnbausteuer) put in place by the new government.

The socialist ideology of the housing policy was also reinforced through the naming of estates after world famous socialists, Austro-Marxists, and other politicians whose achievements fit into the socialist worldview. The most well-known of the housing estates is the Karl-Marx-Hof, but other famous estates include the Friedrich-Engels-Hof, Jakob-Reumann-Hof, Viktor-Adler-Hof, George-Washington-Hof, Olof-Palme-Hof, and Margarete-Schütte-Lihotzky-Hof.

In order to finance this new housing policy, the SDAPÖ government needed new streams of income. The *Wohnbausteuer* (sometimes referred to as the Breitner Tax after the Vienna Finance Minister Hugo Breitner who oversaw the introduction of the progressive tax) was a cornerstone of Red Vienna's housing policy. It represented an ambitious and highly progressive new tax policy regime. It was made possible in large

part due to political changes that occurred in the early 1920s. Until 1920, both the government of Vienna and the national government had been social democratic. The national government worked with the local government to achieve their united aims. This changed in 1920 when the Social Democrats lost control of the national government, ushering in Christian Social national rule. Without the support of the national government, the City of Vienna had to find new ways to realize its socialist agenda. In 1921 this was made easier by the Separation Act, which created the Province of Vienna independent of the Province of Lower Austria. With its new status as a province, the City of Vienna was able to craft a highly progressive tax regime without interference from the national government.

The tax was very low for workers and gradually increased, such that the usual labourer's apartment was taxed at an average 2% of pre-WWI rent levels, while luxury dwellings were taxed at almost 37% (Förster, n.d., p. 6). The housing tax was accompanied by a luxury tax on items such as cars, maids, champagne, and events such as balls.[3] Revenues from the housing tax went directly back into building housing. This had symbolic political value, but also facilitated the high levels of housing estate construction. These taxes became a vital source of income for the government, amounting to 36% of all tax revenues (Förster, n.d., p. 6). They also allowed the government of Vienna both control and maneuverability over its policies within the city. As a result of the tax revenue and the City's direct management of the estates, rents were kept very low in municipal housing. They were only intended to cover maintenance costs, not land acquisition or building costs, and there was certainly no intention to extract a profit from housing (Förster, n.d., p. 6). Therefore, rent costs for a new social housing apartment in 1925 were approximately 3-4% of the average income (Förster, n.d., p. 6).

Along with a new tax regime, the government of Vienna restructured the city administration. According to Förster (n.d.), fifty four departments were created under seven broad administrative groups (p.7). One of the administrative groups was "Social Policies and Housing", which was later split to separate out "Housing and Housing

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[3] While most of Brietner's taxes were abolished under the Austro-Fascist regime that took over in 1934, some tax measures remained. The so-called "Vergnugunsssteuer", or tax on enjoyment, that Breitner introduced was only abolished on Jan. 1 2017. (ORF, 2016)

Construction". Under this new administrative group an Office of Urban Construction was established led by a team of twenty architects who were tasked with the job of overseeing the entire housing program. These technocrats ensured a high standard of architectural design and building quality, and often designed estates themselves (Förster, n.d., p. 7).

The time of Red Vienna was highly significant in the development of Viennese planning culture. Many of the institutions established during this time remain today. Red Vienna not only legitimized the role of government in housing and service provision, it took housing out of the realm of capitalist markets and firmly into the hands of the government. Housing policy moved beyond the provision of shelter into a vehicle for celebrating the working class and socialist ideals. By the end of the Red Vienna period, 10% of Vienna's population lived in housing provided and run by the government (Förster, n.d., p. 8). Red Vienna also ushered in important institutional changes, not least the creation of the Province of Vienna, which carried with it tax autonomy and the ability to raise funds for the ambitious housing policy. It also created a housing-focused bureaucracy where architects within the city directed the execution of the City's housing policy. While other architects and builders took part in the development of housing estates, the oversight stayed concentrated within the city administration. Finally, it is important to note that by providing housing to workers across the city and maintaining a close relationship with its supporters, the SDAPÖ built in a voting base across the city that has in large part allowed it to achieve nearly complete dominance in Viennese politics which continues today.

1934-1945: The End of Red Vienna and World War II

While the Social Democrats dominated Vienna and many celebrated their achievements, the rest of Austria remained in the hands of the conservative Christian Social Party. The ambitious and overtly socialist ideology of the SDAPÖ united multiple factions in society against them and the city administration faced enormous opposition. As Duma and Lichtenberger (2017) explain,

> Opposition to Red Vienna's policies united the federal government, the main industrial and banking associations, big capital, the church, and the fascist and paramilitary organizations against the city.

Austrian politics was deeply divided along ideological lines between the socialist and conservative movements. These divisions were further exacerbated by the presence of various paramilitary groups that supported one of the two political camps. During this time, political disagreement often escalated into street fights. Political instability increased in 1933 when Austrian Nazi-German sympathizers threatened a coup. As a result, in 1933 parliament was suspended and political parties were banned. In 1934, this crisis culminated in an outbreak of violence between the paramilitaries of the two factions, which lasted a number of days. This is at times referred to as the Austrian Civil War. After 1934 the government of Vienna was also dissolved. An Austro-fascist (but not Nazi affiliated) dictatorship took control of Austria and remained in power until the annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany.

During the period when Austria was part of the Third Reich, a shortage of housing was still an issue in Vienna; however, under the Nazi Regime housing development almost completely ceased. Instead, Hitler used the confiscation of Jewish property and the deportation of Jews and other minority groups from Vienna as a way to free up housing, arguing that the best way to deal with a shortfall in housing stock was not to build more but to reduce the population of Vienna (Csendes and Opll 2006). In 1940, Hitler explicitly ordered the deportation of 60,000 Jews from Vienna in order to alleviate pressure on the housing stock (Safrian, 2000, p. 404).

1945-1960: Rebuilding Vienna

The end of World War II once again presented an opportunity for significant change in Austria; however, change was notably less radical than after WWI and there was strong continuity with pre-war political and social conditions. After WWII, the SDAPÖ reformed as the SPÖ, the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreich*, and continued to represent the interests of workers. The Christian Social Party reformed as the ÖVP, the *Österreichische Volkspartei* and represented business and conservative interest, much as it had before. What did change was the political institutions within which these two parties vied for power. In order to avoid the horrors of WWII and the violent antagonism of politics during the interwar years, politics in Austria adopted a corporatist model of governance called the *Sozialpartnerschaft*, or social partnership. This system of top-

down corporatist regulation provided political access, influence, and resources to both political factions and provided an arena for political negotiations and compromise. This became *the* avenue for political engagement in Austria, to the exclusion of others. This was further solidified in the policy that membership in the chambers that supported each party became mandatory. Business owners became members of the Chamber of Commerce, while employees became members of the Chamber of Workers. While politics was no longer as overtly class based, the support bases of the two parties remained, with SPÖ representing workers and the ÖVP representing business owners. The new system ensured peaceful political engagement between the two political parties, but did not change the attitudes of voters at the most basic level. As Novy et al. (2001) explains,

> At the top, conflict avoidance became the leitmotif of social partnership. At the bottom, a cultural antagonism persisted. The conservatives were unable to gain support from public housing tenants, while the social democrats did not gain influence with small business. (p. 135)

The *Sozialpartnerschaft* became an important avenue through which each faction could participate in policy formation and implementation. It also allowed each faction to supply their power bases with housing and other material improvements. This promoted a clientelist relationship between the parties and other representatives of each political camp and their power bases (Novy et al. 2001, p.135). This arrangement also limited political participation outside of the *Sozialpartnerschaft* or the two main political factions, stunting the development of other political parties and other avenues of political participation.

In the realm of housing, the national government of Austria took a more active role after the war, as housing became an important foundation of the wider post-war rebuilding effort. The national government invested more in housing, allowing the City of Vienna to invest less of its own funds. Instead, the city government became the main distributor of national funds. This entrenched the clientelism of the *Sozialpartnerschaft* even deeper in Vienna. The city began, "trading housing provision for political support" (Novy et al. 2001, p.136). Importantly, Novy et al. notes that, "Party membership was necessary for participating in this corporatist form of clientelism" (2001, p.136). While the social democrats dominated this process with social housing, the conservatives ensure

their own inclusion, through subsidized owner occupied condominiums and received informal quotas (Novy et al. 2001, p.136; Matznetter, 2002, p.272).

While national politics changed and the *Sozialpartnerschaft* became a new important political institution, the social democrats remained in control of Vienna. The new social democratic government of Vienna was no longer Austro-Marxist or as explicit about their socialist ideals, but there was continuity between the pre-war and post-war periods. Housing remained a cornerstone of urban policy in Vienna. The construction of housing continued at a quick pace, such that in 1954 construction began on the 100,000th public housing estate, and by 1958 most of the reconstruction of Vienna had been completed and the acute housing shortages immediately following the war had been alleviated (Förster, n.d., p. 13). This was achieved despite the fact that as a result of the war Vienna's housing stock was reduced by 20% (Förster, n.d., p. 12). Taxes were still collected for the explicit use towards housing. This taxation now took the form of a *Wohnbauförderungsbeitrag*, or housing contribution, at a 1% tax on income paid half by employers and half by employees (Matznetter, 2002, p.273). New estates built by the city continued to bear the signature of the city's housing program with the now famous red signage, just as they had during the inter-war period. Perhaps most importantly, the belief in decommodified housing remained after the war. In the immediate aftermath of the war, the city government laid out 14 points that were to guide the rebuilding of Vienna. The first of these points clearly outlines a vision for development that is not commodified, but instead focuses on housing people, stating that, the "human being (should) in future stand in the centre of all considerations and plans (…) and not the income or profit of the individual" (Förster, n.d., p. 13).

Figure 3 - Signage on the exterior of social housing estates continued even after the end of Red Vienna. Source: Author

With the mass provision of social housing, more and more of Vienna's residents began living in social housing. While there is an earnings cut off over which one is not eligible for social housing, this income level is only verified at the beginning of a tenancy agreement and then never again. Housing contracts can also be passed on to family members. As a result, social housing apartments become places of social mix as long term residents, generally above the income threshold live with newer tenants who meet or fall below this level (Dangschat & Hamedinger, 2009, p. 99). This has had the added effect of changing the perception of social housing in Vienna over time. Unlike in some countries where government provided or subsidized housing is seen as a tool for poverty reduction, in Vienna social housing is seen as a social service for all, especially the middle class (Zunke, personal communication, 2017).

1960-1980: Soft Urban Renewal and Continuity in Housing Policy

During the 1960s and 1970s Vienna continued to focus heavily on housing infrastructure, with over 10,000 city social housing apartments built per year during this time (Förster, n.d., p. 14). Even during a rare period of non-coalition rule under the

conservative ÖVP during the 60s, social housing was not privatized but rather expanded (Matznetter, 2002, p.273). Novy et al. (2001) note that it was, however, at this time, in 1968, that each of the political parties began to engage in private, but still subsidized, funding for public housing through alliances with banks (p. 136). Housing construction was no longer dominated by public developers, but began to shift towards funding and subsidizing non-profit developers. It is important to note here that subsidies towards housing focuses on object subsidies, not subject subsidies. That is, funding is provided to developers to maintain the construction of new units and insure low building costs. Object subsidies also give the government more power in regulating and affecting the market, as opposed to subject subsidies, for example, tenant rent subsidies, which can only react to the market (Förster, n.d., p. 23).

The conservative government of the 60s was followed by a non-coalition government of the social democrats. Under this government social housing construction reached new heights with one-third of new housing construction built by non-profit developers (Matznetter, 2002, p.273). However, the City was now taking on less of a role as a developer, with only approximately 7-8% of construction at this time being public (Matznetter, 2002, p.273). It was also under this social democratic government that Vienna began the construction of an urban mega project on the banks of the Danube. After WWII Austria, like Germany, was divided into occupied zones. As a condition of ending the occupation, Austria declared itself to be a permanently neutral country in 1955. Capitalizing on this neutrality during the cold war, in 1972, the national government of Austria bid for the location of the United Nations headquarters in Vienna and won. Subsequently, the national government and the City of Vienna developed the Vienna International City to house the new UN complex and other internationally oriented facilities.

In addition to construction projects, Vienna began to renovate and renew its older housing stock. A significant amount of housing in Vienna dates back to the time of the *Ringstraße* and by the 70s the buildings, mostly privately owned, were in need of upgrades (Förster, n.d., p. 15). Thus the city established *Gebietsbetreuungen* (GB) or area renewal offices. These offices served as a liaison between various interest groups and assisted in the urban renewal of areas. Renewal projects ranged from building restoration

and maintenance, to the provision of green spaces and public spaces, to the upgrading of facilities (Förster, n.d., p. 15). This policy of so-called 'soft urban renewal' continues today, with the *Gebietsbetreuung* offices found throughout the city, although the role of the offices has been expanded beyond simple urban renewal.

1980-2000: Years of Change

Austria's economy remained mostly stable during post-war period, but by the 80s structural economic changes began to affect the entire country, and in particular Vienna. Its manufacturing base was significantly reduced, with many firms closing and those that survived moving away from the city and into the surrounding periphery. From 1981-1991 secondary sector jobs in Vienna contracted by 23%, while tertiary jobs expanded by 20% (Dangschat & Hamedinger, 2009, p. 98). As a result of the shifts in economic activity from secondary industry to tertiary, the Fordist model that Vienna had been built upon for the last few decades began to falter. The economic anxiety of the 80s also opened the door for new political movements to emerge in Austria. The Austrian Freedom Party (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ) turned towards right-wing populism and began making political gains. At the same time the new power of the environmental movement resulted in the entry of the Green Party into the National Parliament in 1986.

The 1980s also saw successive attempts to deregulate the strong rent controls in place in Vienna, in part as a response to these economic changes. As Novy et al. (2001) write,

> The reduction of rent levels during more than 60 years of rent control clearly restricted the real estate sector and may be interpreted as a strategy to keep down the cost of living and thus wages, thereby promoting industrial development. (p. 136)

During this time the national government, under a SPÖ - ÖVP coalition, began to retreat from housing policy. In 1988 the government handed the responsibility for housing completely over to the provinces. This transfer carried with it a 16% cut in overall subsidy (Amann, 1999, p. 59) (Matznetter, 2002, p.273). This trend of deregulation and retreat continued into the 90s and was compounded by Austria's new membership in the EU and the tightening of budgets in order to meet the Maastricht criteria (Matznetter,

2002, p.273). On the other hand, Vienna took on a new competitive and business orientation. With the fall of the Iron Curtain Vienna was suddenly thrust into the centre of Europe, after decades sitting on the periphery of Western Europe. This motivated a strong pivot towards economic expansion into the newly opened Eastern European countries. As Novy et al. (2001) explain,

> The new key objective of Vienna's economic policy was to become a 'Gateway to the East' with international companies choosing the city as their regional headquarters for activities in Eastern European countries. (p. 132)

In 1996 the SPÖ in Vienna lost their majority and entered into a coalition with the ÖVP. This signalled a new direction for planning policy in Vienna. In 1998 the planning process began for a new strategic plan for Vienna (Novy et al., 2001, p. 139). With the ÖVP involved in the planning process for the first time in decades, the document shifted ideologically. Redak notes that, "the ideological shift towards entrepreneurialism, managerialism, and business-friendly policies can be clearly detected in this plan" (Novy et al., 2001, p. 139).

On the land that had already been cleared for the 1995 EXPO, the city decided instead to build a second city centre for Vienna that reflected this new policy direction. This project was dominated by private, real estate interests, and was planned and carried out well outside the norms of planning practice (Novy et al. 2001, p. 134). To say that the planning process was different is an understatement. Novy et al. describe the planning process as having been "organized without taking statutory planning into consideration" and highly expert driven (Novy et al. 2001, p. 134). It is also noted that, "the public in general was excluded from decision-making" and although the project relied on public funds, "publicly accountable procedures could never be installed" (Novy et al. 2001, p. 134). The Donau City project has been criticized by multiple scholars and has been recognized as a model of an urban mega project that is a vehicle for neo-liberal policy expansion (See: Redak et al, 2003; Grubbauer, 2013). From the perspective of the developers, the new city centre, with glass towers that break considerably from Vienna's historic architecture, was built with the intention of projecting a modern, business friendly image that would provide the city with a new skyline (Grubbauer, 2013, p. 201). This directly reflected the new liberal orientation of planning.

While the 90s were clearly dominated by the recommodification of housing and deregulation in planning, there were some pushes for liberalization that were halted. Again, this occurred within the area of housing. Kadi, J. (2014) explains that,

In 2000, the liberal-conservative government proposed to privatize substantial parts of the social rental stock. The plans were, however, largely refuted by provincial governments, who voted against selling off their stocks. Eventually, out of 480,000 units only 50,000 were sold nation-wide. In Vienna, sales accounted for 8,000 units, but continued construction had soon made up for the losses already. The decision against the sale also marked a clear political commitment to social rental housing and reinforced the political position of the sector. (p. 154)

While the sale of social housing has not gained traction, the City of Vienna has continued to rely on non-profit and for-profit developers to build housing. In 2004 the City of Vienna built its last housing estate and now relies fully on non-profits to supply social housing (Kadi, 2014, p.150). The trend towards deregulation did result in a system of competition for housing development. Through a system of *Bauträgerwettbewerb*, developer competitions, potential developers who would receive public funds present concept plans and compete against one another to secure funding and development rights. This model of competition remains in place today in Vienna and is widely seen as successful.

In part because of these developer competitions new ideas were injected into planning and the city back a number of interesting or even 'radical' planning models and developments. Thematic development were supported including car-free estates, a gendered, women's oriented estate, and the 'housing boxes' concept of the *Sagfabrik* development (Förster, n.d., p. 17). Due to both internal political factors and external economic factors, Vienna saw a marked break from its past planning culture during that last decades of the 20th century. Neo-liberal policy styles and directions began to creep into the historically socially oriented planning process in Vienna. The lasting effects of these changes are slowly being explored, as are the degree to which the policy directions exemplified through the Donau City project have lasted.

Trends in Viennese Planning Culture since 2000

Since the beginning of the millennium planning in Vienna has continued to be challenged by global forces. Changes in politics have slowly reoriented planning back to a socially driven model, but the focus on international business competitiveness and neo-liberal economics remains important. The year 2000 saw the election of a national conservative – far-right coalition government of the ÖVP and the FPÖ. This government attempted to enact multiple reforms across policy areas, with limited success (Fiedler, 2010). They were however, able to privatize the national housing company, now the private developer BUWOG, and its associated housing stock (Fiedler, 2010). The privatization scheme, along with multiple others, have led to corruption proceedings which has overshadowed much of the legacy of this government. In 2007 the SPÖ regained power and ruled once again through the grand coalition, which remains in place today.

At the municipal level, the SPÖ regained a majority in the Vienna parliament in 2001 and no longer needed to rule in a coalition. The STEP 05 plan that was soon after released, reflects a more managerial style of planning and focuses on city competition (Dangschat & Hamedinger 2009). During the early 2000s Vienna began to be recognized for its 'livability', often being ranked as the most liveable city in the world by different publications (See Economist, Mercer, and Monocle rankings of livable cities). This became Vienna's unique selling feature or competitive advantage in the world of city competition. The focus on livability is evident throughout publications by the city government, and remains an important policy driver in the City. During this time, development became area focused and highly strategic, reflecting fiscal limitations of the local government.

In 2010 the Green Party became the coalition partner of the SPÖ. This marked a significant political milestone within the history of Vienna. It was the first time a political faction that was not represented in the Grand Coalition was able to take part in the governance of the city. As a political movement that finds its origins in the grassroots anti-nuclear movement of the 1970s, the Greens emphasized a new, more local and participatory approach to planning and governance. The priorities of the Green Party can be summarized by the responsibilities of the Deputy Mayor of Vienna, Maria Vassilakou,

a Green politician who is the Executive City Councillor for Urban Planning, Traffic and Transport, Climate Protection, Energy, and Public Participation (MA 18, 2014b, p. 5).

The influence of the Green Party as a member of the governing coalition is immediately identifiable in the Smart City Wien Framework Strategy. This framework is one of the most important overarching plans for the City of Vienna in recent history, laying out its strategic long-term goals extending to 2050 (MA 18, 2014b, p. 4). The planning process for the framework began in 2011, soon after the Greens joined the coalition. The strategy sets an ambitious new course for the city and places great emphasis on the city's ability to meet future challenges, most importantly, climate change. As such, the framework relies on three principles, namely, "radical resource preservation, development and productive use of innovations/new technologies, and high and socially balanced quality of life" (MA 18, 2014b, p.31). Through these principles, the environment is elevated to equal status along with the long standing priorities of a social society and the economy. The framework also contains new guidelines and goals for governance in Vienna, again reflecting the approach of the Greens who have historically been political outsiders. The strategy calls for "strengthening the participation possibilities of citizens and experts" (MA 18, 2014b, p. 89).

Other areas of the Smart City Wien strategy have been reflected in recent urban developments in Vienna. The strategy calls for a maintenance of Vienna's green spaces at 50% of the city's area (MA 18, 2014b, p. 37). This policy is seen in action as new residential developments such as the *Aspern-Seestadt* and *Sonnenwendviertel* are both centred on large public parks. More generally, public spaces have also been prioritized, as seen through the controversial measure to pedestrianize one of the main shopping high streets in the city, the *Mariahilferstraße*. This led to significant tension and opposition, but after a referendum among residents in the district passed by 53.2%, the project was carried out (Natmessnig & Gebhard, 2014). New developments are also centred on public transit, as the strategy calls for the near elimination of personalized motor transportation. Again, in both the *Aspern-Seestadt* and *Sonnenwendviertel* connection to public transport was a cornerstone of the projects.

In order to tackle the multi-faceted nature of the future challenges facing Vienna, the strategy also calls for better coordination and cooperation among the various departments of the City and other actors. This approach was emphasized by city staff who noted that due to financial limitations and the complexity of planning for an uncertain future, projects that had potential for cooperation between multiple government entities, one or only few property owners, and where housing and amenities could be maximized, were prioritized (Zabrana, personal communication, 2017). This approach is borne out through the development of urban mega projects on brownfields such as the *Aspern-Seestadt* on the grounds of an old airport and the *Hauptbahnhof* on the area of the old east and south train stations. Such development has continued, led especially by the ÖBB, the Austrian Federal Railways, a public company and a significant land owner in Vienna. Currently, the ÖBB is overseeing the redevelopment of its land around the North/Northwest train station (ÖBB Infra, 2017).

In 2014 a new city development plan was presented, STEP 2025. This plan translates the aims of the Smart City Wien strategy into concreted urban development goals, refocusing the development trajectory of the city of Vienna on 'livability', with the key aspects to livability being identified as housing, green space, and mobility (MA 18, 2014, p. 9; wien.gv.at, n.d.). This approach puts housing back into the centre of urban policy, but adds green space and mobility on equal footing. STEP 2025 also highlights a number of new perspective for the city, particularly in terms of participation. The importance of governance over government is acknowledged, as is cooperation with non-public actors (MA 18, 2014, p. 26). The new approach favours "flexible procedures [that] substitute rigid rules and mechanisms" (MA 18, 2014, p. 26). The actual manifestation of this new acknowledgment of the need for wider non-state actor inclusion will need to be explored in the future. The area-based approach of STEP 05 is continued in the new plan, along with many other current practices of the city (MA 18, 2014, p. 29). Finally, STEP 2025 expands on the emerging theme of regional cooperation, by outlining a formal process of cooperation between Vienna and Lower Austria in areas of urban planning and development (MA 18, 2014, p. 140).

The last two years have presented new challenges to Vienna. The European migrant crisis has affected Austria and Vienna profoundly. As a major stop on the way to Germany, Vienna received a huge influx of temporary migrants as well as refugees seeking to stay in Austria. In 2015 an estimated 90,000 people made refugee claims in Austria (Der Standard, 2016). This presents a challenge to regular housing and services to Vienna, but also the need for emergency shelters and supports. The rapid growth the city is facing was outlined in interviews with city staff as one of the main concerns of the city are this time (Zunke, personal communication, 2017). This presents compounded challenges to planners trying to expand the city in a sustainable, responsible, and livable way.

Finally, regional and comprehensive cooperation have become important topics for Vienna and Austria recently. In 2003, through the EU's Interreg program, Vienna and the surrounding provinces of Austria joined with regions in neighbouring Hungary, Czech Republic, and Slovenia to form CENTROPE, a framework for international and interregional cooperation. Further cooperation within Austria has also grown in importance, with the outlining of a cooperative framework between Vienna and Lower Austria in urban development called SUM (*Stadt Umland Management*) in order to manage the growth of Vienna and harmonize policies between the city and the surrounding areas that lie outside its jurisdiction.

Summary

Over the past centuries, the urban development of Vienna has been formed and reformed multiple times. Despite periods of significant change, there have been strong currents of continuity throughout this time. Much of the closed, expert driven style of planning in Austria as outlined by Novy et al. and Dangschat and Hamedinger can trace its roots back to imperial times. The power of the Habsburg monarchs was absolute throughout the vast empire and this power was represented and exercised by a highly educated and insular bureaucracy. The monarchy invested heavily in training this bureaucracy, overhauling the education system with the explicit goal of producing bureaucrats for the empire.

The late 19th century saw the first major populist interventions of the state in previously private economic affairs. Karl Lueger, a populist politician disliked by the

emperor and the aristocracy became mayor of Vienna and began a major public works program. He also bought up or transferred ownership of major utility companies to the state. He set a precedent for government intervention in areas where the free market was seen to be failing. This garnered Lueger wide popularity in his time.

While the elites of Vienna lived in luxury and populist politicians pandered to small capitalists, most of Vienna's population lived in absolute squalor. Groups of people began squatting on allotments and building their own housing, beginning the influential *Wildsiedler* movement, which engendered a certain culture of self-help and local housing initiatives, but would later also pressure the government to begin its massive housing program. The conditions in Vienna coupled with an educated public and a thriving coffeehouse culture led to the emergence of radical new political ideas. Vienna became a major centre for communist thought and action. It also gave birth to modern neo-liberal ideology. A battle over Vienna's ideological and political future was decisively won by the Austro-Marxists in 1919 when the newly formed Austrian republic held its first elections. The social democrats won in both Vienna and at the national level, establishing perhaps the most important aspect of Viennese planning culture, a deep socialist orientation. This period became known as Red Vienna.

In 1922, Vienna gained independence from the national and provincial governments and with its newly won power over taxation and housing, the government of Vienna began to reshape the city in its socialist image, with housing at the centre. The central focus on housing as a vehicle for social change and the extent to which the Viennese were housed in government built and run flats embedded social housing both as a central focus of urban policy and as policy not targeted at the poor or homeless but a firmly middle class, universal social program.

Once WWII ended and the Second Austrian Republic was formed, a new era of politics began. In order to avoid the class based politics that precipitated the violence and hostility of the prewar period, Austria established a corporatist political arrangement called the *Sozialpartnerschaft*. Under this system, both the social democratic and the conservative factions in the country received a place at the decision-making table. Major political decisions were mediated through this arrangement. While this ensured political

peace, it had two major effects on politics. First, conflict avoidance became a principle of politics in Austria. Second, the dominance of the two political parties in very personal aspects of life (for example the provision of housing, work, and wages) resulted in a strong clientelism pervading Austrian politics. Quality services were traded for political support.

In post-war Vienna, the socialist housing policies of Red Vienna continued, but with less emphasis on creating an urban identity for workers through socialist architecture and communal amenities. Gradually, more private and non-profit development actors were allowed to participate in building up the city. Politically, the social democrats remained in power in Vienna, at times having to enter into a coalition, but always as the senior partner. Nationally, the social democrats and conservatives shared power in what was called the "Grand Coalition", alternating between senior and junior partner, and at times managing to rule alone through a majority. This arrangement stayed firmly in place throughout the 50s, 60s, and 70s in the Fordist economy of Austria.

The next few decades were characterized by significant structural change. By the late 1980s, the stability of Fordism and the *Sozialpartnerschaft* began to crack at the edges. The fall of the Iron Curtain caused a pivot towards the east that reoriented Austria's economic policies, with business expansion into the former communist bloc becoming a central economic goal. Austria's application to join the EU also set out new budget and spending restrictions. New political parties made inroads with the electorate, and a right wing-conservative coalition was formed at the national level. In Vienna, the conservatives were able to gain access to government as a junior coalition partner. This reoriented politics towards neo-liberal policies. These political and economic changes precipitated a shift in urban policy. Private interests gained new access to policy making and urban development that had not been seen since imperial times. Simultaneously, both governments took a less active role in funding and regulating housing, with the national government completely stepping back from housing policy in the late 1980s, and the Viennese government slowly retreating from its developer role over the course of the 1990s. These changes in urban policy are exemplified by the widely criticized development of the Donau City. There were also changes to housing policy that were seen as positive by social advocates, most notably the introduction of developer competitions for funding, which spurred innovation in areas such as environmental sustainability and

social integration. Competition also allowed for independent non-profit developers and co-housing groups to access housing development funds.

While neo-liberal policies advanced during this period, this must be seen within the context of socialist policies dominating urban policy for decades and private interests playing a very limited role in urban development for most of the 20th century. This means that the change was significant, but private interests did not suddenly dominate the field, they simply became new actors.

In Vienna, the last decade has seen a recommitment to socialist ideals with an environmental bend, as the social democrats in Vienna have been joined by the Greens to form a new governing coalition. The challenges of climate change have been clearly recognized and bold action is being taken through the Smart City Vienna strategy to try to ensure Vienna is ready for a carbon free and sustainable future that still provide a high quality of life for its residents. Policy has focused on maintaining Vienna's reputation as one of the most livable cities, and on promoting Vienna as an exemplar of social housing as a broad housing policy approach. This orientation also reflects however, the increase in inter-city competition and the global pressure on cities to distinguish themselves in order to compete for investment and talent. The modern, globally oriented architecture of recent developments also indicates Vienna's continued attempts to redefine its skyline and its commitment to present itself as a business friendly and modern city. In terms of urban development, recently, major urban development has taken the form of large brown field redevelopments, most notably the conversion of an old airfield and the redevelopment of multiple train station areas. This approach has allowed the government more control and influence over development, as there is only one landholder, which is a public company.

The history of Vienna's urban development shows strong continuity among periods of significant disruption. The deep rooted socialist ideology behind social policies remains. This is exemplified by the failure of a national policy attempting to sell off social housing into private hands and the continued support for social housing through major local government funding. It is also reflected in the view that social housing and indeed all social services are not simply for the poor, but a firmly middle class oriented policy.

There remains a strong commitment by the government of Vienna to providing quality public amenities, including housing, although housing is no longer the central focus of development, instead, integrated developments are the order of the day. The City is meeting new challenges such as climate change and migration while trying to ensure the existing qualities of Vienna are maintained. Politically, the *Sozialpartnerschaft*, while no longer the only means of political negotiation, remains an important part of the decision making process. International pressure to compete is also reflected in Vienna's push for regional cooperation and promotion as the most livable city. These characteristics of Vienna's urban planning culture are variously represented in recent urban development projects, including the *Hauptbahnhof*.

Chapter IV - The Vienna Hauptbahnhof

The *Hauptbahnhof* project is the culmination of years of effort to build a railway station that supports rail travel through Vienna. It represents one of the most significant urban redevelopments in Vienna's recent history. At the time of its construction, it was the largest building project in Europe. I chose to use the *Hauptbahnhof* as my case study in part because it is such a significant project within Viennese urban development, but also because it reflects the current features of Vienna's urban policy direction and its wider planning culture. This chapter presents an overview of the planning and development of the project. The main developer of the project was the ÖBB (*Österreichische Bundesbahnen*), the Austrian Federal Railways. As the sole owner of the land, the ÖBB worked closely with the City of Vienna and other partners to develop this project.

Figure 4 - Basic layout and plan of the Hauptbahnhof project. Source: ÖBB

Overview

The *Hauptbahnhof* is located where the east and south train stations once stood. The development covers fifty five hectares of land in the middle of Vienna at the juncture of three districts. It is located within the tenth district of *Favoriten*, a historically poorer, working class neighbourhood that is today very multicultural. Almost half of the residents in *Favoriten* have a foreign background (wien.gv.at, n.d.). The other two districts bordering the Hauptbahnhof are the third district, *Landstraße,* and fourth district, *Wieden*. Both of these districts are relatively small and middle class. They also both border in turn on the first district, the city centre.

The *Hauptbahnhof* project can be broken up into two sub-projects. The *Hauptbahnhof* itself which includes the station and surrounding commercial and office buildings, and the residential development adjacent to the station called the *Sonnwendviertel*. The *Hauptbahnhof* includes the train station with 12 platforms that service an estimated 1000 trains and 145,000 passengers each day (ÖBB, n.d.). The station is also connected to the public transportation network through the U-Bahn system, as well as various city bus and tram lines. The station also houses over 20,000 m² of commercial space in the form of the '*BahnhofCity*' mall. Surrounding the station is some 550,000 m² of office and commercial space, including the new headquarters of the ÖBB, and the headquarters of a major bank, the Erste Bank Group. The *Sonnwendviertel* is a development of over 5000 housing units to house an estimated 13,000 people. The area also includes some small commercial spaces and is centred on an eight hectare public park. The housing units are primarily social housing built by non-profit developers funded through *Wohnfonds Wien*, a public organization that coordinates and mediates the city's housing funding. The residential oriented development of the *Sonnwendviertel* also includes a school campus which integrates a kindergarten, elementary school, and middle school into one facility, called a *Bildungscampus*.

The estimated cost for the station portion of the project upon completion was 1 billion euros (ORF, 2015). The train station was officially opened in 2015, however, some associated projects continue, such as the development of the adjoining residential and business districts. Completion of the residential and commercial build out is scheduled for 2019 (ÖBB, n.d.).
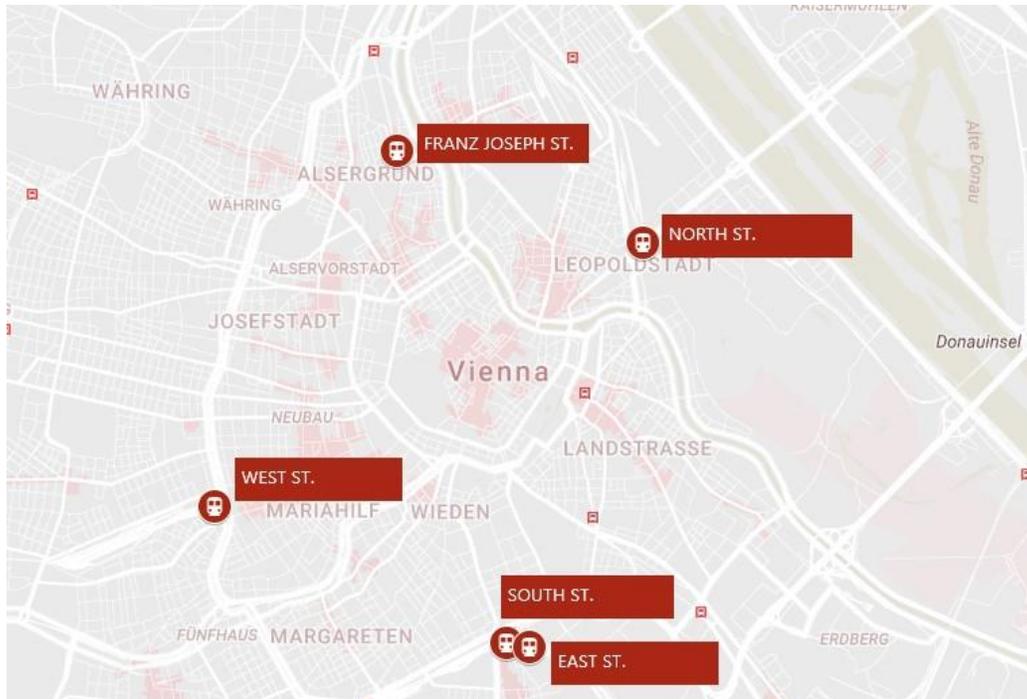
Figure 5 - Locations of the five historical train stations of Vienna. Source: Author.

Historical Context of the Hauptbahnhof

According to the ÖBB, the idea to build a central train station in Vienna had been a point of discussion as far back as the early 20th century, during the twilight of the Habsburg Empire. The need for a through station, where trains could make a journey from one part of the empire to another that passed through Vienna without transferring, was recognized early on. At the time that the railway was being built throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire, it was nearly unthinkable that any travelers would pass through Vienna without stopping, as it was the capital and centre of the empire. Because of this primacy, a train station was built in Vienna for trains coming in from every direction of the empire – one station each for trains arriving from North, South, East, and West. A fifth station was also build, the Kaiser Franz Joseph Bahnhof, for use by the Emperor. These five train stations were the most important in the city for nearly 100 years and served as gateways to the capital.

After the Austro-Hungarian Empire was dissolved in 1918 and after Austria was cut off from its eastern neighbours with the start of the cold war, little use was seen for a

major new train station connecting east and west or north and south. The *Westbahnhof,* or west train station became the most important train station in the city as it connected the city with the rest of non-communist Europe. With the fall of the Iron Curtain and later the enlargement of the EU, Vienna found itself no longer on the periphery of Western Europe, but in the centre of a newly unified Europe. The eastern parts of Europe were once again very important for Vienna. Austria became an important intermediary between the new democracies of the former Soviet Bloc and the EU as well as being a major investor and business interest (Reiss, 2014). At this time the need for a through station was newly recognised.

In 1987 the ÖBB first set a Vienna Central Train Station as a strategic goal. In 1995, a study by two architecture firms in Zurich and Vienna produced a preliminary concept for the conversion of the south and east train stations into a central station. Nearly ten years later, in 2004, a memorandum was signed between the City of Vienna, the ÖBB, and the federal government of Austria to begin development of the *Hauptbahnhof* (ÖBB, n.d.).

Planning Process

As the owner of the land that the station was to be built on, the ÖBB, a wholly public company, led the development of both the station and the adjoining residential development. In order to do this, and with an eye on future railway station redevelopments, the company went through a restructuring process in 2003, resulting in the creation of two subsidiary companies to manage the development. The first was ÖBB *Infrastruktur* which oversaw the planning, financing, and development of the *Hauptbahnhof* train station and generally manages all other infrastructure and technical aspects of the federal railways system (ÖBB, n.d.). The second company to be established was ÖBB *Immobilienmanagement* which manages all the real estate owned by the ÖBB and specifically oversaw the sale and development of ÖBB owned lands around the *Hauptbahnhof* (ÖBB, n.d.).

The signing of the memorandum of understanding between the ÖBB and the two levels of government signaled that planning for the project was to begin in earnest. In 2005, Vienna released its development plan for the city, the *Stadtentwicklungsplan* 2005

(STEP 05) which identified the area of the south and east train stations as the site of the new Vienna *Hauptbahnhof*. The plan also identified the project as a strategic anchor of Vienna's urban development due to its size, importance as a municipal and regional transportation hub, position as a gateway to the city, and potential to create a new urban centre in Vienna (MA 18, 2005, p. 184).

The first step in the planning process was the creation of a transport and connectivity concept, which the ÖBB commissioned. Once the basic concept for and needs of the project were outlined, the ÖBB and the City of Vienna put out an international call for proposals, inviting ten teams of experts to provide a master plan for the station (ÖBB, n.d.). The master plan that was approved combined the proposals by the architectural firms Hoffmann/Hotz and Albert Wimmer (ÖBB, n.d.). After intensive negotiations, in December 2004 the proposed master plan was unanimously passed through the Vienna Parliament (Zabrana, personal communication, 2017). On the basis of this masterplan, the applicable zoning laws were updated and the project moved into the building phase (Zunke, personal communication, 2017).

The bulk of financing for the project fell to the ÖBB, with 4 billion euros of investment expected in the entire project (ÖBB, n.d.). The estimated cost of the train station was 950 million euros with the actual cost upon completion being approximately 1 billion euros. Financing for the station came from the City of Vienna, and the EU under their TEN-T European transportation network scheme (ÖBB, n.d.). All other financing was completed through private investors and through the ÖBB, which was able to cover significant costs for the construction of the stations through the sale of newly buildable lands that had previously been covered in rail tracks (ÖBB, n.d.; Zabrana, personal communication, 2017).

Construction of the project began with the demolition of the old south and east stations beginning in 2009 (ÖBB, n.d.). All trains that had previously used the east and south stations were redirected to Vienna Meidling Station. Construction of the *Hauptbahnhof* began in 2010 (ÖBB, n.d.). At the same time the old stations were being demolished, the city began the process of developer competitions for the new *Sonnwendviertel*, a process through which potential developers present concept plans

and compete for funds and development rights. The majority of housing in the area is object subsidized, that is the developer was provided funds to build quality social housing. Development contracts were largely awarded to non-profit developers. In 2012, the construction of the first housing began. Construction of housing continues today, with the ÖBB estimating that the project will reach final completion by 2019/2020.

Of the housing currently completed in the *Sonnwendviertel*, only 90 dwellings were completely privately funded, while 56 dwellings were subsidized but are privately owned (GB* 10, 2017. Calculations by author). The remaining 1,877 constructed dwellings are subsidized through one of multiple schemes by the government (GB* 10, 2017. Calculations by author). In the *Sonnwendviertel*, the city prescribed the need for a diversity of dwelling types, and supported the development of so-called SMART dwellings, which are compact and inexpensive. These dwellings have been specifically designed for and marketed to young professionals, young families, couples, and singles (wien.at, n.d.).

The development of the *Sonnwendviertel* also encouraged new housing development actors, most notably the development of housing through *Baugruppen*. This model of development is similar to co-housing models in some other countries. It allows a group of interested individuals, with the help of architects and planners, to form a group that enters a development competition. These groups then design their own dwellings as well as the rest of the building, including communal amenities. Through *Baugruppen* everyday citizens have the ability to participate in the design and development of their house. Two *Baugruppen* developments of 25 dwellings each were developed in the *Sonnwendviertel* (sonnwendviertel.at, n.d.).

Public Engagement

While the public was not able to partake in decision making at the higher levels of the project, the city and the ÖBB made a concerted effort to ensure constant information sharing about the *Hauptbahnhof* development, especially with residents living near the development (Zabrana, personal communication, 2017). Events were hosted by the city where the public could liaise with their district political representatives, and through the facilitation of the City, the ÖBB met with residents of all three districts that border the

development to discuss the project (Zabrana, personal communication, 2017). Despite a lack of direct citizen participation, there was no opposition to the project among residents of the adjacent areas, or indeed in the city at large (GB, personal communication, 2017; Zunke, personal communication, 2017; Zabrana, personal communication, 2017; Schwab, personal communication 2017). One member of city staff noted that unlike Stuttgart 21 (a train station redevelopment in Germany that mobilized mass opposition and wide spread protests) the Vienna Hauptbahnhof was generally well liked among residents (personal communication, 2017).

City staff stressed that a key aspect of the acceptance of the project by residents was the ongoing communication between the city and those living near the development. Information on progress, closures, or any changes were shared on a regular basis. The City maintained communication with residents and avoided conflict through a number of initiatives including community meetings and information sessions, a *Gebietsbetreuung* office, as well as setting up a hotline where residents could talk to a personal operator who could answer questions or address complaints (Zabrana, personal communication, 2017). A number of larger community initiatives were also undertaken, such as guided tours of the site and community projects commemorating the history of the old train stations and surrounding areas (Zabrana, personal communication, 2017). As part of the information initiative, a viewing tower was constructed. Touted as the tallest accessible wooden tower in Europe, the 'Bahnorama' provided residents and other visitors the opportunity to view the construction site, the biggest in Europe at the time, and to learn about the project through the adjoining information centre (wien.at, n.d.). The investment in this information centre and other community initiatives reflects the value placed on informing the public in an appealing and engaging manner. While such engagement does not replace participation, it does provide a sense of ownership of a new community among residents and respects the history of a locale.

Further to the wider engagement of citizens, a *Gebietsbetreuung* (GB) office was established in the *Sonnwendviertel* as the first phase of construction was being completed. This office, as with other urban renewal offices, plays an important role in the lives of local residents as a point of contact with the city, a centre for information and community, and an avenue for community development. Each GB is managed and run by

non-city staff (generally architects or housing developers) who provide consultation on everything from rental rights, to planning initiatives, to citizens' rights, and insurance (Förster, n.d., p. 15; GB personal communication, 2017). The GB office in the *Sonnwendviertel* is unique in that it was established in a newly built neighbourhood, not one in need of renewal, but bordering an older neighbourhood. This changed the main functions of the office from urban renewal to liaising with residents and ensuring the integration of the old neighbourhood with the new. While the old neighbourhood is undergoing some renovations, the office has a much broader mandate. The GB offices provide support for citizens' initiatives and local urban renewal projects. In the *Sonnwendviertel* this has resulted in community gardens, planning workshops, and community gatherings such as discussion cafés (GB personal communication, 2017; gbstern.at, n.d.).

Chapter V - Findings and Conclusion

The following chapter presents some reflections on the *Hauptbahnhof* project through the framework of the specific characteristics of Viennese planning culture outlined by Dangschat and Hamedinger, Novy et al., and my own observations of Vienna's planning culture. It also presents some of the trends in planning and priorities of the City of Vienna as outlined by City staff through interviews. Particular features of the *Hauptbahnhof* project are discussed vis-à-vis these characteristics of Vienna's planning culture.

Presence of a Social Democratic Ethos

The influence of social democratic ideology is clearly evident through the housing developments of the *Hauptbahnhof* project. As noted above, the majority of housing in the *Sonnwendviertel* is social housing, funded but not built by the city of Vienna. Co-housing projects in the form of *Baugruppen* were popular. The park at the centre of the development is named for the former social democratic mayor of Vienna, Helmut Zilk, and reflects the Viennese tradition begun during Red Vienna of naming important buildings or areas after famous socialists. Perhaps the most important reflection of the socialist spirit of planning culture in Vienna, however, is exemplified not through government decisions or initiatives, but through the expression of housing preferences by members of the *Baugruppen*, specifically one development called SoVieSo or *Sonnwendviertel solidarisch* (Sonnwendviertel solidarity).

This development focused heavily on the provision of communal and shared spaces. Each floor has a flexible, communal space that can be used for anything from child minding, to media presentations, or to a learning space (sovieso.at, n.d.). A communal living room and kitchen are found on the upper floors of the building, while a larger general community room is contained on the ground floor. A youth oriented communal space as well as a children's play room and laundry are also on the main floor. There is also a flexible atelier/seminar room. Perhaps most in line with the socialist ethos, the building contains a *Tauschmarkt*, or moneyless trading market, and a communal bike

storage and workshop (sovieso.at, n.d.). Not only the presence of these amenities, but the fact that they were planned and agreed upon together, reflects the strong social democratic and communal orientations of urban development in Vienna. A modern development such as Sovieso draws clear parallels to the Austro-Marxist social housing estates of Red Vienna, and indicates a continued desire for such developments. While the government is no longer directly involved in the building of housing, the mantle of creating communally oriented housing estates has been taken up by local community groups.

Figure 6 - ÖBB headquarters tower with Bank Austria offices. Source: Author

City Image and Competition

The neo-liberal undercurrents that took root in Austria during the 1990s remain an important part of development in Austria, while still competing with the traditional social democratic policies. This is reflected in the restructuring of the ÖBB in order to facilitate its role as real estate developer, but also to move the company away from its traditional image as a public service provider into a modern business. The organization remains closely linked to the government however, with the CEO, Christian Kern, who oversaw much of the development of the *Hauptbahnhof,* becoming the Chancellor of Austria in 2016.

The globalist orientation and international image of the *Hauptbahnhof* project is not nearly as prominent as it was with the Donau City development. Global architecture and modernist image building nonetheless played an important role in the design of the *Hauptbahnhof* and the surrounding area, especially the offices located beside the station. City image and modern towers are indicated as aspects of the development in the STEP 05 outline. However, there is no explicit goal of creating a modern, business friendly, and internationally oriented skyline in the section of the plan outlining the *Hauptbahnhof,* as there was with the Donau City (MA 18, 2005, p. 210).

These features are nonetheless immediately recognizable in the business district adjacent to the station. Upon walking out the main entrance of the station, one is greeted by the towering glass of the ÖBB headquarters. This is also indicated by the use of the *Hauptbahnhof* as an example of the attractiveness of Vienna as a business location in the new STEP 2025 development plan. The plan states that, "New large-scale infrastructure projects such as the construction of Vienna Main Station and the expansion of Vienna International Airport are key pointers to enhance the international attractiveness of the city as a business location (MA 18, 2014, p. 14). This international attractiveness is symbolized by the presence of large corporate headquarters and offices, including those of the ÖBB, Erste Bank Group, Bank Austria, and BUWOG, a major private property development firm. The designation of the area as one for "Creative Industries" development also contributes to an internationally oriented economic hub (MA 18, 2005, p.139). The architecture of the headquarters and offices strongly signal an image of international business orientation with imposing glass towers and modern architecture.

At a local level, the juxtaposition of a coffee shop owned by a large café chain located in the middle of the Helmut Zilk Park, perhaps best captures the current ideological conditions in Vienna's planning culture. Socialist policies still determine large parts of urban development, but more private and business oriented interests are becoming central to development.

Conflict Avoidance, the Sozialpartnerschaft, and Political Participation

One of the main features of Austrian planning culture has been the complete dominance of the *Sozialpartnerschaft* in political decision making. This has slowly

changed over the last number of decades as the Austrian Chamber of Commerce and the Austrian Chamber of Labour have become just two of many actors with influence in the decision making arena. Due to their history and size, the two chambers do still play a more prominent and important role than other bodies, but they no longer retain their complete dominance of Viennese politics. The introduction of the Greens, as historical political outsiders, has opened a new space for broader political participation. While this is clearly the intention of the government, as laid out in their strategic and urban plans, it remains to be seen how exactly this will take form, as it is not yet reflected in the *Hauptbahnhof* project, save for the role of the GB office.

As a higher level political decision making arrangement, the *Sozialpartnerschaft* did not play an active role in the planning or development of the *Hauptbahnhof*. However, representatives of the Chambers of Work and Commerce did serve as important consultation groups for the planning of the project. In particular, the Work Chamber was consulted on the creation of jobs through the project (Schwab, personal communication, 2017).

While the dominance of the *Sozialpartnerschaft* has waned slightly, conflict avoidance remains an important feature of urban development in Vienna. This reality is reflected throughout the planning and development process of the *Hauptbahnhof*. City staff who worked on the *Hauptbahnhof* project, stressed that although it took longer to negotiate a masterplan on which all parties agreed, it was important to the city administration that everyone supported the proposal. The unanimous vote that passed the plan through City Council was seen as a point of pride for those working on it (Zabrana, personal communication, 2017).

The various initiatives of citizen engagement also consistently aimed to avoid conflict or dissatisfaction with the project. The ongoing communication and information sharing aimed to pre-empt complaints from residents. One of the main aims of the GB staff in the area was to provide information and to help realize small scale community development projects. City staff also noted that the provision of high quality public amenities, in the case of the *Sonnwendviertel* the eight hectare public park as well as the state of the art education facilities created interest in and support for the development

(Zunke, personal communication, 2017). This observation reflects the reality that political discontent can be avoided to a high degree by ensuring that residents are provided with quality amenities.

This approach reflects important characteristics of participation in urban development in Vienna. The clientelism that both Novy et al. and Dangschat and Hamedinger point to as a product of the *Sozialpartnerschaft,* ensured that robust social services were continually provided to citizens, which in turn ensured the power of the political party. The political survival of the social democrats in particular, but also of the conservatives, has historically depended on ensuring people are satisfied to a high enough degree with the services they are receiving. This, combined with limited avenues for alternative political participation, created a system where local participation in politics (beyond voting and membership in one of the chambers) was not typical. This raises questions around the existing culture of participation in wider Viennese and Austrian politics, which are not presented through the case of the *Hauptbahnhof.*

With this in mind, it is important to note that this arrangement has also led to the dominance of expert planners in Vienna's planning culture, a characteristic that remains. As laid out in Novy et al. (2001), when describing the Donau City development, this "approach to planning that is based on the primacy of the expert, and therefore increases the unequal access to decision-making processes" (p. 139). Under the consensus of the *Sozialpartnerschaft* where there was equal but limited access to the policy making arena, this was not as much an issue. Today, with the addition of new interests to the political mix, this expert driven process becomes more problematic. However, the perceived failure of the Donau City and success of the *Hauptbahnhof* may be attributed to the intentions of the experts and the organizations within which they are working, rather than their decision making role. In the case of the Donau City, experts worked for nominally public companies that were looking to push a new model of development in Vienna, one that prioritized neoliberal development and global imagery and which sought to profit from a less socially oriented development. In the case of the *Hauptbahnhof*, experts were working either with or for the City of Vienna and the social orientation of the project was clear, despite a recognisable need to secure significant revenues from the development of the land.

Experts will always be needed, especially for projects that tend to be more technical in nature, such as the *Hauptbahnhof*. In interviews, city staff praised the open and honest communication between expert planners at the city, noting that no problem was off limits for discussion and planners were constantly pushing politicians to pursue long term goals that served the interests of city residents (Zabrana, personal communication, 2017). The issues around expert dominated processes, while important, must be weighed against the issues around the decision making power of political and business elites. As outlined in Novy et al., the outcomes of the Donau City project were shaped not by the power of experts, but by the power of a newly ascendant urban elite that had gained power through the commercialization of real estate in Vienna during the 1990s.

Direct participation in the planning of the *Hauptbahnhof* project by citizens was all but nonexistent. The Masterplan, created by experts and approved by a jury of experts, was the guiding document of the entire project. This process closely reflects the expert driven process for the Donau City project as described by Novy et al.; however, the *Hauptbahnhof* project was significantly more transparent than the process for the Donau City. In interviews, city staff stressed the importance of continuous and timely information dissemination to the public. Instead of direct public participation in the planning process, the government and associated bodies focused heavily on public engagement and the distribution of information. The approach of the *Hauptbahnhof* project was also markedly different to that of the Donau City. Profit maximization and the development of a modern, business oriented, second city centre dominated the Donau City project. The process was noted for being particularly closed and opaque. With the *Hauptbahhof*, the ÖBB worked closely with city planners to balance the quality of the housing portion of the project with the building and financing of the train station. Private business, especially real estate interests, were not as dominant in this project as in the Donau City. This is due in large part to the role of the ÖBB as sole land owner and as a public company that would have much to lose from an opaque process.

While direct planning participation did not happen with the *Hauptbahnhof*, initiatives such as the *Baugruppen* bypassed political planning processes altogether and moved into a realm of self-determination. This model of development allows for a bottom up approach to planning that brings together future tenants and allows them to shape

their housing as they see fit, thereby facilitating more direct public access to housing decisions and models, albeit at a small scale. This in turn highlights the expression of communal housing preferences such as with Sovieso. In many ways this harkens back to the time of the *Wildsiedler* movement, where squatters built their own houses, and on the socialist housing design of Red Vienna when communal spaces such as kitchens and living rooms were also common. In my interviews with both city staff and staff at the *Sonnwendviertel* GB, *Baugruppen* were cited as important avenues for public participation (Zunke, personal communication, 2017; GB, personal communication, 2017). As an aside, the *Baugruppen* have allowed for innovative experimentation with social mixing. Groups of students and seniors have joined together in *Baugruppen*, as have artist groups, and LGBTQ organizations (Der Standard, 2017). This model presents a new type of housing provision as well as a new type of planning participation that moves beyond consultation or participation into the realm of independence and self-determination. Such locally focused development arrangements will be an interesting case to observe as they continue to become more common.

Although *Baugruppen* are indeed an exciting new form of participation in city development and allow residents some access to the realm of planning, this model is still problematic as it does not present an accessible form of participation to all residents. Joining a *Baugruppe* requires a certain level of skills, knowledge, and financial resources. As a form of housing, it is not broad enough to replace more traditionally built social housing. *Baugruppen* are also not a replacement for meaningful access to the political decision making arena. Wide issues of political and planning participation are not addressed through new housing models.

The GB offices also provide important local access to urban development decisions, but again at a small scale. The GB offices provide important basic services to residents while encouraging local community initiatives. As a direct connections to the city, but through a third party, these offices provide an important channel of communication between local neighbourhoods and political representatives. The offices also support the community and provide an avenue through which potential future projects can be realized. Thus, they present an access point through which planning participation can occur.

Integrative Area Based Development

Dangschat and Hamedinger identify an integrative, area based approach to planning as a new current in Viennese planning culture. This approach has existed for some time, but is stressed in the Smart City Wien plan as a key component to ensuring smart, strategic planning. The plan calls for larger, integrated 'lighthouse projects' that stand as innovative models of development and help achieve the goals of the strategy. This approach is also clearly visible in STEP 2025 and is exemplified by the *Hauptbahnhof* development and other large, brownfield developments, including *Seestadt Aspern,* and the current project to redevelop the north train station. Such developments allow the government more control over the planning and development process, as there is generally one owner of these large former industrial lands. The owner is also typically a public company, as in the case of the ÖBB owning industrial railway infrastructure. Such developments are also made possible by the processes of deindustrialization and the lower need for lands dedicated to heavy industry, coupled with the rapid population growth of the city and the rise in demand for housing.

The integrative approach to urban development is also necessitated by fiscal restraints. As outlined by one of the city staff I spoke with about Vienna's planning culture, the current climate of austerity as well as the interdisciplinary nature of challenges necessitates cooperation between multiple government and public entities in targeted areas in order to develop as much housing as possible and to provide quality amenities and services to the residents of new neighbourhoods (Zabrana, personal communication, 2017). This allows for the most effective allocation of limited resources aiming to improve social outcomes and livability in a city experiencing rapid growth.

Regional Cooperation

While regional cooperation is not a main consideration in the planning of the *Hauptbahnhof* project, the project itself helps to strengthen Vienna's position as a 'Gateway to the East' and in its connection with its CENTROPE regional partners. With the combination of the east and south stations, rail travel from Eastern Europe to other parts of Austria and Western Europe are significantly improved. The *Hauptbahnhof* is also a major hub for transportation across Europe, as outlined in the EU's transportation

infrastructure plan TEN-T. Vienna is a hub on three of the TEN-T's 10 outlined corridors. The construction of the new *Hauptbahnhof* goes a long way in strengthening regional cooperation, but also Vienna's position in competing with other cities. The improvement in infrastructure increases the attractiveness of Vienna to both potential investors and residents.

Exclusion of Outsiders

As outlined in both Dangschat and Hamedinger (2009) and Novy et al (2001), Austria has a long history of skepticism towards those perceived as outsiders, which at times borders on hostility. Vienna only "reluctantly gave up its policy of excluding non-EU citizens from its communal housing sector in 2006", due to EU regulations (Dangschat & Hamedinger, 2009, p. 99). While there were no overt nor subtle policies of discrimination, this historical tendency becomes important for the Hauptbahnhof project in light of the fact that it is located in one of the most ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in Vienna. In the district of *Favoriten*, 45% of residents have a foreign background, while fully 32% are of voting age but do not have voting rights, based on not having Austrian citizenship (wien.gv.at, n.d.). While there was no direct displacement created by the project as it took place on previously industrial land, the development of a neighbourhood that is clearly marketed towards young urban professionals raises concerns about its integration with the surrounding district. Some research on the *Sonnwendviertel* has begun to explore social integration (see Sandri, 2014), but as the full build out of the *Sonnwendviertel* nears completion and new residents move it, it will be important for the city to understand the effects the development has had on the wider community.

Further Research

The *Hauptbahnhof* project reflects many of the characteristics of Viennese planning culture, but as with any one project, it cannot capture the full range of Vienna's planning culture that has developed over its long history. As such, there are some important areas for further research around the *Hauptbahnhof* and around Vienna's planning culture in general.

As mentioned above, the issue of social integration within the context of the *Hauptbahnhof* and the *Sonnwendviertel* should be researched in the coming years, especially as the area fully develops and more residents move in. Planning culture research in Vienna more generally will have to grapple with the high influx of migrants into Austria vis-à-vis the historical skepticism with which Austrians have viewed outsiders. The ways in which Vienna plans for newcomers and people from different cultural and social backgrounds will also become more important, as will the city's ability to include them in planning processes.

Further research in the area of planning culture in Vienna should focus heavily on the mechanisms and potential for meaningful citizen participation in planning, with a focus on the lack of history and culture of participatory planning in Austria. This will become more of an issue as political arrangements change. At the moment, the *Sozialpartnerschaft* still exerts significant influence on politics and policy, but there have been significant changes to political relationships and organization in Austria. Considering the culture of conflict avoidance and consensus building, new avenues for political debate and consensus building will need to be found.

Finally, the strong social democratic legacy in Vienna presents opportunities to research ways to safeguard social policies, especially within the context of neo-liberal policy expansion. Within the framework of global competitive advantage, Vienna has an opportunity to distinguish itself as the model a sustainable, affordable, livable city that it has developed over time. The city can safeguard its social democratic traditions and orientation by putting its flagship piece of that legacy – its housing – forward as a model from emulation. This creates an industry around promoting and teaching the 'Vienna Model' but also creates high costs for abandoning the model or attempting to dismantle it. In many ways this is already happening and Vienna already enjoys a strong reputation among affordable housing experts. The city also presents this image through such avenues as the Vienna Model Exhibition. Using this example as a framework to explore how strong social policy can be leveraged as a competitive selling point may provide insights into safeguarding social systems as they continue to come under threat.

Conclusions

Urban planning has long been conceived of and practiced as a utopian, normative endeavour. Planners seek to build a better world than the one they find themselves in. The conception of what is 'better' becomes the sticking point where planning diverges towards a political and philosophical endeavour and away from a purely technical practice. Just as discussions of politics are embedded in the specific historical and institutional context within which they arise, so too are discussions and practices of urban planning shaped by the political, institutional, and historical context of a city or geographic area. The idea of planning cultures has provided a lens through which to look at planning phenomena in a given area.

More recently, the forces of globalization and global integration present similar challenges to the international planning community and local planning actors that EU integration presented to European planners in the early 1990s. There is a strong impetus to coordinate planning across international jurisdictions; however, there are challenges in streamlining planning practices in the face of very particular social, cultural, and organizational contexts and traditions. Indeed the question of the desirability of such harmonization arises. Nonetheless, the forces of international capital and globalization exert influence in this direction. In order for planning outcomes to be considered successful in their local contexts, specific local planning cultures must be understood and taken into account. This is particularly true as international actors, through multi-national development corporations and the privatization of planning, play a larger role in local planning across the globe.

Within this context, I have looked at the *Hauptbahnhof* in Vienna for clues to Vienna's planning culture and the current streams of change within it. While Novy et al. present a troublesome turn in Viennese planning through the opaque, closed door planning and development of the Donau City, this project does not seem to have signaled a new era of business driven, closed door urban development. It did signal a major shift in policy making through the weakening of the *Sozialpartnerschaft* as the primary form of political negotiation. The *Hauptbahnhof* represents the current trend of development in Vienna which is led by public enterprises and converts previously industrial land into

comprehensive new city quarters. In the absence of new forms of higher level participation, but also as a process dominated by the city and the ÖBB, the *Hauptbahnhof* planning process reverted to an expert driven process guided by the city. While the process of planning the *Hauptbahnhof* was not open to public participation at higher levels, it was very transparent and prioritised keeping the community informed at all times during the development of the project. Through local initiatives there was significant participation of residents in creating their own community spaces, whether this was designing their own apartments or establishing a community garden.

This intense focus on participation is itself a manifestation of how fraught global narratives can be. Participatory planning is not a universally applicable form of planning, and while inclusion is a laudable goal, the exact forms inclusion take should vary within diverse contexts. It also must be noted that as neo-liberal approaches to planning continue to manifest and as new interests enter the policy making arena, Anglo-American forms of communicative or participatory planning are not necessarily the solution to problems that arise from such imbalances of power. This is especially true in contexts where community participation in planning at the early stages is uncommon or unfamiliar to most citizens. This is not to say that deeper community participation in planning is problematic or undesirable in such contexts, simply that participation in and of itself cannot be seen as an equal counter balance to power exerted by business interests in political decision making.

The so-called Green-Red coalition in Vienna has signalled important changes in Vienna's planning culture. This is reflected through the importance of the Smart City Wien Framework Strategy and the elevation of environmental policy areas, especially resource conservation in the face of climate change, to the same level as social and economic policy. The urban development consequences of the framework are reflected in the STEP 2025 plan and in projects such as the *Hauptbahnhof* and *Aspern-Seestadt* with their social housing, central public green spaces, and focus on sustainable transport. The willingness to pedestrianize the *Mariahilferstraße* despite opposition, seems to suggest a break from the orthodoxy of conflict avoidance by the Greens; however, other examples, such as the importance of unanimously passing the Masterplan for the *Hauptbahnhof* suggest that conflict avoidance is still very important to the city government. The

overarching centrality of livability as the guiding principle in the City's plans reflects the reaffirmation of the primacy of social and not economic policy in Vienna's urban development. Simultaneously, business orientation, competition, and international orientations remain as guiding principles for planning.

The *Hauptbahnhof* project reflects many of these wider changes to Viennese planning culture. Split into two areas – one transport and business oriented, one residentially oriented – the whole development mirrors Vienna's overall current urban development trajectory, namely, one that tries to balance an international and business oriented city, while also building large residential developments and providing high quality amenities in order to maintain residents' high quality of life and to insure its reputation as the most livable city. The *Sonnwendviertel* reflects this in its commitment to a comprehensive development that includes a large, central park, community education facility, and large proportion of social housing. This reflects Dangschat and Hamedinger's wider observation of the Austrian tendency to find a third way of doing things and, "reconcile its social democratic orientations and values, which are deeply inscribed in its political structures, with an increasingly competitive strategy" (Dangschat & Hamedinger, 2009, p. 95).

Novy et al.'s proclamation of the end of Red Vienna may have been a bit premature, as much of the cultural seed that was planted in the 1930s continues to flourish today, however, the claim that the *Sozialpartnerschaft* has been altered stands. The *Sozialpartnerschaft* and its main groups represent only part of the picture of political decision making today. With new actors, planning processes must find a way to include a broader input of interests from across the social and political landscape. While much has been written in the planning literature about the communicative turn in planning, this narrative becomes complicated when applied to Viennese planning culture. Through the *Sozialpartnerschaft* and the precedents set by the Austro-Marxist Red Vienna government, Austrian politics and planning has since the 1940s taken a very collaborative approach, albeit one at high level that reflected top-down governance. Nonetheless, the purely expert driven, economically dominated rational-comprehensive model of planning in Anglo-American spheres never took the same hold of planning culture in Vienna, although it was of course present. Instead, political considerations were prioritized, as

was the provision of de-commodified social services, most importantly housing. Vienna has only slowly seen what might be termed a collaborative turn in planning in the sense of Anglo-American scholars, in that new actors entered the decision making arena in the late 1990s. These actors were primarily been powerful economic actors, as exemplified through the Donau City development, which moved policy away from the historically socially oriented planning. More recently, with the ascension of the Green party to a position as coalition partner in Vienna, planning has reoriented itself towards social outcomes with the inclusion of environmental considerations. As a historically grassroots movement and a political outsider, the Green Party has also pushed for a more inclusive and cooperative planning process, which is reflected in the importance given to participation in both the Smart City Wien framework and in STEP 2025. This policy, still in its infancy, has succeeded to a degree at a small scale, with important local level participation and interesting community led projects; however, without a culture of participatory planning or a history of citizen involvement in policy or plan development, it is yet to be seen how and if more truly inclusive forms of planning might take shape, especially at a higher level of decision making.

In broad terms, Vienna today continues a long tradition of attempting to balance currents of political change. The history of social democracy and the continued dominance of the Social Democrats in Vienna shapes socially oriented policies; however, the narrative of city competition and the desire to present a modern, internationally oriented, and dynamic city is also very clear. The addition of the Green Party to the governing coalition in Vienna has brought environmental matters onto an equal footing with other main policy objectives and has opened the city once again to bold progressive policy. It has also opened the planning realm to more bottom up and participatory approaches. As the city is faced with new challenges, it remains to be seen how Vienna will once more find a way to balance its history with new impulses and find its 'third way' of navigating the modern era.

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Appendix

Interview Questions:

N.B. These questions only guided the conversations I had with the individuals I interviewed and further conversations and questions developed out of these questions.

1. How would you characterise Vienna's current planning culture? What are the priorities and dominant themes of planning in Vienna at the moment?

2. How does the Hauptbahnhof project fit into current planning and development trends in Vienna? Do you see it as a continuation of previous planning and development directions or does it represent any significant shift away from Vienna's recent planning direction?

3. How inclusive do you think the planning process for the Hauptbahnhof project was? To what degree were current and future residents of the Sonnwendviertel consulted? To what degree were private business interests consulted? Does this differ in any way from previous consultation and input on major developments in Vienna?

4. Did the Sozialpartnerschaft play any significant role in the development of the Hauptbahnhof and the Sonnwendviertel? Did any of the traditional stronghold of power, the Arbeiterkammer or the Wirtschaftskammer, play a role in the planning or development of the project? Do you see the Sozialpartnerschaft as still important to Vienna's urban development and governance?

5. How were the interests of investors and the ÖBB seeking to maximize profits through the Hauptbahnhof development balanced against the interests of an affordable, quality, community focused development?

6. Was there any significant opposition to the project? What did the city or other actors involved in the project do to try to avoid confrontation or opposition?

7. How would you characterize the public perception of the Hauptbahnhof project?

8. Who do you see as the most important actors or decision makers that influenced the planning, design, and implementation of the Hauptbahnhof project? In Viennese planning more generally?