

Fabian Wildner

Exclusion of Marginalized Groups in the Usage of Public Spaces

On the Example of the Franz-Jonas Platz in Vienna, Austria

Master's thesis in Urban Ecological Planning
Supervisor: Hilde Nymoen Rørtveit
June 2021



Fabian Wildner

Exclusion of Marginalized Groups in the Usage of Public Spaces

On the Example of the Franz-Jonas Platz in Vienna,
Austria

Master's thesis in Urban Ecological Planning
Supervisor: Hilde Nymoene Rørtveit
June 2021

Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Faculty of Architecture and Design
Department of Architecture and Planning

I certify that this is my own work and that the materials have not been published before, or presented at any other module, or programme. The materials contained in this thesis are my own work, not a “duplicate” from others. Where the knowledge, ideas and words of others have been drawn upon, whether published or unpublished, due acknowledgements have been given. I understand that the normal consequence of cheating in any element of an examination or assessment, if proven, is that the thesis may be assessed as failed.

Fabian Wildner
25.06.2021, Vienna

**Exclusion of Marginalized Groups in the Usage of Public Spaces –
on the Example of the Franz-Jonas Platz in Vienna**

This master thesis was created within the context of the course:
“AAR5400 M.Sc. Thesis in Urban Ecological Planning”
Spring 2021 @ NTNU, Trondheim

Supervisor: Hilde Nymoen Rørtveit

Fabian WILDNER

Abstract

An increasing commercialisation or urban renewal are just a few keywords that jeopardize the inclusiveness in public spaces of today's neoliberal city. However, the public space has a crucial value for marginalized people, as a space which is freely accessible. Especially the hustle and bustle of public transportation hubs offers people with limited private space or people who do not fit our social norms and are therefore marginalized, a space where they can disappear but also be a part of it and where they do not stand out of the crowd. But the presence of marginalized groups like the homeless or people with substance use disorder in public space does not correspond to the image of a trendy, sanitized 'most-liveable' city and therefore municipal authorities are often initiating various ways that should displace these groups.

To elaborate further on this phenomenon, the focus during this research is set on the Franz-Jonas Platz in Vienna, where the introduction of an alcohol ban is being discussed since the last three years. By using a twofold methodology, this thesis will elaborate differences between the ongoing political debate around the alcohol ban's introduction and the real life-experiences of alleged problems with marginalized people on the Franz-Jonas Platz: A discourse analysis of political protocols hereby reveals the argumentations of the decision-makers and the framing of the alleged problems on the square. Additionally, by means of a social space analysis the actual situation on the site has been investigated. The results of the conducted interviews and observations show a different picture as the one that was transmitted in the politics and the media. Whereas politicians describe the square as being a threat for passers-by, the interviewed people on the square rather stress the square's qualities and a being together in harmony. The comparison that is made possible with this methodology is exemplifying the conflicts present in urban planning between populist political debates that often dominate against founded, empirical know-how. In this case, the dispute is endangering the livelihoods of marginalized people – the ban is introduced as a very baselessly argued solution that rather displaces problems instead of solving them. The thesis hereby demonstrates how discourses have actual effects in real life. The social space analysis is introduced as a well working tool to examine the people's needs and opinions that can further help to make a city more inclusive and justice.

Foreword

The following master thesis was written and composed within the scope of the master's programme 'Urban Ecological Planning' in the spring semester 2021.

Hereby I want to pay particular tribute to my supervisor, Hilde Nymoen Rørtveit. She was an enormous help during all our supervisions – even remotely from my small working room in Vienna. Thank You to all interview partners on the Franz-Jonas Platz for sharing your personal experiences!

In addition, I want to thank Selina for advice and her motivation for proof reading and of course for taking care of János in all those hours.

Table of Content

Abstract	3
Foreword	5
List of Figures	9
1. Introduction	10
2 Background	16
2.1 Vienna, the most liveable city in the world performing exclusive policies	17
2.2 The first alcohol-ban-zone in Vienna and its origins	19
2.3 The Franz-Jonas Platz at centre of discussion in the media	20
3 Theory	24
3.1 Inclusiveness & democracy	24
3.1.1 The urban public realm and ‘the public’	25
3.1.2 Being Marginalized	27
3.2 The Right to the City.....	28
3.2.1 Right to participation.....	29
3.2.2 Right of appropriation	32
3.3 Driving forces of exclusion in a neoliberal city	36
3.3.1 Cooperation between the public and the private	36
3.3.2 Urban renewal through gentrification	37
4 Methodology	40
4.1 Case Study Franz-Jonas Platz.....	40
4.2 Discourse Analysis	40
4.2.1 Important influences in discourse analysis	41
4.2.2 Application of the analysis	42
4.2.3 Selecting and categorizing documents for the analysis	43
4.3 Social space analysis.....	45
4.3.1 Exploring the roots and influences of the social space analysis.....	46
4.3.2 Two approaches by Riege and Schubert (2016) for performing a social space analysis.....	48
4.3.3 Applying the social space analysis by using a diverse methodology.....	52
4.4 Limitations	54
5 Results	56
5.1 Analysing the way, the alcohol ban is being discussed in local politics by means of a discourse analysis.....	56

5.2	Analysing the Franz-Jonas Platz on the ground through the lens of a social space analysis	66
5.2.1	Profiling the environment of the Franz-Jonas Platz in the context of whole Vienna....	66
5.2.2	Analysing the spatial structures of the Franz-Jonas Platz in detail	71
5.2.3	Assessing the current situation	77
5.2.4	Concluding the social space analysis.....	87
6	Concluding discussion	90
6.1	Discussion	90
6.2	Conclusion	96
6.3	Recommendations.....	97
7	Bibliography	98
8	Appendix	106
8.1	Interview guide for the semi-structural interview with Elisabeth Odega (2021).....	106
8.2	Interview guide for semi-structural interview with Retailer 1 (2021).....	106
8.3	Interview guide for informal interviews.....	106

List of Figures

Figure 1: A picture of the Franz-Jonas Platz that was published together with a news-paper article demonstrates how the negative image of the square is being created. (Vodicka, 2019).....	13
Figure 2: Overview-map of Vienna, Austria showing the location of mentioned public transport stations (own illustration, map-source: openstreetmap.org).....	16
Figure 3: The neighbourhood offices try to evaluate the citizen's needs by using participatory methods. (Gebietsbetreuung Stadterneuerung, 2021b)	17
Figure 4: Armrests that should prevent people from sleeping - an example for deterrent design (Wölfl, 2019).....	18
Figure 5: Signage of the first alcohol ban at 'Praterstern' station (Fohringer, 2018).....	19
Figure 6: The planned alcohol-ban zone for the Franz-Jonas Platz (FIX: KEIN ALKOHOLVERBOT AM BAHNHOF FLORIDSDORF! Aber Maßnahmenpaket., 2019).....	21
Figure 7: Homeless man is escorted by the Police in Budapest. (Varda, 2011)	34
Figure 8: The Karmeliter-market with expensive loft conversions in the background. (Marktamt Wien, 2021).....	38
Figure 9: List of analysed documents	44
Figure 10: Considered timeframe for the Discourse Analysis (own illustration)	44
Figure 11: Layers of analysis and the consequent aims that are part of a social space analysis, by Riege and Schubert (2016).	50
Figure 12: List of performed interviews.	52
Figure 13: The allocation of seats (number in brackets) of the district parliament in Floridsdorf (own illustration, data source: Stadt Wien, 2015)	57
Figure 14: District Leader Georg Papai (SPÖ) promotes the introduction of an alcohol ban in April 2018 (BV21, 2018)	59
Figure 15: "Take alcohol-problems serious - favoring a day-care-center" - district leader Georg Papai and chairwoman of the social commission Barbara Cermak (both SPÖ) promoting measures additional to the alcohol ban. (Herzog, 2021).....	60
Figure 16: Location of Floridsdorf, the 21 st district (in red) and the Franz-Jonas Platz (black dot). (Gonzalez, 2011).....	66
Figure 17: The focus areas of urban development in the 21 st district around the Franz-Jonas Platz (own illustration, map source: wien.gv.at).....	68
Figure 18: The close environment of the Franz-Jonas Platz. (own illustration, map source: openstreetmap.org)	69
Figure 19: The railway station with its predominant roofing (own photograph)	73
Figure 20: Entering the square from the railway station onto the Franz-Jonas Platz (own photograph)	73
Figure 21: The fountain with its seating area (own photograph)	74
Figure 22: The plane tree alley across the Franz-Jonas Platz (own photograph).....	74
Figure 23: Zoning of the Franz-Jonas Platz. (own illustration, map-source: City of Vienna)	76
Figure 24: Many passengers are crossing the outstanding roof to/from the railway station. (own photograph).....	78
Figure 25: Different user groups sharing a seating area in zone number 3. (own photograph).....	81
Figure 26: A polluted seating area in zone number 4. (own photograph).....	85

1. Introduction

Public space is a highly competitive, limited resource that gains a lot of attention nowadays both in political and academic debates. Trends like its ongoing commercialisation, privatisation and securisation, or expensive urban development projects get combined with demographical and social trends like increasing cultural diversity but also increasing disparities (Bodnar, 2015). All this becomes mirrored in the public space that we share together with all other user groups and residents of a city. This thesis highlights some ongoing struggles regarding the accessibility of public space to marginalized groups of people by analysing a case study carried out on a public square in Vienna, Austria. At the Franz-Jonas Platz, the introduction of an alcohol ban is being discussed that subsequently limits the access to the square for people with a substance use disorder. For introducing this thesis, I will first start with a short introduction into the subject of today's struggles with public spaces and executed exclusive policies. Then, I want to highlight already performed research and related literature before I introduce my research questions as well as my research process and describe my used methodology.

Most likely, at no point in history public space was accessible equally to everyone. Besides rules and norms about societal behaviour, public space - as we use it in our everyday life – is being characterized by several laws that tell us how to use it or how to behave in it. Whereas in traffic areas the intention is to protect unmotorized users and to regulate motorized traffic, spaces designed for pedestrians are rather regulated in a social context. With the intention to keep them 'clean and safe', public spaces get equipped with features and certain regulations that are often meant to keep away certain social groups that do not fit the intended target clientele. Especially in the context of neoliberal cities, where there are private interests dominating, the aim is to get rid of 'unwanted people' that create incivilities and disorder, sleep on the streets or benches, or utilize the public space as their actual 'living room' (Thörn, 2011). Recent urban development led to a growing pressure that makes survival more difficult especially for those ones, who's resources are limited, do not meet the social norms, and get therefore marginalized. But the presence of marginalized groups like the homeless or people with substance use disorder in public space does not correspond to the image of a trendy, sanitized 'most-liveable' city and therefore municipal authorities are creating various ways that should displace these groups.

In literature, this phenomenon is mentioned in context of the 'urban public realm' (Tiesdell and Oc, 1998). The 'urban public realm' refers to the extent, to which the accessibility of public spaces (for all users) is being jeopardised. With the collective concept of 'alternative urban spaces and politics' (Jonas, McCann and Thomas, 2015) we can find theorists that engage within the universal accessibility

of public space. At the forefront there is Henri Lefebvre (1991), who's phrase 'the right to the city' highlights the struggle of both the right to participation and the right to appropriation. His ideas that originated from working class conflicts in France deals with the struggle that was then as up to date as today: the conflict between a growing influence of transnational capital together with shrinking democracy and inclusiveness. Hereby, Lefebvre highlighted the importance of public space as a stage for active political participation and protest. Similarly, also Don Mitchell (1995) raises the awareness for the importance of open, inclusive public spaces as a crucial construction in working democracies: "The People's Park" in Berkeley (USA) is hereby a well-known example for protests that came up because of the suppression of the rights of the marginalized.

Reasons for this growing pressure on the public space are diversely rooted. Especially in the urban context, urban renewal is hereby an issue when areas of the city and their built environment get upgraded and rental price rise. This upgrading happens often in the context of public private partnerships when private investors perform developments together with the public sector (Madanipour, 2004). The public space hereby has an increasingly important function of being a representative element that gets garnished with elements of art, but also stores and restaurant acknowledge its value and use it for attracting more customers (Zukin, 1995). Additionally, public space is turning into a benchmark on the competitive tourism market where cities are competing for the better 'selfie-motive'.

When looking at exclusive policies, different cities or countries are using different approaches in order to reach these mentioned 'clean and safe' public spaces. Especially, we need to differentiate hereby between an American and European approach. Literature and research show, that in many American cities law-and-order policies are threatening the existence of marginalized people on the streets (Amster, 2003). Especially towards homeless people, very strict policies get introduced so that at some places even trivialities like 'lingering on the streets' are being criminalised. On our European continent, the policies -with the exemptions of some countries like Hungary- are not so strict and one might call them more 'sneaky': In this context, Catharina Thörn (2011) initiated the term of the 'soft policies of exclusion' – policies, that indirectly lead to a displacement of unwanted people. Relevant examples are manifold and can be found in nearly every European city. Deterrent architecture like armrests on public benches that should prevent from sleeping, CCTV surveillance, or the placement of art installations that on the long term make it uncomfortable for others to use the space.

This thesis analyses one kind of a soft exclusion policy that is being debated in Vienna, Austria. The underlying discussion hereby started in 2018, when an alcohol consumption ban was being introduced at the notorious public transportation hub Praterstern. Here, the presence of many marginalized people has been in the middle of a public medial and political discussion for many years – the

introduced alcohol ban resulted out of it as a problem solution proposed by the mayor. Thus, since the 18th April 2018, the consumption of alcohol is forbidden in a defined area around the Praterstern station, the first area of such a kind in Vienna. Violating the law can lead to an expulsion from the square (Fohringer, 2018).

Consequently, soon after the ban being introduced at the Praterstern, many other places – public transportation hubs in particular – claimed the introduction of such a ban as well (BV21, 2018). One example hereby, that gained citywide attention, is the Franz-Jonas Platz in the 21st district. The Franz-Jonas Platz is an important public transportation hub as well that connects the whole district with the inner city of Vienna. The square's architecture might be a bit outdated, but still many trees and generous seating areas invite also non-passengers to stay, and the surrounding boutiques and stores serves as an important infrastructure for the local surrounding. But, since the certain period in 2018, when the first ban got introduced at the Praterstern, the political debate and a discussion in the local media mutually started to stimulate each other. Hereby, the square is condemned for being unsafe, dirty and a threat for the local citizens. The named reason: an increasing number of people with alcohol use disorder. As a solution, the majority of local political parties propose to introduce an alcohol ban as well, that would allegedly solve all the problems.

Against the main subject of research that is supposed to highlight exclusionary policies in public space, this thesis aims to investigate upon differences between the political debate and the way how the Franz-Jonas Platz is perceived by its users.

The according research questions are as followed:

Exclusion of Marginalized Groups in the Usage of Public Spaces – on the Example of the Debated Alcohol Ban at the Franz-Jonas Platz in Vienna:

❖ What are the differences between the political debate around the introduction of the alcohol ban and the real-life experiences of alleged problems with marginalized people on the Franz-Jonas Platz?

- How are the problems around the Franz-Jonas Platz being discussed and framed on the political level?

Method used: discourse analysis

- Are passers-by and other users perceiving the Franz-Jonas Platz as corresponding to the image that was created in the political debate?

Concept used: social-space analysis

To answer these questions, this thesis has been organised as a two-step study: First, I will investigate upon the mentioned local political debate that took place in the context of the planned introduction of an alcohol ban at the Franz-Jonas Platz. Hereby, chosen protocols from municipal hearings are going to be analysed by means of a discourse analysis. This methodology allows me to understand how the alleged problem is framed and defined by the different actors. Subsequently I will conclude about how the introduction of the alcohol ban is justified and how alleged problems are supposed to be solved.



Figure 1: A picture of the Franz-Jonas Platz that was published together with a news-paper article demonstrates how the negative image of the square is being created. (Vodicka, 2019)

The second part of the research should complement the issue around the Franz-Jonas Platz from a local perspective. As mentioned, a significant part of the debate in politics and media is creating a very negative image of the square by associating it with rubbish, litter, and risks for the public welfare, as Figure 1 demonstrates. By performing a social-space analysis, I want to investigate on the square as it gets experienced from the ground and focus on the user perspectives. The social-space analysis, that goes back to Riege and Schubert (2016) offers me a toolbox that includes a diverse methodology and aims to create a holistic picture of a local place and explore the subjective living- and user spaces. The method is well-known in the German language area and is often used as pre-studies for city development projects. In the context of this thesis, I will perform interviews and observations that allow me to answer, how the Franz-Jonas Platz is being perceived and experienced from the user-

perspective and consequently answer the question, if the perceived image corresponds with the one transmitted in media and politics.

In summary, the master thesis delivers additional findings about different perceptions that are present in the urban context and in the discussion about public space. Performing this twofold methodology is supposed to demonstrate the various perspectives that are present in urban planning and the consequences they entail. Additionally, this thesis can contribute to exemplify the opportunities of the social-space analysis, a kind of methodological concept that is rather unknown in the English literature. This thesis demonstrates its benefits in exploring user-spaces that are critically important for decision-making in the planning context.

After this introduction, the background chapter provides some information about the context of the alcohol ban and the history of exclusionary policies in Vienna. The thereafter following chapter elaborates some of the main theoretical thinking, that is underlying this thesis. Then, the methodological approach is being introduced before the results are going to be presented – divided by the used methodology. Finally, the concluding discussion will discuss the findings of this thesis in relation to the theory and elaborate the answers to the research questions.

2 Background

The following chapter introduces the reader to the research area of this thesis: Vienna, Austria. With the next sections I want to highlight some important background information, that is important to understand the context of the chosen case study, the Franz-Jonas Platz. First, a short summary of Viennese developments is questioning the city's status of being *"the most liveable city in the world"* (Mercer LLC, 2019). Second, the origins of already existing alcohol bans and the municipality's strategies towards exclusive policies in public space are getting elaborated. Finally, I zoom into the case study area and discuss the current developments around the Franz-Jonas Platz.



Figure 2: Overview-map of Vienna, Austria showing the location of mentioned public transport stations (own illustration, map-source: openstreetmap.org)

2.1 Vienna, the most liveable city in the world performing exclusive policies

Vienna got elected in the ranking of the 'Mercer Quality of Living Survey' already the third year in a row to be the supposedly most liveable city worldwide (Mercer LLC, 2019). This quantitative evaluation is based on 39 objective factors like housing quality, socio-cultural environment, or public services and is used mainly for marketing reasons by the municipality of Vienna. The ranking shows of course the general high living standard in the city and sounds good for marketing purposes but is no guarantee for an immaculate city.



Figure 3: The neighbourhood offices try to evaluate the citizen's needs by using participatory methods. (Gebietsbetreuung Stadterneuerung, 2021b)

Whereas Vienna has indeed a strong core of social housing structure that is spread over the whole city area, global trends like gentrification cannot be stopped either. There is a pressure on the housing market, pushing the rental prices from the inner to the outer districts. Originated by the influx of students and artists, outer districts like 'Ottakring' (16th district) experience increasing rental prices and get hand in hand into the spotlight of urban renewal processes (Zoidl, 2019). The "soft renewal" strategy of the Viennese municipality hereby is responsible for small scale, step by step urban upgrading projects that get coordinated to one part from neighbourhood offices, that are located in the districts. They have the local knowledge and are responsible for carrying out participative methods to evaluate the needs of the local citizens (see Figure 3). Projects include for example urban gardening measures, supporting civic initiatives or small-scale interventions like improving the access for pedestrians or cyclists. At the same time, these offices also serve as a mediating, locally intertwined organ between citizens and the municipal administration. Mostly because of limited resources these projects are often neglecting the involvement of marginalized people in more deprived neighbourhoods, such as the study area of this thesis. (Gebietsbetreuung Stadterneuerung, 2021a)

Whereas the participation in the creation of the space might be limited due to lack of resources of marginalized people, the access to space is regulated by the owners of the space. In terms of public space, the owner is mostly the municipality itself. In Vienna there is no explicit law against 'living' or staying in public space as we can find it in American cities, where even 'loitering in public space' can be seen as a crime (NLCHP, 2014). But it is a regulation from the year 1985 (that was originally



Figure 4: Armrests that should prevent people from sleeping - an example for deterrent design (Wölfl, 2019)

addressing campers) that is executed by the police forces if they want to get rid of unwanted groups: According to the so called 'Kampierverordnung' sleeping in a tent or sleeping bag outside of camping places is forbidden (Verein Soildaritätsgruppe, 2013).

Whereas the 'Kampierverordnung' - law regulates sleeping in public space, there are also other elements that make the use of urban space in Vienna more exclusive. The architects Virginia Lui und Karolína Plášková started to document examples of 'deterrent design' in public space in Vienna (Wölfl, 2019) and found many objects that are acting as 'silent angels' to control social conduct, as they describe this sort of design. Figure 4 exemplifies deterrent design: the arrangement of the armrests is supposed to prevent people from sleeping on it. Furthermore, the two architects raise the question, where to draw the line between excessive control and individual freedom in urban spaces. Still, the municipality's main development strategy seems to be different compared to the before mentioned observations, since the city of Vienna tries to promote public space as an important benchmark: "[...]

in a growing city and an era of tight public budgets, existing potentials must be made intelligent use of to enable all citizens with their different needs and requirements to enjoy access to high-quality open spaces” (Rosenberger, 2014, p. 121)

2.2 The first alcohol-ban-zone in Vienna and its origins

With the before mentioned statement in mind, I want to elaborate on the introduced measure at the railway station ‘Praterstern’, a well-known hub (for metro and suburban railway) and meeting point for street drinkers, people with substance use disorder and migrants. A large area around this place got declared as an alcohol prohibition zone on the 27th April 2018 – the first one of a kind in the whole city (see: Figure 5).

According to this regulation, consuming alcohol or even having alcohol ready to consume can be punished by police forces with €70 and €700 in case of a repeated act. Consuming alcohol in gastronomic facilities or in the context of events like the ‘Wiener Wiesn’¹ on the other hand are not punishable. The law got introduced as the first action of the new (socialist) mayor Michael Ludwig (after the retirement of his predecessor) and was the result of lengthy, public discussions in the boulevard media and in local politics.

Whereas rather right-wing parties appreciated the law, the green party (the then coalition partner) and societal organisations heavily criticized it and warned from upcoming displacement effects to other problematic areas like other train or metro stations (Kroisleitner, 2018). The introduction of the new law intensified the discussions in the boulevard media, where reports on police actions against marginalized groups get highlighted and scare the public (Diebäcker, 2019, p. 149).

Vienna hereby has already some history with other - so called - problematic ‘hot spots’ at public transport hubs. The metro hub ‘Karlsplatz’ is situated in the first district, in a neighbourhood that is characterized by the technical university, schools, trendy restaurants and touristic sights. The square was known since the 1990ies as the most frequented hotspot, especially for marginalized groups like addicts. The passage had a very shabby atmosphere, full of dirty, hidden corners. A place I still



Figure 5: Signage of the first alcohol ban at 'Praterstern' station (Fohringer, 2018)

¹ A Viennese version of the Bavarian ‘Oktoberfest’ that is held on an area that is included in the alcohol prohibition zone, where around 240.000 litres of beer get sold during the two-week-long event (Fluch, 2018).

remember from my childhood, that scared me each time I had to cross it. The surrounding square used to be a heterogeneously used park, with people from various social backgrounds. This brought the place into the spotlight of media and as a first measure a so called 'protection area' got introduced together with the installation of CCTV surveillance. This allowed the police to expel people only due to an assumption of a possible illegal action from the zone. With the subsequently introduced restauration plans that included the opening of a separate police station, this unwanted group got finally displaced by the police forces. The municipality hereby applied a long-term renewal strategy that should change the image and reputation of the 'Karlsplatz'. The metro passage got transformed into an 'art-passage' as part of an 'renewal through art' program that also included the 'festivalisation' of the place by introducing annual music festivals. The re-designing process was completed in September 2013 and the initiators (= the municipality) seem to have achieved their goals.

The metro station today looks indeed very new as it is designed very bright and modern, and the shabby corners are gone so that the 'unwanted groups' don't get tempted from its use. All this sounds very positive but hides the fact about the displaced marginalized groups. Their problems hereby did not get solved but they migrated to other, new 'hotspots' where the same process starts from blank.

2.3 The Franz-Jonas Platz at centre of discussion in the media

Only three train-stops after 'Praterstern' one would reach the study area of this thesis, the Franz-Jonas Platz, that is the buzzing centre of the 21st district (called 'Floridsdorf', as the train stop is also named). The place is a public transport hub and connects 'trans-danubia' (like us Viennese people like to call the districts on the other side of the Danube) with the city centre, hosts several tram lines and is additionally the final stop of a main subway line. The square is surrounded by some shops and grocery stores but has all in all a rather shabby ambience. It suffers from being used intensely and the combination of some abandoned shops, dirty surfaces, outdated design, and architecture do not spread a welcoming feeling and do not seem inviting for spending longer periods of time there. Rather its central location than probably its atmosphere makes the square an attractive meeting point for day-drinkers who can be seen gathering outside the railway station mostly during daytime. Since the Franz-Jonas Platz is directly connected via public transport to the alcohol-ban zone at Praterstern, some conclude that it would be those displaced drinkers who now occupy the square with their unwanted behaviour.

In fact, a large discussion has started since the implementation of the first ban at Praterstern. It was only a few months later, when some politicians started to claim for a similar ban for the Franz-Jonas Platz as well. According to a councilman from the right-wing "freedom-party" (FPÖ) the drinkers would endanger the passers-by (Schönherr, 2020). The conservative party (ÖVP) even started a petition to collect signatures that should lead to the immediate introduction of the ban (Die neue Volkspartei,

2021). But other parties as well, like the socialists (SPÖ) had consistent claims in introducing a ban as the solution for the square. In February 2019, less than a year after introducing the ban on Praterstern, the district parliament had the majority for introducing a so called 'alcohol-prevention-zone'. As evident in Figure 6, the agreed zone should include the whole Franz-Jonas-Platz as well as some surrounding parks and streets.

But the saga was not finished yet: due to the federally governed city and the therefore distributed competencies in security related issues, it is the mayor who has the ultimate responsibility to decide upon the introduction of a restrictive measure in public space (Wiener Stadtverfassung, 2021). Hence, the mayor decided against the ban's introduction and thereby disobeyed the decision of the district leader, a fellow party colleague. Instead, in a press conference, the mayor and his team announced a



Figure 6: The planned alcohol-ban zone for the Franz-Jonas Platz (FIX: KEIN ALKOHOLVERBOT AM BAHNHOF FLORIDSDORF! Aber Maßnahmenpaket., 2019).

concept for dealing with 'problematic' public transport stations, that also included an evaluation report of one year alcohol ban at Praterstern. The Franz-Jonas-Platz gets mentioned hereby in a list together with other places, that serve as meeting points for marginalized people and are considered as so called 'hot spots'. An alcohol ban is not planned for the moment but a list of other measures is presented instead: more police-controls, mobile-social workers, new place-design and an increased cleaning intensity are just some of them (FIX: KEIN ALKOHOLVERBOT AM BAHNHOF FLORIDSDORF! Aber

Maßnahmenpaket., 2019). Annual evaluations should keep the option for a ban open and therefore the discussions are not over by now.

3 Theory

The following chapter presents the academic debate on public space that underlies the analysis around this thesis. Within this chapter I will first introduce the thoughts of some important thinkers like Habermas or Lefebvre dealing with **inclusiveness and democracy** in the public space – including the ‘urban public realm’ that are important for the analysis and discussion in this thesis. As marginalized people, especially persons with substance abuse disorders, are an important target group of this thesis, the term ‘marginalization’ is going to be elaborated on afterwards. The next section is introducing the thinking around **‘the right to the city’** and furthermore describes difficulties with including marginalised people into planning processes. Along with the ‘right of appropriation’, some existing policies are listed that exclude people from using or appropriating public space. Finally, some **driving forces** are summed up that allow the reader to understand reasons for the urban public realm being jeopardized in neoliberally shaped cities like Vienna.

3.1 Inclusiveness & democracy

Public space is usually mentioned in the context of urban areas and includes places of social interactions where we meet each other, interact or roam. The spaces consist of parks, free spaces, greenspaces, sidewalks, or streets. For a more detailed definition, I want to quote the UNESCO, an organization of the United Nations, that defines the public space as follows: *“A public space refers to an area or place that is open and accessible to all peoples, regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, age or socio-economic level.”* (UNESCO, 2021). To elaborate further on how the meaning of public space has changed over time, I want to discuss first its role in history briefly.

Public space has a long history in Western thought: it was in ancient Greece, where the public space (so called ‘agora’) established its role as a place of high importance. The agora accommodated people and served as a place, where they did social activities, trade and commerce, judgements and discussions or public affairs took place. The equivalent in ancient Rome was the forum, which was the centre of public life and the key site for political and cultural activities. Both were the centres of the emerging democratic ways of thinking and the places for the enactment of citizenship. But whereas the multifunctional use of the Greek Agora or the Roman Forum is common with our today’s understanding of public space, access was restricted mainly to wealthy, free, non-foreign male citizens (Gallion and Eisner, 1986).

As the short historical introduction illustrates, public space has been associated with power demonstrations of politics. Using the public space is a fundamental right in our modern democracies – for protesting and expressing our opinions but also for opposing against measures that are limiting our freedom or excluding others.

3.1.1 The urban public realm and 'the public'

Spaces in a city are not equally available to everyone. Tiesdell and Oc (1998) defined four mutually supportive qualities that characterize, how an urban public realm is supposed to be in its ideal state: it is universal accessible, it stands rather for sociability than individuality, it is socially inclusive and an important neutral territory. Even if these qualities sound too idealistic and probably do not apply to many public spaces, it is important to keep them in mind in order to realize the degree the current status deviates from it. The urban public realm can be hereby seen as a kind of scale that tries to state, to which extent the physical spaces in a city are accessible to everyone, including marginalised people. As being addressed by this thesis, also an alcohol ban can be an intervention that narrows down the scope of the urban public realm.

When talking about the public space's accessibility and consequently prevailing democracy in post-war Western societies then the work of Jürgen Habermas', who started a discussion about the aspatial 'public sphere' is highly relevant. He defines many aspects that make a public space vital: the 'public sphere' is the place, where 'the public' is being organized and represented and it mediates the relations between the state and society – it is this sphere, where all forms of society find access to power within the prevailing society, social life happens, where opinions can be formed and where democracy occurs. The public space is the material part of the public sphere, where social as well as political interactions between all members of 'the public' take place (Habermas, 1991). Of course, today the public sphere is not necessarily bound to public space as other arenas have emerged due to globalization and new forms of media. But, its dependence to physical locations has been stressed by the element of theatricality – a physical place hereby serves as a stage for carrying out conflicts and political activities (Cassegård, 2014). In the case of this thesis, the Franz-Jonas Platz serves as a stage to discuss a conflict in the public sphere.

Cassegård (2014, pp. 692-694) builds on Habermas' argument, and argues that publicness only arises by 'bracketing' certain inequalities of its participants. This means, that we need to disregard societal inequalities in public space in order to create the semblance of equality between the users. It is by openly challenging injustice and inequalities, by contestation, that publicness would occur. Consequently, only by 'unbracketing' the public sphere, inequality can be made visible as a dissent in public space and alternative arenas can be empowered to arise, where disadvantaged groups can function without stigmatization.

Don Mitchell (2003, pp. 51, 122) argues that the public sphere has always been an arena of exclusive character – a sphere where *"rational 'free' discourse is protected by excluding irrationality"* and it is limited to an 'appropriate public' only. It is the presence of struggle that makes a space public but the mentioned bracketing goes also along with a certain degree of civility of public interaction that

“protects people from each other and yet allows them to enjoy each other’s company.” (Sennett, 2017, p. 264). This should lead to a broader acceptance and understanding of diversity and maintain the public order. This means that a co-existence of different societal groups in a public space is made sure when we bracket certain degrees of inequality that we would encounter.

A contrary opinion is shared by Jane Jacobs (2016). According to her, this order can be only maintained if the private behaviour (that is behaviour that scares away others or makes them feel unsafe) would be banned from the public. She creates the image, that some order must exist to produce publicness. This stands in contrast to Don Mitchell who argues that public space arises if this order is challenged through the visibility of behaviour, by people who would be usually displaced to the private sphere. Even if bracketing might be limiting and restrictive, as Cassegård (2014, p. 698) examines, it can also have an ‘empowering function’ for marginalized groups as it contributes to the creation of alternative arenas for interaction. This might be ‘counterpublics’ where marginalized groups can share their experiences without being stigmatized since they are amongst people in the same situation. An example can be informal settlements. According to Cassegård (2014, p. 700), public space should be an arena open to difference and where dissent gets visible. The material, public space is essential especially for marginalized groups since they often do not have other spaces to make themselves visible and participate in society.

Furthermore, Don Mitchell (1995) argues that the process of a broader inclusion and expanding on “the public” was historically seen as a constant social struggle. “The public” consisted only of those who were awarded with a citizenship, others were excluded. In today’s democracies the nature of interaction in the public originates from the ability for citizens to roam between private property and the public space, where they come together freely and voluntarily: *“To be public implies access to the sphere of private property”* (ibid, p.116). This does not apply to homeless people for example, since they do not have a socially legitimated private space. Stressing that the public sphere and the public space are meant to represent inclusion and interaction makes it possible for excluded, marginalized groups to argue for their right of being part of the active public. This means that public space is the arena that controls, where political or civic movements can claim space in order to be seen. Especially for marginalized groups, who might not have a private space to use, the public space is the place where they can participate and become a part of society. Hence, public spaces are a crucial element in the functioning of a democracy (Fraser, 1990).

Reaching inclusiveness also requires a certain level of tolerance about the legitimacy of “the public”: allegedly illegitimate behaviour is challenging our perceptions and notions about what public space is supposed to be and throws them into doubt. Seeing homeless people using the public space for activities that we might connect with our private sphere is challenging our understanding of order.

George Will (1987) hereby does not stress that this disorder is accused due to aesthetic reasons but it would present “a spectacle of disorder and decay that becomes contagion”. Don Mitchell (1995) even argues, that the homeless become an “indicator species” that mirrors the well- or ill-being of the current society.

3.1.2 Being Marginalized

Recent developments like privatisations or increasing surveillance of public spaces are limiting their accessibility for ordinary people and are changing the urban public realm (Jonas, McCann and Thomas, 2015). Hereby the most affected ones are those with the most limited resources and those, that are pushed to the edge of society: marginalized people.

Since the term ‘marginalized’ is very broad it needs to be further defined. Being marginalized is a passive position since marginalized groups do not choose this status themselves. Rather it is related to perceived norms or standards to that marginalized groups are marginal to. It is an ongoing process that can be caused due to stigmatisation or exclusion through the society. The marginalized are a very heterogenous group of people and the only thing that connects them might be experiences with discrimination or stigmatisation that might lead to a negative self-assessment. They form the polar opposite to the powerful and unchallenged, economically well-situated societal class. (Schleider and Huse, 2011, p. 118).

Winchester and White (1988, p. 38) suggest a categorisation of people who are marginal against economic standards, social norms or legal codes although the cause can be also a mix of the three categories as they are strongly interrelated. Reasons for marginalisation are diverse and can include shifts in the labour market, changing democratic structures, welfare-distribution, changes in the ideology or resulting from housing economy (p. 39). Subsequently, I want to introduce those marginalized groups that are related with the environment of public transportation hubs in Vienna. Whereas all of the following groups are relevant to mention, the group of people with substance use disorder are the most represented ones on the Franz-Jonas Platz.

3.1.2.1 *Ethnic minorities*

‘Ethnic minorities’ is the term for people who live as a minority on foreign ground and differentiate through culture, language or religion from the native citizens. The biggest groups of ethnic minorities in Vienna come from Turkey, Bosnia or Serbia and many of them are living there already in the second generation. Shaming of right-wing politics and still existing social gaps make them strongly vulnerable. Therefore, people with a foreign background can be marginalized against generalisation in public and media and other forms of public blaming. (OHCHR, 2020).

3.1.2.2 Refugees

People who had to leave their country of origin due to disadvantageous situations have a very uncertain legal status in their country of arrival. A lack of perspective, uncertainty about a residence permit but also precarious economical situations make refugees especially vulnerable to have a substance use disorder. Furthermore, lacking time schedules due to missing work permits make public space, like railway stations, an attractive meeting point (Pfeiffer, Baier and Kliem, 2018, p. 80).

3.1.2.3 People with substance use disorder

Substance abuse is defined as taking drugs that are not legal or consuming alcohol or other legal substances in an amount that is harmful for your body. According to the evolution of our language, the term 'abuse' is becoming outdated today, and it is more appropriate nowadays to use the term 'substance use disorder' instead to avoid provoking negative associations or individual blame (Kelly, Saitz and Wakeman, 2016). The consequences of a substance use disorder are physical or psychological damages, but also the social life is mostly affected (WHO, 2020).

In the case of this study, the most used drugs are heroin, cocaine, cannabis, and alcohol. Regarding the illegal drugs (which are all drugs except alcohol according to Austrian), it is obvious that dealers are concentrated on the same spaces as the drug users. Those do not necessarily have to be part of marginalized group, although poverty, hardship, and a lack of other opportunities can be reasons for getting into the drug-business.

3.1.2.4 Homelessness

The term homelessness is very wide-ranging as it includes several forms of homelessness and therefore needs to be further defined. The 'European Federation of National Organizations working with the Homeless' categorizes homelessness into four groups: inferior or substandard housing situation, insecure accommodation, houselessness (living in institutions or short term accommodations) or rooflessness (rough sleepers or living in emergency shelters) (Daly, 1994). The categories show a steady decline in the person's resources and consequently its degree of being marginalized. Thereby the rough sleepers need to suffer the most as they spend most of their time outside and find shelter in public areas as parks, under paths or similar.

3.2 The Right to the City

This important slogan, that can be associated to the famous French Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre has been influential in critical thinking about marginalisation and public space and is therefore important to mention in the context of this thesis. The arguments of his book 'Le Droit à la ville' (1968) are also highly relevant until the present. The famous phrase 'right to the city' intends to attract attention to troubles with the working class and access to physical space in the city. Hereby, it focuses

on the role of the members of a city (all people that live or use a city) in struggling against the shrinking urban public realm that is caused by increasing private sector development. The 'right to the city' slogan is further used in the context of civic movements that want to raise the attention to unfair distributions in public space and critique neoliberal politics of our cities. (Jonas, McCann and Thomas, 2015) The right to the city concept can be mainly divided into the two components, participation and appropriation, that will be elaborated in the following section.

3.2.1 Right to participation

Lefebvre names the city an oeuvre – a work in which all citizens are participating. Don Mitchell (2003) builds upon this and stresses the actual problems that we face in today's cities: The city, the oeuvre, we really live in is not building on participation but on expropriation by a dominant class and dominant interests that are not interested in including differences in the urban fabric. Instead of being produced by us, citizens, the city is produced for us. Lefebvre mentions hereby the 'right to the city' as a superior form of rights: the right to freedom, to habitat, to appropriation and participation. The citizens have the right to co-create the oeuvre. (ibid, p.18)

It is claimed that in today's neoliberal cities the interests and demands of the private are by far more met than those of 'ordinary' citizens or even marginalized people (Jonas, McCann and Thomas, 2015) The following section will discuss the right to participate for people that have a lower status in society and therefore might not be included the same way into the city's development process.

3.2.1.1 *Inclusion of marginalized groups into city planning processes*

Having a 'citizenship' as we commonly understand the term, entails us with certain rights and responsibilities that make us members of a nation state. Hereby, the state encouraged its citizen's cultural integration as members of an 'imagined community' that is the nation state (Jonas, McCann and Thomas, 2015). Whereas some residents of a city do not possess a citizenship due to their foreign origin, others are marginalized due to other reasons so that their voices are not heard the same way. As the following definition emphasizes, being marginalized is defined as being in a disadvantaged position compared with the remaining society: *"To relegate to an unimportant or powerless position within a society or group"* (Merriam-Webster, 2020) It is these groups, that are in all major cities of Europe the most vulnerable ones and therefore most exposed to the risks of social exclusion (Madanipour, 2004, p. 270).

It is widely known today and promoted by international agencies like the United Nations that inclusive citizen participation in the design and management of the citizen's neighbourhoods is a desirable goal to achieve. The United Nations highlights in the 'Sustainable Development Goal 11' that capacities for participation should be further enhanced (United Nations, 2015). On the European scale it is

dependent on the city how distinct the degree of integration into the city development process is. Whereas at some places participation is rather interpreted as only informing about upcoming developments, others have understood the potential of participation as a tool to let citizens actually shape and co-create their neighbourhoods, as Ali Madanipour (2004, p. 280) examines in his article about marginal spaces in Europe: *“Participation of residents in public space maintenance and management can be a way of improving the physical environment and developing some social capital in the neighbourhood.”*

But especially the inclusion of marginalized groups is a challenging task and hard to achieve due to many barriers that can be encountered. It depends on the resources and intentions of the planner and is furthermore questionable how the status of complete inclusion could be achieved at all. A research made in Vienna on reasons for the varying rate of voter turnout at municipal elections compared some differing indicators between two districts (Hofinger, 2018, p. 2). The study can give some insights about the indicators that are relevant for participating in political but also urban matters. The four main differing variables were the share on citizens who were born in a foreign country, the share of citizens who completed compulsory education only, the average living space and the average income. If these four indicators are only weakly pronounced (which means that the citizen has less resources available), then a participation in urban or political matters is less likely. Especially in districts with a high share of citizens born in a foreign country this can have significant consequences into the participation processes.

3.2.1.2 Shortly theorizing the roots of citizen participation

The aim to get people to participate into the planning process roots amongst others on the critics of Paul Davidoff (1965) of the ‘public interest’. He criticized that the ‘public interest’ and the rational comprehensive planning, that gained ground in the 1950s and 1960s and were based on the thinking of August Comte, were too quantitatively based and did not fit the diversity of our pluralist society since the social patterns were missing (Mäntysalo, 2005). Participation was already recognized as a way to deal with public interest but was then performed in a rather limited way, in the form of consultations or by using rather quantitative methods (Lane, 2005). Problems were solved in a regular planning process, and the processes were strongly institutionalized. According to the famous ‘ladder of participation’ by Arnstein (1969), this way of participating would rather correspond to a ‘tokenistic’ way of participation. However, Davidoff’s model of advocacy planning claimed that planners should help people understanding political planning processes. The planners were supposed to advocate between local governments and the interests of the local community. One example in practice is in Finland, where key actors in local resident associations are planners or architects who offer their expertise and skills in promoting the association’s interests (Staffans, 2004). Mäntysalo (2005)

stresses, that advocacy planning is motivated by the empowerment of marginalized groups, but it views planning as an oppositional power. Also, the role of the planner as an advocate is viewed critically as the translation of the citizens' interests into the language of planning expertise cannot be neutral and unproblematic: "(...) *expertise is intended to be used in the service of political empowerment of the weak citizen group, but, paradoxically, the use of expertise becomes the empowerment of expertise itself.*" (ibid, p.5)

Building upon this, in the 1970s Charles E. Lindblom (1965) introduced the theory of the 'partisan mutual adjustment' as a model in decision making because of his concern about different ways of agreement that can be made between conflicting groups. As part of his ideas of incrementalist planning he mentions amongst other things that planners cannot be value-free and therefore the participation by many interest groups and decision-makers is needed. Even if not all needs can be satisfied, it is left to the groups to negotiate, bargain, and compete. Tore Sager, in turn, criticizes that the decisions are made despite the lack of agreement, and it does not guarantee a fair fight between the different interests. The access to decision making would not be evenly distributed and those with more influence would be privileged: the 'quality of decisions' is not guaranteed. (Mäntysalo, 2005)

According to John Forester (1993), the main critics about advocacy and incremental planning is that both cannot deal with ambiguity and uncertainty. With the "Theory of communicative action" Jürgen Habermas (1984) introduced a cornerstone of communicative planning theory where he argues that power and money are decisive in planning communication. For reaching undominated communication where mutual understanding could be sought to solve the problems of ambiguity, Habermas developed the concept of communicative rationality - an ideal speech situation, that is shaped by equal power and equal economic relations. The decisive characteristic and what matters are the power of the better argument and the content of the argument itself. Mäntysalo (2005) hereby criticizes, that the communicative rationality prefers those with good argumentative skills. Others, with less skills like for example marginalized people would get penalized as Habermas does not pay attention to the social forms of power.

With the concept of 'designing as making sense together' Forester(1989) addresses the issue of understanding how the processes of mutual understanding work. The concept stresses the notion of designing as a helpful tool or process between participants to create new meanings together. Even if some do not agree on a certain decision, they may nevertheless accept it if it has been reached in a transparent process where interests and the reasoning behind arguments were revealed. "*A legitimate way of promoting an interest involves the acknowledgement of the coexistence of other interests.*" (Mäntysalo, 2000, p. 368)

3.2.2 Right of appropriation

Coming back to the right to the city concept, its second component considers the right to appropriation. This component claims, that all inhabitants or users of a city should have equal opportunities to access physical, public spaces. Due to increasing private interests in the neoliberal city, the right to appropriation draws attention to the right of using or even occupying the public space, that is supposed to be provided for all citizens or users in a city. As Don Mitchell (2003, p. 19) explains, there is an important difference between the right to appropriate and the right to property: whereas property rights can exclude unwanted users from using the space, the right to appropriation can be seen as one way of the right of housing or to inhabit. The right to have access to any public space is something that is held in common by all users of a city and is different to individual ownership rights that could exclude others.

This particular right, the right to appropriate, is also referring to the struggle that is taking place on the Franz-Jonas Platz, the site that is in the centre of attention of this thesis. Based on exclusive measures, the right of appropriation is being jeopardized – especially for marginalized people. The following section will first elaborate on some driving forces around this struggle and then list some examples for already executed exclusive policies both on the European and the American scale. The last paragraph discusses the perceived safety in public space and introduces the defensible space program.

3.2.2.1 *Elaborating along exclusive policies in the European and American context*

The current urban development, which is characterized by a shift from the ‘planned city’ to the ‘entrepreneurial’ or ‘post-industrial’ city creates the need for safer and cleaner spaces that are attractive for commercial activities where only the ‘appropriate’ public and the powerful private is supposed to participate (Doherty *et al.*, 2008). This goes along with the already discussed trends in public space like a ‘touristification’ (Sequera and Nofre, 2018), an increasing commercialisation or urban renewal, that put the use of public space under pressure and are mainly responsible for the introduction of regulation policies introduced by local or federal governments. They can differ in its intensity of punishment and way of enforcement.

Hereby we need to differentiate between varying approaches that can be observed on a global scale: whereas the ‘European model’ follows a strategy of control and regulation in public space, American cities focus on more punitive and pervasive approaches in tackling exclusions of marginalized groups (Bergamaschi, Castrignanò and Rubertis, 2014), as Randall Amster (2003, p. 200) describes the way to go for American authorities: *“If you want to eliminate a particular social class or subculture or deviant group, locate some behaviour that is largely peculiar to that group and make it illegal.”* Some case studies from American cities show, that activities like sitting on the sidewalk, sleeping in public or begging were announced as illegal behaviours. An analysis across 102 US-cities resulted in an average

of almost 11 anti-homeless laws per city (Whelley, 2014) – based on a catalogue of measures that was collected by the ‘National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty’. The listed laws include ‘crimes’ like “loitering in public”, “obstruction of sidewalks” or “sitting in public space” (NLCHP, 2014). Some states go even further and fine citizens or NGOs for ‘feeding homeless’ (Linnekin, 2012). Hereby the concept of ‘revanchism’ is worth mentioning together with the U.S. context.

With the ‘revanchist city’ concept, Neil Smith (1996) shows how neoliberal polices in the 1990s deal with vengeful zero tolerance policies against marginalized groups. Along with the concept of the ‘revanchist city’ Atkinson (2003, p. 1833) suggested a set of elements that can help to analyse the characteristics of ‘revenge’ against marginalized groups that seems to be useful in the context of this thesis. The set includes four strands that aim to understand the severity of a ‘revanchist city’: the ‘mode of governance’ that implies how much the government intends to control the public realm, ‘set of programmes’ that addresses policies designed to regulate the behaviour in public space, a possible ‘prophetic and dystopian image’ where vengeful policies might be seen as an improvement, and a ‘reference to economic objectives’ that explores the correlation between economic investments and the resulting programs for securing and beautifying the city.

When looking at the European scale, there are less examples of cities that use such punitive measures or policies compared to the United States. However, one extreme example can be found in Hungary, where 2018 “*habitual residence in public space*” (Albert *et al.*, 2019, p. 12) was made illegal even by amending the constitution. This means, that people that use the public space as a shelter to secure themselves – mostly homeless people in this case – are criminalized and can get imprisoned for their actions, as shown in Figure 7 where a homeless man is being arrested by police forces. This is justified by the allegedly strived for aim to force people to leave the public space so that they rather look for shelter in an institution instead. The reality is different though since the shelters in Budapest are completely overcrowded and are lacking sufficient hygienic conditions (Walker, 2018).

In other European cities there are other, more devious, and surreptitious ways used by legislators to regulate the usage of public spaces. Devious in that way, that the strived for aim is not mentioned in the regulation although the targeted group is obvious. While some countries ban alcohol from public spaces nationwide due to their generally strict laws regarding alcohol, like Norway, other countries practice such restrictions only in specific areas. Areas, where it is mainly unwanted marginalized groups that are the ones drinking and the laws are obviously trying to dispel them. In this context, Allen (2006) shapes the term ‘ambient power’ and demonstrates on the example of the Potsdamer Platz in Berlin, how an unmarked presence of power embedded in the square’s architecture and design can lead to an exclusive atmosphere. This applies especially to the already mentioned commercial spaces in the form of Business Improvement Districts implying a kind of openness, what rather is an illusion.

However, there is another more unobvious way of introducing exclusive regulations, that Catharina Thörn (2011) calls the ‘soft policies of exclusion’. She argues that soft exclusion approaches should be understood as *“a local expression of revanchism that needs to be interpreted as a different exercise of power”* (ibid, p.993). In her article she describes these policies by using the example of Gothenburg,



Figure 7: Homeless man is escorted by the Police in Budapest. (Varda, 2011)

Sweden, where a municipal sanitization concept is aiming for many ‘low-key’ measures supposed to making the city cleaner and safer. These include the removal of public toilets, reshaping small pocket-parks into outdoor cafés or the installation of benches with armrests that prevent from sleeping. Also, an increased patrol of security guards or the restriction of ‘playing loud music’ are all part of a set of measures that aim to achieve more controlled and regulated public spaces.

3.2.2.2 *Safety in public space*

Political strategies against unwanted groups in public space intend to respond to lacking security combined with a perceived feeling of unsafety by citizens. First, we need to differentiate between subjective and the objective safety: the two forms of safety do not have to overlap as the example of the Karlsplatz in Vienna shows: the presence of a few people with substance use disorder led furthermore to an exaggerated, scandalizing discussion on the lack of safety of the space that did not correspond with the actual level of danger of these groups at the square (Diebäcker, 2019, p. 145).

People are experiencing different realities and whereas for some a place might be a 'good' place to stay, for others it feels 'bad' or unsafe. Other social science disciplines are also contributing to this debate, like it is studied for example in urban social psychology, that researches the processes of how individuals reflect their environment (Reitzes, 1986). It is Wohl and Strauss (1958) who found that urban images refer to cognitive meanings that individuals use to interpret their physical and social urban environment. It is mainly the distinctive, outstanding images that get highlighted when analysing the environment and furthermore lead to a subjective opinion or feeling about a place. Through speaking about a place adjectivally it can easily be stigmatized by the individual: *"(...) they are content to feel that the quality of their own experience and the mood inspired by their own dimly sensed implications provide the cement that binds these attributes together"* (Wohl and Strauss, 1958, p. 528) These notions and feelings are also shaped by our other senses. Perceiving smells in the urban context for example are indicators for our personal level of comfort.

A Dutch study that was based on international empirical findings highlights four fields of action for creating more security in the social space of neighbourhoods (Schubert and Schnittger, 2002): First, responsibilities for citizens and the creation of neighbourhood networks should be encouraged. Through an increased level of cohesion in a community, a bottom-up 'self-defence' can be ensured. By activating neighbours and by creating social ties, common expectations towards the strived for public space can be exchanged and informal ways of social control can be established. Second, establishing a local network is significantly supportive in reducing subjective feelings of insecurity. If a community is in a regular dialogue with local authorities (e.g., police and social workers) then local potentials for security related topics can be easier activated. The third field of action is stressing the importance of socio-cultural services. The availability of social infrastructure and services is supposed to deal with problems of insecurity as identified by local residents. Finally, technical, and physically built measures at buildings or in the neighbourhood itself can help to increase the feeling of safety. Hereby, the principles of the 'defensible space' and the CPTED (Crime Prevention through Environmental Design)-model are worth mentioning.

The defensible space program was initiated by Oscar Newman (1996) who developed some exemplifying physical layouts for communities. This should allow the residents to control the area around their homes. The proposed layout also included gates and barriers that should exclude strangers from entering the neighbourhood. Whereas this measure can certainly be criticized for being exclusionary and preclusive, the CPTED model is a further development of Newman's concept. Design measures like oriels or building leads can for example create better visibility axis. Better lighting should avoid dark and unclear locations and also trees and bushes can be planted strategically to create better and allegedly safer environments for the residents (Wickert, 2021).

The described models exemplify different approaches that aim to create 'safer' environments for residents of a neighbourhood. Hereby, the difficulties of achieving a balance between avoiding exclusion and increasing the subjective feeling of security get evident. A mix of measures seems to be the way to go.

3.3 Driving forces of exclusion in a neoliberal city

The public space is the stage for reflecting many global trends and conflicts that can partially lead to the described policies (Holm and Gebhardt, 2011, pp. 8-9). It is often seen as a landmark in a city's social life and cultural heritage. Whereas the 'right to the city' movements want to achieve a universal public space that can be accessed and used by everyone equally it struggles with its always changing nature and issues caused by our neoliberally dominated society. In the following section I want to discuss some trends or forces that are endangering the urban public realm and can be found in most European capitals, like Vienna.

3.3.1 Cooperation between the public and the private

In many European cities, there is a trend of city management responsibilities, the provision of basic services and public goods, being shifted into the hands of the market. The rise of the entrepreneurial city is marked by a shrinking power of the state that underlies neoliberal market dynamics (Hall and Hubbard, 1996). Consequently, private developers and investors show an increasing interest in investing in the public realm in order to increase its value and to benefit from that. At the end, an improved urban surrounding is improving the life quality of the residents and therefore their will for paying a higher rent. (Punter, 1990)

It is often the surrounding business with economic influence who have the power of making decisions about the design and usage of public spaces. Their interest however, rather lies in enforcing their own interest and gaining more customers than in social justice (Madanipour, 2004, pp. 268-269). 'Private-Public-Partnerships' (PPP) or 'Business Improvement District' (BID), that are a form of PPP but are valid for a whole district, are prominent examples for forms of governance where municipalities start cooperation with businesses in the (re-)development of public space. *"They deliver a highly adaptable small-scale management of urban spaces on the basis of the interests of property owners and businesses (...)"* (Michel and Stein, 2015, p. 78). This can in some cases result in the construction of less benches to direct the pedestrians into restaurants where they should consume whilst being seated, like an example in Hamburg shows (Bloß, 2016, p. 65).

The ongoing shift from the Fordist, welfare-oriented managerialist mode to a post-Fordist entrepreneurial regime is emphasizing the competitiveness that today's cities are facing. Hereby, the (re-) development of public space got acknowledged as a driving force in making cities more

comfortable and liveable. Its regeneration, renewal or modification can help the city to attract wealthier residents but also tourists, businesses, and the associated capital. The urban space has an important role for promoting a positive, modern lifestyle and enhancing the city's look and feel. (Van Melik and Lawton, 2011) Related to this shift, a so-called trend of 'touristification' in European cities puts pressure onto the usages in public space. Cities are often renewing their spaces and want to attract new investment and the space gets planned to be a 'shopping experience' and a façade serving as photo motives for tourists (Picard, 2003).

3.3.2 Urban renewal through gentrification

Some effects of these privately intended investments can be witnessed amongst others in Vienna as well. Especially former working class districts, or old industrial neighbourhoods on the edge of the cultural centres were neglected, declined and defined by shabby, unsafe parks, badly lit streets or unattractively designed squares (Madanipour, 2005). Hereby, during the so-called gentrification processes, investments into old substance of these left-behind areas lead to increasing living costs and furthermore the displacement of the initial residents. Florian J. Huber (2011, p. 224) concludes that *"gentrification has to be perceived as a spatial manifestation of social inequality."*

Besides the mentioned central and historic places, it is often those mentioned neighbourhoods that are undergoing a gentrification process, where urban renewal goes hand in hand. The re-development and upgrading processes of public space aim to create a better reputation and achieve higher prices on the housing market. Elements of creative assimilation and communality that should present a picture of a 'harmonious lifestyle' are central for the marketing of these renewal developments (Huber, 2011). But even if the renewed areas try to stand for a supposed harmony, increasing price values in a neighbourhood are inevitably marginalizing and/or displacing residents with lacking resources. But the pressure to move is also strengthened because the presence of low-income residents is not welcomed anymore. Their low social status is reducing the potential value of the new real estate development and thus the potential profit of those investing in it (ibid). Displacement hereby can happen both directly and indirectly as a result of a cultural redefinition of an area. Cafés, boutiques or art galleries can be symbols of a strived for aesthetic preference where social spaces of low-status milieus are displaced and low-income-groups are likely to be expelled from the public sphere (Rofe, 2003).

One example is the area around the Karmeliter-market, a 'trendy' inner-city neighbourhood in Vienna that is known to be affected by gentrification-processes. The market, formerly used as a place for daily groceries is today dominated by trendy restaurants and cafés. Figure 8 shows the market as well as some of the ongoing housing upgrading. By renovating whole blocks and adding extensive loft conversions, the rents can be increased significantly.

An according analysis performed by Huber (2011) concluded that the displacement happening at Karmeliter-market was predominantly indirect marked by an increasing commercial infrastructure and gastronomy. Those are mostly adjusted to the demands of new coming residents who can be affiliated to a higher and wealthier social class. He argues, that “[...] displacement in the context of new culturally hegemonic realities in a neighbourhood is not less problematic and shows a similar dynamic like direct displacement, as social relations, bonds and networks are dissolved” (ibid, p.238). By detaching social relations, the place-based identity can disappear, and the feeling of exclusion can increase. Huber (2011) therefore appeals to create spaces that foster encounters of people with diverse resources of social, cultural as well as economic capital so that marginalisation can be avoided.



Figure 8: The Karmeliter-market with expensive loft conversions in the background. (Marktamt Wien, 2021)

4 Methodology

As explained in the introduction, the aim of this thesis is twofold: the framings within the political debate that is underlying the introduction of the alcohol ban at the Franz-Jonas Platz are going to be analysed with the help of a discourse analysis. By using the social space analysis on the other hand, I will analyse the actual situation on the Franz-Jonas Platz. Using these two methods allows me to answer my research question and present the differences between those two perspectives.

The following chapter analyses the two methodological approaches, that are underlying this master thesis. First, I introduce the discourse analysis as a theoretical and methodological approach. Then, I describe how I have employed discourse analysis for this thesis and give an overview of the documents that I have included. Thereafter, the second part of this chapter should on the one hand give some insights about the social space analysis. Since this method is not very known in English speaking literature, the roots of the social space analysis are going to be described more precisely. Then, the methods that were taken out of the social-space analysis toolbox and were used for this thesis are going to be explained.

4.1 Case Study Franz-Jonas Platz

The case study approach is well suited if the research is focused on relationships and processes. It can discover the complexities of a given situation and uncover how many parts affect each other. A case study delivers an in-depth study of a chosen area that is a 'fairly self-contained entity' and needs to have 'fairly distinct boundaries'. It mostly gets used for an inductive logic, for the discovery of information and can include a set of multiple methods and sources (Denscombe, 2014). For my thesis work, the case study is used as an 'umbrella' framework. Since my focus is set on the research of exclusion policies, a case study allows me an in-depth focus on a certain area, that in my case is the Franz-Jonas-Platz in Vienna. The method also allows me to use other methods that are useful to get sufficient results for answering my research question.

With the Franz-Jonas-Platz I have selected a very specific case that can be described as an 'extreme instance' following the categorisation by Denscombe (2014, pp. 57-58). The circumstance that a possible alcohol-ban already is discussed widely in the media makes this case an interesting and unique field of study. The selected case provides a "*contrast with the norm*" (ibid) as this exclusion aimed policies are not introduced yet and are not common at other public spaces so far.

4.2 Discourse Analysis

The very polarizing discussion about the possible introduction of an alcohol ban was unfolded in the public media (as being mentioned in the Background chapter, on page number 20) whereas the final

decisions are made on a political level. Corresponding to my research question, I want to know how the problems are being addressed and with which possible solutions they are meant to be solved. Therefore, a discourse analysis should deliver an in-depth analysis of the implied meaning of decision-makers when they talk about their ways of understanding the issue and why therefore an alcohol ban should be introduced or not.

A discourse hereby can be understood as a term identifying and describing written or spoken language (Oxford Learner's Dictionary, 2021) whereas Foucault uses the term “discourse” according to the standard usage of the term in the 1930s in which “*discourse refers to a unit of language larger than a sentence, and discourse analysis is the study of these sequences of sentences*” (Sawyer, 2002, p. 434). By unpacking the data and analysing it using the ‘lens’ of a discourse analysis, the extent, and the way our language creates meaning, contains hidden messages, or reflects and generates cultural messages, can be identified (Denscombe, 2014, pp. 287-290). For performing this type of analysis, the data material is discussed in relation to dominating discourses of urban development as presented in the theory chapter.

4.2.1 Important influences in discourse analysis

There are no neutral reflections of the world through our ways of talking but it plays an active role in creating and changing it. The basic idea that underlies a discourse analysis is that our access to reality is always through language and that language is structured according to patterns of people’s expressions used when acting in social life, where communication or debate occurs. These debates or discourses represent different ways of understanding of the world around us and furthermore construct different identities for speakers. Language and the way we talk therefore also have consequences in ‘real life’. (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002).

Discourse analysis deals with analysing these patterns. When taking a closer look at the field of discourse analysis, according to Jørgensen and Phillips there is no consensus about what discourses are or how they should be analysed – therefore it is not just one but a series of interdisciplinary approaches. By performing critical research, different approaches of discourse analysis show and investigate power relations in society. These approaches vary due to their focus of the analysis and their range of distinctive philosophical and theoretical premises. As Jørgensen and Phillips examine, discourse analysis has to be understood as a whole package, including philosophical premises, theoretical methods, methodological guidelines and specific techniques for the analysis. Hereby it is important to stress, that the discourse analysis has no rigid requirements what it needs to include but it is rather the role of the researcher to put together a package that suits his field of research in order to produce a broader understanding. In the following section I want to highlight some authors that are main influencers of discourse analysis and are important to mention regarding my research.

One crucial influence in discourse analysis is Michael Foucault, whose work significantly shaped its development and basically all approaches find their roots in his ideas. He argued that it was language that plays the most important role in establishing 'regimes of truth'. Language addresses or formulates social problems. Each society, all groups, have their own 'regimes of truth' that is the different discourses that reflects ideas about what is accepted as right or wrong. Foucault was also investigating on 'regimes of knowledge' where he considers rules for what can be considered true or false and stresses that it is never possible to gain access to universal truths since we are always talking in discursive understandings and cannot escape them (Foucault, 1980). The second, important strand of Foucault's work refers to the relationship between language and power. He saw power both as a restrictive and productive force – it creates our social world but is also responsible for the way how the world is formed and talked about. Like a discourse, power does not belong to individuals but is spread through different social practices. The relations between knowledge and power are determined by discursive strategies that are sets of ideas that constitute a common understanding about a certain topic: a discourse can be considered as the meeting point of power and knowledge (Layder, 2005).

The issue of balancing power-relations as Foucault mentions it is contrary to the more idealistic approach of Habermas who argues for a consensual discourse that is achieved by equal actors (Richardson, 1996). Richardson furthermore argues that the agents of this formalizing power can include politicians, policy analysts or other experts. Regarding the newspaper articles and political debate that deal with the possible alcohol prohibition zone, the produced texts carry certain meanings that go beyond the contents of the text itself because they are connected to wider discourses in society. The approach of Foucauldian discourse seems therefore appropriate to understand local power-dynamics and how they are relevant to wider debates.

4.2.2 [Application of the analysis](#)

Due to the immense amount of literature on the topic that would go beyond the scope of my thesis, I consider it as relevant to use frameworks from examples that are similar to the case I am studying in this research. Since discourse analysis per se does not dictate to follow a rigid framework, the following approaches and indicators serve as inspirations to use in the context of my own analysis.

Hereby the conducted discourse analysis from Klodawsky, Farrell and D'Aubry (2002) about homelessness in Ottawa shows some relevant points to investigate upon, for my analysis. For their investigation about media reporting on 'homelessness' in a local newspaper over a period of four years they use an approach that is based on Callahan and Callahan's (1997) interpretation of Van Dijk (1993). First, a *macro-structural analysis* shows how the text as a whole challenges, what the reader or the audience is already supposed to know about the world. As a second step, an *intertextual analysis* questions the "relationship among central messages" (Callahan and Callahan, 1997, p. 41) but also

focus on the power of the headlines and its hidden meanings. Furthermore, they also conduct a very detailed analysis upon rhetorical structures that I will not include as it would overstep the scope of my research.

Another framework that helps structuring this analysis is used by Silje Maria Tellmann (2012). She used a group of indicators that are inspired by Dryzek (2013) who introduced some tools for the analysis on environmental discourses. First, the problem is defined and examined upon its interpretation. In the next step, the contextual framing of the problem can show linkages to other discourses. The problem solution presents how the authors try to cope with the topic. Furthermore, the legitimating arguments that characterise the discourse and justify the problem solution are listed.

Having these frameworks in mind, the analysis results in giving an overview about the discourses in context with the alcohol ban on the Franz-Jonas Platz. This helps to understand how the alleged problems were framed and how they are supposed to be solved.

4.2.3 Selecting and categorizing documents for the analysis

Figure 9 shows the selected documents that were used for my discourse analysis.

Published on	Document-Type	Publisher	Title
24/04/2018	Newspaper Article (including statement)	Meinbezirk.at	<i>“Kommt nach Alkoholverbot am Praterstern jetzt auch ein Verbot am Franz-Jonas-Platz?”</i>
24/05/2018	Speech (Protocol)	City council	<i>“Amtsf. StR Dr. Michael Ludwig having his inauguration speech</i>
26/11/2018	Proposed Resolution (Protocol)	City council	<i>“GR Gerhard Haslinger (FPÖ): was am Praterstern funktioniert, wird auch in Floridsdorf gehen...Leute fühlen sich unwohl, “</i>
27/11/2018	Proposed Resolution (Protocol)	City council	<i>“GR Caroline Hungerländer (ÖVP): Problem am Praterstern wurde gelöst, deshalb könnte man Problem auch easy am F-J Platz lösen.”</i>
20/12/2018	Speech (Protocol)	City council	<i>“GR Markus Ornig (NEOS) über Bierdosen...”</i>
11/02/2019	Statement	conservative party (ÖVP)	<i>“VP-Holawatsch: ÖVP Floridsdorf kämpft weiter für Alkoholverbot”</i>
18/02/2019	Newspaper Article (including statements)	meinbezirk.at	<i>“Alkoholverbot am Franz-Jonas-Platz”</i>
27/04/2019	Statement	Green Party	<i>“WIEDER IM GESPRÄCH: SOLL EIN ALKOHOLVERBOT AM BAHNHOF FLORIDSDORF WIRKLICH KOMMEN?”</i>
02/05/2019	Statement	Socialist Party	<i>“SPÖ-Floridsdorf fordert ein „Chancen-Haus““</i>
02/07/2019	Statement	Freedom Party	<i>“Kein Alkoholverbot für den Franz-Jonas-Platz!”</i>
02/07/2019	Concept	Municipality, Mayor	<i>“Evaluation report about alcohol-ban-zone on Praterstern”</i>
11/08/2019	Statement	Freedom Party	<i>“Tägliche Alkoholexzesse am Franz-Jonas-Platz, unterstützt durch die Untätigkeit der SPÖ!”</i>
26/09/2019	Proposed Resolution (Protocol)	City council	<i>“GR Michael Niegl (FPÖ): Alkoholiker weichen sogar schon zum Vorplatz vom KH Nord aus, Tauben&Rattenplage hat sich schon angesiedelt wegen Dreck”</i>

02/09/2020	Newspaper Article (introducing a concept)	DerStandard	“Stadt Wien investiert vier Millionen Euro zusätzlich in Versorgung Suchtkranker // bzgl. Stellungnahme von Koordinator Ewald Lochner”
------------	----------------------------------------------	-------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Figure 9: List of analysed documents

The first selection criteria I used when narrowing down the number of documents that deal with the alcohol ban, was to set a temporal limit. The analysed timeframe allows to give a sufficient overview over the happenings regarding alcohol bans in Vienna. As shown in Figure 10, the considered timeframe for this analysis ranges from the time of the introduction of the first alcohol ban at Praterstern in April 2018 until the publication of the second evaluation report in September 2020. I considered it as crucial to include the introduction of the alcohol ban at Praterstern as well, because of its role as first ban that got introduced in Vienna so far. As elaborated in the Background chapter in detail, the planned introduction of the ban and its discussion on the Franz-Jonas Platz is strongly correlated to it.

The second criterion is regarding the selection of sources. As a principle for the analysis, I decided to use only primary sources, that are freely available to the general public, mostly online. In order to reflect the political discussion, I chose to use documents published by the municipality or political parties only. Hereby I divided my document types in three categories: protocols, press statements and concepts.

The protocols reflect the exact wording of politicians speaking in the municipal council. They contain direct speech only because they are the transcripts recorded at hearings of the city council and reflect the tone and language of the politicians. The protocols cover proposed resolutions, made by different parties but also an inauguration speech that was held by the mayor in a hearing. To reach harmonized and standardized search results I used the terms ‘alcohol ban’ and ‘Franz-Jonas Platz’ at ‘INFODAT’, the search engine of the municipality’s database of city council protocols.

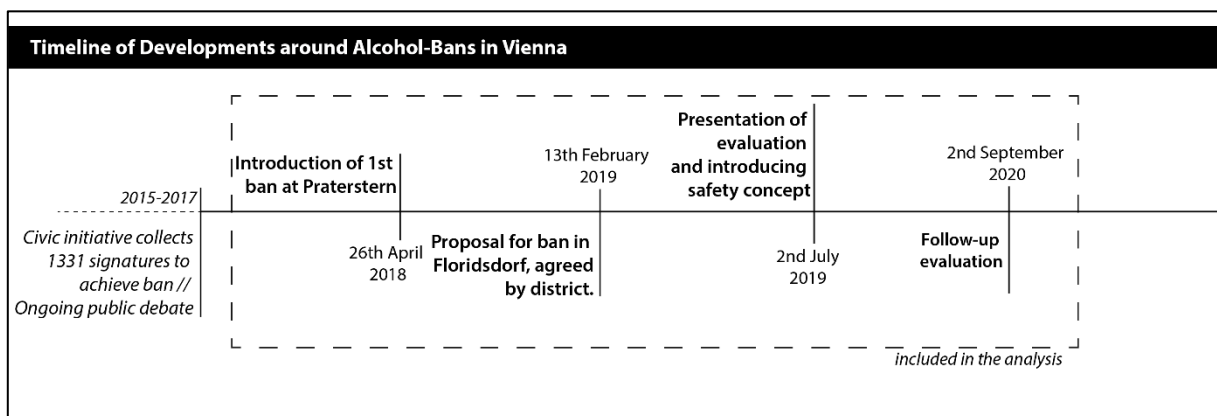


Figure 10: Considered timeframe for the Discourse Analysis (own illustration)

Since I realized that debates in the municipality around the topic of the alcohol ban as well as proposed resolutions are dominated by specific political parties, I extended my analysed sources upon official press statements published by political parties. The ‘google’ search engine was hereby used as primary

tool to look out for statements whereas the terms 'Franz-Jonas-Platz' and 'alcohol ban' served as keywords for the search. Since some parties have not published sufficient statements regarding the alcohol ban, I decided to include one selected newspaper article as well. In this article I only considered the parts that contain direct speech from politicians whereas the interpretations from journalist were left aside.

The third text category deals with concepts. This covers an official release published by the municipal government of the city of Vienna regarding the evaluation of the alcohol ban at Praterstern (after being in operation for one year). Furthermore, it presents the municipality's official strategy of coping with marginalized groups at public transport hubs and illustrates the way to go decided by the mayor and his party. One year later another evaluation on the same issue was released. Due to lacking official releases available online and the essential value of the information that can be taken out of this evaluation, I decided to use another newspaper article as a source instead.

4.3 Social space analysis

As the second part of my methodology, I will now introduce the social space analysis. By using the social space analysis, I want to explore the perspective of users present on the Franz-Jonas Platz. As we know from the political debate, the Franz-Jonas Platz is considered to be a place of insecurity for passers-by. Marginalized people are allegedly endangering passers-by and even local businesses, and the alcohol ban is the proposed solution for solving that problem. The following method allows to give answers about the place's development and work out if there is a possible correlation to the already introduced ban at Praterstern. How has the situation evolved since then? Is it justified to consider the place as being more dangerous? And is the introduction of a ban therefore a legitimate solution? This human-centred analysis should try to examine the context of the Franz-Jonas Platz negative image and offers to give an objective, unbiased summary about the prevailing conditions.

The social space analysis cannot be called a method itself but rather a specific socio-urban angle of analysis. It includes a toolbox of methods that can help to create a comprehensive picture of an urban space or area. In the following section, I will start with examining the origins of the social space analysis that should help to understand from which stands it got influenced by. This is especially important, since the social space analysis in this form only exists in German speaking literature. Although, when looking at Norwegian academic literature, there can be found some parallels to the socio-cultural place analyses, that gets further elaborated by Per Gunnar Røe (2014). But, as I will further elaborate, there are many other approaches that were performed throughout the past decades and show parallels and similarities. After this historical introduction, I will present the methodological structure and my

approach for the field work on the Franz-Jonas Platz. Finally, some limitations are going to be presented that take influence on the research.

4.3.1 Exploring the roots and influences of the social space analysis

As mentioned before, the social space analysis (in German: 'Sozialraumanalyse') is shaped by the German sociology professors Marlo Riege and Herbert Schubert. Their well-known work '*Sozialraumanalyse, Grundlagen-Methoden-Praxis*' is being used as *the* handbook for understanding and analysing social spaces in the German speaking area. Also, for this research their handbook will serve as the main source for performing the analysis.

Riege and Schubert's (2016) thinking is rooted in the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu identifies that the essence of the things we see and experience in the public space have their nucleus somewhere else. Social structures, living conditions or patterns of usage and perception that are clearly defined in definable social spaces are not mirrored in the immediate vicinity itself. They are rather a reflection of societal inequalities and power relations of different groups in the social space. Bourdieu's concept is counterposing meanings for two different spaces: the social space and the socially appropriated, geographic space. Whereas the first term only serves as a picture to explain social processes, the latter follows the logic of a rigid space where these social processes occur. The patterns that are occurring in the geographic space and get constituted in the social space are happening according to the capital of the users. Social, economic and cultural capital are fundamentally formed in the social space and can only be influenced there (Bourdieu, 1998).

The social space analysis as a methodological approach is embedded in the field of empirical social studies and has its origins in the Chicago School of the 1920ies when scholars started to investigate on urban development and resource-allocation patterns. One of them was Robert E. Park who initiated the spatial analysis and investigated on phenomena like integration, centralisation, or segregation in the urban context. He also compared effects of influx in different neighbourhoods. Hereby, he always focused on the research of the interplay between spatial and social structures (Riege and Schubert, 2016).

Later, it was in the context of the field of human ecology that the social space analysis developed further. Human ecology is based on the principle, that empirical social research needs to take the spatial integration of humans into account. Hereby, the field of human ecology developed some of the fundamental instruments, that are getting used in urban research to define and characterize social spaces: the zoning and defining of the space, description of spatial-/functional structures, the relation to neighbouring areas and the assessment of social and physical potentials of a space. Based on these

criteria, social spaces of homeless, or from the elite were identified in northern American cities (Quinn, 1950).

The norm of that time, which was focussing on structural factors only got criticized in the human ecological space analysis because of the complex social occurrences beyond statistical indicators getting thereby ignored. As a consequence of the increasing urban growth in the late 1950ies the field of the spatially and temporally oriented activity-system-research (in German: 'Aktionsraumforschung') came up the first time. Here, the correlation between activities in urban space and the organisation of space as well as the importance of the factor 'time' for social behaviour were being stressed. Considering individual activities, and motivations, were the only possible explanatory characteristics. It was Chapin (1974) who therefore developed the temporal/spatial model called 'Urban Activity Systems' as a concept to analyse the way how individuals, households or institutions pursue their interactions in space and time of the urban public space. In city planning and architecture this led to a shift in the approach. Whereas formerly the social space was treated separately, based on its functions (housing, work, mobility, leisure), now the behavioural patterns of the users came more and more into the spotlight. The planning-academia realized that it is from a high importance to understand how the urban space is organized and how qualities for the social space can result through the behaviour of users and residents in the built fabric (Riege and Schubert, 2016).

Other important influences for the social space analysis come from sociographic research approaches like 'social surveys' or 'community studies' which are investigating on phenomena of the daily life within a social space. The focus is set on the detailed exploration of the 'inner life' of certain neighbourhoods. Therefore, a wide repertoire of methods is supposed to be used. Especially observations – quantitative and qualitative or surveys can deliver more profound results than the solely interpretation of statistical data. An example is Walter H. Whyte (1988) who made a research about the public space in the context of his 'Street Life Project'. He believed, that by observing and by talking to people, more knowledge about creating places could be gained. Important characteristics of sociography are the joint consideration of subjective and objective observations, its openness towards the results and the dynamic of the research process: the used methods can be expanded, redeveloped or reviewed during the research process. Sociography can be considered as a predecessor of the 'grounded theory'. (Riege and Schubert, 2016)

In German-speaking countries, it was in the 1960ies when community-oriented planning got established as a further development from the UK, USA or the Netherlands as a new form in the field of social work. Then, it came to a shift of focus from an individual assistance to a community-oriented planning, that is emphasising the spatial factor which describes the 'habitat' where people experience their daily lives. First projects usually focused on problematic areas like neighbourhoods with a high

share of marginalized people or deprived areas. In the context of building large social housing estates (blocks) that were typical trends of that time, by using these empirical methods the influence of the built physical structures to the residents was getting researched. Researchers tried to counteract the shrinking acceptance of these blocks by performing participative investigations that were supposed to result in subsequent improvements. A keystone for the further development was the recognition, that the social space is characterized by the interests and values of dominant social classes and from a certain spatially linked constitution of the residents. Together with the effects of organizing the urban space, a 'socio-spatial milieu' emerges. The milieu-approach establishes a holistic understanding for the social space. Since then, an integrated analysis of both, social and spatial conditions is regarded as a standard for the social-space analysis (Keim, 1979).

Because of this new understanding, new questions came up that deal with socially varying spatial effects and usages. Behaviour and experience in urban space are following social correlations and therefore socio-culturally differing perceptions and patterns of appropriations appear. A more target-group oriented focus for performing a social space analysis gets therefore evident. One important focus is for example the gender-differentiated spatial perspective. It deals for example with women specific threats in the urban space: realms of fear like spaces with bad lighting during night-time or bad visibility. By using a multifaceted mix of methods like subjective mapping or 'walk and talk', where women could talk about experiences they relate to the specific spaces, a sustainable analysis of the topic was made possible. Other possible groupings can be age-specific or caused by other social factors whereas the used methodology is always being adjusted to serve its researched purpose. The results can show important insights about the heterogenous qualities of their living and housing conditions (Riege and Schubert, 2016).

From an economical and managerial perspective, the 'social-space-orientation' shaped a new organisational principle in communal administration. Away from a more hierarchically organisation, with the beginning of the 1990ies and following the model of the 'New Public Management' a more decentralized way got introduced for managing social services. After understanding the social living conditions of an area through performing of a social space analysis, resources and knowledge can be allocated more efficiently to the affected areas.

4.3.2 Two approaches by Riege and Schubert (2016) for performing a social space analysis

Today, this analysis has further developed to a qualitative tool, that is very commonly used to analyse social structures – in this form, especially in the German-speaking area. Riege and Schubert (2016) hereby created a 'toolbox' of differentiated perspectives that mirror the spatial relationships in a theoretical but also methodological way to emphasize the diversity of a social space. Whereas

traditional place analysis rather concentrates on an expert-view and focuses on the physical conditions and a system perspective, the social space analysis deals with the in-depth view of internal structures and qualities of the chosen area that get analysed layer for layer to understand the material appearance of the space as well as interactions, activity structures and indications for the appropriation of space.

Riege and Schubert (2016) differentiate between two types for performing a social space analysis. First, the citywide approach that can be considered as being comparative as it compares the characteristics of defined areas with each other. The second approach deals with the one single neighbourhood and its structures and qualities. Hereby, the analysis can be applied to gain an in-depth view of the area by linking structural spatial layers with experiences from the social space of individuals. The first approach is following the conventional human ecological model by using mainly quantitative data for the analysis. For a description and the analysis mainly general indicators and characteristics are taken into consideration by using statistical data provided by the authorities (i.e. municipality). By analysing this data, researchers look for structural patterns that can identify areas in a city with extraordinary profiles.

The other type of analysis, that is applied in the context of this research, might use quantitative data as well as qualitative. As mentioned earlier, a mix of methods is being applied in order to achieve an in-depth analysis of the residents' living environment. Therefore, the analysis has a structural-analytical and a behaviour-analytical component. In general, Riege and Schubert (2016) define three different layers for completing a social space analysis (as illustrated in Figure 11 together with the titles of the according sections in the results chapter): (1) The first step includes a quantitative data analysis in order to compile a socio-structural profile of the chosen area. (2) This is followed by the definition of physical boundaries for the area of research and furthermore a structuring into identified sub-spaces (3) A description of the status quo allows to map the existing problems, resources, and potentials and explores the user perspective.

	<i>Layer of Analysis</i>	<i>Aim</i>	<i>Methodological Scope</i>
(1)	Socio structural profiling: <i>“Profiling the environment of the Franz-Jonas Platz in the context of whole Vienna”</i>	Identifying patterns of sociocultural / socio-economical structures	Demographical analysis, Internet research

(2)	Spatial definition: <i>“Analysing the spatial structures of the Franz-Jonas Platz in detail”</i>	Differentiating social & physical sub-spaces and describing physical characteristics of the space.	Zoning, observations, cartographic analysis, historical analysis,
(3)	Assessing the current situation: <i>“Assessing the current situation on the square”</i>	Describing existing problems, resources, and potentials by both personal observations and subjective user experience assessments.	SWOT analysis, Stakeholder analysis, network analysis, interviews, observations

Figure 11: Layers of analysis and the consequent aims that are part of a social space analysis, by Riege and Schubert (2016).

Whereas the first two layers consist of quantitative investigations, the qualitative methods of the third layer needs further explanation about its way of application. To limit the scope, I will hereby only explain methodologies that will be performed in my research:

4.3.2.1 Cartographic analysis

By studying and analysing cartographic material the spatial definition is performed. Maps allow to give answers about built and topographical conditions that define physical barriers. Other elements like streets or green areas also define barriers of social spaces and its structures. The following parameters are inspired by Kevin Lynch (1960b) who tried to identified elements to describe the ‘image’ of a city. The data for performing the analysis can be both taken from a desk research and from interviews or observations:

- Spatial boundaries and barriers like rivers, forests, railroads or highways that often define edges of social spaces and hence its accessibility.
- The spatial hierarchies of the space in context to the whole city and its accessibility.
- The predominant usages of space (i.e. housing, industrial, offices...)
- Elements that structure the social space like paths, streets or transport lines.
- Symbolical points of orientation that are important characteristics of the area and/or particularly shape the space in a positive or negative way.

4.3.2.2 Interviews

An interview *“is openly a meeting intended to produce material that will be used for research purposes”* (Denscombe, 2014, p. 172f). The agenda for performing an interview is set by the researcher but he can also decide about the level of control he gives the interviewee. Whereas surveys can be beneficial to collect information on more simple matters, interviews can be useful to gain insights and opinions from pre-chosen individuals but also more resource intense. Both, preparation and post-processing can be highly time consuming. Denscombe (2014) summarizes, that the data collection of interviews

can be based on opinions, feelings, experiences, sensitive issues, or privileged information. There are several types of interviews that can be performed but only two types seem to be useful for my research.

Structured interviews are arranged similar to questionnaires and questions are raised in a way to offer limited response options. The fixed order of questions and the range of answers lead to a possible standardisation. Hence, many interviews can be performed while the answers can be later summed up to achieve a higher validity level. In my case, this interview type can be used for investigations in specific user groups. For example, many members of the marginalized group can be interviewed, and the results can be summed up later on. This interview type is suitable for random, spontaneous interviews.

Semi-structured interviews, however, allow more flexibility for the interviewer and more open answers for the interviewee. The interviewer still has a clear list of questions or issues he wants to inquire. But, he can be more flexible regarding the order and he can let the interviewee develop ideas and allow him to speak more widely about topics while the answers can be open-ended. For my research I will use this format for interviewing pre-chosen experts.

Another way for gathering information is by performing informal interviews. This specific form of interviewing gets often used in the context of participant observations. But even if the researcher is mostly observing and less participating, this method seems to fit well into the concept of the social space analysis. When performing the informal interview, the researcher talks with (stranger) people in the field informally, without using a pre-structured list of questions. The interview happens ‘on the fly’, without being scheduled before. Therefore, respondents see this rather as a simple conversation and might have ‘low pressure’ that allows them to speak more freely and openly. An informal interview does not need to be recorded due to the spontaneous circumstances. Therefore, taking notes right after the interview is the common way to go. During the fieldwork, asking about general topics was a good way to start a conversation with a stranger person. For example I could start a conversation with: “Excuse me, wasn’t this square being renovated a couple of years ago..?” Even if the topic might be irrelevant on the first hand, it serves as turned out to be a good opener for continuing with further questions. Figure 12 lists the interviews and interview types that were performed in the context of this thesis:

Interviewee	Interview Type	Interview Date
Elisabeth Odega (social worker)	Semi-structured interview	21.04.2021
Retailer 1	Semi-structured Interview	14.04.2021
Retailer 2	Informal interview	20.04.2021
Retailer 3	Informal interview	16.04.2021

Fundraiser	Informal interview	14.04.2021
Newspaper vendor	Informal interview	16.04.2021
Marginalised person	Informal interview	20.04.2021
Pedestrian	Informal interview	20.04.2021
Elderly person 1	Informal interview	16.04.2021
Elderly person 2	Informal interview	16.04.2021
Commuter 1	Informal interview	20.04.2021
Commuter 2	Informal interview	20.04.2021

Figure 12: List of performed interviews.

4.3.2.3 Observations

The methodological scope for observations can be mainly divided into participatory and non-participatory approaches. Doing participatory observation includes taking part in people's activities and conversations. In the context of this research the observations aim to study the behaviour of users in public space like, verbal expressions, non-verbal expressions (mimic, gesture, body-language) and other social characteristics (clothing, habits,...) (Diekmann, 2007). Therefore, a non-participatory observation is going to be the used approach. Hereby, the identity of the researcher is not going to be revealed and the observed people remain stay anonymous as well. Whereas interviews are a more direct way of collecting data, non-participant observations are rather distinct: they do not rely on people's statements but draws on the direct evidence witnessed by the researcher himself. But the researcher needs to be aware of an ethical responsibility in the way he frames vulnerable groups because the research might contribute to upholding prejudices.

4.3.2.4 Demographical analysis

By analysing quantitative and statistical data, statements about the social circumstances in the area can be made. The presentation of socio-economical attributes of the residents (like age, income, gender, ethnicity, ...) helps to create a more holistic picture of the area.

4.3.3 Applying the social space analysis by using a diverse methodology

In the following section I want to elaborate on the three mentioned analysis-layers in more detail and also how I applied them for my thesis, including what kind of data I am used for my research (the following numbering corresponds to the analysis-layers as described in Figure 11). This gets accompanied by guiding questions, that I will answer by using the respective method:

- (1) **Profiling the environment of the Franz-Jonas Platz in the context of whole Vienna:** This first step of analysis is supposed to deliver some insights of the developments in the surrounding neighbourhoods of the Franz-Jonas Platz. By highlighting and analysing concepts and plans of the municipality I want to describe the area's relevance in possible upcoming urban renewal activities. Additionally, I will use statistical data that is available of the whole surrounding

neighbourhood. By this means I can compare the district in the context of whole Vienna. In Vienna, statistical data is available on the base of so called 'election-parishes'. One parish can include up to 7.000 inhabitants (in very dense areas) and offers various statistical parameters (Statistik Austria, 2021a).

Methods used:

- Demographical analysis
 - How does the quantitative, statistical data describe the neighbourhood of the Franz-Jonas Platz?
- Internet research
 - What urban developments are planned to happen in the area? Are there any signs of urban renewal going on?

(2) **Spatial Definition:** This step is important to understand the physical structures present on the square. By analysing cartographical material combined with personal observations, this step should describe the spatial structures present on the square.

For my research I will first describe the Franz-Jonas Platz by using cartographic data published by the Viennese municipality. The official city map offers a huge variety of very detailed map and many different layers with information about usages, infrastructural elements and more. Information about historical usage can also be important to understand and reconstruct how the space has evolved over time. The zoning-method can furthermore help to divide the space and define sub-spaces and symbolic points that can be especially important in characterizing the atmosphere of the space.

Methods used:

- Cartographic and historical analysis
 - How is the space structured?
 - What spatially given zones can be read out?
 - In which way has the space changed over time?
 - What infrastructure is the square equipped with?

(3) **Assessing the current situation:** Based on informal interviews with passers-by and a semi-structured interview with a social worker as well as observations I am going to describe the interests of the encountered groups and present conflicts on the square.

The Interviews will hereby help to gain knowledge about the user-experience on the Franz-Jonas-Platz. By carrying out informal interviews with a small number of space-users I wanted to get an insight into the subjective opinions of people who roam around the space. Hereby, I have asked about their sense of security towards possible dangers accused by marginalized people. Another focus for the informal interviews will be set on an eventually experienced

change over time in the context of the discussed alcohol-prohibition. Due to lacking experience and possible difficulties in interviewing intoxicated people, a social worker was interviewed to gain information about the situation of marginalized people: the organisation 'helpU' is responsible for conducting social work on the Franz-Jonas Platz. Their employees approach marginalized people who are lingering on the public space, on a regular base and offer them assistance or just listen to their worries. However, the social workers have a great expertise about possible transformations in the public space over the last years.

Additionally, observations will add to the assessment of the current situation. The aim hereby is not to map representative user-patterns but to collect impressions about the different user groups and their interaction in public space. Specific attention will be aligned towards potential conflicts that come up amongst the users of the space. Taking pictures are a nice add-on for making the observations better feasible and capture some 'moods' from the ongoing situation.

Methods used:

- Informal interviews: different types of users (compare with Figure 12 for the list of interviewees)
 - How did the situation on the Franz-Jonas Square change since 2018?
 - Are there any possible dangerous situations that led to a shrinking level of felt safety around the Franz-Jonas Platz?
- Semi-structured Interview:
 - How did the place change because of the alcohol ban at Praterstern? Were there any displacements happening?
 - What are the possible consequences of exclusive measures (like the proposed alcohol ban) for marginalized groups?
- Observations:
 - What are people using the space for? What activities are happening?
 - How is the Franz-Jonas-Platz getting used by the different social groups?
 - Are there any interferences/incidents/conflicts between different groups?

4.4 Limitations

Certain difficulties have been faced while performing the discourse analysis: due to a lacking accessibility, it was not possible to find protocols of the meetings of the district council. This would have allowed to elaborate more precisely on the decision-making process within the political parties

in the district. Still, the alternatively found protocols of the municipal council give sufficient information about the political attitudes towards the proposed alcohol ban.

Limitations regarding the social space analysis were mostly concerning limited time resources: a long-time observation of the Franz-Jonas Platz was not possible to ensure as it gets performed in many other social space analysis and would of course allow even more profound results. The performed observations are snapshots that can show only a glimpse of the actual happening. This does not necessarily interfere with the idea of a social space analysis. In fact, the according literature says that often small but diverse data surveys can deliver even more information and insights than large quantitative surveys (Riege, 2016). But of course, the situation as assessed during this thesis does not correspond to exactly the same situation as it was at the time when the alcohol ban at the Praterstern has been introduced. Asking passers-by about their perceptions and memories of the that time still allows to give some interesting and valuable insights.

Approaching intoxicated people turned out to be more difficult as expected. Due to lacking experience and some personal barriers, I decided to consult an experienced social worker instead.

Another important limitation is the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic that takes a large influence in regular user-patterns in public space. Due to the critical situation regarding the pandemic in Vienna, curfews are being announced to get control of the spread of the virus. After already one year of restrictions, a certain lassitude of citizens following the rules can be noticed, compared to the deserted public spaces during the very first lockdown. Therefore, the public space is busier again but still not the same as it was before, not at least because of the still closed gastronomy. Hence, curfews needed to be considered as an uncertain variable. The assessment of the subjective living and user space with the help of participatory methods was therefore not possible to perform since the required distance would have been difficult to maintain.

Despite these limitations that came along my research in these very special times I managed to collect a varied and large amount of data that contributes to a more thorough understanding of the situation at the Franz-Jonas Platz. Especially using my twofold methodology allowed me to get relevant findings that can contribute to the discussion about exclusionary policies in public space.

5 Results

In this chapter I am going to discuss the gained results that will answer my research questions. In the first section, the results of the performed discourse analysis are going to be discussed. Hereby, the analysed political protocols should give some insights about the way how the alleged problems that led to the discussion of introducing an alcohol ban at the Franz-Jonas Platz, were framed. In the second section, the findings of the social space analysis present the situation on the site today. By giving users and experts a voice, I assess the square from their subjective perspective and elaborate on their needs and on potential conflicts.

5.1 Analysing the way, the alcohol ban is being discussed in local politics by means of a discourse analysis

The aim of performing the discourse analysis is to learn more about the various problem definitions and interpretations from the different political parties regarding the discussed alcohol ban. What is their argumentation in taking a position for or against the introduction of such a restrictive measure in public space, which target group would they like to address with it and what other solutions do they come up with? The analysis should show the political debate and make the reader understand, how the alleged problems were framed.

As explained in the methodology chapter, besides protocols from the municipal council, where (mostly oppositional-) parties make resolutions in order to achieve an introduction of a ban, also press statements from politicians that were published in the media get analysed. Additionally, an evaluation report about the ban at the Praterstern was analysed.

Following the presented indicators by Tellmann (2012) and Klodawsky, Farrell and D'aubry (2002) (as being introduced in the Methodology chapter on p.42), I want to perform the analysis by presenting the problem interpretations and discuss them, sorted by the discourses as identified in the political protocols.

Figure 13 gives an overview about the allocation of seats in the district parliament. Having this in mind, facilitates the understanding of the named political parties (and their political relevance) in the following sections.

5.1.1.1 *The discussion about safety and the 'Fear of crime' discourse*

When reading through the protocols but also through some analysed political statements, the main argumentation for introducing the alcohol ban is regarding an alleged threat for passers-by caused by the marginalized groups present in the public space on the Franz-Jonas-Platz, as these examples shows:

“The citizens need to tolerate this situation that these people [the marginalized] create a feeling of insecurity.” (Niegl, 2020, p. 70), and: “They [the marginalized] create a picture where citizens don’t feel comfortable anymore.” (Haslinger, 2018, p. 77).

These quotes are taken from a municipal hearing when the FPÖ (freedom party) proposed a resolution to introduce the alcohol ban. When analysing the quotes, it becomes evident that it is “the citizens” that are the subject, whereas “they” (the marginalized) are mentioned as the problem causers. Consequently, this form of labelling implies that the problem causers do not count as citizens. Also, there is no investigation into the reason, why ‘these people’ would hang out at the place or any other statement regarding the origin of their addictions. The marginalized people are discussed as a more passive subject and their needs are not set into focus, whereas “the citizens” are the victims that need to tolerate their presence. Private interests both of citizens but also local businesses that might be afraid of losing customers are prioritized upon the interests of the marginalized groups who are using the space out of necessity.

As the analysed protocols show, the used language is rather populist and subjective than fact-based and objective: *“The community of alcoholics causes not only problems for the safety on the square but also for the square’s hygiene [...]. By now even a plague of rats and pigeons has established itself on the square because food leftovers or vomit is luring them. Like I mentioned before, it would be smart to set up an alcohol consumption ban on the square [...]” (Niegl, 2019)*

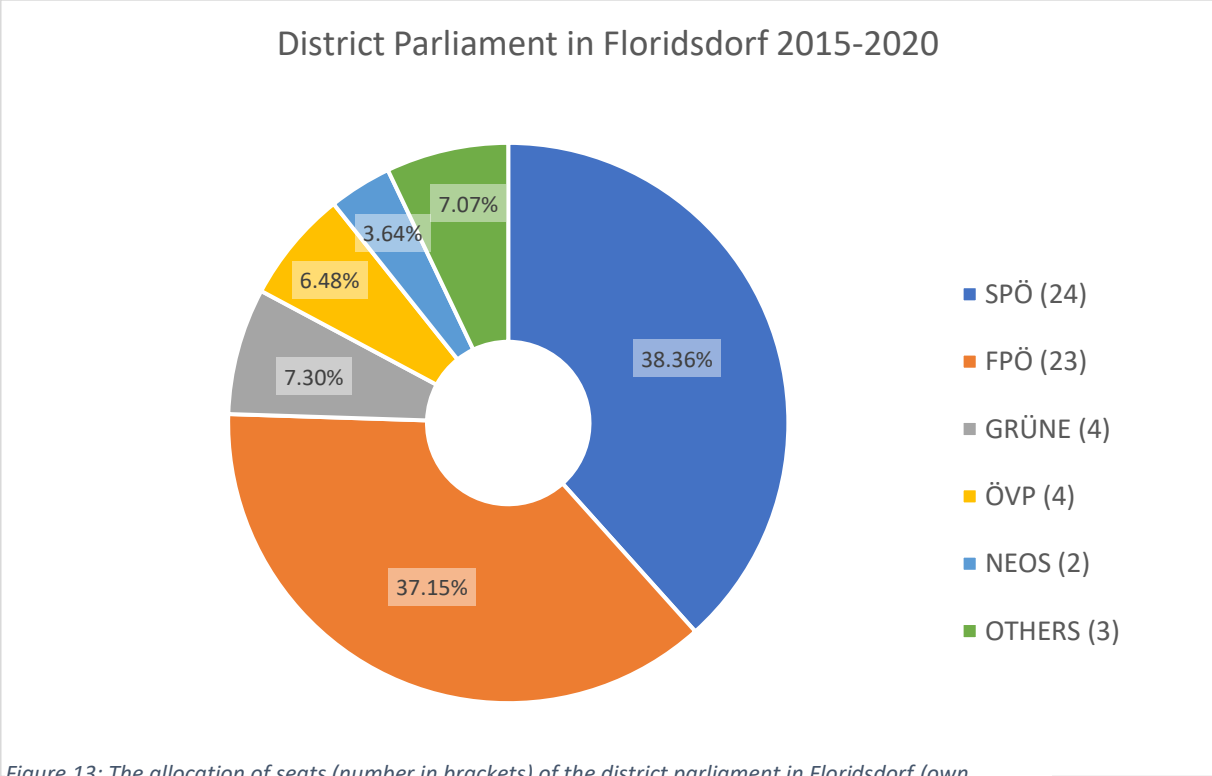


Figure 13: The allocation of seats (number in brackets) of the district parliament in Floridsdorf (own illustration, data source: Stadt Wien, 2015)

There are no sources mentioned for the listed arguments. Mentioning the bad hygienic circumstances in one sentence with the marginalized groups is stigmatizing them and puts them into a bad light that makes them appear as 'dirty loiterers'. The used harsh language and accusing alcohol users to vomit and thus attract pests creates a clear picture in the minds of the readers of them being unhygienic, dirty vermin that needs to be "cleaned" away from the square. Not to mention, that the square is a busy public transportation hub with hundreds of passengers spending their time and consuming food – therefore it seems unfair to accuse the marginalized people as the only polluters of the square. Another statement shows a similar pattern and language: *"Alcohol and substance abusers are harassing passers-by or are lying around unconsciously, as usual. [...] Everything is there, from nuisance, panhandling to police operations once every three days. We claim the introduction of a ban so that the square can be used again by the citizens without being exposed to dangerous and uncomfortable situations."* (FPÖ Floridsdorf, 2019)

The mentioned quotes can be related to the discourse about "fear of crime": as Hope and Sparks (2000) elaborate, fear of crime and the focus on security policies try to deliberately address feelings of fear and insecurity in public by problematizing groups or individuals (like the group of marginalized people at Franz-Jonas-Platz in this case) as a danger or threat for their personal safety. People who do not fit the norm are perceived as a danger towards the 'average citizen' and might be excluded from society. This should tie the intimidated groups closer to the political stance of these parties. In the case of the mentioned FPÖ party, addressing feelings of fear can be related to their political agenda where they claim to endorse restrictive measures in public space. This furthermore also relates to the discussion on the Franz-Jonas Platz (VIENNA.AT, 2015). Consequently, the FPÖ ('Freedom Party') is represented predominantly in municipal hearings where they address the allegedly safety issue many times and propose resolutions for introducing an alcohol ban on Franz-Jonas Platz. Hereby their harsh tone and used language do not change over time and until today they call for introducing a ban again and again. But also other parties like the SPÖ (socialist party) and their district leader Georg Papai reasoned that passers-by and local businesses would not feel safe anymore as a justification for the alcohol ban that he and his party voted for as well (Primes, 2019).

A counter-discourse is brought up by the NEOS party. Opposite to the prohibitionist politics of the FPÖ the NEOS-party is pointing out towards the accused marginalised group and draws attention to their precarious situation: *"[...] you [addressing the speaker from the FPÖ] would prefer to arrest all addicts, so that no one could see them anymore... But these people [the marginalized] need help!"* (Ornig, 2018, p. 49).

In this statement, the group is not presented as the problem causer but as the active subject, as the ones that is actually in need for further assistance. The NEOS are hereby presenting a different

strategy. Different than the FPÖ, they propose to solve the problem of the people with substance use disorder by actually helping them. This short statement by itself is enough to show the reader (or listener) what the actual root of the problem is and who the actual victims are. It is “these people” whose problems don’t get solved by locking them away from the square.

5.1.1.2 *Introducing alternative solutions*

Whereas other parties show a straight political stance all along the reviewed period of time and pro or contra the alcohol ban, the SPÖ (socialist party) that is ruling both on the district and the municipal level has changed their strategy on how to cope with the situation in the course of time. As mentioned before, district leader Georg Papai first saw the alcohol ban as the only solution to deal with the allegedly problematic situation on the square and therefore stated in early 2018 (compare Figure 14 for Georg Papai campaigning for the alcohol ban): *“I don’t want to wait until a development occurs, that is already now predictable. Therefore, I campaign for the introduction of an alcohol prohibition zone on the Franz-Jonas Platz and its surrounding area”* (Sellner, 2018).



Figure 14: District Leader Georg Papai (SPÖ) promotes the introduction of an alcohol ban in April 2018 (BV21, 2018)

As the quote shows, he regarded the introduction of a ban in Floridsdorf as a preventive measure. The quote was made a couple of days before the ban on the Praterstern was even introduced. Even without naming or listing alleged problems at the Franz-Jonas Platz, he compares it to the Praterstern, a place that is known in the media for its problematic with addicts. Introducing a ban at the Franz-Jonas Platz as well seems to him the only solution.

Later, in 2019 district leader Georg Papai stressed the demand to introduce accompanying measures together with the ban. As visible in his promotion in Figure 15, he highlighted the need for establishing a new social facility for alcoholics, a day-care centre (named 'Chancen-Haus' – 'house of opportunities') where the consumption of beer and wine (soft alcohol) should be allowed: "A 'house of opportunities' is important to be introduced in combination with the alcohol ban. The alcohol ban that got introduced at Praterstern forced us to act here in Floridsdorf as well – because we want to have a Franz-Jonas Platz without fear. But since alcohol abusers don't disappear, we will need strong social measures, like the mentioned 'house of opportunities.'" (SPÖ Floridsdorf, 2019).



Figure 15: "Take alcohol-problems serious - favoring a day-care-center" - district leader Georg Papai and chairwoman of the social commission Barbara Cermak (both SPÖ) promoting measures additional to the alcohol ban. (Herzog, 2021)

Due to the location of this institution, it is doubtful though how much this measure is supposed to contribute to the situation and how the marginalized people on the Franz-Jonas Platz could benefit. The facility is opened by now but located far away from the square (7 km and around half an hour by public transport). It might be a very good and needed institution for the whole district but cannot be set into direct relation as a problem-solving solution for the situation and alleged problems on the Franz-Jonas Platz.

Also, the quoted statement brings up the argumentation, that the introduction of the ban could be even beneficial for the marginalized, because consequently they would be encouraged to use more public social aid facilities where they could get help and advice and where social workers could deal

with their problems (Primes, 2019). The professor for social work, Christoph Stoik (2019b) counters and explains along with the example of the Praterstern that a ban makes it only more complicated for social workers to reach marginalised groups. On a central place like a train station the people are gathered on one spot so that social workers can check on them more easily as when they are spread over larger areas.

Another possible reason for the district leader adjusting his opinion over time, so that he now prefers the introduction of other measures instead of introducing the alcohol ban is because of a decision done by the mayor, who has the final competency about deciding upon such restrictions. He rejected the introduction of another alcohol ban and instead introduced a concept, named 'security and well-being in whole Vienna' (Weis, Voraberger and Schnurrer, 2019) that deals with marginalized groups at public transport hubs. In this concept, the mayor and his team introduced some alternative measures to the originally proposed alcohol ban. Except the already existing ban on the Praterstern, no further bans are planned to be introduced according to this concept.

5.1.1.3 Problem solutions and the discourse about displacement

In the following section I will discuss some of the brought-up solutions for the named problems and their argumentations as well as a discourse that comes up in this context.

In some of the protocols, the introduction of an alcohol ban is stated as the only option to solve all related problems and it often comes without any further explanations. Similar to the argumentation of district leader Georg Papai, the already introduced ban on Praterstern and its alleged success seem to offer a valid legitimation for extending it to other spaces: "[...] *if this has worked on Praterstern [...] then it is important to set another example here [at the Franz-Jonas-Platz] as well*" (Haslinger, 2018, p. 78).

This 'success' is, however, questionable. Especially, if taking into consideration, that the discussions of introducing a ban at the Franz-Jonas Platz came up soon after the alcohol ban got introduced on the Praterstern: this makes it likely, that the displacement of the marginalised is caused by that. Haslinger (ibid) furthermore aligns with a more law-and-order like policy when he states that these marginalized people need to be sanctioned at least in some way if they loiter around on public places like the Franz-Jonas-Platz: "*Some kind of scourge/sanction needs to happen (note: to the marginalised people). The essence and the aim of punishment is to serve as some kind of prevention.*" (ibid, p.79). This statement complies with the procedures in the United States, as being discussed in the theory chapter (compare the section '*Elaborating along exclusive policies in the European and American context*', on p.32), where in some cities even loitering becomes a criminal offence. It is a strong discourse if harsher punishments would deter crime or not. In this case, the politician believes that introducing the ban

would heal the persons with substance use disorder and deters him from consuming alcohol: *“We need to prevent the affected from committing it (note: drinking in public) again in the future, so that he does not need to experience this misery again.”* (ibid)

Similarly to the FPÖ, the ÖVP (conservative party) argues in their statement, that it comes to a massive shift of the problem to the Franz-Jonas Platz because of the alcohol ban at Praterstern. They therefore demand to introduce one as well: *“It comes to a massive displacement of problems to Floridsdorf because of the existing alcohol ban at Praterstern. We therefore urgently need new policies in our district.”* (Holawatsch, 2019). Additionally, in another statement they already propose to extend the ban in a second step to more areas in the neighbourhood of Franz Jonas Platz like a pedestrian area or a park (ibid). Like the argument in the protocols from the FPÖ discussed earlier this one seems to be a ‘bottomless pit’ as well: one introduced ban might lead to the introduction of another one – in this case they already seem to predict that it will be necessary to extend the ban to more areas. The party hereby states an allegedly bad condition of the railway station as the reason for introducing the ban: *“The railway station Floridsdorf deteriorated and turned into a place of insecurity.”* (ibid) There are no further details mentioned along with calling Floridsdorf a place of insecurity. But the causal connection leads to the understanding, that the alcohol ban is the only solution for ‘restoring’ the feeling of safety at the Franz-Jonas Platz.

A counter discourse is raised by the NEOS party regarding the displacement of the marginalized. They claim, that the alcohol ban would not be a proper solution for the dealing with the problems at the square: *“The alcohol ban won’t solve the problem, but displace it into close-by housing areas”* (Primes, 2019). The problem the NEOS are mentioning is a possible mobilisation of the scene caused by the alcohol ban. After being expelled, marginalized groups subsequently might re-settle in other (often peripheral) areas of the city (Stoik, 2018). This complies also with other studies like an investigation of displacement effects in the context of an introduced alcohol ban in Sydney by Hughes and Weedon-Newstead (2018). An introduced alcohol ‘lockout zone’ resulted in the displacement of marginalized groups and the associated problems to the outskirts of the zone.

The issue of displacement gets addressed as well in the evaluation report about the alcohol ban on the Praterstern. This document praises the already introduced alcohol ban as a big success but still does not recommend its extension to other railway stations. The evaluation report does not, however, deny that a displacement of marginalized groups has happened in this period: *“Because of the alcohol ban, alcohol consumers changed their behaviours and spent less time on Praterstern”* (Weis, Voraberger and Schnurrer, 2019). This sentence shows a paradox of the used subjects: the number of alcohol consumers in the bars and in the nightclub (that are situated also inside the area of the alcohol ban on Praterstern but are excluded from the prohibition) has probably not changed but it tells that it is only

a certain kind of alcohol consumers that is not wanted anymore. The fact that- according to the quoted statement from the document – the alcohol consumers spent less time on the Praterstern square implies of course that they moved to other places, outside of the Praterstern area. The report also states that users of the space feel safer since the alcohol ban has been introduced than they felt before: *“3 out of 4 women feel safer on the Praterstern because of the introduced alcohol consumption ban.”* (ibid)

Christoph Stoik (2019a), who analysed this evaluation report in detail complains that the survey was performed right after the introduction of the ban so that passers-by could only give an estimation of the ban’s actual outcome. This implies, that the report tried to ‘sugarcoat’ the results. Also, the way how the survey was carried out gives insight about the prevailing power relations since it was not the marginalised ones who were asked for their opinion about the ban’s effects, but the others.

5.1.1.4 Urban upgrading and the right to the city discourse

With the following quote, taken from the evaluation report that was published from the municipality, I want to draw the attention to the ‘right to the city’ discourse which was discussed in the theory chapter (compare the section *‘The Right to the City’*, on p.28). A discourse that deals with the claim of equality in the access to public space is also evident in this other statement of the evaluation report: *“The public space in our city is available for everyone but it shouldn’t be the case that places get occupied only by certain groups of people”* (Weis, Voraberger and Schnurrer, 2019).

The claim of the evaluation report, that ‘these certain groups’ as the marginalized groups are addressed, would occupy so much space needs to be critically questioned. Especially since there are other users who utilize the space even more. Public transport hubs like the Praterstern are places of interest that are used also commercially. Fundraisers, advertisers but also physical installations like advertisements, newspaper stands, or others are occupying spaces as well or even more. Therefore, this statement can be understood as finger pointing to this ‘certain group of people’ that gets accused as the only occupier of the public space in the railway station. Additionally, the statement needs to be considered as conflicting with the main guiding principles that were defined in a mission statement of social work in public space by the City of Vienna. Amongst others, according to these principles the public space should be available for all people and mirror the diversity of our society as a common area, free space and social space (Beratungsgruppe Soziale Arbeit im öffentlichen Raum, 2021). But the message that is underlying this statement is of course that it is the marginalized, that should not use so much space – even if the public space is intended to be for everyone, as it says in the opening of the quote. In another paragraph of the evaluation report, the intention of the concept regarding this discourse gets even clearer, when they suggest extending a day care centre at another railway station (note: station Josefstädter Straße) with a patio *“shielded from vision for passers-by”* (ibid).

Against all expectations and the will of the majority on the district level, as a part of the evaluation report the mayor decided not to extend the alcohol ban to Franz-Jonas-Platz. A mix of measures should be introduced instead, that consider social, medical, architectural and cultural aspects of the place (Weis, Voraberger and Schnurrer, 2019): *“The evaluation of the Praterstern has resulted in a comprehensive solution that is only possible by introducing a mix of measures tailored to the particular situation, that considers social, medical, physical and cultural aspects. An individual assessment is necessary to determine if an alcohol consumption ban is necessary or not.” (ibid).*

This mix of measures also includes many social measures like increasing the number of social workers or establishing another day care centre and also other urban-upgrading measures like a planned improvement of the Franz-Jonas Platz’ image, establishing artworks or cultural offers, improving the urban design or increasing the cleaning intensity. Social measures can be seen as achievable ones that can improve the needs of the marginalized. But it is obvious that the aim of image building or a cultural upgrading does not improve their situation at any point. This measure can rather be connected to the discourse of gentrification or urban upgrading that often comes along with the production of art, as Sharon Zukin (1995) elaborates. She points out, that *“the public values public space as an object of visual consumption”* (ibid, p.29) – the cultural upgrading can be furthermore considered as something that aims the valorisation of nearby real estate. She especially highlights the dark side of cultural gentrification because it results in the control of public space and hence the exclusion of marginalized groups. In the quoted evaluation report, this control gets furthermore stressed through the measure of raising the duration of visible police presence during the day on the Franz-Jonas-Platz. The need for police forces being present raises the assumption that there is something unsafe or scary happening on the square. The police forces are by this means assigned to ‘protect’ the passers-by from the ‘dangerous’ marginalized groups. This can be related to the already mentioned ‘fear-of-crime’ discourse as well, since the presence of police might suggest that the marginalised groups are intending to commit crimes that the passers-by would need to be afraid of.

The follow-up concept was published one year after the first evaluation and continues the sometimes-ambivalent tone (Gaigg, 2020). Even if it reaffirms the right of marginalized group to public space, it reflects the ongoing conflicts in city planning: *“[...] the problematic must be considered in advance [...] for example by avoiding extensive seating or lying surfaces that would invite bigger groups to stay.”* (ibid) This statement examples the ongoing tenor as a paradox between a ‘city for everyone’ and the ‘exclusive city’ that I elaborated earlier around the discourse of soft policies of exclusion (compare the section *‘Elaborating along exclusive policies in the European and American context’*, on p.32). It is exactly these small steps that symbolizes the strategies towards a displacement of unwanted groups.

Hereby it is also necessary to mention, that throughout the whole research for this thesis there were many different subjects used to describe the alleged problem causers. Used subjects are ‘the alcoholics-scene’, ‘addicts in public space’, ‘people that are alcohol sick, addicts or homeless’. Having the report from the organisation of social workers responsible for taking care of the Franz-Jonas-Platz (help-U) in mind, it seems like only a single group gets addressed as main problem causer. The organisation counts a high diversity within the marginalised people with consequently diverse needs for assistance (Kanta, 2019).

5.1.1.5 Concluding the ongoing discourses around alcohol bans

Analysing (publicly available) political papers around the discussions about the alcohol ban at Franz-Jonas Platz in Vienna gave comprehensive insights of the politics dealing with marginalized groups in Vienna. A division of the documents in three different categories helped to distinguish the multiple types of languages and ways of communicating the problems that were used to address the situation around the ban on Franz-Jonas-Platz by the political parties. Especially the protocols but also the hearings showed a very populist point of view towards the problematic. The problem causers were addressed with different subject-versions and the ‘fear of crime’ discourse was the most dominant one – the marginalized groups are described as a threat to public safety and the alcohol ban as the only solution to cope with it. The political debate was hereby dominated by one populist party whereas the others did not see the same relevance in the ban and commented more sober on the subject and identified possible aftereffects in such a restrictive measure. The interests are contradicting each other, as the example of the SPÖ shows also within one party.

The analysed concept expands the discussion onto a broader, citywide level and relates it to the Praterstern. It reflects the tone of the municipality that seems to be characterized by ambivalent points of view. Whereas the city government promotes their strong social measures and currently does not plan to extend the alcohol ban to other places, the pressure on public space gets evident and marginalized groups are not getting included into the planning processes. Even when opening new municipal facilities and increasing the number of social workers can help to cope with the marginalized problems, the tenor is to get them away from these highly frequented transport hubs.

5.2 Analysing the Franz-Jonas Platz on the ground through the lens of a social space analysis

After having analysed the ongoing political debate around the discussed introduction of an alcohol ban at the Franz-Jonas Platz in the previous section, I now turn to the social space analysis and observations conducted on the ground. As described in the methods chapter (compare the section on p.48) the analysis is using the structure inspired by Riege and Schubert (2016).

The analysis will start first with describing the demography and other recent developments of the 21st district, that surround the Franz-Jonas Platz. Second, I will define the characteristics of the Franz-Jonas Platz itself. This is followed by an assessment of the current situation that is described based on the performed observations and informal interviews with users of the space. Additionally, an expert interview with a social worker provides insights from the perspective of their clients, the marginalized users of the space.

5.2.1 Profiling the environment of the Franz-Jonas Platz in the context of whole Vienna

The Franz-Jonas Platz and its railway station (named 'Floridsdorf') is a gateway into the whole district and even further. Many commuters change their ways of transport here, from metro to bus, or from train to bicycle, and spread across the whole district. Also, the high diversity of shops and stores is from a high importance for people living in a larger radius around the square – the square has a big catchment area both for public transport passengers and for those buying local supplies. Accordingly, the people using the square, passengers, visitors but also marginalized people come from all over the district - that is the 21st Viennese municipal district called Floridsdorf. Due to the circumstance of the Franz-Jonas Platz being of district-wide importance but also due to the statistical data, that is not available on a smaller scale, I will create a socio structural profile for the whole district. The following profile should allow for an understanding of the social structure that the Franz-Jonas Platz is embedded and to relate the district to the data of whole Vienna. Further, an analysis of the ongoing urban development should allow for an understanding of the relevance of



Figure 16: Location of Floridsdorf, the 21st district (in red) and the Franz-Jonas Platz (black dot). (Gonzalez, 2011)

the square and its surrounding neighbourhoods in the context of Viennese city development strategies.

With a surface of 44,52 km² and with 167.968 residents², Floridsdorf is the second largest and the third most populous district in Vienna. Together with the 22nd district, Floridsdorf shares the whole city area on the east side of the Danube (commonly known as ‘Transdanubia’, see Figure 16). Compared to the inner districts, that have a population density up to almost 23.000 inhabitants/km² (8th district), Floridsdorf has one of the lowest densities with 3.486 inhabitants/km² (ibid). The share of foreign citizens in Floridsdorf (25,15%: 10,18% from EU/EFTA countries, 14,79% from third countries³) is lower than the municipal average (30,82 %: 13,74% from EU/EFTA countries, 17,08% from third countries). The population density is varying hereby strongly within the district. Whereas it is very low towards the city borders, it is increasing rapidly when moving in direction towards the Danube. This gets mirrored also in the building density within the district. The outer areas are shaped by rather widespread structures that get mixed up by some bigger housing estates. The inner part is still recognizable to be the old town centre (Floridsdorf was a self-managed town before 1905 (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, 2021a)) – this involves also the Franz-Jonas Platz, that is located in the middle of the densest parts of the district.

According to the population trend, Floridsdorf is one of the fastest growing districts in Vienna. When looking at the number of commuters, it gets evident that Floridsdorf is mostly a housing district and there are less available jobs than workers residing in the district. Compared to the inner districts but also to whole Vienna, there are more people commuting from the district, than to the district (Statistik Austria, 2021b). The unemployment rate is close to the municipal average and lies around 12%. When comparing the average m²-price for an apartment, then Floridsdorf is in the more affordable price-range. Whereas inner-district apartments get up to €10.142 per m², the average price in Floridsdorf is €3.448 per m² (Statistik Austria, 2021c). Also, other statistical data like the average annual gross income is situated rather in the lower range compared to other districts.

The population of the district is expected to grow 41,5% until 2075. (Statistik Austria, 2021d) This complies also with the average age of residents in Floridsdorf: the district has one of the highest shares of inhabitants below 20 years and is therefore one of the ‘youngest’ districts. To cope with this expected population growth, the housing development hereby mainly focuses on the one hand on singular projects outside of the centre of Floridsdorf and on the other hand on a large development

² As on 1st January 2020. – the number is based on registrations of main residences as being transmitted by the Central register of residents. The resident population consists of persons staying at least 90 days at a place. (Wisbauer, 2021)

³ Third countries = countries outside the EU/EFTA

project called 'Donaufeld' towards the district border to the 22nd district (Donaustadt). This 60ha large area that is used agriculturally today, is supposed to be built up with 6.000 flats in the upcoming years. The area is connected to the Franz-Jonas Platz that will serve as the main public transport access to the inner city for the new residents.

Other developments around the Franz-Jonas Platz are following the “focus-area-management” concept of the City of Vienna according to the city-development-plan 2025 (STEP 2025). The designated focus area “Floridsdorf - Achse Brünner Straße” (see the coloured areas in Figure 17) is going from the Danube along the Brünner Straße, a main traffic axis that is connecting the whole district, up towards the newly built hospital-north (KHN). The Franz-Jonas Platz is hereby situated on a very central position, between the two renewal areas “Zentralraum Floridsdorf” (central space Floridsdorf) and “Mühlschüttel” (Stadt Wien - Stadtentwicklung, 2021). The goals for the former area are a revitalisation of this central space by upgrading the public space and also the housing areas as well. A housing-block-rehabilitation concept aims to increase the standards of these housing blocks. In total, 600 new apartments are going to be added while 9 housing estates are already revitalized to higher sustainable standards and better barrier-free accessibility (Wohnservice Wien Ges.m.b.H.,



Figure 17: The focus areas of urban development in the 21st district around the Franz-Jonas Platz (own illustration, map source: wien.gv.at)

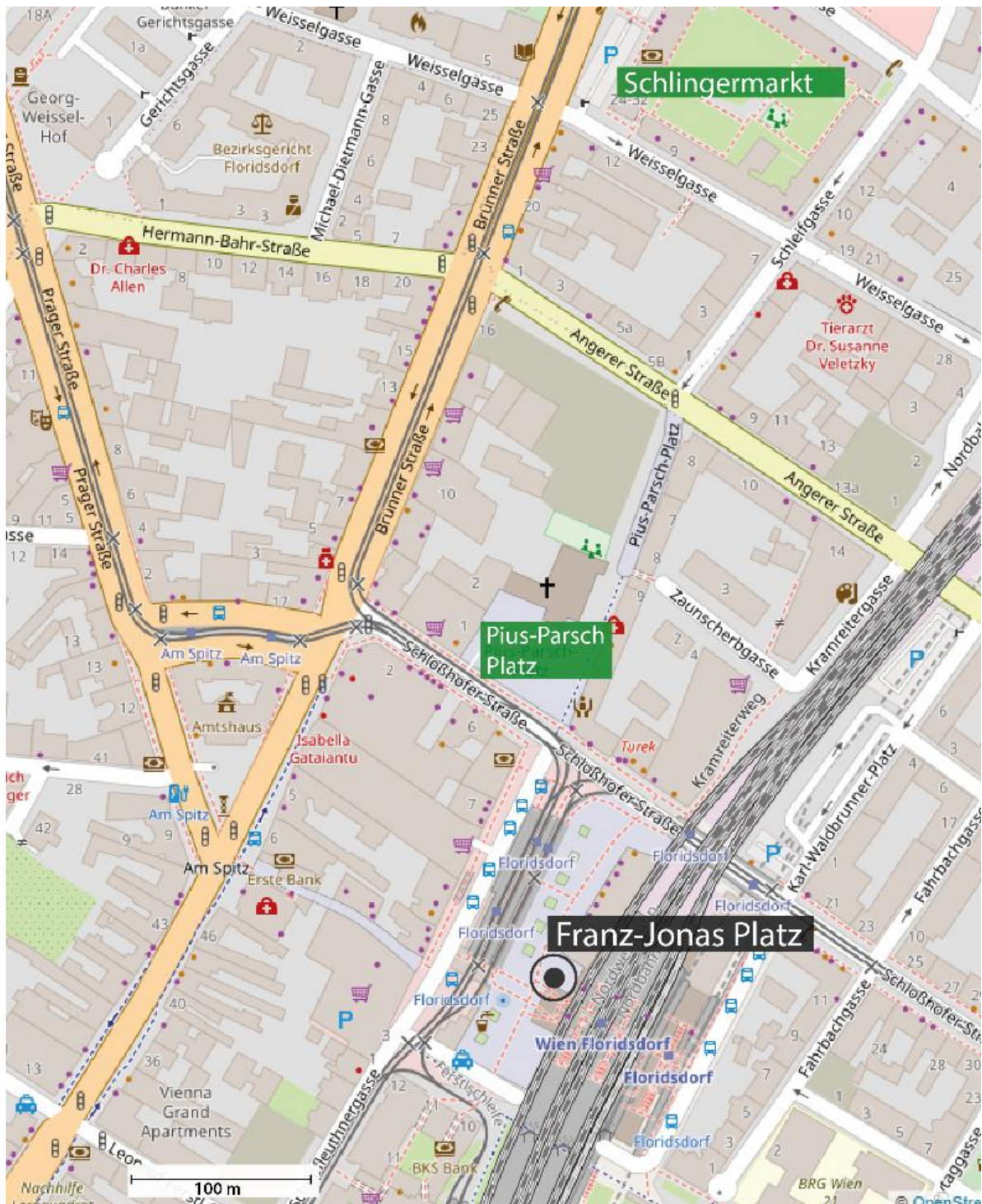


Figure 18: The close environment of the Franz-Jonas Platz. (own illustration, map source: openstreetmap.org)

2017). As part of this detailed concept that was finished back in 2016, many considerations for improvements have been done. This includes many measures for traffic calming, like the introduction of a shared space along the Brünner Straße - but only very few ideas have been implemented yet: The revitalisation of the Pius-Parsch Platz, that is located right next to the Franz-Jonas Platz is one result of this new development. The aim is to keep a “village-character” by keeping and improving the key-functions of the area as a shopping and infrastructure hub for the local residents. In the future, other

projects will involve for example an upgrading of the Schlingermarkt (a close-by marketplace). Also, small measures should improve the quality of the area. But the Franz-Jonas Platz itself is not planned to be revitalized in the future yet. The 'Gebietsbetreuung Stadterneuerung', a local neighbourhood office that is run by the municipality, is supervising, and guiding this process and maintaining a dialogue with the residents. On their webpage they advertise the process with the motto "*The public space is supposed to be there for everyone.*" (Gebietsbetreuung Stadterneuerung, 2021b). Amongst their already carried out projects they mention some measure around the Franz-Jonas Platz. Here, an improved lighting-system has been introduced and waste-bins have been enlarged.

While the block-rehabilitation concept has not delivered many results yet, the core area of Floridsdorf is brought into the spotlight through other concepts and other projects that get supported from the municipality. Just recently, an open call is looking for ideas for various focus-areas in Floridsdorf, including the Franz-Jonas Platz. Hereby, the city is aiming to implement their concept of a social sustainable and polycentric city. The projects should contribute to issues related to climate change in the urban public space and deliver solutions to cope with them. In the competition description, they denounce a lacking social mixture that is present between newly built flats and the old centre of Floridsdorf. The competition should deliver inputs of how to make the district attractive again and how to cope with vacancies in the ground floors or relocating cultural facilities: "*The long-established residents desire for a village in the city while the new generation strives for a global city with shopping facilities*" (Kunst im öffentlichen Raum GmbH, 2021). Project ideas are supposed to give answers to the challenge of balancing between those two goals.

A similar call for applications got announced by an initiative called "Place City Floridsdorf": the aim is to adjust the area of inner-Floridsdorf to human demands and develop small scale projects. An open call is supposed to collect ideas from citizens, since their participation into the development process is one of the project's main goals. The municipality is cooperating hereby with international planning offices and the European Placemaking initiative, that is co-funded by the European Union. Floridsdorf as a testbed was chosen because of its location, its potentials but also challenges that get mirrored in other decentral places as well (Tollmann, 2021).

But how are the conditions pronounced, that are important for marginalized people? Compared with other districts, that are built up very densely, Floridsdorf has a high amount of green- and free-spaces. The social infrastructure for those in need is not as developed as in other parts of the city. Most shelters, day-care centres and other relevant institutions are located in the more dense and urban areas within the city, that are located on the opposite side of the Danube. Whereas there are beds in homeless shelters available, there is no day care centre in the close surrounding. Especially these low-threshold day care centres are important institutions as they offer a warm, accessible, and safe space

for people to stay during the day and amenities to wash clothes, or to store some valuable items. The closest one is the day-care centre called “Josi” that can be reached within 20 minutes by the metro directly from Franz-Jonas Platz.

5.2.2 Analysing the spatial structures of the Franz-Jonas Platz in detail

The next step of the analysis should allow to create an image of the square in the reader’s mind. For defining the Franz-Jonas Platz in detail I will start with its embedment into the context of the closest neighbourhood that the square is being part of. By moving from large to small scale, I will perform a cartographical analysis to describe the physical characteristics of the space, inspired by some structures of Kevin Lynch, but also its historical context. Finally, the space will be divided by its usage into zones. The descriptions of the square are based on cartographic research and on self-conducted observations including own experiences.

The Franz-Jonas Platz is in the heart of the old village centre of Floridsdorf, the 21st municipal district. According to the elements in a city, defined by Kevin Lynch (Lynch, 1960a) the Franz-Jonas Platz can be considered to be a node because of the square’s strategic character: *“They may be called cores.”* (p.133) – something that also applies to the Franz-Jonas Platz, the core of public transport for Floridsdorf: The main function of the square is to serve as an important transport hub for public transport lines that connect the 21st district with the other parts of Vienna but also Lower-Austria and even the Czech Republic. A broad number of suburban train lines stop, start, or terminate here. Since the extension of the metro network back in 1996, Floridsdorf is the final stop of the metro line 6 that serves as a fast and comfortable connection to the inner districts of Vienna. Trams and busses that start and terminate here connect to places all over the widely spread district and even to suburbs beyond the city borders.

The history of the Franz-Jonas Platz goes back to 1886, when it was opened as a station for steam-trams. Many years later, after the trams being electrified in 1912 and the station being damaged during world war two in 1945 the station got extended for hosting suburban trains in 1965 (Bayer, 2021). Since 1975, the square bears its today’s name as it got named after the former Austrian president Franz Jonas. Later, during the metro extension in 1996, the station got redesigned to the condition as it looks like today (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, 2021b).

5.2.2.1 Characterizing the square

Since its latest renovation in 1996, the place is characterized by a mixture of pedestrian-, and traffic areas. It is bounded by the Schloßhofer street in the north and the Franklin street in the south and has a total surface area of around one hectare. On the edges, a wide range of shops and services is offering broad shopping possibilities for its users. Four bakery shops, two supermarkets, cafés, restaurants and

snack bars, a bank branch, two hairdressers, a drug store, a travel agency, a gym and a flower shop: this high but small-scale diversity of shopping and entertainment is waiting for pedestrians or travellers being on or passing by the Franz-Jonas Platz. The shops are located in the ground-floors of the buildings that are surrounding the square. Whereas most of them might be built after the 1960ies, a few of them are older. The building for example, that hosts the travel agency is built according to the municipal archive between 1848 and 1918. Its old-fashioned architecture and the facade decorated with plasterwork conveys a glimpse of past times (Projektleitung Wien Kulturgut, 2021). The main building of course is the railway/metro station itself, where most people are entering the space from. As evident in Figure 23, the square is divided into a pedestrian area on the east side next to the railway station and a traffic area on the west side that is only bounded by a sidewalk from the surrounding houses. Due to the high traffic caused mainly by busses and taxis but also private vehicles and lorries, the traffic area is the focal line of dividing the whole square. In between the two areas, there are two 'waiting-islands' serving as a tram-stop. They are lined by many waiting booths. Both, the Schloßhofer- and the Franklin street are traffic areas as well, but traffic-calmed: only public transport and taxis are permitted for its usage and therefore they are safer and easier to cross for pedestrians.

When remembering the elapsed time, since the square was renovated for the last time, its outdated design gets especially visible when comparing it with the Pius-Parsch-Platz, a square that is located beyond the north end of the Franz-Jonas Platz. The Pius-Parsch-Platz, a former parking lot, got renovated and pedestrianized in 2018. A white stoned pedestrian area with new designed and clean seating areas, a water fountain that is integrated in the flooring are a strong contrast to the design of the Franz-Jonas Platz. Here, the 'age' of the square gets visible at first sight: The flooring is rather dirty, the waiting booths of the tram stop are faded and washed out and some rather old-styled figures are trying to attract the attention of children but look a bit displaced. Obstacles like bollards or these figures in combination with the dirty flooring are creating a rather chaotic appearance of the square. The rather shabby exterior of the stores that are attached to the railway station building does not improve that feeling. The greenery is limited to the plane trees, surrounded by some bushes that are used for waste disposal by some people and even pigeons seem to like to hide in there. However, even if the outdated design and the corresponding traces of use that added up over the years may sound off-putting, the square also radiates its own charm. It is a much-used traffic node that is not affected by gentrification yet and thrives through its users. The user diversity will be described later upon the performed observations.



Figure 20: Entering the square from the railway station onto the Franz-Jonas Platz (own photograph)



Figure 19: The railway station with its predominant roofing (own photograph)



Figure 21: The fountain with its seating area (own photograph)



Figure 22: The plane tree alley across the Franz-Jonas Platz (own photograph)

5.2.2.2 Landmarks

Kevin Lynch (2013, p. 134) describes landmarks as symbols that add identity to a space. At the Franz-Jonas Platz one main characteristic of the square is the prominently outstanding roof (see in Figure 21) that leads away from the railway station to the traffic area and the bus and tram stops. It ends at the main pedestrian crossing that leads to the sidewalk with the stores and protects pedestrians from precipitation. Additionally, it highlights the otherwise architecturally rather unspectacular and outdated railway building.

Another landmark on the square is a small fountain (as evident in Figure 21) that is situated next to the extended roof. It allows to sit on the edge and contains a small statue in the middle. In the same line as the fountain there is a row of nine full-grown plane trees as it can be seen in Figure 22. They put the square in shadow and ensure that it remains nice and shady in Viennese summer, when temperatures can reach up to 35 degrees. The trees are embedded in quadratically shaped seating areas.

5.2.2.3 Zoning

When thinking in zones, then the Franz-Jonas square can be on the one hand divided upon the given physical division (according to the level of the sidewalks) into pedestrian and traffic areas. But when taking a closer look on the other hand, and according to my on-site observations, there are more small-scale zones that can be identified. The zones will also help to achieve a better understanding in localizing the observed user experiences that will be described later in the analysis. Hereby, the zones were chosen based on the level of user-activity as being observed by me as a researcher. Only areas with high user-activity or special features were identified as zones, whereas others were ignored. The following numbers are according to the numbering on the map in Figure 23):

- (1) The outstanding roof connects the railway station with the bus and tram stop and the shops on the opposite side of the square via a pedestrian crossing. This is a very vibrant zone because pedestrians are moving from A to B and mostly pass through it (see in Figure 19). Because of it being intensely used by pedestrians, others want to make use of their presence: newspaper salesmen, fundraising agents, Jehovah's Witnesses or bible-distributors are 'competing' for potential buyers. In times without pandemic-related restrictions and curfews, a stand is selling books for charity. The stand is usually situated right in front of the railway-station entrance

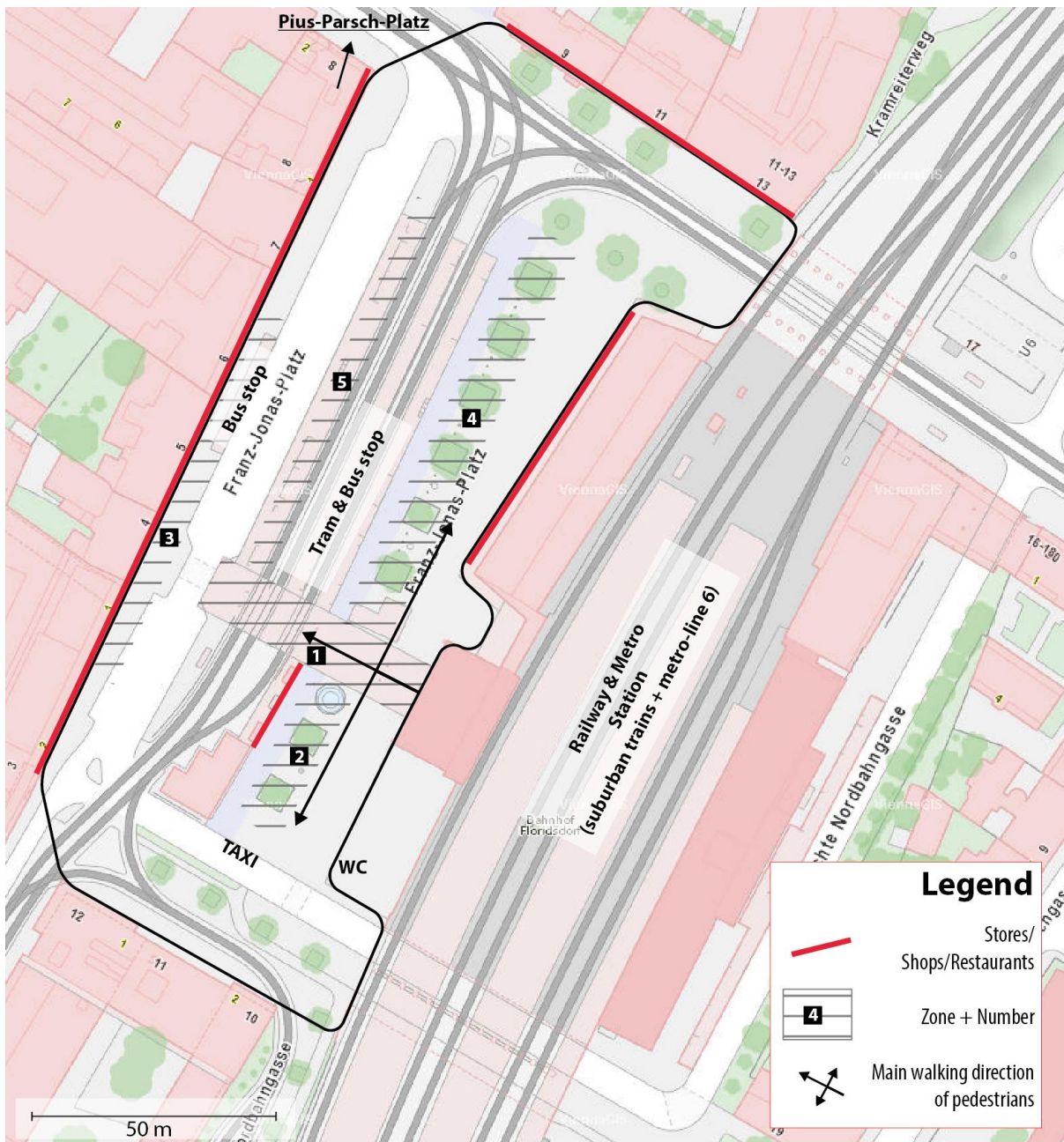


Figure 23: Zoning of the Franz-Jonas Platz. (own illustration, map-source: City of Vienna)

- (2) When leaving the railway station to the left, a small area appears. The area is marked by the described fountain that allows to linger around it. Two other seating areas are placed around the plate trees, while one of them was being retrofitted with armrests. These armrests are usually being used to prevent people from sleeping there (as described in the Theory chapter on the examples of “soft policies” in public space) but interestingly only the first seating got equipped with it. However, this zone stands out through its seating areas that are placed in the shades of the plane trees. Although the present trees are in one line with the ones in zone 4, the roof is separating these two areas from each other, so that they get used by different groups. Additionally, one stalls that serves food and

drinks (both alcoholic and non-alcoholic), and one ice cream stall are placed next by so that the seating area is the obvious place to consume the purchased beverages.

- (3) This zone is situated on the side opposite to the railway station building. It includes a bus stop and is busy due to the many stores being situated in the ground-floor that attract many customers. Besides the benches in the bus shelter, there are no designated seating areas in this zone. But, in the colder period a special feature in this zone gets appropriated by some users: the air curtain of a big supermarket is blowing heated air out of the store. This makes the space in front of it warm and cosy in cold times. Additionally, there are some alcoves in this zone, that are actually entrances to the buildings. They protect from wind and precipitation and groups like to gather there to get some shelter.
- (4) The area along the plane trees is probably the one with the highest quality of stay. The distance to the shops in the railway station is quite generous and the arrangement of the trees very spacious. The before mentioned seating areas around the trees are made out of granite and offer many people a place to rest. The tree crown that is large in diameter puts the whole seating group into shade and cools down the space on hot summer days. In total there are six trees with seating groups that cover a big part of the pedestrian area.

5.2.3 Assessing the current situation

While the previous layer of analysis described the physical characteristics of the Franz-Jonas Platz, the analysis will now focus on the users and how they personally experience the square. By using both, personal observations and subjective user experience assessments I will explore how the square is experienced by those using it. First, a description of my perceived impressions when entering the square the very first time should allow the readers to put themselves into the prevailing atmosphere on the Franz-Jonas Platz. Then, the encountered user groups and their interests on the square are presented on the base of informal interviews and personal observations. Subsequently, the analysed problems and conflicts of the users are introduced. Hereby, as an additional source, a semi-structured interview with a social worker gets added. This leads to the final section, where I discuss different perceptions that got evident through this assessment.

5.2.3.1 *Approaching the different stakeholder groups and their interests on the square*

“Stepping out of the exit of the railway station building, you feel like being placed in another city: while Vienna can be usually rather quiet and not so crowded, the Franz-Jonas Platz welcomes you with an overstimulation of feelings and impressions. To my left-hand side, there are two older men sitting at the fountain, drinking beer, playing tunes from the Balkans on the accordion and begging for money (to buy another beer as I observed later on). Right in front of me there is a man distributing copies of the bible and asking passers-by if they would believe in god. To my right-hand side there are two young

women with blue jackets approaching me, who already before made eye contact with me. As they come closer, they start to talk and convince me to donate some money for a charity organisation. And in-between all of this there are hundreds of people hurrying from A to B, trying to catch their bus or tram connection.” - my first impressions when entering the Franz-Jonas Platz (excerpt from field notes).

Commuters/Passengers

As this excerpt from my field notes should demonstrate, the Franz-Jonas Platz is a very busy place that accommodates many different user groups at the same time. Of course, this is mainly caused by its function as being a transportation hub of local importance that attracts people from all over the district. Therefore, the most present user groups are by far passengers, that use the square and its railway station as a hub between the district or even lower Austria (the neighbouring county) and the inner city of Vienna, as for example this commuter explains: “For commuting to work I’m cycling to the Franz-Jonas Platz where I park my bicycle and change to the metro that brings me to work.” (Commuter 1, 2021)



Figure 24: Many passengers are crossing the outstanding roof to/from the railway station. (own photograph)

For passengers, the Franz-Jonas Platz mainly serves as a place of transit. When observing the occurrence at the square, one can find three main axes, where people approach or leave the railway station. When people leave the railway station building, they either walk straight ahead along the roof, or left or right along the plane trees. All three axes were always quite busy but the one along the

outstanding roof is by far the most used one, as visible in Figure 24. It connects the station with many transit options for passengers. But when being in transit, passengers often need to wait for the connection. Waiting time hereby usually does not exceed 10 minutes until the next bus or tram arrives and therefore most passengers in transit are using the areas around the booths while waiting. Especially the tram stops are equipped very generously with seating areas that protect from rain or intensive sunlight. Food stalls that are located between the railway station and the tram stops as well as the shops inside the railway station serve as 'go-to-options' for killing waiting time.

Consequently, passengers are requesting to have unobstructed access to waiting facilities and services. Also, they demand a certain level of cleanliness and hygiene on the square: *"Sometimes the waiting areas are completely messed up with beer cans, and leftover food – that doesn't make me comfortable sitting there"* (Commuter 2, 2021).

Visitors/"Lingerers"

Since the Franz-Jonas Platz is situated very central in the district and offers many possibilities for doing shopping, groceries or small errands, people need to cross the square: *"I am crossing the square every other day for making my groceries. The variety of stores is great and I can easily reach it by walking"* (Elderly Person 2, 2021)

Additionally, the square's status as a point of interest, and its amenities make it a common place for small gatherings, mostly between locally connected people like residents or workers. The mentioned plane-tree row is hereby the most attractive gathering point. The benches that surround the trees are very spacious and offer seating space for many people at the same time. The diversity of people, meeting at the square is very broad. One observed group of around three to four people, consisted of elegantly dressed, old men, sitting next to each other in corona-safe distance and having a can of beer in their hands. The next can waited already underneath the bench. The men did not seem to be drunk but having discussion in a normal sound-level: *"I like to drink my beer here with my friends. I live around the corner and it is a nice place to sit here..."* (Elderly Person 1, 2021) The majority of people meeting here seem to be locally connected. This means, that they have their place of residence close by and use the square in their free time – this got also observed by the social workers that deal with the square: *"[...] some people have cramped living conditions and are using the square therefore as their extended living room."* (Odega, 2021)

As noticed during the local observations, there are also many workers (visible through their blue working dress) sitting down with colleagues after work to have a beer or eat something: *"People from the neighbouring countries like Hungary or Poland, who work here on a daily basis like to meet here underneath the trees"* (Retailer 1, 2021).

Retailers

The earlier mentioned stores contribute to the attractiveness and importance of the square, especially on the local level but also for those, passing by. Hereby, one need to differentiate between shops on the opposite side of the railway station and shops situated on the square or on the ground floor of the station building. Especially those, situated right on the square are in the middle of happenings and they are close to the seating areas: *“My customers like to use the seating areas for consuming my meals”* (Retailer 2, 2021). Retailers profit from their high-frequented location in the surrounding of the railway station, where thousands of people come and go every day. Besides actual retailers there are as described in the field notes, also other vendors active on the square: Fundraisers for example, are active all over the city. They are present on high-frequented locations on behalf of non-governmental-organisations and are looking out for potential donators. As known from personal experience but also as observed at the Franz-Jonas Platz, their procedure is very direct. They approach potential donators by starting a conversation, while the approached person is still on the move: *“I am approaching around 800 people a day here on the Franz-Jonas Platz and get around five signatures. I really like the diversity on this square – every group is doing their thing”* (Fundraiser, 2021).

Besides around five observed fundraisers, there are also newspaper vendors and bible-distributors. They all profit from the high diversity and very high frequency of people crossing the square: *“I prefer to stand outside the station hall because its less windy. And I can approach more people because they are a bit more relaxed than inside”* (Newspaper Vendor, 2021).

Marginalized groups

One group has not been mentioned yet, that is in the middle of the attention of politics and the local media, and also caused me to deal with this square for my thesis. Through my observations I found that the marginalized groups are actually far less present on the square, than expected. Of course, it is difficult to categorize them on the spot and differentiate between marginalized and non-marginalized people. From a non-professional point of view, marginalized people got identified solely due to their visible level of intoxication, their general condition or other evident characteristics. Therefore, my results are limited to these observations and are supplemented by one informal conversation and an in-depth interview with a social worker.

Marginalized groups spread over the whole area of the square but mainly concentrate to specific areas. The groups hereby never count more than five people or often even less. A zone, where always marginalized people were encountered during the observation is the zone number 2 (as shown in Figure 23) at the fountain. Here, a group of around five people was obviously impaired by alcohol. They were sitting next to the fountain but no interaction with other users, like passers-by or disruptive

behaviour was being observed. Right next to that group, two old men – obviously intoxicated as well – were sitting in the seating area around the fountain. One of them was playing the harmonica, his hat lying in front of him, and asking for some donations. The music was also mentioned by a local retailer: “[...] *it is especially this music, that two men play next to the fountain - passers-by stop and listen and then they donate one Euro or two*” (Retailer 1, 2021).



Figure 25: Different user groups sharing a seating area in zone number 3. (own photograph)

Another place to stay can be found in zone number 5. Here, in the seating areas that are part of the booths of the tram station, a single homeless person was consuming his lunch, that he picked up before from the supermarket (that includes a restaurant) on the opposite side of the street.

During observations with bad weather conditions and precipitation, zone number 3 was the one being used the most by marginalized groups. The group of young people, that was observed on a sunny day in zone number 2 moved now to the bus stop in zone number 3 in front of the supermarket. The already mentioned air curtain that blows some warm air out of the store served as a well-received heater while the booth of the bus stop protected the group from the rain. Again, the group was standing by themselves and was rather isolated from other groups or passers-by. The width of the sidewalk allows,

that others did not get hindered of passing by, as one member of the group illustrates: *“We do not disturb anyone here! I usually meet my friends here and discuss with them about things... but we behave anyways and don’t litter!”* (Marginalized Person, 2021).

A bit further to the south, along the sidewalk in zone number 3, another group gathered in an alcove. The alcove is the actual entrance to a gym (and closed because of ongoing pandemic related restrictions) but also the entrance to some other parts of the building. The group hereby occupied the whole alcove for getting shelter from the rain. The group counted around five people as well – and even if their behaviour was not disturbing, the smoke, beer cans and the rather dark environment might have made it difficult for uninvolved others to enter the building.

Since 2018, the mobile social workers of the organisation “help U” are taking care of the Franz-Jonas Platz. Twice a day, two social workers are visiting the square and offering help to marginalized people, that they call their clients. Elisabeth Odega, the head of the mobile social workers and an educated social worker herself analysed and interpreted, why the Franz-Jonas Platz is such a popular meeting point for marginalized groups: *“Transportation hubs are [...] places that are very suitable for marginalized people: they are very accessible in the first place. [...] These are places, where you can disappear but also be part of it. It is a continuous coming and going, you will find diversity and variety, you can observe the things happening... And you do not stand out of the crowd, because it is busy anyways. Even if you are on the edge of society, there you can find yourself in the middle of the action”* (Odega, 2021).

According to almost three years of gained experience of the social workers on the square, there are on average around 16 marginalized people gathering on the square (Kanta, 2019, p. 54). These numbers vary between summer and winter, when there are less people being encountered but also between night and day: the level of intoxication often increases towards the evening-hours. During night though, people would go home: *“Only in rare instances, people are actually homeless. Usually, they [the marginalized people] go home in the evening. They use it [the square] only as a meeting point. Many have cramped living conditions and then they use the public space as their extended living room”* (Odega, 2021).

The social workers have also the appropriate expertise to properly evaluate the prevailing situation of the marginalized people. Due to their regular visits on the site, they get to know the different ‘regulars’ on the square and often even develop a relationship to some of them. Hereby, they identified various reasons for people on the Franz-Jonas Platz being marginalized: by far the largest part of marginalised people on the square are alcoholics. They are mostly Austrian citizens and often have their residency in the local neighbourhood. Consumers of illegal substances were only rarely present and only a few

times observed by the social workers, as well as only a few panhandlers or homeless people. These observations resemble the ones during my on-site visits but also to those from other users: *“There are mainly drunk people on the square. Especially at the beginning of the month when they receive their money, then they would drink the most!”* (Newspaper Vendor, 2021)

Additionally to caritative organisations, like the social workers, also other actors are present on the square that are related to the presence of marginalized groups: once a day, in the evening the so called “Canisibus” stops at the Franz-Jonas Platz. Hereby, the bus stops for 15 minutes on the Franz-Jonas Platz and volunteers distribute food (usually one pot of hot soup) to marginalized people (Caritas der Erzdiözese Wien, 2021).

Another organisation, that is present on the square is the police. According to own observations, during all site visits there were between two and four police officers present on the square. But here one need to differentiate between two different units, that are active on the square: the four observed officers belong to the “standby-unit” (‘Bereitschaftseinheit’), that does not have many local experiences since they get distributed to many different locations all over the city. Officers from the nearby police station, in turn, know the square and its users better and get called in if the standby unit is not present. In general, the increased presence of the police got observed by many users that were interviewed: *“Since then (note: April 2018, when the alcohol ban on Praterstern was introduced), we have way more police patrolling on the square...much more as before!”* (Marginalized Person, 2021) This happens according to the introduced strategy of the municipality that got announced instead of an alcohol ban. It mentions as one point, the increasing of police forces so that they are visible throughout the day. (FIX: KEIN ALKOHOLVERBOT AM BAHNHOF FLORIDSDORF! Aber Maßnahmenpaket., 2019)

5.2.3.2 Highlighting the analysed problems

Whereas the description of the various stakeholder groups gives a feeling of the users present on the square, I will now illustrate and explain the interactions or conflicts between them should be illustrated and explained more closely.

Specific interactions, or more often actions of groups resulted furthermore in conflicts that might be a reason for the square being in the spotlight of the local media and politics. It is also because of these conflicts, that the social workers detected a necessity for supporting marginalized groups present on the square with their expertise. Conflicts of use were hereby the mainly identified problems. Elisabeth Odega (2021) describes that problems become a conflict, when something becomes disruptive and interferes a working process on the square or if accessibilities get disturbed. An issue was for example that a group of alcohol consuming people obstructed the waiting area of a tram stop: *“[...] if someone*

is sitting for hours in the waiting area, that is actually dedicated for a short waiting period [...] and no one else can sit there anymore, then it is getting disturbing” (Odega, 2021).

Another conflict is regarding the waste disposal on the square. Many people, marginalized but also non-marginalized, meet on the square to have some drinks. Unfortunately, some people tend to forget that they should remove their waste before leaving the square. During my on-site observations, I especially noticed the littering in zone number 2. But most conflicts are concerning the behaviour of people who are strongly intoxicated from alcohol. An ice-cream vendor, who’s stall is facing the seating area around the fountain in zone number 2 is illustrating her situation: *“Already today I had to call the ambulance because a drunk guy was lying in front of my stall without moving. And last week I had to close 10 minutes earlier, because these young drunk people were leaning against my stall and this makes it hard to attract customers...” (Retailer 3, 2021).*

Other conflicts were for example noticed by a newspaper vendor. He mentioned, that from time to time a panhandler tries to beg for some Euros right next to his position where he actually tries to sell newspapers: *“This really annoys me, if some people can be so brazen to banish my customers by begging right next to me” (Newspaper Vendor, 2021).*

In most cases, actual violent conflicts are only happening between people within a group: *“[...] violent behaviour is mostly related to the extended consumption of alcohol. These are to are a large extent limited to happen within a user group. Hereby it happens only rarely, that innocent bystanders get involved or hurt” (Odega, 2021).*

To work with conflicts like these, the social workers try to mediate between the different parties. They explain rules to the marginalized groups but also to others, that disturb the occurrence on the square and make them understand how they can benefit if they would stick to those rules: *“[...] our main aim is always to say, that the public space is meant to be for everyone. But in order to be able to claim ‘I’m part of it’, it makes sense to follow some rules” (Odega, 2021).*

Another task of the social workers is to maintain a feedback network with locally linked institutions in order to discuss occurrences on the square. Hereby, the police forces are the most present actors on the square. Since 2018, as part of an alternative strategy to the planned alcohol ban, an increased number of police forces are present on the square. As reported by the social workers, in the beginning of 2018 the police started to expel marginalized people from the square⁴. One user, who is visiting the square since many years on a regular basis remembers the rather harsh procedure of police forces: *“The police harassed us and blamed us to linger around only – but at midday we were gone anyways*

⁴ According to §81 SPG, the police can expel people from a public space if their behaviour interferes the public order. [Austrian Federal Law (2021)]

because we left home for lunch” (Elderly Person 2, 2021). Here, as well, the social workers achieved to open up a dialogue and mediate between the police and the marginalized group: “This was a short period of time, when the police forces started to carry out some checks which lead to confusion and commotion amongst our clients [the marginalized groups]. And we managed to get in touch with both sides really quickly and we were able to successfully discuss things” (Odega, 2021).

When asking different users about their personal experience with perceiving conflicts on the square, most people have congruent answers: *“I’ve never been harassed on the square before. I am crossing it every day...I don’t understand the panic they spread in the news” (Elderly Person 1, 2021). This opinion is also shared by a retailer who is present on the square three times a week since many years: “(...) every now and then, the ambulance needs to come, because someone lies on the floor who did not manage to cope with his beer consume. But besides that I’ve never experienced anything bad...” (Retailer 1, 2021).*

Also, during the visits on the site, a similar picture has been observed: the different user groups were utilizing the square in harmony, alongside each other. Especially the seating area along the plane trees was symbolic for the diversity of users on the square: workers having some beers were sitting next to families with children eating ice-cream and people with alcohol use disorder. There was no conflict



Figure 26: A polluted seating area in zone number 4. (own photograph)

between user groups that occurred in the time-period of the performed observations. The only conflicting behaviour was regarding some garbage, that was left behind on the seating areas by some unmindful users. Especially beer cans, but also wine bottles, cigarette ends, or food leftovers were interfering the stay of others. Some seating areas turned unattractive or even unusable through the littering, as visible in Figure 26. Here, the discomfort is additionally caused by a lacking cleaning.

5.2.3.3 *How the square changed over time*

These different perceptions described above also become evident, when dealing with the questions of the sensed change over the time on the square. One question that is underlying this master thesis is concerning the issue, if there is a correlation between the introduction of the alcohol ban on the Praterstern in April 2018 and an increased presence of marginalized people on the Franz-Jonas Platz (as it was illustrated and communicated in the political debate). By asking the users about their opinion, how the situation was back in 2018 and how it changed until today, the aim was to explore if they experienced any sort of change.

Hereby, many interviewed users could remember the situation being different after April 2018: *“I could definitely see a difference and I feel that alcohol addicts got displaced to the Franz Jonas Platz because of the ban at the Praterstern. That was a terrible experience to see all of a sudden so many people lingering around here...”* (Commuter 1, 2021). Another user also realised the increased presence of police forces since then: *“2018 was extreme – it was obvious to see, that more people are drinking on the square now than before. But since then, there is a lot of police present on the square and the situation has calmed down again.”* (Pedestrian 1, 2021). These two quotes should illustrate a picture, that many interviewed users describe. They realized an increasing number of marginalized people being present on the square that they could relate to the period, when the alcohol ban was introduced on Praterstern. When talking about the situation today, they feel that it has improved since then. Most users feel, that due to the increased presence of police forces the numbers of marginalized people have reduced again until today.

Hereby as well, the perceptions of the change over time vary and some users have experienced it differently than others: *“Nothing has really changed over the past years. There are more people in general, but I haven’t experienced an increasing number of drunk people...of course there are some minor brawls happening now and then, but this has always been like this, and I guess it is the same on every larger square in Vienna where many people come together”* (Retailer 1, 2021). A similar picture was observed by the social workers, that have followed the happenings on the square since early 2018. Their analysis delivers a very valuable picture since it is the same organisation, whose social worker take care of the Praterstern as well. To analyse, if there really has been some displacement happening, they decided to send the team of social workers that is usually supervising the Praterstern to the Franz-

Jonas Platz for some days. By this means, the team from the Praterstern was supposed to look out for familiar groups of marginalised people: *“There was a small group that switched to the Franz-Jonas Platz. It was around four to five people, that were recognized for being originally associated to the Praterstern”* (Odega, 2021). Furthermore, Elisabeth Odega explained, that according to their observations the number of marginalized people that have been counted for being on the Franz-Jonas Platz was stable over the past years. There have only been seasonal variations – but none that could be related to the introduced alcohol ban on the Praterstern.

5.2.3.4 *Different perceptions by different users*

Surprisingly, these observations by the professional social workers strongly deviate to the perceptions of users, interviewed on the square. Elisabeth Odega sees a correlation between these negative perceptions and the publication of articles that report about allegedly bad conditions on the Franz-Jonas Platz: *“Always, when these reports in the media get public, anxieties are increasing. We often notice increased levels of felt insecurity among the people, that were not there before. We also notice, that for these kinds of media reports, they often use the same pictures showing allegedly bad conditions [empty beer cans or other rubbish on the square]. We don’t perceive it the same way as the media reports try to illustrate the situation. Of course there are some troubles sometimes, but all in all it [the Franz-Jonas Platz] remains a well-functioning square)”* (Odega, 2021).

Talking to different user groups on the square but also the way how they perceived occurrences on square through their own eyes resulted in a diversity of answers. Different people have different perceptions how they experience the atmosphere on the square or what they consider to be a conflict or not. Of course, hereby also a temporal factor gets obvious as the interviewed users use the square since a different period of time. Elisabeth Odega tries to understand these varying perceptions: *“We all have different perceptions. Whereas me and probably you as well don’t have fears of walking by alcoholised people, other individuals are anxious and feel insecure already when seeing them”* (Odega, 2021).

5.2.4 Concluding the social space analysis

The 21st municipal district of Vienna, called Floridsdorf, is one of the largest districts of Vienna and has therefore a huge potential for future urban developments. The population is going to increase rapidly over the upcoming decades and consequently the inner parts of the district get more and more under pressure. The inner parts show more densely constructed buildings which were built in a time when Floridsdorf was still a village and not a municipal district of Vienna. A high diversity of shops and infrastructure shows the importance of this area that reminds on the way the city is designed on the other side of the Danube. Establishing renewal concepts but also announcing urban competitions show the interest of the municipality in improving and upgrading these parts of the district. But by today,

these upgrading processes are still more theory than fact: except one redesigned square, the district still must struggle with high car traffic and unattractive urban space that shows its age. Inner-Floridsdorf is a housing district, characterized by public housing estates and is still far away from being gentrified, as compared to many other areas within the city.

The Franz-Jonas Platz is embedded in the middle of these (non-) developments in inner-Floridsdorf. It is characterized by a huge diversity of shops on the one hand that make it an important shopping possibility for the local residents. On the other hand, the square serves as an important access point, connecting passengers between the whole district and the inner city, on the other side of the Danube. The square became a bit outdated in its design and is not among the tidiest spaces of Vienna, but the charm of the square stands out through something else: Besides shops, and transport related infrastructure, the square offers spacious seating areas that are located around old plate-trees. The high amount of these seating possibilities invites residents but also others to spend time on the square and meet acquaintances and maybe to have some beers as well.

And it is this diversity of usages, the possibility to be hidden in between the masses but still being able to observe the happenings, that makes the Franz-Jonas Platz an attractive place for marginalized people as well. But against the picture that is drawn in the local media, the marginalized people make only a very small part of all users on the square. During the performed observations, there were only 2-3 groups of strongly alcoholised people spread around the square. Most people lingering around are rather living nearby, or workers meeting after their shift.

The social space analysis allowed to bring together many views and opinions from users of the space about ongoing conflicts. But, asking different users led to getting to know different perceptions as everybody is perceiving the square in a different manner. A circumstance, that most people agreed upon is, that people did not experience many conflicts on the square that they personally were affected from. At least passers-by share the opinion, that the marginalized groups do not interfere with the daily business on the square. The social workers, that are present on the square on a daily base serve as mediators and maintain a dialogue between the marginalized group and others. Others than passers-by, it is especially business owners, that complain about their businesses being interrupted by the behaviour of some marginalized people. Hereby, the social workers try to mediate between the two parties and also the present police officers serve as contact persons on the square. The different organisations are well connected in order to ensure a well-functioning coexistence of the groups.

Another aim of the analysis was to find possible correlations to the introduced ban on the Praterstern. But, it is difficult to create a link between the already introduced ban and the increased debate and the media coverage that was around the same time on the Franz-Jonas Platz. Some users describe that

they have noticed an increased number of marginalized people, that were present on the square in this period of time. They see a clear difference between the situation how it was before and how it changed afterwards, when many intoxicated people were lingering around on the square. But others, do not have noticed any difference that would have happened. Among them also the social workers, who even sent some colleagues from the Praterstern there to check upon any known faces.

One thing that has changed for sure, is the changed perception that bad news in the boulevard media or local newspapers results in: people start to feel uncertain when they read these articles and feel a need to advocate for their square, as it happened when two interviewed older ladies told me: *“Floridsdorf is not as bad and dangerous as they say in the media – I’m happy that you see yourself!”* (Elderly Person 2, 2021).

6 Concluding discussion

In the following and last chapter of this thesis I will conclude all my findings and answer my research questions. The consequent discussion should on the one hand deal with the results on the base of my theoretical framework (see theory chapter) and on the other hand deliver some insights about possible implications that can be derived for practice, policies, or further research. The discussion is structured along the discourses identified in the results chapter. First, I treat the discussion around the alleged safety issues on the Franz-Jonas Platz that were promoted in politics and the associated fear of crime discourse. Next, I raise the possible side-effects of exclusive policies such as displacement. Then, I continue with the identified analogies to the right to the city matter. Additionally, I elaborate on the potential of the social space analysis and its use for decision making in urban planning processes. The chapter ends with answering the research questions and giving some recommendations for further research.

6.1 Discussion

In the previous chapters, I investigated upon exclusive policies in public space and studied the discussion about the introduction of an alcohol ban on the Franz-Jonas Platz. As being analysed, this whole discussion is routed mainly in politics whereas a political debate furthermore leads to an intense media coverage in newspapers. In these political discussions around the ban on the Franz-Jonas Platz certain parties claim the introduction of such an exclusive measure in order to allegedly protect the safety and well-being of their voters. The analysis of political protocols hereby showed that the main argument and the main reason for introducing such a ban is, that people would feel unsafe on the square and intoxicated people would threaten passers-by so that the square becomes a huge safety issue for the whole district. Hereby, both the media but also the analysed political statements do not hesitate in using exaggerated language for creating a clear picture in the reader's/voter's mind.

In my results I classified this argumentation as part of a discourse about "fear of crime". Hereby, I argue along with the theory of Hope and Sparks (2000) who suppose that politicians deliberately try to address feelings of fear and insecurity by problematizing marginalized groups or individuals. As a counterpart to this picture that was created in politics and media, I performed a social space analysis. This qualitative on-site analysis demonstrated that the feeling of insecurity pointed out by certain politicians, or the media is not as present as promoted. When talking to passers-by on the Franz-Jonas Platz, most people accept the presence of people with alcohol use disorder and do not consider it as a potential threat or danger. On the contrary, they rather stress the qualities of the square like the high amount of shaded seating areas or the diversity of nearby shops. During my site-visits I encountered very diverse user groups on the Franz-Jonas Platz that were using the square side by side in harmony.

Even if the square has a more outdated architecture and the urban furniture does not meet today's design standards, it is quite well structured and due to its pedestrianisation there is enough space to linger around or to spend some time. Especially in times of a pandemic with curfews being on and off, people visibly enjoy gathering outdoors and drinking alcohol. While I was doing observations at the square there were many groups present drinking alcohol with only a few of them being stronger alcoholised. And even if I could not encounter any disputes, my analysis also unveiled some actual conflicts between store owners and marginalized people. The ignorant behaviour of a few heavily intoxicated (marginalized) people hereby resulted in complaints by shop-owners who worried about losing their customers, like in the described case of the ice-cream vendor.

Even if this on-site analysis presented only a limited snapshot and was made in a different time, than the political statements were published: my observations hereby mostly complied with the expertise of the interviewed social worker, who also did not recognize a justified threat for passers-by being present on the square. According to her know-how and her colleagues from the organisation of streetworkers that are present on the square on a daily-base, the amount and severity of conflicts happening on the Franz-Jonas Platz is not worth mentioning and does not differentiate to other public transportation hubs around the city. Especially conflicts that are involving people outside the concerned group are very rare – apart from some conflicts regarding rubbish or with vendors. Hereby, the social workers also function as mediators or conflict managers between the different actors on the square. They maintain contacts to a very broad stakeholder network and are therefore able to mediate in the case of disputes – at best even without involving police forces.

Interestingly, the number of complaints and the level of anxiety is increasing with statements or news articles on the problematics of alcohol consume on the square being published. This suggests the fact, that passers-by or users have an increased feeling of insecurity when they read about the square as being an allegedly dangerous place. This matches with insights of Wohl and Strauss (1958) who mention that a place can be stigmatized if it gets associated with certain attributes and consequent adjectives. It happens that certain negative cognitive meanings stick out the most and create a positive or negative image for a place. This mistaking stigmatisation led to the situation, that two elderly ladies were thankful that I came to analyse the square and realize how pleasing it actually is compared to the way how news articles would describe it.

Experiencing a place and the way the place is represented in politics might stand in opposition to each other because political parties aim to reach out to attract more voters, and it is easy to catch voters by addressing feelings of unsafety – this is my personal attempt of understanding the argumentation of the political discussion. Thus, I want to highlight a lacking representation of the voices from those who use the square within this political process and the debate around the alcohol ban at the Franz-Jonas

Platz: besides an alleged safety problem being present on the square, there were no other reasons named for the ban's introduction. Furthermore, the consequences and side-effects of the ban's introduction were only slightly part of the discussion, and the alcohol ban was often introduced as the only solution for solving the alleged problems. It seems to me, that this discussion is exemplifying how political argumentations can be very unfounded and insufficiently evidence based. To have a more evidence based argumentation in this case, one would need to address people's lived experiences on the ground. Another argument, that was mentioned from several sides is the alleged success of the already introduced ban on the Praterstern. This ban, that was the first one of its kind in Vienna is used as a kind of 'role model' that should serve as a well-functioning example for other bans getting introduced.

The discussion around the introduction of the ban at the Franz-Jonas Platz and the actual made decisions show the political poignancy and its controversial nature. Right-wing parties claimed the ban whereas left-wing parties (the minority in the district) were against it. As my research illustrates, there have been very controversial opinions about the ban even within the same political party as it happened between the district and municipal government (both led by the socialist party). Whereas the district government claimed the introduction of the ban, the municipal government that has the ultimate power in decision making finally blocked and introduced alternatives measures instead. Maybe the mayor understood the side-effects if another ban would be introduced and the foreseeable claims of other districts that would like to introduce one as well? There are no reports or protocols that give information about the party-internal conflict so that we can only speculate about the actual reasons. We only know from reports, that there has been an extensive consultation by social organisations in the decision-making process. As part of a social organisation Elisabeth Odega but also the professor for social work, Christoph Stoik warned hereby of a kind of knock-on-effect in case another ban would be introduced: one introduced ban would open up for introducing several other bans. This is reasoned politically on the one hand, as politicians might favour such kind of law-and-order policies as easy measures to eliminate problems although a displacement of people from one banned place to another might be possible.

A correlation between the displacement of marginalized people from the Praterstern to the Franz-Jonas Platz because of the introduced ban (in April 2018) and the claim for the introduction of a ban at Franz-Jonas Platz, was hypothesized along with this thesis. The results of the interviews that were performed during the social space analysis showed a broad variety of different perceptions. Whereas some interviewed people recognized an increased number of marginalized people being present on the square after April 2018, the team of social workers who addressed the same question during their working progress could not agree on that. According to their observations, there were only 2-3 people

from the Praterstern being present on the Franz-Jonas Platz. But, at the Praterstern the social workers observed that marginalized people started to spread out towards neighbouring areas. Paradoxically, a political statement already proposed to extend the planned ban at the Franz-Jonas Platz even further to other surrounding neighbourhoods. Also, it seems that many other political voices believe that a ban would heal people from their alcoholism because it would keep them from consuming alcohol on the spot. But of course, as the Praterstern show, where the consumption of alcohol is still allowed at commercial places, the actual reason for discussing the introduction of such a ban is different and rather originates in possible beautifying reasons: out of sight, out of mind.

But even if there were only a bunch of people displaced from one railway station to the other, in terms of exclusive policies, this thesis highlighted the possible side-effects for the marginalized that get especially stressed by people with social-work expertise. For example, according to them, such policies make it more difficult for social workers to reach marginalized people since they start to avoid being there. At these public transportation hubs marginalized people can access many services – social organisations come there to serve food once a day, they can consult social workers that are usually around there a couple of times a day, and finally also the presence of police forces makes it a safer space as it might protect from internal conflicts that are more likely to happen at hidden places.

Elisabeth Odega hereby gave another very legitimate explanation for marginalized people being on public squares as the Franz Jonas Platz is one as well, that I want to highlight once again because of its relevance: *“Transportation hubs are (...) places that are very suitable for marginalized people: they are very accessible in the first place. (...) These are places, where you can disappear but also be part of it. It is a continuous coming and going, you will find diversity and variety, you can observe the things happening... And you do not stand out of the crowd, because it is busy anyways. Even if you are on the edge of society, there you can find yourself in the middle of the action.”*

When demonstrating the importance of the public space for marginalized people, including the right to the city debate is crucial. Hereby, the right of appropriation is regarding the claim, that all inhabitants or users of a city are supposed to have equal opportunities to access physical public spaces. Especially since marginalized people might have limited access to a socially legitimated private space, the public space is the place where they can be seen and heard and therefore become part of public social life. Exclusive policies, like the proposed alcohol ban are likely to limit the access to public space. These kinds of policies attend to introduce regulations that are endangering the scope of action for people that are reliant on having this space for their freedom. The urban public realm serves hereby as a parameter to state, in which extent the physical space in a city is accessible to everyone. In its ideal state, a public space is expected to be universally accessible and an important neutral territory. This is in line with concepts of public space published by the municipality of Vienna. In a mission

statement they highlighted the importance of public space as being important in mirroring the diversity of a city. A statement that stands in a clear opposition to the planned measures on the Franz-Jonas Platz. The analysed political debate showed the conflicting perceptions about the understanding of an inclusive public space when they mention that the public space in Vienna should be available for everyone but should not be occupied by a certain group of people. Such statements, but also the results of this specific master thesis are stressing and strongly emphasizing about the urban public realm being jeopardized. Both on a municipal level and at the researched example of the Franz-Jonas Platz.

Still, Vienna has a long history of being a city that is rooted in socialist thinking with a broad access to social housing and many other social welfare institutions that serve as role models for other cities worldwide. For this very reason, an alcohol consumption ban is hereby an exclusive measure that gained citywide attention and needs to be treated critically as putting the city's history at risk. But when looking to other countries and cities, the urban public realm and the consequently limited inclusivity of public space is jeopardized to an even larger extent. Hereby, especially the United States are worth mentioning as a negative role model. Here, in many cities the behaviour of marginalized and their presence in public space is more and more criminalized by law and order like policies. Sitting on the sidewalk or loitering in the public are hereby being treated as criminal offences. Whereas in Europe, maybe except from Hungary, where homelessness is being criminalized, these policies are not well spread, the planned alcohol ban at the Franz-Jonas Platz can be rather categorized as a "soft policy of exclusion" - following the definition of Catherina Thörn. Soft policies include for example deterrent architecture, like additional armrests on benches that prevent people from sleeping there. Some of these elements are also present on the Franz-Jonas Platz but the square still offers sufficient places to stay and rest for everyone. The political protocols on the other hand show certain ambitions of both elements from American policies and soft policies. Politicians from the FPÖ for example argue that some behaviour and people are less acceptable in public space than others and need to be criminalized. Following their argumentation, the punishment should only lead to prevent the people from drinking. This view is of course questionable and reminds of the worldwide dilemma of drug abuse when the drug addiction, an actual illness, is being criminalized instead of treated. But overall, it is still those soft policies that are rather present in the Viennese context as the city has not reached the described American level yet by far. Another politician from the SPÖ hereby suggests that already in the planning stadium for future public transport hubs, extensive seating and lying surfaces should be avoided. But why is Vienna, the capital known for being a socio-politically orientated city, following these exclusive policies?

As this thesis demonstrated, there is a correlation between exclusive policies and the neoliberal city as well as urban renewal policies. Public spaces in all neoliberal cities, as Vienna is one today as well, are matters of conflicting interests - especially of commercial ones. Restaurants, stores, but also real estate developers show an increasing interest in controlling and co-shaping the public space in order to boost their financial outcome and the value of their nearby objects. Additionally, public spaces are also competing globally for tourists as important benchmarks representing the cultural values and treasures of a city. Since the presence of loitering marginalized people does not fit the image of a representative and trendy city, introducing exclusive policies seem to be an easy way to get actual problematics out of the picture – at least on the very short term. Also, in the environment of the analysed Franz-Jonas Platz there are certain characteristics that show a possibly commencing urban renewal. The surrounding district is supposed to show a high population growth over the next decades and some announced projects already show the expected dimensions. Recent design competitions that were announced in the area can be also interpreted as an increased interest about the area. Even if the Franz-Jonas Platz itself does not show signs of gentrification yet and the square shows a rather shabby atmosphere with a rather outdated design, my research showed that the whole square is supposed to be redesigned in the near future. Hereby, the analysis that was performed within this thesis and its results contain important findings and details that need to be considered in this upcoming redesigning process. Especially the voice of the marginalised and their needs for the square are jeopardized to be underrepresented despite the square's importance for their daily lives.

In the context of this thesis, the comparison of political voices with an in-field-investigation showed the importance for performing this investigative methodology in daily planning routines. Whereas the political claims did not deal enough with possible consequences of the wanted exclusive policies and furthermore also did not represent the voices of the marginalized, by using the social space analysis I managed to gather a more inclusive overview. The social space analysis by Riege and Schubert (2016) tries to analyse social processes and aims to highlight the diversities that are occurring in a public space. It is not a method itself but a very comprehensive toolbox that includes a broad range of qualitative methodologies. Of course, a full social space analysis would almost go beyond the timeframe of this thesis. But even in this smaller, limited context, that additionally got further hindered by pandemic-related restrictions, helped me to understand the ongoing actions on the Franz-Jonas Platz. By using the proposed mixture of methods, including observations, structured interviews, and informal interviews I was able to cover a broad variety of user groups. This helped me to understand their perceptions, needs and views that were of course very diverse and manifold. Comparing the social space analysis with the distinction of public space of Jürgen Habermas, one could say that whereas a traditional analysis evaluates the material part of the public space, the social space analysis hereby also includes the social interactions that happen within the public sphere.

The methodological toolbox that is being offered by the social space analysis also underlies the principles of the before mentioned 'right to the city' discourse since it strives for the right to participation. According to this, all citizens should be heard and listened to in order to let them participate within city development processes. The social space analysis might even contain some elements of advocacy planning, as it advocates between the municipality and the citizens. The social space analysis and its underlying toolbox of methods are already a well-known tool in Vienna and get often used as a groundwork for urban planning processes. Also, the masterplan of the city of Vienna is promoting participation as a crucial tool for achieving a more inclusive city. But still, the introduction of new policies, like the proposed alcohol ban, are only being handled on a political level without involving the public – certainly not marginalized people. And even the expertise of the social workers gets hereby ignored, since they already analysed the rather negative aftereffects of such exclusive policies.

Using the results of a social space analysis could therefore lead to a more profound and empirical basis that could underly such decision-making processes like the one about the alcohol ban on the Franz-Jonas Platz. Especially the participation of groups, that are hard to reach with regular participation processes can be facilitated by the social space analysis. Furthermore, a successful and inclusive participation can improve the physical environment and develop some social capital in a neighbourhood.

6.2 Conclusion

The main subject of research that underlies this thesis highlights exclusionary policies in public space and aims to investigate upon differences between the political debate and the way how the Franz-Jonas Platz is perceived by its users. One research question asked if passers-by and other users perceive the Franz-Jonas Platz as corresponding to the image that was created in the political debate whereas the other question asked about the way how problems around the Franz-Jonas Platz are discussed and framed on the political level.

Along with the used twofold methodology I was able to make differences between the political debate and the actual events evident. The analysed protocols showed that politicians created a disastrous picture about the Franz-Jonas Platz, it being a hazardous place for its users and the alcohol ban being discussed as the only solution to solve the alleged problems. By performing the social space analysis and by talking to a variety of people, a completely different picture has been captured that does not correspond to the image that has been promoted by the political debate: the alleged safety issues are not perceived to be a threat for passers-by but interviewed people rather stress the qualities of the Franz-Jonas Platz. Applying these two methods made evident, that political discussions are not

innocent but they have consequences in real life. Also, no correlation has been found between marginalized people being displaced from the Praterstern to the Franz-Jonas Platz.

6.3 Recommendations

This thesis and its underlying results therefore are supposed to contribute to the discussion about varying perceptions in planning. Also, there is a need for more empirical decision making that is more fact and evidence based and less dependent on the political will. Lastly, this thesis also demonstrated the effects of exclusive policies and how they are jeopardizing the urban public realm. Cities need to be aware of possible side or/and aftereffects when introducing such measures and keep in mind the importance of an inclusive public space as a foundation of a well-functioning and equitable life in a city. Furthermore, this thesis exemplified the benefits of performing a social space analysis. If planners want to achieve a justice and inclusive city, then it is crucial to go into the field. The social space analysis is therefore a good tool for this.

7 Bibliography

- Albert, F. et al. (2019) *ESPN Thematic Report on National strategies to fight homelessness and housing exclusion Hungary*. Brussels: European Commission - European Social Policy Network. Available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=21620&langId=en>.
- Allen, J. (2006) Ambient power: Berlin's Potsdamer Platz and the seductive logic of public spaces, *Urban studies*, 43(2), pp. 441-455.
- Amster, R. (2003) Patterns of exclusion: Sanitizing space, criminalizing homelessness, *Social Justice*, 30(1 (91)), pp. 195-221.
- Arnstein, S. R. (1969) A ladder of citizen participation, *Journal of the American Institute of planners*, 35(4), pp. 216-224.
- Atkinson, R. (2003) Domestication by cappuccino or a revenge on urban space? Control and empowerment in the management of public spaces, *Urban studies*, 40(9), pp. 1829-1843.
- Austrian Federal Law (2021) § 81 *Sicherheitspolizeigesetz*. Available at: <https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/GeltendeFassung.wxe?Abfrage=Bundesnormen&Gesetzesnummer=10005792> (Accessed: 26.04.2021).
- Bayer, C. (2021) *Bahnhof Floridsdorf*. Available at: https://www.strassenbahnjournal.at/wiki/index.php/Bahnhof_Floridsdorf (Accessed: 19.04.2021).
- Beratungsgruppe Soziale Arbeit im öffentlichen Raum (2021) *Mission Statement "Soziale Arbeit im öffentlichen Raum"*. Available at: <https://www.wien.gv.at/gesellschaft/soziale-arbeit/mission-statement.html> (Accessed: 21.02.2021).
- Bergamaschi, M., Castrignanò, M. and Rubertis, P. D. (2014) The homeless and public space: urban policy and exclusion in Bologna, *Revue Interventions Économiques. Papers in Political Economy*, (51).
- Bloß, D. (2016) *Obdachlosigkeit und Stadt : Geographien der Verdrängung in der Obdachlosenszene am Beispiel der Hansestadt Hamburg*, University of Bayreuth. Available at: <https://epub.uni-bayreuth.de/2505/1/Masterarbeit%20Daniela%20Bo%C3%9F%20Obdachlosigkeit%20und%20Stadt%20-%20Geographien%20der%20Verdr%C3%A4ngung%20in%20der%20Obdachlosenszene%20am%20Beispiel%20der%20Hansestadt%20Hamburg.pdf> (Accessed: 24.11.2020).
- Bodnar, J. (2015) Reclaiming public space, *Urban studies*, 52(12), pp. 2090-2104. doi: 10.1177/0042098015583626.
- Bourdieu, P. (1998) Ortseffekte *Kultur in der Stadt*. Springer, pp. 17-25.
- BV21 (2018) Bezirksvorsteher Georg Papai setzt sich für ein Alkoholverbot am Franz Jonas Platz ein und will damit einem möglichen Verdrängungsprozess am Praterstern vorgehen.: https://www.meinbezirk.at/floridsdorf/c-lokales/kommt-nach-alkoholverbot-am-praterstern-jetzt-auch-ein-verbot-am-franz-jonas-platz_a2540766#galle (Accessed: 21.06.2021).
- Callahan, M. and Callahan, K. (1997) Victims and villains: Scandals, the press and policy making in child welfare, *Child and family policies: Struggles, strategies and options*, pp. 40-57.
- Caritas der Erzdiözese Wien (2021) *Suppenbus - Canisibus*. Available at: <https://www.caritas-wien.at/canisibus/> (Accessed: 27.04. 2021).
- Cassegård, C. (2014) Contestation and bracketing: The relation between public space and the public sphere, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 32(4), pp. 689-703.
- Chapin, F. S. (1974) *Human activity patterns in the city: Things people do in time and in space*. Wiley-Interscience.
- Commuter 1 (2021) Informal Interviews with Users of the Franz-Jonas Platz, Interview Date: 20.04.2021, i Wildner, F. (ed.).
- Commuter 2 (2021) Informal Interviews with Users of the Franz-Jonas Platz, Interview Date: 20.04.2021, i Wildner, F. (ed.).

- Daly, M. (1994) *The Right to a Home, the Right to a Future: The Third [summary] Report of the European Observatory on Homelessness, 1994: a Report on the Legal Rights of Homeless People in the European Union*. FEANTSA.
- Davidoff, P. (1965) Advocacy and pluralism in planning, *Journal of the American Institute of planners*, 31(4), pp. 331-338.
- Denscombe, M. (2014) *The good research guide: for small-scale social research projects*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).
- Die neue Volkspartei (2021) *ALKOHOLVERBOT BAHNHOF FLORIDSDORF*. Available at: <https://www.openpetition.eu/at/petition/online/alkoholverbot-bahnhof-floridsdorf#petition-main> (Accessed: 04.03.2021).
- Diebäcker, M. (2019) GENTRIFIZIERUNG UND ÖFFENTLICHE RÄUME. ÜBER DAS ZUSAMMENSPIEL VON AUFWERTUNG, SICHERHEIT UND ORDNUNG AN URBANEN PLÄTZEN, *Stadtunkte*, (27), pp. 143-151. Available at: https://wien.arbeiterkammer.at/interessenvertretung/meinestadt/Stadtpunkte_Nr.27_2019_5.pdf (Accessed: 26.11.2020).
- Diekmann, A. (2007) *Empirische Sozialforschung: Grundlagen, Methoden, Anwendungen*. Rowohlt-Taschenbuch-Verlag.
- Doherty, J. et al. (2008) Homelessness and exclusion: regulating public space in European cities, *Surveillance & Society*, 5(3). Available at: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/6d46/aa979f5a293dbdc9e5f1f92ba28e159a6105.pdf>.
- Dryzek, J. S. (2013) *The politics of the earth: Environmental discourses*. Oxford university press.
- Elderly Person 1 (2021) Informal Interviews with Users of the Franz-Jonas Platz, Interview Date: 16.04.2021, i Wildner, F. (ed.).
- Elderly Person 2 (2021) Informal Interviews with Users of the Franz-Jonas Platz, Interview Date: 16.04.2021, i Wildner, F. (ed.).
- FIX: KEIN ALKOHOLVERBOT AM BAHNHOF FLORIDSDORF! Aber Maßnahmenpaket. (2019), *Die Floridsdorfer Zeitung*, 02.07.2019. Available at: <http://www.dfz21.at/dfz/fix-kein-alkoholverbot-am-bahnhof-floridsdorf-aber-massnahmenpaket/> (Accessed: 08.12.2020).
- Fluch, K. (2018) Lokalausweis auf der Wiener Wiese: Großes Bier, kleines Karo, *Der Standard*, 06.10.2018. Available at: <https://www.derstandard.at/story/2000088676765/lokausweis-auf-der-wiener-wiese-grosses-bier-kleines-karo> (Accessed: 05.03.2021).
- Fohringer, H. (2018) Am Praterstern informiert die Polizei über das neue Alkoholverbot.: VIENNA.AT. Available at: <https://www.vienna.at/alkoholverbot-am-praterstern-bisher-eine-festnahme/5765024> (Accessed: 21.06.2021).
- Forester, J. (1989) *Planning in the Face of Power*: University of California Press.
- Forester, J. (1993) *Critical theory, public policy, and planning practice*. SUNY Press.
- Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. Vintage.
- FPÖ Floridsdorf (2019) Tägliche Alkoholexzesse am Franz-Jonas-Platz, unterstützt durch die Untätigkeit der SPÖ! : Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs - Landesgruppe Wien,. Available at: <https://floridsdorf.fpoe-wien.at/news-detail/artikel/taegliche-alkoholexzesse-am-franz-jonas-platz-unterstuetzt-durch-die-untaetigkeit-der-spoe/> (Accessed: 13.05.2021).
- Fraser, N. (1990) Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy, *Social text*, (25/26), pp. 56-80.
- Fundraiser (2021) Informal Interviews with Users of the Franz-Jonas Platz, Interview Date: 14.04.2021, i Wildner, F. (ed.).
- Gaigg, V. (2020) Stadt Wien investiert vier Millionen Euro zusätzlich in Versorgung Suchtkranker, *Der Standard*, 02.09.2020. Available at: <https://www.derstandard.at/story/2000119747365/stadt-wien-investiert-vier-millionen-euro-zusaetzlich-in-versorgung-suchtkranker> (Accessed: 21.02.2021).
- Gallion, A. and Eisner, S. (1986) *The Urban Pattern: City Design and Planning*: New Delhi, CBS Publishers.

- Gebietsbetreuung Stadterneuerung (2021a) *Milestones der Sanften Stadterneuerung*. Available at: <https://www.gbstern.at/ueber-uns/was-wir-tun/stadterneuerung/milestones-der-sanften-stadterneuerung/> (Accessed: 28.06. 2021).
- Gebietsbetreuung Stadterneuerung (2021b) *Gemeinsam für Floridsdorf: Sanierungsoffensive*. Available at: <https://www.gbstern.at/themen-projekte/sanfte-stadterneuerung/sanierungsinitiative-floridsdorf/> (Accessed: 01.05. 2021).
- Gebietsbetreuung Stadterneuerung (2021c) *Der urbane Platz*. Gebietsbetreuung Stadterneuerung. Available at: <https://www.gbstern.at/themen-projekte/beteiligung/beteiligung-massgeschneidert/> (Accessed: 21.06.2021).
- Gonzales, T. (2011) District 21 of Vienna, Austria.: Wikimedia Commons. Available at: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Vienna_subdivisions_\(21\).svg](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Vienna_subdivisions_(21).svg) (Accessed: 21.06.2021).
- Habermas, J. (1984) *The theory of communicative action*. Beacon press.
- Habermas, J. (1991) The public sphere, in Mukerji and Schudson (ed.) *Rethinking popular culture. Contemporary perspectives in cultural studies*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 398-404.
- Hall, T. and Hubbard, P. (1996) The entrepreneurial city: new urban politics, new urban geographies?, *Progress in human geography*, 20(2), pp. 153-174.
- Haslinger, G. (2018) 44. Sitzung des Gemeinderates *City Council of Vienna* (26.11.2018 edn., pp. 77-78). Vienna: City of Vienna. Available at: <https://www.wien.gv.at/infodat/ergdt?detvid=127020> (Accessed: 17.02.2021).
- Herzog (2019) BV Papai und BR Cermak: Floridsdorf fordert ein Chancen-Haus SPÖ Floridsdorf. Available at: <https://www.floridsdorf.spoewien.at/2019/05/02/spoe-floridsdorf-fordert-ein-chancen-haus/> (Accessed: 21.06.2021).
- Hofinger, C. (2018) *Politische, soziale, kulturelle Partizipation. Studie für die Fachenquete Vielfältige Beteiligung: Wiener StadtbürgerInnenschaft, 2. Mai 2019*. Vienna: Stadt Wien – Integration und Diversität. Available at: http://wienweltoffen.at/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/PolitischeSozialeKulturellePartizipation_Hofinger.pdf (Accessed: 24.11.2020).
- Holawatsch, E. (2019) VP-Holawatsch: ÖVP Floridsdorf kämpft weiter für Alkoholverbot *Sozialkommission behandelt Alkoholverbot am Bahnhof Floridsdorf*. Vienna: APA-OTS. Available at: https://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20190211_OTS0097/vp-holawatsch-oevp-floridsdorf-kaempft-weiter-fuer-alkoholverbot (Accessed: 18.02.2021).
- Holm, A. and Gebhardt, D. (2011) *Initiativen für ein Recht auf Stadt*. VSA: Verlag. Available at: <https://www.vsa-verlag.de/uploads/media/www.vsa-verlag.de-Holm-Gebhardt-Initiativen-fuer-ein-Recht-auf-Stadt.pdf>.
- Hope, T. and Sparks, R. (2000) Introduction: risk, insecurity and the policies of law and order *Crime, risk, and insecurity: law and order in everyday life and political discourse*. New York: Routledge, pp. 1-10.
- Huber, F. J. (2011) Chapter 10 Sensitive Urban Renewal or Gentrification? the Case of the Karmeliterviertel in Vienna, in Camilla, P., Gabriele, M. and Lorenzo, T. (ed.) *Everyday Life in the Segmented City*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp. 223-239.
- Hughes, C. E. and Weedon-Newstead, A. S. (2018) Investigating displacement effects as a result of the Sydney, NSW alcohol lockout legislation, *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy*, 25(5), pp. 386-396. doi: 10.1080/09687637.2017.1306023.
- Jacobs, J. (2016) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books, a Division of Random House inc.
- Jonas, A., McCann, E. and Thomas, M. (2015) Alternative Urban Spaces and Politics *Urban Geography: A Critical Introduction*. West Sussex: WILEY Blackwell, pp. 253-273.
- Jørgensen, M. W. and Phillips, L. J. (2002) *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. Sage.
- Kanta, G. (2019) *help U in Floridsdorf*. (Tätigkeitsbericht 2019: Mobile Soziale Arbeit im Öffentlichen Raum). Vienna: Suchthilfe Wien gmbH. Available at: <https://www.suchthilfe.wien/1/wp->

- [content/uploads/2020/06/T%C3%A4tigkeitsbericht-SHW_Mobile-Soziale-Arbeit-im-%C3%B6ffentlichen-Raum-2019.pdf](#) (Accessed: 19.02.2021).
- Keim, K.-D. (1979) *Milieu in der Stadt. Ein Konzept zur Analyse älterer Wohnquartiere*. Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik -Difu.
- Kelly, J. F., Saitz, R. and Wakeman, S. (2016) Language, substance use disorders, and policy: the need to reach consensus on an “addiction-ary”, *Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly*, 34(1), pp. 116-123.
- Klodawsky, F., Farrell, S. and D'aubry, T. (2002) Images of homelessness in Ottawa: Implications for local politics, *Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien*, 46(2), pp. 126-143.
- Kroisleitner, O. (2018) Stadt Wien verordnet Alkoholverbot am Praterstern, *Der Standard*, 22.04.2018. Available at: <https://www.derstandard.at/story/2000078401806/wien-verordnet-alkoholverbot-am-praterstern> (Accessed: 26.11.2020).
- Kunst im öffentlichen Raum GmbH (2021) *OPEN CALL: „Das Wetter von morgen“ - Projekte zum Thema Klima in und für Floridsdorf*. Available at: https://www.koer.or.at/projekte/open-call-das-wetter-von-morgen/#:~:text=K%C3%96R%20%C3%A4dt%20K%C3%BCnstler*innen%2C%20Architekt,im%20Floridsdorfer%20Zentrum%20zu%20Besch%C3%A4ftigen. (Accessed: 03.05 2021).
- Lane, M. B. (2005) Public Participation in Planning: an intellectual history, *Australian Geographer*, 36(3), pp. 283-299. doi: 10.1080/00049180500325694.
- Layder, D. (2005) *Understanding social theory*. Sage.
- Lefebvre, H. and Nicholson-Smith, D. (1991) *The production of space*. Oxford Blackwell.
- Lindblom, C. E. (1965) *The intelligence of democracy: Decision making through mutual adjustment*. New York: Free Press.
- Linnekin, B. (2012) Bans on Feeding the Homeless Are Discriminatory and Unconstitutional, *Reason.com*. Available at: <https://reason.com/2012/06/09/bans-on-feeding-homeless-have-always-bee/> (Accessed: 13.11.2020).
- Lynch, K. (1960a) *The image of the city*. MIT press.
- Lynch, K. (1960b) *The City Image and Its Elements*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Technology Press & Harvard University Press.
- Lynch, K. (2013) The Image of The City, in Larice, M. and Macdonald, E. (ed.) *The Urban Design Reader*. Taylor & Francis.
- Madanipour, A. (2004) Marginal public spaces in European cities, *Journal of Urban Design*, 9(3), pp. 267-286.
- Madanipour, A. (2005) Public Spaces of European cities, *Nordic Journal of Architectural Research*, 18(1), pp. 7-16.
- Mäntysalo, R. (2000) Land-Use Planning as Inter-Organizational Learning. Department of Architecture, University of Oulu: Oulu University Press.
- Mäntysalo, R. (2005) Approaches to participation in urban planning theories, *Rehabilitation of suburban areas—Brozzi and Le Piagge neighbourhoods*, pp. 23-38.
- Marginalized Person (2021) Informal Interviews with Users of the Franz-Jonas Platz, Interview-Date: 20.04.2021, i Wildner, F. (ed.).
- Marktamt Wien (2021) Karmelitermarkt: Vienna Film Commission. Available at: <https://www.viennafilmcommission.at/Motivdatenbank/Motiv-suchen/1138-Karmelitermarkt> (Accessed: 21.06.2021).
- Mercer LLC (2019) *Quality of living city ranking*. Available at: <https://mobilityexchange.mercer.com/insights/quality-of-living-rankings> (Accessed: 26.11.2020).
- Merriam-Webster (2020). Available at: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/marginalize> (Accessed: 26.11.2020).
- Michel, B. and Stein, C. (2015) Reclaiming the European City and Lobbying for Privilege: Business Improvement Districts in Germany, *Urban Affairs Review*, 51(1), pp. 74-98. doi: 10.1177/1078087414522391.

- Mitchell, D. (1995) The end of public space? People's Park, definitions of the public, and democracy, *Annals of the association of american geographers*, 85(1), pp. 108-133.
- Mitchell, D. (2003) *The right to the city: Social justice and the fight for public space*. Guilford press.
- Newman, O. (1996) *Creating Defensible Space*. New Brunswick: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research
- Newspaper Vendor (2021) Informal Interviews with Users of the Franz-Jonas Platz, 16.04.2021, i Wildner, F. (ed.).
- Niegl, M. (2019) 55. Sitzung des Gemeinderates *City Council of Vienna* (26.09.2019 edn., pp. 61-62). Available at: <https://www.wien.gv.at/mdb/gr/2019/gr-055-w-2019-09-26-061.htm> (Accessed: 13.05.2021).
- Niegl, M. (2020) 71. Sitzung des Gemeinderates *City Council of Vienna* (30.06.2020 edn., pp. 69-70). Vienna: City of Vienna. Available at: <https://www.wien.gv.at/infodat/ergdt?detvid=142243> (Accessed: 18.02.2021).
- NLCHP (2014) No Safe Place: The Criminalization of Homelessness in US Cities.
- Odega, E. (2021) Interview with the head of mobile social workers, Elisabeth Odega. Interview-Date: 21.04.2021, i Wildner, F. (ed.).
- OHCHR (2020) *Minorities under international law - Who are minorities under international law?* Available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Minorities/Pages/internationalallaw.aspx> (Accessed: 02.12.2020).
- Ornig, M. (2018) 46. Sitzung des Gemeinderates *City Council of Vienna* (20.12.2018 edn., pp. 48-49). Vienna: City of Vienna. Available at: <https://www.wien.gv.at/mdb/gr/2018/gr-046-w-2018-12-20-048.htm> (Accessed: 18.02.2021).
- Oxford Learner's Dictionary (2021) Definition of discourse noun from the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary: Oxford University Press. Available at: https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/discourse_1?q=discourse (Accessed: 23.02.2021).
- Pedestrian 1 (2021) Informal Interviews with Users of the Franz-Jonas Platz, Interview Date: 20.04.2021, i Wildner, F. (ed.).
- Pfeiffer, C., Baier, D. and Kliem, S. (2018) *Zur Entwicklung der Gewalt in Deutschland: Schwerpunkte: Jugendliche und Flüchtlinge als Täter und Opfer*. Zürich: Zürcher Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften. Available at: https://160.85.104.64/bitstream/11475/12570/1/Gutachten_Entwicklung_Gewalt_end.pdf (Accessed: 02.12.2020).
- Picard, M. (2003) Touristification and Balinization in a Time of Reformasi, *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 31(89), pp. 108-118. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13639810304435>.
- Primes, S. (2019) Alkoholverbot am Franz-Jonas Platz, *meinbezirk.at*, 18.02.2019. Available at: https://www.meinbezirk.at/floridsdorf/c-lokales/alkoholverbot-am-franz-jonas-platz_a3203214?web=1&wdLOR=cD0F30AB0-4B87-420A-82E3-BCF7E2234C5A (Accessed: 18.02.2021).
- Projektleitung Wien Kulturgut (2021) *Wien Kulturgut: Bauperioden*. Available at: <https://www.wien.gv.at/kultur/kulturgut/architektur/bauperioden.html> (Accessed: 25.06.2021 2021).
- Punter, J. V. (1990) The privatisation of the public realm, *Planning Practice and Research*, 5(3), pp. 9-16.
- Quinn, J. A. (1950) *Human Ecology*. Prentice-Hall.
- Reitzes, D. C. (1986) Urban identification and downtown activities: a social psychological approach, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, pp. 167-179.
- Retailer 1 (2021) Semi structured Interview with a User of the Franz-Jonas Platz, Interview Date: 14.04.2021, i Wildner, F. (ed.).
- Retailer 2 (2021) Informal Interviews with Users of the Franz-Jonas Platz, Interview Date: 20.04.2021, i Wildner, F. (ed.).

- Retailer 3 (2021) Informal Interviews with Users of the Franz-Jonas Platz, Interview Date: 16.04.2021, i Wildner, F. (ed.).
- Richardson, T. (1996) Foucauldian discourse: Power and truth in urban and regional policy making, *European Planning Studies*, 4(3), pp. 279-292.
- Riege, M. (2016) Soziale Arbeit und Sozialraumanalyse, in Schubert, H. (ed.) *Sozialraumanalyse, Grundlage-Methoden-Praxis*. Köln: Verlag Sozial-Raum-Management, pp. 216-232.
- Riege, M. and Schubert, H. (2016) *Sozialraumanalyse - Grundlagen, Methoden, Praxis*. 5 edn. Köln: Verlag Sozial Raum Management.
- Røe, P. G. (2014) Analysing Place and Place-making: Urbanization in Suburban Oslo, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(2), pp. 498-515.
- Rofe, M. W. (2003) 'I want to be global': Theorising the gentrifying class as an emergent elite global community, *Urban studies*, 40(12), pp. 2511-2526.
- Rosenberger, M. (2014) *Urban Development Plan Vienna STEP 2025*. Vienna: Vienna City Administration, Municipal Department 18 (MA 18) - Urban Development and Planning. Available at: <https://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/studien/pdf/b008379b.pdf> (Accessed: 26.11.2020).
- Sawyer, R. K. (2002) A discourse on discourse: An archeological history of an intellectual concept, *Cultural studies*, 16(3), pp. 433-456.
- Schleider, K. and Huse, E. (2011) *Problemfelder und Methoden der Beratung in der Gesundheitspädagogik*. Springer.
- Schönherr, A. (2020) Neuer Anlauf für Alkoholverbot in Wien-Floridsdorf, *Kronen Zeitung*, 21.04.2020. Available at: <https://www.krone.at/2140094> (Accessed: 08.12.2020).
- Schubert, H. and Schnittger, A. (2002) Sicheres Wohnquartier, gute Nachbarschaft-Kriminalprävention im Städtebau und bei der Wohnungsbewirtschaftung, *Handreichung, hg. vom Niedersächsischen Innenministerium, Hannover*.
- Sellner, C. (2018) Kommt nach Alkoholverbot am Praterstern jetzt auch ein Verbot am Franz-Jonas-Platz?, *meinbezirk.at*, 24.04.2018. Available at: https://www.meinbezirk.at/floridsdorf/c-lokales/kommt-nach-alkoholverbot-am-praterstern-jetzt-auch-ein-verbot-am-franz-jonas-platz_a2540766#gallery=null (Accessed: 11.05.2021).
- Sennett, R. (2017) *The Fall of Public Man*. 40th edn. WW Norton & Company.
- Sequera, J. and Nofre, J. (2018) Shaken, not stirred, *City*, 22(5-6), pp. 843-855. doi: 10.1080/13604813.2018.1548819.
- Smith, N. (1996) *The new urban frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city*. Psychology Press.
- SPÖ Floridsdorf (2019) SPÖ-Floridsdorf fordert ein „Chancen-Haus“. Available at: <https://www.floridsdorf.spo.e.wien/2019/05/02/spoe-floridsdorf-fordert-ein-chancen-haus/> (Accessed: 11.05.2021).
- Stadt Wien - Stadtentwicklung (2021) *Floridsdorf - Achse Brünner Straße - Zielgebiet der Stadtentwicklung*. Available at: <https://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/projekte/zielgebiete/floridsdorf/> (Accessed: 29.04. 2021).
- Stadt Wien (2015) Floridsdorf Bezirksvertretungswahlen 201t: Stadt Wien. Available at: <https://www.wien.gv.at/wahl/NET/BV161/BV161-221.htm> (Accessed: 21.06.2021).
- Staffans, A. (2004) *Vaikuttavat asukkaat: Vuorovaikutus ja paikallinen tieto kaupunkisuunnittelun haasteina / Influential Residents. Interaction and Local Knowledge Challenging Urban Planning and Design*. Helsinki University of Technology.
- Statistik Austria (2021a) *Statistische Zählsprengel*. Available at: https://www.statistik.at/web_de/klassifikationen/regionale_gliederungen/statistische_zaehl_sprengel/index.html (Accessed: 01.04.2021).
- Statistik Austria (2021b) *ErwerbsspendlerInnen und Erwerbsspendler Volkszählungen, Registerzählung, Abgestimmte Erwerbsstatistik*. Available at: http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/volks

- [zaehlungen_registerzaehlungen_abgestimmte_erwerbsstatistik/index.html](https://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/wirtschaft/preise/immobilien_durchschnittspreis/index.html) (Accessed: 28.04.2021).
- Statistik Austria (2021c) Immobilien-Durchschnittspreise. Vienna. Available at: https://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/wirtschaft/preise/immobilien_durchschnittspreis/index.html (Accessed: 28.04.2021).
- Statistik Austria (2021d) Demographische Prognosen. Vienna. Available at: http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/demographische_prognosen/index.html (Accessed: 28.04.2021).
- Stoik, C. (2018) Das Alkoholverbot führt zu weiterer Ausgrenzung. Vienna: Die Presse. Available at: <https://www.diepresse.com/5413196/das-alkoholverbot-fuehrt-zu-weiterer-ausgrenzung> (Accessed: 19.02.2021).
- Stoik, C. (2019a) Evaluierung des Alkoholkonsumverbots am Praterstern *Sozialer Raum und Gemeinwesenarbeit*. Available at: <https://sozialerraum.wordpress.com/2019/07/> (Accessed: 20.02.2021).
- Stoik, C. (2019b) Evaluierung des Alkoholverbots am Praterstern *Sozialer Raum und Gemeinwesenarbeit*. Available at: <https://sozialerraum.wordpress.com/2019/04/> (Accessed: 18.02.2021).
- Tellmann, S. M. (2012) The constrained influence of discourses: the case of Norwegian climate policy, *Environmental Politics*, 21(5), pp. 734-752.
- Thörn, C. (2011) Soft policies of exclusion: Entrepreneurial strategies of ambience and control of public space in Gothenburg, Sweden, *Urban Geography*, 32(7), pp. 989-1008.
- Tiesdell, S. and Oc, T. (1998) Beyond 'Fortress' and 'Panoptic' Cities—Towards a Safer Urban Public Realm, *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 25(5), pp. 639-655. doi: 10.1068/b250639.
- Tollmann, J. (2021) *PLACEMAKER*INNEN ERPROBEN ÖFFENTLICHEN RAUM IN FLORIDSDORF*. Available at: <https://smartcity.wien.gv.at/place-city/> (Accessed: 04.05. 2021).
- UNESCO (2021) *Inclusion Through Access to Public Space*. Available at: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/urban-development/migrants-inclusion-in-cities/good-practices/inclusion-through-access-to-public-space/> (Accessed: 09.03.2021).
- United Nations (2015) The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Available at: <https://sdgs.un.org/sites/default/files/publications/21252030%20Agenda%20for%20Sustainable%20Development%20web.pdf> (Accessed: 24.11.2020).
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993) Principles of critical discourse analysis, *Discourse & society*, 4(2), pp. 249-283.
- Van Melik, R. and Lawton, P. (2011) The Role of Public Space in Urban Renewal Strategies in Rotterdam and Dublin, *Planning Practice & Research*, 26(5), pp. 513-530. doi: 10.1080/02697459.2011.626681.
- Varda, J. (2011) Homeless man escorted by police: The Contrarian Hungarian. Available at: <https://thecontrarianhungarian.wordpress.com/2011/10/09/budapest-mayors-campaign-against-the-homeless/> (Accessed: 21.06.2021).
- Verein Soildaritätsgruppe (2013) Soll Obdachlosigkeit tatsächlich strafbar sein? - Die Wiener Kampierverordnung genauer betrachtet. Available at: https://www.solidaritaetsgruppe.org/article/20131114_Soll_Obdachlosigkeit_tatsaechlich_strafbar_sein_Die_Wiener_Kampierverordnung_genauer_betrachtet.php (Accessed: 26.11.2020).
- VIENNA.AT (2015) *Das Wahlprogramm der FPÖ bei der Wien-Wahl 2015*. Available at: <https://www.vienna.at/das-wahlprogramm-der-fpoe-bei-der-wien-wahl-2015/4463585> (Accessed: 17.02.2021).
- Vodicka, F. (2019) Symbolbild Bahnhof Floridsdorf: Die Floridsdorfer Zeitung. Available at: <https://www.dfz21.at/dfz/15488-2/> (Accessed: 21.06.2021).

- Walker, S. (2018) Hungary's homeless fear they are Viktor Orbán's next target, *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/oct/10/hungary-homeless-fear-they-are-viktor-orban-next-target>.
- Weis, P., Voraberger, A. and Schnurrer, N. (2019) Ludwig/Hacker/Sima: Gemeinsam für Sicherheit und Wohlbefinden in ganz Wien. Vienna: City of Vienna. Available at: <https://www.wien.gv.at/presse/2019/07/02/ludwig-hacker-sima-gemeinsam-fuer-sicherheit-und-wohlbefinden-in-ganz-wien> (Accessed: 19.02.2021).
- Whelley, C. J. (2014) *ANTI-HOMELESS LAWS IN U.S. CITIES: A QUANTITATIVE STUDY OF THREE THEORIES*, University of Colorado Denver.
- WHO (2020) Abuse (drug, alcohol, chemical, substance or psychoactive substance): World Health Organization. Available at: https://www.who.int/substance_abuse/terminology/abuse/en/#:~:text=In%20other%20contests%2C%20abuse%20has,unrelated%20to%20acceptable%20medical%20practice. (Accessed: 08.12.2020).
- Whyte, W. H. (1988) Rediscovering the center, *University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia*.
- Wickert, C. (2021) Raum und (Un-)Sicherheit *SozTheo - Sozialwissenschaftliche Theorien einfach erklärt*. Gelsenkirchen. Available at: <https://soztheo.de/stadtsoziologie/raum-und-un-sicherheit-staedtebauliche-kriminalpraevention/#cpted> (Accessed: 31.03.2021).
- Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (2021a) Floridsdorf: Von der Bezirksgründung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg *Wien Geschichte Wiki*. Vienna. Available at: https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Floridsdorf#Von_der_Bezirksgr.C3.BCndung_bis_zu_m_Ersten_Weltkrieg (Accessed: 28.04.2021).
- Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (2021b) *Franz-Jonas-Platz*. Available at: <https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Franz-Jonas-Platz?uselayout=mobile> (Accessed: 19.04.2021).
- Wiener Stadtverfassung (2021) § 76 WStV § 76. Vienna. Available at: <https://www.jusline.at/gesetz/wstv/paragraf/76> (Accessed: 04.03.2021).
- Will, G. (1987) Living on the Street: Mentally Ill Homeless Contribute to Community Decay, *Syndicated Column, Washington Post Writer's Group*.
- Winchester, H. P. M. and White, P. E. (1988) The Location of Marginalised Groups in the Inner City, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 6(1), pp. 37-54. doi: 10.1068/d060037.
- Wisbauer, A. (2021) Population at the beginning of the year since 2002, i Directorate Social Statistics - Demography, H., Labour Market (ed.). Vienna. Available at: https://data.statistik.gv.at/web/meta.jsp?dataset=OGD_bevstandjbab2002_BevStand_2020 (Accessed: 28.04.2021).
- Wohl, R. R. and Strauss, A. L. (1958) Symbolic Representation and the Urban Milieu, *American Journal of Sociology*, 63(5), pp. 523-532.
- Wohnservice Wien Ges.m.b.H. (2017) *Die Stadterneuerungsoffensive in Floridsdorf geht weiter!* Available at: <https://wohnservice-wien.at/aktuelles/aktuelles-detail/die-stadterneuerungsoffensive-in-floridsdorf-geht-weiter> (Accessed: 29.04. 2021).
- Wölfl, L. (2019) Wieso Parkbänke so verdammt ungemütlich sind, *Moment*. Available at: <https://www.moment.at/story/wieso-parkbaenke-so-verdammt-ungemuetchlich-sind> (Accessed: 26.11.2020).
- Zoidl, F. (2019) Gentrifizierung: Die Hipster kommen!, *Der Standard*, 12.05.2019. Available at: <https://www.derstandard.at/story/2000102882292/gentrifizierung-die-hipster-kommen> (Accessed: 28.06.2021).
- Zukin, S. (1995) *The cultures of cities*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell.

8 Appendix

8.1 Interview guide for the semi-structural interview with Elisabeth Odega (2021)

- Since when is there an increased amount of persons being alcoholised present on the Franz-Jonas Platz?
- Why do they exactly meet at this square and not somewhere else?
- Which conflicts are arising mainly on the square?
- Has there been a displacement of marginalised people when introducing the ban on the Praterstern? How has the Franz-Jonas Platz changed over time? (during the past 5 years)
- In local media they talk about “excessive drinking” happening on the square that would endanger passers-by. Do your perceptions correspond to this statements?
- Why do they claim the introduction of an alcohol ban exactly at the Franz-Jonas Platz and not somewhere else?

8.2 Interview guide for semi-structural interview with Retailer 1 (2021)

- What are the main groups of people you would meet on the Franz-Jonas Platz?
- How long have you been on the Franz-Jonas Platz already? Has the situation changed over the years? Has the square always been a common place to meet?
- Have You noticed a change after the alcohol ban at Praterstern has been introduced? Did you notice any sort of displacement?
- Are there any conflicts happening on the square? Have you ever been exposed to a dangerous or threatening situation?
- In local media they talk about “excessive drinking” happening on the square that would endanger passers-by. Do your perceptions correspond to this statements?
- Is the presence of obviously intoxicated people disturbing your businesses on the square?

8.3 Interview guide for informal interviews

- Have you noticed/experienced any conflicts on the square?
- Has the situation on the square changed since the alcohol ban at Praterstern has been introduced (in 2018)?

-

