

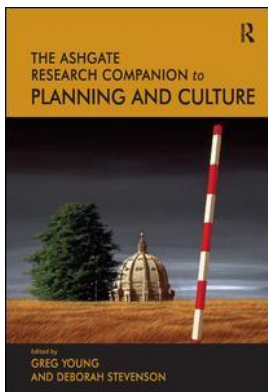
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Greg Young, Deborah Stevenson

A Feminist Perspective on Planning Cultures: Tacit Gendered Assumptions in a Taciturn Profession

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Clara Greed

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PART 2

Planning and Its Dimensions

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Preface to Part 2

Greg Young

In the contributions to this Part the authors paint a vivid picture of resilient and 'wicked' issues such as the global North–South divide, social gender-blindness and the more recent and perplexing conundrums presented to planning by neo-liberal governmentality and insurgent politics in the United States, challenging not only the rationale of communicative theory but also perhaps democratic communication itself. The authors also develop a picture of the varied shades or degrees of the so-called 'dark side' of the *chiaroscuro* of the planning discipline. While the authors' diagnoses of the relevant issues and problems that constitute these dilemmas are varied they all in effect call for versions of what Vanessa Watson describes in her chapter as an 'enlargement of thinking'. Although these enlargements of thought are perceived variously in theoretical, analytical, therapeutic and political terms, they are construed as possible ways forward. In spite of this there is a collective mood in the chapters in which progressive solutions face the ongoing challenges of being outflanked and outmanoeuvred by factors such as the global rationalities of power, the power of privileged 'rationalities' globally or, in the case of James Throgmorton writing from the United States, the anger of an insurgent Tea Party Movement that has now firmly placed planning itself in its cross-hairs.

At a global level Vanessa Watson evidences the growing body of research challenging the hegemony of Northern epistemologies and universalized Northern theory as well as the transfer of predominantly Northern planning ideas and practices in the face of the recognition of the power and importance of local context. The role of the 'cultural turn' in its planning manifestation has been to highlight the importance and implications of local cultural variation, however, the relativism this implies for Watson raises puzzling issues of balance and judgement between competing claims, world views, cultures, identities and rationalities leading to an identified 'trap of relativism'. The solution to this conundrum is to be found through an enlargement of thought based on considering multiple perspectives and contexts such as may be engaged through cross-global comparative research offering the possibility to counter Northern predominance. Finally, she notes that there is no 'philosophical tradition' that would in principle support the escalating crime, violence and social breakdown set in motion by urban development trends producing urban marginalization and inequality.

On a significant historical scale from the late nineteenth century up until current times, Clara Greed, from a feminist perspective, traces the enduringly gendered nature of planning in the British context. This experience ranges from the birth of the modern town planning movement, the period of post-war reconstruction, neo-Marxism in the

1970s, neo-liberalism in the 1980s, the environmentalism of the 1990s and in this century contemporary planning for equality and diversity in the post-secular city. She singles out the hidden history of women in planning and the built environment professions and documents the imprint of gender relations on planning policy, city form and the built environment. However, regardless of the planning trend in fashion, the gender blindness she identifies that operates in planning now extends to a similar limitation in regard to faith, with many planners in a post-secular age needing to accommodate the value of the cultures of others and their life experiences although these may be very different to their own. She argues that if planners are to meet the needs of the majority of society in contexts such as that of the United Kingdom, they will need to address the needs of women, ethnic minorities and religious groups.

James Throgmorton, in writing from the United States, describes in his chapter a set of circumstances where the repressed needs and ambitions of a populist conservative group, 'The Tea Party', seeks to influence and co-opt national policymaking which it feels has ignored their needs and realities. The tactics employed by the Tea Party call into question the 'collaborative rationality' of the communicative turn that impacted on planning theory from the 1990s and leads Throgmorton to speculate on the role of planning theory in such a context. The originator of the theory of communicative action, Jürgen Habermas, who grew up in the shadow of the German Third Reich, developed his theory in part from Freud's psychoanalytical concept of distorted communication. Throgmorton can see that there is in the Tea Party context no genuine desire to communicate – whether in distorted or other terms. Yet while the conservative insurgency of the 'Tea Party moment' offers a seemingly deracinated discourse, Throgmorton looks sympathetically at the complex origins of the movement and in response counsels the right for groups and citizens to express anger and to be listened to. He adds to this therapeutic wisdom the recognition that planning is deeply political and needs to facilitate democratic deliberation.

In the final chapter in this Part Glen Searle scrutinizes development values from the late 1980s up until today in major harbour-side redevelopments in Sydney, Australia that confront wider community and planning values and objectives. He develops an innovative theoretical construct comprising a hierarchical framework to consider the influences of planning discourses, planning doctrines and professional planning habituses in conflicted planning contexts. 'Searle's triad' is an original approach that offers an analytical lens capable of deconstructing and illuminating the fluctuating specifics of individual redevelopment schemes.

In the case of each chapter whether from Greed, Throgmorton, Watson or Searle, planning or specific forms of planning are found wanting and inadequate to cope with the enlargement of thinking deemed by the authors in various senses to be a requirement of a more democratic, responsible and effective planning. This enlargement of thinking includes a desirable political, ethical, narrative and analytical sophistication that is able to counter the broad range of threats seeking to outflank and outmanoeuvre planning.

A Feminist Perspective on Planning Cultures: Tacit Gendered Assumptions in a Taciturn Profession

Clara Greed

Introduction: What is the Problem?

The Changing Nature of Planning

Urban planning in the United Kingdom is underpinned by nation-wide legislation, with apparently fixed rules as to what is right and wrong. But 'planning' is an elastic field of public policy, characterized by paradigm shifts and breathtaking reversals. Planning has variously focused on land-use zoning, regional economic issues, social policy and equality issues. Possibly most significant of all has been the shift to the 'green' environmental planning agenda that currently dominates. Whilst these swings appear extreme, from a feminist perspective the development of urban planning appears to have been gender-blind, retaining a tacit, substantive focus on predominantly male concerns. Gender may be defined as the cultural role ascribed to women and men in society, as against the biological sex to which they are born. Feminism describes a view of society and knowledge that is based upon the principle that men's views and interests dominate and unequal gender relations result which disadvantage women. It was in this context that the 'women and planning' movement developed from the 1970s onwards as more women entered town planning courses. It sought to change the design and planning of the built environment so that the 'different' needs of women are recognized and planned for (Booth, Darke and Yeandle 1996, Greed 1994a, Matrix 1984, Panelli 2004, Reeves 2005). In this chapter, I examine the history of urban planning from a feminist perspective beginning first by defining planning theory, culture and the planning subculture. Then I will go through the phases of planning theory and practice,

drawing out key factors that belie the nature of the planning subculture and 'types' of planner in each stage (Greed and Johnson forthcoming 2013).

Definitions and uses of planning theory and culture

Whilst the definition of theory is important, its social and cultural function is probably more significant in terms of increased professional status and intellectual legitimacy. 'Theory' derives from the Greek, 'theoreo' which means 'I see' and refers to observation, speculation and conjecture (Feyerabend 1966). Within the secular, positivist scientific ethos of the modern Western world 'theory' has been exalted to 'fact' and this positioning has given many a planning theory greater veracity than it might warrant. How planners 'see' the world is a key theme throughout the chapter.

There are only two main types of planning theory (Greed 2000: 236, Taylor 1998). First, there are those that have been developed by planners either to facilitate better planning or to justify what the current generation wants planning to be, and within this category there are 'normative' theories that shape thinking about what planning should be and ought to do. Second, there are 'theories of planning', developed mainly by sociologists, which provide a critical perspective on planning (Faludi 1973). Planners have sometimes appropriated and twisted urban sociologists' theories to justify their actions, and to legitimate their position because they are 'planning for the working class'. Possessing some suitably difficult, esoteric and arcane theories is particularly important because of increasing credentialization, which is the process of limiting access to specialist professional enclaves by means of increasing the educational entrance requirements (Collins 1979: 90–91, Millerson 1964). Paradoxically the rush for academic recognition has resulted in educational inflation, so there is increased pressure on people to have a degree and belong to a profession (Greed 1991: 30). Morgan (2010: 38) notes that 'people have to go to university to get a decent job, even though most jobs do not require specialist training in higher education'.

Raymond Williams defines culture as appertaining to a whole way of life, including the material, intellectual and spiritual (Williams 1981). Culture is the *zeitgeist*, or spirit of the age, which is accepted as 'normal' and 'obvious' – 'everywhere and nowhere like the sky' (Barthes 1973). Whilst planning generally mirrors the values of the national culture, the planning profession possesses its own particular subculture, norms and ways of doing things (Greed 1994a, 2005a). At certain times 'planning' has been the epitome of the spirit of the age, for example, as the *modus operandi* of the post-Second World War reconstruction period in which it was widely accepted that 'The New Britain must be planned'. But at other times planning appears to be out of step with mainstream culture (Ogburn 1922). But the planning culture can also appear to be radical, even revolutionary. Alonso (1963: 824), for instance, notes the urban planning profession (like most adolescents perhaps) likes to revolt, to strike a pose, and to rapidly adopt and discard heroes (Greed 1994a: 30). The profession appears to have its own heroes and 'ideal types' that men can aspire to copy, follow and (subsequently) discard (Bologh 1990).

To gain some detachment and perspective on what has been going on, it is important to look behind the 'front' that the planning profession projects to the general public (Goffman 1969, Greed 1994b). I draw upon my previous research on the surveying profession and its internecine tribes (Greed 1991: 28) and upon the planners themselves

(Greed 1994a). Looking through the eyes of women (as 'other') helps to 'make the familiar strange' (Greed 1994b: 14, Delamont 1985). Planning has a number of 'blind spots' not least ignorance of women's needs although women (52 per cent of the population) are the majority of 'the planned'. 'Planning is for people' (Broady 1968) but frequently it ignores this female preponderance.

It is helpful to see the world of planning as a subculture, which is taken to mean that there are cultural traits, beliefs and lifestyles peculiar to planning. The values and attitudes of the subculture have a major influence on professional decision-making, and thus influence the nature of urban development. The need for identification with the values of the subculture blocks out the entrance of both people and alternative ideas that do not 'fit in'. The concept of 'closure' as discussed by Parkin (1979: 89–90), was developed by Weber (1964: 141–52, 236) and describes how subgroups protect their status and territory through gatekeeping, withholding of essential information, and other exclusionary mechanisms. Closure is worked out on a day to day basis at the interpersonal level, with some people being made to feel unwelcome, bullied and 'wrong'; and others being welcomed into the subculture, made to feel comfortable and encouraged to progress to decision-making levels. Gender, social class, ethnicity, disability and other so-called 'minority factors' determine who is 'suitable' to enter the planning tribe. All these processes contribute towards 'the reproduction over space of social relations' (Massey 1984: 16), especially the imprint of gender relations on the nature of planning policy, city form and the built environment.

Individual planners may not be consciously aware of the values that they subscribe to as it is tacit (unspoken) 'habitas', what is normal and obvious for them. (See also Searle and O'Connor, Chapters 8 and 10, this volume). There has been a lack of reference until relatively recently to women's needs in planning, presumably because the male is the *de facto* 'norm'. In this respect, planning was similar to other male-dominated professions, such as seafaring, where 'women' are still such an oddity that men either treat them with exaggerated courtesy or extreme hostility (Kitada 2010). If asked about 'women' the men are likely to say, 'we don't discriminate we treat everyone the same' – which is perhaps the worst kind of discrimination.

The Phases of Planning Theory

The Development of Modern Town Planning

'Modern' planning developed in Britain in the nineteenth century to deal with the effects of industrialization, urbanization, population growth, including of disease, poverty and the slum housing inhabited by the new working classes. (See also Ward, Chapter 2, this volume.) Reaction and reform was characterized by the efforts of private sector philanthropic factory owners (Greed 2000) who employed new types of architect-planners, master planners and urban designers, capable of planning entire model communities. Visionaries, utopianists and reformers, with no formal 'planning' education, all had their own ideas on how cities should be and 'every reading man has a draft of a new community in his waistcoat pocket' (Bryson 1992: 28, quoting Emerson's

comment to Carlyle of 1840, popularized by Oliver Wendell Holmes' collected volume of Emerson's pithy sayings (Holmes 1892: 125)).

But where were the women in a male-dominated world of industrialists, city fathers and architectural 'geniuses'? Women had been very active in the early Garden City movement and housing reform but they were written out of the history of planning which concentrated on the great men of the movement. Although Ebenezer Howard (1898) was elevated as the Grandfather of Modern Planning (Greed 1994a: 92–5), there were many other men and women involved who were forgotten. Early plans included nurseries, communal feeding facilities and even kitchenless houses to reform 'domestic labour'. There were also many women, particularly in North America, who established their own model towns and who were architects in their own right (Hayden 1981, Pearson 1988). Educated women actively campaigned to get women's needs and 'different' perspectives incorporated into housing design, model town development, urban planning policy, architecture and welfare reform (Greed 1994a).

Early Twentieth Century

Town Planning became a profession in 1913 (Greed 1994a: 108), in that practitioners were required to take qualifying examinations in order to belong to the newly established Town Planning Institute. But formalization of qualifications and entry requirements restricted women's entry. (See also Ward, Chapter 2, this volume.) Indeed women were not permitted to be members of any of the built environment professions until the 1919 Sex (Disqualification) Removal Act. Nor were women considered 'the right type' to enter all-male gentlemen's clubs and coteries. Rather their work was likely to be despised as the voluntary efforts of mere 'Lady Bountifuls'. Nevertheless, a certain Ebenezer Howard's first wife, Elizabeth (who died in 1907), was one of the first members of the Town and Country Planning Association (established in 1903) and many other women contributed to the cause (Hayden 1981). Planning became institutionalized within the municipal government structures but few women achieved senior positions, as a marriage bar operated throughout public sector employment in Britain. Women have never quite caught up and even today women constitute less than 10 per cent of those in senior positions in the built environment professions (CIC 2009). Likewise women were unable to exert influence on the development of planning policy and theory within academia, as they were not admitted to most universities in Britain until after the Second World War. Those women who did get to college were rapidly corralled into separate academic spheres or were awarded diplomas rather than degrees (Jarvis, Kantor and Cloke 2009: 56–8). City research was split between 'masculine' abstract urban science and 'feminine' practical social work solutions. So inevitably the men created the grand theories of urban sociology and planning, excluding a woman's perspective. Women, at best, were likely to end up as research assistants or professors' wives.

Rudimentary town planning acts were introduced in 1909 and 1919 which required the production of a 'scheme' that is a plan for each local authority area showing the land-use zonings. Patrick Geddes promoted a scientific approach to planning, based on the mantra of survey, analysis, plan and the collection of detailed statistics. (See also Bianchini, Chapter 22, this volume.) He also promoted the need for 'order' for separation of land-uses in the name of functionality. Geddes' ideal rational city was

divided into three zones: home, work and play (Geddes 1915). There is no place in this tripartite arrangement for a fourth factor, namely all the caring, home-making, childcare undertaken by women in the home, which does not count as either 'work' or 'play'. In Geddes' view 'the home' was a haven for men to relax after work, whereas for women it was the major locus of their work. Whilst zoning was 'justified' in the name of public health, the founding fathers of planning used it either directly or indirectly to negate women's contribution to society, to control women's place in the city and to prevent her from transgressing spatial and moral protocols and venturing into the public realm of the city of man (Lees 2004). Geddes and many other great thinkers of the time were supportive of eugenics and were keen to control the breeding instincts of the lower classes by tackling overcrowding (and assumed immorality) by reducing housing densities. Geddes saw women as inferior and in need of control and in this respect he was enamoured by Freud's association of the mother principle with 'stagnation' (Bologh 1990: 14, Geddes and Thomson 1889). Such attitudes towards women as 'dirty' undoubtedly shaped his approach to land-use zoning (Greed 1994a, Matless 1992). He was also strongly opposed to women's suffrage (Kent 1987: 35).

An investigation of the origins of the word 'zoning' reveals the murky occult roots of this apparently scientific planning principle and its association with the control of women's place in urban space by keeping them out of public life and civic space and within the domestic realm of house and home (Greed 1994a: 70–81). According to Boulding (1992: 227), in Ancient Greek the word 'zona' conveys the idea of a belt and by inference to the restriction of the 'loins' that is the control of sexuality and the production of children (the fruit of the loins), and thus is linked to the control of women's sexuality and related temptations and moral pollution. Marilyn French (1992: 76) points out the Hebrew for 'prostitute' – 'zonah' (harlot) – means 'she who goes out of doors', that is, she is in the wrong place and has lost her respectability. In Latin, 'zonam solvere' means 'to lose the virgin zone', that is to get married or lose one's virginity or, in medieval parlance, to remove the chastity belt. It is only a short etymological leap from zona, to zana, to sana, to sanitary, and to the obsession with sanitation and hygiene in the modern secular city. Social hygiene appeared to be more about controlling women than actual disease, especially the dirtiness (sexuality) of working-class women.

Zoning and separation principles were also promoted by European planning theorists, such as Le Play, who wrote of *lieu, travail* and *famille* (place, work and family) (Greed 1994a). Le Corbusier drew his inspiration from ancient occult and Masonic sources, in seeking to codify and control space and women's place both within the city of man and in the layout of the home (Birkstead 2009). Although Le Corbusier stated that a house is a machine for living in neither he nor his fellow members of the Modern Movement had much idea how ordinary women used their 'machine' and the problems they encountered in the city of man (Greed 1994a: 121–4).

The archaeology of the past weighs heavily upon the modern planning profession (Foucault 1972). What passed as scientific principles in the new secular town planning profession were replete with deep-seated religious beliefs about the place of women in society and the city (Greed 1994a: 116–17). Dualistic, Gnostic influences were at work in planning which stressed the philosophical concept of there being a split between spirit and body, between pure and impure (Douglas 1966). One of the characteristics of religion is to make a clear division between sacred and profane, between right and wrong, to impose order on the world and give meaning to existence (Eliade 1959)

A reality is created in which 'man' is at the centre and 'right' and woman is usually wrong, impure and 'other', This is presumably because of women's association with the inferior realms of body, nature, sexuality, and thus mortality, sin and filth. Women were seen as dragging men down earthwards from the higher, purer, spiritual realms (Jagger 1983). The trinity of mind, body and soul promoted by Descartes harks back to Aristotle's division of knowing, doing and feeling, and strongly parallels the home, work, play zoning mentality of the planners (Boardman 1978, Doxiadis, 1968: 22, Greed 1994a: 117).

Post-War Reconstruction

Modern town planning in Britain developed from these murky beginnings into a major arm of government after the Second World War as the nation undertook reconstruction and sought, literally, to 'Build a Better Britain' (Abercrombie 1945). Emphasis was put upon the importance of designating new zones specifically for (male) employment which were often decentralized in new industrial estates on the outskirts of the town. Separation of work and home might have been ideal for the male breadwinner as it enabled him to escape the confines and stagnation of the domestic realm every day, but it was not necessarily very practical for women. New Towns increased women's isolation in the domestic zone as each was divided into neighbourhood units where all the necessities of life would be provided without any need to stray further. It was assumed women were happy to be housewives who were supported by their breadwinner husbands (Wilson 1980). Growing suburbanization increased the sense of confinement and limited horizons – 'the problem without a name' (Greed 1994a). Even when well-intentioned men undertook urban sociological study they brought with them assumptions about women's place in society. Young and Willmott's study of the East End of London (1957) 'naturally' assumes that women residents were primarily 'Mums' and care-givers with no life or work of their own out of the home (Rose 1993).

The Gendered Inheritance of City Form

Research has demonstrated that women suffer disadvantage within a built environment that is developed by men, primarily for other men (Greed 2011a, 2005a, 2005b, 1994a). Women's concerns are not limited to matters of house and home, including childcare although it is very important with 68 per cent of women and 78 per cent of men of working age in employment (ONS 2010). Women use and experience the built environment differently from men, and therefore have distinct needs and expectations in terms of the nature of urban structure and planning policy. As well as being workers, women are more likely to be the ones responsible for childcare, shopping and a range of other caring roles, all of which generate different usage of urban space. Fewer women than men have access to a car and so they comprise the majority of public transport users in many areas, and their journey patterns are different from those of men. A woman's daily journeys might be as follows; home > school > work > shops > school > and back home again. Thus women tend to trip-chain their journeys, and often undertake complicated, intermittent, lateral journeys, rather than radial journeys straight to and

from the city centre. Such journeys are often undertaken outside the rush hour if they work part-time, and by public transport or on foot (Uteng and Cresswell 2008). As an alternative solution, women planners have recommended the creation of 'the city of everyday life', of short distances, multiple centres, mixed land-uses and adequate social facilities (Eurofem 1998).

The Sixties and Systems Planning

Planning education in Britain underwent a period of expansion (albeit of mainly male students) in the 1960s. There was a need to make planning more intellectually respectable by increasing the academic and theoretical basis of the subject – ideally one that would embody the 'white heat of technology' as favoured by Harold Wilson's Labour government of the time which put great emphasis upon state planning. Many planners were enamoured by the new urban planning ideas coming out of North America and new computer-based methodologies, especially the systems view of planning was very enticing (McLoughlin 1969). The city was seen as a system in which everything was linked to everything else, and the land-uses, roads and development were seen as the spatial end-product of the economic, social and political 'aspatial' forces at work in the city (Foley 1964: 37). Planners could control and guide the city 'like the helmsman of a ship' by analysing data using the new computer technology. Although a systems approach to planning ostensibly was about feeding 'everything' into the computer, in reality it worked much better on quantitative data, and especially on counting and predicting traffic flows, and appeared completely 'peopleless' and very male in its priorities. I first encountered systems planning as a young planning student in the late 1960s and when I questioned its quantitative bias I was informed by my tutor, 'If you can't count it, it doesn't count' (that is 'if you can't measure it, you can't manage it'). When I naively asked, 'but what about women? a woman's work is never done', I was told by the male lecturer, 'don't be stupid, we're not talking about that!' Systems theory, and related methodologies, have subsequently been much criticized for being a-political, socially unaware and dominated by the male obsession with the motor car. Retail Gravity Models purported to predict shopping demand according to time and distance to shopping centres by car. But most shoppers were women, and bus timetables, public toilets, accessibility and child-friendly environments were far more important (Greed 1994a).

The Seventies and Neo Marxism

In the 1970s, planners increasingly were becoming frustrated in their role of advisors especially to local councillors, and because they lacked any direct power. As a result many planners embraced Marxist urban theory which paradoxically was extremely anti-spatial and yet offered greater power to the planners. According to Marx the economic material base of society determines its legal and political superstructure (Taylor 1998: 104–7). The built environment was merely an outward manifestation of this superstructure, rather like the icing on top of a fruit cake (Greed 2000: 229–30). Therefore trying to improve society by changing the spatial nature of cities was like

rearranging the deckchairs on the Titanic. There was a need to change the economic basis of society, namely the capitalist system, and so there was no point in doing anything until that was achieved – ‘after the Revolution’. So, all the ongoing urban problems, design criteria, housing overcrowding and development pressures that had previously been the focus of planners’ work strangely faded into the background. To achieve revolution it was necessary for an elite intellectual vanguard (the planners in this instance) to mobilize the proletariat. In Britain, the ‘worker’ was generally ‘seen’ to be male, Northern, working in heavy industry or the mines, redolent with homoerotic, Soviet images of the noble, heroic worker. In contrast women were portrayed as selfish, lazy, bourgeois housewives who did not work at all, or did a little bit of work for ‘pin money’, and were only fit to make the tea whilst the men ran the revolution (Hartmann 1981). It took a very long time for feminists to convince both academia and policy makers that women were workers too, and that their domestic labour created the workforce in the first place (McDowell 1991). Like all radical theories, neo-Marxism served the purpose of providing some within the profession with the theoretical tools to rebel against their elders and eventually to take over.

1980s and Non-Planning or Some-Planning

By the 1980s, the pendulum had swung again and neo-Marxism had gone out of fashion. In Britain, the Conservative Party led by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher came to power and as a result neoliberalism and market economics became hegemonic. Planning was seen as slowing down the system and preventing property development from taking place. The planning process was to be made market-led and many local government planning departments were cut back, whilst entrepreneurial, bright, young graduates increasingly entered the private sector of planning consultancy and property development.

This was a period in which women began to make inroads in erstwhile male-dominated professions and management structures, bringing a new perspective on planning policy and priorities. But did more women mean better planning? As more women had entered planning schools from the early 1970s, a feminist view of planning became more widespread and the ‘women and planning’ movement was born. Much of the foundational literature was North American (Hayden 1984, 1981), but gradually British women planners rediscovered their heritage and developed their own analysis and policy recommendations (Booth, Darke and Yeandle 1996, Greed 1994a, Little 1994). There was a short period when ‘women and planning’ peaked in the early 1990s, and many reports, books, academic articles and conference papers were produced (Greed 2005b). But few men attended ‘women and planning’ conferences and the cause was not strong enough to create a paradigm shift. Indeed, women’s issues were sidelined, first by neo-Marxism, then by market-led planning and subsequently by environmentalism. The dominant planning culture remained unchanged. Attempts to gain planning permission for developments that met women’s needs such as for child care provision, public toilets, disability provision and community facilities were frequently refused. They were seen as *ultra vires*, that is ‘not a land use matter’; they were ‘social’ matters outside the remit of urban planning (Greed 2005a, 2005b, 1994a). In contrast, planning proposals for playing fields mainly used for men’s sports are seen as ‘physical land-use

matters' and not as social uses. The Sports Council and football organizations are listed as official consultees in the planning process, and such 'public' open space is shown on all statutory plans.

In the 1980s 'planning theory' and critical discourse were not in fashion but there was a resurgence of more traditional, spatial planning concerns. The urban conservation movement grew in strength in Britain as people became concerned about the loss of historic architectural heritage. There was a desire to create a better-designed townscape and to apply human-scale design principles to residential areas (Prince of Wales 1989). A range of strange alliances were formed across the political spectrum to question the nature of planning, including those concerned with community planning, crime and design, accessibility, women and planning, vernacular architecture, urban design and cultural heritage.

1990s and Environmentalism

The planning discourse was being reshaped as new forces were at work at an international level that were to dominate 'planning' for many years to come. Concern was expressed about the future of the planet, global warming and the possible destruction of planet earth by its own people. The United Nation's Rio Declaration (UN 1992) required all signatory member-states to integrate environmental controls and policies within their planning systems. Emphasis was placed upon sustainability – with leaving the planet in good shape, with adequate natural resources, for future generations. Sustainability originally had three dimensions: environmental sustainability, economic viability and social equality – the three 'Ps' of planet, prosperity, people (Bruntland 1987). When these principles reached the UK planning system, given the cultural values of the planning tribe, greatest emphasis was given to the physical environmental aspects, and little emphasis was given to either the economic or social equity dimensions, let alone to the relationship between gender and sustainability. In some European countries, especially in Scandinavia, sustainability policy has been more strongly linked with equality considerations (Skjerve 1993).

Environmentalism and 'green issues' became the new 'gospel of redemption' for planners. It provided the impetus for a shift in attitudes away from planning for the motorcar, to restrictions on car use. At first this seemed to be against the planning culture's traditional values, as the tribe always promoted the use of the car and tore down entire city centres to accommodate it. The policies have been reversed but the level of power wielded by planners remains unchanged. Prioritizing environmental concerns about individual carbon footprints without linking this to the social, economic and spatial realities encountered by ordinary people leads to spatial oppression (Greed 2011b). Many ordinary suburban dwellers in Britain lack access to reliable bus routes or local railway stations (Beeching 1963) and so have to use their car regardless of the condemnation of the green planners (Uteng and Cresswell 2008).

Environmental planning, like systems planning, is better at dealing with quantifiable data, using EIA (Environmental Impact Assessment) methods for evaluating new development proposals. But little has been done about SIA (Social Impact Assessment) – in the UK at least – in spite of the existence of a range of qualitative methodologies (Greed 2005b, RTPPI 2003). Likewise scant attention is given to women's 'different'

travel needs and thus to the challenges the sustainable city present to women, such as the very tight time-budgets, and the complex trip-chaining patterns, discussed above, that women have in order to carry out all their home and work tasks. But if one dares to ask 'what about women?' they are likely to be told that 'we've done women; you should be concerned with the environment'.

Planning for Equality and Diversity in the New Millennium

The Labour Government under Tony Blair (1997–2007) and Gordon Brown (2007–10) put considerable emphasis upon social inclusion, diversity and the community, and so planning appeared 'softer' and socially aware. In spite of its references to 'joined up thinking', gender considerations were not meshed into environmental policy and were marginalized. The equalities and diversity movement appeared good in that it raised the importance of 'people issues', but gender was low on the pecking order, beneath ethnicity and sexuality. Trying to include all the different diversity issues became increasingly complex and difficult to administer. Equalities monitoring techniques simply required planners to fill up a tick-box form to confirm they had taken a whole list of equality issues into account with reference to specific policy outcomes (37 in some London boroughs) (Greed 2005b). Much of this monitoring appeared 'disembodied' and 'space less'. It did not relate to the impact of specific planning policies on different categories of people within society. Whilst 'gender' had been ignored in the past, it was now outflanked by a mass of other competing equality issues.

Planning theory tried to encompass this all-inclusive approach by stressing collaborative and communicative approaches to planning which downplayed the differences and potential conflicts and varying levels of power amongst different members of the community (Healey 1997, see also Throgmorton, Chapter 6, this volume). Remarkably 'the working class', for whose supposed benefit planning ostensibly existed, the great talisman of planners' success, was seldom mentioned in this new conciliatory urban social theory and was not included at all in the 2010 Equality Act.

Meanwhile in academia there were attempts to develop the theory of intersectionality theory (Bagilhole 2009), which sought to take into account the fact that different diversity characteristics overlap and interact within an individual's being, whilst stressing that some issues, such as gender are likely to be more overarching in their importance than others. The diversity agenda of post-structuralist sociology has become so complicated, abstract, philosophical and relativistic, that few understand it and even 'gender' is now questioned as a valid category (Jones 2011).

The Twenty-First Century and the Post-Secular City

The widening diversity agenda has allowed for a greater range of social and cultural issues to be considered, including religion, which is of particular concern to women who comprise the majority of many congregations and faith groups (Greed 2011b). By the end of the twentieth century, according to some society was entering a post-secular phase (AlSayyad and Massoumi 2010, Baker and Beaumont 2011, Gorrington 2002), manifested

in renewed interest in spiritual matters and a concern for faith issues in civil society and the city (Beaumont 2008) after the predominance of a secular, humanistic culture during the twentieth century (Cox 1965). This is a new phase of society that contains many paradoxes. Post-secularism is characterized by a contest between religious lobbyists (including new fundamentalists) and secular pressure groups who promote diversity and equality (Baines 2009). Nevertheless, post-secularism has allowed some urban theorists to ask a new set of questions about the city, related to social justice, morality and whether the city is 'good' (Amin 2006). Planners have always prided themselves on being neutral and not there to make moral judgments (Fewings 2009, Howe 1994, Sandercock 1997). When women have complained that granting planning permission for 'lap dancing' clubs and 24-hour bars may destabilize a neighbourhood and create personal safety issues for women wishing to walk through the area unmolested, they are more likely to be dismissed as 'religious fundamentalists' or men haters (Greed 2011b, Lewisham 2008, WDS 2009).

Planners' lack of religious awareness puts large sectors of the minority population at a disadvantage (Engwicht 2010, Sandercock 2006, see also Watson, Chapter 1, this volume). Whilst there has been a decline in religious affiliation and church attendance within the traditional (white) denominations across European Christendom, there has been a growth in church attendance in the developing world especially in Africa and South America. As a result of increased immigration and globalization (Fenster 2004) some of the largest churches in the United Kingdom comprise Pentecostal congregations which draw much of their membership from ethnic minority groups. Women play a prominent role both as the majority of these congregations and in pastoral roles and in community development (Onuoha and Greed 2003). Many such faith communities have had great difficulty obtaining planning permission for church building (CAG Consultants 2008). Kingsway International Christian Centre (KICC), which is a mega-church with over 12,000 members of 46 different nationalities, and is one of the largest churches in Western Europe, has been the subject of a long-running planning saga because it failed to get planning permission for a large new church building on an industrial estate in Dagenham, East London. Its previous premises in Hackney were requisitioned as part of the 2012 Olympic Games site development and KICC leaders imagined the planners would deal favourably with their application. But they chose not to do so (DCLG 2009). Perhaps both God and gender (faith and feminism) share the misfortune of not being recognized as valid land-use issues within the UK planning system (Greed 2011b). Much needs to change, not least the planners' understanding of the value of others' cultures, and life experiences so different from their own. In the post-secular age planners need to understand the importance of faith to many sectors of the community today. Otherwise they will remain unaware and unable to meet the needs of the majority of society, including women, ethnic minority and religious groups within society.

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