The Rocky Path: ‘From Women and Planning’ to gender mainstreaming

Clara Greed

Occasional Paper 14
May 2003

Based on research undertaken by Clara Greed (editor) with Linda Davies, Caroline Brown and Stefanie Duhr

Centre for Environment and Planning
School of Planning and Architecture
University of the West of England, Bristol
The Faculty of the Built Environment, University of the West of England, Bristol is a large, multi-disciplinary Faculty created in 1992 to give the University a stronger profile in the fields of study relating to the built environment, planning, housing, local government and the natural environment. The Faculty has established two publication series:

- Working Papers
- Occasional Papers

Published by:

Faculty of the Built Environment
University of the West of England
Coldharbour Lane
Frenchay
Bristol BS16 1QY

© Faculty of the Built Environment 2002
ISBN 1 86043 345 6

Date of publication March 2003

Clare Greed, Linda Davies, Caroline Brown and Stefanie Dühr ©

All rights reserved. The authors assert their moral rights under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Acts, 1988 and all other relevant law in all territories.

All photographs and diagrams were produced by Clara Greed

Tel: 0117 344 3203 - Fax: 0117 - 976 3002 Email Clara.Greed@uwe.ac.uk

Further copies of this and other publications as well as information about the Faculty’s research and consultancy services can be obtained from the Research Office at the above address.
CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION
  1.1 A REFLECTIVE APPROACH TO THE RESEARCH
  1.2 CONTENTS
  1.3 DEFINITIONS

2 OFFICIAL REQUIREMENTS
  2.1 UK REQUIREMENTS
  2.2 EU REQUIREMENTS

3. THE SPATIAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT
  3.1 THE SAME OR DIFFERENT?
  3.2 CITY WIDE LEVEL OF PLANNING
  3.3 GREENING OF THE CITY
  3.4 GARDENING OR FARMING?
  3.5 DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO PLAN MAKING
  3.6 URBAN GENERATION
  3.7 LOCAL AND DISTRICT LEVEL
  3.8 LEISURE AND RECREATION
  3.9 ESTATE LAYOUT

4. THE PROFESSIONAL CULTURE CONTEXT
  4.1 PROFESSIONAL SUBCULTURES
  4.2 THE COMPOSITION OF THE PLANNERS AND THE PLANNED
  4.3 THE WAY POLICIES PRIORITIES ARE PERCEIVED

5. THE PATH TO GENDER MAINSTREAMING
  5.1 THE ORIGINS: WOMEN AND PLANNING
  5.2 CREATING >GENDER= AND >MAINSTREAMING=
  5.3 THE IDEAS FILTER DOWN TO THE UK

6. PARALLEL MAINSTREAMING AND AUDITING
  6.1 THE AUDIT CULTURE
  6.2 BEST VALUE
  6.3 RACE RELATIONS
  6.4 DISABILITY
  6.5 HUMAN RIGHTS
  6.6 ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT

7. DEVELOPING THE RTPI TOOLKIT PROJECT
  7.1 SUMMARY OF CASE STUDIES
  7.2 ALTERNATIVE TECHNIQUES
  7.3 KEY COMPONENTS AND CHECKLISTS
  7.4 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION
  7.5 MINIMUM VERSION
8. EXTRACT FROM POWERPOINT PRESENTATION
This section comprises 18 illustrations showing the stages of gender proofing planning policy

9. REFERENCES AND WEB PAGES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS
1. Gender mainstreaming benefits everyone: Tourists at London Eye
2. A more Diverse Approach to Planning through UK and EU policy
3. The difference gender makes to transport patterns
4. All policy areas are affected by gender considerations
5a and 5b The Realities of modern day employment
6. Regeneration and traffic planning
7. Revitalising city centres: Millennium or Mall?
8. Sport and Leisure: Everyone included
9. City Centre regeneration should be gender aware
10. Residential areas should be gender inclusive
11. Who are the planners? And why?
12. Ordinary people’s experience of the city is gruelling
13. Old and Young care for each other across the genders
14. Women still need to shop and work in the city centre
15. Rural planning policy should be gendered too
   (plus 18 PowerPoint illustrations in Section 8)
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 A Reflective Perspective on the Research

This occasional paper is based upon research undertaken for the Royal Town Planning Institute on the current 'state of the art' of gender mainstreaming and auditing with a view to developing a Gender Toolkit that could be used by local planning authorities. The Toolkit and a substantial accompanying research report will be available in paper format (RTPI, 2003). The toolkit and research document will also be available via the RTPI website at http://www.rtpi.org.uk/resources/panels/equal-w/index.html. (Greed, (ed) 2002a and 2002b). Links to the published documents will be included on this RTPI webpage. The RTPI Toolkit set out 'how to do it' and the research report provided an extensive survey of existing practice. Whilst this material will be summarised and referred to in passing in this occasional paper, detailed examples, the overall survey, the case studies and pilots are not included in this paper for contractual reasons and because this paper has a different purpose. Therefore readers are strongly recommended to look at the Toolkit and the full Report on the RTPI web page before embarking on this occasional paper.

The purpose of this occasional paper is to take a more reflective academic approach with the benefit of hindsight of undertaking the research project, to set gender mainstreaming in its wider context' and to include material that became available after the project was completed. It also includes some material which draws on other research on the nature of planning policy, and the role of professional cultures in decision-making which are ongoing, predating the RTPI study. Thus the occasional paper seeks to take a more contemplative, exploratory approach in relation to the fundamental question of 'what is the problem?' in other words why was gender mainstreaming seen as necessary, how does it fit into the wider audit culture that appears to be the zeitgeist of local government practice at present. It is important to consider the origins of the movement, its social construction and inevitably the relationship between gender mainstreaming, 'feminism' and the modern equal opportunities 'industry' in order to understand 'where it is all heading' and to evaluate the validity and efficacy of gender mainstreaming as a tool of urban governance at the beginning of the 21st century.

But why mainstream gender? As will be explained, introducing gender mainstreaming into planning policy making would make an enormous difference. Although 'planning is for people' as a whole, it has been shown by research and human experience that women and men still have different responsibilities, activity patterns and lives, which means that they have different needs and requirements in terms of urban policy and the design of cities. For example women are still predominantly the ones responsible for childcare, shopping and home-making, although the majority of women also work outside the home nowadays too. This means that women's 'journey to work' is likely to be more complex than the traditional 'home -> work' and back again journey of the traditional male commuter. For example a woman may set off from home stop off at the
childminder, then school, get to work, and return via the school gates, shop and childminder, resulting in complex trip chaining. Such differences need to be taken into account in planning transport policy, parking policy, congestion charging and public transport needs. At present it is virtually impossible to carry out such complex journeys by bus because the routes in many cities are still predominantly radial from the suburbs to the centre, not linking up out of town employment with retail locations, suburban school sites and residential areas.

Mainstreaming gender into planning policy would result in significant changes in urban structure, locational policy and transport systems. In other words it is not 'just' a matter of better lighting, less steps and more crèches, but gender would affect planning at a fundamental systemic level. Whilst transport may be one of the more obvious policies affected by gender, it is important to look at other areas that might, at first sight, not appear to lend themselves so readily to gender analysis, such as sport, housing, leisure, industry, urban regeneration, countryside policy etc. It is essential to look at 'who' is doing the planning (that is the gender composition of the planners) and 'who' are seen to be the planned, so that the diversity of modern society's composition and needs are reflected in plan-making priorities and the way the planners 'see the world'. For example, there is great emphasis from the government upon redressing 'social exclusion', but 'women' are not necessarily included in the terms of reference. For example, although there are now vast sums of money available for urban regeneration, research on social exclusion and capital projects, most of those appointed to those tasks are male, white and middle class, whilst many women's groups who are experts on these issues, and contain women built environment professionals (such as Women's Design Service in London) have great difficulty getting funding and are struggling to survive (LRN, 1997; YWCA, 2001). Thus although often discouraged it is worth doing.

This occasional paper provides an opportunity to reflect upon the process of doing research on gender mainstreaming which is a relatively new area, of uncharted waters, particularly in the UK where the town planning profession's commitment to gender equality has been, arguably, ill-informed, ambiguous and patchy. A major problem in undertaking the research, not least when contacting local planning departments, was the fact that anything with the word 'gender' in it is still likely to be questioned, not taken seriously, or misunderstood. The RTPI itself fully appreciated this problem and therefore the Toolkit was revised many times, with the RTPI putting a final gloss of respectability and Institute endorsement upon it, to make it more acceptable to the average, busy, male town planner. We did not want to dumb down our work so much that it antagonised those planners who are committed to the cause, that is those who are who are cognisant, aware and enthusiastic about gender issues, many of these being either women planners, or individual men and women dedicated to the whole equal opportunities agenda, especially those from ethnic minority backgrounds. This occasional paper enables us to speak more directly the 'converted' who themselves have struggled with the issues surrounding gender mainstreaming, and who want to take the agenda further.
1.2 Contents

The first section defines gender mainstreaming and gender auditing and other related terms. Then (in section 2) the legislative reasons for gender mainstreaming are explained with reference to EU directives and policies that nowadays overarch and inform UK planning practice. But the real reason for introducing gender mainstreaming is not that it is now an official requirement but rather that it will benefit everyone in society, both women and men. Therefore in section 3 'the problem' of at best a gender blind, and at worst a gender biased approach to town and country planning is described. All this begs the question, 'how might it be different?', and therefore alternative policies and solutions are included. Many of the problems and solutions listed are not new, or earth-shattering, they identified and acknowledged for many years.

This leads on, in Section 4, to the consideration of another even greater question, 'why if it's all so obvious has so little been done'. The cultural and attitudinal problems that have prevented the integration and adoption of a gendered perspective in town planning policy and practice are outlined. Thus a more conceptual perspective is adopted at this stage in the paper, which is not to be found in the RTPI outputs (but is found in earlier foundational work on 'women and planning', Greed, 1994; Little, 1994), as a means of laying bare the underlying power structures and taboos that enable the maintenance of an unequal, and arguably, patriarchal planning system. The problem confronting women for a long time has been how to get their demands treated seriously, and it would seem that the gender mainstreaming is an ideal means of achieving this. The path from origins in the 'women and planning' movement to the present emphasis upon mainstreaming is mapped. In Section 6 other parallel forms of auditing, mainstreaming, and equalities hardwiring are discussed to show what has been achieved in respect of race, disability and other diversity issues.

Section 7 then summarises the move to the RTPI toolkit development, listing the case studies (but not explaining them further). Alternative techniques and key themes used in the building of the Toolkit are listed. This section is followed by a set of illustrations from a Powerpoint slide presentation that was developed to help illustrate the issues and approaches further. The whole Powerpoint presentation is available on CD (see order form). The occasional paper concludes with a detailed bibliography, and list of useful web sites (updated on previous RTPI ones).

1.3 Definitions

Gender mainstreaming may be defined as the process by which gender issues are taken into account at all stages of the plan-making process (Davies, 2002). Gender mainstreaming may also be defined as 'the systematic integration of gender into all systems and structures [of government]. Policies, programmes, personnel, processes and projects, into ways of seeing and doing, into cultures and organisations (Rees, 1998, as quoted in Purcell and Dobbie, 2002). Gender auditing is the process whereby this is achieved by means of setting indicators and standards against which
policies can be tested. During the course of the RTPI research process we
developed a range of other words, not least because of experience of a certain
amount of animosity towards the 'G' word, whilst the word 'mainstreaming' also
caused confusion. So we tried words such as 'gender proofing', 'casting a gender
lens over planning issues; and 'hardwiring gender issues' into planning, with
varying degrees of success. Thus gender mainstreaming is concerned with 'who' is
doing the planning, and 'what' is being planned, it questions existing priorities, how
planners 'see the world' that is what they see as normal and obvious, and how they
go about doing planning, as to who are seen as 'the planned' and thus who is
included in and out of the process.

As to official definitions the European Commission defines gender mainstreaming as
the 're-organisation of the improvement, development, and evaluation of policy
processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all
levels and at all stages by actors normally involved in policy making' (Ref: Council
of Europe,1998). As explained in the next section the main impetus for gender
mainstreaming has come from the European Union level, and has been translated
'down' into UK policy often fitting awkwardly within existing governmental
structures and a more generic (rather than specifically gendered) approach to equal
opportunities policy which in the UK has often been more concerned with
personnel, rather than substantive policy, issues.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planning is for everyone, all sorts of people, men, women and children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| London Eye, South Bank |

Figure 1 Gender mainstreaming would benefit everyone especially those men and women who are carers as well as workers outside the home.
2. OFFICIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR GENDER MAINSTREAMING

2.1 UK Requirements

In the UK a commitment to Equal Opportunities is becoming widespread within local government through the introduction of generic standards requirements (EOLG, 2001). Race, disability, gender and a range of other diversity issues are now required to be integrated into all aspects of public policy making, including town planning (EOC, 1997). However, many have expressed concerns that the specific gender implications of planning policy and practice may be lost within this wider generic context (WDS, 2001 a,b,c). A lack of understanding and appreciation of the gender issues may result in apparently 'neutral' policies not being investigated adequately. A need to incorporate a wide range of minority issues into the planning process, such as disability and race, may result in gender being marginalised. Indeed it is quite a juggling act to keep all the equalities balls in the air at once, and assertions by local authorities that this can be done 'easily' suggest arrogance and an underestimation of the complexity of the issues involved (Chizoma, 2002). Gender is not a separate issue but it cross cuts across all minority groupings and is relevant to all areas of planning policy making (not just crèches and steps!).

Nowadays local government is plagued by a continuous round of Audit, Best Value and other performance standards exercises which have tested the energies of even the most socially committed local planning authority (Lpa) and we were to find that this affected the reception we received from even keen local planning authorities suffering from 'audit burn out'. Since 2001 any Toolkit used in local government in England and Wales is required to be taken into account the requirements of the LGA Equality Standard (EOLG, 2001; ACAS, 2002). But this standard, by its nature, does not directly address planning issues. It is more concerned with processes and local authority procedures than with policy-making. Therefore, in spite of all the generic procedural material available, this research needed to address the question of quite 'how' gender might be mainstreamed into all processes and policy making within Lpas. The Local Government Act 2000 places a duty upon all local authorities to prepare and implement a community strategy for their area to create 'communities of well being'. In order to do this every council is meant to consult with local people and community groups by setting up Local Strategic Partnership groups (LSPs).

2.2 European Requirements

Much of the impetus for the UK measures described above is the result of EU directives and policy guidance, that, at least, have at last provided 'the force' (the strength) to make gender a factor in policy making - albeit watered down in amongst a mass of other generic consideration. Within many other European Union countries, gender mainstreaming is far more advanced and widespread than in the UK. Gender mainstreaming requirements are increasingly found within the funding regime of the EU, governing research, new investment and European Community
priorities (EC,2000) Gender mainstreaming is now a requirement of policy making particularly in respect of the use of structural funds (EC,2000; Braithwaite,1999; Mazey,2001).

Gender issues must be hardwired into all aspects of the planning process. Since 1994 the allocation of structural funds for various projects and policies within the EU has been increasingly subject to funding conditionality in relation to considerations especially gender proofing in terms of tendering, procurement, recruitment, employment, and of course policy making. In parallel there have been various documents concerned with women's planning issues such as The European Charter for Women in the City (EC,1994) produced under the auspices of DGV (5), Equal Opportunities Unit. The concept of gender mainstreaming was first developed at the UN Third World Conference for Women in Nairobi in 1985, and was subsequently expanded as to application at the Beijing conference in 1995, which identified the following areas as subject of gender mainstreaming, poverty, education, training, health, violence, armed conflicts, economy, power and decision making, institutional mechanisms, human rights, the media, the environment, and the girl-child. Gender mainstreaming has already been incorporated into the planning systems of several European countries, with Scandinavia taking the lead (as discussed further in Section 4 and see Strauch and Wirthwein, 1989; Skjerven,1993; Eurofem 1998,2000; Verloo and Roggeband,1996). Thus the European Union initiative recognises that there is a difference between the genders in terms of planning needs and issues.

Previously Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome 1957 guaranteed women the same rights in law, and the same opportunities in the public realm as men but it took a long time for this to be instrumentalised, and like UK EO law was not necessarily observed. In contrast the Amsterdam Treaty of 1997 was far more effective. Article 2 and 3, section E, Clause 2, of the Amsterdam Treaty 1997 requires Europe-wide horizontal priority to integrate equality objectives throughout programming process. Although it is only since the ratification of the Amsterdam treaty that the EU requires all public services to be implemented with full regard to equal opportunities, it has been a priority for action in the structural fund regulations since 1994. This is retrospective unlike the British Building Regulation controls. The EU's Employment Strategy has likewise in 1998 promoted EO as one of its four central pillars to be taken into account in all policy-making and funding. Likewise the EC has launched a Community Action Programme to Combat Discrimination running 2001-2006.

Currently any structural funds allocated under Objective 1 and 2 funding, and arising policies in the regions concerned, must be the subject of gender mainstreaming. The means to check this is happening is by a Gender Audit (GA) and through a range of Toolkits usually based up GIA (Gender Impact Assessment) methods. Objective 1 funding is for 'economic adjustment of regions whose development is lagging behind' and Objective 2 funding is aimed at 'economic and social restructuring of regions suffering from structural problems' and encompass a range of fund sources including the ESF (European Social Fund) and the ERDF.
Section 2: UK and EU Requirements for Gender Mainstreaming

(European Regional Development Fund) (Williams, 1999:132-3). For example Sheffield, Birmingham and parts of South Wales are currently the subject of Objective I funding, with a strong emphasis upon linking regional initiatives and funding with inner city urban regeneration programmes - thus encompassing all the levels of British planning and all sorts of areas. So far some urban regeneration programmes and economic development policy in depressed regions in the UK have been the subject of GM requirements. Gender mainstreaming is becoming a key component of the entire inner city regeneration programme. However, as will be explained, much of the emphasis has been upon gender mainstreaming within regional economic policy (because of its EU structural funding origins) rather than specifically on 'town planning' in the British sense, although 'spatial planning' is inevitably affected by economic policy. Within this EU agenda 'town planning' often appears to become subsumed under, and an implementatory component of, economic development policy.

Does current planning policy and practice reflect diversity?

Taking on board the RTPI's New Vision for Planning, and the government's programme for Modernising Planning, all planners working in local planning authorities need to ensure that the needs of the majority of the population (52% are women) are fully taken into account in developing planning policy and decision-making.

Does it matter?

Articles 2 & 3 of the Amsterdam Treaty 1997 require all local authorities to integrate gender equality into local plan making level as well as into projects receiving EU Structural Funding

Figure 2. A More Diverse approach to planning are to be welcomed

The new Spatial Planning Initiatives being required by the EU from UK local planning authorities require gender mainstreaming in all policy areas. The new General Regulations for Structural Funds for 2000-2006 require gender proofing of policy, it is an obligation to eliminate inequality in the distribution of resources and related policy making. The explanatory technical documents stress the importance of providing indicators that monitor sex and gender dimensions of policies (EC (European Commission), 1996, 2000, Horelli et al, 1998; Horelli, 1997, 2000; Braithwaite, 1999; Fitzgerald, 1999, 2000.) So far, the European Commission has organised four mainstreaming conferences starting in Brussels in 1997, then Sardinia, Finland and Portugal (Reeves, 2001,a and b). The conferences have put emphasis upon capacity building, awareness, policy implementation and evaluation.
Meanwhile a series of ESRC funded conferences in Sheffield have sought to apply the principles to British town planning, urban regeneration and regional policy making (ESRC, 2000; Yeandle, 2000; Booth, 1999; Gilroy and Booth, 1999). In 1999 a national RTPI symposium on gender issues in planning included coverage of gender mainstreaming (RTPI, 1999). So the only way is up, huge potential exists for the future dissemination of gender mainstreaming throughout the UK local government, and thus planning, system. This is particularly so in the light of support for a new more inclusive vision of planning promoted by the RTPI.
3. THE SPATIAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT: OR 'WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?'

3.1 The Same or Different?

One of the biggest difficulties encountered during undertaking the research is that many that many planners in Ipsos do not appreciate the extent of 'the problem'. They are unclear what it is all about, and cannot imagine about 'what difference gender mainstreaming would it make'. Some imagine it is the same as equal opportunities policy, or they imagine it is just to do with women's issues and childcare. In fact gender mainstreaming goes beyond just 'equality' as defined as 'treating everyone the same'. It takes into account the different ways of life and daily travel patterns of women as against men - and the consequently different land use and development requirements that the planner must address. Gender mainstreaming has implications for men as well as women, as the built environment is not that good for men either. But since women have a lot of catching up to do, and because heretofore strategic planning authorities have been empirically shown not to priorities women's issues (Reeves, 2000a; Higgins and Davies, 1996), it is likely that as a result of gender mainstreaming the needs of women will be more strongly embodied within town planning policy than previously.

It has been demonstrated by research and human experience that women suffer disadvantage within a built environment that is developed by men, primarily for other men, as explained in published research (Stimpson et al 1981; Matrix,1984: Greed,1994; Little,1994; Booth et al, 1996; Darke et al, 2000). Women constitute 52% of the population (ONS,2001,Chart 1.4). 68% of women and 78% of men of working age are in employment. 65% of women with children aged under 5 in employment work part-time. 60% of all potential voters are women. Thus women are a majority of the general public for whom planning 'is' and a substantiation sector of the workforce. Yet they are often portrayed in planning literature as small minority of disadvantaged individuals. In fact women come in as diverse a range of social classes, ages, ethnicity, disabilities, and personal circumstances, as do men. Many women combine dual roles as workers and mothers. Many women combine roles as workers, mothers and carers. One of the main problems associated with town planning has been a tendency to see 'women' as mothers or housewives and as little else, thus underestimating and ignoring their specific needs as users of the built environment, as commuters, citizens and breadwinners too. Thus 'the average man in the street' is middle aged, working woman! 80% of women live in urban areas (ONS,2001) whilst rural women experience an additional set of difficulties (Little,1999). All require planning policies that enable them to combine all these roles more easily. What is good for men is not necessary ideal for women as their lives and needs are not the same as those of men.

However those men who take on childcare roles, or who seek to be 'new men' and live more caring lives will experience similar problems as women. 35% of men are now the primary carers of children under 12 because their wives are at work, it will
affect men too, especially where the couple are on different shift-work patterns. Children may be the last great minority to be 'discovered' as worthy of priority policy treatment (Adams and Ingham,1998). There are 5.7 million households with one or more children under 12 years of age, 1.3 million of whom comprise single parents. Thus gender mainstreaming will not only make it better for women, it will benefit everyone. It will lead to town planning policy being more reflective of modern family needs, demographic trends and post-industrial employment patterns (Reeves,2000; Gilroy and Booth,1999; Horelli,2000; Darke et al 2000). Whilst stressing the importance of children's issues, most women out in the city are not in charge of children or babies. Many women want to be seen as citizens in their own right too with their own jobs, interests, and land-use transport needs. Women also comprise the majority of public transport users, the elderly, the disabled, shoppers, and care providers - and of the population as a whole. All these factors have implications for what they expect of the built environment and thus planning policy.

Women's 'different' roles and responsibilities in society all generate different usage of urban space. Fewer women than men have access to the use of a car, and they comprise the majority of public transport users in many areas. Women's daily activities and travel patterns are likely to be different and more complex than men's, as many will be combining work with childcare, and other commitments and this has implications for all aspects and levels of planning. Therefore in the following sections the issues will be investigated at three levels the city wide 'macro' level of overall strategic policy; the district 'meso' level of local facilities and centres; and the local 'micro' level of daily practicalities. Emphasis is put upon the strategic issues of land use transportation policy, to illustrate the fact that 'gender' does not just relate to 'crèches and ramps' at the local level, as often appears to be imagined.

3.2 The City-wide Level of Planning

An historical emphasis upon land use zoning divided cities into home, work, and play areas (residential, employment and leisure areas) creates impractical divisions in the smooth running of women's lives (for a fuller treatment of the city wide level see Greed,1994). Scenarios of the future design, density and location of housing often leave out women's perspective (Housing Corporation,2002) especially in seeking to use individual houses as multi-functional spaces for people to work (teleworking); to care (for children, elderly relatives and the disabled) and to escape and relax. Women feel pressurised and trapped and would prefer to see localised district 'activity hubs' which provide office, care, and service facilities to take the pressure off the home.

Not only do women work within the home but such home and care related activities also spill into the outside world too when travelling around the city accompanied by children for example on their way to childminders and work, or on essential shopping trips. Women cannot conveniently leave their children behind when they go out (it is illegal to leave children under 11 on their own at home). Yet 44% of mothers are in employment. Far from increasing efficiency, convenience, and health, zoning has led to increased flows of commuter traffic. Picking up children
from school, or doing shopping has become impossible without a car in many cities. But nowadays the pendulum has shifted towards car control and sustainability. If there really is a desire to create the sustainable city, and thus to move people out of their cars and on to public transport, then social infrastructural support facilities must be provided, such as public toilets (with baby and childcare facilities), safe waiting areas, and 'manned' stations: all issues which women frequently mention in public participation exercises. Further many women work part-time (hence their need for non-peak hour public transport), and this may include evenings when personal safety issues become more marked. Also, the dispersed location of some modern female work opportunities makes travel more difficult. For example most call centres are staffed by women and located on the outskirts of towns thus exacerbating the situation.

**But what is the problem?**

- The needs of women and men are not the same
- Women and men still have different roles and responsibilities
- Women use towns and cities differently from men
- Most women do not have a simple 'journey to work', they may trip chain a range of tasks

![Diagram showing trip chain](image)

**Figure 3: The Difference Gender makes to Transport Patterns**

As indicated earlier much transportation planning has been based upon the assumption that the 'journey to work' is an uninterrupted trip in the rush hour by car. Women workers often undertake intermittent, lateral journeys, rather than radial journeys straight to and from the city centre. Such journeys were often undertaken outside the rush hour if they work part-time, and are more likely to be by public transport or by foot. For example, a woman's daily journeys might be as follows: home -> school -> work -> shops -> school -> home, and may not necessarily be by car (Hamilton, 2000). In other words women trip-chain their multi-purpose journeys. Whilst 80% of households own at least one car, and 30% own two or more (ONS, 2001) it does not follow that women have equal access to the car in the daytime. 70% of car journeys are made by men and far more women travel by foot or public transport. An emphasis upon 'green' alternatives such as using bicycles does not address the realities that such transport is not suitable for
women accompanied by small children and a week's shopping, and discriminates against elderly and disabled people, whilst the dangerous expectation that pedestrians and cyclists should share footpaths shows the low priority given to the needs of pedestrians.

3.3 Greening the City

Sustainability and 'green policies' are not 'above' gender auditing but should also be the subject of gender mainstreaming scrutiny. As illustrated in our Toolkit, twice as many men as women cycle therefore it is important to cast a gender lens over the reasons for this and the related allocation of resources and not see 'gender' and 'environment' as separate watertight compartments. Likewise road pricing and traffic calming policies need to be scrutinised from a gender perspective (Bruegel, 2002). Many women live and work in the suburbs and are currently dependent on car use, because of lack of investment in public transport in peripheral and off-peak routes. Women generally earn less than men so restrictive parking policies and high parking fees adversely affect women who are least able to pay, whereas company cars and related expense accounts which cover parking costs are mainly a male perk. Childminders are more likely to be found in the local neighbourhood requiring detours on the way to work. Home location is usually still determined by their male partner's job. Therefore even green transport policy must be fully audited from a gender perspective for potentially discriminatory effects.

Criticising women for using cars to take their children to school (don't men have children too?) is seen as an example of non-joined-up-thinking, as it focuses on just one part of a complex linked set of activities. It ignores the realities of women's lives in which many of their 'private car journeys' are in fact a form of 'public transport' for the benefit of everyone else in the household, as a series of vital journeys are trip-chained together. Coleman argues that women's carefully planned multi-purpose journeys should valued as a way of reducing the total number of journeys that need to be made, rather than seen as a source of increased congestion. Instead women feel condemned being 'told' by planners to use public transport, where none is likely to be available, and where bus routes are unlikely to go anywhere near decentralised supermarkets and seldom echo modern women's complicated travel patterns and trip-chaining (Coleman, 2001).

On average 60 per cent of workers in offices are women, as are 80 per cent of all workers in the central area, including shop workers, but little would one realise this from dominant images of the 'journey to work' by the male 'commuter' (Greed, 1999). In spite of central area regeneration initiatives there is a trend for central area headquarters to decentralise to the green field out of town sites and 'business parks'. These locations are difficult to reach for those without transport and miles away from shops, schools and other facilities, but employ large numbers of female clerical and support staff. Some planners do not seem to be aware, even now of the implications for transport policy, land use and location decisions, and the poor level of accessibility to the built environment planned into new developments.
Section 3: The Spatial and Social Context

There is a vast female army working in other expanding sectors. The care industry has the highest rate of growth investment and employment of any sector, and most of its workers are female (Gilroy and Booth, 1999; RTPI, 1999). There are half a million care workers and 90% female. More people are involved in catering and hospitality industries than there are in heavy industry. Traditional working class male factory jobs are in the minority nowadays (ONS, 2002). Caring has become a paid form of employment, an industry, as a result of the pressures of caring for an ageing population, demands for increased childcare provision, and a reduction in state provision for the disabled. 'Cleaning' is the biggest industry in the country, with catering and 'hospitality' coming not far behind all areas where there are high levels of female employees. Many of the women who work in these industries rely on public transport, travel at non-peak times, and walk considerable distances to their work. There is a small growth in 'telecommuting' that is people working at home by computer but at present less than 5% of people work in this way, and many of them are self-employed. Such home working massively reduces the overheads of employers particularly in terms of building provision and may generate new leisure demands to get away from the home working environment within the suburbs. But this also puts pressure on already overcrowded homes and affects the gender division of space within the home, often to the disadvantage of women. The Mayor's Vision for London and Walking Plan for London and the effect of Local Transport Plans for London will all help towards creating an integrated approach towards achieving the Mayor's Vision for 2015 incorporating/mainstreaming in cleansing, crime, highways, and pedestrian needs in the process (GLA, 2001, 2002; TFL, May 2002).

3.4 Gardening or Farming?

The problem remains that much of women's work is still not seen as 'real work' that if taken seriously would have a serious impact upon the nature of land use planning, the investment of support infrastructure such as child-care facilities and the creation of more convenient cities in which home and work areas are more closely planned. To draw a parallel, Oxfam, the Third World relief agency, has been mainstreaming gender into many of its development programmes (Moser, 1993). But, for example, their attempts in Africa to develop initiatives that benefited women's agricultural employment prospects as well as men have been met with considerable opposition. This is because men's agricultural work has been seen by Western development planners (and local elders) as 'farming' whereas women's has been seen as only being 'gardening' and therefore a spare time activity of no economic importance (Smith, 2000, March et al., 1999).

Likewise women's work in Britain has often been seen as a hobby done for pin money, and therefore it has not been recorded in national statistics or taken into account in land use planning policy. This attitude is still to be found, for example women's essential journeys to shops, schools and part-time jobs is often seen, according to recent research in London, as a nuisance as 'slowing down' and 'interfering' with the needs of 'genuine' travellers and commuters: especially if parents (mainly women but also men in this context) try to take pushchairs on to
buses or the Underground (Lenclos, 2002). In Lenclos’ project it was found that ordinary women and men, especially parents felt that their views and experiences were never heard by the planners, indeed they were amazed to be told that the GLA was seeking their views, as no-one had ever asked them personally and they had never even heard of ideas of gender, access or social inclusion. The real problem is not so much that planners had undervalued gender, but have ignored it altogether. Thus planners may know and understand how many people go from A to B, and the modal split is, but they do not also look at the gender/age/disability of the travellers, thus missing a whole layer of information resulting in a poor fit between planning policy and everyday life.

3.5 A Different Approach to Plan Making

If gender is mainstreamed into plan-making, statistics on women’s and men’s work, travel patterns, and other land-use related activities need to be prioritised, as a matter of course, in all plan-making activities to reflect the true representation of women within the population. Women would be fully involved in the decision-making processes both as officers and as members of the public. Planning policy would seek to reduce zoning divisions, to integrate work and home areas.

![Policy area where it would make a difference](image)

**Figure 4 All Policy areas are Affected By Gender Considerations**

Decentralisation, dispersal to out of town sites, and low density developments would be discouraged. A fully integrated public transport system would be developed before introducing such crude (and income related) measures as road pricing, whilst in areas where no public transport was available car parking, traffic access and related user facilities would be provided in locations that were convenient to women’s needs, travel patterns, and trip chains. Employment locations would be
developed with direct reference to childcare and school locations, and to public transport based accessibility.

3.6 Urban Regeneration

Nowadays great concern is put upon inner city renewal, urban conservation and the regeneration of areas laid waste by earlier planning policies. Greater public investment was put into such areas, and a series of government initiatives were introduced including the creation of urban development corporations, SRB (Single Regeneration Budget projects) and English Partnership schemes (Oatley, 1998). These are supported by 'spin' about the importance of regeneration, social inclusion and 'joined up thinking'. But many women have complained that few women are included in regeneration boards and committees, and thus their needs are marginalized, because policy makers are drawn from the property professions and business world that is disproportionately male dominated.

Susan Brownill (2001), working in urban regeneration in Sheffield, explains how the very fact that the members of the decision-making committees and boards involved are predominantly drawn from male-dominated property professions, marginalised women's viewpoint and 'other' solutions. As a result emphasis has been put upon economic development and employment rather than upon the social and cultural factors that really regenerate an area. Many women are disillusioned with the ways in which apparently gender-neutral topics such as social inclusion, sustainability, regeneration, and even joined-up-thinking have been interpreted effectively to exclude women's lives and realities. Brownill argues for urban regen(d)eration policy (sic) that is mainstreaming gender into all aspects of urban regeneration and all the other myriad of policies created by New Labour.

Areas such as Sheffield have undergone economic restructuring because of the decline of traditional industries and related gender-perceptions as to likely employment roles. Increasing numbers of women are participating in the labour market, more jobs are available for women in the service sector, whilst traditional male employment has declined markedly. Therefore there is a need to re-evaluate all preconceptions as the nature of employment, unemployment and economic development, not least from a gender perspective. If gender were included women would be more fully represented among the composition of both the planners and the planned in new build, brownfield site, and urban regeneration programmes. As a result there would likely be greater emphasis on social infrastructure and amenities, personal and road safety, childcare and local facilities. These issues are also prioritised by WDS (2001b) recent report on women's perspectives on urban regeneration policies.
5.a Employment

Consider: Who are ‘the workers’ seen to be? How does this affect your employment strategy?

The service sector, the care industry and cleaning contractors are by far the biggest employers of women and men in many areas nowadays.

A Cleaner in Milton Keynes

5.b Employment or Nostalgia?

Are we planning for types of male jobs and classes that no longer exist, or for the realities of large retired populations and a new generation of workers?

Another New Marina in Disused Docks

Figures 5 (a and b): The Realities of Modern Day Employment are not necessarily reflected in Planning Mythology
3.7 Local and District Balance

There has been much criticism from consumer groups of the planners' condoning the development of out-of-town retail developments with little consideration of how people would get to and from them and more recent sustainable planning policy no longer supports out of town development. But there are still such schemes with consent in the pipeline. New large retail units inevitably put local shops within district centres out of business, resulting in less choice for those without a motorcar. There now exist vast urban 'deserts', tracts without banks, shops, toilets, bus stops, within erstwhile thriving district localities (Shaw, 2001) and planning policy is still not addressing the fact that many such areas have never recovered after been gutted of all their essential components. But refurbished retail developments within traditional central locations are not necessarily attractive to women either. Retail gravity models have traditionally measured the 'attraction' of centres quantitatively in terms of thousands of square metres relative to length of car journey distance, whereas the qualitative aspects of toilets, crèches, disabled access, cafes, and public transport have been underestimated - resulting in some centres 'unexpectedly' failing to attract projected shopper numbers, even when they are meant to be more accessible (Lockwood, 2000). Would-be shoppers' chances of fulfilling their purchasing needs are dependent upon adequate social infrastructure to meet their needs when they get there. But the property press is renowned for discussing 'user requirements' in terms of the needs of 'developers, tenants, retailers and distributors' but not the shoppers themselves (Greed, 2000).

**District level planning**

*Even in the midst of central chaos, or in suburban bliss, a gender lens need to be put on the integrated, accessible, well distributed, convenient provision of shops, schools, and local amenities.*

*Transport policy needs to take a gendered view of the social effects of parking control, park and ride, traffic calming, all of which may 'unexpectedly' make districts less safe, and more inaccessible for women.*

Figure 6. Regeneration and traffic planning in inner areas must take into account women's experience of the city of man
As an alternative to spread out, zoned, low density cities, European women planners would like to see the 'city of everyday life' which they define as the city of short distances, mixed land uses and multiple centres as the ideal objective that would fully take into account gender considerations (Eurofem, 2000; Skjerven, 1993). This would reduce the need to travel, create more sustainable cities that were also more accessible for all, whilst creating higher quality of urban environment for all. It would provide more jobs and facilities locally and help revitalise declining areas overall. It is a fallacy to imagine that out of town decentralisation 'solves' congestion and frees up the city, because it creates tremendous pressure for other supporting land uses to move to the out of town location too, such as retail uses and other services and amenities. Or it puts a much higher burden on everyone in terms of having to travel many times as far back and forth across the city to fulfil other duties. If the objective of the local authority is to contribute to the equality of all its citizens such policy clearly make women's lives more difficult. Employment opportunities and transport are totally linked for women. Mainstreaming gender issues, alongside environmental, transport and economic considerations would tip the balance towards convenient location policy, and would enable a gender lens to be cast over commercial and industrial development proposals in terms of the composition of the workforce, their travel needs, and back-up social infrastructure.

Local level planning

However grand the Millennium scheme, or revered the architecture in a conservation area, attention should still be paid to a gender view as to access, paving surfaces, public toilets, public safety, seating, clear signage, public transport.

Why is 'good taste' and 'public taste' so often at odds. Who is right? Whose taste is dominant?

Figure 7 Regenerating City Centres must be related to the gender considerations

3.8 Leisure and Recreation

Gender mainstreaming should affect all sorts of planning topics, not just so-called 'women's issues', although specifically women-related policies (such as crèches, street safety and access) (TFL, 2002) These components are the main keys to
enabling them to benefit from other policy areas such as employment, leisure and transport. For example, gender should be mainstreamed into leisure. Land for 'sport', especially playing fields for predominantly male ball games, has been inaccurately labelled 'public open space' on development plans (Greede, a, 1994: 136). Nowadays some young women play football too, but most of the female population has quite different interests. There has been relatively little consideration of women's leisure needs, and their needs often get subsumed under the needs of their children for play areas. The development of tourist venues, for example, should take into account the needs of women, and those with babies and small children, and those travelling by public transport. As a general principle if women appear 'absent' in a particular policy area, be it sport, industry, green belt, minerals, commercial development - then the chances are that such a policy area is not gender-free but sorely in need of gender auditing. In comparison, under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act, 2001, it has been argued that institutional racism in planning might occur when strict green belt policies make inner city areas even more expensive in restricting housing supply, therefore discriminating against poorer groups, including ethnic minorities. Such lateral thinking might be used in respect of gender too, in other words the policy topic does not need substantively to include gender to be relevant.

Leisure and Recreation

Sport is only one part of the equation. Leisure takes many forms, active and passive for all age groups.

Plan for diversity not stereotypes.

Figure 8: All age groups, types of people and genders should be taken into consideration in sport and leisure planning

3.9 Estate Layout

At the detailed local estate level, most planners seem to be much more familiar with so-called women’s issues revolving around pedestrian access, steps, lighting, surveillance, planting, and play areas. Women as the majority of pedestrians are critical of the 'little details', like the use of rugged paving stones, which are meant
to 'enliven the streetscape'. These can shake the wheels off a pushchair and twist people's ankles, whilst wrongly aligned drain covers can 'catch' bicycle and pushchair wheels. Narrow doors and footpaths make the built environment inaccessible for both pushchairs and wheelchairs (Goldsmith, 2001). A single buggy (pushchair) is at least 550mm wide, a wheelchair is 750 mm wide at least, and a double buggy is 900mm to 1100mm wide (Adler, 2000). Likewise 'little changes in colour and texture' which are meant to create an 'interesting' townscape and soften the division between vehicular and pedestrian zones on housing estates, 'mean' to many pedestrians that they have to watch more carefully for cars transgressing onto pedestrian areas, and that they have to keep an eye on small children running out into the traffic. Likewise 'exciting' elements which create 'surprise' and 'interest' in the urban environment, such as blind corners, meandering indirect paths, high walls alongside footpaths (intended to create a sense of 'urbane' and to provide 'privacy' for adjacent gardens) have been much criticised from a gender perspective. The difference that gender mainstreaming would make would be that local area planning would be based, from the start, upon greater respect for pedestrian needs, upon walking distances. There would be a full range of back-up facilities to meet user needs, including public toilets, childcare provision, adequate seating, lighting, cycle parking, and storage areas. Such provision would be achieved as an integral part of the planning requirements and policies for the area in question, as a valid land use matter, and not as a conditional bargaining chip in planning gain negotiations.

Figure 9 Urban design in city centres should reflect the constraints of gender considerations too
Work/home balance

Unless housing areas are designed to incorporate child care facilities, local shops, amenities and mixed uses, developing brown field sites at higher densities will not solve women's needs

Figure 10: New Residential Areas as well as Old need to incorporate gender considerations
The Rocky Path from Women and Planning to Gender Mainstreaming
4. PROFESSIONAL CULTURES AND STRUCTURES What has held things up?

4.1 Professional Subcultures

In spite of over 20 years of research, publication and conferences all highlighting the problems and shortcomings of the present planning system which result from a lack of a gender perspective, and an ignorance of women's issues in particular, very little has changed. Quantitative change is only slowly occurring as more women become planners. But qualitative, cultural barriers may be more difficult to overcome. It has been argued from previous research (Greed, 1994) that there are deeper more fundamental causes associated with the culture, that is the world view, of the planning profession, and how it perceives, reality, who and what is important, and what is normal. Even the establishment of an active 'women and planning' movement and a considerable quantitative increase in the numbers of women entering planning and the other built environment professions has resulted in little change, as 'more does not necessarily mean better' as explained in the next section.

One of the most important factors seems to be the need for a person to fit in to the professional subculture of planning. 'Subculture' is taken to mean the cultural traits, beliefs, and lifestyles peculiar to the various construction tribes (Greed, 1991:5-6). It is argued that the values and attitudes held by members have a major influence on their professional decision-making, and therefore ultimately influence the nature of 'what is built' (Greed, 1991:5). Thus professional subcultural group is seen as a key vehicle by patriarchal views are transmitted on to space. The need for the identification with the values of the professional subculture would seem to block out the entrance of both people and alternative ideas that are seen as 'different' or 'unsettling', but which may, in fact, be more reflective of the needs and composition of wider society. Such processes contribute the low percentage of women in construction.

Professional decision making does not exist in a technological realm separate from the wider society ... or does it? Inevitably, professional decision-making is not entirely socially-neutral but is influenced by an individual's perception of 'reality' as to how he (and its usually 'he' in the world of construction) sees the world, and how the professional subcultural group to which 'he' belongs imagines society to be. If the professional body does not reflect the diversity of society itself, it is unlikely that decision-making will be in tune with its needs. Although, planning professionals emphasise the importance of public service, and informed 'neutrality', still, there is considerable dissatisfaction within the community at the end product in terms of individual building design, inconvenience of location, layout and overall city form, and wider social and access issues.

The concept of 'closure' in the relation to the power of various subculture groups to control who is included in, or out, is a key factor in understanding the composition of the professions (Greed, 1991:6). The need for identification with the values of the subculture would seem to block out the entrance of both people and alternative ideas.
that are seen as 'different'. The concept of 'closure' as identified originally by Parkin (1979:89-90), and first developed by Weber (1964:141-152,236) in relation to the power of various sub-groups protecting their status is a key factor. Closure is worked out on a day to day basis at the interpersonal level, with some people being made to feel awkward, unwelcome, and 'wrong'; and others being welcomed into the subculture, made to feel comfortable and welcomed as part of the team (Gale,1989), and encouraged to progress to the decision making levels within it. It is major hypothesis of this study that one should not see all the 'little' occurrences of everyday (i.e. the encouragements and discouragements, nicenesses and nastinesses) as being trivial, irrelevant, or not serious enough to be counted as real data for the research; but rather as the very building blocks of the whole subcultural structure.

Just Like us?

'Who' are the planners and the planned seen to be in your department?

Are women and men represented?

Are your planning meetings like this?

If so, what are you doing about it?

Figure 11 Who are the Planners? And Why?

This approach is also echoed in formative feminist research on the role of 'gatekeepers' keeping women out (Spender and Spender, 1987). But, I must state, again, that 'more' [women] does not necessarily mean 'better' (Greed,1988). As indicated above, such are the powers of professional socialisation, social class and personal perspective that it should never be automatically assumed that any woman professional is going to hold substantially different or more enlightened views from her male counterparts - and those that 'fit in' are the most likely to gain seniority. In comparison an increase in the numbers of women in parliament, in Britain or even in Sweden, means little if they do not possess any feminist awareness, or at least some form of social consciousness in their own personal lives (Stark,1997).

Within this apparently fortress-like setting, in which outsiders seeking to enter appear to be either 'socialised' to conform, or are marginalized or ejected, a key conceptual question is 'how can change be generated and transmitted within
conceptual question is 'how can change be generated and transmitted within professional subcultural groups?' (or indeed, 'can change ever be generated?'). In related research emphasis has been put upon identifying potential agents and 'mapping' pathways of change, and existing power networks which dispersed and diverted change. Concepts which informed the investigation of change included critical mass theory as to 'how many people are needed to change an organisational culture', (cf Morley, 1994: 195, who refers to Bagilhole's work (1993 and Bagilhole et al 1996). Kanter (1977) suggests 15-20% [minority composition] is needed to change the culture of an organisation, whilst Gale (1994) suggests 35% is necessary (when investigating the built environment and construction sector as a whole). Other respondents have suggested to me, the percentage should be much higher. But originally, in physics, from which the theory is derived, critical mass was defined as an amount, not a percentage (like the minimum size snowball that holds together without melting), which would trigger a chain reaction. Only 20 pounds of Uranium 235 was needed to create critical mass in an atomic bomb weighing 9000 pounds which is 0.2% of total matter (Larsen, 1958, pp 35, 50, 55, and 73) - comparable to the percentage of minority individuals in construction!

Actor network theory is also of interest as a way of explaining the way in which change might be transmitted through the planning world. This involves investigating questions such as 'what are the networks by which social power is maintained, or the pathways through which social change might be brought about?'), (cf Callon et al, 1986: Murdock, 1997), and in identifying the 'prime movers' who might help create fusion, and detonate critical mass explosion (Kanter, 1983:296). The theoretical investigation of how can subcultural and organisational change be achieved is beyond the scope of this occasional paper but has been dealt with in other work (Greed, 1999). However, regardless of critical mass theory, it would seem that a just few charismatic motivated individuals (both female and male) might do more to create change than large numbers of new women planners who may not yet have personally become aware of the issues at stake, or who are not in a position to give their time because of the dual role commitments of home and work duties. Whilst it may prove difficult to change the attitudes of traditional planners who conspire to block progress, as Martin Luther King is rumoured to have said, 'you can't change the hearts but you can change the minds by means of legislation' (in respect of civil rights for black people). In comparison whether or not individual planners agree with gender mainstreaming and UK EO policies, if regulatory controls, auditing checks and gender mainstreaming routines are embedded into the planning system then change with be generated, and hopefully with time hearts will follow minds in seeing the value of all this.

4.2 The Composition of the Planners and the Planned

The majority of town planners are still men, and although the situation has marginally improved in recent years, few women are likely to be found in senior decision-making positions. Does this matter? Professional decision-making is not necessarily neutral and impartial as individuals inevitably bring their own personal life experiences and 'world view' of what is 'normal' and 'average' to the policy
making process. Therefore it is important to consider 'who' is doing the planning, that is the composition and culture of the professional decision-makers. Of course the planners are not solely responsible and research has shown that similar, if not more extreme characteristics appertain in other areas of the property professions, construction industry and within political structures (Greed, 1999; Thomas, 1999 and Thomas 2002). Whilst the planners are a relatively homogenous group, in contrast the planned (the people) are far more diverse, in terms of class, gender, ethnicity and age inter alia. Any Toolkit and related methodology must be able to reflect the variety of types of people found among the planned. This is possible nowadays with the advancement of computer technology. Many have argued that the composition of the planning profession would mirror the planned in terms of diversity and life experience, not least in terms of gender, ethnicity and other demographic characteristic. A gender-neutral approach, which inevitably disadvantages women. A key aspect is to give attention to detail and to consider 'who' is doing the planning, and from what perspective to avoid unintended negative gender impacts. But 'more [women] does not necessarily mean better [policy]' much depends upon the personal perspective, age, family circumstances and life-experience of the individual woman or man in question (Greed, 1994). Therefore training and CPD on gender mainstreaming awareness and implementation is also important.

4.3 The Way Policies are 'seen'

Such are the powers of professional socialisation and gender bias that is hardly surprising that many of the amenities and policies that women want, such as childcare policies, public toilets, crèches, covered parking spaces for pushchairs outside supermarkets, inter alia, have all, over the years, been labelled as too 'social' and taken out of development plans as 'inappropriate' or ultra vires that is outside the scope of physical land use planning. Many women planners argue such so-called social issues are a land use matter, and that the consideration of gender itself is a land use matter too because women use land differently from men. In the case of toilets both gender matters (cultural factors) and sex matters (biological differences) come into play and so this is surely an issue worthy of mainstreaming as a 'material consideration' in planning decisions affecting women's access to the built environment (Greed, 2001).

Alternatively gender-related policies are likely to be labelled as 'too detailed' or paradoxically 'too general'. Some planning inspectors dealing with development plan approval matters have seen 'standards' and policy guidelines on crèches, play areas, and toilets as too detailed for strategic level forward planning documents, although nowadays there has been a concerted attempt to introduce the Planning Inspectorate to the significance of gender in planning (Booth, 2001a and b). The argument goes that 'generalised issues' cannot be inserted in related local plans, and detailed planning conditions cannot be enforced unless the principle is established at strategic development plan level. Thus women's issues in particular often fall between two stools into no man's land. Others have ruled that demanding provision of such facilities such as crèche spaces counts as imposing 'quotas' on developers and this is frowned upon (something that would not be said about car parking spaces). There are differences in attitude among developers. Some are keen to
comply to get a better planning permission and to please their customers, whereas others object to paying for toilet provision. Such conflicts would not arise if gender were taken as a key issue in structuring the priorities of plan making in the first place.

Urban Experience

But the realities of getting about the city centre are often grim, and gruelling, especially for those with small children

Figure 12. Ordinary people’s experience of cities, especially that of women, may be very different from the life experience of the planners

The process and procedures of the planning system do not make the inclusion of gender issues 'easy' either. Town planning policy making has always been seen as procedural plan-making process, rather than as the application of a set of rules, for otherwise planners would be technicians rather than professionals exercising judgment. But if their judgment is biased then it has to be challenged. In the final analysis, it's all a matter of attitude and political will, and a question of whether local authorities want to create more people-friendly, sustainable, and accessible cities or abide by outdated rules. Many groups feel disillusioned and alienated from the planning process. The present government's emphasis upon addressing the issue of social exclusion and community representation within the urban decision-making process enforces the need for gender mainstreaming. The way in which consultation, participation, and policy approval is undertaken all need to be gender-proofed and guidelines on this will be set out in the final recommendations. For example attention needs to be given to 'when' public participation meetings are held, 'who' is likely to attend, and 'how' they are conducted in terms of the organisation and style of running of the meeting. Generally women respond better to a gradual interactive mutual 'learning' process in which planners and planned work together to develop policy, better than a 'top down' 'hit and run' approach full of technical jargon, and complex maps and plans.
The Rocky Path from Women and Planning to Gender Mainstreaming

But most 'women and planning' policies seem unlikely to be implemented within the present governmental structures and the topic of 'gender' seems to be taken lightly among the planning profession. There are two reasons for this. Firstly 'women's issues' have often been dealt with by a separate 'Women's Unit' (and committee) within the department (and few of these have survived government cutbacks) or one keen individual took the responsibility and as soon as she left no one else continued the work. In other words gender issues were marginalized rather than mainstreamed and embedded within the overall structure of the local planning department. In contrast environmental issues have to be taken on by everyone in a planning department by law whether they believe in them or not. But much environmental policy is generic not gendered and disaggregated in content. The second problem is that there is, heretofore, no legal requirement that gender issues must be taken to be a material consideration in determining planning decisions. There is clearly a need for establishing a form of mainstreaming that gives everyone a sense of 'ownership and responsibility' at all levels within the planning system with guidance starting at central government level.

One of the fundamental problems is that there is no central government level guidance (for example from the DTLR (currently renamed the ODPM) on mainstreaming gender issues in town planning, nor has there ever been a PPG on 'women and planning' or for that matter race, or disability issues either. In respect of the unitary development plan system, Circular 22/84 (updated by PPG12, 1992 (concerning development plans) stated that the unitary development plan system 'provides authorities with positive opportunities to reassess the needs of their areas, resolve conflicting demands, and consider new ideas and bring forward appropriate solutions', which has offered a foot in the door for 'women's issues'. Also see Local Plans and Unitary Development Plans: Guide to Procedures (DETR 2000a) for a similar problem. The current Good Practice Guide for Development Plans does not mention gender at all, but it is currently being rewritten by David John and John Baker in 2001) (DETR, 2002 to come). Incorporation of a gender perspective in these documents reflects the governmental emphasis upon modernising the planning system. However, as will be seen in Section 4.2 changes are taking place, which may impact upon the nature of future planning policy documents.

Attempts have been made to increase provision by means of 'planning gain', which is a non-statutory term, which covers additional 'concessions' (such as landscaping, community facilities, etc), which the local authority derives from the developer in entering into an agreement to provide certain amenities in return for a more favourable planning permission. 'Planning agreements' and 'planning obligations' are entered to under Section 106 of the Town and Country Planning Act 1991. Circular 16/91 (which updates 22/83) originally set out what the parameters of what the DETR considers to be 'reasonable' factors germane to a planning gain agreement. Planning gain is not a bribe as it is done for the benefit of the community, and has to be directly related to the development in question. Typical examples include the provision of public conveniences, crèches, landscaping, seating, and street improvements. Agreements must only be used for the purpose of 'restricting or regulating the development or use of land' and must be 'reasonable' (originally set in Circular 22/83 and 16/91, and see PPG1). Even if the developers
are willing to build social facilities, someone has got to pay for their maintenance and management. Nowadays good Town Centre Management (TCM) (Lockwood, 2000) is seen as a means of achieving better social facilities over and above the planning system, for if amenities are included as part of a total bargaining package with the developer or retailers then individual components are less likely to be picked off.

In granting permission, planning authorities can impose 'such conditions such as they think fit'. Further guidance as to what is considered valid, was originally given in Circular, 1985/1, 'The use of conditions in planning permissions'. But a local planning authority is required by law to take gender issues into account in the provision of public facilities under the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act, in so far as it is illegal to refuse or deliberately omit to provide goods and services because of the recipients' sex. Although this seems promising, successful application of this act has proved limited in the past. Section 5.48 of PPG12 (Planning Policy Guidance note) on local plans requires local authorities to consider the impact of policies on ethnic minorities, disadvantaged and deprived people, but there is no specific mention of women or gender. However the following PPG extracts show that these issues are on the agenda. To mainstream gender fully into the governmental planning agenda it is envisaged that fuller policy guidance will be given in the future.

PPG1 (1997) on General Policy and Principles, para 33 states:
'the development of land and buildings provides the opportunity to secure a more accessible environment for everyone, including wheelchair users, and other people with disabilities, elderly people and people with young children'. (In the previous version it said, 'and people with toddlers or infants in pushchairs'.)

PPG12, para 4.13, states that although development plans should not include non-land use planning issues per se, social factors should be taken into account in the planning process (Greed, 2001, DETR, 2000c) as follows:
'local planning authorities in preparing development plans, should consider the relationship of planning policies and proposals to social needs and problems, including their likely impact on different groups in the population, such as ethnic minorities, religious groups, elderly and disabled people, women, single parents, students and disadvantaged people living in deprived areas, where social considerations will be the most relevant.' Many have found that application, and enforcement, of these various regulations and principles, has left much to be desired: some planners seem unaware that they even exist. Hence the need for gender mainstreaming that is hardwired into the planning system at every stage of decision-making. Significantly, in Northern Ireland there is a DCAN (Development Control Advice Note) no.13 on Crèches, Nurseries and Pre-School playgroups which does 'mainstream' women's access issues into policy guidance that is the equivalent of the PPGS, which no DETR document has done so far.

Whilst all these seem promising, from late 2001 central government announced a fundamental change in the planning system seeking to streamline it, speed it up and make it less complicated in the document Planning: Delivering Fundamental
The Rocky Path from Women and Planning to Gender Mainstreaming

Change, The Green Paper on Planning (DTLR, 2001 under Lord Falconer). Whilst this document mentioned community several times (in an unspecified manner) and even mentioned ethnic minorities involvement in Section 5.66 'understanding diversity' which rattles on about ethnic, religious, elderly and disabled minorities it did not mention gender at all in spite of the requirements of the Amsterdam Treaty. The ODPM subsequently made it clear that the intention was to reduce, and amalgamate PPG guidance, presumably to make it 'simpler' and 'faster', whereas many would argue that the guidance has never yet even started to deal with many of the matters that really matter, such as gender, race, class, disability and other social factors that should shape planning policy.

In spite of all this potential by the end of the 1990s few of the 'women and planning' policies promoted by progressive local authorities had been implemented and local authority planning was overtaken by a range of other priorities including the environment, and auditing considerations – without necessarily any link being made to the gender implications.
5. THE PATH TO GENDER MAINSTREAMING

5.1 The Origins: Women and Planning

Women have always been concerned about the unequal nature of towns and cities, indeed previous research identified the first woman seeking to mainstream gender into policy making in the 13th century (Greed, 1994). Many women over the last 200 years in particular have listed the problems and put forward positive alternatives. The first wave of feminism at the turn of the last century had a strong emphasis on the built environment (Gilman, 1915; Greed, 1991) which was reflected in model communities, and in co-operative housing ventures pioneered by women (Hayden, 1981; Pearson, 1988). Early campaigners were likely to be concerned with health, housing, and reform, as well as with the emerging discipline of town planning but little was achieved.

Following World War II a second wave of feminism began to develop this time originating in North America culminating in the Women's Liberation movement of the 1960s. Women were still cast as housewives and mothers primarily, but as more women took advantage of emerging higher education opportunities discontent developed among the middle classes. Women in the suburbs started talking about their discontent about 'the problem without a name' (Friedan, 1963). Women were increasingly dissatisfied with their environment as well as campaigning for legal, medical and employment rights. There was little initial support for women's issues, as the New Left was likely to label women's concerns as 'bourgeois', 'selfish' and 'trivial', and it was not a good career move to mention 'women' needs as a valid planning issue. However women were writing about planning issues, such as street safety and community issues, although they might not openly use words such as gender (Jacobs, 1964). A series of valuable books from North America dealing with a wide range of urban feminist issues subsequently came on line (Torre, 1977; Hayden, 1981, 1984; Wekerle et al., 1980; Keller, 1981; Stimpson, 1981), all of which appear remarkably up to date in addressing still unresolved issues. Urban feminist studies were developing internationally, the ideas and current literature of British feminist geography being encapsulated in the work of the Women and Geography study group (McDowell, 1983; WSG, 1984, 1997). A Canadian periodical entitled 'Women and Environments' was established in the 1970s and is still going strong (WE, 1999). By the early 1980s, the women and planning movement was emerging more visibly (Foulsham, 1990).

Much of this was greeted with complete misunderstanding by many men planners and surveyors, who made comments like, 'women? that's not a land use issue' and therefore were of the view that women's issues were ultra vires, that is outside the scope of planning law. However the more progressive UK local authorities were taking on board women's issues and this was working its way down into planning departments, which, in turn, were now employing the first batch of graduate women planners who were keen to change the world. For example the Greater London
Council (GLC) women's committee produced a series of Women and Planning reports including the most comprehensive, Changing Places (GLC, 1986). Women's committees were beginning to have a major influence in several cities in getting things done. 'Women and the Built Environment' became a fashionable academic topic and several of main journals devoted a 'special' issue to the topic (IJURR, 1978; Built Environment, 1984; Ekistics, 1985; TCPA, 1987). By the late 1980's a series of conferences were held, and working parties were established by the various built environment professional bodies, looking at women's needs as fellow professionals, as clients, and members of urban society, whilst some women, exasperated with existing structures, were setting up their own practices and consultancies (Matrix, 1984) an all-women collective of architects built, inter alia, the Jagonari Asian Women's Centre in Whitechapel, London.

The RTPI was relatively late on to the field, and first produced a Practice Advice Note (PAN) on 'Planning for Women' in 1995) which was circulated to all members, and which gives advice on policies and procedures. Since then there has been considerable pressure to see the principles put into practice and further conferences have taken place (RTPI, 1999). But those who voice such views are likely to be told, 'oh, we've done women, you should be concerned with the environment'. A second wave of books, conferences and articles appeared on the needs of 'women and planning', now more often likely to be linked environmental, European and disability issues. For example, a special issue of 'Built Environment' journal in 1996 (Vol.22, No.1, editor Dory Reeves) reviewed the situation by the mid 1990s. Students often appear curious about what 'planning for women' might entail and so the implications for the main land uses and types of developed are discussed in the next section. A broader geographical perspective on the gendering of 'space' is to be found in McDowell and Sharp, 1997.

By the end of the twentieth century a great deal of work, publications, research, conferences, activities had been undertaken in the name of 'women and planning' but little had been achieved. But some local planning authorities or individuals 'sparkled' for a short while introducing major changes, but curiously then fizzled out, their efforts soon to be covered by the sands of time and the status quo. In previous research one heard stories of women who built up a gender unit within their planning department but when they moved on, no-one else carried on the work. Clearly it was vital that mainstreaming should be introduced so that the whole department, not just one junior individual, took gender issues on board throughout the plan-making process.

6.2 Creating: 'Gender' and 'Mainstreaming'

As Little (1994 and ongoing follow-up research) has pointed out although there is a plethora of 'women and planning' policies, there has been a very low level of actual implementation of policy. So new tactics were needed. Within the wider feminist world, it was found that many male policy makers and managers had a problem with
the word 'women' which could be construed as a sign of women wanting special
treatment. Therefore by the mid 1980s one began to see the use of the word
'gender' which was intended to depersonalise and raise the profile of the issues,
through the use of a more inclusive social term. Initially 'gender' still 'meant'
'women' but gradually 'gender studies' began to appear which dealt with the issues
confronting the 'new man' who wished to question his traditional role and position
in society. Whilst some women planners questioned the use of the word 'gender' as
it reduced the emphasis specifically on women's unmet policy needs, others argued
that taking a gender perspective (rather than a woman's perspective) would result in
better planning for all and in the process increase the chances of implementation of
women-related policies. By the 1990s even 'gender' was being edged out as a term
in place of 'diversity' or 'equalities' within what was now seen to be a multi-
cultural, multi-ethnic society. This was to be welcomed at one level, in that it
acknowledged the fact that not all women are white, able bodied and middle class,
far from it in fact. But this approach also has drawbacks in that women's issues can
get lost in the complexity of the new agenda. Also a mutual exclusivity often seemed
to operate in the minds of policy makers, especially in respect of inner city issues,
in that if 'ethnic minorities' were being discussed they were often presented as being
predominantly male, young, unemployed and a 'problem' when the demographics
showed the most typical ethnic person was likely to be female, middle aged and in
employment. But at least gender issues were there on the agenda, albeit it would
seem few male policy makers seemed to know what the implications were.

So 'gender' replaced 'women' and as time went on the word 'mainstreaming' began
to come to the fore as the other half of the new catch phrase. Gender mainstreaming
has been introduced as a means of increasing the chances of planning policies that
meet the needs of women, as well as men, being implemented more effectively, and
being taken more seriously as a valid component of the mainstream planning system
within each of the Member States. As outlined in Part 2, gender mainstreaming was
a concept introduced to the UK from Europe, with its roots back in overarching
global movements, and in particular in the Third World development agenda. The
reasons for the EU taking on board gender issues are complex.

The seedbed of the concept of applying gender mainstreaming specifically to town
planning is to be found within Continental Europe within a strong and creative
'women and planning' movement as stated in Section 1. Women planners in the
Scandinavian countries, especially Sweden and Finland, pioneered a new approach
to getting women's issues taken seriously. Eurofem, a pan European women
planners group, founded originally in Finland (Horelli, 2000) contributed greatly,
through a series of conferences, to the brainstorming that gave birth to gender
mainstreaming. Global influences, trickling down to European level have also
contributed hugely within the predominantly male world of international
organisations and global urban governance, with various 'women and development'
conferences being held under the auspices of the OECD and the UN, where ideas
and alternative approaches could be discussed and swapped. Thus gender
mainstreaming gradually worked its way across into official documents and programmes such as Third and Fourth action programmes, with key Eurofem members (including those who were also MEPs, and those who were in senior planning positions) being involved at Brussels level on key decision-making bodies. and is embodied in the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam's emphasis upon equal treatment of women and men, which was the breakthrough that made gender mainstreaming a high priority 'serious' issue within the operation of the EC. But most significantly 'gender mainstreaming' was not just a new catch phrase it came with a whole set of practical methodologies that might be operated by both men and women planners, in order to instrumentalise and implement gender mainstreaming. A major European conference was held in Madrid, on the theme, 'Generourban' (gender mainstreaming) which provided new material on how the process was being undertaken in other EU member states available on the generourban web site Madrid,2002) http://www.angelfire.com/home/generourban. The next section will give a summary of the progress that has been made in other European Union countries with an explanation of the key methodologies developed to facilitate gender mainstreaming (with a fuller version found in the RTPI research report).

However the transfer of Continental gender mainstreaming methodologies to the UK situation has not been straightforward. This is because in mainland Europe mainstreaming has often been more linked to economic planning policies rather than town planning in the British sense, particularly in relation to gender proofing structural fund initiatives. Indeed 'planning' as exists in the UK is peculiar to our nation-state and takes different forms and manifestations in other EU nation states. Many other European planning systems are less physical land-use based than in the UK, and allow for a wider range of social, economic and cultural considerations to be included in the policy making process. Gender is taken more seriously as an equalities issue (whereas in the UK the emphasis is more upon ethnicity and disability relatively speaking), which creates a better starting point as the initial battles about 'why gender?# have already been won. Nevertheless, whatever the country or the particular brand of planning, a universal problem has been trying to collect gender-disaggregated data has been a huge challenge as most European local and central government bodies have not been in the habit of doing so and both primary and secondary data are insufficient. Currently new requirements are being fed into the next phase of structural fund criteria on standards for disaggregated gender collection. But those regions that have been proactive in data collection changes have also generally initiated training programmes for local authority officials and policy makers in order to ensure that the new approach and gender awareness is mainstreamed into the regional policy system.

At local authority level gender mainstreaming is already being incorporated into the planning systems of several European countries, with Scandinavia taking the lead, way out ahead (as discussed further in Section 4 and see Strauch and Wirthwein, 1989; Skjerven,1993; Eurofem 1998,2000; Verloo and Roggeband,1996). The various Scandinavian planning systems do already allow for a gender-proofing
within their plans. The composition of the Swedish legislature and parliament is based upon increasing number of women to half and half, with positive discrimination based on the reforming motto 'every other one a woman'). Also there is a highly developed public participation system based on e-mail systems in each municipality in what are advanced, relatively affluent countries.

In southern Europe the approach has been somewhat different, with a greater emphasis upon urban management, social issues and the inclusion of cultural and lifestyle considerations into urban planning making. For example time planning has been introduced in many Italian cities (Belloni,1996) an issue of great concern to women. Time planning has been established under Italian law, by Article 36, 142/1990, which has given elected city mayors the powers to formulate 'time plans' in association with business and school representatives, and to 'change times' that is to alter opening and closing hours of both public and private institutions, organisations and shops, and differential gender requirements have been strongly mainstreamed into this process. Also see examples in France, (ARU,1997 and ARU, 2000). 'Time' use, resources and planning are becoming a prominent consideration within wider European approaches to 'planning' (Bianchini and Greed,1999). Following policy guidance from the EU The ONS in the UK is currently undertaking 'Time Use Survey' (ONS,2002) which gives emphasis to both paid and unpaid work activities both inside and outside the home.

6.4 Filtering down to the UK

Attempts are being made to mainstream gender into central government level, with the DTLR (now ODPM) following the lead of the Home Office (1998) (COI,1998). The DTLR developed its own 'Diversity Action Plan' which is part of the Modernising Government Initiative (DETR, 2000b developed with IPD). Although, at present, this is predominantly a personnel management EO strategy, with time this may affect policy making too. One senior officer (Larry O'Neil) has been appointed to look at the implications of national planning policy for women, ethnic minorities, the disabled and gypsies within the DTLR. Previously the Mobility Unit at the DTLR has taken on responsibility for women and transport issues and commissioned Professor Kerry Hamilton prepared a detailed document on gender mainstreaming in transport for the DETR (Hamilton,2000). A shorter version was prepared for the DETR, under the auspices of Miranda Carter at the Mobility Unit (DETR,1999).

One of the problems at central government level is that within the UK Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Auditing are less known and understood than in other European Union countries. Arguably race and disability have gained more prominence in the EO agenda in the UK whilst gender has been stronger within EU policy. Whilst there have been various manifestations of 'women and planning' and 'planning for equal opportunities' or 'planning for diversity' in progressive Ipas, it is rare to find gender mainstreaming (that is critically looking at planning for
women and men too), as such, being undertaken in UK planning departments. But in the UK beyond 'planning' but within the overarching agenda of 'policy making', central government has sought to address gender mainstreaming, to some extent, within the context of addressing equality issues by Home Office (1998). A draft document 'Gender Mainstreaming for Policy Makers was produced by the Cabinet Office, (Women and Equality Unit, 2002) and further updates are available on line at the Women's Unit site, see www.cabinet-office.gov.uk/womens-unit/).

Whilst all this is being developed, there is still little strategic level guidance specific to planning yet in England, there is guidance available to those operating the planning system at central government level in respect of the work of PINS (Planning Inspectorate). A PINS Equality Task Force as been established in relation to policy making, decision making and the planning process. Joint guidelines have been produced by the Cabinet Office, Home Office, DfEE, as led by the Women and Equality Unit, entitled PAFT (Policy Appraisal and Fair Treatment Guidelines) on policy development, service delivery and internal staffing matters which are thus being mainstreamed with the DTLR and DEFRA. These PAFT Guidelines require all departments to take into account of all those groups affected by their policies (Booth,2001a). Christine Booth has given training sessions to Planning Inspectors on gender mainstreaming and produced papers and articles for this organisation (Booth,2001b).

Significantly PPG11 (Regional Planning, 1999), states that the potential impacts of strategic options on different groups within society should be an integral consideration in the appraisal process, using PAFT guidelines. (PAFT is now renamed PAED (substituting Equal for Fair, November 2001). PAED is also referred to in supplementary guidance on sustainability, thus, providing a welcome precedent for gender mainstreaming within planning policy guidance, which should impact upon future DTLR policy documents. The 'crunch' comes in terms of how they are applied on the ground for example in the new RDAs (Regional Development Agencies) and whether they are specific and workable enough to have an impact locally (Bennett et al, 2000,a and b; Booth,2001). It should be stressed that the PAFT approach is based on generic, rather than specific gendered mainstreaming (as per 'different groups' wording) and this is typical of many local authority approaches too. With time all this should impact upon national-level policy making as well as affecting personnel and procedural issues. Thus gender mainstreaming has at last 'arrived' within the UK governmental agenda, but how to do it is quite another matter. The next section summarises the main methodological techniques which are currently available and upon which, in part, we developed our Toolkit for the RTPI.

Whilst in the UK specific gender mainstreaming and auditing has not been strong, a whole range of other auditing, benchmarking, and generic equal opportunities programmes have been developed and introduced that seek to evaluate service provision especially for minority groups and to make local authorities more accountable. In fact we were to find that many local planning authorities were exhausted by all this activity which seemed to many of them to be an additional
burden on top of all their existing duties. In fact many could not understand quite why we were stressing gender, when they thought had done it already within the ambit of generic auditing.
6 PARALLEL MAINSTREAMING AND AUDIT INITIATIVES

6.1 The Audit Culture

Whilst in the UK specific gender mainstreaming and auditing has not been strong, a whole range of other auditing, benchmarking, and generic equal opportunities programmes have been developed and introduced that seek to evaluate service provision especially for minority groups and to make local authorities more accountable. In fact we were to find that many local planning authorities were exhausted by all this activity which seemed to many of them to be an additional burden on top of all their existing duties. In fact many could not understand quite why we were stressing gender, when they thought had done it already within the ambit of generic auditing. But, as stated, the aim of the RTPI project was make sure that gender was applied to the substantive aspects of planning policy, that is to make sure it impacted at a specific, implementatory level, rather than floating in a haze of generalised equal opportunities initiatives, which more often than not turned out to be more concerned with personnel issues than with planning policy implications.

The Audit Commission was established under the 1992 Local Government Act, as part of the new 'citizen as consumer' ethos initiative as derived from the Citizen's Charter, and subsequently in Best Value (Audit Commission, 1994). The aim was to make the government more accountable in terms of the levels of provision of key public goods and services (see 'Staying the Course', Section J: The Local Environment, paras 3 a and b, Audit Commission, 1994). This seemed a great opportunity for many 'women's issues' to be taken more seriously but a major shortcoming of the Audit Commission's guidelines has been its lack of distinction between the needs of men and women in the environment.

6.2 Best Value

The concept of Best Value originates from the Modernisation of Local Government Agenda, the central theme of which is the provision of best value services that promote social inclusion; that requires LAs to prepare best value plans annually setting out how they would deliver improvements in the delivery of customer focussed services against best value performance indicators (BVPI) set out by the DETR and the Audit Commission. This process involves public organisations like local authorities comparing their services to others, benchmarking services against the best, assessing whether the services are expensive to run or reaching the right people. Questions are also asked about whether the service is needed, should be revised or indeed expanded (Chizoma Onuoha, 2001). The BV process is based around the four Cs - Compare; Compete; Challenge and Consult. Consultation with service users for instance, is a key issue because this is how social inclusion can be achieved, being reinforced by the BV principle of 'fair access' to decision-making processes for all groups. As will be seen in the case studies BV EO Benchmarking is a useful hook to hang GA on.
6.3 Race Relations

Whilst gender has not been met with great enthusiasm as a valid planning issue, the issue of ethnicity minority needs (race relations) has been more fruitful in influencing planning policy. The CRE (Commission for Racial Equality) have produced a range of standards and indicators in seeking to mainstream race. But, as reported in the RTPI Planning Journal (13, April 2001), more than 30% of local authorities have not adopted or used these. In the case of gender there is no statutory requirement to include 'gender' as a material consideration. In comparison it is illegal to discriminate against people in the provision of public services on the basis of race (previously under S.20 of the Race Relations Act 1976). But research has shown that discrimination still exists (de Graft-Johnson, 1999). Previously the Royal Town Planning Institute, Code of Professional Conduct, 1986, made it illegal to discriminate on the basis of race, sex, or creed, and religion and this alone should govern individual planner's conduct, and it should be 'his' duty to enlighten his local authority on these matters. New legislation on race equality could have a huge impact on local planning authorities as the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 requires organisations (such as Lpas) to take a more proactive role in preventing institutionalised racism. Emphasis is being put upon mainstreaming race equality too and organisations are required to publish a 'scheme' to promote positive measures rather than adopting a passive approach. That is a proactive rather than reactive approach is to be encouraged by legislation (Chizoma, 2001). Several local authorities are mainstreaming race alongside other EO diversity issues, including gender. LARRIE (Local Authorities Race Relations Information Exchange) provides a list of reports where race has been incorporated into EO in context of Best Value or planning. Camden, Lambeth, Hackney, and Haringey in particular have sought to mainstream race. In respect of gender, in some areas ethnic minority men are generally less likely to gain employment, than their female counterparts, particularly in the case of Afro-Caribbean male youth. Thus a gender-sensitive approach to planning for employment policy would soon pick up this fact and seek to provide positive input to the problem, by avoiding stereotyped statements in respect of policies on employment, crime and leisure inter alia. Thus race relations have much stronger legislative powers, and arguably a more developed set of methodologies, (than gender) to achieve compliance and change (Straight, 2002). For example policy appraisal methods for equal treatment are being used in London boroughs arising from the post-Lawrence equality agenda. These use three stages, in respect of each policy, based on 'Identify' (the impact); 'Validate' (justify effect on different groups) and 'Amend' (revise policy) (MBI, 2001a; page 18 and MB1, 2001, b).

6.4 Disability

Disability is also much stronger than gender in the UK, as a 'valid' equalities issue because there is a requirement to make buildings more accessible under the planning acts and DETR guidance (S.76 of 1990 TCPA, Circular 10/80 and PPG1 (originally paras 33-4 in 1997 version), and building control (Part M in England and Wales; Part R in Northern Ireland and Part T in Scotland) (Davies, 1994). Some local
authorities have made access for disabled people one of the cornerstones of planning policy doing more than is required under the statutory standards. For example the Corporation of London has pioneered many accessibility issues and disability access audits (Fleck, 1998). PPG1 can be interpreted to include reference to a range of social inequality issues including gender, because of its emphasis upon creating more accessible environments.

With the progressive enactment of all parts of the Disability Discrimination Act 1995 (DDAs) this is to become an even more important area. Under DDA Part III, from December 1996 it has been illegal to treat disabled people less favourably. From October 1999 service providers have been required to make reasonable adjustments for disabled people. From October 2004 more fundamental adjustments will be required under the Code of Practice for Part III of the act. All buildings will have to be accessible to people with disabilities. Disabled women’s needs are often quite distinct from those of comparable men, as gender cuts across disability. For example there are sexual differences in upper body strength, body dimension differences such as length of reach from a seated position, and of course considerable toileting differences affecting egress policy.

**Figure 11: Old Care for Young; Young Care for Old: often across gender boundaries within families and communities**

Many would argue that improvements in disabled access will work to the benefit of women too as wider entrances and fewer steps for wheelchair users will make our cities more pushchairs as well (albeit reflects a rather minimalist traditional view of women’s needs as carer not worker). Some progressive authorities are going for a 'universalist' approach to access that will make cities more accessible for everyone (Goldsmith, 2001; UKIID, 2001: Bright, 2002). Again stereotypes of the 'average'
disabled person need to be carefully unpicked in the process of developing appropriate planning, particularly in respect of the age, gender, and nature of disability composition of the local population. For example, young men disabled, for example, from motorcycle accidents are not necessarily going to want access to the same facilities that elderly women might welcome.

6.5 Human Rights

The Human Rights Act 1998 (HRA) whose provisions were introduced first in October 2000, arising from the European Commission on Protection of Human Rights, now has force within the UK. The HRA is a 'living instrument' more mobile and flexible than much existing British planning legislation. It introduces rights against public bodies, not private bodies. Article 14 deals with prohibition of discrimination, and creates a much more open-ended, broader approach to definitions of discrimination than found previously under English law. So this has the potential for improving gender issues in planning because of its emphasis upon the right of family life and individual property rights which might benefit women, at least in relation to their traditional roles in the family and home. The HRA also has the potential for improving provision for women in respect of their use of and access to the built environment, not least in relation to the right of privacy (including baby feeding and toilet provision). Article 14 also speaks of prohibition from discrimination, whereas Draft Protocol 12, if enacted, would be much wider in its interpretation of discrimination. Within the time frame 2003-2006 further HR legislation is likely that will relate to gender, age and access issues, but this is speculative at present. In fact Protocol 12 will go beyond the bounds of gender, race, sex and age, and will introduce the principle that a person's right to express a particular view MUST NOT impinge on another person's right to exist'. This might help in situations where planners argue that something is not a woman's issue but just a 'technical fact', and might also solve some of the problems associated with the public display of threatening advertising or sexist (and pornographic) material in terms of personal safety and creating a woman-friendly environment. Human Rights legislation is now becoming widely used to contest development control applications and is an area which is bound to have implications for the gender aspects of planning in the future.

6.6 Environmental Assessment

In addition to the possibilities offered by HR, sustainability and environmental legislation also have the potential to forward gender and equalities issues. The original definition of sustainability accepted with the Rio Declaration (1992) (Greed, 2000:138) included three components: economic viability, social equity as well as environmental sustainability. Thus in some local authorities and among various community groups, 'gender' has been taken to be an integral part of Local Agenda 21 activities and within the process of meeting the requirements of Rio in instrumentalising its requirements into the local planning system of the signatory nation states. Likewise the Kyoto Protocol has been interpreted creatively by some to include a gender dimension, as clearly environmental problems and solutions
impact upon women and men in different ways. Methodologically, there are various 'audit' activities governing planning policy, not least Environmental Assessment criteria under EEC Directive 97/11 manifest in the 'toolkits' of Schedule 1 and 2 (Greed, 2000:42-43) through to more local participatory approaches. Increasingly

**Urban Quality and Regeneration**

60% of workers in town centres are women
Positive, user-based measures which support the revival of town centres create safe, sustainable and convenient environments.

![Banbury Town Centre](image)

**Figure 12** Women still need to shop and work in town centres and may have the most valid reasons for being in the centre but the least ability to pay congestion charges.

women planners have sought to harness the environmental legislation as a means of forwarding gender issues and for example this is evident in Strathclyde where the triple top of gender, sustainability and health have been brought together in respect of achieving better housing policy, and in the process the three policy areas have reinforced and strengthened each other (Brand, 1999). But it is important to cast a gendered eye over all environmental and sustainability policy as it too can be gendered. Significantly, Plymouth, developed a Gender Audit Toolkit based upon its matrix system originally used to assess environmental issues (Plymouth, 2001). This key Plymouth document did not become available in the public domain until late into the research period but will prove influential for the future.

**6.7 Transport Mainstreaming and Auditing**

There is little awareness of the different travel patterns of women as against men, of the costs of travel and the fact that many women undertake car journeys not for themselves but for the benefit of others often combining many trips and purposes together, thus actually reducing traffic not increasing it. Women compose the majority of pedestrians and policies such as dividing pavements down the middle so that they are shared by potentially aggressive cyclists and women with small
children is a recipe for disaster, but a result of the invisibility of walkers, and
women in particular as a valid transport group. But more women have access to cars
nowadays, but this has not given them the same 'freedom' as male counterparts, for
as illustrated in our Toolkit women's cars become yet another utensil to carry out
their domestic role for example carrying out escort journeys for other family
members, and undertaking large weekly shopping expeditions by car (now that local
shops and available time for daily shopping have both been reduced).

Likewise the introduction of congestion charging in London without consideration of
the differential incomes and travel patterns of women as against men may be seen as
discriminatory, as access is now related to ability to pay, not to the social value of
the journeys undertaken. So women's increased access to the car has not necessarily
brought equality but a whole new set of duties (Bruegel, 2002). As stated Professor
Kerry Hamilton prepared a detailed document on gender mainstreaming in transport
for the DETR (Hamilton, 2000). A shorter version was prepared for the DETR,
under the auspices of Miranda Carter of the Mobility Unit (DETR, 1999). WDS has
also pursued the issue of women and local transport plans (WDS March 2000)
linking with the GLA on this key issue. Thus there are now several transport gender
audits around to draw upon, and in theory the bad old days of transport, when both
women's journeys and walking were invisible to policy makers are hopefully
passing away.

6.8 Urban Design

This topic has undergone a renaissance and change of character in recent years
moving away from a top down, aesthetic 'spectator' perspective to becoming much
more 'bottom up' participatory in its approach and taking on board many 'user'
agendas such as those of disabled access, sustainability, women and planning, crime
and design, and planning for children's needs. There are various 'toolkits' based
upon a participatory approach and a range of checklists. These include the work of
the Architectural Foundation (2000); a range of 'bottom up' collaborative design
projects (Roberts and Greed, 2001). WDS’s work on accessible housing for women
(WDS, 2000), Fleck's work on disability Audits; Cavanagh's work on safety audits
in London (1998); and Wekerle and Whitzman (1994) on crime guidelines in North
America all contain valuable methodologies. Within this context it is important to
add disability access audits that have a specific concern with enabling free
movement within the built environment. Yet beyond the standard pre-occupation the
steps, entrances and slopes there is also a wider more inclusive 'toolkit agenda'
concerning the process of planning and the means of involving a wide range of
'disabled' people beyond the stereotypical wheelchair users. Such work emphasises
'empowerment' of community and user groups rather than 'control. EPSRC funded
outputs from 'Inclusive Design' research units (separately) at Reading University
and The Royal College of Art (currently under preparation) promise to yield a more
joined-up thinking approach, with the RCA focusing on the importance of the needs
of an ageing population and Reading focusing on disability, both undoubtedly
including gender issues too in their work.
6.9 Construction Professions Auditing

There is a range of auditing and mainstreaming material from the property world and construction industry, particularly from other chartered professional bodies and major contractors, where both policy issues that shape the built environment and personnel issues such as recruitment and retention are being taken on board. The Equal Opportunities Taskforce of the Construction Industry (CIC, 2000) has produced a detailed toolkit on all aspects of employment, organisational structure and management strategy. This CIC toolkit seeks to take a diversity perspective, and seeks to evaluate the impact of gender, race, age, sexuality and ethnicity issues on both personnel and policy issues within construction firms. Architects, surveyors, civil engineers and construction managers are all, in their various ways, addressing gender issues usually alongside the wider ethnicity and diversity agenda. There has been a range of academic research in which, particularly in the field of construction management, the lessons on mainstreaming from other commercial sectors have been brought to bear upon the traditional culture of the construction industry (Greed, 1999). However, in spite of their progress, this CIC toolkit is much more concerned with organisational, management and human resource management 'career' issues than policy per se, although this aspect has been taken on board to some extent.

6.10 Statistical Reform

A major problem currently is the collection of adequately gendered statistics, that is the need for mainstreaming of gender into all data collection. Local authorities have considerable leeway to collect their own data, whilst ONS is currently being gender sensitised itself. The GSUG (Gender Statistics Users' Group) (e-mail gender@ons.gov.uk) has been established to address this problem. Statistical reform has also been a significant component of many European gender mainstreaming initiatives, as each European country has had to disaggregate its national statistics by gender. This is such a key issue which is why the contact address is included in this document. In fact the very success of mainstreaming gender into policy, and the process gender auditing and evaluation depends upon producing 'before and after' figures. We were to find from the pilots this was the issue that frightened Lpas the most.
The Rocky Path from Women and Planning to Gender Mainstreaming
7. DEVELOPING THE TOOLKIT

7.1 Case Studies

As stated in the introduction the purpose of this occasional paper is NOT to give details of the case studies and pilot studies that comprised the main aspect of the RTPI commissioned study and readers are advised to consult the full document on the RTPI web site for the full account and research findings. However, brief details are given below.

As indicated there is a great deal of generic mainstreaming to be found in the UK but very few completed examples of actual gender mainstreaming being adopted by local planning departments. There were also a significant handful who were very keen and were moving towards setting up gender mainstreaming mechanisms. It was a matter of looking for what was not there and trying to find out why this was so. The research team investigated all possible leads, by means of literature review, web survey, telephone surveys, going through both planning channels such as RTPI branches and local authority contacts, and through women's groups, equalities organisations and auditing organisations. Because of the paucity of gender examples we decided to include examples of planning authorities where generic was being undertaken, as these were of interest in terms of methodology as to how they went about the process. We were to find that many local planning authorities simply could not see why we were contacting them about gender, when they assumed it was already dealt with, subsumed under 'equalities' and were frankly bored by the whole topic. But in spite of assertions that they were already aware of all the issues, many such seemed puzzled when we asked for details of how this impacted upon actual planning policy, as if this had never occurred to them before. But on the other hand 'the converted' the small group of local planning authorities which were in the process of either setting up, or actually doing, gender mainstreaming were very aware of the issues, and were very helpful in inspiring us to develop the toolkit.

In summary we contacted the following planning authorities:

- Generic Mainstreaming: Bristol, Lewisham, Hackney (Southall), Haringey.
- Gender Mainstreaming: West Midlands, Birmingham, Sandwell, Sheffield, Harlow, Cambridge and subsequently Plymouth too
- Strategic National Level Mainstreaming: Northern Ireland, Wales, and Scotland

As to the geographical range of examples, in the overall study we originally sought to achieve a range of areas between:
- North/South
- large/small
- urban/rural
- inner city/suburban
generic/gendered (mainstreaming)

We also took into account ethnic mix, and demographic characteristics.

We found, from the initial telephone survey, that some Lpas simply could not see the point of it all, and intimated that they really did not need to consider gender because they had already got generic programmes in place. Gender was seen by a few Lpas as somewhat past its sell by date and no longer of relevance to modern local government practice. Whilst some questioned the substantive value of including 'gender' others were having problems understanding the process of mainstreaming.

We also undertook a series of pilot studies to test our draft toolkit and to get feedback on our various ideas, methodologies and conceptual problems. Pilots were undertaken with 6 Lpas namely:

- Edinburgh
- Southwark
- Crawley
- Birmingham
- Kennet
- Harlow

As can be seen some of these were also used as case studies, but we sought to get a mixture of local planning authorities at different stages of receptivity towards gender mainstreaming.

Having looked across at the range of examples, possibilities and issues, it must be concluded that it is impossible to give a prescriptive blue print on how to undertake gender mainstreaming, and what policies or approaches are 'best' as every situation, in every Lpa, is different. Therefore, in our Toolkit the emphasis is upon providing key principles to raise awareness and to help local authorities undertake gender mainstreaming. For example the categories and topic headings used in different local authorities vary so planners are encouraged to use their own professional judgement in applying the principles their own situation.

There is considerable debate as to the merits of fully integrating gender in with race, age, disability etc, within diversity, as one of several attributes, or separating 'gender' out as a distinct factor affecting 'only' 52% of the population - when, in fact, it affects both men and women. The advantage of integration within diversity is that it can be latched on to existing programmes, and planners may be less alienated. The disadvantage is that 'gender' gets lost among everything else. Those authorities that imagine they can do 'everything', all the so-called 'minorities' at once are not necessarily equipped to do so, in terms of training, awareness, and cultural perspective. Therefore the realities of applying a gender lens thoroughly in depth to all aspects of policy making needs to be stressed, so that our toolkit does not end up as yet another 'tick box' exercise.

We recommended to the RTPI that Continuing Professional Development (CPD) might play an important role in this and the RTPI might initiate a nationwide
programme for all LPA planners. The subject does require an raising of awareness, and it may be better 'felt than telt' as taking the importance of gender on board does requiring questioning and restructuring the 'world view' of how planners imagine the world to be. One of the issues of great concern in 'marketing' our toolkit, and in getting it adopted is the need to get planners to take gender seriously without scaring them off. It is recommended that whilst we are 'planning for everyone' it is still important to highlight 'women' and 'gender' in the process of applying our toolkit. In the pilots we sought to look at the reaction of members as well as officers, and it would seem any fears of opposition are ungrounded.

However, we did find that the presentation of the toolkit, the language, jargon and terms used were key factors in putting people off or getting them keen and interested. However we did consider that some local planning authorities' demands for far greater simplicity was a symptom of the fact that they did not appreciate the issues involved, and imagined they could adopt a simplistic approach with little attention to the implications for different policy areas. It is one of the conundrums of this exercise, as to how to produce a desktop toolkit for planners who are not particularly aware of the issues and who may in some cases be hostile to the whole topic of gender. Culturally it was significant that a profession that has always gloried in jargon, complexity and its academic credentials should so change its tune when it came to 'gender'. Having experienced the brain-teasing complexities of, inter alia, systems planning, neo-marxist planning, collaborative planning and a transportation planning, and having been told that that such academic elitism raised the reputation and image of the profession it was strange indeed to be given the impression that some local authorities wanted a dumbing down of the Toolkit, even though nowadays when most planners are graduates. However presentation and image were all important in getting the Toolkit accepted at the desk top level whereas those who wanted to delve into the subject more fully were advised to read the main Research Report. Nevertheless it is sociologically highly significant that planners expect gender issues to be 'simple' and 'easy' to apply when the design of our cities and the nature of planning policy clearly demonstrates that 'gender awareness' has been beyond the grasp of most planners for the better part of the twentieth century.

In conclusion we argued from the research that it is important to use a 'gender lens' in looking at all aspects of policy. Environmental issues, disability, race, are not separate components that are not impacted by gender, rather they are the very issues that need to be viewed through a gender lens, as they are overarched by gender. Unfortunately the emphasis upon total diversity, including everything, but barely touching on anything has somewhat confused the situation and muddied the water for all concerned. But we had to face the fact that we either work with this, and integrate gender in with everything else or we may find that we are told 'we have got gender already in with Equality and we don’t need to do it again separately'. Therefore by the end of the project we became more pragmatic and concluded that if gender was already there as a component in a wider generic equalities programme within a local authority then we should go with that, catch planners where they are 'at' and hopefully challenge them through the Toolkit to consider what the specific
implications of gender are for the substantive aspects of planning policy and practice. In the final analysis unless there is a higher priority put upon gender mainstreaming at central government level, as reflected in policy guidance and legislation, it will not be taken seriously but will be crowded out in amongst all the other calls on local authority planners’ time and resources.

7.2 Alternative Techniques

In this section some of the main building blocks of the Toolkit are identified in terms of existing European sources and material developed in the course of investigating UK auditing, mainstreaming, and gender proofing methods in the UK. The starting point for the Toolkit was looking at the different stages, approaches and components used within various European gender mainstreaming projects, as investigated by this study. Therefore useful lists of stages and concepts will be incorporated into the account for information, as these were to become the building blocks of our toolkit. Please check the RTPI web site for the final version of the Toolkit.

Key components, identified from European gender mainstreaming projects, that must be incorporated in the gender mainstreaming process (for every policy topic) include:
1. Research and analysis
2. Programme preparation
3. Monitoring and evaluation
4. Institutional framework
5. Information and publicity (participation)
(we took this set of stages and built them into our Toolkit)

Alternatively key stages in the policy-making process are identified which correspond broadly to key stages in the British plan-making system, namely:
1. Defining issues, goals and objectives
2. Collecting data
3. Developing policy alternatives
4. Setting up public participation and feedback
5. Policy evaluation and policy determination
5. Ongoing monitoring, evaluation and policy review

Within EU projects that are linked to structural funding the emphasis is generally upon the following categories of policy all of which derive from regional economic agenda:
1. Employment, equality of women and men in the labour market
2. Education and training
3. Entrepreneurship and business
4. Balance of family and work life (see DTI, 2001)
5. Balanced participation and representation of m/f in decision-making
(these categories proved too broad to be appropriate for our Toolkit)
A range of different Gender Auditing methodologies has been pioneered in Europe. A matrix structure is a popular means of organising Gender Audits among EU gender mainstreaming authorities, as recommended by EU guidance (Fitzgerald, 1999). Typically the following categories run along the top of the table/matrix, namely:- employment, training and education, enterprise, work/family balance (DTI,2001) as was the case in Plymouth (2001) - a pioneer authority. Then a range of policy priorities is put along the left side, such as transport infrastructure, telecommunications, research, small businesses, and significantly urban development and key gender issues are identified for each across the Matrix. For example under the column 'employment' the need for improved participation of women in urban planning and decision-making is given, and under work/home balance improved safety and quality of area, and improved accessibility and services related to care of dependents is given (DTI,2001). When applying the matrix to rural areas improved transport, care and replacement services are typically featured. This approach is somewhat different from that found in local planning authorities where policy categories are more likely to relate to statutory planning requirements and land use and development types, but nevertheless the principles are transferable and are incorporated into our toolkit (Plymouth,2001).

In summary in evaluating projects for EU funding (EC,200) emphasis is put upon whether they are: (paraphrased simply):
1. Equality Positive
2. Equality Orientated (has possibilities)
3. Equality Neutral
4. Equality Negative
5. Equality Ignorant (Missed Opportunity)
(Projects that are classified as 1 or 2 are more likely to succeed with funding, CE,1998)

The know-how and methodologies of GA have been spreading into Britain through various European 'women and planning' networks such as Eurofem (Horelli et al,1998), FrauenUmweltNetz (Spitzner,1998). Conferences have been held for several years on strategies, policies and initiatives, especially the idea of developing Toolkits as a means of undertaking Gender Audits to achieve mainstreaming (Gilroy and Booth,1992). One of the most significant Gender Audit Toolkit programmes derives from Eurofem as edited by Liisa Horelli of Helsinki, Finland and Christine Booth of Sheffield Hallam University.

One of the most influential methodologies is the SMART system (Simplified Method to Assess the Relevance of policies to Gender). This was developed in Holland for use in organisations that collected predominantly quantitative data on women and men, BUT whose officers did not have the awareness to assess whether gender was a relevant issue in a particular policy proposal, or whether a piece of quantitative data, was, in fact, gender sensitive from a more qualitative perspective. So it is aimed at policy makers and administrative staff that lack confidence or experience of gender issues but need to be able to make GA decisions.
SMART consists of only 2 questions:
Is the policy proposal directed at one or more target groups?
Are there differences between women and men in the field of the policy proposal?

These questions are asked with reference to rights, resources, positions, representation, values and norms, and therefore can also be asked with reference to benefit from allocation of the resource of land use, accessibility and development within a town planning context. At its simplest sex differences in respect of the composition of target groups are generally a good indicator of gender relevance, for example if large numbers of men, but few women are likely to benefit from a particular resource; or if 'women' are completely absent from the topic agenda then the chances are that the policy needs reconsidering. But the SMART system does not offer policy remedies to make the situation more equal but it does flag up warning signs for senior managers to investigate further. One could imagine such a system operating within a development control situation with negatively gendered proposals being referred to the line manager to rethink or justify the policy in question.

GIA (Gender Impact Assessment) was subsequently developed in Holland, to test ex-ante policy evaluation that is to test policies before implementation. A basic awareness of gender issues is needed to operate GIA. Two factors are identified as central to gender inequality.
- Structures: division of labour between the genders
- Processes: distribution and access to resources, gendered expectations and rules

Two criteria were used to decide whether gender impacts were positive or negative
- Equality in the sense of equal right and/or unequal treatment
- Autonomy over life choices

Christine Booth has been instrumental in transferring GM methods from the EU to the UK, and suggests that, in a nutshell, she bases her training around asking participants (in respect of the gender implications of policy, by asking another 2 key questions:

'Do the policies join up?' (in respect of allowing for gender vis a vis the topic in question)

'Is there integration and diversity?' (i.e. is the policy proposed in tune with gender considerations and does it also fit in with other minority needs?)

All this appears quite complicated but in practice it is more readily applied to planning situations. For example if a transport policy is GIA-ed and shown to benefit primarily male car commuters travelling in the rush hour but ignores the needs of women part-time workers travelling by public transport during the day time then it is flagged up in terms of negatively fulfilling the factors and criteria identified above. Details of SMART and other approaches to GIA are found in Verloo and Roggeband (1996) and Verloo (1998 and 1999) as pioneered in Belgium
and the Netherlands. Subsequent approaches have built further upon these foundations introducing local variations and components. In developing our RTPI Toolkit an attempt has been made to unravel the complexities of GIA and incorporate useful aspects.

In the UK the Women's Unit in the Cabinet Office is carrying out its own case studies and piloting exercises. Like many European documents a GIA methodology is used, based on identifying the following steps:
1. Defining issues, goals and objectives
2. Collecting data and ensuring data sources are fully representative
3. Developing options, and alternatives by means of inclusive participation
4. Communicating the findings and seeking feedback in a way that reaches all
5. Ongoing monitoring and review, which is based on feedback from all groups
6. Further evaluation and modification for the next round of revisions.

The above reflects the classic approach to plan making of SAP (Survey, Analysis and Plan). But in this case gender proofing is aimed at throughout in terms of methodology. Gender impact is assessed at each stage by asking basic questions such as:

- What is the gender make-up of the people affected by the policy?
- Will the policy affect women and men differently?
- Has previous work uncovered gender inequalities or barriers arising?
- What do women's and men's organisations have to say about the objectives and proposals?
- Do the recommended policies benefit or disadvantage women or men to a greater extent?
- What are the positive and negative impacts of the policies proposed?

7.4 Key Components and Checklists that were considered

Whilst there is a great deal of existing EU and UK material on methodology, stages, processes, we were specifically with how gender mainstreaming might be applied to specific, substantive planning policies

7.4.1 In respect of a particular policy the following questions might be asked:
- What is the gender of people affected by the policy?
- Will the policy affect men and women differently?
- Is there any evidence (here or elsewhere) that there are any gender inequalities in this area?
- What do gender groups have to say about this policy?
- Does the policy benefit or disadvantage women or men to a greater extent?
- Who benefits most from this policy?
- Are men or women most prominent in the groups, processes and representatives in this policy?
- What are the positive and negative impacts of this policy?
7.4.2 Likely Range of Policy Making Issues

Consider the existing land use context:
- level of zoning/mixed uses
- distribution, location and diversity of centres
- level of public transport
- level of accessibility
- composition of users/employees
- safety factors
- childcare provision
- social infrastructure
- urban renewal
- urban conservation
- public/private transport
- housing development
- regional strategy
- neighbourhood plans
- public/private initiatives and funding
- planning gain
- sustainability
- accessibility
- urban regeneration etc
- whatever is topical in the LPA in question

In each case consider:
- What are the key policy areas for change?
- What are the implications for women and men?
- Are they different?
- How and Why?

Alternatively consider the effect of GM at the different levels of planning. Consider the policy impacts at the three main levels namely city-wide, district level and local level. The district and local are the most relevant for the LPA.

7.4.3 Development Control

Whilst this was not strictly within the scope of our brief forward planning and development control are directly linked and GM in one would be bound to affect the other as a matter of good practice. So cast a gender lens over:
- staff composition
- numbers of appeals/complaints
- receptionist training
- organisation/style of section
- liaison with forward planning
- links with community
- staff training

All development control decisions eg. crèches, S.106 planning gain

Note: Even ostensibly non-gendered topics may have a gender component!
7.4.4 Public Participation
This became one of the biggest issues as reflected in our final toolkit
The following questions may help planners:
- Is the consultation strategy based on engagement of the whole community?
- Does the strategy make use of existing links with the community?
- Does the consultation strategy employ a broad range of techniques appropriate to the capacities of different groups?
- Does the strategy include a monitoring process and enough time so that under-represented groups can be targeted if necessary?
- How is this being done?
- Can focus groups be used?
- What is the timing and location of the meetings?
- Does this adversely affect women?
- Is there childcare available?
- Can meetings be arranged in places of employment for working women, for example at supermarkets, shopping malls, factories, offices?
- Factors to bear in mind: location, timing, childcare, transport, timescale, payment, style of meeting
- Explanation: Evidence would be required from the local authority in terms of records of meetings held, timing, location, composition of audience, style of meetings. Higher scores would be given to long term capacity building than 'hit and run' exercises.

7.4.5 Institutional Context
Many of the European methodologies include an emphasis upon 'who' is doing the planning, and this seemed a natural progression to incorporate this aspect.
Arguably, it is already covered by generic local authority-wide EO audits, but it takes on more significance if it were also investigated by the planners themselves.

- Who comprises the management team and policy development team on the project?
- What is the percentage of male/female contributors?
- What has been done to increase the representation of women?
- What links are there with other more experienced departments for GA purposes?
- Can you draw on HRM and personnel, BV and Audit sources in the same local authority?
- Is staff training mandatory especially in consultation techniques?

7.4.5 Gender-Specific Data Collection
This issue concerned lpas the most because of the time and resources.
It is important for lpas to ask if your lpa is in a position to:
- Collect gender dis-aggregated statistics and indicators
- Rethink priorities and identify fundamental gaps
- Develop equality 'know-how'
- Develop appropriate tools supported by practical training
- Develop new partnership structures
Monitor progress in achieving objectives
Engage people at all levels in the process to take on the role of change agents

7.4.6 Evaluation using SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats)
Are there equality targets and indicators?
Are they appropriate and met?
What is the current user profile?
How do you know this is representative of the community?
What do you do to ensure that all potential users have equal access to services?
Do you know of any gaps in provision?
How acceptable are services and information?
How do you know?
What are you doing to improve the situation?

7.4.7 A Gender Impact Assessment approach
Is there any evidence of higher or lower participation or uptake by different groups?
Is there any evidence that different groups have different needs, experiences, issues and priorities in relation to the particular main policy area?
Is there an opportunity to promote greater equality of opportunity or good relations by altering policy or working with others in Government or the community at large?
Have consultations with relevant groups, organisations or individuals indicated that particular policies create problems that are specific to them?

Also consider applying the following 'gender audit' to each policy:
Is the policy:
1. Gender positive
2. Gender orientated (has possibilities)
3. Gender Neutral
4. Gender Negative
5. Gender Ignorant?

In parallel consider whether each policy manifests:
1. Gender innocence
2. Gender awareness
3. Gender understanding
4. Gender competence
5. Gender excellence

Minimum Version of Toolkit: In your Lpa:
Who is doing the planning?
Who are perceived to be the planned?
Are the statistics gender dis-aggregated?
How is the policy team chosen and is it representative of men and women?
What are the key values, priorities and objectives of the plan?
Who is consulted and who is involved in participation?
How is it evaluated?
Does Gender auditing reinforce and 'plait with' other key policies? How is the policy implemented, managed, monitored and managed?

The most telling indicator = 'what are the best places, favourite places, nicest urban areas that women like and why?' Think on these things.

This section has sought to give a flavour of the range of checklists and stages we looked at in developing the toolkit which, as can be seen, draws on all these factors but seeks to emphasise the 'stop and think at each stage' iterative approach to the whole exercise.

**Rural Life**

The surroundings may be beautiful, but the realities for many rural women may involve working in the local chicken gutting factory, having one bus a week to the nearest town and no local facilities. Include women's jobs in agricultural and employment policy

![Image](image.jpg)

**Figure 15. Rural area policy needs to be gendered too**

The illustrations that follow give a fuller approach and are available on the accompanying CDROM
The Rocky Road from Women and Planning to Gender Mainstreaming
8. GUIDANCE SLIDES ON THE STAGES

Summary of Key Stages for including Gender in the Planning Process

1. Setting goals and objectives
2. Organising the institutional framework, resources and programme funding
3. Collecting data inclusively
4. Developing policy alternatives
5. Public participation and consultation
6. Evaluating policy alternatives
7. Deciding which policies to adopt
8. Monitoring updating revising
9. Plan implementation and development control

1. Setting out to produce goals and objectives and develop policies for ‘all sorts’ of people.

As a guiding principle in developing goals, objectives and ultimately POLICIES, planners need to ask:

- Is the policy, goal or proposal directed more at women or men?
- Are women or men more likely to benefit from this policy?
2 Setting up the Resources and Programme

- Rethink priorities and identify key gaps
- Develop equality 'know-how'
- Develop tool kits supported by training
- Include social, economic and spatial issues
- Develop new partnership structures
- Monitor progress in achieving objectives
- Engage all sorts of people at all levels in the process to take on the role of change agents

3a Collecting data
Who are the planned seen to be?

Collect data that is divided by gender, if there is not much on women recheck your categories

Disaggregate by gender, race, age, class, disability, area?

Include all types of journeys, all types of activities (not just ‘work’ in traditional sense)
3b Acting on existing data

- 78% of men, and 68% of women of working age are in employment

- That is 13 million men and 11.5 million women

- 65% of women working part-time have children under 5 years of age.

- Does your employment strategy reflect this?

- Does your transport planning allow for off-peak journeys for part-time workers?

A minority?

4a Developing policy alternatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stock take, look at existing policy reviews and initiatives where gender is included, such as Best Value, Benchmarking, LA21 = BUILD ON THESE.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Get training, guidance, support from other departments such as HRM, from CPD, from liaison with other progressive local planning authorities with experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify policy gaps and topics which attract high level of complaints. What is this telling you? What/who is missing?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4b Develop alternatives ‘for all’ ‘in all’ policy areas

The development of policy topic areas can be based upon existing categories such as: Employment, Housing, Tourism, etc, or the more modern, Sustainability, Access, Leisure etc. But consider ‘turning it around’ and structuring the categories around issues identified by ‘the planned’ by both women and men, such as child care, safety, jobs, health, transport, home, and then integrate statutory requirements within this new priority structure. Try this out.

4c Developing policy alternatives

In respect of each policy area, existing and proposed, carry out a SWOT analysis:
• Strengths
• Weaknesses (gaps)
• Opportunities
• Threats
• Consider For whom? In each of the above.

All these steps are killing me too ...
4d Develop policies 'for all' 'in all' topics

The development of policy topic areas can be based upon existing categories such as: Employment, Housing, Tourism, etc, or the more modern, Sustainability, Access, Leisure etc. But consider 'turning it around' and structuring the categories around issues identified by 'the planned' by both women and men, such as child care, safety, jobs, health, transport, home, and then integrate statutory requirements within this new priority structure. Try this out.

5 Public participation: Consider:

• How are the 'consulted' chosen? Gender balance?
• Hit and run or long term gradual process?
• Is there childcare available?
• What time and where can people participate?
• Are there safety and access issues involved?
• Can meetings be arranged in places of work, such as supermarkets, offices, schools?
• Would you consider paying people for their time?
• Do you have focus groups, do their reinforce or cut across stereotypical groups and allegiances?
• Do people have to speak English to participate? And a middle class variety at that?
6a Undertake a Policy Gender Analysis

- For each policy area, consider in relation to women and men (separately) whether there are:
  - Policy benefits for one group rather than another
  - Indirect benefits to specific groups
  - Neutral impacts on men/women of each policy
  - Male/female contrast
  - Groups at risk
  - Missed opportunities
  - Class/gender factors
  - Ethnicity dimensions
  - Disability links

6b Policy Evaluation: Detailed questions

- What is the gender make-up of the people affected by the policy?
- Will the policy affect women and men differently?
- Has previous work uncovered gender inequalities or barriers arising?
- What do women's and men's organisations have to say about the objectives and proposals?
- Do the recommended policies benefit or disadvantage women or men to a greater extent?
- Who ends up with the most resources, advantages, benefits from this policy?
- Are women or men more prominent in the groups, processes, representatives related to this policy? Who are the main decision-makers?
- What are the positive and negative impacts of the policies proposed?
6c 'Equalities Swot Analysis'

Alternative Useful Generic Questions

- Are there targets and equality indicators?
- Are they apt and met?
- What is the user profile?
- Does your policy reflect community composition?
- What do you do to ensure that all potential users have equal access to services?
- Do you know of any gaps in provision?
- How acceptable are services and information?
- What are you doing to improve the situation?
- Can you run these questions over the policies as a double check on gender?

7a. Deciding what policy choices to adopt

This is the most difficult aspect, the 'how to do it' issue. There are several accepted methods, which are summarised below to give individual local authorities a choice, to adopt whichever method is best for them. Each policy or proposal needs to be evaluated as to its likely Gender Impact, and the following list is offered as a basis for 'rating' policy decisions.

1. Equality Positive
2. Equality Orientated (has possibilities)
3. Equality Neutral
4. Equality Negative
5. Equality Ignorant (Missed Opportunity)
7b. Deciding what policy alternatives to adopt

Parallel guidelines have been produced for the National Assembly of Wales on promoting equality of opportunity, which identifies these categories of gender awareness within policy making:

1. Innocence
2. Awareness
3. Understanding
4. Competence
5. Excellence

'Innocence?'

Planning authorities should aim at '5' rather than '1'. For example, business aims, management systems, top level commitment, monitoring procedures, guidance, training, communication and consultation are rated on signs of gender awareness.

8. Monitoring, Updating, Revising

This gender mainstreaming process should go on continuously, and not be a sudden 'hit and run' activity. As time goes by local planning authorities will be build on their existing expertise and improve their approach, and develop stronger links with the community. With time the process will become as normal as environmental assessment, or urban regeneration, hard-wired into the system.
9. Development Control Implications

In the good local planning authority there will already be a direct link between forward planning and development control and therefore gender mainstreaming will flow into dc in parallel. Likely topics to be touched by gender awareness include: staff composition; numbers of appeals/complaints; receptionist training; organisation/style of section; liaison with forward planning; links with community; staff training.

Apply gender lens to:
house extensions
garages, crèches
mini cab firms, hot food
take-aways, B1 uses,
S.106 planning gain
and to the RTPI new vision

10 Likely results of successful gender integration
• Less out of town development
• Provision of local centres, multi-nucleated
• Less zoning
• More walking distance level provision of facilities
• Provision of public toilets, childcare, amenities
• Accessible streets, less pedestrian obstructions
• Higher levels of female employment
• Higher levels of women-headed start-up businesses
• Greater female participation in sport, leisure
• Safer streets especially in the evenings
• More visible elderly and disabled in town centres
• More sustainable development overall
• Better urban design
• More men using public transport
• Improved collection of gendered statistics
• Continuing and improved participation of women in decision-making as officers, councillors and public.
Minimum version of Gender Tool Kit
Ask these questions:
• Who is doing the planning?
• Who are perceived to be the planned?
• How are statistics gathered and who do they include?
• How is the policy team chosen?
• Is the team representative of men and women?
• What are the plan values, priorities, and objectives?
• Who is consulted and involved in participation?
• How is it evaluated? Are focus groups used?
• Does Gender reinforce other key policies?
• Does it create better planning? Less complaints?
• How is the policy implemented, managed, monitored and managed?
9 REFERENCES

ACAS (2002) Equality Direct Initiative see www.equalitydirect.org.uk for complete and updated information on relevant legislation from EU and UK.


Audit Commission (1994) Staying the Course Section J: The Local Environment, paras 3 a and b, London: HMSO.


Booth, C (2001a) Managing Diversity in the Planning Process, Presentation at the Planning Inspectorate (PINS) Training Week, 2.4.01.


Bristol (March 2001) Serving Bristol better. Our Corporate and Best Value Performance Plan 2001-2006, Bristol: Bristol City Council


Cabinet Office (2000) Gender Mainstreaming for Policy-Makers Women and Equality Unit, May 2000, this is a draft document which could be cited but can be read on www.cabinet-office.gov.uk/womens-unit/, check for updates.

References


Dobbie, Sally and Purcell, Kate (2002) Gender Mainstreaming and Policy Practice, Bristol: ESRU, Employment Studies Research Unit, University of West of England. 'A report prepared for Fair Play South West on leading practice in the UK and Europe along with some preliminary conclusions about the tools required to set the gender agenda in the South West. www.uwe.ac.uk/bbs/esru and esru@uwe.ac.uk


DTLR (2002b) Transport Requirements of Minority Ethnic and Faith Communities: Research Findings, London: DTLR (now ODPM, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister) written by Social Research Associates, office@sraltd.co.uk


74
EC (European Commission) (1999) Mainstreaming Equal Opportunities in the Structural Funds: How regions in German, France and the United Kingdom are putting into practice the new approach, produced by Mary Braithwaite, for DG XVI (Regional Policy and Cohesion).


EOC (1997) Mainstreaming Gender Equality in Local Government 'A Framework' and 'Synthesis Report available (free) from, David Perfect at David.Perfect@eoc.org.uk that is from the Equal Opportunities Commission, 0161 838 8312, Arndale House, Arndale Centr, Manchester, M4 3EQ, info@eoc.org.uk

ESRC (1998) ESRC Seminar Series No 1 Gender Mainstreaming (1998-2001) and No 5: The Interface between Public Policy and Gender Equality, Sheffield Hallam University: CRESR (Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research. Contact: Prof Sue Yeandle, Convenor, CRESR, City Campus, Howard Street, Sheffield S1 1WB, 0114 3255 3073 fax 0114 225 2197, and Cinnamon too, see contacts


Fleck, Julie (1998) Designing an Accessible City Written for Corporation of the City of London, found at www.cityoflondon.gov.uk (big download with graphics)
The Rocky Path from Women and Planning to Gender Mainstreaming


MacKay Fiona and Bilton, Kate (2000) Lessons in Mainstreaming Equal opportunities, Edinburgh University, available from Lindsay Adams at EOC at L.Adams@ed.ac.uk.


Mazey, Sonia (2002) Gender Mainstreaming in the EU: Principles and Practice, Oxford University: Hertford College, publication based on ESRC funded project on gender mainstreaming.


MBI (2001b) Diverse Communities: Decent Homes, London: Millennium Britons Institute

Hamilton, Kerry (2000) Public Transport Audit London, Commissioned study for DETR Mobility Unit undertaken by University of East London and available on page: www.uel.ac.uk/womenandtransport and see k.hamilton@uel.ac.uk (for both a short and a long version).


Higgins, M and Davies, L (1996) 'Planning for women: how much has been achieved?' Built Environment, Vol 22, No.1, 32-46.


Horelli, L., Booth, C, and Gilroy, R (1998 and revised edition 2000) The Eurofem Toolkit for Mobilising Women into Local and Regional Development Helsinki: Helsinki University of Technology (HUT). Liisa.Horelli@hut.fi, Senior Research Fellow, HUT, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, Helsinki, also at Hopeasalmentie, 21b, 00570, Helsinki, Finland

Horelli, Liisa (2000) 'Creating the Infrastructure of everyday life in the context of European local and regional development' ESRC Seminar Series No 5: The Interface between Public Policy and Gender Equality, Sheffield Hallam University: CRESR (Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research.


The Rocky Path from Women and Planning to Gender Mainstreaming


Shaw, Hillary (2001) Food deserts hillary shaw, letter in Times Higher, 26.01.01, pp 15, see www.geog.leeds.ac.uk/research/projects/h.shaw.html


Smith, Sue (2000) 'Gender and urban regeneration: Oxfam's Experience of working with others' ESRC Seminar Series No 5: The Interface between Public Policy and Gender Equality, Sheffield Hallam University: CRESR (Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research. also see, 'Links' Oxfam gender newsletter, March 2000, special issue, 'The Essential Link: Mainstreaming Gender = .


TFU (Transport for London) (2002) Street and Social Space Auditing, London: TFL, Street Management at www.streetmanagement.org.uk. Conference presentations, and preparatory toolkits such as May 2002 Street and Social Space Audits Conference, at Institute of Civil Engineers, 3.05.02.


NDP (2000) Gender Equality Unit of the Department of Justice and Law Reform, Republic of Ireland


Reeves, D (1999) Toolkit for Mainstreaming Equal Opportunities in the European Structural Funds programmes in Scotland: Plan Preparation and Implementation, European Policies Research Centre: University of Strathclyde

Reeves, D (2000) 'Mainstreaming Equality to achieve socially sustainable development: an examination of the gender sensitivity of strategic plans in the UK with implications for practice and theory' ESRC Seminar Series No 5: The Interface between Public Policy and Gender Equality, Sheffield Hallam University: CRESR (Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research.


Reeves, (2001 forthcoming) ' Mainstreaming gender equality: an examination of the gender sensitivity of strategic planning in Great Britain' Town Planning Review


Yeandle, S (2000 and 2001) 'Women in Local and Regional Development: Gender Equality Issues in Participation and Consultation', ESRC Seminar Series No 5: The Interface between Public Policy and Gender Equality, Sheffield Hallam University: CRESR (Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research).

YWCA (2001) Young, Urban and Female: Young Women and City Regeneration, London. Also see YWCA's publication Poverty: The Price of Young Motherhood.

WEB PAGES

Also see our Toolkit references in the Final RTPI version

Access mainstreaming: www.cityoflondon.gov.uk


Benchmarking Club see: www.thehousingforum.demon.co.uk


Cabinet Office see: www.womens-unit.gov.uk and see: www.cabinet-office.gov.uk/womens-unit/index.htm

Centre for Accessible Environments see: www.cae.org.uk

Construction Industry Council Diversity Toolkit: www.cic.org.uk; www.rethinkingconstruction.org; www.m4i.org.uk; You can download the whole document pack at www.m4i.org.uk.


DTLR Mobility Unit: www.mobility-unit.dtlr.gov.uk

EOC (Equal Opportunities Commission) www.eoc.org.uk
Section 9: References


UKIID (2001) Annual Report, UK Institute for Inclusive Design, Liz Irwin, Glasgow School of Art, 167, Renfrew Street, Glasgow G3 6RQ.

Verloo, Mieke (1998) SMART: Simplified Method to Assess the Relevance of policies to Gender, Nijmegen: Group of Specialists on Gender Mainstreaming.


WDS (2000b) Housing for Independence: disabled women informing inclusive design principes and policy, London: WDS, incorporates 'housing profiles' (like audits) of various case study examples.


WDS (2001a) Planning for Zero Waster: how women can make a difference, London: WDS.

WDS (2001b) Removing the Goal Posts: Perspectives on Women in Regenderation, Conference, 3.12.01, Sarah Clemens and forthcoming report of the same name by Sarah Clemens, with Somirun Bibi and Rukban Rouf.


Women and Transport www.uel.ac.uk/womenandtransport

Women's Unit www.cabinet-office.gov.uk/womens-unit/2001/htm

WRC (Women's Resources Centre) www.wrc.org.uk

END
Equal Opportunities Commission for Northern Ireland www.equalityni.org

Gender and Urban Planning (genero urban) Spanish European Wide web site, see www.angelfire.com/home/generourban and e-mail generourban-admin@Listas.net

FIG (International Surveyors Federation) Taskforce of Under-represented Groups see http://www.fig.net/figtree/pub/tf/unrep/200101/newsletter200001.htm
http://www.fig.net/figtree/underrep/tfunrep.htm

GLA www.london.gov.uk

GSUG (Gender Statistics Users' Group) see e-mail: gender@ons.gov.uk

ICEFLOE (Fair, Level, Equal Open) Civil Engineers: see: icefloe@ice.org.uk

Irish Republic: www.irlgov.ie/justice/equality/NDP/Gender1.htm

LPAC (London Planning Advisory Committee) see: lpac@lpac.gov.uk

LRN (London Regeneration Network) see The Regenerator: Voice of the London Regeneration Network Newsletter July 2002 special issue dealing with gender mainstreaming, and see e-mail: lrn@lvsc.org.uk

M41 (Movement for Innovation) see: www.m4i.org.uk

Northern Ireland see: e-mail, info.gender2@equalityni.org

OXFAM UK poverty programme and gender mainstreaming, www.oxfam.org.uk and see e-mail: ssmith@oxfam.org.uk

RTPI see: www.rtpi.org.uk and

Scottish Executive www.scotland.gov.uk/government/devolution/meo-00.asp

Scottish parliament: www.wsep.co.uk.

Transport: www.london.gov.uk/strategies/sds/index.htm and www.uel.ac.uk/womenandtransport
e-mail: k.hamilton@uel.ac.uk

Welsh Assembly Equality Unit www.assembly.wales.gov.uk

WDS (Women's Design Service) see: www.wds.org.uk

Women's National Commission www.thewnc.org.uk

83