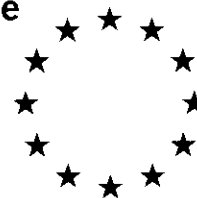


Council of Europe
Conseil de l'Europe



The challenges facing European society with the approach of the year 2000

**Role and representation of women
in urban and regional planning
aiming at sustainable development**

European regional planning, No. 56

The challenges facing European society with the approach of the year 2000

Role and representation of women in urban and regional planning aiming at sustainable development

Reports and conclusions of the colloquy
organised by the Council of Europe
in the framework of the European Conference of Ministers
responsible for Regional Planning (CEMAT),
in collaboration with the Swedish Ministry for Physical Planning

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FOREWORD

The European Conference of Ministers responsible for Regional Planning (CEMAT) met for the first time in 1970, and has since been trying to contribute to the gradual implementation of a European regional planning policy. The European Regional/Spatial Planning Charter adopted in Torremolinos in 1983 defines the major Europe-wide objectives that should underlie policies for regional planning, improvement of the quality of life, and the organisation of human activities in Europe.

The increasing internationalisation of not only the economy but also all the other factors which shape our lives and prepare the lives of the citizens of tomorrow's Europe, is ruling out an exclusively national approach to the problems of regional planning.

At its last session in November 1991, CEMAT adopted a programme of activities directed towards an analysis of long-term trends and developments in terms of policies, economics, ecology, etc. In a constantly, rapidly changing world, forward planning is an absolute necessity for government officials, even if forecasts are sometimes wrong.

Implementation of this programme of activities should help to provide the people and bodies responsible for decision-making with the elements they require to take the right decisions for the future.

The quest for strategies to co-ordinate the various sectoral policies and actions which take into account the rights of future generations and the fact that many of our natural resources are limited and often irreplaceable, is the mainstay of the work of CEMAT and its Committee of Senior Officials, responsible for preparing its work.

The main theme of the 1994 session of CEMAT is: "Strategies for sustainable regional/spatial development in Europe beyond the year 2000"

The colloquy, whose reports are published in this volume, analysed the presence and impact of gender differences in urban and regional/spatial planning, attempting to find common strategies toward a sustainable development for women and men, the elderly and children.

OPENING ADDRESS

by Mrs Görel THURDIN

Swedish Minister for Physical Planning

Dear friends from far and near. I'm so happy to see you all here coming from all over the world to take part in this seminar on sustainable development.

You should be proud of yourself participating in and planning for the future, as planning for sustainable development is one of the most important issues in the world just now.

The way urban and regional areas are planned, built and used, has an impact on our well-being as well as that of our children. The way urban and rural areas are cared for is also of great importance for our confidence in the system we live under. Democracy must work its way through the whole political system.

We know that women in many countries have a weak position in society. Women are still responsible for the family household. This is true also in Sweden, where in many small enterprises the man is responsible for the activities of the business and women take care of the book-keeping. Women are often left alone with the responsibility of caring for the children, the elderly and the ill.

It is sometimes argued that women have special characteristics; developed capacity for simultaneous action, female intuition, better ability to understand the situation of others. I do not want to state that women are better than men, but we are equal in numbers. However, one thing I do believe is that women will plan society in a different manner - a strong reason for listening to us women.

Concern for the global environment must form the basis for national economic policies as well as in international economic and trade policy co-operation. But changes of this kind can only be carried out if people know what is at stake. Education and awareness-building must be given the highest priority and everyone will be given the chance of a safe and healthy home. This is important also for peace. Women should be seen as a driving force for the protection of the environment. The particular role of women is in fact already stressed in the Agenda 21 from the Rio-conference.

This seminar will deal with problems and examples related to how women can contribute to a more sustainable development. We are here not only to formulate the problems but also to suggest both practical and visionary solutions that take into full account the perspectives of women. The solutions we should look for do not always have to be complicated or expensive. If greater efforts are made to study problems from the household perspective, such solutions will be easier to find.

Living in times of changes it is significant that we can count on high ranking participation in this seminar from the services of the Commission of the European Union in Brussels, from the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, from the OECD, from the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements and other organisations that you may be representing. Such networking is a well-known method for us women.

Also the timing for this seminar could not have been better. This year is the centenary of Ornsköldsvik as a city. This year is also the United Nations year of the Family. In the coming years a number of important UN-Conferences will take place in the fields of population and development, women, human settlements and social matters. These Conferences need a woman-perspective.

The seminar in Ornsköldsvik can thus become a very powerful point of reference in a national, regional and global perspective. I congratulate the Council of Europe which was willing to take up the challenges facing society by the turn of the century, paying specific attention to the role and representation of women and I sincerely look forward to what you will report tomorrow at the final session not only in my capacity as a Minister and Member of the Swedish Government but also as a woman. I am an optimist by nature, although I recognise the immense problems ahead of us. Rio opened our eyes for the extreme interdependence of nations. We must now respond accordingly.

I wish you a lot of hard work, substantial discussions and every now and then also pleasant moments of leisure and discovery in this beautiful part of Sweden, dressed-up for you in the colours of emerging spring and of hope.

Please feel at home!

THEME 1

**PARITY DEMOCRACY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPEAN
REGIONAL/SPATIAL PLANNING**

CHAIRMAN: Mrs Maria Regina TAVARES DA SILVA
Member of the Steering Committee for Equality
between women and men (CDEG)
Lisbon

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PARITY DEMOCRACY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPEAN REGIONAL/SPATIAL PLANNING

The necessity for women's participation and commitment in planning and decision-making processes - a European comparison

Dr Dina VAIIOU
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1. Introduction

After two decades of feminist writing on "the urban question" it should be unnecessary to start by underlining the absence of women and gender from the analysis and understanding of urban development. However, understandings of how the urban environment is produced have only marginally been informed by such writing, while urban planning proposals continue to rely on assumptions which marginalise and render invisible the everyday lives and experiences of women in the city. The universal category of "public interest" - one of the cornerstones of planning - has not so far included women in definitions of the "public".

There is by now ample literature to support the idea that women and men have different, though intersecting and sometimes conflicting, patterns of everyday life and modes of integration in the division of labour in society. Men's daily patterns are articulated around paid labour, in workplaces separate from home, and non-working time (leisure or recuperation) around home and in public spaces. Even when this is not the actual reality (eg. at times of unemployment or when men do part of the caring labour for the family), it continues to be a quite clear and compelling representation and an important part of male identities.

Women's patterns of everyday life on the other hand, their use of space and time, are much less clearly defined. Looking after the house and family, doing paid work in a separate workplace or at home, taking children to and from school or after school activities, doing the shopping on the way to or from work, paying bills during work breaks, caring and minding for a family member who happens to be sick - and many other activities - are, as a rule, part of women's experiences. They overlap and transcend the boundaries of dichotomies such as home-workplace, leisure-employment, non work-work, private-public - which inform thinking and proposals about urban development.

The specific content of these experiences differs between places, cultures and social classes or income groups. For example: different traditions of welfare state shift the boundary between what has to be performed within the family, what can be bought in the market and what is part of state provision of services; different traditions of gender divisions of labour determine what is done or provided by women or by men; the content and conditions of paid work are very different for a factory worker or a firm manager; the equipment available in a house may alter the content of domestic chores; family networks may be crucial for day to day survival or less so.

Urban development, and the organisation of space in the city, is a context and an important component of such patterns and, from this perspective, it is crucial in understanding gender divisions in society. Urban space, in its broad definition as part of social relations, affects differently women and men, much as these broad gender categories have to be qualified to take into account differences of place and divisions along the lines of class, race, culture.

The seemingly banal and trivial events of the everyday and the spatial arrangements in which, by definition, they take place are bound into power structures that contribute to reproduce gender relations and create differentiated conditions and opportunities for women and men in the city. But, although many have argued that space is fundamental in any exercise of power, few are prepared to admit that gender power is no exception.

In this context, decisions about the urban environment are important for women in their struggle to contest power relations. But women's involvement has not so far been as important as such an observation might suggest:

- a) women are only marginally present in decision-making and not always aware of gender issues involved in that process.
- b) urban planning is one of the fields where women's concerns have not been taken on board and where knowledge and practice is male-biased while claiming to be general and gender-neutral. It is men's rather than women's activity patterns and priorities which underlie definitions of urban (much as other kinds of) problems or questions, as well as goals and ways of intervention.
- c) women's mobilisations have only indirectly addressed questions of urban development and life in the city, beyond the "claim of the night" campaigns of the 1970s.

In what follows I will briefly examine how these concerns are taken into account (or not) in decisions about the urban environment, based on the findings of a research project in six EC countries: Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, United Kingdom. These are countries with different traditions of welfare, planning systems, gender divisions of labour and patterns of women's mobilisation. In this respect, they present different contexts in which to study the issues in question. My presentation will focus on two privileged domains: Higher Education where "experts" on matters concerning the urban environment are formed, and Public Administration where policy is designed and implemented.

2. Women in figures

In the six countries under study, urban planning in Higher Education is either a separate field of study (F, G, UK) and/or part of departments (or faculties or institutes) or Architecture (all six countries). The close link with architectural education explains, at least in part, the emphasis on physical planning that characterises not only education but also policy making.

The presence of women is around 40% among students (of architecture and planning). The highest percentage was found in Greece (56%) and the lowest in the UK (32%), while in Germany there is a difference between universities and technical colleges (38% vs 40% women respectively) (table 1). These figures are already a major improvement in relation to the past, as is partially reflected in the membership of professional associations: women, there, are less than 20% (again Greece stands out, with women professionals around on third of the membership).

Among teachers, women are clearly in the minority: they do not exceed 25% of teachers with full-time jobs and hardly reach 25% among part-timers. Here again Greece is an exception, with 42% of teachers being women. The picture, however, is everywhere worse if one looks at the higher status posts (professors and tenured contracts). In those cases women are less than 10%, practically meaning one woman (or none) in a department, since professors are not so numerous anyway. The opposite is the case with administrative staff - where women predominate, particularly among typists and librarians (table 1).

The proportion of women teaching urban planning is usually lower than their average presence among teachers. They are more numerous among those teaching social science courses and only marginally represented in courses of economics and technical subjects. Very few departments have so far included in their curricula courses that take an explicit gender-aware (or feminist) approach to the subject matter.

With the exception of the UK and Germany, very few departments have an equal opportunities policy in their recruitment and assessment practices. Reactions of the departments interviewed vary. There is some agreement that the gender balance can be improved, but not that there are inequalities or discrimination against women. No need for positive measures is acknowledged, since only criteria of academic performance must prevail. In any case, such measures are not considered necessary since the presence of women is gradually improving, as past prejudices are overcome and more women qualify in the relevant fields.

Another set of "explanations" for numerical gender imbalances refers to women's "unwillingness" to enter academia, or even to apply for advertised posts. Discrimination, for most academics, encompasses only formal or overt discrimination and not all those indirect or hidden ways of being placed at an inferior position in society. Following many respondents views, since job advertisements are "gender-neutral", it is the responsibility of women to improve the situation.

In Public Administration of all six countries studied, as in the rest of the EC, there is no formal discrimination against women, following adaptation of national legislative frameworks to the Treaty of Rome. However, the presence of women in those parts of Public Administration where decisions about the urban environment are taken is still quite limited (table 2).

In the general figures, employees of all categories and ranks are included and, in that context, the proportion of women ranges between 25 and 56%. But looking at the categories of professional staff, i.e. excluding administrative and secretarial posts where women are the overwhelming majority, the picture is less promising. This is particularly true with high rank posts, with more power of decision. In France, for example, there are less than 2% women "chefs d'équipe" while in Denmark there are 31 women and 121 men in boards set up by the Ministry of Housing; in Greece on the other hand, out of 13 Directors in the Ministry of the Environment, Physical Planning and Public Works 7 are women and out of 32 heads of departments 19 are women.

Here again explanations of gender imbalances revolve around women's lack of commitment to their carriers - which is more important in higher levels of the hierarchy. Women "choose" not to accept posts involving increased responsibilities - and indeed power to decide - because they care more about their private lives and their families. Men on the other hand are more committed to their jobs and can stay longer hours at the workplace.

However, women themselves talk about the lack of support and the dispute of their qualifications, about the need to "moderate their expectations" in order to cope with multiple burdens, about male colleagues concern to establish connections and consolidate their position in the job - all of which point to different sets explanations, far removed from "choice", of the imbalances of numbers.

It is interesting that in countries with different prevailing social attitudes on equality between men and women, different levels of recognition of gender inequalities, different presence of women's mobilisations, very similar attitudes prevail in the field and urban planning remains everywhere a male endeavour. This is the case both in the areas of decision-making within Public Administration and in Higher Education for future planners.

3. The issue of gender

In the different contexts of the countries studied, it would be no exaggeration to argue that gender is not considered relevant or important in questions of urban analysis, housing and planning. In approaches of urban planning as a technical project, focused on infrastructures, gender differences are completely out of the question. But the gender-blindness of much academic debate and professional activity is also deep-rooted in a humanistic tradition of planning. Here differences and inequalities are obscured in the universal category "Man", as a representation of all humans or of the average human being. They are also hidden in a conviction in the possibility of existence of a unique "public interest".

However, the notion of "public interest" has crumbled in the contradictions generated by economic restructuring and by competing interests in the city and conceptions of urban space; the "rational ordering of space" has quite often remained on paper and, at worst, has contributed to increase inequalities among parts of urban areas and social groups. In the emerging New Europe, earlier goals and priorities to control and forecast have been replaced by an emphasis on attracting, encouraging, facilitating and, if possible, orienting investment to particular places.

Despite such very fundamental changes, planning education still adheres, to a great extent, to its "modern" past, while the content and goals of planning are ever more defined by the market and remain insensitive to gender differences. In this context, responses to interviews

from different countries converge on a number of issues, which render women and gender invisible - a secondary concern, if it becomes a concern at all.

- a) The omnipresent "Man" is thought to be gender-less. His everyday life patterns are, implicitly or explicitly, define the norm, and his needs are taken to account for both men and women.
- b) Not only is it believed that there can be one "public interest" common to women and men, white and black people, employers and workers, but also that planners can in fact identify it and plan for it - for an almost undifferentiated set of "human needs".
- c) No gender difference is examined in issues like violence, safety, security, access to and control of public space, even though they definitely affect in very different ways women's and men's everyday lives and to the city.

The multiplicity of, and differences among, groups of humans - in terms of class, culture, ethnicity, gender - which result in different organisation of everyday time and space, and therefore define different needs, are thus rarely taken on board. When differences are analyzed, it is more likely that age (children and elderly people) or bodily ability (disabled people) become a special concern in teaching or planning proposals. Or, as part of a left wing tradition of thinking about the city and the production of urban space, divisions along the lines of social class are studied, but not gender inequalities.

In the case of responses from Denmark, the general feeling is that "these issues have been dealt with very much" and that an adequate level of equality has been achieved in society - which justifies an approach in terms of "human needs" and not gendered needs. However, it is also admitted that women have to be much better everywhere to obtain the same as men, and also that change is slow and different roles still exist in practice.

In the German case, there are marked differences in the responses of men and those of women, in terms of the relevance of gender in teaching and planning practice. This is also the case with interviews from Greece; in this case reservations are expressed, even by women, that emphasising gender differences may lead to approaching women as "disabled people". Most respondents from Belgium and France recognise the importance of gender but believe that this is secondary to other, more important or general issues and cannot form part of a first set of priorities, either in teaching or in the profession.

4. By way of a conclusion

The picture that emerges from this brief discussion is far from encouraging, both in terms of women's participation in decision-making and in terms of how gender informs the content of curricula and policies about the urban environment. It is true that the centralised workings of public administration do not provide a positive framework for women's participation and discourage the introduction of "novel" issues and perspectives. In cases where decisions about the urban environment are taken in a more decentralised context, women tend to participate more actively. The difficulties are no lesser in higher education with its long established tradition of male authority and the legacy of men being both the subject and the object of scientific enquiry and teaching. Areas of intervention are therefore manyfold, at the level of institutions, as well as at the level of self-organising and action.

a. Acknowledging women

With formal discrimination being effectively abolished, the difficult part remains of how to get the message through. In a more immediate and short-term perspective, revising hiring and firing policies, promotion strategies and divisions of power would help women have a fairer share in public administration and in the universities, as in every workplace. Despite the controversies around "equality", such practices have a part to play in making the issue formal and gender divisions visible.

Equality here is not linked to some notion of a unique, universal "Woman" being made equal to "Man". It is rather meant to underline the need to acknowledge, value and respect women's diverse histories, experiences and prospects which are different from, but no less important than, men's. To this end institutional intervention will have little chance to be effective (or even to start in the first place) if it is not promoted and fought for by women's campaigns and networking. Existing initiatives need to be re-activated, expanded, systematically linked to others in order to broaden their scope and potential. And this requires not only to implicate women, but also to commit resources that will ensure their survival.

b. Women and gender in policy-making

At lower levels of the planning process and within smaller spatial units (eg. local government, neighbourhood, housing development) it seems that women have better opportunities to develop alternative proposals and policy processes, both as experts and as users. At those levels it may be possible to work out principles that would inform urban policy. Such alternatives may help, in the short and medium term, reduce barriers to women's activity patterns and increase choices and opportunities. They may also involve women in urban problems: in what gets defined as a problem as well as in the directions in which solutions are to be sought. Along these lines of raising awareness, gender may, in the long run, inform policy in more fundamental ways.

c. Permeating academia

In this domain, a long way has to be transverse so that women become visible and gender divisions an issue in theory making and in teaching. Raising awareness - to a greater or lesser degree in each country and institution - seems a necessary first step, both among women and among men. To this end a lot of effort has to be committed: to re-discover women's histories in the making of cities, to expose the gender bias of "neutral" categories, to prepare relevant material for students and teachers to extend and consolidate networks, to present research proposals and results. Through combined efforts to empower women in academia and permeate the content of teaching, the interrelations between socially constructed gender relations and socially constructed environments may eventually emerge from the shadows.

Much of the effort required for changes to be achieved depends on women's own organising and gradual building up of more permanent mechanisms of representing their distinct voices and perspectives. For, no achievement is permanent and every change has to be continuously renegotiated and reformulated. This is probably the greatest stake in the changing conjunctures of a unifying Europe.

Table 1. Gender composition in Departments of Architecture and Planning

	B	D	DK	F	GR	UK
Number of departments	16	58	2	24	2	52
Departments interviewed	6	19	2	7	2	11
Percentage of women:						
Students	43	38/40*	49	41	56	32
Teachers	19	25/11*	18	12	42	17
Administr.	...	67	74	67	95	85
Courses on gender	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
EO policy	N	Y	N	N	N	Y

B: Belgium; D: Germany; DK: Denmark; F: France; GR: Greece; UK: United Kingdom
 * universities/technical colleges

Source: Habitat et Participation (1993)

Table 2: Women in Public Administration

Type of institution	B	DK	F	GR	UK
	Ministère de la Région wallonne	Ministry of Housing	Ministère de l'Équipement	Ministry of the Environment, Planning and Public Works	Local Authorities
Percentage of women:					
. in total	35	56	25	53*	38
. in top rank	23**	25	22**	54	9
EO Policy	N	Equality board	N	N	EO officer

* only scientific staff

** category A ou I

Source: Habitat et Participation (1993)

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PARITY DEMOCRACY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPEAN REGIONAL/SPATIAL PLANNING

**Particular features of the femine population's structure in Romania
Important factor for setting priorities of action in spatial planning**

**Mrs Narciza NICA
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INTRODUCTION

The subject of this meeting is the expression of an attempt to adopt a more subtle approach to the problems of territorial development, which lie at the heart of solutions to basic issues affecting society.

In the aftermath of the collapse of communism, Romania, like other East-European countries, is having to come to terms with changes in her economic and social fabric. The speed of such change has tended to undermine any thinking in the longer term. Regional planning is, however, a pre-eminently forward-looking activity, which is why regional policy concerns are today isolated and far-removed from the political context in which macro-economic considerations and economic survival hold sway. Yet research in the field of regional planning is one step ahead of the concerns of decision-makers.

The subject of today's meeting has given to those of us who are engaged in scientific research a welcome opportunity to reflect on how regional development strategies can take into account the present and future problems of a sub-population representing more than half the entire population of the country.

We might consider the subject proposed as a specific aspect of one of the aims of regional planning, as defined by experts in the Council of Europe, namely to regulate land-use by man and for man- but in our case by women and for women. We are therefore being asked to debate the role of women from a two-fold perspective, as being both involved in and affected by regional policy.

With regard to women's active involvement, as my presence here testifies, there is nothing new or unusual about women actively shaping regional policy in Romania. The different bodies that deal with regional planning issues include many women with specialist knowledge of various fields, such as architecture, economics, sociology, geography and scientific subjects. They are involved in research, in decision-making at local or national level and in higher education, training senior regional planning officers. The Romanian approach to regional planning, one might say, has been shaped as much by women as by men. It is for that reason that we believe the need at present is not only to give encouragement to the more differentiated views of women, but more importantly to attract a greater number of specialists from the social sciences- demographers, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists. Until recently the involvement of such specialists has been only marginal as higher education was dispensed with several years ago. It was re-instated after 1989, and it is hoped that some of the new specialists who will have completed their training in two to three years time will opt for regional planning. Through their presence and their work they can give it a truly democratic stamp and enable us to consult and enhance our knowledge of the different categories of the population- since such a preoccupation was virtually unknown in regional planning in Romania until now.

The subject of the present seminar is highly interesting and relevant, given the specific problems experienced by women in relation to regional planning.

Our approach to the problem should be based on the fact that population is the key factor in sustainable development. It is the bench-mark of development.

The female population is an important part of the population of every country, not only in terms of numbers, but also in terms of the particular socio-economic role women play. The way in which women fulfil their reproductive role, their socio-educational role and their economic role will to a large extent determine the future of a society. It is for that reason that the contribution of the female population has to be seen in the context of every country's need for balance and stability.

General outline

The female population of Romania is having to shoulder the burdens of the past- economic and social structures afflicted by the excesses of policies of industrialisation and collective farming, under-developed infrastructure, poor services and amenities in urban areas and a worrying decline in the population of certain rural areas. This is particularly the case in low-lying areas where collective farming has given rise to a mass exodus towards the towns and cities, and in mountain regions lacking in infrastructure and facilities.

Romania is one of the countries where the relationship between development and the environment is far from harmonious, with excessive levels of pollution in some towns and industrial areas and an average life -expectancy some 10-12 yrs less than the national average, which is itself low.

An understanding of this negative state of affairs should enable us to muster the political determination required to steer the country towards sustainable development. Rehabilitation of the urban environment, revitalisation of certain rural areas and the restoring of natural beauty spots will be given priority.

The female population issue

Attempts to steer the female population issue in the direction of sustainable development must be based on three principles: the respect of women's rights to live and work in an appropriate environment, the guarantee of territorial justice to enable all women to benefit from decent living and working conditions and the creation of conditions for women to exercise their right of self-determination.

From a theoretical point of view, this approach is not entirely new to regional planning in Romania, given that the well-being of the people was always declared to be the basic aim of development by communist propaganda. Saying and doing, however, have always been two separate things and thus theoretically we are now able to restore real meaning to concepts that had been distorted for more than 45 yrs.

From a practical point of view, women are now awaiting the advent of social justice following the many assaults made upon them in recent history, and brought about by an indirect system of coercion:

- . when great numbers of poorly-paid workers were required women were forced to leave their homes and join the workforce;
- . with the exaggerated growth of industry, women (mostly peasant women) were recruited to work in difficult jobs;
- . when it was deemed necessary to increase the population women were obliged, often on the basis of humiliating decisions, to give birth to more children.

The new approach to territorial development must be a multi-dimensional one if we are to correct the condition of women.

Action will be required at national level with regard to questions of a general nature, and at regional level with regard to matters of concern to the population of certain areas only.

Issues of specific interest to women, at whatever level they are dealt with, will have an impact on regional policy, in particular with regard to demography, employment and the quality of life.

Demographic aspects

The female population of Romania numbered some 11.5 million in July 1993, accounting for 51% of the total population. In terms of the female population growth curve, 1990 represents a drop and the start of a downward trend.

If, in certain countries, sustainable development is considered at risk due to the growth rate of the overall population, in Romania it is the sustainable increase in population which is at risk. A population which suddenly begins to decline can bring a country's development to the brink of collapse as a result of subsequent functional imbalances. Such decline is all the more worrying when it is the result of economic causes, as is the case in Romania.

Of course, the direct cause of the population decline is the re-instatement, as of 1989, of women's right to decide for themselves the size of their families. The 1966 Anti-Abortion Act was declared null and void, and in the course of the last four years the number of abortions has outweighed the number of births.

But women do not enjoy the real freedom to choose the size of their families. Most of them are forced to limit the number of births because of economic and social hardship, and have little recourse to modern methods of family planning. Major educational efforts are required if women are to understand and accept a reasonable degree of birth control.

If the present trend continues we will be faced with a rapid ageing of the female population solely by virtue of the drop in the birth rate and the high level of infant mortality (24%). The general death rate has continued to increase in recent years.

To redress the situation, a population policy is required that ties in with other economic and social programmes in areas such as education, health and child welfare- still not very developed in Romania.

What is more serious than the population decline itself, however, is its unequal distribution. In some, mostly rural, regions the decline is dramatic and of long standing. The proportion of women in the population in these generally mountainous regions is now lower than that of men, with structural imbalances already proving irreversible in some areas. Allowing such situations to continue creates regional distortions, thus encouraging emigration towards other regions.

The age structure of the female population is older than that of the male population, with women over 60 yrs representing 18.6% of the population, as against 16% for men. The greater proportion of older women is due to the fact that they live longer. (The average life-expectancy of women is approximately 7 yrs higher than that of men - 73.2 yrs compared with 66.5 yrs.) As a result, women make up more than 60% of the population in the over 70's age-group, of whom 75% live alone (single, widowed or divorced).

This predominance of elderly women, many of whom live alone, necessitates growing concern in a society that is called upon to afford them special protection. For the time being, that involves the granting of a pension and certain easy terms of payment only. Special health service and supply networks for the elderly are urgently required. If a link could be established between the loneliness of many elderly women and the large number of orphaned or handicapped children it would be a most positive step. A structure or framework is required that would enable elderly women to play an educational and affective role as "grandmothers" to abandoned children.

Special attention needs to be paid to rural areas, where a quarter of the women now living there are over 60 yrs. In de-populated areas they represent more than a third. Their health needs will rise steadily and require a real increase in both the health-care network and health-care staff.

The spatial distribution of the female population, largely the result of powerful state intervention in recent decades, is of interest for regional and sectoral policies alike.

The considerable expansion of industry in urban areas, and mandatory collective farming in lowland and low-lying hill areas have transformed the demographic map of Romania. The rural population, which predominated in 1945, with 77% of the total population, is now a minority, representing only 45% of today's population.

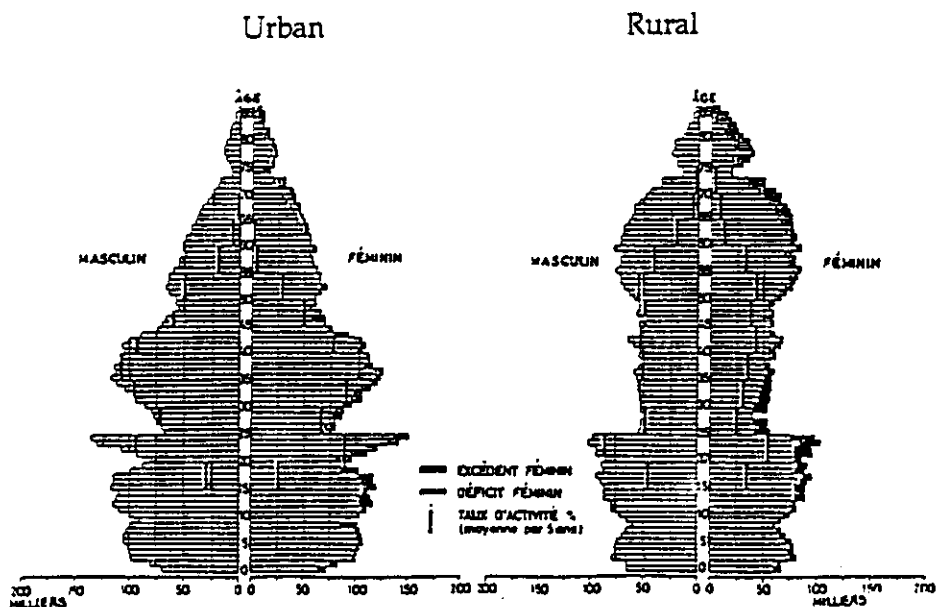
It is in the urban areas, and particularly the larger cities, that population numbers have swollen significantly. In the rural regions to the north-east of the country, overpopulated in terms of their employment potential, there has been a powerful drain towards the more developed industrial regions of the south, center and south-west.

Population movements of the past have led to an unsatisfactory spatial distribution, with distortions of population structure per sex and age-group as a result of the selective depopulation of rural regions and migration which has been channelled towards a handful of urban centers.

Women, more mobile than men, are involved to a greater extent in migratory movements. The percentage of women living in towns today, but who were born elsewhere (particularly in rural regions), is higher than that relating to men.

The situation in Romania is unlike that known in other countries, where emigration has led to an over-representation of women in the young rural population. In the course of the last twenty years the Romanian countryside has seen the emergence of a surprising and significant shortfall in the number of persons of the female sex aged between 15-40 yrs. On the other hand, women in this age-group are over-represented in urban areas. This distortion in distribution by area of residence, sex and age can be seen on the population pyramid below.

STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION OF ROMANIA BY SEX, AGE - 1992



The implications of this for society are considerable as they touch upon matters such as nuptiality, population replacement, women's employment and requirements for specific services.

The process of feminisation of the urban population is spreading to the majority of towns, with the highest number of women to be found in those with more than 100,000 inhabitants. It is here, attracted by industrial activities accessible to women and a more advanced tertiary sector, that the greatest number of women are to be found. Small-scale towns with a non-differentiated or mono-industrial economic profile have not attracted women in large numbers and they represent only 47 to 48% of the population.

This geographical population distribution imbalance has emerged in spite of past efforts to channel movements of the population, which proves the ineffectiveness of centralised administrative measures. We urgently require a system of economic and social incentives if we are to influence people to settle in certain towns.

The aspirations and needs of women who have chosen to live in urban areas have been met only partly, as a result of problems in the field of housing and services.

Whether living in urban concentrations of 5,000, 50,000 or 250,000 inhabitants, the urban fabric of women's lives is one of considerable degradation, their material circumstances will therefore vary little. However, in major urban conurbations getting in touch with nature is harder, and the degree of pollution much greater, which is why enhancing the attractiveness of small towns in the eyes of women would be a worthwhile aim of sustainable development. Living conditions can be more easily and quickly improved here than is the case in large towns where facilities are lacking. One positive consequence would be better balanced territorial structures.

In the present economic and social circumstances, it is also very important that rural areas be put back on an even keel and farm-holdings given new life. The female population could hold the key to such regions thanks to their presence in large numbers in the 10-25 yr age-group. If favourable conditions can be created so that this reproduction potential remains in the rural areas we can hope for a rejuvenation and revitalisation from within. Detailed economic, infrastructure and capital expenditure programmes are required, as well as educational and vocational training which is tailored to meet local needs. Differentiated policies will be devised, and the regions hardest hit by the crisis will receive priority.

The labour market

At approximately 40%, the number of women in gainful employment in Romania is one of the highest in Europe. This figure was higher a few years ago. Women make up roughly half the working population (45%), and their very considerable economic potential lies not only in their numbers, but also in their structural characteristics, including level of education, qualifications, field of activity and particularly distribution across the national territory. Two factors have determined the presence of large numbers of women of all ages on the labour market. On the one hand, ideological propaganda relating to women's emancipation, and on the other, economic hardship which forced women to take up employment in order to supplement their husbands' wages.

There are considerable differences in the employment potential characteristics of urban and rural regions and areas which are of importance locally or regionally. The urban working population is young (one third are less than 30 yrs), with a high level of education and varied qualifications, whilst the rural working population is elderly (approximately half are over 50 yrs), has a low level of education and mainly agricultural qualifications. This kind of information is of great value when considering regional or sectoral policy measures, which must be based on an understanding of the potential of any given region. Any development of new and competitive economic activities has to take into account the level of education and qualifications of the female working population, which is higher than that of the male population (40% of working women have a secondary-school and higher education background, compared with 33% of working men).

The distribution of the female working population according to branches of industry may serve as a regulatory outlet for the restructuring or conversion of the economy. In Romania, women are to be found in the most difficult and varied sectors, such as the extractive industry for example, ranging from coal mining to the mining and processing of ferrous, non-ferrous and even radio-active ores, they are employed in the processing of nuclear fuel and in the rubber industry. 4% of all working women are employed in these sectors.

The climate is a propitious one for discouraging the development of industry, whose dimensions, structures, underlying technologies and requirements are all a measure of existing resources. The time has come to start thinking about sustainable development.

If efforts to convert certain regions, under the motto "manpower redistribution", take precedence over a reduction in the number of jobs considered harmful for women, then any redistribution or conversion of the labour force must give pride of place to the protection of the professional status of categories of workers. We must also consider the reasons which have led many women to take up employment and work outside the home. It would be interesting to discover whether it would be more economical to pay benefits to unemployed women (who represent 60% of the unemployed at present) or whether the necessary conditions should not be created to increase the income of their spouses.

In the context of the redistribution of the female workforce we shouldn't forget the development of the tertiary sector which, in Romania like in other East-European countries, is very under-developed. The growth of this sector, which is essential in Romania's present circumstances, is of importance to women for two obvious reasons.

Firstly, the tertiary sector can absorb a large part of the female workforce made redundant in other branches of activity, thus harnessing women's intellectual and professional potential. This is particularly true of tourism in a country with large areas that are considered tourist attractions - vast mountain reaches, the Black Sea coastal district, the many localities of historical interest as well as sea-side resorts and areas with special climatic conditions.

And secondly, the development of services, much needed in the lives of women, would compensate for the absence of any protection in the past. Poor health-care, educational, domestic help and other complementary services have imprisoned women within the family - a latter-day form of "slavery" which has considerably reduced the quality of their contribution to society. In every area of the country, large or small, urban or rural, it is possible for the female population to contribute to the development of the tertiary sector.

Social aspects

The Torremolinos Charter stresses the necessity of seeking, through regional planning action, to meet the needs of different sectors of the population. The female population is the most numerous and, given its particular features, the most important. The female population issue should therefore be seen from the perspective of one of the fundamental aims of regional planning, namely that of improving the quality of life. This has not been a genuine concern of those who shape the context within which people lead their lives, which is why any new approach must include social development programmes to enhance the status of women and their many roles within society.

Women as mothers. The reproductive behaviour of the Romanian female population belongs to the demographic model of South-East Europe, with a traditionally high level of fertility. Local development policies should therefore include a series of measures to support and even encourage women in their choice of motherhood. In rural areas mother and child welfare services are very important in imparting information to future mothers on health-care and child-rearing, in order to reduce infant mortality, which in these areas is the highest in Europe.

Women as members of the workforce. Women's presence on the labour market is greatest in the 25-40 age-group at a time when nuptiality and fertility are at their highest. To enable women to fulfil these two important roles -workers and mothers - child-care and educational services must be reorganised. The sudden drop in fertility in the last four years may be considered a reaction on the part of potential mothers to the institutional chaos of child welfare services.

This question is most important in urban conurbations where the number of women in employment is 87%. In rural areas that figure is below 70%. In the future we will have to consider providing similar services to rural areas if we wish to bring about the rejuvenation of the population.

In recent decades Romanian women have made considerable progress in terms of social and professional mobility. The housewife has joined the labour force and women previously in farming have become white or blue-collar workers. Female mobility and society's adjustment to the new situation created are things we must monitor in the future.

Women as housewives. In a society where most housework is done by women, improvements in public amenities should aim at alleviating the burden on housewives.

We are now realizing the need to develop a wide range of services in support of work done in the home - an area completely overlooked in Romania until now. This assistance will enable women to assert themselves in a way which is compatible with their talents and aspirations.

There is, however, little likelihood that the aims listed above can be met through regional policies in the short term. We do not have the specific tools required at the moment to foster the development of sensitive regions, and local authorities do not yet dispose over the necessary budgetary resources because of delays in enacting legislation.

PARITY DEMOCRACY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPEAN REGIONAL/SPATIAL PLANNING

Market transition - a chance or a threat to Bulgarian planning in a gender perspective

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1. PHILOSOPHY OF THE PLANNING PROCESS

1.1. Nature of the Process

On the wave of self-doubt which has gripped the West-European countries that they can not master the challenges of the economic changes, the East-European countries are involved in a new way of life offering a salvation from the continuous silent inactivity, by returning dignity and self-respect as basic values of democracy.

Transition from authoritarian to coordinated planning as a complex process lays in the base on the Actual Bulgarian Reform.

While the first type was entirely provided by governmental means, the second type is possible only through coordinated investments of state and the arising private sector.

Processes of regional planning at the present stage are passing from static to dynamic form of development, guaranteeing the realization of two basic human rights; the right of a well established territory and harmonically built up environment and the right of ownership.

1.2. Aims of the Process

The aims facing regional planning during the transition period include:

1.2.1. Optimal establishment of interrelation between state and market structures, in order to approach the problems simultaneously both "from above", for which there is theoretical readiness and understanding and from "below" for which the local authorities must undertake now new responsibilities and obligations.

1.2.2. Elimination of the excessive centralization, absolutizing norms, standards and directness - causes of the existing regional disproportions.

1.2.3. Application of an ecological approach to regional planning, creating conditions for a balanced and stable development, instead of momentary and palliative solution of the problems.

1.2.4. Use of objective prospect and efficient criteria in planning regional infrastructure.

1.2.5. Redirection of priorities from the social to the economical sphere, which means to substitute the former "equalizing" measures by "stimulating private business" measures which are now the basic motive power in the communities.

1.2.6. Focus on the practical problems of our country, concerning agricultural regions, and recreation, tourism, ecology, and resources preservation.

1.2.7. Side by side with local problems, an attention is paid to integration processes with Europe and the World.

1.2.8. According to the Declaration of Interconnection in Building up the Reliable Future, adopted at IUA (International Union of Architects) in Chicago, 1992, the environment designed and created by man remains the basic wealth on the planet, as it can also be a striking factor to the future life. Therefore the processes of territorial planning require responsibility and balance of the interests.

2. ACTUAL CONTEXT

2.1. Subjective Compounds

2.1.1. Population structure according to age and gender

Bulgarian population includes 8 989 165 inhabitants of relatively homogeneous ethnic composition. Women represent a little above half of the population.

2.1.2. Demographic features

Mortality is growing up by 0,1 points in the active age groups. Life expectancy decreases remaining 5 - 7 years lower in both sexes compared to the developed European countries. Live births remain low. As a result natural growth is falling down dramatically.

2.1.3. Health condition

Health both for men and women is worsening, especially in respect to cardiovascular diseases, causing 22% of death cases and 70% of the stable invalidity.

2.1.4. Professional occupancy and unemployment

From a complete engagement of Bulgarian able-bodied population in 1987, now there are 600 000 officially registered unemployed, as 120 000 of them are specialists of higher qualification.

According to the branch professional engagement, the data demonstrate the presence of technical unemployment, where the women have a high share.

Differing from the inflation, which concerns all layers of society, the unemployment is unequal in gender perspective, including time.

2.2. Objective Compounds

2.2.1. Economic crisis

The country is in a period of a deep economic crisis, manifested by an industry collapse (reduced by 22% in 1990), a high inflation index, restricted construction activities, a lack of investments, and a speculative increase in the prices of building sites. This condition is highly hindering the planning of the build environment.

2.2.2. Restitution

Returning private property in towns and outside them stimulates development, by creating many new problems as well. Restitution puts under doubt the realization of large scale public buildings, because nowadays it is not possible to municipalities to expropriate, but only purchasing from the owners at market prices.

2.2.3. Privatization

Privatization process practically follows the restitution and is leading to establishment of private ownership. It begins to influence favourably the urban areas, animating the settlements with various and useful human activities. Of course, this does not always happen in the most aesthetic and preferable by the architects manner.

3. URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD IN GENDER PERSPECTIVE

3.1. Planning during the Transition

The last four years moved us away from the idealistic past, and the temptations for ideological modelling the approaches of regional and urban planning.

The political processes flowing in complexity, delay obviously the economical initiatives in planning. We are lacking basic structures of market economy. Commodity, capital, and partly labour market are still absent.

There are no visions about territorial size, scope and scale of the regional structures. The management mechanisms in market conditions are not well developed.

The formal regional structures (the municipalities) and the informal (the Black Sea coast, the Danube coast, mountain and semi-mountain regions, territories around the towns) have to be structured, localized and specialized in a new way.

A non-manifested but potentially existing problem are the dangers due to political urban games which can dominate the professional ones, where favourable conditions are presented. Therefore an especially important problem now is to prevent corruption from becoming the main feature of planning during the transition period.

3.2. Women in Planning

3.2.1. Planning participants

Typical for the Balkan region, orthodoxly concerning professional partnership puts a number of doubts in respect to gender equality in the architectural association. This conclusion is valid to a greater degree now when work is decreasing.

The participants in the actual planning processes can be divided conditionally into three groups:

- Most sizeable is the group of non-professionals the so called client. In the transition period, these participants, by applying former stereotypes, often put a sign of equality between planning and state authority.

Planning in democratic societies, to which we are striving, has probably a more sophisticated and sensitive approach to the needs of the client according to the gender.

- The application of gender approach is also substantial for the second group of participants, the professionals.

Men professionals have to overcome their feeling of tutorship and excessive will for management. By evaluating the possibilities of discharging some professional duties, they could share responsibilities with their women colleagues.

The professional skills of the staff, mainly at local level, are not sufficiently high and do not correspond to the functions which they carry out.

The problems of planning science are also to put on the date in the period of transition. Freed of its ideological roots, it is searching its identity. Scientific activities in Bulgaria are represented by well known lecturers and serious scientists, a big number of which are women.

Yet we do not definitely have a female lobby in scientific and lecturers circles.

Interest in collaboration with feminist movements and formations is poorly manifested. Interrelations between the Union of Architects in Bulgaria and the International Union of Women - Architects are episodic.

- The third participant, the subject of local and state management, has not yet imposed the dialogue as a democratic means in solving the problems.

Such a method is not cultivated by the former state system. Therefore a serious work is forward for its mastering and application.

Women, specialists of high education, represent a considerable share of the intelligentsia in the country as a result of the priorities of the former authorities.

Under the pressure of the actual economic and social situation, this index is continuously decreasing.

3.2.2. Dynamics in education and interest paid to the architectural profession

During the period of the Second World War and afterwards, women architects are by 50% less than the men.

An explosion of students in architecture is observed, in the 60-ies caused by the building uplift in the country. Then the number of graduated specialists is increasing four times.

The 70-ies are referring to the stabilization of the totalitarian regime, relying on women professional potential. The volume of graduated and the gender ratio however is near to the pre-war years.

During the 80-ies, a new wave of interest in the profession followed during which women are by 30% more than men, those facts illustrate clearly the typical phenomena for socialist countries the feminization of some professions.

Immediately before the democratic changes in the 90-ies, interest in architectural profession in both sexes began to drop down strongly. This withdrawal is especially underlined in men. A close data analysis of occupancy according to sex in 1989 proves categorically the presence of "female" unemployment in Bulgaria. This is valid especially among specialists of higher education above 30 years of age, which are 26,2% of all registered unemployed.

3.2.3. Professional occupancy and unemployment among women-architects

The growing professional and family obligation, the economic difficulties which we suffer lead to a continuous decrease of the living standard concerning strongly the women professionals. They can not afford the luxury to stay at home voluntarily. So they face double difficulties. On the one hand to find and keep their job, and on the other hand to fulfil their family and life's obligations.

While planning proceeds to be state activity, in designing of specific projects there are certain number of women working privately. They are seldom employers (only 5,5% of the private companies in our country belong to women). In most of the cases they are self-employed.

3.2.4. Realization of women-architects in the private sector

The newly build private sector in architectural profession puts higher requirements in respect to loading, and therefore men are preferable because of the traditional obligations of women to bear and bring up children and the related long absence from working place. Also higher professional skills, including computer competence and management, which women often do not possess are requested by private companies.

The presence of women architects is very poor in executive bodies and decision making organs.

Considering the models of behaviour established, the Bulgarian women architects are less inclined than men to risk.

Thanks to their acknowledged professional qualities, they are permanently present at the labour market, although also employed mainly on executive duties, in contrast to men who are preferable as leaders of designing and building companies.

3.2.5. Rights of women-architects

The mission of women architects during the transitional period includes:

- Defending the right of a free choice for developing their socially useful activity and its worldly aims;
- Undertaking responsibility as a duty and vocation for overcoming the crisis phenomena in the transition period and development of democratic processes;
- Accepting equality as a final abolishment of discriminations providing an adequate women manifestation at all levels in the architectural practice;
- Affirming morality and ethics in architectural profession as a non-transitional virtue of the Bulgarian woman.

Under the former government the presence of women architects at leading posts was the result of the application of the ideological principle of quotas.

The example of the Scandinavian countries, shows that this principle still represents an effective way for increasing the influence of women architects.

Till recently, women professionals used some privileges as leaves in case of birth and raising children, earlier retirement, etc.

Under market conditions, especially in the private sector, these gains are tacitly abolished. During the transition period, women professionals remain more and more worried to preserve their rights.

Analyses show that the interests of women architects do not always coincide with those of men and therefore they need to be protected in a different way.

Women architects have stereotypes set by biology, helping them namely in this profession. In fact, processes of designing are offer relied with those of conception, pregnancy and birth. Is there anybody else who knows this better than the woman?

Some call planning the process of compromises between participating objective and subjective establishments.

Is there anybody who knows better the art of compromising than the married woman? Women to a higher extent than men manifest interest in the global problems of ecology in planning of environment, and they have the will and patience to fight for their solution.

4. PLANNING STRATEGIES IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD

The realization of women architects demands the creation of organizational, institutional and juridical conditions to permit them to cope with professional and personal obligations.

The actual strategy, for economical and social women protection in market economy conditions, includes complete observance of the Convention of the United Nation for liquidation the discrimination of women and children.

- The professional training and retraining of women must encourage their economic initiative and enterprise.
- An improvement of the prospects of successive realization of women in the fields of training and scientific researches is needed. For this purpose, the authority must be strengthening the positions of women as experts, lecturers and scientific researchers.
- Women architects have to be presented on large scale in public and governmental structures on all levels.
- A limitation of unemployment and removal of all obstacles for professional occupancy of women is requested.
- Women architects must be encouraged in business by developing their self-confidence and independence.
- The interest of women architects in the traditional fields for professional manifestation as health care buildings, housing, schools, kinder gardens must be sustained.
- Parallely a direct involvement of women architects in energy effective design, management of ecosystems and other fields looking to overcome the degradation of environment needs to be researched.
- An encouragement of women architects economics and management building businesses is desirable.

5. CHALLENGES OF THE TRANSITION

The basic challenge nowadays is the necessity to re-define the system of economic, social, and political aims of Bulgaria regional and urban planning in the spirit of the stable development. As a complex economical and ecological approach, this concept must influence definitely the decisions taking.

The actual ecological conscience of our people is still not able to respond to the challenges due to the difficult economical and financial situation of the country.

Unfortunately, even some professionals share the idea that economical stimulation is necessary now, and ecological development must wait till our society can permit itself the expenses required.

The lack of co-ordination between the economic and the ecological approach to regional planning is a very dangerous experiment and can provoke a negative outcome to urban and regional processes.

The increase of interest in education - the most positive human activity, a mighty factor of development is another challenge of the transition period. For this purpose, courses and specializations are necessary, not universal but specialized for women architects, which accent on their individuality and creativity.

It is necessary also to recognize the architectural education as a continuous lifelasting process. The challenge of interaction between individual and community, as a basic feature of open democratic society, can not be solved simply by the principle either/or, but on the basic of convergence.

Woman architect, as a social creature, needs the support of her likes, but initiative, creativeness, and dynamics in its manifestation are realized mainly by her individual efforts. After the generation of obedient women like our grand mothers and mothers, my generation of women came, professionals in which our parents had invested education and will for realization.

Without being satisfied of our humble achievements, and even without putting on the glory of martyrs, we are convinced in one think - most of the difficulties of the transition from authoritarian to democratic planning shall be undertaken by us.

Therefore, on our professionalism depends how long and agonizing this transition period shall be.

The message to our children is, by appraising their capacities to be a balanced generation realizing that human rights achievement is due to the persistent struggle for them.

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Figure 1

DEMOGRAPHY

Fig. 1.1 POPULATION PYRAMID (1992)

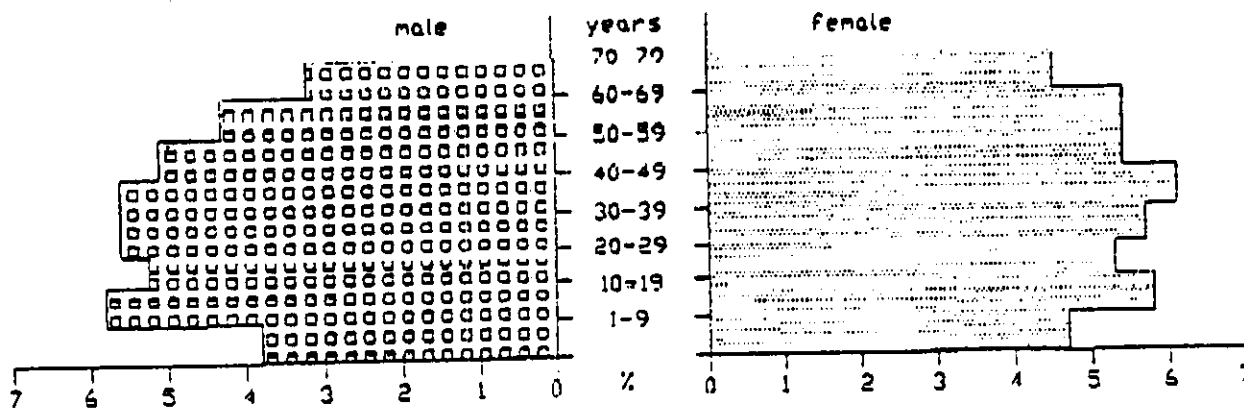


FIG.1 LIVE BIRTHS, DEATHS AND NATURAL GROWTH

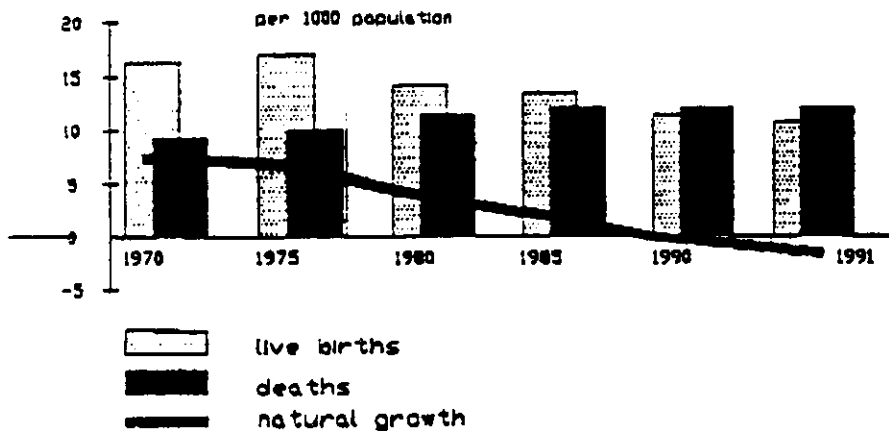


Figure 2

HEALTH STATUS

Fig. 2.1 REGISTERED CASES OF DISEASES IN HEALTH ESTABLISHMENTS

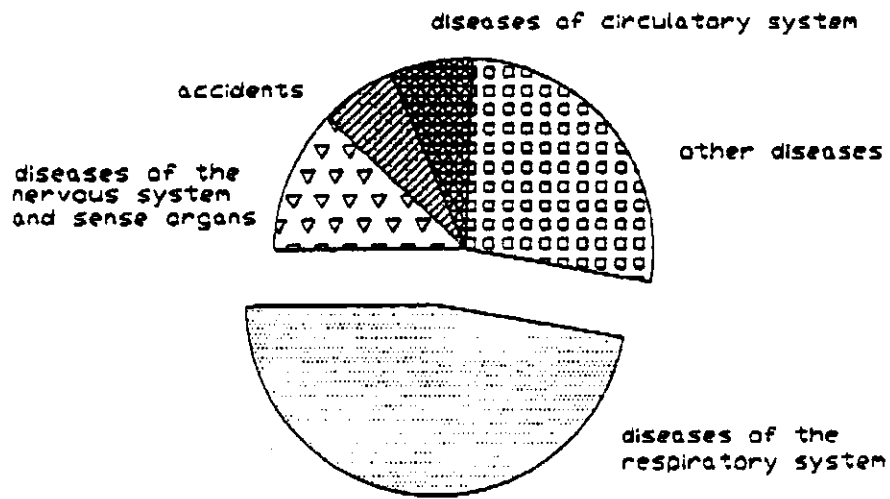


FIG.2.2 MORTALITY BY CAUSES

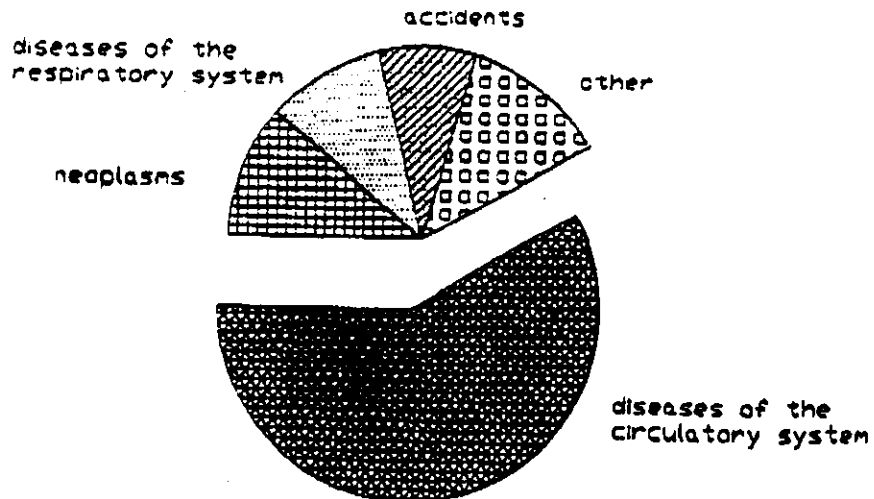


Figure 3

OCCUPANCY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

FIG.3.1 PERSONNEL BRANCH STRUCTURE

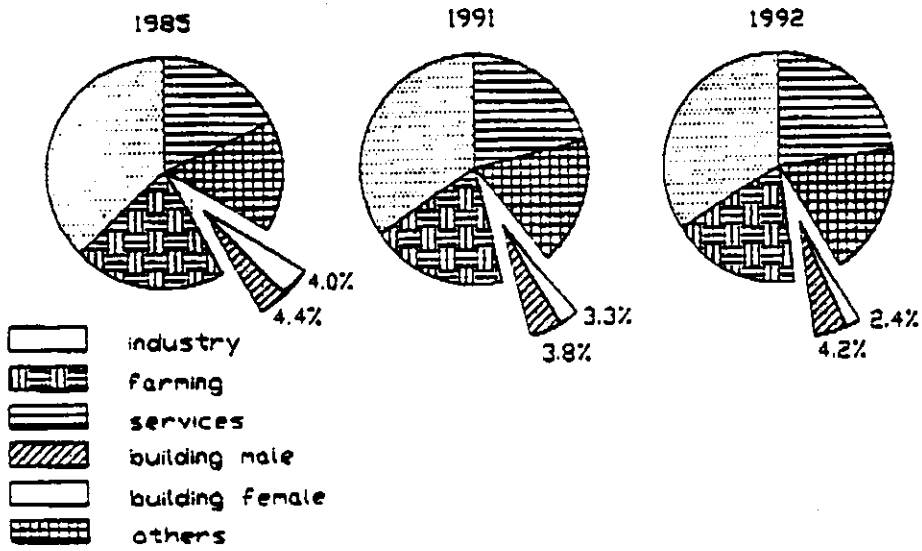


FIG.3.2 OCCUPANCY OF HIGHLY EDUCATED PROFESSIONALS

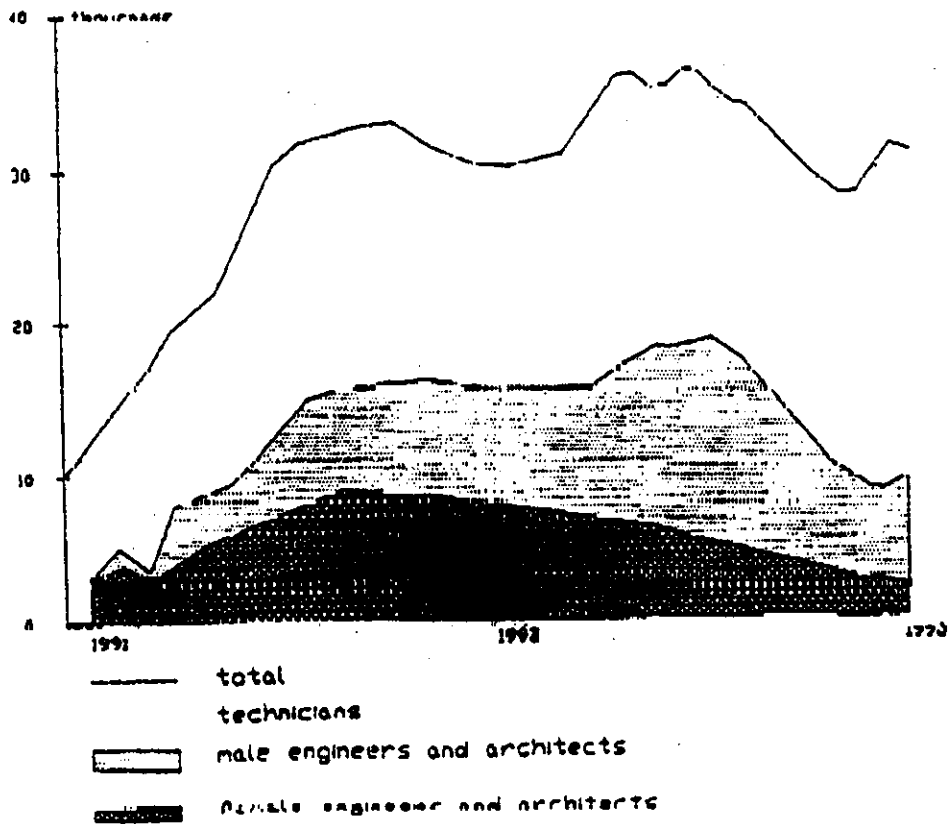


Figure 4 ECONOMY

FIG.4.1 GENERAL PRODUCT AND NATIONAL INCOME INDEXES

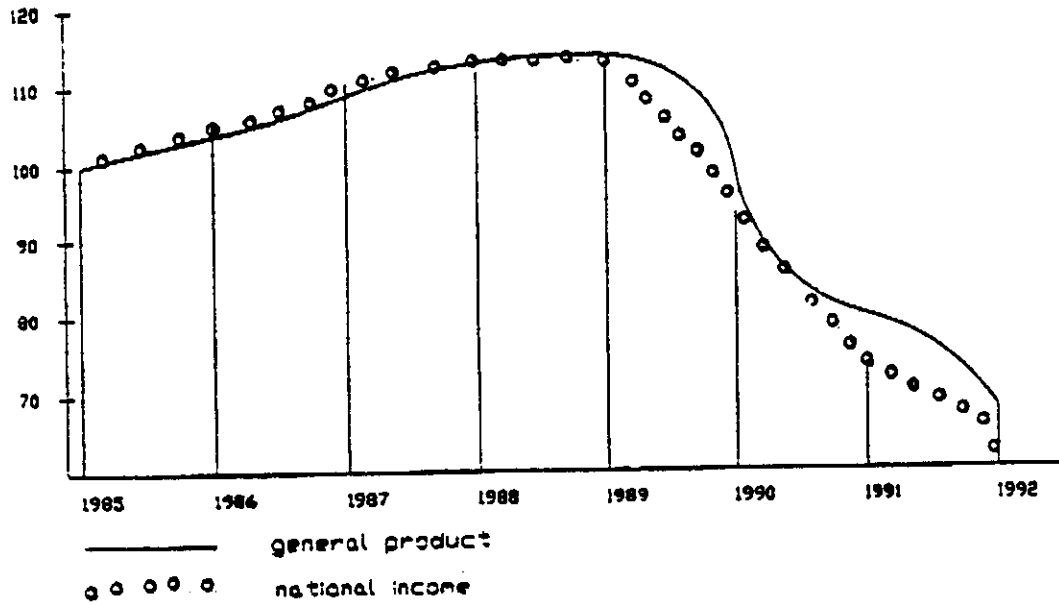


FIG.4.2 BUILDING INDUSTRY DYNAMICS

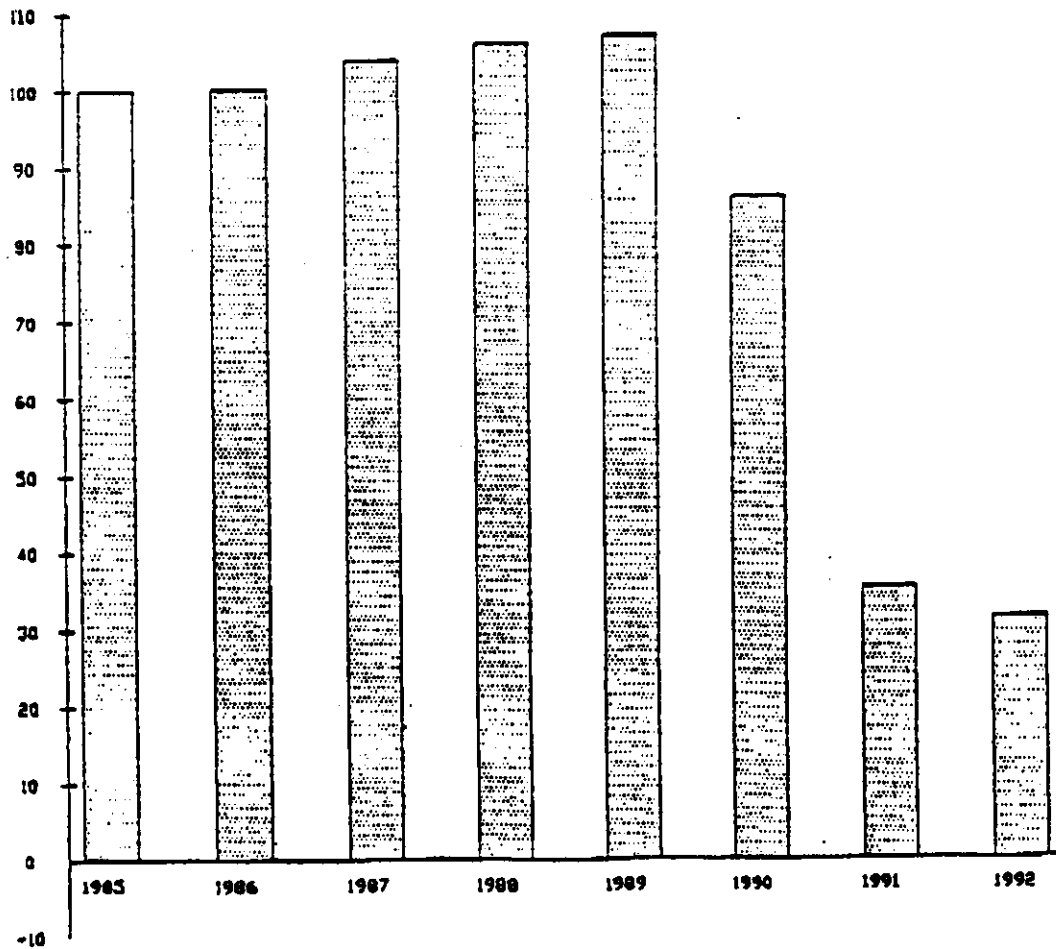


Figure 4

ECONOMY

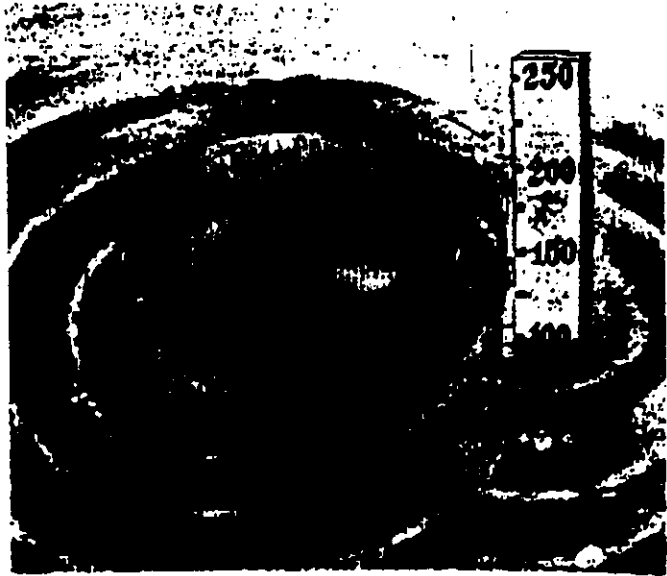


FIG.4.3 LIVING STANDARD INDEXES

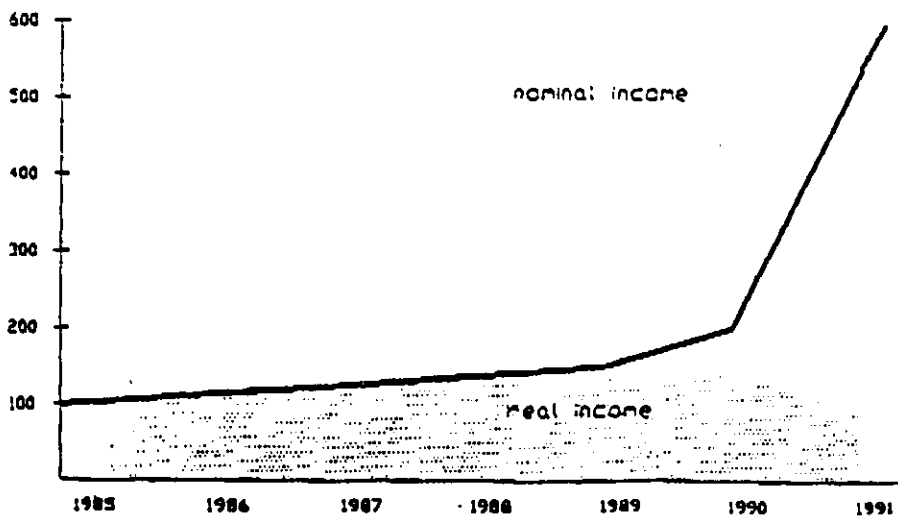


Figure 5

PLANNING

Fig. 5.1 PROFESSIONALS IN PLANNING

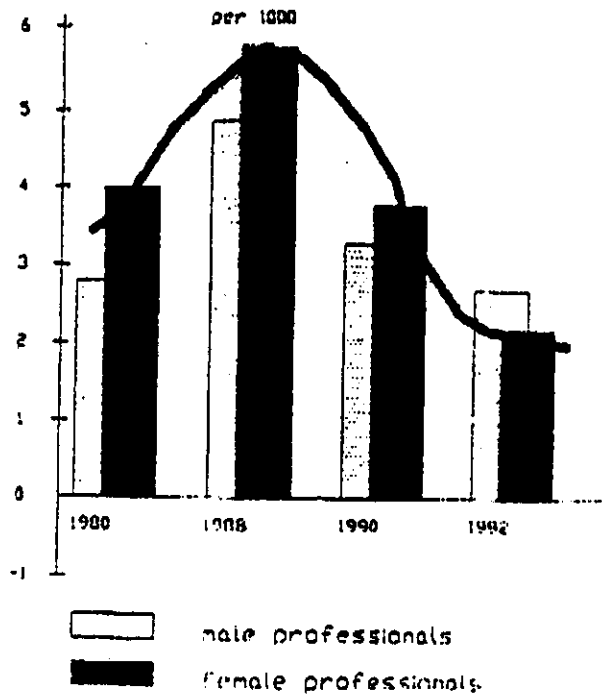


FIG.5.2 INTEREST TO THE ARCHITECTURAL PROFESSION

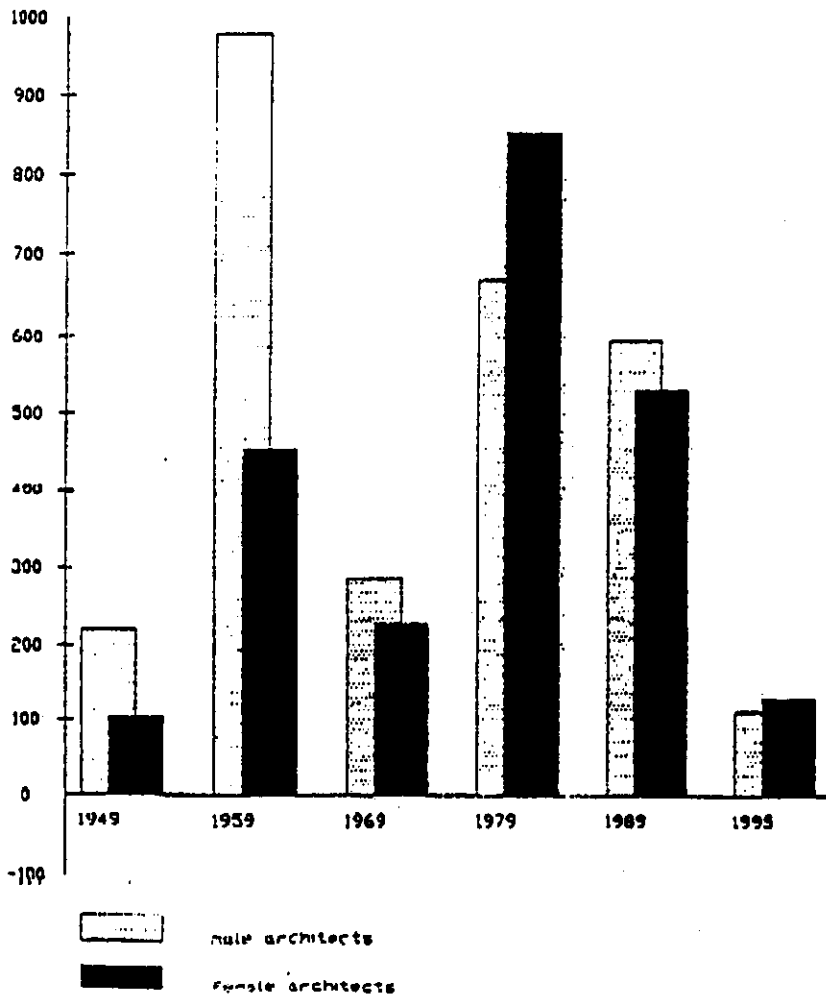


Figure 5

PLANNING

FIG.5.3 PRIVATE SECTOR PERSONNEL

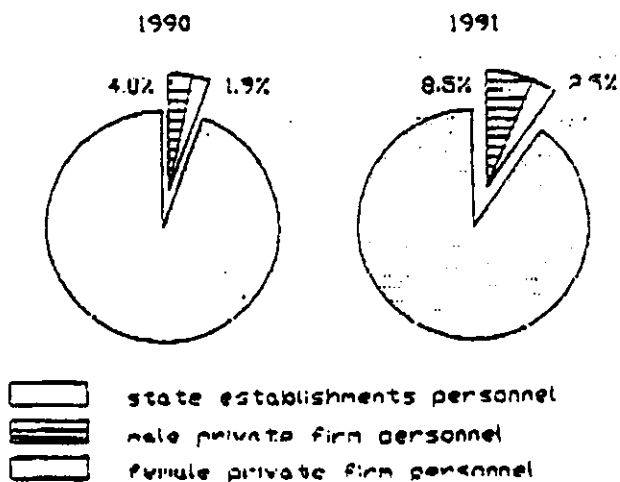
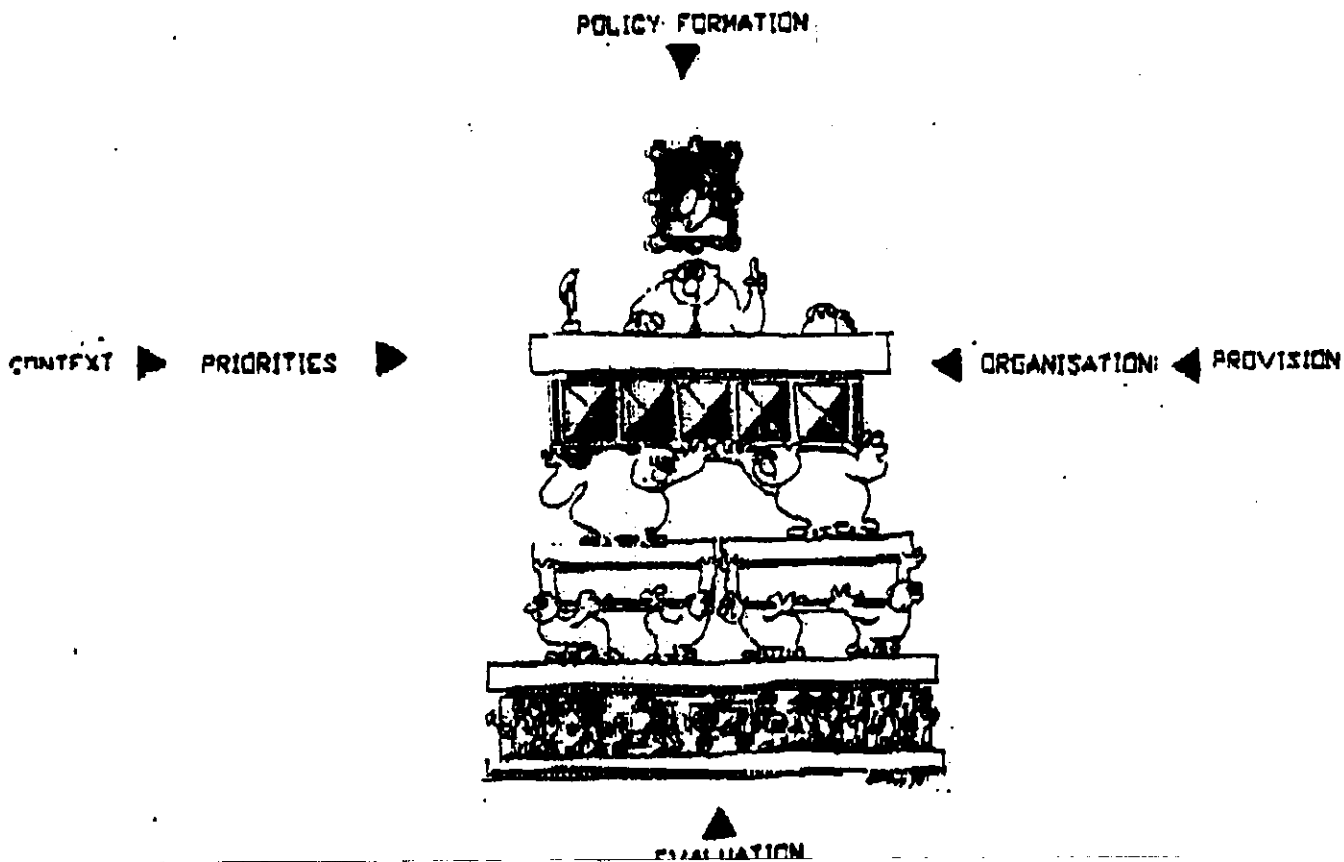


FIG.5.4 ACTUAL PLANNING PROCESS



PARITY DEMOCRACY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPEAN REGIONAL/SPATIAL PLANNING

The Planning processes based on women's situation, views and expectations

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A manifest intention of Swedish society is to level out differences between women and men. It has not succeeded on making an impression on regional policies to any great extent, though this has been one of the goals. Thus we need to review regional policies critically, keeping this intention in mind, from the policies' perspective on problems and goals to their means and the effects of the measures taken. This leads us to the general question of whose problems regional politics actually attempt to deal with. Women? Men? In which roles? The Minister of Labour, who is responsible for regional policies in Sweden, has announced that parliament will take a new decision on regional policies during the first half of this year. Thus the subject is very topical in politics at present.

To place a woman's perspective on regional policies, as we are doing here, is equivalent to placing ourselves in women's reality. Thus we cannot avoid noticing that there is a difference in status and power between the sexes and that men have the more advantageous position. It is necessary to break this order and to establish a new relationship between the sexes.

A "masculine" version of "new" regional policies

A number of the contributions to the debate on regional policies in recent years appear to be typical of the early years of this century. I have made a small selection from several visions and contributors and the trends indicate thumbs down for regional policies as an instrument for dissemination of welfare. The main message from current participants in the debate is that regional policies ought to be pared down and focused on economic growth and investments in infrastructure.

Their motivation is that the diversified selection of goals evolved during the 1970s and 1980s entails spending energy on the wrong things. To stimulate industrial investment it is suggested that the state concentrate on improving physical infrastructure: roads, railways, airports and telecommunications. Sometimes education and research are included in the suggestions. Some mention general inputs in tertiary education and research. Others put priority on applied research within the area of technology, in the form of regional technology centres that can back up small companies and inventors. Occasionally a debater points out that inputs in the area of culture create an attractive environment in which to live. The kernel of the message is that the state ought to create a landscape of possibilities in order to attract industries.

The most important task of the local authorities is to act as a facilitator for commerce and industry. They should see to it that local infrastructure is built up for industrial sites, office premises, an attractive living environment, hotels, restaurants and vocationally trained labour power. It is equally important to search for the actors—the companies—that can utilise these opportunities. There is strong pressure on each region to sell itself internationally.

A controversial issue in the debate is whether all regions should be backed up or only those few, where the industrial growth potential is regarded as being particularly favourable. In earlier periods the state devoted considerable effort to delimiting the area in northern Sweden which receives assistance, with the intention of supporting industrial transformation. It was an investment in weak regions. A new contribution to the debate is that it is the strong regions, with situational advantages and good prospects, that ought to be the objects of investments. This would be an advantage for these regions themselves and would also entail dissemination effects for all the others. This requires the state to ensure that a number of bottlenecks disappear, i.e. that certain highways and other communications in southern and central Sweden be improved.

The appeal for a race between the regions has led to a focus on the regions' size and boundaries. A special committee report has been presented with several delimitation proposals (SOU 1992:63). A new commission of enquiry has begun working. One of the issues on which it has to take a stand is whether new regional formations can be permitted to have differentiated status and appearance. The debate is heavily influenced by organizational solutions. At several places in the country, e.g. Skåne, the Lake Mälaren region, Jämtland and West Sweden, coordinated planning has made considerable progress. What its advocates emphasize as needed, is that this time the initiative has to come from those who are directly involved in the new regional formations, not from the state in the centre.

It is evident that in these statements about the future, central regional policies are narrowed down to two main sectors within which the regional results will be under observation. The goals are identified in industrial and commercial policies: to foster growth. The political means to realise this are primarily investment in roads, telecommunications, airports, i.e. communications. Here responsibility at the national level ends. Each region must then embark upon independent regional development policies which presuppose that the regions will grow and compete with one another. The local authorities in each region will back them up by making things as attractive as possible to business.

According to this line of thinking, the task of regional politics is unambiguous: to create commercial growth, not least industrial expansion. This requires resources to be directed at this very goal, which obviously means that other things must be cleared away. State and local authorities ought to direct their efforts at modernising and extending different types of infrastructure. Investments should be made where there is a return on capital. Politics should create the prerequisites. The results depend on how companies choose to act. This includes the public sector having to endure severe cutbacks during this decade, which, in itself, will have negative effects on the regional balance.

What happened to the women?

My intention is not to make a categorical statement about whether this direction of "new" regional policies is "right" or not. Nevertheless, it is evident that the debate is being conducted at an abstract level where the connection to people's welfare is mechanical and not problematic. Otherwise the simple fact that two-thirds of employees in the public sector are women would have been mentioned. Similarly, women in rural areas are particularly dependent on job opportunities in the public sector. Amongst the missing pieces, not the least is the point that the public sector consists of many different parts and that the parts concerned with care are the objects of reorganization and retrenchments, i.e. women's work places. Cutbacks in the public sector probably mean the retrenchment of women.

People are mentioned as actors, place hunters, politicians and company directors. They appear as financial and rational decision makers (economic man) encapsulated in a neutral gender shell. When it cracks, it generally appears that a man was enclosed. There is no hint that society has a gender organization, which entails that men's and women's roles largely remain separate.

"Equality of opportunity" does not raise status nor has it left any deep tracks in the masculine world of ideas, at least not in the debate on regional policies. Behind the contributions are male writers, who generally characterize official reports, bills, directives, commissions of enquiry, projects, contributions to the debate, etc. in the field of regional politics. The words woman and man are seldom mentioned, except in statistical reports on the population and the gainfully employed. Still more rare are references to the gender system or problematization of regional variations. Despite this, one of the major topics for discussion in many local authorities, e.g. in northern Sweden, is the skewed population distribution, the excess of men and the fact that young women tend to move away.

Nor are women mentioned as a factor when a location is chosen, although it is obvious that women in the labour force are expected to have special qualifications which make them suitable for certain types of jobs. When "the women" are mentioned they are often slotted into their own boxcar, which is shunted onto a side track that does not rejoin the main track. There is reason to query the simplified connection between growth, investments in infrastructure and people's welfare. Should regional policies only concentrate on commercial growth or should they also put "the good life" on the agenda? The latter does not necessarily follow from the former. It is also a question of how natural resources are utilised and how welfare is distributed between regions and people, and between women and men. Before this discussion continues, a digression is necessary to briefly present Swedish women's situation and how work is divided between the sexes.

The gender division of labour

There is no doubt that the Swedish woman has become a working woman. There are now nearly as many women as men in the labour force. Swedish women are gainfully employed to a greater extent than women in other European countries and give birth to more children (with the exception of Ireland and Iceland). On average a Swedish woman has two children in rapid succession, in other words more than her sisters in Germany and Italy. When the children are small, she prefers working part-time "for the sake of the children". She has the opportunity of keeping her links to the labour market through parental leave, which is long when viewed in an international perspective, and part-time work. A prerequisite is extensive child care facilities.

On the whole, women and men find themselves in their own sections of the labour market. Men are, to a greater extent, linked to industry and women to the service sector. Women industrial workers are often found in the food, textile and electronics industries, where they are engaged in assembling and packaging jobs. Men predominate in the mining and building industries as well as in agriculture, forestry and fishing. In the service sector branches like hotel and catering, banks and insurance have relatively equal gender divisions. Nearly half of all the women on the labour market work in teaching or health care in the public sector. It is crystal clear that women predominate in the public sector and men in the private.

The division into feminine and masculine is confirmed if we compare women's and men's occupations. The most usual job for women is general office work, i.e. some form of secretarial or administrative work. Women are also often assistant nurses, hospital aides, cleaners, childminders, preschool teachers, recreational instructors, etc. Occupations with a predominance of men are farmers, engineers, technicians, repairmen, drivers, mechanics, industrial and building workers (Appendix 1). The general picture includes men occupying senior posts. If we compare how men's and women's work is valued in terms of the pay cheque, we note that men have higher incomes than women (Friberg, 1993; SCB, 1990).

According to Statistics Sweden's most recent study of the use of time, women and men do the same amount of work (Rydenstam, 1992). The difference is that men spend most time in gainful employment and women spend most of their time on working at home. The men's inputs in the home are more visible and have clear boundaries. Men are often mainly responsible for repairs, rebuilding the house and heavier gardening like mowing the lawn and digging in the garden, as well as fixing small things on the car. The women spend an average of two to three times as much time on housework than men. Housework is the major part of the work that women do at home, 17.5 of just over 33 hours per week. Of the 20 hours men spend working at home, 6.5 hours consist of housework. Women thus still have most of the responsibility for looking after the house, which, in addition to the chores, includes organizing the activities of members of the family. They "administer" their families and are responsible for seeing to it that the pieces of the family's puzzle land in the right place. If a household can be likened to a company, then the woman is often the executive director, the personnel manager and the staff assistant simultaneously.

Leisure is a contrast to work. This is the time needed to recover, sleep, eat, socialise and devote oneself to different activities. Many regard leisure as the time during which they lead their real lives. Work is something they do for money. Others find the meaning of life is their work and leisure is adapted so that their involvement in work is facilitated. Between leisure activities and unpaid work there is a blurred border. Many activities could be both. A lot of

people think that fishing, hunting and repairing the house are useful and enjoyable, just like sewing, knitting, or picking berries and mushrooms. The first list is typical of men's activities, the second of women's.

Women and men do not only do different things. Their predominant and joint leisure activity is watching television. Men spend an average of 13 hours and women 10 hours a week watching television. Socialisation is the activity that takes up the second largest amount of time. Women spend 8.5 hours being sociable and men just over 7. Women spend more time on the telephone, which is a way of keeping their own and the family's social network intact. On the whole, men have more leisure time than women, about 2.5 hours a week. Women have an average of 33 hours leisure and men more than 35 hours. Women's leisure has on-duty characteristics. They are prepared to break it off and step in when something needs to be done in the home. Their leisure is generally divided into more frequent and shorter episodes than men's, both on weekdays and on weekends. It is more of a time for residues. Women do not enjoy the same degree of freedom in their leisure as men do; more conditions are attached to it.

Women who are on an equal footing

According to a United Nations report, women in Sweden have the best living conditions in the world (1992). Perhaps they are an example of what women's emancipation and a social organization like that of the Swedish model may lead to? Yet I know from my own research that life is far from being free of problems for Swedish women, who usually are both in gainful employment and have children. They often think that they cannot manage to do everything they want to. There is not enough time. They do not have the energy. They worry about their children. The children are very important. The job is important. Perhaps the real issue is that women today see that there is so much within the bounds of the possible. They have to make their own choices, which can be painful. Women of yesteryear had others (fathers, husbands) who made their choices for them to a far greater extent, which may entail a different kind of pain.

Legally, the state has backed women's struggle for independence. Individual taxation of incomes, parental insurance, an agreement on equality of opportunity have all come into existence (SCB, 1990). The social security system is individually based, in which it differs from the family based systems in other countries. This supports a woman in her attempts to be independent of a particular man, but means that she must be confident of her own earning capacity.

The size of her pension depends on her own income during her life. If she gets a divorce she must maintain herself, irrespective of the amount of work and time she has devoted to her husband, their children and joint home. The likelihood of her being single again is considerable, at least for a period in her life, since about 18,000 divorces occur every year. She also has the chance of living for a long time. At birth it is probable that she will reach the age of 81, which means that she can count on living about six years longer than her husband if they are the same age. She is likely to be single for a longer period, since a woman is usually younger than her husband.

A crucial choice in the "usual" strategy of women is how to combine a family-a small one-with gainful employment. At the same time as she breaks new ground, her choice of a path leads her onto a well-worn women's track. To conquer men's domains completely is not desirable and perhaps does not lie within the bounds of the possible.

Many different lives of women

When women are described in this way with the help of statistical averages, we risk losing sight of the individual variations. A need arises for some kind of grouping , e.g. according to age, marital status, number of children, occupational area, level of education, social group, class or geographic residential area. Immediately the picture of the ordinary woman becomes full of nuances and it becomes clear that women's way of organizing their lives is not one and the same.

If we assume that regional policies deal with how people earn their living and their welfare, it may be fruitful to talk about people living in different life-forms. The system by which a household supports itself is central to a life-form. The composition of commerce and industry in the locality where a household is situated is crucial. Economic conditions, norms, attitudes and patterns of action are interconnected. In the analysis of life-forms, different spheres of life are linked together. The theory attempts to understand the totality of life's meaning for individuals (Højrup, 1983; Björnberg & Bäck-Wiklund, 1987; Friberg, 1990, 1993).

The *career-oriented life-form* is a way of living, a life-form, that is conspicuous. The name gives the associations to the kind of life that is in question. Occupations which fit in are lawyer, personnel officer, executive director, senior medical consultant, doctor, head of department, etc. To both men and women who have a career it is evident that their involvement in gainful employment stringently controls life. They live for their work. Leisure supports and is adapted to the job. A woman's object in this life-form is not, at any price, to become a boss, instead she strives above all to find qualified ways in which to fulfil herself. Because of lack of time and good practical solutions, women may be subjected to strong pressures of time. Unlike men, women do not have a family to back them up and help them resist these pressures. They are forced to make their priorities clear and want their men to share the responsibility of looking after the home and the children. Perhaps they employ a charwoman to relieve them. They do not, however, refrain from having children and a home. The children are very important in their life-project and they expect a great deal from them.

In the *employee life-form*, the way people make a living also leaves its mark on their life-style. Occupations include industrial worker, shop assistant, cleaner, home-helper, assistant nurse, etc. To them gainful employment is to a great extent a purely economic source of support, while real life occurs during leisure. At work, good companionship and a fair supervisor are qualities they value highly, which may determine whether they enjoy their jobs or not. Gainful employment gives women their own income and, for their self-respect, it is important to have their own money. Leisure is filled with necessary housework which they often safeguard and which gives them their identity. Tasks in the home are not experienced merely as burdensome, boring or monotonous. They are simply a part of life itself. But in order to manage and cope, part-time work is a good solution. As a consequence, gender roles remain more traditional.

These life-forms are one another's opposites and many women do not identify with either the one or the other. Therefore, we can also talk about a way of living that has features of both, but has its own particular profile that is characterised by women trying to strike a sound balance between gainful employment, housework and leisure—the *mediating life-form*. Here nurses, pre-primary and primary school teachers and administrators fit in. Gainful employment is necessary as a source of income but the contents of the work has its own intrinsic value. It promotes development and is stimulating but is not permitted to take up all of a woman's time. Energy must be left for the family. These women also take a great deal of responsibility for the home and the children. This leads us to associate with the traditional housewife, who takes personal responsibility for and pride in the children and the home, which should be in a proper condition. To manage this, these women are happy to do part-time work when the children are small and they plan to invest more in their work when the children have grown up. This life-form offers a way of living which many women strive for in practice, namely to be able to have a job and a home and children under reasonable conditions. They combine an old gender role pattern with a new one. They try to balance the various spheres of life against one another to get them to harmonise; this is an actual role model for the modern woman which emerges from women's *praxis*.

Yet not all women have permanent jobs nor work for a salary. Some run their own businesses or assist in a family business. They live in the *family business or self-employed life-form*. The work is free in the sense that people do it themselves and are in control and responsible for the entire process of the work. The work is continuously present and gives life its meaning. A woman may be an assistant. She and her husband may own a farm, for example. The division of labour between them is clear. She does the indoor chores, like taking charge of the children and animals, doing the book-keeping and filling in where necessary. The circumstances may be such that she, in addition, has a paid job, thereby earning cash for the joint economy. Women's labour power is the most flexible. They provide a complement and a buffer; doing necessary but often subordinate and invisible work. Women themselves may also be registered as self-employed, which accounts for about 4 per cent of all gainfully employed women. Shops and hairdressing salons are among the most usual businesses owned by women. Women's entrepreneurship is well adapted to the family. The lasting impression is that women do not try to expand and make a profit from their undertakings, at all costs, but prefer to work at something meaningful, from which they can earn a living (Sundin & Holmquist, 1989; Hellberg, 1990; Friberg, 1991).

Since most Swedish women stand with at least one leg on the labour market, these are the four life-forms that predominate. Where then should one place those women who do housework on a full-time basis? Today they are few, but in principle we can distinguish between the wife of a wage-earner (*housewife's life-form*) and the wife of a man with a career (*backing-up life-form*). Their lives are bound up with their men's, either in a joint life-project or in complementary projects, in which case they do what is traditionally regarded as women's work in the home (Rahbek, 1987).

If the female labour force is categorised by its life-forms, nearly 50 per cent are in the employee life-form, about 40 per cent in the mediating life-form, less than a tenth in the career-oriented life-form and even fewer in the self-employed life form. The "ordinary" Swedish woman is thus found in the employee or the mediating life-form.

Where can one lead these lives? Are women in metropolitan areas career oriented and women in sparsely populated areas assistants in family businesses? With geographic glasses we observe that people in different life-forms coexist in various types of places. We cannot associate large urban conglomerates, industrial villages or rural areas with any particular way of living. At the same time, it is obvious that one or another life-form may predominate. The one welfare question, which overshadows all others at present, is that the increasing unemployment has hitherto been primarily a scourge of the countryside, but now women in towns are also feeling the pinch. Thus we should be careful not to stereotypically set women in rural areas against women in metropolitan areas, nor women in south-eastern Sweden or the interior of Norrland against women in central or south-western Sweden.

The maps in Appendices 2-4 show the regional picture of women's gainful employment, unemployment and the extent to which they have tertiary education. On the basis of the maps it is not possible to say that women in one part of the country do significantly less paid work than women in another part, or that they are substantially more affected by unemployment. If local authorities are grouped according to type, for example metropolitan municipality or rural local authority, it appears that women in towns do somewhat more paid work than women in rural areas and industrial villages. Unemployment affects women to roughly the same extent in all types of local authority, perhaps most in the cities. The most obvious difference is that women in larger towns and cities are considerably better educated than women living in villages and in rural areas. This indicates that there are relatively more women in the cities who live in the career life-form.

On the whole, women's problems are alike, but they express themselves differently and require different solutions, depending on where the women live. The problem of inadequate provision of child care places is, however, found in both rural and large urban areas. The labour market for women is remarkably similar, irrespective of where people live. Women are often involved in the service and care sectors. A very large number of women are employed in the public sector, irrespective of where they live in Sweden. Unemployment affects certain groups more harshly than others. A trend that deserves particular attention is that the differences between women appear to be greater than previously, which refers to the material conditions within the life-forms. Another way of expressing this is to say that class differences are growing.

The basis of politics—problematization

The gender division of work, women's different life-forms and a great deal more draw our attention as soon as we take into account in our analyses that women's and men's worlds are not identical. If this is so obvious, why has it been so heavy going for a women's perspective to make an impact on regional politics?

The explanation may partly be sought in how reality is interpreted, in other words, how problems are formulated in regional politics. Problematization is an important term in the terminology of regional politics. It is a filtered picture of reality, against which backdrop policies emerge. The problematization of regional politics, which has been most penetrating, has an economic and commercial profile, with people who in the first hand are either (male) businessmen and entrepreneurs or a labour force mass. Here only one eye is being used; it is only one side of the coin.

If regional politics is concerned with welfare policies, it is, when all is said and done, concerned with people's daily lives. People are not alike. They are not subject to the same conditions. Different ways of living exist, as do differences between women and men. The potential is not the same in the 286 local authorities in the country. A discussion and evaluation of regional policies in welfare terms is appropriate. This is the other side of the coin.

Thus the one side of the coin features structural relationships concerned with production and entrepreneurship. The other side of the coin is concerned with people — women and men — and their welfare. Both sides ought to be included in policies that claim to deal with regions' "lives". Paying attention only to one indicates the use of only one eye.

The direction of policies — objectives

Where do people want to feel at home? Where is it possible to create the good life? In large towns, at universities, in the suburbs, in small towns, in industrial centres, in the interior in northern Sweden, or in the countryside? The answer naturally depends on where we are born and have our roots, but also on the kind of life we lead. It concerns our origin, lifestyle and the necessity of supporting ourselves. This is the spirit of regional politics: people have numerous reasons for choosing to reside and work in very different parts of the country and the intention of the state is to enable them to do so.

A government bill says, "Regional policies ... shall give people access to work, service and a good environment, irrespective of where in the country they live. Policies shall foster a fair distribution of welfare between people in different parts of the country and a balanced population development, so that considerable freedom of choice of residence can be achieved. Regional policies shall, in addition, facilitate the disposal of the collective resources of the country and rational production, so that economic growth can be achieved" (1992/93:100, Appendix 11). What needs to be added or reformulated, to create an ideational basis for regional policies that are pro-women? A first attempt might be expressed like this:

The object is to foster women's independence, so that women, irrespective of the part of the country in which they live, can lead a dignified life, measured by women's standards. This means equal opportunities for women and men when it comes to education, earning a living and exerting an influence in society. It entails that the community's resources — ownership, right of disposition — are evenly divided between the sexes. It further means freedom from patronisation, assault and other acts of cruelty by men.

This concept must not simply remain words printed in ink on white paper. Those who are to transform it into practical action must be bearers of an ideology, which incorporates in a crystal clear way that one of the most loaded and pressing issues in our culture is the search for a new order between the sexes. In this new order femininity and masculinity will acquire a new guise, with women and men having equal worth and, moreover, the same rights and responsibilities.

The implementation of policies — division of resources

How have the means at the disposal of regional politicians been divided between women and men? It is striking how the skewed distribution of resources reappears in various contexts.

For example, only 3.3 per cent of county council project funds went to women's projects in 1989/90. It is probably an underestimate and many projects are difficult to classify, but the figures nevertheless, make an explicit statement. Of the support to sparsely populated areas, 7 per cent went to business women whereas 60 per cent went to men. (About 15 percent of all business owners are women.) This is neither consistent with nor reasonable in terms of the equal opportunity goals. The starting point must be a change in the division of resources. Women should not need to be satisfied with crumbs for the sake of appearances. A rule of thumb should be: half of all resources to women.

In the problematization of regional politics, the excess of men in the rural areas is evident, as is the concern over young women moving away. The question is: What shall we do to entice women to remain? The skewed distribution of resources manifestly hints that a new way of dividing resources is required. The starting point has to be recognition of the significance of women's work, as well as of men's.

The first task is to review the means and forms of support that fall directly within regional politicians' area of responsibility and to adapt the regulations. It would be interesting to see how streams of government money are divided between the various regions in the country and the extent to which they accrue to women or to men.

Let us suppose that resources were redistributed to favour women. What would they then be used for? There are a few areas that would crystalize out if we listened to what women themselves are saying. There is no doubt that their priorities include opportunities for supporting themselves linked to good education, a good life in the sense of well-functioning daily living, as well as influence over decisions taken in different parts of society.

The possibility of earning a living in all parts of the country

Because of the current crisis, measures to reduce unemployment are forced to take a prominent place. In a nutshell, the perspective for the future is: some women work far too much, others cannot get jobs or only marginal ones. There is a threat of wage differentials increasing further, that women experience difficulties entering new areas and, to a greater extent than now, are obliged to take certain types of low paid part-time work with irregular working hours. Part of the threat is that the differences between women increase; A and B groups are developing, where the latter encompasses the group that is badly educated and/or living in areas in which the labour market for women is particularly brittle. Immigrant women are a particularly vulnerable group.

Every local labour market has its specific weaknesses and they must be made visible in order to be strengthened. Generally, it is important to extend the labour market for women and thereby create new occupational areas. It is also important to back up the women who find themselves there. It is of great significance if more qualified jobs can be found in villages and towns from which large numbers of women leave. Women who run small businesses need support and inputs of a different kind than businessmen do. In this context, cooperatives, as an organizational solution to run companies and meet residents' need for services, are particularly interesting.

Even if the harshness of the labour market does not openly affect women more, it may concern women in particular, not least those employed in the public sector. Above all women in sparsely populated areas and Norrland risk becoming exposed if the public sector shrinks, as it is particularly important for the women's labour market in these areas. It is against this background that the question is posed whether the 1990s will become a decade of regression for women (Ds 1993:8).

Investments in daily living

If regional policies were to a greater degree to be designed to be pro-women, it would lead to shifts in the prevailing problematization. The concept of work would be extended to include the burden of work; not only that which must be done to earn a living, but also that which must be done so that life can continue, care, children, housework and similar things.

If women are to find a place attractive to live in, both physical and social conditions must be such that women can organize their daily lives efficiently. They form part of the social infrastructure; a necessary foundation so that everything else can function, a kind of infrastructure of everyday life.

The concept of infrastructure, however, is still reserved for the physical infrastructure of roads, rail and plane facilities which are primarily directed at commerce and industry. There is reason to broaden the definition of infrastructure, or to redefine the concept in terms of physical contra social and cultural infrastructure (soft infrastructure). Both parts are equally important in regional politics. When this is done, the construction of a highway can be directly weighed against investments in better education or good care of children and the elderly. A delicate, but unavoidable, political decision.

Women's shared power

Many women become actively involved in improving their near environment. For example, plenty of women are in groups—local associations of householders, development groups—that have been started to reverse developments in the rural areas. This indicates that there is a development strategy which is anchored in individuals and territorially. While not wishing to sound romantic, nor pledging that networks, householders' associations or cooperatives are the only or the "right" solution, I suggest that they might become part of a strategy in which women participate in their near environment. Above all, in sparsely populated areas, women ought to be able to find locally adapted solutions to e.g. child care, home nursing, services, and take their own responsibility for running these schemes, without necessarily doing the work themselves. Civil servants would function as support and resource people, rather than exercising authority.

This strategy anchored at the local level must be followed up at the regional and national levels. It requires women politicians and civil servants who work with regional development and issues relating to the future. The question is if they will appear without a quota system. If women are not better represented, the alternative is stringent central control, for instance, far-reaching allocation of state funds to women's projects. Power is embedded in resources.

Regional development centres

To *want* to change development is insufficient. What is required is a favourable environment in which to work. Knowledge cannot simply be understood to be theoretical; practical skills must have equal weight. Inspiration, ideas and exchange of experience are also important ingredients for the meeting of knowledge and creativity.

To facilitate development in the regions, which is better rooted among women than hitherto, a proposal to set up regional development centres for women has emerged. There an environment to foster innovative activities can be developed. The proposal has evoked a strong positive response among women. In the counties of Jämtland and Gävleborg it is already being implemented.

One suggestion is that these centres could have three main functions. The first is to set up development projects for women. The projects ought to have their basis in the needs and interests that women in the region have articulated in some way. The second is to encourage and carry out the development of competence for women in the region. Courses can be directed at prospective business owners or participants in a project, who need knowledge within a particular area, and also to politicians and other power holders. The third is to follow and foster the development of knowledge about and for women. This may entail financing investigations and research on women's conditions in the region, so that projects that are underway can be set in a more comprehensive context.

To avoid repeating the same mistakes and taking decisions above the heads of people, each region and its women ought to create a centre that best responds to the situation in that region. It would be suitable for it to be built up within the framework of each county's regional development work. The development centre must be well rooted among the top leaders of the county. Women who represent the various public authorities, municipalities, organizations and interest groups in the region should be in its management group. Those who in daily conversation are called grassroots, or ordinary women, ought to be the focus of the work. A development centre does not need to be built up like a permanent institution, but may exist for a limited time. Many different organizational solutions exist. The intention is to create a short-cut to a new way of thinking and speed up a chain of events, the object to finally have a women's perspective integrated in all the work.

Programme for pro-women measures

It has been shown that women's projects easily become out-of-the-way one-shot events or are run with limited means on the side, without affecting the whole. Sometimes they are so well integrated that they become empty or are engulfed. To remedy this, the work of the regional development centre could be included in a "programme" of measures to promote women in the region or in those parts of the region where particular inputs are needed.

In such a programme, women's situation ought to be analyzed and different types of measures to create better conditions should be described. It appears to be self-evident that it should encompass the women's labour market and their opportunities to organize well-functioning daily lives. The programme cannot, however, deal with all the issues that may be of interest, but priorities ought to be made. The programme can be seen as being part of the county councils' regional development work and ought to be rooted in the local authorities and amongst the women concerned. The development centre could function as a driving force, a contact point and a bank of experience.

National resource centre

If development centres are built up in the regions, a need for exchange of experience and development of knowledge will probably arise. This could be supplied through a national centre that ought to aim at assembling information about women's situation in different types of places and regions. The centre can follow the work of the projects undertaken in different parts of the country and act as an intermediary for contacts, tips and ideas. This includes bringing women together so that they can learn from one another's mistakes and successes. The work is hardly served by creating a bureaucracy with many employees, but ought to function as the hub of the network of all the regional development centres.

Many look for deeper knowledge with feminine overtones. Thus, one of the tasks of the national centre could be to acquire a general view of the state of knowledge of the subject, "Women and Regional Development", as well as to point out holes in the knowledge and develop project ideas with the intention of producing an entire research programme.

Concretely, it would fit in with working out a Women's Atlas, or rather a Women's and Men's Atlas. This would have a factual foundation with maps and commentary about the regional distribution of a number of relevant criteria like age distribution, fertility, concentration of gainful employment, unemployment, income levels, education, small businesses, etc. Such an atlas ought to be able to function as a basis for a fictive division into areas that need support, only taking into account women's conditions as compared to the current picture, thus acquiring a contrast. It ought also to nourish ideas about how to tackle at best the research issue of the regional variations of male society (the patriarchy).

A planning philosophy with people in the centre

Pro-women regional policies are not intended only to favour women, even if they feature particular ventures for women in order to achieve a qualitative leap forward. They would, probably, pave the way for a non-traditional viewpoint and the questions and philosophy could be summarized as follows:

Pro-woman regional policies should be designed on the basis of people's needs and at the same time be imbued with a consciousness that humankind consists of two sexes who have partially different experiences and preferences. The policies should probably start from what is small and from that basis rise in both generalizations and political levels. Sometimes this is called a bottom-up strategy and our thoughts are led to regional development planning rather than centralized regional politics. As such it will not be limited to one or a few sectors, but will weave together all that appears relevant to the continued existence of a region and people's welfare, the renaissance of sector coordination.

At this point it seems natural to put "daily services" on the agenda, services for households, not merely for businesses. The significance of the concept of infrastructure is shifted, whereby road construction can be weighed against the reinforcing of resources for people. The focus on industry moves to public and private services, which leads us to regard reproduction as being as equally important as production. Policies that are anchored among people who live all over the country have the potential of engaging more women as politicians, civil servants and citizens. This may lay the foundation for new forms of work; cooperation on an equal footing between institutions, organizations and citizens. Perhaps flatter types of organizations may emerge.

What is now happening in society can be labelled structural transformation, a period of substantial changes in various commercial and industrial sectors. In political terms this is also called a change in the system (which includes adaptation to the EC). What is clear in the meantime is that the economic crisis generates a large number of changes. In the turbulence that arises during a structural transformation, different interests are often set up against one another. A power struggle occurs not only between international and national interests and between different groups of owners of capital, but also between women collectively and between men collectively.

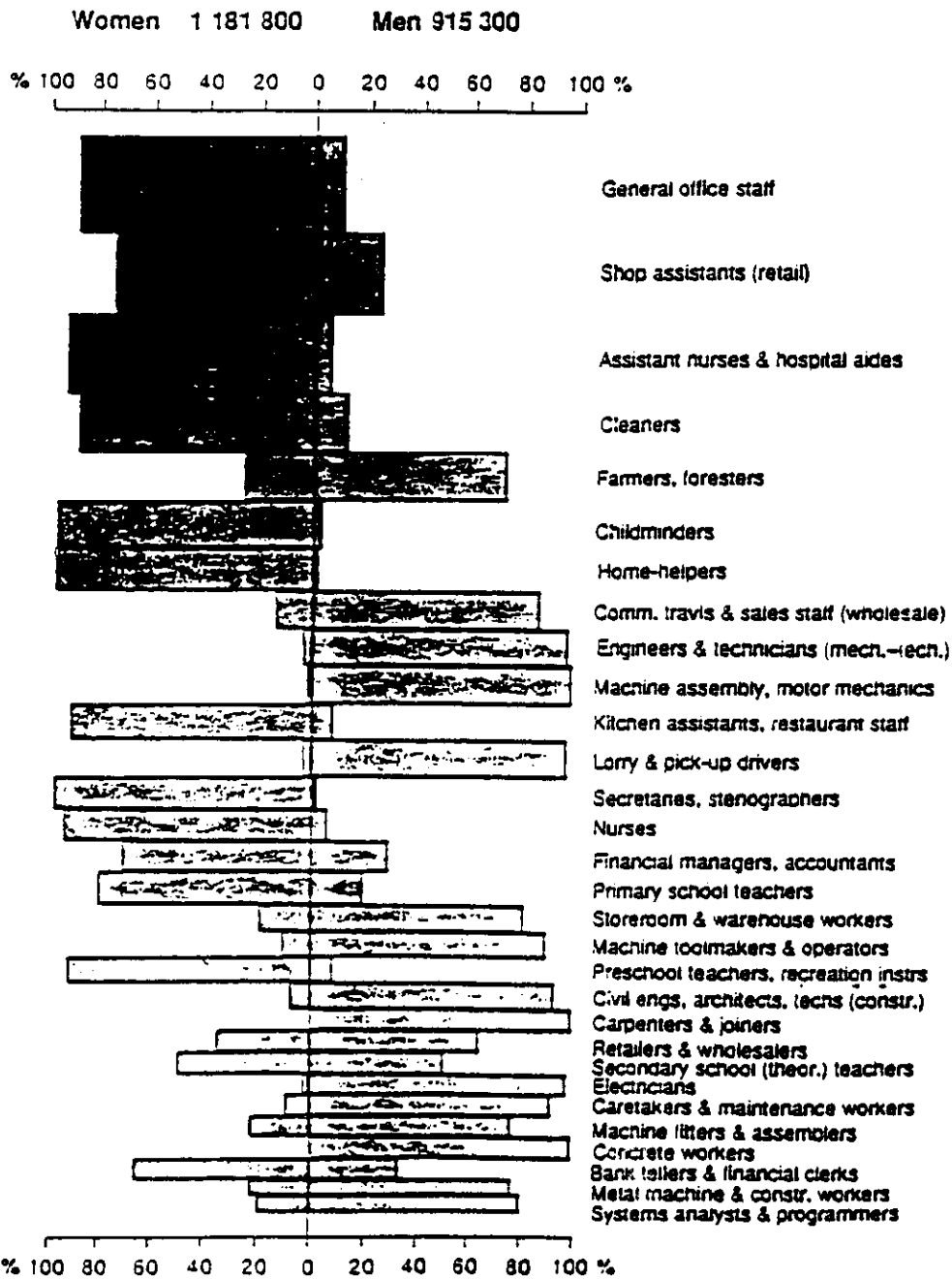
The prevailing order of the sexes — gender system — does not stand alone nor on the sidelines in this transformation. The results are not given. Development does not always move forward. No natural law states that women's conditions will improve. The question is which gender system will best serve the current structural changes? Politics can exert an influence. Regional politics are no exception. Prerequisites are that women become subjects, regarded as actors, that their way of looking at the world is taken seriously, their choices respected, their demands heard and their visions shared. Women know a great deal about their own and other women's lives in the region in which they live. They have experiences and hopes. These ought to be brought into the light to leave their imprint on pro-woman regional politics.

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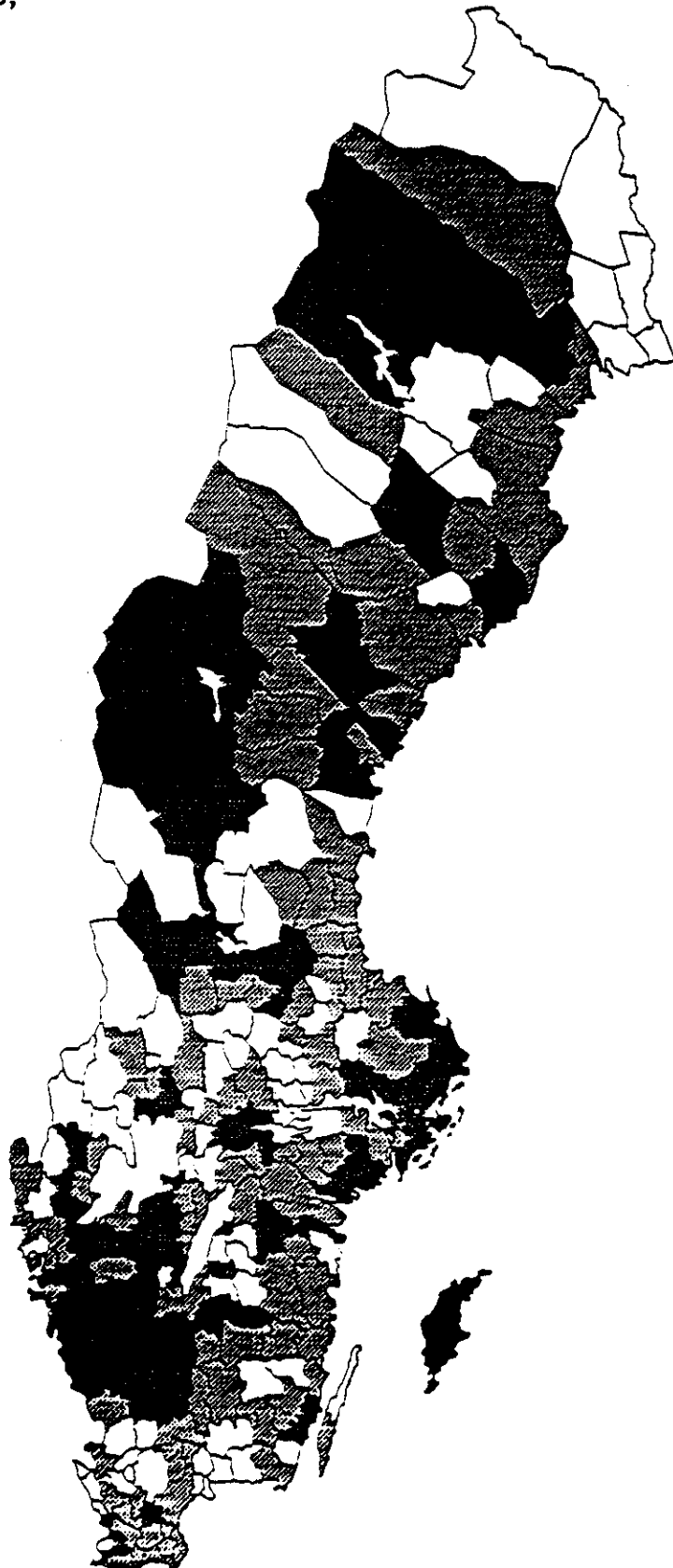
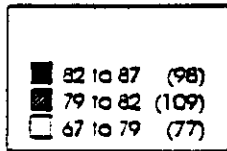
APPENDIX 1

The sexual division of labour in the 30 most common occupations, 1985. Source: SCB, 1990; Friberg 1993



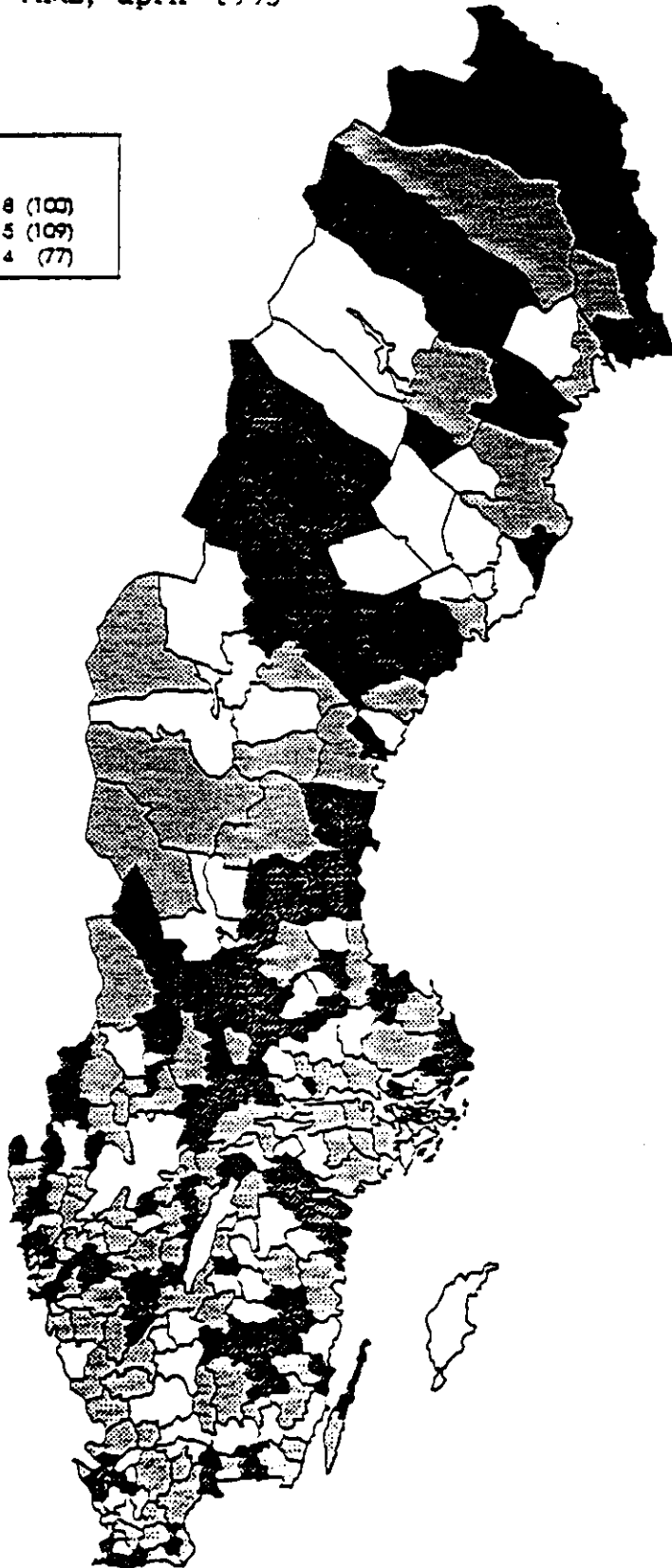
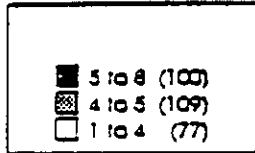
APPENDIX 2

The proportion of gainfully employed women, 16-64 years
Source: SCB 1990;



APPENDIX 3

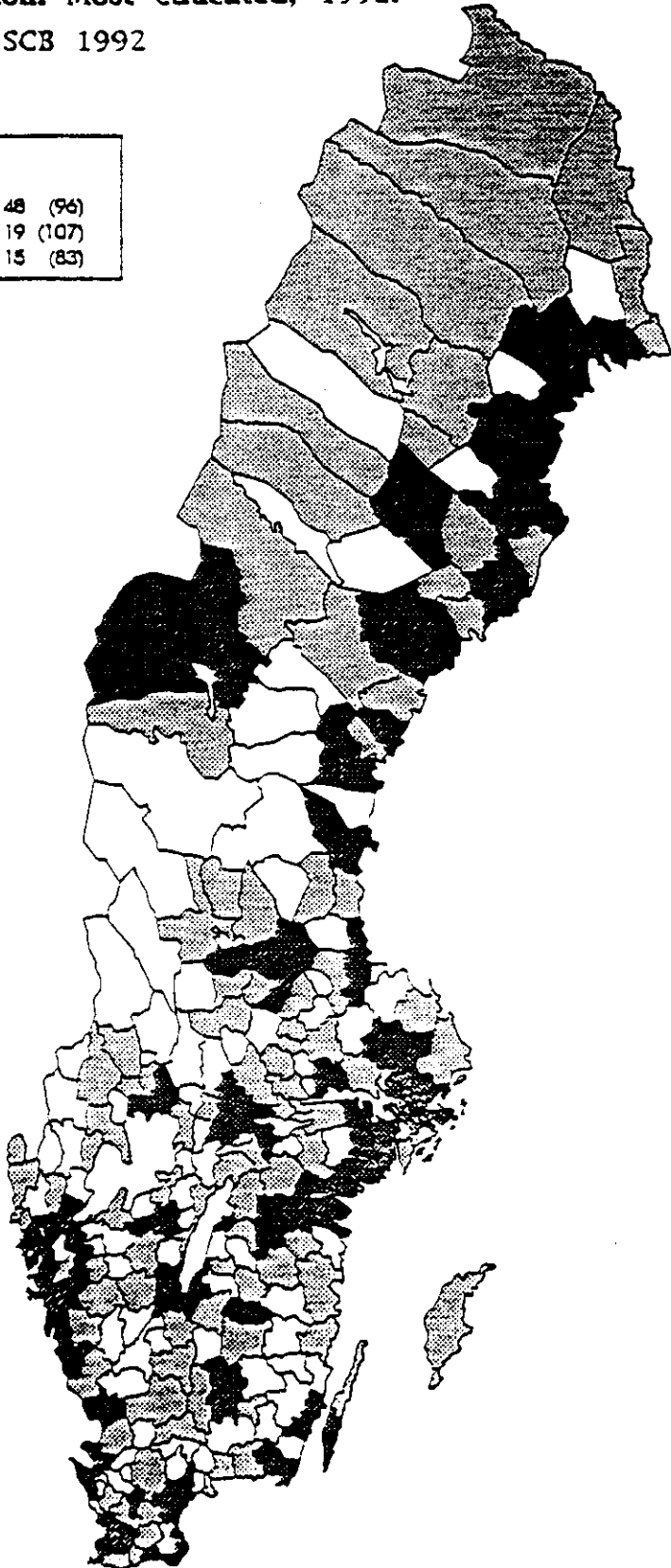
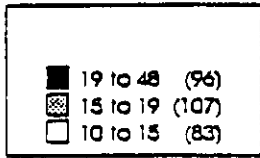
The proportion of unemployed women 25-64 years
Source: AMS, april 1993



APPENDIX 4

The proportion of women aged 20-64 years with tertiary education. Most educated, 1992.

Source SCB 1992



THEME 2

1st Part

**PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN AREAS RELATED TO VARIOUS
PATTERNS OF LIFE - QUESTIONS OF INFRASTRUCTURE**

CHAIRMAN: Mrs Cristiana STORELLI
Member of the Standing Conference of Local
and Regional Authorities of Europe
Bellinzona

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Mr Patrick GRAHN Director of research, University of Agricultural Sciences Alnarp	89
Mrs Lilli LICKA Landscape architect Vienna	113

PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN AREAS RELATED TO VARIOUS PATTERNS OF LIFE - QUESTIONS OF INFRASTRUCTURE

Women, the city and the design of utopia

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INTRODUCTION

There is a very long tradition in architecture for designers to seek to describe "Utopia", or more specifically, the "ideal city". In designing a utopia, designers do not have to react to contingencies, such as budget or site circumstances, but rather they define the context and parameters of their work themselves. Utopian proposals stand, therefore, as examples of what their originators consider "ideal".

However, the architectural utopia has one crucial factor which makes it different to other types of utopian proposals. Almost every utopia describes, to a lesser or a greater extent, the physical context in which the perfect society is to occur. For the creators of the ideal city, however, reconstructing the environment is not just one task amongst many in the utopian project. "Rebuilding the city, rather, is the first and foremost step in reforming society". To build the ideal city is to create the utopian society, "an entity in which the town plan and the architecture - the totality of the organised, planned space - embody the political and social ideals of the society which has created this city. It is the embodiment in stone of a political order: the solid geometry of a perfect way of life. For the designers of the ideal city there is a tendency to believe in salvation through bricks alone, to expect that once the city is built, its very structure will produce social harmony.

Few "ideal cities" have ever been fully realised, although many have greatly influenced twentieth century thinking about planning and architecture. It is therefore to examine the nature of these "ideal" proposals and in particular women's "place" in them. It is significant that "in our rush to analyze the uniqueness of utopian communities we have too often failed to look for the unquestioned beliefs underlying the community. Many apparently radical proposals for the reform of cities have been founded on very conservative images of women, their "nature" and their role in society.

OWEN, FOURIER AND THE UTOPIAN SOCIALISTS

A group of activists, the "utopian socialists", emerged in the early nineteenth century dedicated to social reform. They were committed to building model communities as a means of realising their ideal society. They believed that "if a Newton could conclusively demonstrate the rational construction of the physical world, then why should the inner workings of the mind, and better still, the workings of society, not become equally demonstrable".

For the utopian socialists ideal planning was an attempt to project utopian communities intended as prototypes for some future enlightened state. They believed that it was possible to perfect the human character in the appropriate setting. Central to their reform was the reorganisation of traditional domestic life.

Among these communitarians was Robert Owen. He was a British industrialist, a mill owner with socialist ideas. He decided to establish communities of harmony which would be the setting of an ideal society on the basis that "the ideal community could transform the world through the power of example". Working in the early part of the nineteenth century, he attempted to have his ideas made real both in Britain and in the United States with varying degrees of success.

In his 1815 development, New Lanark, Owen attempted to break down the divisions between the contained family circle and the community as a whole. New Lanark, as a pioneering institution of the co-operative movement was to be based around a school, or "institution for the Formation of Character" for the education of the children of working women. He then elaborated his ideas further and planned the building of villages of unity and co-operation based on squares, sub-divided into parallelograms, the line in the centre giving the site for schools, the library, the lecture room, the place of worship, the public kitchen and mess rooms. Three sides were allotted to private apartments and the fourth to dormitories (figs. 1 and 2). Crucial to the Owenite vision of society was the elimination of the isolated household, and its substitution with communal housekeeping. The model community household would be a world in miniature, "a concept which at once domesticated political economy and politicised domestic economy".

The belief that the built environment should be transformed to reflect more egalitarian systems of production and consumption, persuaded them of the importance of making a full critique of conventional housing and domestic life. Owen believed that women should be spared the life of drudgery experienced by women working alone within the home. He published several plans for settlements which included collective kitchens, dining halls and nurseries. Their provision was to ensure that "the mothers of families, will be enabled to earn a better maintenance or support for your children; you will have less care and anxiety about them; while the children will be prevented from learning any bad habits and gradually prepared to learn the best". The Owenite societies had a strong feminist theoretical position in many respects, in particular in their critique of the division of labour between the "public" and the "private".

Charles Fourier was a French political philosopher and social reformer. He sought to design "an architectural invention to overcome the conflicts between the city and the country, rich and poor, men and women by an enlightened arrangement of economic and social resources". To *overcome*, but not to *eliminate* such divisions, to facilitate a harmonious existence.

Fourier's ideal city was to be located in the Phalanstery, (a large single building, the word being a conjunction of "Phalanx" and "monastery"). In this society of "free association" people were to be housed in large buildings which would be equipped with various services including creches, young people were to be cared for communally. There were to be communal restaurants and public rooms, however each family was to have its own apartment the size of which would be commensurate with their status within the community. The Phalanstery was modelled on Versailles, its central wing being given over to public functions (dining-hall, library, winter-garden etc. while the wings were devoted to the workshops and the stables. (figs. 3 and 4).

Fourier identified "the private dwelling as one of the greatest obstacles to improving the position of women in our civilisation; for him, improved housing design was as essential to women's rights as improved settlement design was to the reform of worker's lives". As he stated "the degree of emancipation of women is the natural measure of general emancipation". He argued that a society which condemned women to domestic drudgery was inferior to one where women and men shared equally in human activities, and women enjoyed economic independence.

However, both in Owen's Parallelograms and in Fourier's Phalanstery, the new communal housework was invariably carried out by the women of the community. There was no challenge to gender roles and fixed definitions of "women's work". While improved work environments and equal wages were often advertised, the reality for female workers was an improvement in working conditions, rarely equal pay and only occasionally an end to confinement in domestic industry.

Although the experimental settlements of the utopian socialists failed to survive or thrive for very long, their ideas about the changing nature of "women's work" by arranging for it to be done communally, did influence many other utopian planners who came after them. These ideas surfaced in various forms in utopian plans which appeared throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Perhaps, in feminist terms, their major achievement was to attempt to end the isolation of the individual household, and to acknowledge the patriarchal relations which such an arrangement implies, and their treatment of housework as labour to be divided and specialised, even if they failed to break down its gendered division.

EBENEZER HOWARD AND THE GARDEN CITY

Ebenezer Howard was born in London in 1850. His "Garden Cities of Tomorrow", published in 1898, was a "utopian" proposal which greatly influenced the shape of the western city in the twentieth century. To a large extent it set the agenda for the new emerging "science" of town-planning. Many cities, both in Europe and the United States show the influence of Garden City thinking.

Male/female difference, was important to Howard's vision of the Garden City, "it became a metaphor for the reconciliation of town and country". As Howard himself described, "Human society and the beauty of nature were meant to be enjoyed together. As man and woman by their varied gifts and faculties supplement each other, so should town and country. The town is the symbol of society, of science, art, culture and religion, the country is the symbol of God's love and care for man. We are fed by it, clothed by it, and we are warmed and sheltered by it, on its bosom we rest. Town and Country must be married".

He believed that radical hopes for a co-operative civilisation could be fulfilled only in small communities embedded in a decentralised society and he set about describing his Garden City in the belief that the overcrowded slum-ridden nineteenth century city would become a thing of the past. He claimed that "These crowded cities have done their work, they were the best which a society largely based on selfishness and rapacity could construct, but they are in the nature of things entirely unadapted for a society in which the social side of our nature is demanding a larger share of recognition".

Howard saw the town and the country as operating like two magnets, attracting and repelling people by their merits and demerits (fig. 5). "The object is treated continually in the public press as though men, or at least working men, had not now, and never could have, any choice or alternative, but either on the one hand to stifle their love for human society - at least in wider relations than can be found in a straggling village - or on the other hand, to forgo almost entirely all the keen and pure delights of the country". He proposed a third "town-country" magnet, which would incorporate the advantages of both town and country living while eliminating their disadvantages, offering the inhabitant the beauty of nature and social opportunity, low rents and high wages, bright homes and gardens, no smoke, no slums, freedom and co-operation (fig. 6).

As already noted, Howard perceived the union of town and country as a mirror of the union of man and woman in marriage. The "natural difference between males and females was central to Howard's Garden City to such a degree that Lewis Mumford, one of Howard's most ardent followers, felt confident enough to suggest that, "The task of our age is to work out an urban environment that will be just as favourable to fertility, just as encouraging to marriage and parenthood as rural areas still are. Howard at the time he first wrote, had no reason to be concerned with the threat of a declining population; but it happens so organic, so deeply biotechnic was his whole conception - that the sort of city he projected was precisely the kind whose population will be biologically capable of reproducing itself and psychologically disposed to do so".

The basic unit of the Garden City was to be the nuclear family. It is clear from Howard's calculations of the population, and of the workforce, that he envisaged the "male-breadwinner" and "female-homemaker" household as the norm. The Garden City is designed with strict zoning separation between the location of the housing, work and leisure, thus making a rigid division between the "public" and the "private" with the homemaking woman being assumed to occupy the private realm of the city. "The layout of the Garden City, with its clear separation between work and the home and its single family housing let at a rent only a skilled manual worker could afford, reinforced trends of women's dependency on men and the cultivation of an ideal family of a working man, a dependent wife and child".

One interesting aspect of the Garden City manifesto was the suggestion that some of the housing would contain "common gardens and co-operative kitchens". Howard proclaimed that co-operative quadrangles would be the pragmatic response to "the servant question" and "the woman question". When it came to building Letchworth as a Garden City prototype in 1903, Howard, not wishing to frighten away his conservative investors, kept the co-operative housing to a minimum. He believed however, that his experiment would ultimately become the norm for domestic architecture, an example which would have people "green with envy", rather than "red with laughing".

Several quadrangles were eventually built at Letchworth and Welwyn. Homesgarth at Letchworth was the best known (figs. 7). It was designed by the architect A Clapham Landes in the Arts and Crafts style. Thirty-two private kitchenless apartments were arranged around three sides of a quadrangle. The fourth side contained the kitchen and dining-hall and a laundry. It was designed to house middle-class childless couples. All the domestic work was to be carried out by servants employed by the residents. Meadoway Green was a co-operative quadrangle designed for working-class tenants without servants. A full-time cook and part-time char were employed and the women tenants ran the kitchen on a rota basis, two weeks at a time.

Howard described Homesgarth as a place designed "to provide a house of comparative comfort and beauty for the numerous folks of the middle class who have a hard struggle for existence on a mere budget - for those who would require domestic help but can ill afford it". Howard and his wife moved into Homesgarth in 1913 whereupon he congratulated himself on "his wife's liberation". He claimed that he had managed to "wisely and effectively utilise a little of this vast volume of now wasted woman's ability and woman's energy". Women's work might be rationalised and carried out co-operatively, but while such collective arrangements might liberate Howard's wife, they would never engage him in domestic chores, they were not intended as a challenge to the gendered division of labour.

That Howard was apparently bereft of feminist intentions did not prevent Homesgarth from becoming popular with independent women. Letchworth "became a haven for radicals and bohemians in its early years the reminiscences by long-standing or former inhabitants often mentioned vegetarians, dress reformers and eccentrics". Among the "eccentrics" were feminists who appreciated the freedom (however limited) that co-operative housework afforded them. The benefit to working women was so obvious that when the Hampstead Garden Suburb was being built in 1909, it included "Waterlow Court" a quadrangle of housing for "professional women".

LE CORBUSIER, THE VILLE CONTEMPORAINE AND THE VILLE RADIEUSE

Le Corbusier, unquestionably one of the most significant architects of the twentieth century, developed a fascination with urban planning which was to constitute a large portion of the work he undertook during his career. He wanted to radically alter how people lived but he was equally dedicated to avoiding social upheaval. In putting forward his proposals he claimed that a choice rested with society, "Architecture or Revolution!" Obviously he proposed it would be better to choose the former. He was confident that reform of the physical environment would be a major, if not *the* major contribution to the creation of an ideal society that would provide all the prerequisites of complete happiness and fulfilment".

Le Corbusier viewed the world in a "dualistic or dialectical" manner, "he continually described the world in terms of paired opposites, such as matter and spirit, active and passive forces, reason and emotion and so on". He saw the categories "male" and "female" as another natural dualism.

He exhibited his first urban proposal in the Salon d'Automne in 1922. This was called "A Contemporary City for Three Million Inhabitants" or the "Ville Contemporaine" (fig. 8). The "organic city", the city that emerged slowly as the result of many individual decisions was rejected as a thing of the past. The ideal city was ordered, the right angle reigned supreme. Le Corbusier declared the "corridor street" dead (fig. 9).

The Ville Contemporaine was very ordered and each function of the city was assigned a distinct zone. The centre was a major, multi-level traffic intersection, the core of a co-ordinated system of transportation: superhighways, subways, access roads, bicycle paths and pedestrian routes intersected there. Around this there were steel and glass blocks of 60 storeys, the workplace of the city's elite. As the buildings were tall they occupied only a small proportion of the ground plane and were set in parkland.

These housing blocks for the elite, or Immeubles Villas, have been described as a version of Fourier's Phalanstery. They may also have been influenced by Howard's co-operative quadrangle. They contained provision for communal services, 6 man-servants were to be available to provide catering and cleaning services, and there were communal laundry and dining services. "It extended community services into the domestic economy while maintaining the privacy and autonomy of the family unit". Each of these apartments was over 10 times bigger than those in Howard's co-operative quadrangle. The services were intended to free residents for a rich and varied social life with other members of the elite.

The "Ville Radieuse" or "Radiant City", was first exhibited in 1930 (fig. 10). It was the result of some rethinking on the part of Le Corbusier. However "the Ville Radieuse retained the most important principle of the Ville Contemporaine: the juxtaposition of a collective realm of order and administration with an individualistic realm of family life and participation. The city was to be ruled by a "natural elite" selected by workers in their factories. Le Corbusier ensured that he separated "a hierarchical sphere of production and administration from a participation sphere of leisure and family life, giving to each its own realm where its value are supreme". This separation was an important part of Le Corbusier's vision.

The centre of life within the Ville Radieuse was to be residential blocks called "Unités d'Habitation" (fig. 11). Each block was a neighbourhood of about 2,700 people and apartments were assigned to workers on the basis of need and family size. Communal services were to be provided in each unit, including a cafe, restaurant, creche, health centre, laundry, school etc.

Le Corbusier was concerned with designing a society which could balance the needs of the individual with the requirements of collective society. However individuals were not all to have the same status in society. He was quite explicit in expressing his belief in the immutable and "natural" difference in essence and in roles for men and women. In "La Ville Radieuse" he uses the cycle of water, evaporated from the sea, falling as rain and running back into the sea again, as a metaphor for the relationship between women and men, men being the sun that sets the whole cycle in motion, women being the water "This prodigious spectacle has been produced by the interplay of two elements, one male, one female: sun and water. Two contradictory elements that both need each other in order to exist".

To be in equilibrium with nature, the ideal society would have to reflect, and not attempt to eradicate, "natural" difference. He declared that "man" "has been created according to the laws of nature. If he is sufficiently aware of those laws, if he obeys them and harmonises his life with the perpetual flux of nature, then he will obtain (for himself) a conscious sensation of harmony that will be beneficial to him". All "man" has to go on with are the laws of nature. "He must understand the spirit of them and then apply them to his environment in order to create out of the cosmos something *human*".

Le Corbusier sought to apply the laws of "nature" to create a world where "the machine liberates the individual worker with the work it performs instead of subjugating him (sic) to further slavery". Thus all workers will soon have a five hour working day. "A machine civilisation established itself slyly and secretly, under the carpet, where we could not see it clearly. It plunged us and held us in a life which is now in question. Symptoms are now appearing of breakdowns in people's health, and of economic, social and religious changes (the effect of inventions has been to shatter the ancestral statute). Everything has been broken, torn asunder, social life is different. The life of the individual is threatened". The changes in women's roles were, for Le Corbusier, part of this collapse of civilisation.

He believed that women fulfilled their "natural" role away from the public, "cultural" realm, in the "private" sphere. "The economic and social boom that followed the Great War, that began during the war itself, has made woman a worker too, and uprooted from her former position at the centre of home and family life. This tendency (especially in Russia: female emancipation=ideal=illusion) is perhaps leading us into *error*". However, Le Corbusier could also see the required solution, "if the wife goes back into her home, to her children, then there will be less labour on the market. The result will be less industrial unemployment". However in order to entice women into this position he warns "But take care! If the husband's working day is reduced to a mere 5 hours, then we must be careful not to force the wife back into 12 or 16 hours of household tasks from which she has so energetically escaped. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander: only five hours housework per day as well!". The new machine-age would emphasise, rather than eradicate, the gendered division of labour.

Within the Unité, there were facilities for communal childcare and dining etc. but this was not intended to relieve women of responsibility for these tasks, "the communal restaurants and/or prepared food sent to the individual home and the other facilities, including play areas and nurseries, were not intended to do away with women's domestic role. Nurseries would diminish the level of domestic drudgery but their main role was to ensure eugenic standards of child rearing". It is quite clear that the community kitchens would not replace women's work either as each apartment had a fully equipped private kitchen.

WOMEN AND THE DESIGN OF UTOPIA

Historically women have not had the same opportunities as men to describe their ideal city. However this does not mean that their voices have been completely silent or absent from debates as to what the shape of our cities ought to be.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman was an early twentieth century American writer. She published books on "Women and Economics" several utopian novels and articles on various aspects of feminism. She lectured extensively and her works were widely read and popularly known.

Her vision was of a world where women enjoyed the economic independence of work outside the home for wages, and the social benefits of life with their families in private kitchenless apartments or houses connected to central kitchens, dining halls and daycare centres. In her work "rather than arguing that evolution would help to free women, she contented that free women would help to speed up evolution". She was critical of general ignorance of the role which housing played in women's social isolation. She claimed that "the effect of the house upon woman is as important as might be expected of one continuous environment upon any living creature".

She opposed co-operative housing arrangements, believing that the future lay in "combination", a business arrangement where people would receive commercial household assistance, "business methods could reconstruct the housekeeping of a community". To this end she proposed the building of kitchenless apartments in "Feminist Apartment Hotels" with complete cooking, dining and childcare facilities, to be constructed, and run for profit, by entrepreneurs. There would be a kitchen belonging to the hotel from which meals could be served to the families in their rooms or in a common dining room, as preferred. Cleaning would be done by efficient workers engaged by the manager of the establishment. The hotel would have a roof garden, day-nursery and kindergarten. Well trained professional nurses and teachers, would ensure proper care of the children. She claimed that "This must be offered on a business basis; and so it will prove for it is a growing social need". The hotel would also include collective meeting spaces, libraries, parlours, baths, gymnasia etc. to which both men and women were to have equal access.

She claimed that "this very apartment house, with its inevitable dismissal of the kitchen, with its facility for skilled specialist labour, has freed the woman from her ancient service...". Henrietta Rodman and her Feminist Alliance, (founded in 1914) designed, but failed to raise enough money to build just such a building in Greenwich Village in New York.

Perkins Gilman never suggested that the new professional housework would be carried out by men. It is therefore hard to imagine how she thought that working-class women would be "liberated" by the hotels they would be cleaning. In her work she lacked both an overview of urban design issues and class analyses.

Alice Constance Austin was a self-trained American architect, a feminist and a socialist, working in the early years of the twentieth century. In 1916 she designed plans for a city, Llano del Rio, to be constructed in California for a group of settlers who wished to establish a feminist-socialist city to oppose to capitalist Los Angeles (fig. 12).

She first designed a kitchenless house. The ground floor had a living room, bedrooms, a bathroom and a patio (intended for use as a living space). The upper floor housed sleeping porches, to take advantage of the hot climate. To eliminate unnecessary housework there were no mouldings to dust, built-in furniture and heated tiled floors. Decorative window frames replaced curtains, which she referred to as the "household scourge". By good design she hoped that the "home will no longer be a Procrustean bed in which each feminine personality must be made to conform by whatever maiming, fatal spiritual or intellectual oppression".

Austin's city had only minimal provision of "conventional" housing (intended for those who were too conservative to accept any other alternative). Central to her policy of eliminating unnecessary housework was the provision of a catering service to all houses. Each was connected to a central kitchen through a complex underground network of tunnels along which trains would run. The trains would bring cooked meals, laundry etc. to connection points from which deliveries would be made to the basement of each house by small electric cars. Dirty dishes were to be returned in a similar manner to be washed by machine.

Austin's housing design, like the infrastructure of the city plan, expressed her concern with the organisation of domestic work and its implications for the role of women. She recognised the cultural and social construction of "femininity" with women being "drilled from babyhood to isolation in the home and conformity" and maintained that women are as individual in

their tastes and abilities as men. However, she supported the idea of individual houses for nuclear families and rejected any notion of communal living or combined households.

In her socialist city, through the provision of centralised services, a woman would be "relieved of the thankless and unending drudgery of an inconceivably stupid and inefficient system, by which her labours are confiscated" yet the restoration of her labours was not to lead to waged work outside the home. The woman would occupy "a peaceful and beautiful environment in which she will have leisure to pursue her duties as wife and mother, which are now usually neglected in the overwhelming press of cooking and cleaning".

Unfortunately, while placing the ending of the domestic exploitation of women at the centre of her proposals, Austin did not carry on to challenge the gendered division of labour. In the end she fell back on notions of women's "natural" role in motherhood and their "natural" place in the private sphere.

CONCLUSION

I have attempted to demonstrate in this paper that historically gender has played an important and active role in the design of western cities. The models which I have examined all sought to spatially address the issue of gender difference in a conscious and deliberate way. It is important to recognise that urban design is not merely a mirror in which the division and hierarchies of society are reflected. Rather it is part of the mechanism through which such divisions are constructed, reproduced and understood.

As our cities have developed spatial division has become more, rather than less pronounced. This has consistently mitigated against women's full involvement in the "public" activity of city life. Cities and suburbs came to present "contrasting images which reflected the people they supposedly attracted. The cities were considered masculine: active, powerful, assertive. Important matters were decided here. The suburbs on the other hand were feminine: safe but frivolous, mindless, passive. In the suburbs one was isolated from the conflicts of the outside world".

For feminists like Alice Constance Austin or Charlotte Perkins Gilman a spatial analysis was vital and central to their world view. This spatial analysis has largely been missing from twentieth century feminist theory. Correspondingly the feminist worldview has been largely absent from architectural and planning theory.

Secondly as has been observed, utopian proposals, or designs for the ideal city, are not subject to the same practical considerations as the design of a conventional commission. They do not require a site, a commission, a client or a budget. This makes them an easily accessible tool for providing both a critique of cities as they exist and a projection of what cities could become. They can also be used as a means of investigating different ways of arranging for the needs of society, as the various suggestions for co-operative work and childcare make clear. This makes "ideal" planning particularly useful for women.

However utopian planning has also proved to be problematic in many ways. Architects who believed that "designers had hitherto merely ornamented the world when in many ways the point was to change it" have attempted to redesign society and to recreate it in line with their own ideas. This "godlike" approach posits utopia as the end product, not the catalyst of social reform.

It is possible to describe feminism itself as a utopian project. It envisages an "ideal society" towards which it encourages change. It is, however, different from other utopian projects in that it is not a "solution" to be imposed by an elite group of "experts". Feminism recognises the experience of the individual as a valid source of knowledge upon which to act. Rather than placing its faith in "objectivity" it attempts to synthesise a praxis which unites theory and practice. For this reason a feminist "utopia" places as much emphasis on the "process" towards the ideal world as on the "product" which it represents.

As Christine Battersby notes "the space of buildings needs to be re-thought from the point of view of women whose lives were fragmented by the divisions between productive ("work") and reproductive ("family") life that have typified Western society. A feminist approach to architecture and planning which unites theory and practice can provide both a critique of contemporary cities and a vision of what a "feminist city" might be like. A feminist utopia might, therefore be useful in promoting and provoking change in our cities.

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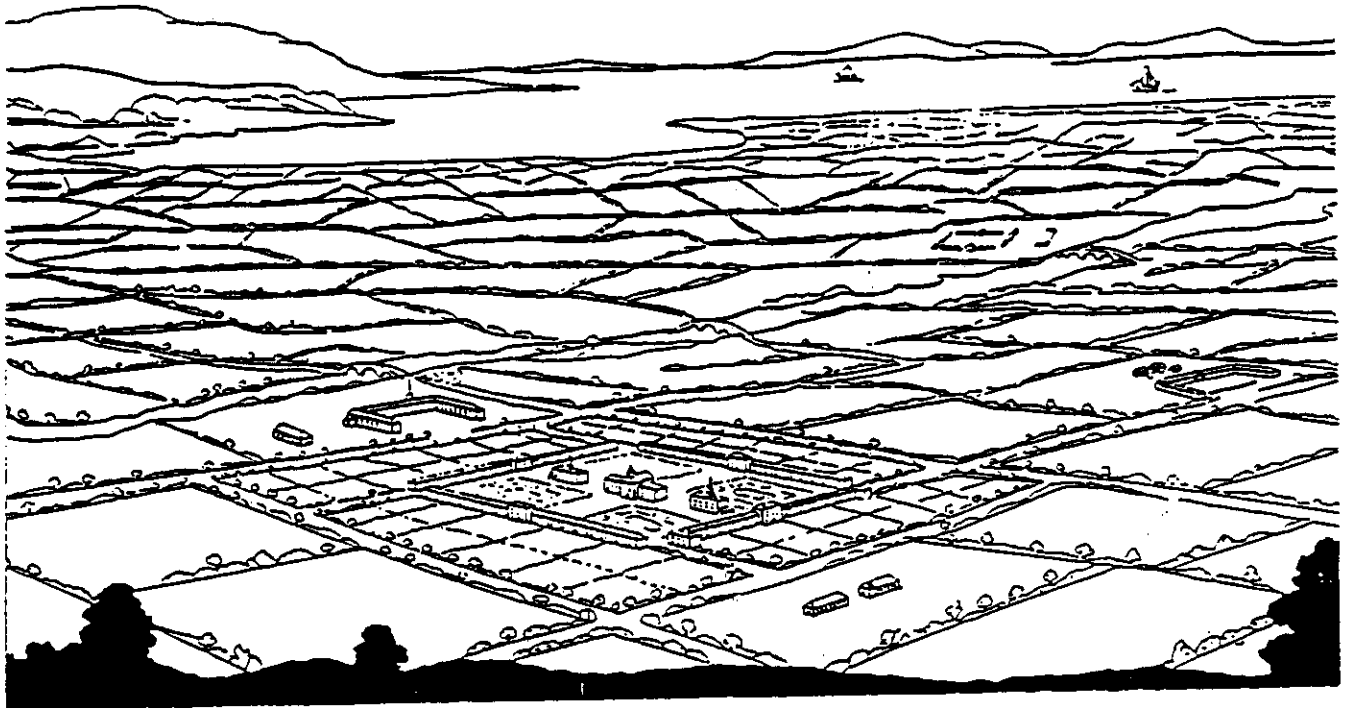


Fig.1 Robert Owen-Sketch for a Community of Harmony and Co-operation (1817)

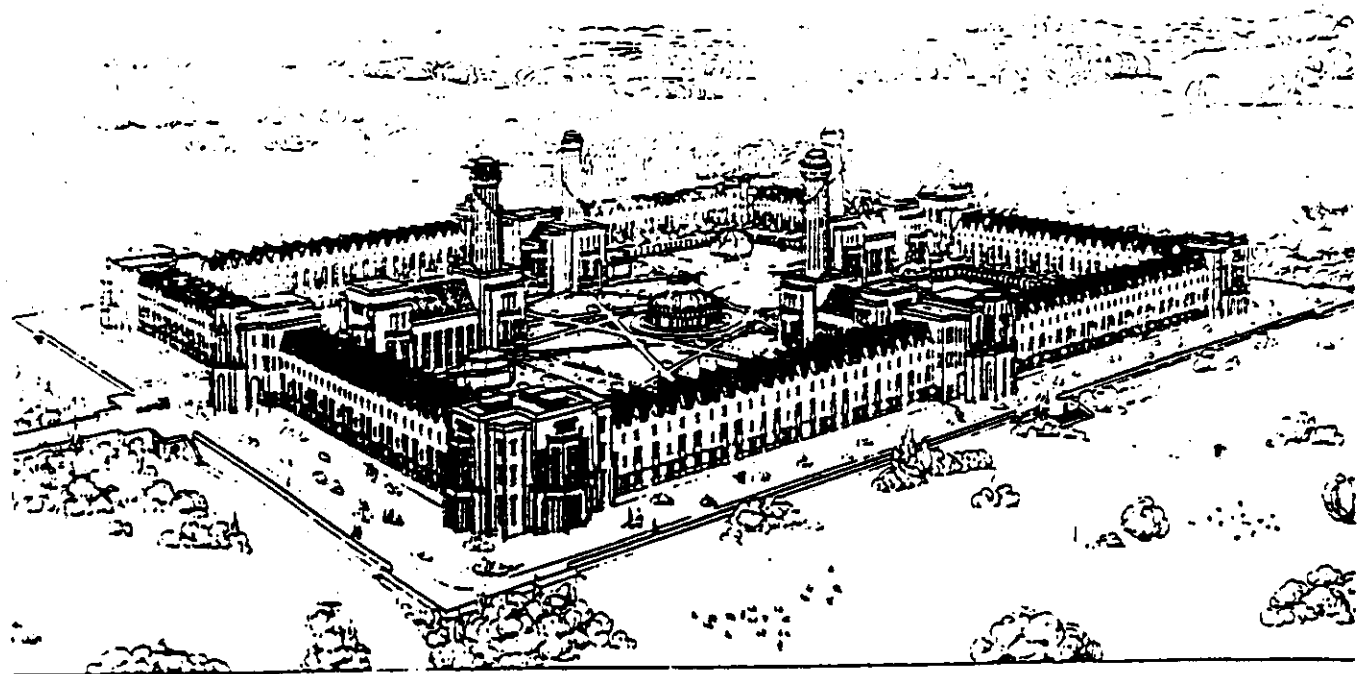


Fig. 2 Robert Owen- Design for a Parallelogram

-80-
L'AVENIR.

Perspective d'un Phalanstère ou Palais Sociétaire dédié à l'humanité.

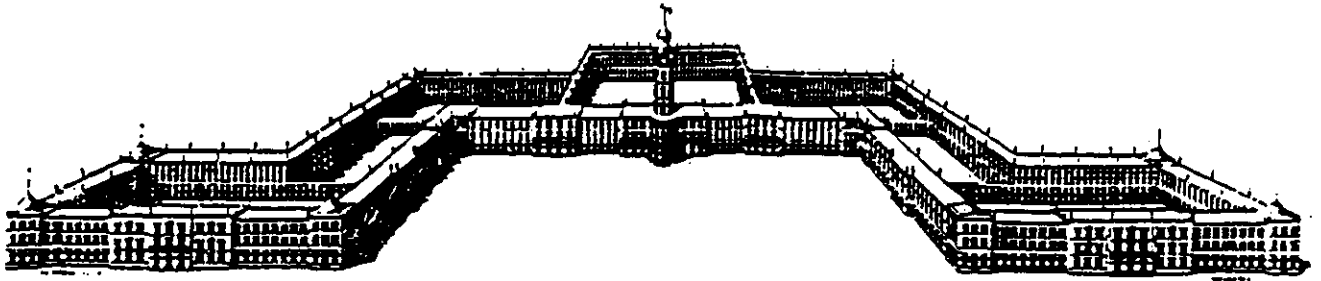


Fig. 3 L'Avenir- Fourier's design for a Phalanstery



- Sectional view:
- A. Basements.
 - B. Courtyard.
 - C. Skylight.
 - D. Apartments.
 - E. Attics.
 - a. Foundations.
 - b-g. Basement area.
 - h-i. Ventilation shafts.
 - k. Galleries.
 - l. Apartment doors.
 - m. Corridors.
 - n. Ventilation tower.
 - o-p. Interior fixtures and fittings.
 - r. Attic corridors.
- Plan:
- B. Stairs.
 - C. Galleries.
 - D. Apartments.
 - E-H. Service areas.
 - a. Entrance.
 - b, c. Living rooms.
 - com. Living areas.

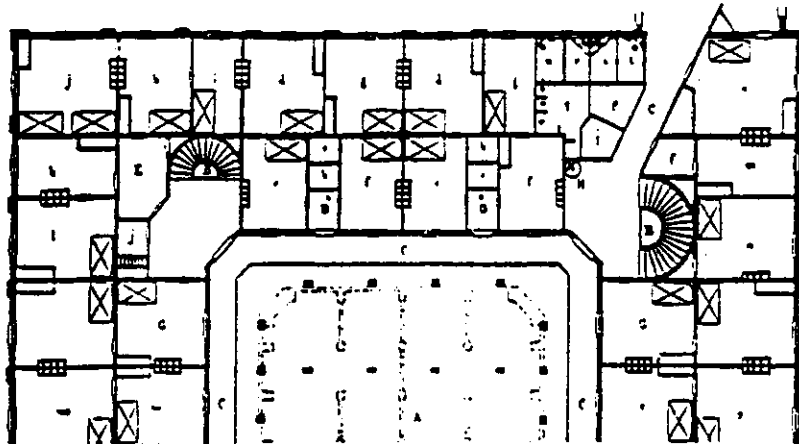


Fig. 4 Godin- Familistere at Guise

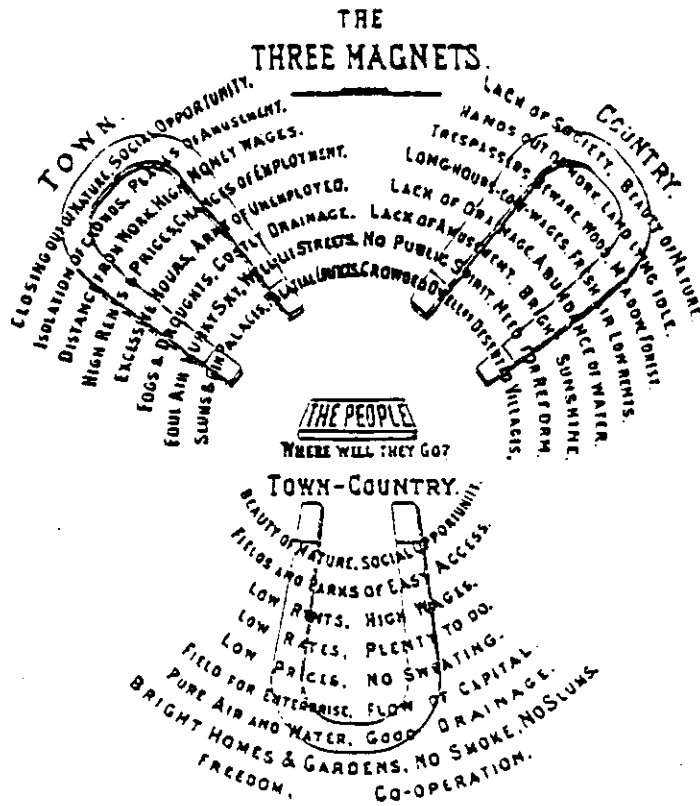


Fig. 5 Howard's Three Magnets

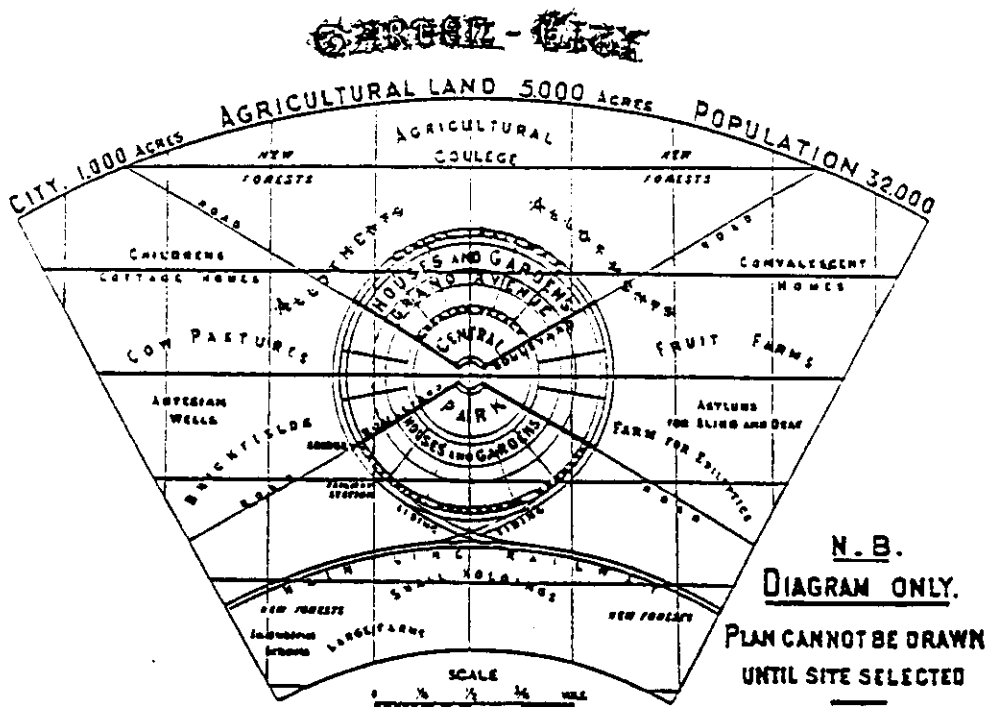


Fig. 6 Howard- Plan of The Garden City

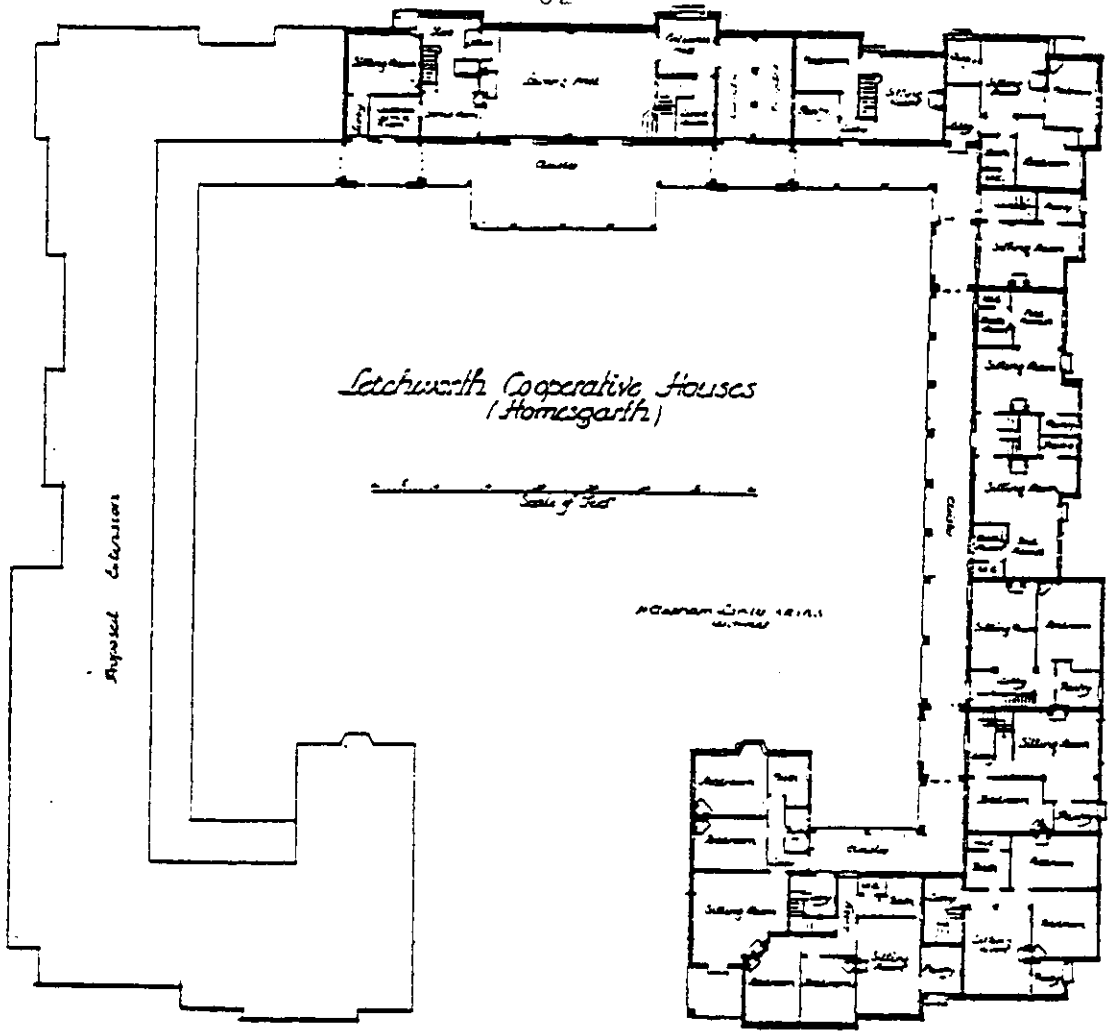
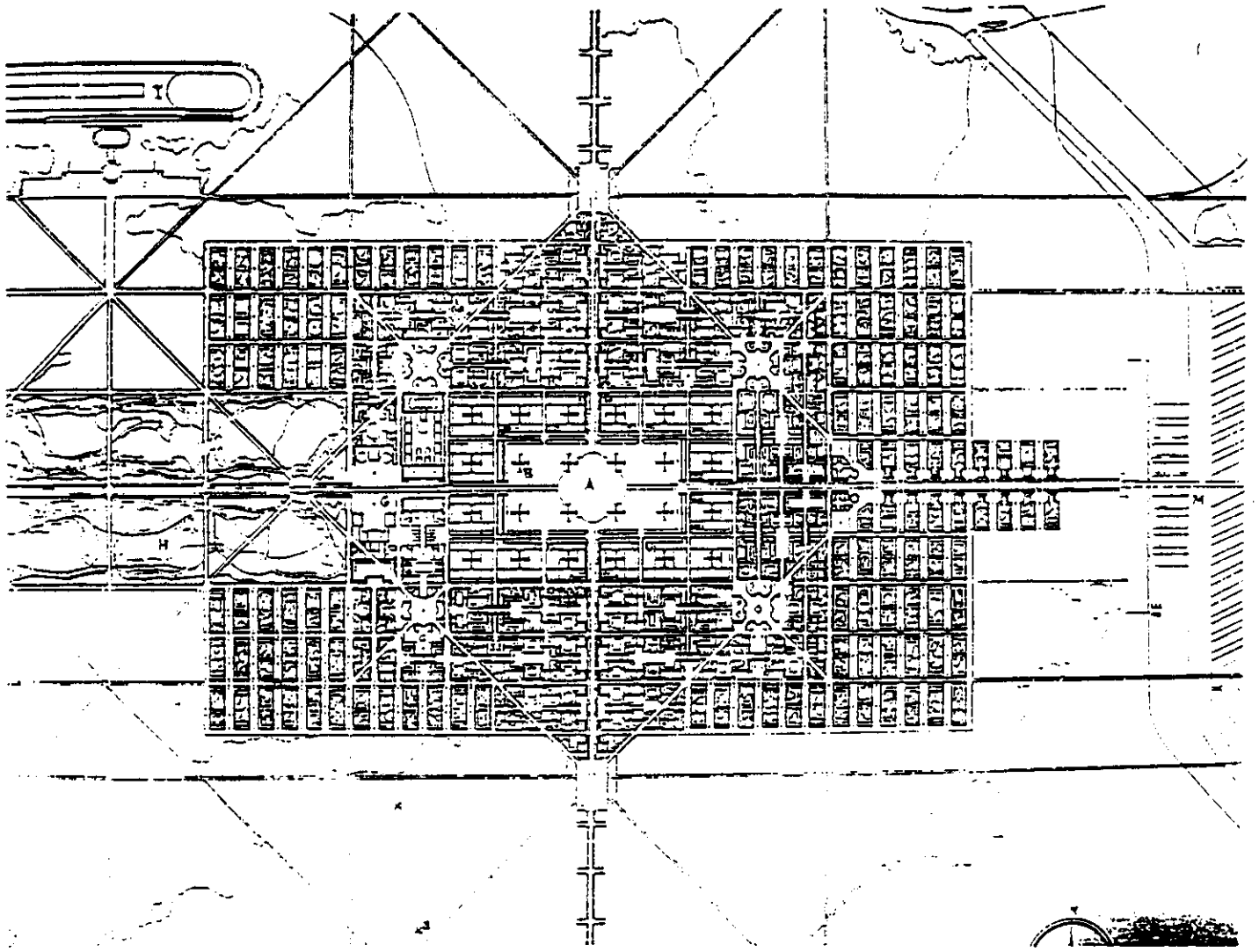


Fig. 7 Homesgarth a co-operative quadrangle at Letchworth-plan and views



- A. Station.
- B. Skyscrapers.
- C. Housing blocks with "set-backs."
- D. Housing blocks on the "cellular" system.
- E. Garden areas.
- G. Public services.
- H. Parks.
- I. Sports.
- K. Promenade zone.
- M. W'arehouses, industrial city, Goods station.

Fig. 8 Ville Contemporaine- plan

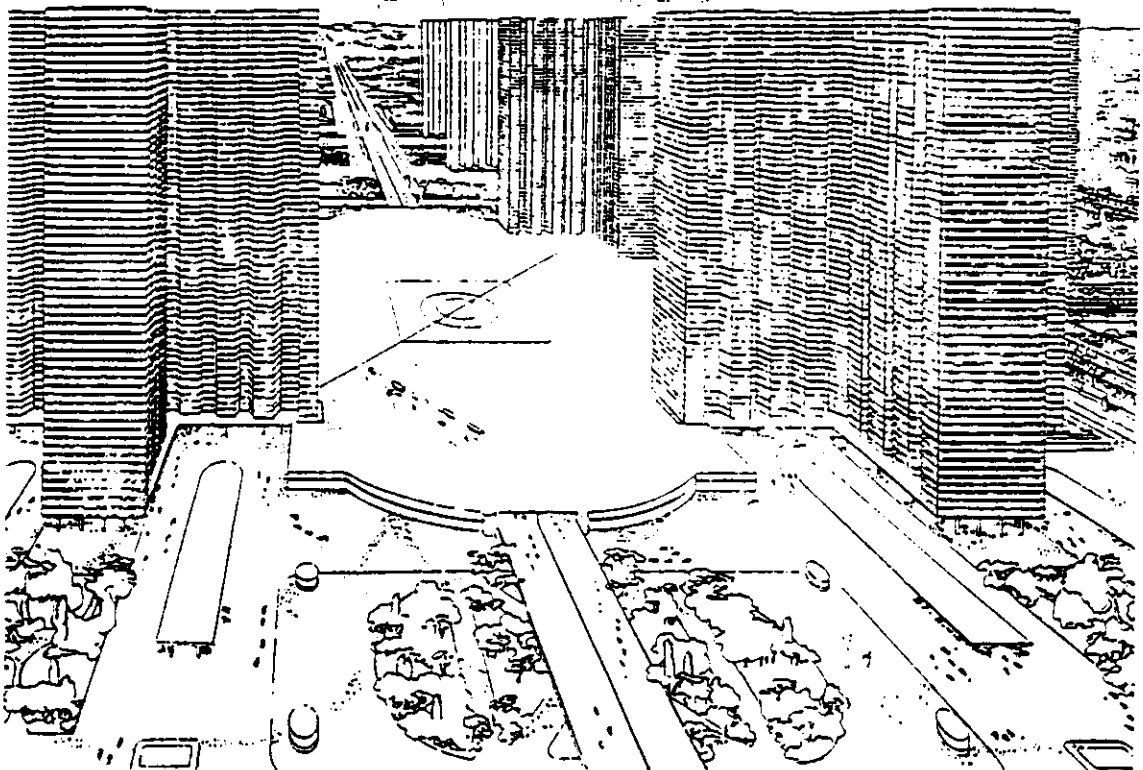
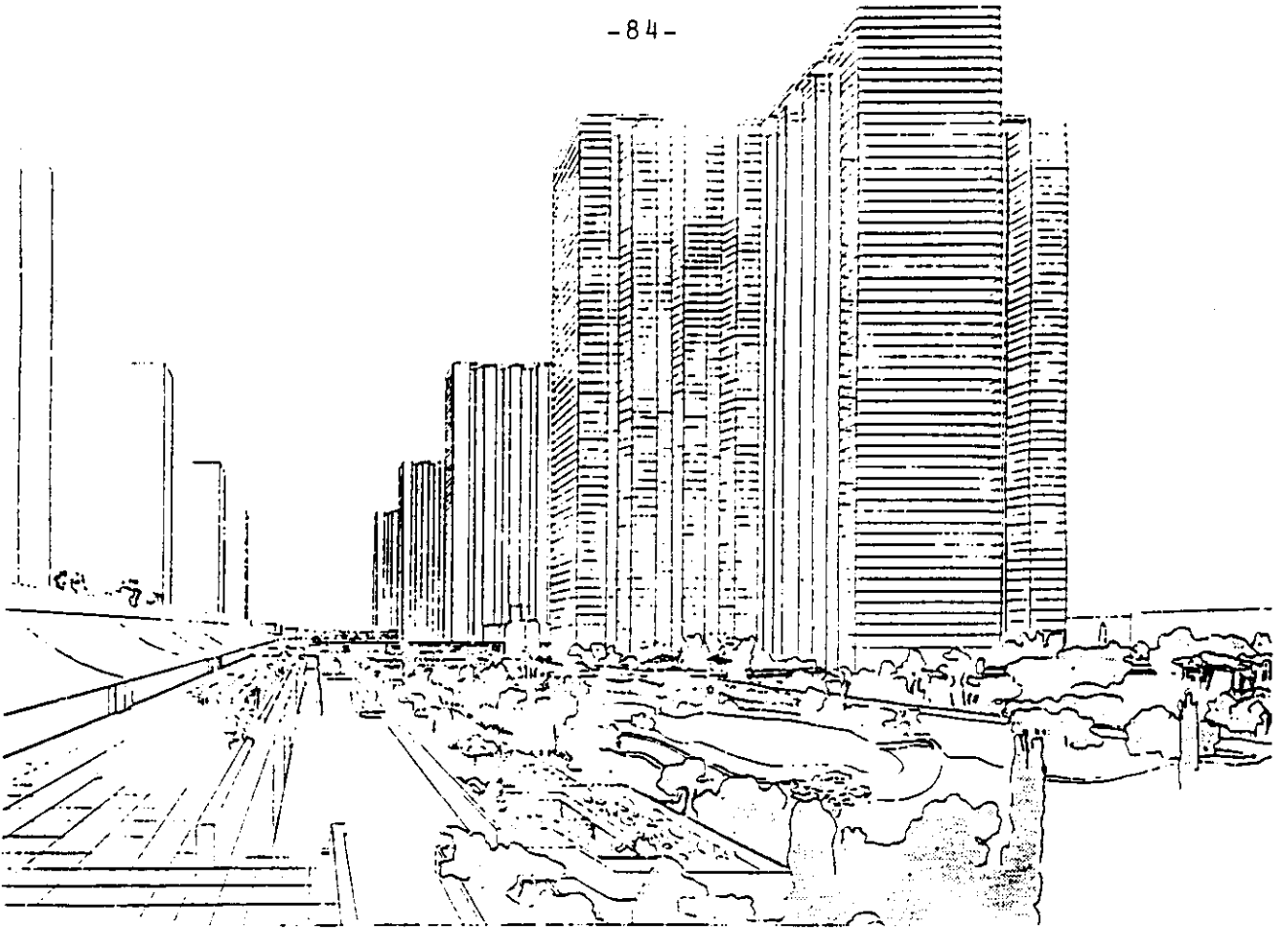


Fig. 9 Ville Contemporaine -views

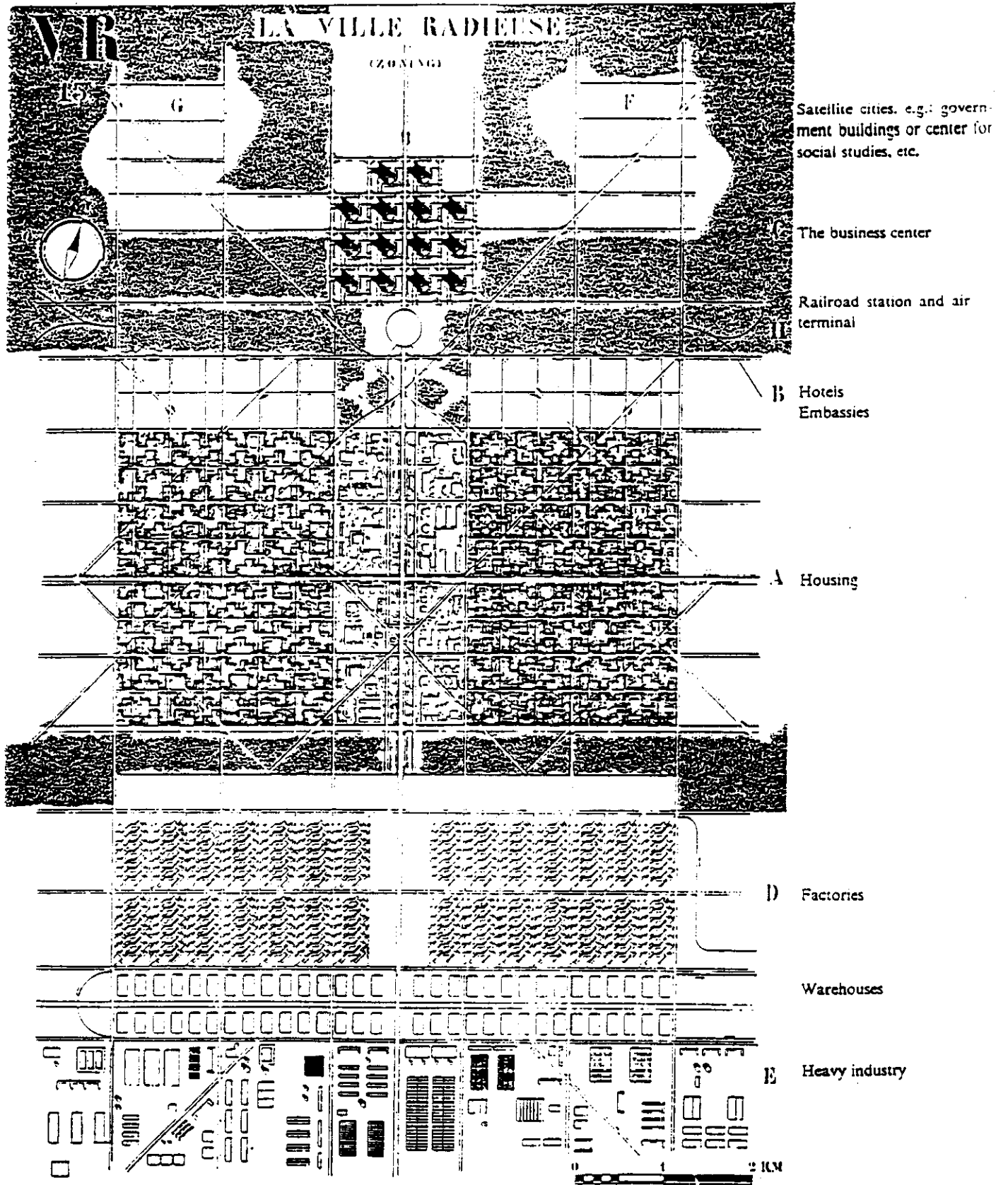
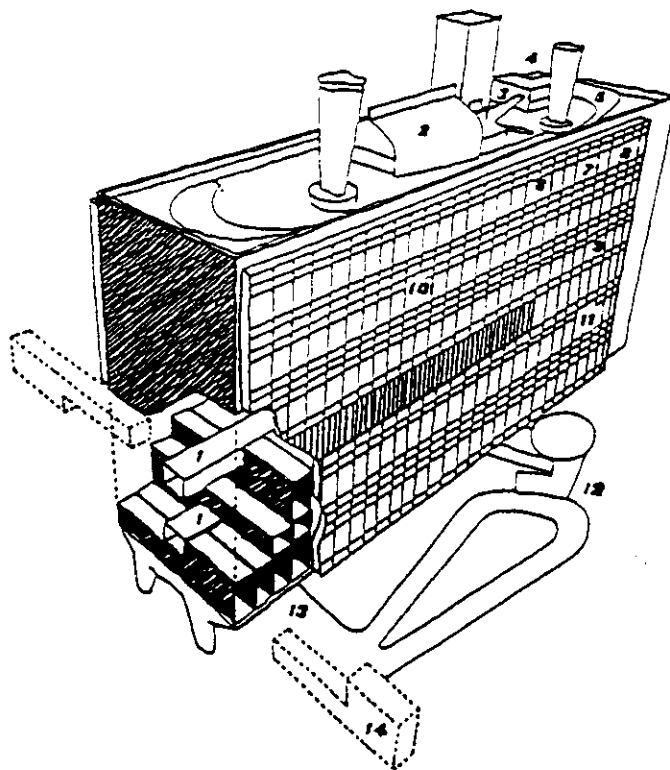
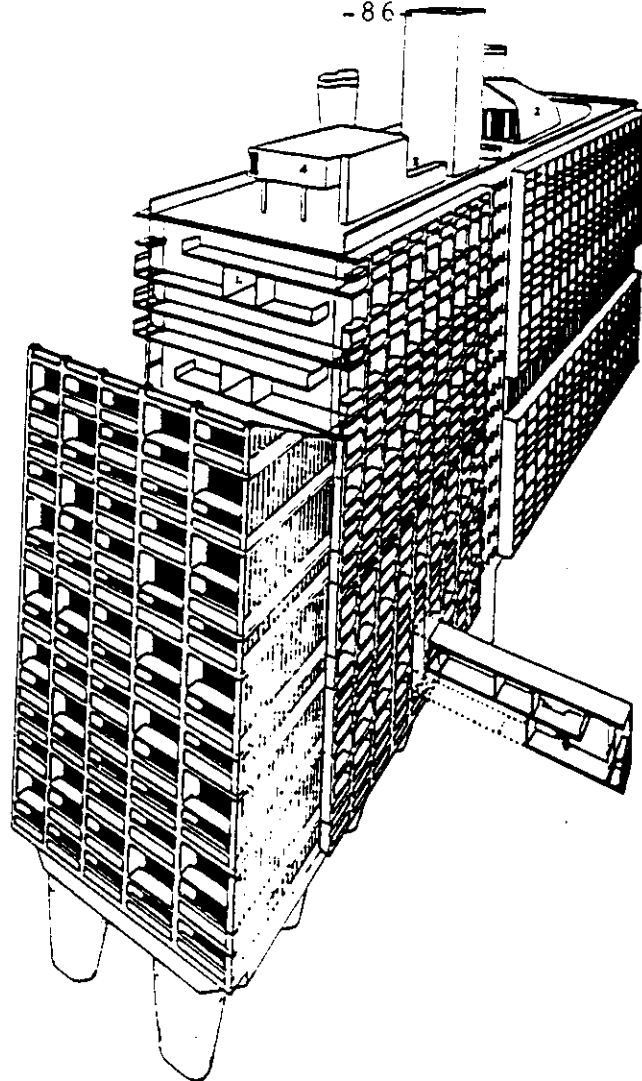


Fig. 10 Ville Radieuse- plan



- 1. Rues intérieures.
- 2. Gymnasium.
- 3. Café and solarium.
- 4. Restaurant.
- 5. Play sculptures.
- 6. Health centre.
- 7. Crèche.

- 8. Nursery school.
- 9. Club.
- 10. Workshops and meeting room for the young.
- 11. Laundry.
- 12. Entrance and porter's lodge.
- 13. Garages.
- 14. Typical duplex flat

Fig. 11 Unité d'Habitation

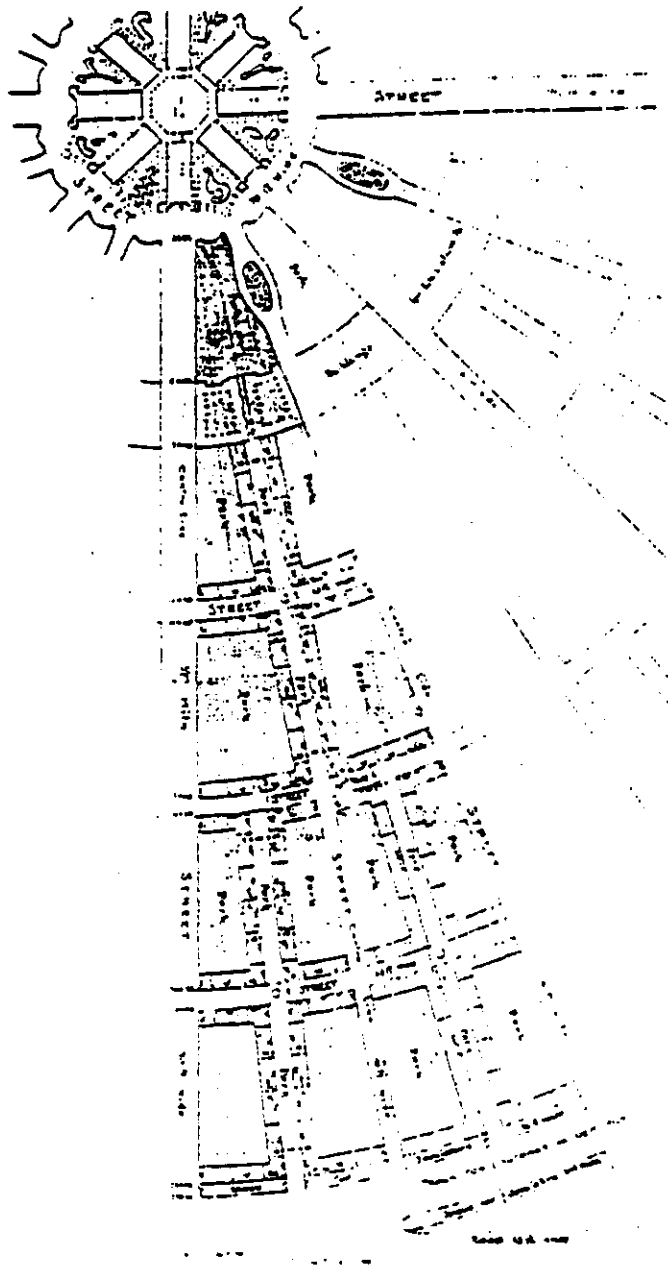


Fig.12 Alice Constance Austin- Llano del Rio- plan

PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN AREAS RELATED TO VARIOUS PATTERNS OF LIFE - QUESTIONS OF INFRASTRUCTURE

Green structures - The importance for health of nature areas and parks

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1. The importance of green areas in an historical perspective

The belief that there is a definite link between people's health and nature and greenery is very old, exactly how old, no one knows. Ancient religious writings describe noxious, evil places as treeless areas where the air is noisome and pungent (Gunnarsson, 1992). In the Bible, Isaiah warned of the consequences of allowing buildings to spread out without any green spaces and room for people to meet in between: "Woe to those who join house to house, who add field to field, until there is no more room, and you are made to dwell alone in the midst of the land. The Lord of hosts has sworn in my hearing: Surely many houses shall be desolate, large and beautiful houses, without inhabitant." (Isaiah chapter 5, verses 8 and 9). In the Europe of the Celts and early Teutons, trees were believed to have magical and healing powers - a belief which has survived to the present day in some parts of Sweden.

The first documented political interest in people's need of greenery was in connection with the intense expansion of ancient Rome, when the population of the city rapidly grew to over a million. The inhabitants of ancient Rome vociferously complained that it was becoming more and more stressful to live in the city because of the noise and overcrowding. "I do not wish to be sated with town and country" said Publius Terentius (185-159 BC), a writer well-known in Rome, who maintained that neither the buildings of the city nor the cultivated fields gave him the recreation he needed. The countryside and gardens, he claimed, were the only proper places for complete recreation. The poet Virgil (70-19 BC), described how his powers were revived when he left the city of Rome and went out into the countryside (Knopf, 1987).

The above writers shared this view of nature and gardens being conducive to good health, with most influential Romans, who recommended a life close to nature. Leading members of the Senate, amongst others, maintained that people needed access to nature for their well-being (Knopf, 1987). According to Chadwick (1966) and Mumford (1966), public gardens were laid out to satisfy the needs of the Romans for quiet, refreshing green areas in the city.

It was the end of the eighteenth century before the need of parks and nature for large groups of the population again became alarming. During the rapid expansion of American and European towns, which began in the dawn of industrialism in the eighteenth century, thoughts on people's need of nature and gardens once again were taken up in the general political debate. The old European towns, dating from the early Middle Ages and antiquity admittedly had crowded streets, but there were spacious gardens in the courtyards of the blocks. These gardens disappeared during industrialism's condensing wave, particularly during the latter half of the nineteenth century (Grahn, 1986b, 1991, Perrin & Cochrane, 1970).

In Germany, England and Austria, in particular, various organisations, as well as people in leading positions, made loud demands that people should receive compensation for the lack of light, fresh air and greenery (Grahn & Sorte, 1986). Not least the health risk was pointed out, of towns being all too densely populated. In the English parliament, members demanded already at the beginning of the nineteenth century that this development of towns be checked "to consider the best means of securing open spaces in the immediate vicinity of populous towns, as public walks calculated to promote the health and comfort of the inhabitants". (Richard Slaney, House of Commons Parliamentary Debates, 1833, 21st February col. 1056, in *Urban Parks and Open Spaces*, 1983).

Slaney pointed out in his speech that the intense urbanisation of towns had led to a sharp increase in incidence of major illness and premature death among town dwellers. In his argumentation, Slaney compared statistics of mortality rates in an average rural county and the industrial town of Leeds. The number of cases of premature death were 60% higher in Leeds. The conclusion, Slaney maintained, was that the number of open spaces in towns must increase, to give the workers fresh air to breathe and somewhere to take exercise on Sundays and holidays. In addition, Slaney pointed out that a selection of parks to go to would provide the workers with an alternative to getting blind drunk in pubs and alehouses. The parks' qualities were considered very important in this respect. Certain towns, such as Liverpool and Bristol, had saved a few open spaces, but these were regarded as "inadequate to the wants".

One of the reasons that radical members of the English parliament, as well as various associations and organisations, argued for more parks and open areas, was that doctors had put forward a theory at the end of the 18th century on why country dwellers lived longer and were healthier. According to "The Pathogenic Theory", or "The Theory of Miasma" as it was also called, it was because the air in towns was less wholesome. The fresh air, when living closer to nature, leads to better health. The theory also maintained that light and greenery in themselves had a positive effect on health (Cartwright, 1977).

This theory was predominant throughout the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century. Based on this theory, the radical demands for light, air and greenery in one's habitat were formulated. With these aims as their catchwords, architects, political parties, churches and writers were united throughout the urbanised world.

After the end of the second world war, political interest in urban green areas noticeably began to decrease. Public investments were increasingly made in sports grounds and distant recreational areas of the mountain and bathing resort type (*Urban Parks and Open Spaces*, 1983).

During the 50s, 60s and 70s, the amount of leisure time in the industrialised West gradually increased, at the same time as more people began to own cars. Presumably the individual citizen, as well as the active politician, wanted people to spend their free time and holidays out of town. This has probably led to politicians being under the illusion that to a Swede, a leisure landscape means mountains, archipelagos and a little lake in the forest. Yet they ought to realise that parks and nearby forests have become the everyday recreational landscape for most Swedes.

2. What is health?

When describing the various connections between people's well-being and the green structure of urban areas, one should perhaps first try to define the concept of well-being. When, in day-to-day life, people talk about their own and other's health, they perhaps take for granted that everyone means the same thing. The concept, however, is far from clearly defined. One can describe being healthy from the point of view of doctors' diagnoses, in terms of blood pressure, hormonal changes or body temperature. Another way of defining health is in accordance with social insurance office procedures, where individuals are considered healthy if they are able to work. Is the boundary so definite? Is it a question of either being healthy or being ill? And who decides when one passes from being healthy to being sick? Quite often a person can feel perfectly fit in the morning and then feel worse later in the day, but then are they ill?

Thus health can be defined from different perspectives and sometimes can be a case of being either well or unwell, or a question of a sliding scale from an absolute feeling of being sick and uneasy to a feeling of total well-being. Personally, I prefer to define health from the point of view of the individual's experience of well-being. In terms of planning, this means that chronically "ill" people, who perhaps suffer from heart trouble, rheumatism, allergy or diabetes, can lead a life with a high level of well-being if their living conditions and everyday life can be made easier.

A feeling of well-being is of course based on the individual's needs, which differ depending on whether the person is young or old, male or female, handicapped or not, etc. A number of years ago (Grahn, 1986a), I defined a hierarchy of needs. At the top came the individual's feeling of a meaning to life, next came a feeling of freedom, of opportunity, of not feeling oneself tied. Purely physical well-being, such things as food, drink and warmth, came on the third level. This hierarchy of needs can also be applied to the definition of health. A person who above all thinks that his/her life has a meaning is a healthy person. ○

This relation between man's needs and his actions and attitudes has been expressed earlier, for example by Maslow (1970) in his hierarchy of needs. I am, however, a little critical of this interpretation, as it can imply that man first strives to satisfy basic needs such as food and drink, and thereafter his cultural and spiritual needs. As does Konarski (1992), I maintain that a view of health must base itself on the whole, on the relation between individual and surroundings, with the individual's needs at the centre. Konarski writes, "It is apparent that a mentally stressful environment can manifest itself not only in the form of mental illness, but also in the form of serious physical illness, social problems, or crime. (...) From a holistic perspective, the concept of mental illness is an impossibility. Health and well-being are a total experience, not something which is assigned to a sub-aspect of reality."

I am therefore assuming that a person's well-being is to a large extent dependent on how much meaning he/she feels there is to life and that he/she lives in a situation where the relationships are clear and meaningful. Further, I am assuming that these relationships are experienced both consciously and unconsciously. This hypothesis is essential to the rest of this discussion. Health and well-being are thus to a large extent dependent on how meaningful one consciously or unconsciously experiences one's existence to be and on the surroundings functioning as a whole. If one realizes this, one has a surplus of energy which enables one to cope with more than the everyday demands. If one can only just about cope with everyday demands, then one is dangerously near to illness. If one cannot cope with everyday demands, one presumably cannot experience well-being.

This theory is based on man being a biological creature who has in the course of millions of years, adapted himself to surroundings that are green spaces. Several anthropological studies indicate that the environment to which we are best suited to live in, is a sparse forest in East Africa (Grahn, 1991, 1992). This implies that we are unconsciously able to experience a more meaningful context in an environment which contains parks and green areas than in an environment without greenery. This means that a healthy environment includes the individual himself, as well as the network of significant people and places with which the individual surrounds himself. As will be shown below, many factors are closely intertwined with each other and with the environment, with regards to man's physical and mental growth, his maturity and well-being.

Light, air and greenery; the catchwords which led to the building of so many parks and which were important goals for the early functionalists, are they so vital to people's well-being? The following section deals with some of the findings and theories of recent research.

3. The significance of natural daylight

During the extensive construction work of the 60s and 70s, many large complexes were built with rooms that had no windows. This included many types of buildings : schools, day nurseries, hospitals, and office complexes. Perhaps people were under the impression that human beings were so adaptable that day light was not necessary for their health. The demands for light, air and greenery had also died down in the debate.

The first warning signs about windowless premises came in 1972. Wilson (1972) observed that post-surgery patients in windowless intensive care wards were in confused and hallucinogenic states twice as often as patients in wards with windows. Keep et al (1980) conducted a similar study where two groups of patients, one group in a windowless intensive care ward and the other in a ward with windows, were examined. This study also showed that the incidence of hallucinations and confusion was twice as high for the patients in the windowless ward. These patients also had less of a grasp of how long they had been in hospital, than the other group.

What is it then that happens when we are exposed to light? Firstly, the sort of light we are exposed to is significant. Normal fluorescent strip lights, for example, have a wavelength which has no appreciable effect on people (Thorington et al, 1971, Erikson & Küller, 1983, Küller & Lindsten, 1992). Daylight, on the other hand, has a light spectrum with a noticeable effect on people's psychological and physiological status. When light passes the eye, impulses are sent to the visual centre, as well as to emotional and hormonal centres (Küller, 1981).

Above all, light strongly influences the regulation of people's diurnal and annual rhythms. Daylight impedes melatonin, a hormone which affects sleep, influences menstruation, inhibits ovulation and influences the regulation of a number of other hormones (Küller and Lindsten, 1992). The amount of daylight has a noticeable effect on the incidence of spring and autumn depressions (Rosenthal et al, 1984). In order to alleviate these depressions, so-called light therapy is being employed at a number of hospitals in Sweden, of which St. Göran's Hospital in Stockholm. However, it would require no more than a 20 minute walk in a park everyday at lunchtime, in spring and autumn, to overcome these problems (Küller, 1993). Therefore, when planning residential areas and work places, it is important to take into consideration what opportunities there are for people to take short, spontaneous walks in nearby green areas, parks or squares, in order to receive the necessary amount of daylight.

There are many factors to take into consideration regarding children spending time in windowless classrooms. Firstly, there are indications that daylight regulates growth hormones up to puberty, which means that children who spend time in windowless premises are shorter (Hollwich, 1973, Dieckhues, 1974, Kaloud, 1970). One other aspect is that children are more anxious and hyperactive in rooms with fluorescent lighting than they are in rooms with simulated daylight (Mayron et al, 1974).

Rikard Küller, a reader at Lund University, has been conducting research on people's need of daylight. In two of his studies, he has shown that daylight regulates the annual rhythm of cortisol. Those who have been near windows have had the lowest values in winter, in December, and the highest in summer. Those who have been further away from windows, or in completely windowless areas, have had a delayed rhythm, so that the lowest cortisol value occurs in spring instead. According to Küller and Lindsten (op cit), cortisol affects our powers of concentration and contacts with our fellow humans beings. Powers of concentration seem naturally to be at their peak during the winter for half of the year, while the need for contact is greatest during the summer for half of the year. The level of cortisol in the body also appears to influence the incidence of absence from school due to illness and have an effect on body growth, but these links have not been fully established in the study (Küller & Lindsten, 1992).

To sum up, there is clear evidence that natural daylight regulates the hormone balance in the body, which in turn influences all our diurnal and annual rhythms. There are several mental and physical states which change rhythmically during the day and year. This applies to such things as alertness, growth, ovulation, ability to concentrate and interest in social contact. If a person loses track of time and falls out of the rhythm which is regulated by the amount of daylight, the risk of illness, such as for example spring and autumn depressions, increases. These time rhythms are regulated by natural daylight. A 20 minute walk every day in the middle of the day reduces the risk of light related complaints and seasonal depressions. Such seasonal depressions are most noticeable in women, presumably because daylight affects a good number of the hormones which are related to child-bearing.

4. The significance of fresh air

It is a well-known fact that the air in our urban areas contains several types of harmful chemical compounds which are produced by the combustion of fossil fuels in vehicles and heating plants. In addition, there is pollution from industries and waste disposal plants. About a thousand compounds in urban air have been identified. A number of these are emitted in dangerously high concentrations, e.g carbon monoxide, which has detrimental

effects on brain functions, causes degenerate damage to the heart and increases the risk of heart attacks. Ozone is another compound which is often contained in harmfully high amounts in urban air. This gas accelerates many ageing processes in living organisms, has strong tumorigenic characteristics, affects the gene pool and damages the lungs. Other dangerous gases which are often present include nitric oxides and several highly carcinogenic polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (Grahn, 1985, Gunnarsson & Korner, 1975).

Allergies and irritations in the eyes, nose, throat and respiratory passages are becoming increasingly common. Air which contains dust, particles and/or different types of chemical compounds has been shown to cause allergies, not only to one allergen, but also makes people over-sensitive to other substances as well. One can assume that emissions of harmful substances into the air in towns and urban areas will occur within the foreseeable future. Today, the concentration of pollutants is highest near ground level, mainly due to the emissions of traffic pollutants. At a height of 75cm above the ground (baby carriage level), the amount of pollutants is twice as high compared to the amount found at a height of 150cm (Grahn, 1985).

The presence of dust and particles in the air strongly reinforces the harmful effects of the gaseous pollutants. The dust and particle content is 200-1000 times higher in a town than in a nearby forest (*Beiträge zur Stadtentwicklung*, 1978). This results in, among other things, fogs occurring more easily in urban areas because the damp air has abundant condensation nuclei. Otherwise the air in towns is about 5% drier than in the countryside. At the same time, the temperature is on average 0.5-1.5 degrees higher in larger urban areas (*Beiträge zur Stadtentwicklung*, 1978). Cloud frequency is also higher over urban areas. Stable thermal conditions can easily occur which cause vehicle emission filled air to be retained (Gälzer, 1980, Richter, 1981, Grahn, 1985).

Parks and green areas effectively bind the dust and particles and also absorb some of the gases. A beech tree, 25m tall with a 15m broad crown, absorbs carbon dioxide equivalent to the amount emitted in oil-fired heating of 800 houses (Gälzer, 1980, Richter, 1981, Grahn, 1985). Trees in parks, when in leaf, absorb about 70-85% of the particles in the air around them in their crowns. Even in winter time, the branches bind significant amounts of particles and gases (Löfvenhaft, 1993a). This enormous capacity of trees is explained by the fact that a one hundred year old tree has a leaf surface area of about 1 600 square metres, and an inner leaf surface area (the surface the air passes when the tree breathes) of an astounding 160 000 square metres (Löfvenhaft, 1993a).

By actively planning parks and green areas, one can do a great deal to help cleanse the air in towns. One can allocate land for green areas, as well as seeing to it that more trees are planted in the whole of the town; in open spaces, in industrial areas, in car parks and along streets and in squares (Grahn, 1986b). Thus air can be made to circulate and is cleaned. During the summer and for half of the year, a tree soaks up hundreds of litres of water, which fills all the pores in the leaves, vaporizes and at the same time steals the warmth from the surrounding air. A difference in temperature arises between the air in the green area and the air in the built-up area of town. This causes the air to circulate. Clean, cool, damp and dust free air flows out from the green area while the dry, hot, dusty exhaust fume filled air flows in to the park. This mechanism functions during the vegetation period and reinforces a more passive system which is in operation all year round (Grahn, 1986b, Richter, 1981).

The passive system functions according to the same principles as a green house. The crowns of the trees cover the surface of the ground, making it difficult for the solar radiation to

warm up the ground during the day. During the night, this cover prevents the warmth from escaping out into space. This results in warm air coming from the park to the cool built-up part of town during the night, and the reverse during the day. At winds of 2 on the Beaufort scale and lower, these locally formed air circulation systems are the only ones capable of cleaning the town's air. (Beiträge zur Stadtentwicklung, 1978, Richter, 1981, Grahn, 1985, Löfvenhaft, 1993a). The effect is noticeable even in areas as small as 50m in diameter. However, in order to obtain a better air purifier, with a larger exchange of air, parks with a diameter of at least 300m are required. These give rise to a circulation system which quite effectively cleans the air up to 150m from the edge of the park (Beiträge zur Stadtentwicklung, 1978, Gälzer, 1980, Richter, 1981, Grahn 1985).

5. The significance of nature and greenery in themselves

That daylight and fresh air clearly affect people's health has been well-documented in several studies. But what of nature and greenery themselves? Can the mere sight of parks and natural areas make us healthier? In recent years, a number of research findings have shown that such is the case and there are two theories which provide an explanation. One of them is based on the capacity of a person's ability to concentrate and has been put forward by two American professors, Stephen and Rachel Kaplan. The other theory model has been forwarded by Roger Ulrich and Richard Coss, two American professors, and is based on man's unconscious, emotional reflexes, acquired through evolution millions of years ago.

5.1 Parks and nature increase powers of concentration

Since the beginning of the seventies, Rachel and Stephen Kaplan have been studying the differences in people's behaviour when in the countryside and when in towns. They are convinced that the work zeal, the spontaneous joy, and the harmony experienced by people after they have been out in the countryside is due to their powers of concentration having been recharged by the contact with nature (Grahn, 1992, Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989). Briefly, their theory is that there are two sorts of attention; directed attention and involuntary attention. If one uses directed attention, for example when working at one's desk, a great deal of power is drained. Involuntary attention, on the other hand, does not drain any energy and gives the person a chance to recuperate. Many people almost exclusively apply directed attention in their daily work, which leads to fatigue. Living in towns almost constantly evokes directed attention, while parks and in particular, nature, do not (Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989).

The theory has been tested in two medical dissertations, with Stephen Kaplan as supervisor. One study was conducted by Bernadine Cimprich (Cimprich, 1990) on women who had undergone breast cancer surgery and were considered to have good chances of recovery. It was seen that the women's directed attention was often totally exhausted. The other study, conducted by Lisa Hoffman Canin (Canin, 1991) showed that those who tended AIDS patients were often affected by burnout and lacked the strength to concentrate on what they had to do. Presumably, the cancer patients and the AIDS caregivers had used their directed attention to block or process impulses.

Information which is difficult to cope with, about illness, suffering and death, is either blocked or drains almost all one's strength. All this work is carried out by directed attention. Directed attention does not have to be conscious. It is often totally unconscious. Cimprich (1990) discovered that when the cancer patients were involved in leisure activities in a

natural environment, they had better powers of concentration. Canin (1991) found that the AIDS caregivers who had active leisure interests in a natural environment stood a far smaller risk of being affected by burnout.

Kaplan & Kaplan (Grahm, 1992) explain that people in towns use a large part of their directed attention to shut out disturbing impressions. Traffic noise, advertisements, street signs and not least a crowd of people who demand attention, all contribute to exhausting our powers of concentration, which in turn means that we are tired out, irritable, take unnecessary risks, are less helpful, more forgetful, make more mistakes, are depressed and find it easy to criticize others. The effort to shut out disturbing impressions is made unconsciously. For example, many people have experienced trying to work at one's desk when there is a noise that constantly disturbs. It may be the hum of a ventilator or a computer hard disk. Unconsciously, part of our concentration is spent on trying to block the noise, but it is only when the noise stops that we become aware of how much effort it took to block the noise (Kaplan, 1990, Sorte, 1991).

The Kaplans have found that the design of the physical environment and the activities one performs in these environments, influence powers of concentration to a great degree. Towns are directly unsuitable, while the countryside is particularly suitable (Grahm, 1992, Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989). They are of the conviction that nature areas contain a wealth of fascinating objects to evoke involuntary attention, which means that the directed attention does not have to be applied. When one's capacity to concentrate is high, one finds it easier to deal with the situation. In the country, one gets extra strength, the strength which had been tied up in shutting out the disturbing impressions, and one can use this to process different types of problems.

Directed attention is used by a person to create clarity in how he/she should act. Clarity counteracts the feeling of chaos. Surroundings which contain something to capture interest and are fascinating, do not require concentration and at the same time create clarity. On the other hand, if the surroundings contain a number of unimportant things, there is a risk of chaos and one is forced to direct one's attention. The environment, however, must not be too simple. Satisfaction increases if one makes fascinating discoveries, is allowed to explore the environment and thereby increase the clarity. In recent years, when conducting research on, for example, the leisure activities of AIDS caregivers, the Kaplans have found that there are some fascinating environments which do not increase clarity. This applies to, for example, shopping, games and certain types of TV entertainment, which the Kaplans call escapist activities and environments. They only give satisfaction for the moment and do not have a lasting effect, they do not increase the clarity of the participants. Nature, certain types of parks and works of art are fascinating, encourage exploration and can give clarity. Green environments therefore have a head start on non-green environments, the Kaplans maintain.

"It seems that there are some environments that directly affect our emotions, give satisfaction or uneasiness," explains professor Rachel Kaplan. "Perhaps we have inherited preferences or reflexes for phenomena in our surroundings." (Grahm, 1992). This brings us to the second main theory.

5.2 Parks and nature are in our hereditary memories

The other dominant theory as regards a person's visual need of nature and greenery deals directly with the background of the person. Professors Richard Coss and Roger Ulrich are two of the most well-known propounders of this theory.

Professor Roger Ulrich, Texas A&M University, assumes that our emotions have their explanation in how we have evolved to live in a certain environment. Human beings are extremely flexible as regards choice of environment, explains Roger Ulrich, but this does not mean that they are insensitive to the environment. We are adapted to a certain type of environment. The further away we move from that environment, the more stress it entails. This manifests itself in many ways, says Ulrich (Ulrich et al, 1991). Blood pressure rises, muscles are tensed, the pulse changes and the hormone balance is altered if we find ourselves in an environment that feels wrong. The emotional reactions are instantaneous, within fractions of a second. There is no time for the information centre in the brain to be contacted. Professor Ulrich assumes in his theory that nature contains elements to which humans have become adapted. These elements are either to be avoided or preferred, and humans can directly and emotionally react correctly to them. Towns, on the other hand, contain a number of situations and environments for which they have no inherited capacity to deal with (Ulrich et al, 1991, Grahn, 1992).

Professor Richard Coss, University of California, recounted the following in a conversation: As man has lived for such a long time in the trees, our sense of smell has not been required. Our sense of hearing is directed downwards. A sense that man as "earthbound" has especially developed is good eyesight, to be able to see colours and judge distances, all of which was necessary in the form-rich surroundings of the tree tops. Hardly any other mammals can distinguish colour, but on the other hand, most birds can. The ability to see and discover water, danger or food has been vital to man. What we see therefore directly influences our behaviour. If the surroundings are similar to the landscape to which we are ecologically suited, we feel better."

- How does one know what is ecologically right?

"Man has innate codes, similar to memories, of several threats or necessities."

- What do you mean by innate memories?

"For example, that one recognises danger, such as snakes, precipices and spiders, and responds correctly, even though one has never experienced these dangers before. Such features have, of course, been vital to our survival for millions of years", says Professor Coss (Grahn, 1992).

The idea of inherited memories is by no means new. For example, Carl Gustav Jung has introduced this hypothesis in his theories, where he calls inherited memories archetypes (Stevens, 1992). These theories have been tested in several studies in recent years. Professors Richard Coss, University of California, Roger Ulrich, Texas A&M University, and Arne Öhman, Karolinska Institute, have for many years been studying the quick, unconscious defensive reactions to phenomena and objects in people's everyday lives and in nature. The subjects in these experiments have been presented with various situations and monitored by an apparatus which measures blood pressure, pulse, muscle tension etc.

The most violent emotional reactions are caused by environments and objects in nature which man has wanted to avoid, such as snakes, spiders, blood gushing from a wound, steep precipices and angry people. The whole of the defence register is immediately activated. Other dangerous "modern" situations, such as frayed electrical cables, a revolver directed at the subject, standing in the middle of a busy road etc, do not provoke these quick emotional reactions which occur instantaneously (Grahn, 1992, Ulrich et al, 1991, Öhman, 1986).

Professor Ulrich points out that our emotions are directly connected to a number of defence organs, such as hormone glands and nerve centres, which control the rhythm of the inner organs.

"Parks and nature are probably significant for people's health in many different ways, as regards reduction of stress, influence on hormones and immune defence, healing processes etc. We are only just beginning to touch on these mechanisms", says Roger Ulrich (Grahm, 1992).

That it is nature which, first and foremost, influences our emotions is indicated by the speed with which the body reacts and also by the fact that it is a question of unconscious reactions to environments and phenomena of which we often have no previous knowledge (Ulrich, 1983). In an article in the highly reputable journal, *Science*, at the beginning of the 80s, Roger Ulrich showed that the design of hospitals has great significance for the recovery rate of patients. The wounds from a gall-bladder operation healed on average one day earlier, if the patients had a view of a park from their rooms. These patients required less than half the amount of painkillers and complained about pain and irritation only 25% as often as the control group, which did not have a view of greenery (Ulrich, 1984). This study is now being followed up at the Academic Hospital in Uppsala, where Professor Ulrich is working with lecturer Outi Lundén on a larger study of the recovery rate of 166 heart patients, who have had large pictures mounted on their beds. Some of the patients had pictures of nature, some had abstract pictures in the same colours as in nature and other patients were part of a control group. This study is not yet complete, but the primary data clearly shows that the patients who had pictures with a view of a light, open natural setting have had the best recovery rates, especially as regards stress symptoms. In addition, the pictures gave rise to positive thinking in the patients. A picture of the interior of a dark beech forest did not yield the same high positive values and the abstract pictures generally did not have the same effects as the nature pictures (Grahm, 1992, Ulrich, 1992, Löfvenhaft, 1993b).

An interesting observation is that images of nature capture interest better than purely urban images. In several experiments, Ulrich (Grahm, 1992, Ulrich et al, 1991, Ulrich, 1993) showed the subjects slides or video films of countryside and towns. Alpha waves in the brain were shown to be higher when the subjects looked at nature and trees rather than streets and houses. There was also greater pulse activity when pictures of nature were shown. This indicates that trees and nature arouse more interest and in general induce a relaxed alertness, which is associated with alpha waves (Grahm, 1992). This indicates that natural environments have a positive effect on stress related complaints.

In a recently completed study, Professor Ulrich tested this hypothesis by exposing 120 subjects to extreme stress and afterwards showing them various films. Half of the subjects watched a film about nature, the other half a film about towns. Six different films were used; four town films and two nature films. The urban environments in two of the films contained traffic, the others were completely traffic free. The films showed everyday nature and town scenes. Heart beat frequency, muscle tension, blood pressure etc. were measured and the participants completed a questionnaire on how they felt. All the data shows that the natural environments are clearly much better than the town environments at restoring the balance after stress, lowering blood pressure and relaxing muscles. The heart beat frequency shows that more attention is paid to natural surroundings. The most surprising thing however, according to Professor Ulrich, is that recovery is so quick. The stress values went down to normal within 4-6 minutes of viewing the nature films. The town films, however, all had a negative effect on, above all, heart activity (Ulrich et al, 1991).

This indicates that a short walk through a park, even a short ten-minute walk, is of great value when it comes to alleviating stress. However, the appearance of the park or green area matters a great deal. In a current study of heart patients in Uppsala, it has been shown that a picture of a wooded landscape with water in the distance provokes more positive reactions than a picture from within a dark beech forest. In most of the studies, there seems to be a preference for landscapes similar to Swedish pastures i.e half open landscapes with relatively tall trees and bushes dotted around grass-covered ground (Grahn, 1991, 1992).

5.3 Nature and health on space flights

Professor Richard Coss has specialised in studying the effects different sort of landscape have on people. For the past few years, he has been working for NASA, the American space research centre, on developing space stations where people can spend long periods of time without succumbing to the mental disturbances or illnesses which are typical of isolated workplaces, such as space stations, submarines or research stations in the Antarctic. Anxiety, fatigue, difficulty in sleeping, egoism, difficulty in cooperating, aggression, lack of judgement, inattention and low work performance, are all problems which develop in time at these sorts of workplaces.

Coss and his colleagues used a simulator which gave zero gravity conditions. It was found that the colour scheme inside space stations was far more important than had previously been thought. If the floor was darkest in colour and the ceiling lightest, an impression of sky, landscape and earth was given, which made the research subjects feel much better. Previously all space stations had had walls, ceiling and floor in the same colour, which had caused problems in orientation and balance. This had also led to physical complaints such as nausea and headaches.

In order to further improve the crew's comfort and raise their performance level, Coss and his colleagues experimented with pictures on the walls of the research capsule. In general, photos of landscapes were appreciated the most, as long as they did not depict any buildings, people or animals. Much, much further down on the appreciation scale came pictures of people, animals and landscape paintings. Pictures of landscapes with water were the most popular among the research subjects, especially if the picture had depth, for example a mountain in the background, so that they felt that they had a view of the landscape (Coss et al, 1989).

This, says Coss, corresponds with the environments in which our ancestors lived for millions of years. Archaeological studies have shown that these early peoples did not stray far from water. The furthest they would go from their water hole was about two kilometres. The sense of sight has been an important tool for finding this water during man's evolution. A stretch of water is shiny and glitters. Children are attracted to shiny things at a very early age. Professor Coss carried out observations of 11, 15 and 24 months' old children, which showed that they were irresistibly drawn to shiny reflecting surfaces and objects and tried to lick them. They were seldom or not at all attracted to matt objects. Young children are also drawn to puddles, buckets and barrels of water, which they also try to lick. Professor Coss' studies showed that even adults valued shiny or glittering surfaces and objects higher than matt ones. These surfaces or objects are associated with being wet. Professor Coss maintains that children being attracted at such an early stage to shiny objects, is a typical example of these inherited, memory-like pictures (Grahn, 1992).

Coss also conducted a number of medical studies, where amongst other things, eye pupil size was measured when different pictures were shown. Pictures of landscapes without any depth, with shrubbery and dense tree screens and the like and where there was no view, caused the subjects stress, as did pictures with people and animals in the foreground. The most stress was caused by close-ups of people and animals staring right into the camera. The least stressing environments were also those which the subjects in general appeared to like the most; pictures of landscapes with water in them. It was concluded that space stations ought to contain pictures which give a view of a landscape with water. Coss and his colleagues also suggest that the space station should have a few pictures of animals and people looking into the camera from quite a long distance. Such pictures appeared to arouse interest without raising the stress level too much.

5.4 Nature and health in Swedish towns

In order to examine the effects of parks and green areas on those living and working in Swedish towns, we at the Department of Landscape Planning at Alnarp sent out a questionnaire to 2 500 randomly selected people in Uppsala, Enköping, Västerås, Trollhättan, Varberg, Halmstad, Kristianstad, Lund and Trelleborg. These people were asked questions such as: how often they visited parks, what they did when they were out, which qualities were desired, their type of housing and what their workplaces looked like. All this information was viewed in the light of a number of other questions on health, e.g how often they experienced fatigue, headaches, colds or back pains. The answers are still being processed, but a few results are already clear.

An interesting question, which Roger Ulrich's study of hospitals has given rise to, is if there is any significance to being able to see parks and green areas from the windows of one's workplace. The answers in this investigation show that the effects are in fact noticeable. Comparisons have been made between people who have similar jobs and who do not spend any of their work time out of doors. If parks and green areas can be seen from the window during the working day, people at the work place are much fitter. For example, these people experience painful irritation only 25% as often as those without a view from a window, and experience uncomfortable stress only 40% as often. These figures are statistically verified.

However, even the design and location of one's home affects one's health. Above all, having some sort of outdoor area has a noticeable effect. Those who live in blocks of flats without balconies experience considerably more stress and tiredness. If one has a balcony, the values for stress and tiredness experienced are significantly lower, reduced by 27% and 28% respectively. Those who have access to allotments or gardens are best off. Those who have gardens of more than 600 square metres experience the discomfort of stress only half as often as those who live in blocks of flats without balconies. The differences regarding tiredness are even greater. Those who have their own gardens suffer from tiredness only 42% as often as those who live in blocks of flats without balconies. These values are statistically verified. The group of people living in blocks of flats without balconies does not include people who have holiday cottages or who rent allotments, who are significantly healthier. Whether one lives in the centre or on the periphery of a town has an effect, regardless of type of dwelling. The incidence of tiredness, irritation, and headaches increases significantly the nearer one lives to the centre.

What is the reason for all this? Those who have their own balcony presumably get more daylight and can probably experience more greenery. Those who have access to an allotment or garden are naturally also able to experience daylight and greenery, and probably use their

muscles more too. It has been shown that those who have their own land i.e allotment, holiday home or garden, go to public parks and nature areas much more often than those who do not have land. There is a difference of 20%, between these two groups, in the number of visits to green areas. Those who live on the periphery of towns have access to more green areas and visit parks more often - 10% more often - than those in the centre.

If there is a green area nearby, one uses it more. Those who have parks in the immediate vicinity of their homes go to them the most often. A walking distance to the park of even 50 metres reduces the use of the park by 5%. If the distance is 100 metres, the use of the park is reduced by 18%. If one has to walk 300 metres to the park, one uses it 26% less often. If the distance is 500 metres, the reduction is 56%. The time factor determines how much a park is used. 61% of those questioned gave lack of time as the reason for not using the public green areas as often as they would like. The second major reason for not using the parks was the distance involved - 9% gave this reason. The third reason for not using the parks, given by 8.5% of those asked, was insecurity. Women gave this reason six times more often than men. Those who felt parks were unsafe were in the age group 13-20 and 61 and over. Insecurity is also related to time, as it is often in the evening that one has time to go to parks, but then they are usually badly lit and seem threatening. It should be noted that this was a question with multiple choice answers, where everyone had the chance to mark the alternative of "experienced insecurity and threats in parks". Despite this, no more than 8% selected this alternative, although it is an issue which frequently comes up in debate.

The time it takes to get there is therefore the main reason for parks not being used more often. If as an example, one calculates a five minute walking distance at a normal pace for the 95% of the population who are mobile, one arrives at a figure of 204 metres. If one counts only the half of the population which can move the fastest, these walk 324 metres in five minutes at a normal walking pace (Grahn, 1986b). The aim should be, of course, to have a park just outside one's door, or failing that, a green corridor leading from one's home to the nearest park. If this is not possible, one should try to create parks within reasonable distances. According to preliminary results from our latest investigation, the critical limit is somewhere between five and ten minutes walking distance to the "everyday park". This corresponds to about 300 metres, without busy roads or some other barrier between one's home and the park. In spite of everything, a barrier results in those who live 300 metres away from a park, visiting it less frequently than those who live right next to it, or 25% less frequently.

6. The different needs and pre-conditions of men and women

Men and women differ in many respects. As has been mentioned above, men and women are affected differently by daylight and vary in how much they fear being attacked. There are many other clear connections. A few examples follow:

The study tells us that women are somewhat more frequently out in urban green areas than men are, about 7% more frequently. Men consider parks to be boring and see this as an obstacle, much more than women do, in fact twice as often as women. Women are often drawn to parks for the sake of the greenery and peacefulness, whereas men look for activities. The only exception is girls in the age group 13-17. In this group, boys use the parks slightly more often than girls do.

There is a marked difference in interests between the sexes. Men want certain activities, women want others. The sexes also have different ideas on how the park should be designed. Although women are out in parks and green areas more often than men are, they would like to be out even more. They are clearly more dissatisfied than men, with the amount of time spent out of doors.

There is also a connection between sex and the range of mental and physical complaints, especially if one takes into account men's and women's different needs of experience. Where the surroundings are formed according to the women's needs, there is less discontent, the women are out more often and the incidence of illness is noticeably lower. The same is true for men. This will all be shown in more detail at the conference.

7. The importance of being able to move around

What happens to the human body if one does not exercise very often? Several research findings unequivocally indicate that physical health is improved if one takes exercise. Regular exercise is so beneficial to health that the average age of the population could be raised by two years if people in the industrialised western world changed their habits, maintain Paffenbarges et al (1986).

One can see, looking at the human body, how the need for good mobility dominates its construction. For example, 40% of body weight is muscle and 20% skeleton (Idrott och motion i Sverige, 1989). The nerves and brain also, to a very great extent, register and coordinate impulses which specifically concern movement (Grahn, 1985).

Man is therefore built to move - not to sit and rest. However, in order for the body to function, all parts of it should be used regularly. After no more than a couple of weeks' rest or inaction, clear changes can be noticed in the body; the skeleton is decalcified, the blood volume reduced, muscle volume is reduced, the ability to take up oxygen is reduced, as is the ability to transport oxygen. The most noticeable change in a person after a period of inactivity, is a sharp increase in the pulse rate. A task that normally requires 120 pulse beats a minute can require 170 pulse beats a minute in a person who has rested more or less completely for a few weeks. Not only is the pulse higher, but the blood circulation is less efficient so that dizziness may occur (Grahn, 1985, Idrott och motion i Sverige, 1989, Ekblom, 1986).

If an adult is to use his body in the right and natural way, then above all, the growing child and teenager must be given the opportunity to train their bodies in different sorts of environments, to train their muscles to function in harmony with other muscles and the rest of the body in general.

In order to develop their motor skills, children firstly need to have room in which to play. They need to test their movements, to run, walk and jump on level as well as uneven ground. "It is important that the physical training children have involves a lot of motor skills training such as running and jumping, not least to satisfy their physiological needs and keep them fit". (Sandborgh & Stening-Furén, 1983). There is no doubt about where these activities should take place: "The best opportunities to practise these motor skills are to be found out of doors".

At the Department of Landscape Planning at Alnarp, a study was carried out, where 39 organisations (day nurseries, schools, hospitals, clinics and associations) kept a diary of all their outdoor activities during the course of one year. The diary entries were often about the training of motor skills. This applied in particular to day nurseries and to those caring for handicapped children. As a pre-school teacher at Kristinagården day nursery in Västerås put it: "To walk, stand, run, jump, kick a ball - on hard ground, on uneven ground, on slopes, on flat ground all this trains everything, balance and movement. We need to have nature close to us. Nature has everything. It gives the best opportunities for training children. A path, a stone, a hill, grass... roots to trip over so you have to get up again." (Grahn, 1991).

The development of motor skills in children gives them more muscle and better balance, something which is important when they have to sit still at a desk. "In order to be able to sit still, the sense of balance must be well-developed." (Sandborgh & Stening-Furén, 1983). Children's motor development cannot, however, be separated from their overall development. Larsson et al (1991) and Gun Sandborgh (Sandborgh & Stening-Furén, 1983) maintain that motor skills development affects the child's total development and thereby even influences such things as powers of concentration and formation of concepts.

It is also very important for the adult population to exercise their muscles on a daily basis. A 20 minute period of light exercise every day is far better than a few longer exercise periods a week, which in turn are much better than a single longer exercise period a month. Even light exercise affects the metabolism of muscle cells in a beneficial way (Henriksson, 1988). Oxygen up take capacity noticeably increases after 4-6 weeks of training (Idrott och motion i Sverige, 1989). The heartbeat volume increases during exercise (Ekblom, 1986), which in conjunction with an increased blood volume and increased number of blood vessels in various parts of the body, results in a much improved blood circulation and better general fitness. Older people who exercise thereby decrease their sensitivity to climate and can keep warm more easily.

According to Berg et al (1980), muscles in the elderly become weaker because connective tissue is stored in the actual muscle tissue. This condition is rapidly accelerated by inactivity. If the elderly start to exercise, their muscles are strengthened, even though the stored connective tissue never disappears. If a person is inactive, there is a clear and rapid decrease in the amount of bone in the skeleton, maintain Berg et al (op cit). Exercise, however, speeds up the regeneration of bone and also strengthens, for example, cartilage, ligaments and tendons (Berg et al 1980). As regards the elderly, it has also been shown that various exercise activities increase the rate of metabolism in joints, and in particular the ligaments, and help to combat decalcification of the skeleton (Idrott och motion i Sverige, 1989). Thus physical training obviously decreases the risk of different types of fractures in the older population. Ageing processes are slowed down if one is physically active, which means that getting old is something relative and not an absolute. Regular exercise can halt certain ageing processes such as, for example, weakening of the skeletal structure, and in this case can even reverse the process. In other ageing systems, such as muscles, exercise can strengthen muscles, but only partly, as once stored, connective tissue never disappears.

Mental well-being also increases with exercise. This can be dependent on many factors. Partly it is because the brain's uptake of nutrients follows a different pattern during physical exertion from when the body is at rest. During physical exertion, the brain, as well as the muscles, require nutrition. In order to cope with this increased demand, the body breaks down the nutrients more quickly, which means that the brain receives a different sort of

substance, which in addition to feeding the brain, also gives a feeling of satisfaction and combats other substances which are produced by the body when in stress (Grahn, 1985, Bjurö & Westling, 1973, Paffenbarges et al, 1986).

8. The importance of nature and parks for people's development

8.1 The importance of nature and parks for children's development

In recent years, we at the Department of Landscape Planning at Alnarp have been paying more attention to children's and young people's needs for nature and parks. In 1988, a diary investigation was initiated in schools, day nurseries, associations, hospitals and psychiatric institutions - 39 places in total. This study is discussed in detail in the book "Om parkers betydelse" (Grahn, 1991). The diary reports agree on the value of natural elements in parks:

- Children's motor skills are improved by practising walking and running on uneven ground and by climbing and clambering in trees and on rocks.
- Children in day nurseries, schools and hospitals are more harmonious and have better contact with staff, if they spend more time in natural settings.
- Children play better, fantasize more and have a better idea of form out in natural surroundings.

1989 saw the start of a project studying the implications of design and contents for the pedagogic value of schoolyards. There have been accounts of the project in two reports, "Skolgårdar - Betydelsen av platsers egenskaper för utomhusaktiviteter vid skolor" (Lindholm, 1992) and "Schoolyards: The significance of place properties to outdoor activities in schools" (Lindholm, 1993). The reports show that children's outdoor activities depend to a great extent on the design of the schoolyard. Perhaps the most important result is the evidence that elements of nature in schoolyards have a decisive effect on whether or not a large number of games and activities take place. In particular, a wide range of imaginative games of all sorts are played when natural elements are present. Also worthy of note is the fact that having natural elements in the schoolyard results in a greater number of games and activities elsewhere in the schoolyard, even on asphalt.

Therefore, research so far has proved that the outdoor environment should by no means be neglected when it comes to the development of children and young people, whether it be a question of motor skills, imagination, social contact or powers of concentration etc. The positive reactions to physical places appear primarily to be connected with natural settings. Why is this? According to Kaplan & Kaplan (1989), natural areas are more fascinating, so one is strengthened and stimulated, does not require directed attention to block irrelevant impulses and thus can concentrate on the creative and positive aspects of the situations instead. According to Ulrich (1983) it is because man is designed to function in natural environments, where his sensory system unconsciously correctly interprets impressions of his surroundings. This would appear to imply, if one enlarges on Ulrich's argument, that impressions from areas which are not natural need to be translated and decoded in order to be understood. This work ought to be carried out by the Directed Attention System. Thus a connection could be made between Kaplan & Kaplan (1989) and Ulrich (1983).

In Swedish schools of today, problems are increasingly being experienced with the younger classes, where the children are noisy and restive and have difficulties in concentrating. School psychologist Björn Gustafsson and junior school teacher Sol-Britt Hugoh point out the paradox that the level of knowledge of Swedish pupils is falling, despite improved learning conditions. At the same time, the children's motor skills are deteriorating year by year (Larsson et al, 1991). Some researchers (Larsson et al, 1991, Sandborgh & Stening-Furén, 1983) maintain that good motor skills in a child mean that he also has better powers of concentration and can form concepts better. Sandborgh and Stening-Furén (1983) write: "Words such as on and under, beside and in front of can be experienced in movement, so that the child not only knows the word but understands it Language is developed by using the word in a meaningful context." The learning process is facilitated if the child's motor skills are well-developed (Sandborgh & Stening-Furén, 1983). Perception comprises being able to see figures and backgrounds, shapes, spatial concepts and visual-motor coordination. "Through activities involving movement, children gain experience of space and form - an experience which enables them to learn to interpret and understand their visual impressions of their surroundings" (Sandborgh & Stening-Furén, op cit).

The falling grades of junior school pupils in the USA has also been giving cause for alarm. Professor Mark Francis at the University of California has been studying this problem for 20 years. He is of the opinion that not enough attention has been paid to the significance of physical surroundings to learning ability. Physical places can give stimulus to the understanding of facts, to new ideas, to dealing with emotions and to pure inspiration of wit. Mark Francis calls this type of knowledge acquisition, interactive creativity (Grahn, 1992). Professor Francis thus does not have as his starting point the development of motor skills, but rather the formation of concepts. He maintains that play in an unstructured environment, preferably a natural environment, provides children with the best understanding of reality. Children under twelve and particularly the under-sevens, are on a voyage of discovery in the little world, states Mark Francis. Memories of footprints in wet grass, of being stung by a wasp, of the smell of an ant-hill and of the taste of wild strawberries are all indispensable steps on a child's road to the adult world. Moments which may appear trivial, such as when a child manages to build a sand castle on a beach, without it collapsing, can in fact be vital to a child's development, Mark Francis maintains and insists that more play in a more versatile schoolyard would help the child through school (Grahn, 1992).

Play and the play area should be a natural and important part of the school environment, maintains Francis. "If what one learns in the classroom cannot be understood, is not allowed to mature, then no curriculum in the world helps. In Japanese schools, the teaching has been changed so that play is accepted as a phase in the learning process. I would like to go one step further, however, and maintain that this play must take place in changeable, unstructured environments, in order for an interactive, creative phase in the learning process to be established."

If these research findings are implemented, schoolyards will have a completely new role in schools of the future. Here the children will be surrounded by nature, meadows, playground equipment and allotments. The schoolyard will be a laboratory which changes from year to year. "To be allowed to dig and plant should, for example, be a natural part of learning, to understand what plants need and where food comes from," says Mark Francis (Grahn, 1992). This would also have great consequences for the role of teachers and teaching. Mark Francis would like the teachers to see the world through a child's eyes, and understand that the schoolroom with its desks and teacher's desk only sometimes provides the right conditions for acquisition of knowledge and development.

8.2 The emotional significance of nature and parks

At the beginning of the 80s, a study was initiated at the Department of Landscape Planning at Alnarp, of 1 600 institutions' needs for green areas. The institutions included schools, day nurseries, hospitals, associations and other organisations (Grahm & Sorte, 1985, Grahm, 1989a, 1989b). In order to obtain more information on needs for green areas experienced by groups of different age and interest, 39 organisations were asked to keep a diary of all their outdoor activities for a year. The needs of the elderly, the sick and the handicapped were compiled first (Grahm, 1989a). The main aim was to find out what sort of green areas these groups wanted, and to obtain purely practical details on how parks could be made more accessible and convenient. However, the diaries gave a wealth of information on the health effects of being out of doors; information that was totally unexpected and unsolicited.

Most of the diaries concerning the elderly, ill and handicapped came from various hospitals and institutions. The reports mentioned how there was a reduction in the need for medication after the patients had been out to parks and green areas, i.e. less pain-killers, sleeping tablets etc, were required. The patients were less restless, they slept better, they had more contact with the staff and each other, were more communicative about themselves and felt much better in general. The records showed that it was not just any park which had these beneficial effects. These parks were either nature parks or a special type of culture park, or to be more exact, parks which had a form and content which reminded the patients of the time when they had been at their most active. These parks appeared to give the patients a sense of being young and strong again. The hospital environment, on the other hand, gave them the role of being in need and without an identity.

Later compilations of the diaries, which deal specifically with the needs of adults and children (Grahm, 1991) show that parks and gardens have an important function in the personal and emotional development of every person. Regular contact with parks and natural settings gives an obvious insight into the form and framework of reality, of the passage of time and of the functions of one's own body.

The diaries clearly show that those who, because of illness, have lost contact with parks and nature areas, have also lost contact with a significant part of reality and with how they define themselves as people. The significance of green areas thus seems to lie on a different plane from the direct stimulation of concentration or hormonal centres, even if such significance must not be underestimated (Grahm, 1991). What is it all about ?

As long ago as the fifties, a medical doctor, Harold F. Searles, observed similar phenomena when visiting various children's homes in the USA. In the homes which had gardens or nature areas, the children displayed a much more mature and realistic concept of the self than did the children in homes which did not have access to green areas. Further, in the course of his practice, Searles found that many patients who displayed mental disturbance, characterised by a deficient sense of reality and a poor concept of the self, had grown up without regular contact with green areas and animals. Searles used green areas and animals in his therapy. Violent outbreaks of aggression and inhibitions were most often directed at people. In relations with green areas, and later with animals, the ego could slowly be built-up and strengthened (Searles, 1960). Horticultural therapy has, in fact, been used as a form of treatment since the seventeenth century, for example for treating mentally ill people, but very few theories have been put forward as to why it has an effect, and very few studies have been carried out to test and compare different forms of treatment (Mooney & Errett, 1991).

Recently however, Mooney and Nicell (1992) have conducted a study which shows noticeable effects of horticultural therapy to support Searles' theories.

In the studies of the diaries and in the interviews, it could be seen that the type of green area concerned was important. For the elderly in particular, it is important to have contact with a type of environment with which they have already established a relationship. A network between these old people's concepts of the self and important people and environments had been built up during the course of their lifetimes: a scope of significance (Grahn, 1991). Maintaining these relationships obviously appears to improve health.

What sorts of contents are required in a park? Our investigations indicate that there are eight park characters which are in demand. A geographic information system has been used to process the characters of parks in three Swedish towns, where 1 500 judgements form the basis for the compilation below (Grahn, 1991, Berggren-Bärring & Grahn, 1994). The first four characters are very much dependent on the park being large and that nature and natural phenomena are seen in their element. In order for this to happen, people must leave the noise, sights and the smells of the town behind them. In order for the parks to be experienced to the full, they should be at least 30, preferably 50 hectares in size. In more densely populated, flat land towns such as Lund in southern Sweden, these characters are sought, of necessity, in far smaller areas. However, where larger nature areas are available, these are the ones that are chosen. Some parks consist of more than one character listed below.

1. *The wild park.* People are fascinated by the wildness of nature. This can best be seen in larger environments, where people can wander round and see how nature itself, less affected by man, is organised. There is room for mystery in these areas, with scope for myths and folk tales. These environments need a protective zone around them, so that noise and visual impressions from the town do not disturb.

2. *The species-rich park.* People are attracted to and curious about other organisms, such as trees, shrubs, flowers, birds, butterflies, ants, frogs and mammals. Parks which have a wide range of species are therefore very much in demand. There is a lack of parks which have a more natural selection of animal species. Large parks are necessary to be able to experience a natural species-rich environment at its best. The draining of storm water and lack of open water in green areas have caused a sharp decrease in the diversity of species. However, there is a difficult point of conflict here; the risks of drowning accidents make many planners reluctant to use water in parks.

3. *The spacious park.* The most requested character was one of space. People need to get away from all the rules and regulations of the town, on how they should behave and think, and enter a different world, a park or a forest to which there appears to be no end. The park should have fully grown stands of trees of such a size that one can move around in the park without experiencing its limitations all the time. One should be able to be there and forget about limits, about time, about space.

4. *The peaceful park.* After a day's work or when having a short break at work or at home, one wants to have a period of peace and quiet. There are many people who are looking for and who urgently need this peace. To achieve this peace though, one needs a large area where the noise of the town does not penetrate. One wants to be able to hear the wind whispering in the trees, the birds singing and the humming of bees. These features are

often connected to ideas on how these parks should look. Very often they are like the harmonious, large parks of the English landscape type or are reminiscent of Swedish pastures.

Four of the characters are associated with people, culture and popular festivals and have therefore quite different requirements as regards size. These requirements have more in common with traditional urban parks, but must be neither too large nor too small. The characters are seen at their best in parks of under 10 hectares. The open space park differs in this respect; larger parks, up to 20 hectares, are suitable.

5. *The open space park.* For as long as people have built towns, they have also built grounds and arenas for sports, politics, dances, theatre etc. This need is still strongly expressed today, for all of these activities.

6. *The play park.* There is a great demand for parks where children can play, and not only on playground equipment. For worthwhile play, the environment should be changeable and invite exploration. One should be able to find fruit bushes and fruit trees, water, hills, vegetation in which to hide and plenty of loose material to play with. If there are animals to be found, the value of the park is increased even further. These areas must not be too large, as parents must be able to keep an eye on their children.

7. *The festive park.* To be able to see and meet people who are happy and free is also important. This character is strongly associated with parks which offer a wide range of music, concerts and restaurants.

8. *The culture park.* It is extremely important to people to be able to see and encounter the cultural expressions, judgements and values of society. This may be a question of history, people's hardships, the relationship between man and the cosmos, etc. These parks are often very strictly kept, with a strong man-made influence such as sculptures, fountains and flower beds.

If the properties listed above can be found in towns, people will leave their homes and workplaces to find them. This will result in a healthier population, both physically and mentally. However, this involves allocating enough land to be able to offer these qualities of peace, space, natural diversity of species and wilderness. It also involves maintaining and refurbishing the centrally located fine parks, in order to provide the experiences of festivity and culture. The costs of this are more than outweighed by the benefits of increasing people's well-being and inspiring their sense of belonging.

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PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN AREAS RELATED TO VARIOUS PATTERNS OF LIFE - QUESTIONS OF INFRASTRUCTURE

Social safety in open spaces

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INTRODUCTION

Public awareness of the threat of violence against women has increased due to women's activities and feminist research. Violence is a social problem that can be influenced only partly by design. The feeling of safety in public spaces, however, is linked to the designed environment to quite a big extent. Social safety in public urban spaces has become an item in planning discussions over the last ten years all over Europe. Mainly women have claimed its consideration in planning and designing processes. Nevertheless in many cities social safety still is not integrated in these processes as a constituent part. (I must admit that the cities I know of are mainly in the German speaking countries).

Public open spaces have run through a fundamental change during the last decades. In many parts of the town they are no longer spaces for communication and rest but serve only traffic and transport. The loss of the social functions of the streets and places has a negative impact on the "social safety" (meaning the safety itself as well as the feeling of security). It results in some kind of a vicious circle: fewer people stay in the open spaces (except for shopping areas), which leads to a more anonymous character, reduced social control and a higher level of insecurity.

The economic and social developments of the last few years added the increase of the general insecurity among people. Existential fears raise the urge for safety. To some extent the media contribute to this insecurity by reporting more about negative developments than positive ones. Erhard Blankenberg quotes Willem Nagel, a criminologist from Leiden/NL, whose answer to the question what could be done against growing criminality was: "Buy a different newspaper". It is a fact that - at least in Austria - people think that criminality has increased much more than it actually has. Some reports about other countries show that this opinion prevails all over Europe. It is useless to play down the danger but it also is important to get a realistic picture and inform people correctly.

1. What makes women feel unsafe?

The cases of violence against women by strangers in public space are much fewer than those inflicted by friends, husbands or acquaintances in the realm of private space (their apartment or house). But still many women feel unsafe when they are on the street or in a park. Because of different social mechanisms the private experience, fear or negative information is transferred into public spaces. Experiences of sexual intimidation and harassment in the public and discrimination of the female sex increase those negative feelings and expectations. Vron Ware writes that "the threat of women's safety in public space is linked to the idea that women are more vulnerable, more likely to be attacked and less likely to be able to defend themselves. Women are told repeatedly from childhood by parents, school, media and other influential sources that it is unsafe for them to be in certain places at certain times, unless they are accompanied by a man. While women deal with this threat to their safety in many ways, often depending on their mobility, race, income, class, age, sexuality, and other aspects of their personal experiences, surveys show that on the whole women are vastly more afraid than men to go out, particularly at night. Women's ability to move around freely is severely restricted by the knowledge that we might be risking our lives in doing so - and, if an attack does happen, be blamed for inviting it. This means that the majority of women are simply denied access to a range of activities which most men take for granted." The feeling of vulnerability always increases fear. The threat of violence starts much earlier than with the actual physical attack. That is why the Dutch authors of the book "Buiten Gewoon Veilig" ("Just Safe Outside") not only name "exhibitionism, assault and rape" as sexual violence against women but also "whistling and calling after, molesting (and) following".

Although young men are most likely to be attacked, they are the least frightened group. (Steinert/Stangl call them "often almost pathologically fearless"). In Swiss cities a research shows very clearly, that the difference between the fear of women and of men is the threat of sexual violence: 63% of the women were afraid of rape, 20 % of men as a whole and 9 % of sexual harassment. Women select spaces, roads, paths, walks and passages much more often for reasons of safety than men do. If there are many dangerous places in a town it reduces women's mobility - in some cases down to zero. There are many women who do not go out at night at all, some only go out if they have a car to use because they do not dare to use public transport. Appropriation of public open spaces is more difficult for women because of the social structures. It is almost impossible, however, if the places are unsafe or frightening. Frightening places are not necessarily dangerous and vice versa. Public spaces contain those classical places of fear like car-parks or subway crossings. A car-park is one of the first things women think of when talking about frightening places. But in Vienna physical violence is hardly present there, during the last ten years there were (only) two attacks against women in car-parks. Insecurity or fear restricts women in their use of public open spaces. This should activate planners and politicians to consider safety-criteria in town planning and design. Some research work prove that design which takes into consideration the aspects of social safety does not only increase the feelings of safety, but can also help to reduce criminality.

There is a range of activities to prevent violence (and fear), which have to be enforced. Offers to help victims (like Women's Aid and rape crisis centres), help for self-help, (such as communication centres, women's rooms), courses for self-defense and proper information are such possibilities. The project "Servicio de atencion a la mujer" in Barcelona, where women police-agents and lawyers work together in an office for threatened women or victims shows how a sophisticated method of self-help can work. One of the possibilities to help prevent violence and to avoid frightening places is town-planning and urban design.

2. Planning principles related to social safety

Planning Process

I agree with the women of WDS in London that "the emphasis on women's safety should not be seen as an extra component to be added as an afterthought to any plan to improve conditions on estates, but should involve a fundamentally different approach in which the diverse and changing needs of all tenants are addressed from the outset." In the designs we made in our office to improve safety in two different areas in Vienna we found out that it is most important to involve women as experts for their living surroundings and for spaces they frequently visit. This does not necessarily mean that they have to work on the project the whole time. If dealing with an existing area the period of inventory is essential. In this period women-users contribute the exact deficits of the place.

This can happen by asking them on the street, carrying out a survey with questionnaires, arranging public meetings (which in our case didn't work very well) and talking to women-group-representatives. One of the most efficient means were public excursions, where women could take part also for only a small distance. The informality helped to acquire a lot of information. All these methods only work if accompanied by intense public information.

When dealing with a new space or housing estate it is more difficult to find the future inhabitants or users in advance. If this is not possible at all, the experiences of other projects have to be considered. There are lists of criteria which can help. It is important to have a concise description of the needs and specifications for the planning teams. In Vienna we have now the first urban expansion area being planned by only women. The list of demands contains a range of specifications for future female inhabitants.

General Design Principles and Criteria of Safety

Combination of use/functions (Nutzungsmischung) and of social structures (soziale Durchmischung) has several positive effects. Traffic can be reduced, the activities of an area are not restricted to either day or night, accessibility of public amenities is easier to provide. Conflicts produced by mixing can be avoided in most cases. It is important to be aware of possible conflicts and look into them at the earliest possible state.

Mobility should be promoted equally for all groups. In Vienna, as in other cities too, women have less access to cars, they walk more on their own feet and use public transport much more often than men do. This means that the freedom of choice of traffic means hardly exists for women. In Vienna in 1991 only 39.8% of women (61.2% of men) had unrestricted access to a car, for elderly women it was even less. Whereas 27.3% of women walk on foot, only 15.3% of men do so. 28.7 % of women use cars for everyday purposes, (48.0% of men), and 39.8% of women use public transport (32.5% of men). Unsafety on the streets and in public transport leads some women to use a car or a taxi or leads them to stay at home. The reduction of motorized individual traffic must be an aim for the future. It is most important to make public traffic as pleasant and attractive as possible to equalize the "chances of mobility" for everyone. The accessibility of public transport has to be provided. The stops and stations have to meet all requirements for social safety. A survey about stops of tramways and buses in Vienna, carried out by our office, shows that the technical requirements determine the usability of the stop. The spatial environment influences the quality as a place to rest and the equipment (like benches, dustbins a.s.o.) is responsible for the comfort and

the quality as a place to wait (Warteort). For the social safety all three requirements are important. The location, however, turned out to be more important than the technical standard.

Mobility is also linked to the usability of the net of paths and routes for pedestrians and cyclists. Therefore special attention has to be paid to them.

The image of a quarter or an open space influences the feeling of safety. If an area has a reputation of violence people feel more nervous although the image and reality do not have to correspond. There are certain signs that signal violence, such as destroyed bus stops, dustbins or lamps and devastated parks. Violence among other people is also perceived as a threat. Improving the image by design measures can only function if other (such as social) measures are taken at the same time. Social mixing, if done carefully, is essential to avoiding areas where socially problematic people become isolated.

In the designed and/or built environment colours and material, lighting and - very important - stable details can improve the attractiveness. Often, destruction is a result of frustration, because certain groups of people are frequently neglected by planners. Their needs of room for action are restricted to the benefit of other users.

For the image the following items are important:

- . Avoidance of conflicts
- . Design
- . Stable details
- . Maintenance
- . Speed and quality of repairs.

The possibility of control is one of the first essentials for social safety. I assume that also in other countries besides Austria control is not always seen as very positive. That is why we call it the "positive control". On the one hand control can make people feel more safe, on the other hand the inhibition for potential perpetrators is much higher if a place is controlled.

Following a report of the Dutch women-planners office ZIJAANZICHT three mechanisms of control are possible. They can compensate each other to a certain extent:

- . Personal Control
- . The Informal (that is social) Control and the
- . Formal Control by Authorized Agents

- *Personal Control*

If orientation and overview are possible in an open space, it gives us the feeling to be in control of the situation. One can recognize danger early enough and have a chance to avoid an unpleasant situation or do something against it. View lines between inside and outside or towards landmarks are important to guarantee personal control as much as the view of the path ahead and the recognizability of the point one is heading for. Artificial light or daylight can be determining factors. Buildings and plants or other obstacles have to be avoided if they interrupt a view line which is essential for the orientation. There has been a long tradition of planting shrubs at path-crossings in a park. But for paths that are part of the footpath-net social safety has a higher priority as a design principle.

Personal control is advanced by the following conditions:

- . Daylight or lighting
 - . View lines for orientation and overview
 - . Accessibility
 - . Lack of hiding opportunities along the footpaths
- *Informal Control*

Jane JACOBS used the expression "social eyes" to describe the positive effect of social control at the level of safety in big cities. Attractive open spaces that comply with the wishes and needs of the people will be visited more frequently. The number of pairs of "social eyes" can be increased by combining different functions in one place. (e.g. public phone and bus stop). An open space can also be controlled from inside a building, which is why the rooms of apartments or office buildings should be facing the public open space. Especially wardens or concierges should have a view to the outside. The effectiveness of social control depends on the responsibility and the relation people have with their living environment. Some Dutch projects and surveys show that the participation of people in planning and designing as well as in maintenance improves their responsibility and relation to the estate or quarter they live in. The atmosphere of neighbourliness, as Vron Ware put it, determines the degree to which people feel able to call on neighbours for support.

Informal control is advanced by the following conditions:

- . Daylight or lighting and view lines for the visibility
 - . Combination of activities/functions
 - . Responsibility
- *Formal Control*

Is mainly carried out by authorized persons, like policemen or -women, underground personnel. I mention this possibility as the last one because it bears the danger to put an end to informal control. Informal control can be much more efficient because of its continuity compared to the sporadically present formal control. Formal control is also done by conductors, wardens, or video-watchmen. Less criminal acts occur when cleaning and other personnel or newsmen (or -women) are present (for instance in underground stations). The presence has to be obvious also at the more "dangerous" times of the day.

3. Some Examples

I would like to show some slides to illustrate the most important criteria for social safety of open spaces. The situations I will show are arranged like a fictitious walk from a front door through different open spaces. Most of the pictures will show situations in Austria, either in Vienna, where we have just finished our proposals for improvement of social safety in open spaces in the 10th District of Vienna or in cities of other provinces. You will recognize most of the described principles and criteria.

- *Staircases and Frontdoors*: narrow entrances and stairs between compact walls reduce the possible personal control on the one hand, on the other hand they are experienced as frightening because of too little room to move. It is important to be able to get an overview

from the door and to see the area of the entrance in advance (visual angles) when approaching. The view lines between the inside and the outside make informal control possible.

- *Accesses and Paths in Housing Estates:* it is less pleasant to walk along so-called blind walls (without windows) than along a facade where you can assume life behind the windows. The most important accesses have to allow an overview.

- *Underpasses and Alleyways:* the permeability of a built up area is important for the accessibility. Still underpasses should be avoided if possible. They are almost always places of fear. The lighting or - if possible daylight - and a smooth change between different levels of illumination is essential. Underpasses should be empty, as short as possible, with accesses along one straight line to allow the farthest possible view into them.

- *Footpaths:* it happens quite often that footpaths along the street are less lightened than the street although the cars have lights anyway. Shadows of houses and trees must be accounted for. Plants which cannot be seen through should only be planted in a distance from the path. They not only can provide hiding corners, they sometimes produce an unpleasant narrow channel. In parks it is possible to build one connection fulfilling the safety-requirements to provide an alternative to other paths where other priorities are set up.

- *Stops of Busses and Tramways:* at changing points with an anonymous character, orientation and view lines are very important. Transparency of the waiting shelter, overview from the access path, choice between shadow and sun and again a smooth change between different levels of illumination are some of the important prerequisites to feel safe.

The emphasis on the footpaths and their connections is no coincidence. There are three reasons to that: first: they are neglected quite frequently and therefore need more attention; second: the most beautiful and safe spaces are useless if one does not get there; third: in modern every-day-life a big share of the activities taking place in public is carried out on public paths. The claim for autonomous usability must not be restricted to the playground, the park, the square. Autonomous usability means the possibility of movement and rest without obstacles, without fear, without danger.

4. Conclusions/Proposals

Security has become a matter of great concern to people, especially to women. The limits to solving safety-problems by changing the built environment have to be seen very clearly. That is why improvements in this field can only be considered as one aspect of a more general policy including economical and social measures.

To summarize my report I would like to point out the following issues:

Safety has to be a constituent part of the planning process, not an isolated component that can easily be ignored. This asks for an integrative and interdepartmental approach. There is no "one and only solution" to the problem. It has to be dealt with flexibly and sensitively.

Women have to be seen as experts for their living environment. Complete information and thorough consultation are necessary to enable them to express their needs and preferences. When improving existing spaces and areas the concerned women can provide the most important information. In order to avoid tokenistic solutions it is better to reduce the number of measures to an amount that can actually be realized. To avoid frightening places in newly built or planned areas either the future inhabitants have to be consulted or experiences from other projects have to be taken into account. The list of requirements for new estates or city expansion areas (whether for competitions or singular contracts) must always contain safety requirements.

It is not easy to make suggestions for European policies concerning social safety in open spaces because every country, often even every city has its own laws and is organized differently. There are, however, activities on different levels which can probably be adjusted to different organizational systems. And I would like to suggest to write down the most important guidelines to create a "European standard", which tenants, inhabitants of a city, craftsmen and -women, planners, architects and politicians can refer to. It can also be a means to raise the awareness of the problem. I would consider it more efficient than the claim for new laws. It could function as an international support to national, regional or community-policies.

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THEME 2

2nd Part

**PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS
RELATED TO VARIOUS PATTERNS OF LIFE -
TRANSPORTATION PERSPECTIVES CONSIDERING BOTH MEN'S AND
WOMEN'S PREFERENCES**

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PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS RELATED TO VARIOUS PATTERNS OF LIFE - TRANSPORTATION PERSPECTIVES CONSIDERING BOTH MEN'S AND WOMEN'S PREFERENCES

Alternative transport systems

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INTRODUCTION

Urban and transport planners in developed countries have not been particularly sensitive to women's travel issues in the past. According to some extreme opinions (E.g., 16,17), the city was deliberately structured to place men and women in separate spheres, and as the city adjusts over time to the universal mobility provided by the automobile, it is doing so in a social environment which insures the continued existence of those separate spheres.

While the author of this paper doesn't fully agree with this accusation, he is of the opinion that there are great differences between travel needs of men and women and that these differences are not taken into account in planning of transport systems. In addition, the differences in needs and preferences are only partially disclosed by travel surveys because observed travel pattern are to some extent affected by transport services provided.

This paper deals with the following four main topics: travel patterns, security aspects of transport, motorisation and telecommuting. The final point contains selected conclusions and recommendations.

DIFFERENCES IN TRAVEL PATTERNS

While, in the process of transportation planning, a lot of effort is devoted to surveying and forecasting transport demand, it is astonishing how seldom differences in travel behaviour of men and women are studied. In typical studies, several categories of travellers are considered, but gender is only exceptionally used as explanatory variable. It is difficult to understand this lack of interest because empirical findings disclose that the current travel patterns, attitudes and preferences of women are noticeably different from those of men.

From a limited search through the literature, it has been found that the topic of this paper was studied in a more systematic way in Sweden, the U.K. and the U.S. Issues relating to the situation of women in human settlements in developing countries have been intensively studied by the United Nations agencies and the World Bank.

United States

From the available literature it seems that the differences between man and woman travel behaviour and needs were first noticed in the United States. For instance, the Conference on Women's Travel Issues organised by the U.S. Department of Transportation was held at the National Academy of Science in 1978 [14].

Results of research on American cities show that there are substantial differences between the travel patterns of men and women, even when considering commuting. Women make shorter work trips, make greater use of public transit, make more trips for the purpose of serving another person's travel needs, and drive far fewer miles per year than men.

These differences in travel are attributed by M. Wachs [16] to the evolution of separate spheres that delineate the social responsibilities of men and women. Man's sphere has traditionally been the workplace and woman's the home, and transportation systems were built with the conscious purpose of separating those functional spheres in geographic space. This was the case when new transit systems were built at the end of the last century and the suburbanisation of middle- and upper-class residences ensued. As the automobile became the dominant mode of transportation in the 1920s, the idea of separate spheres was extended to that vehicle, and social conventions developed regarding appropriate uses of the automobile by men and women. These uses differed for the two sexes, and sex-based stereotypes were used to reinforce the division between man's and woman's worlds. Many of the sex-role definitions that were established decades ago have remained, and women's work is still defined within limits associated with their special domain. It is important that transportation planners consider the special travel needs of women because they are indeed the product of conscious policies that have been pursued in the past".

In another article [17], quoted earlier, the same author pointed out that, while women have entered the work force in very large numbers, they still make work trips which are on average substantially shorter than men's and make many more trips for the purpose of serving passengers (delivering someone to a destination). Three reasons are given to explain why women live closer to their jobs than men do: women are paid substantially lower salaries than men; recent suburbanisation of service and retail activity has resulted in "women's" jobs being more evenly distributed across the urban landscape than the professional and technical jobs which are more typically held by men; and, even as they enter the workforce, women retain their family obligations as nurturers, shoppers, and homemakers. It is concluded that women's travel patterns will continue to differ substantially from those of men.

Not only working women were considered in research. For instance, S. Rosenbloom [11] focused on elderly women. She found that more women over 65 live alone than with spouses or relatives and that both the number and the percentage are expected to grow. These women, regardless of income, face growing mobility losses.

United Kingdom

Results of several projects carried out in the U.K. were published in [3, 10]. Generally, it was found that women's travel needs can be analyzed explicitly in terms of their gender role. Women's travel patterns depend essentially on activity organisation within the home and the ability to budget these activities within time and space. The position of women is changing in relation to parallel changes in land use patterns and travel mobility.

Although the dramatic rise in the number of working women, especially working mothers, has substantially increased women's travel needs, there has not been a corresponding rise in women's mobility. This discrepancy has arisen partly because fewer women have access to cars or are able to drive; as a result, they depend more on public transport services. There are also three types of low mobility arising from women's gender role: (1) the effect of family role playing on patterns of women's car availability; (2) the impact of gender related tasks inside and outside the home on women's access to opportunities; (3) problems arising from the conditions under which women travel. In conclusion it can be stated that concern with gender is critical for any thorough analysis of transport behaviour.

A very detailed and clear picture of women's transport needs in London was obtained as a result of the "Women on the Move" survey, commissioned by the former Greater London Council between 1984 and 1986. The study used the data of the Greater London Transportation Survey (1981) and the London Travel Survey. The results were summarized as follows: (1) although the survey data enable initial identification of women's transport and travel needs, further data are required to provide an adequate assessment of problems in women's accessibility to transport and employment; (2) the results of the surveys indicate clearly that the public transport system in London is not yet designed to meet women's travel needs; (3) women need a public transport system which is not only safe but perceived by them to be safe; (4) women's mobility and especially accessibility are reduced, because the public transport system does not meet many women's needs and because cars are much less available to women than to men.

In another study [3, chapter 2], the differences in travel behaviour are placed in a historical context by considering the decline in public transport and the rise of private motoring since 1945. The mobility difference between men and women were linked with gender inequality at three levels: (1) sociological; (2) psychological; (3) biological. Analysis concentrated on women's position in the social structure, but also considered the role of socialisation and physical characteristics.

Research included a qualitative empirical study of women's transport needs in West Yorkshire and a study of the impact of the deregulation of bus services on women's lives. The authors concluded that: (1) women's transport needs in the UK are poorly met by current transport policy and provision; (2) there are several ways in which women bear the costs of specific transport policies and projects while receiving disproportionately few of the benefits; (3) several trends in land use planning during recent decades have contributed to women's transport disadvantage; (4) current indications for reduced gender inequalities in transport are not hopeful.

Sweden

In a study [5] it was found that the number of married women working outside the home continues to grow, questions arise as to the impact of a wife's employment on household travel patterns. The authors examined the effects of a wife's employment status on her own travel activity pattern and on that of her husband. Using data from the Uppsala household travel survey, in which sample-household members kept detailed travel diaries for 35 days, the authors first compared the travel patterns of married women employed full time with those of married women employed part time and married women not working outside the home. They then compared the travel patterns of the three corresponding groups of husbands.

Measures of travel activity patterns that were used included indices of overall travel frequency for different purposes, amount of time spent and distances travelled for different purposes, indices of the level of variety in the individual's destination choice set, and measures of mode use.

The results showed that women employed full-time do reduce their participation in some non-work activities although their distances travelled to activity sites were not shorter than those travelled by the other women. Few significant intergroup differences distinguished the travel activity patterns of the three groups of men.

The evidence suggests that a woman's full-time employment does bring significant changes to her own travel pattern but has little impact on that of her husband. The paper concluded with a discussion of policy implications and a review of several Swedish programs that could eventually result in greater similarity in the travel activity patterns of men and women.

Poland

The case of Poland can be considered as typical for countries of Central Europe. In the period of centrally planned economy, 57-59 percent of women (above 15) were employed (men - 74-77 percent). This led to relatively high mobility rates.

In the period of transition, there are rapid changes. In the process of restructuring of the national economy, the number of jobs in some sectors previously dominated by women (such as textile industry) was reduced. On the other hand, a very rapid growth of a private sector (first of all, services and commerce) generated many new jobs. Nevertheless, as a result of political and economic reforms, the share of economically active women decreased to 53.5 per cent (Febr.1993).

Changes were not only in numbers, but also locational. While in the past, most jobs were concentrated in one-function zones (such as industrial districts), at present there are more evenly distributed. There are several implications of these changes for travel patterns: the reduced number of people commuting to the old employment zones, commuting to dispersed new work places (generally, shorter trips), and reduced need to travel long distances to shops and services.

Statistical data on new travel patterns are limited. Only Warsaw completed the travel survey after 1990 [18]. Results concerning differences between mobilities of men and women are shown in table 1. It is visible that the total mobility rates for women are higher than for men. However, the difference is caused by the higher number of walking trips made by women. Men make more trips by mechanised transport means.

Table 1

Mobility rates in Warsaw: trips per day per person above 6

Age group	Number of trips per day			
	Male		Female	
	Total	Not-walking	Total	Not-walking
7-15	2.58	0.84	2.56	1.10
16-25	2.72	2.34	3.05	2.35
26-39	2.79	2.38	2.96	1.91
40-60	2.67	2.31	2.84	2.11
> 60	2.35	1.66	2.12	1.26
Average	2.63	2.00	2.70	1.81

Less developed countries

It has to be admitted that, in less developed countries, problems of women in urban and rural development, including transport issues, are more studied by various organizations and institutions such as the United Nations and the World Bank. This is probably, because the severity of the problem is much higher.

In the poorer countries, women shoulder most of the problems resulting from lack of transport infrastructure and services. Rural women walk long distances carrying water and firewood daily. Deprived of transport services, they carry all that is bought and sold. "They travel greater distances to perform low-paid, low-status, unstable jobs. The conflicts they confront between home and "work" grow as working at greater distances from home involves greater sacrifices to be made for the care of children who neither have the possibility of being cared by formal institutions nor by kinship and community based support network" [8].

Conclusions

From the above review of information on differences between travel patterns of men and women, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- (1) In the past, transportation studies have not been particularly oriented to women's travel issues, but the methods and data are generally available. Data collected during typical home interview surveys can be used to understand aggregate trends in women's travel patterns which are related to changes in role, household structure, resource allocation, and attitudes.
- (2) Even from limited information it is clear that travel patterns of men and women differ. Women travel shorter distances, in less uniform way (in time and space), and more likely by foot and public transport. While comparisons of travel patterns of women to those of other groups have shown fewer and shorter trips, and a lesser use of automobiles, a newer indicator, travel time over the twenty-four hours day, reveals that working women with children may have shorter time durations for work, household, and leisure trips.
- (3) It is not clear at all, to what extent observed travel behaviour reflects the real travel needs. Because the transport systems are traditionally planned and operated taking into account only some categories of trips (such as commuting), it can be expected that there is a latent demand for additional travel which would be undertaken if the system offers additional services.

SECURITY AS A PROBLEM

In cities all over the world, high and growing personal insecurity is becoming one of the main problems affecting women's living conditions. Studies on personal security problems faced by women travelling were undertaken, among others, in the UK. In [3], the results of several surveys that have examined the influence of women's perceptions of personal security on their travel decisions were described. There is definite evidence of the widespread and serious nature of British women's fears about travelling, especially at night. The principal factors affecting levels of apprehension are: (1) age; (2) race; (3) sexual orientations; (4) economic status (cars and taxis are perceived to be safest); (5) activity levels and the presence of other people; (6) time of day; (7) lighting; (8) tidiness and cleanliness; (9) frequency of travel (women who travel more are less fearful).

High levels of perceived insecurity were found, particularly for walking at night, in parks and subways and when waiting for public transport services in isolated areas [13]. Around two-thirds of women are afraid to go out at night alone and significant numbers will not use public transport, and are worried about city centre car parks. There is a great difference between man and woman as far as perceived risk is concerned. For instance, in Islington (1985) 73 per cent of women and only 27 per cent of men felt worried about going out alone at night. Generally, women try to avoid unsafe areas like subways and waiting at public transport stops. The authors claim that "the centres of most European cities (in other countries - W.S.) are comparatively safe for women". This is only partially true, because the situation in some cities of central and eastern Europe is similar.

Cities are going through car-induced restructuring. Decreasing residential density, dispersion of shopping, services and leisure facilities etc. make urban areas less safe, especially for those not driving.

One of the developments in urban public transport which contributed to the growth of insecurity was one person operation (OPO) of buses and tramways. OPO has several significant disadvantages for passengers, including some that are more strongly felt by women passengers than by men (especially absence of help from a conductor, and feelings of insecurity).

Giving consideration to safety would have a definite impact on urban and transport planning and design. Some practical recommendations are formulated in the last section of this paper.

NEED FOR RESEARCH

There are several areas where further research is needed. First of all, travel needs as a basis for predictions of travel behaviour must be studied taking into consideration varying preferences of men and women. The predictions of travel behaviour require to consider how the growing involvement of women in the paid labour force and the increasing number of female headed families would impact the complex relationship of employment opportunities, residential location choice, and travel behaviour. The observed trend of increased proportion of part-time employed women has a considerable impact on travel patterns which has to be examined. Also specific needs of the increasing number of elderly women living alone should be taken into account.

In addition, two questions relating to the technological and logistic developments deserve wider discussion: motorization and telecommuting.

Motorization

The conventional view is that the car is more essential for the man than for the woman. Statistics generally show that women drive less than men and "it is sometimes suggested that one of the reasons of this is that women are relatively less enthusiastic about driving" [1]. Furthermore, opinions are often expressed that women are worse drivers and create more danger on the road. Surveys and statistics refute these suggestions. For instance in Warsaw in 1993, women constituted 18 per cent of all drivers of passenger cars observed in traffic, but the share of women involved in accidents (not necessarily responsible) was below 14 per cent.

These points were raised because in ongoing discussions on **sustainable mobility** and, more specifically, on ways to reduce car use, some planners are concerned with the growing share of car trips (and vehicle-kilometres driven) made by women. This trend is considered as not desirable, because a high proportion of these trips are in not-obligatory categories (shopping, leisure etc.).

Clearly, these views can be questioned not only on the ground of equity consideration. According to the prevailing views, rational urban transport policy should discourage the use of private automobile for commuting, especially to the most congested central areas and concentrations of work places. Other trips, to more dispersed destinations and not so much concentrated in time, contribute less to traffic congestion and parking problems.

It is worth noting that, according to results of a survey of attitudes toward the car which was carried out in the U.K. in 1989 [1], women appeared much more sensitive to environmental and other problems caused by excessive car traffic.

For instance, if there were a danger that car fumes seriously damaged the environment, 48 per cent of women would use their car less compared to 32 per cent of men. Also women were likely to be more influenced to reduce their mileage by social pressure than men.

Conclusion was that "women are less attached to their cars and would be more adaptable to the transport problems of the future". However, in this connection, the question should be asked whether it is fair to use this readiness of women to resign from the convenience of a personal vehicle to solve transport problems of others?

Telecommuting

Telecommuting is one of the most recent answers to problems created by excessive travelling. Although it is still at a very early stage, it is considered as a promising solution.

Computer and telecommunication advances (computer networks, FAX machines, electronic mail, etc.) have widened the choice of workplace for some category of workers. They can work wherever these tools are available, including at home. As a result, in the U.S. as much as 30 per cent of the labour force now work at home at least part of the time [15]. An estimated two million of these people are full-time employees who work only at home or in **satellite telework centres** located near or in residential areas. Almost half of all telecommuters are women, what means that a higher proportion of working women belongs to this category. It is expected that the number of workers practising telecommuting could reach 7.5 to 15 million within a decade.

At the first sight, the telecommuting option to work at home seems to be an ideal solution, giving employees extreme flexibility in schedule and life style. "Child care can be accommodated more easily and for many people with primary child care responsibility work-at-home may be the only employment option. On the other hand, it does not provide the social interaction that normal work offers. Maintenance of a clear distinction between work and home life can be difficult for some, leading to stress and burnout"[15]. Other implications include accelerating urban sprawl.

While it is too early to formulate definite conclusions, it seems that telecommuting represents an attractive interesting option to many categories of workers.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

(1) Empirical findings are that the current travel patterns and attitudes of women were noticeably different from those of men. The existing transport systems do not fit the travel demands of women with multiple roles at work and in the family. Access to employment and to community facilities is limited.

Travel is traded off by women as a discretionary activity in favour of obligatory time requirements. Compensatory policies should be designed to release time for travel directly by alteration of work and household organization, and indirectly by changes in land use and transportation programs.

(2) The extent and value of current research on women's travel issues is inadequate and additional research is needed, for instance, on the following topics:

- (a) The impact of regional and urban development and of governmental transportation programs on various groups in society with emphasis on evaluation of the situation in terms of effectiveness and equity.
- (b) The prediction of travel behaviour: studies on how the growing involvement of women in the paid labour force and the increasing number of female headed families would impact the complex relationship of employment opportunities, residential location choice, and travel behaviour.
- (c) The role of motorization in the society with emphasis on varying needs and preferences of men and women.
- (d) Consequences of the most recent technological advances allowing telecommuting, teleshopping, telebanking etc. on travel needs.

(3) Personal security of travellers is an important but neglected issue, deserving greater attention by urban and transport planners. Potential measures include:

- (a) Promoting urban structures with mixed uses (see point below). Revitalizing of city centres by introducing diverse activities. Developing intensively used, well-lit corridors of activities.
- (b) Design of streets, pathways, car parks, pedestrian crossings etc. in such a way that safety is improved. Avoiding pedestrian subways which belong to the most dangerous elements of the transport system.
- (c) Improved frequency and reliability as well as policing and staffing of public transport services.
- (d) Promoting the demand-responsive service which utilizes smaller vehicles (minibuses or taxis) which are better suited to low or medium density areas with dispersed travel patterns and during less busy time than conventional fixed-route bus service.

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PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS RELATED TO VARIOUS PATTERNS OF LIFE - TRANSPORTATION PERSPECTIVES CONSIDERING BOTH MEN'S AND WOMEN'S PREFERENCES

Local transport

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INTRODUCTION

Before taking up the subject of women's role and representation, I think it is essential to draw attention to the important role of public transport in spatial planning for sustainable development, especially in urban areas.

This is particularly true of European cities. For a time we followed the American example, trying to adapt the city to the needs of the car, to quote a former President of the French Republic, Georges Pompidou. We gradually sacrificed the European city, a place of vitality and communication, to "goddess motor car", placing its soul at risk. Today, we are far from having "a city whose prince would be a child".

The important role assumed by the private car and the improvement in services that has allowed people to move about more speedily have led to the development of peripheral urban areas suited to this kind of mobility but contributing at the same time to urban sprawl.

Moreover, the proliferation of cars poses a threat to the sustainable development of our cities:

- cars are the main source of atmospheric pollution: 66 per cent of carbon dioxide emissions, 74 per cent of hydrocarbon emissions and 36 per cent of nitrogen oxides come from private motor vehicles in urban areas;
- cars are noisy: 6 million Frenchmen and women are exposed to noise levels exceeding 65 decibels, while the proportion in Paris increases to one half of the city's residents;
- cars are dangerous: three quarters of traffic accidents occur in built-up areas, accounting for two thirds of the total number of road deaths;

- cars paralyse economic activity: problems of congestion and overcrowding in inner cities and their access routes, long deplored in major conurbations, are now spreading to towns of fewer than 100,000 inhabitants.

As a result, roads have been changed by traffic from a means of communication to an obstacle to communication and to sociability. We must therefore devise transport policies that match our aspirations for our cities, that is to say policies that respect the underlying values of urban life.

Our cities must keep their inhabitants and maintain social and economic activity. They must remain accessible to the largest possible number without losing their quality of life.

This calls for the development, in the area of transport, of a policy of traffic control for private cars, accompanied by the development of alternative transport facilities to meet the needs of both residents and those travelling in from outside.

We are therefore faced with a real challenge that demands a complete change of course, something of a revolution in fact, with a view to both controlling traffic and developing the supply and use of alternative means of transport. We are driven to such action by the key issues of preservation of our cities and their way of life, the safeguarding of our environment and safety concerns.

Public transport is one mode among others, such as walking and cycling which are both ecological and easy on the public purse, that the public authorities may employ in implementation of a spatial planning policy conducive to sustainable development.

Women, more of whom use these alternatives to the car than men, must become involved in formulating those policies.

1. Women and transport policies

1.1 The key question of time

1.1.1 Duration of transport, a fundamental consideration for women

Time is an extremely important factor for women. As most of them have to combine a career with domestic work, they are subject to greater time constraints than men: in France, they have only 3 hours' leisure time, compared with 3 hours 35 minutes for men.

It is therefore of the greatest importance for them to spend as little time as possible getting from one place to another. In France, for example, women employees with children spend an average of 70 minutes travelling, compared with 83 minutes for employed men. This difference assumes particular importance when one considers that:

- in most one-car households, it is the man who uses the car;
- a journey by public transport takes, on average, twice as long as a journey by car.

The difference in time spent travelling is attributable for the most part to the fact that women usually work closer to home so as to be able to combine employment with family life. This constraint also means that they have to confine themselves to a narrower range of employment opportunities.

Every improvement in the transport system therefore reduces the constraints placed on women and widens their range of choice. But in the absence of any real alternative, any improvement usually entails access to a car.

1.1.2 Travel time is a constant

Time plays a key role in travel behaviour. Transport specialists know that both the duration of travel and the number of trips made remain virtually constant.

Time gained through improvements in the transport system is usually offset by the length of the distances covered, since people are able to find more pleasant and cheaper housing farther afield.

The most important improvements are associated with increased motorisation and new highway facilities, leading to the expansion of urban areas and a decline in density. But the new peripheral urban areas are less easily served by public transport, which demands greater density. At the same time, these areas often lack animation and are uncondusive to walking.

I think it is essential to take time into account as a critical factor both in women's lives and in the behaviour of the population as a whole. It is for this reason, in the interests of sustainable development, that action must be taken on several fronts: the transport system, control of urbanisation and the evolution of behaviour.

1.2 Who makes choices regarding travel?

The German sociologist Werner Brög has found that decisions regarding travel are taken by men "in the prime of life".

These men are also the main users of private cars. In France, outside the Paris area, 60 per cent of men use private cars only, a percentage that increases with social status. It is not surprising, therefore, that decisions on travel tend to favour the private car.

But the development of motorisation has changed all behaviour patterns. Speed is venerated and mobility at high speed is a sign of social rank. Transport policies have aligned themselves with this development, and physical facilities, regulations and fares have heavily favoured cars and their drivers to the detriment of public transport users, cyclists and pedestrians.

The commanding position of the car has alienated people from slower modes of transport. Some fifteen years ago, for example, the two predominant modes, private cars and walking, were still virtually on a par in French towns. In the meantime, however, the share of the car has been steadily increasing, while walking has slumped. Bicycles have been relegated to the sidelines and the share of public transport is difficult to maintain.

The supremacy of the car has naturally had an important impact on women's choice of mode; as access to a car is a prerequisite for obtaining access to the town centre and all it has to offer, women are keen to have a car and use it. The phenomenon of two-car households is due primarily to women.

Would transport policies be any different if women had more of a say in decision-making? I think so: women are particularly sensitive to the quality of urban life and support certain values conducive to a different kind of policy, such as civic values, sociability, preservation of the environment and safety.

If we aspire to sustainable development and a return to urban values in our European cities, transport policies must aim at controlling the use of cars and offer quality alternatives. Such a policy should form part of urban development policies that promote "short-distance cities", as our German colleagues put it, which would be a boon to women who often have to organise a "two-tier day".

Lastly, it calls for in-depth action to change behaviour, an area in which women are certainly highly influential.

1.3 Choice of mode by sex

Household surveys on travel in France show that men and women do not differ in terms of the number of trips per day.

Differences exist, however, in the mode of transport used: in provincial towns of between 200,000 and 500,000 inhabitants surveyed between 1989 and 1992, men used private cars for 60 per cent of their journeys and alternative modes (walking, two-wheel vehicles, public transport) for 40 per cent. The distribution is more balanced in the case of women: 50 per cent use cars and 50 per cent alternative modes.

The share of travel by public transport is 10 per cent for men but reaches 15 per cent in the case of women. The difference is even greater for walking, which accounts for 30 per cent in the case of women, compared with only 20 per cent for men.

If we confine our attention to employment-related journeys, however, few of which involve walking, the car assumes even greater importance: 73 per cent of men and 68 per cent of women use cars and, even more disturbing, the behaviour of women employees is becoming increasingly similar to that of men. Nevertheless, we find that public transport accounts for 16 per cent of employment-related journeys for women and only 8 per cent for men.

	All purchases		Small shops		Large stores	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
PCar	60 %	67,5 %	47 %	59 %	80 %	83 %
Walk	30 %	21 %	41 %	28 %	15 %	10 %
PTransport	7 %	4 %	8 %	6 %	4 %	3 %
2-Wheel	3 %	7,5 %	4 %	7 %	1 %	4 %
All modes	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

Modes of transport used by men and women for shopping trips in Bordeaux (1990)

The differences between men and women in terms of choice of modes is clearly visible, especially in the case of trips to small shops (60 per cent of shopping trips). By contrast, in the case of shopping in large stores (40 per cent of the total), the car emerges as the clear leader for both women (80 per cent) and men (83 per cent). In all cases, the share of public transport and two-wheel vehicles is very small.

The difference in choice of modes for shopping in small shops or large stores illustrates clearly the interaction between urban planning and travel practices: large stores are being developed in France, particularly in peripheral urban areas, with spaces specially designed for the use of private cars. In this context, one finds little difference in the behaviour of women and men.

2. Women and local public transport

As we have seen, women use public transport more than men and seem better disposed towards it than men. At the same time, such transport must correspond to women's needs so as to offer a real alternative in the context of action to achieve sustainable development.

2.1 Women, traditional users of public transport

Two thirds of users of public transport are women, a proportion that is even higher in the case of users between the ages of 18 and 65, that is to say excluding schoolgoers and the elderly.

But on analysing this situation, we find that local public transport networks go all out to attract male customers, developing aspects that are supposed to appeal to them: speed, automation and so forth.

At the same time, they are losing their female customers because, to my mind, they give only limited attention to the needs of this traditional circle of customers, which is gradually turning away from public transport.

It is therefore important, if public transport is to be promoted in the interests of sustainable development, to form a clear picture of women's preferences and needs.

2.2 Women, users of public transport: what are their needs?

The RATP, which runs the public transport system in Paris, recently carried out a survey of its company's image among various target groups of users of public transport, including women.

It is interesting to note that, among the target groups surveyed, it was women who were most appreciative of time gained and low fares in public transport. But they also tended to be quite critical, reacting as consumers rather than captive users of this means of transport. We have seen that women have very tight schedules and are therefore particularly alert to any malfunction in the service that disrupts the way in which they have organised their lives. This is particularly true of young women, who have to reconcile a career with looking after small children: 77 per cent of the women polled complained of more and more frequent disturbances in the Paris service.

They also stressed the difficulty of travelling with parcels or children's pushchairs: 81 per cent of the women canvassed said that public transport was not designed for people with loads to carry. And women often travel with bags and packages (it is they who do the shopping) and with children.

They have strong feelings on other points too: safety for themselves, but above all for their children, as well as attitudes towards young people and facilities for people in difficulty. The last two points clearly illustrate women's concern with sociable behaviour.

When asked what they expect of a public transport system, the attributes they tend to mention most frequently are safety and quality of service (cleanness, more numerous transport facilities and a more frequent service).

In rural areas, women say that public transport fails to cater to their needs. It is generally designed for schoolchildren, with a large number of widely dispersed stops and timetables to suit schools. Women want more direct transport so that they can visit the neighbouring town for half a day to do their shopping, transact other business or even take up employment.

2.3 Public transport that fulfils its role on women's behalf

Public transport was long designed for a captive clientele, of which women formed a part: matching this service to the customer's needs was not always treated as a priority. It is not surprising, therefore, that the car came to be viewed, also by women, as nothing less than the key to freedom of movement, giving access to an unlimited range of possibilities.

If we wish to control the use of the car, in the interests of sustainable development, public transport must live up to its customers' expectations, casting off the image of a second-class facility associated with children and adolescents, elderly people and women, in short with all those deemed of little consequence. Unless public transport turns over a new leaf, these customers will desert it as soon as they can.

Women pay particular attention to quality of service. They have a very tight schedule and look for a means of transport that is reliable, frequent and regular. But our city streets are largely monopolised by cars, and buses tend to get caught in traffic jams: the creation of reserved lanes and the introduction of priority traffic lighting for public transport are improvements that cost little in financial terms.

It is usually women who do the shopping and travel with children: public transport should provide corresponding facilities. Low floors of the type demanded by disabled people are an improvement that other users also appreciate. Stairs and turnstiles, on the other hand, are obstacles difficult to negotiate when one is laden down with parcels or children.

Women want to travel in safety. That is why they prefer surface to underground transport and a human presence to automation.

3. **Women's contribution to local public transport**

Public transport is a man's world at all levels: in France, women represent less than 10 per cent of the staff of public transport systems and only 6 per cent of drivers.

This has implications both for the design of the service and for the running of the systems.

3.1 The design of public transport systems

The fact that public transport systems are designed by men, usually engineers, certainly accounts for the predominance of technology.

But we have seen that, from the point of view of sustainable development, public transport is first and foremost a tool in the service of urban planning. The aim is to come to grips with the complex interrelationship between transport and the organisation of urban areas, a task that cannot be addressed by technology alone. Political choices are of prime importance for the organisation and funding of transport and this calls for urban development along lines that are compatible with a public transport service, a division of the road system that benefits alternative modes of transport to the car and the allocation of public funds to public transport rather than to cars.

A process of dialogue with all those who live in the city and have an impact on the city is a prerequisite for the implementation of any such policy.

Lastly, very careful attention must be given to the quality of the service provided: amenities in vehicles and at stops, access to stops for pedestrians, facilities at transfer points, information.

When it comes to managing complex interrelationships, performing delicate operations, women must be brought in to counterbalance the at times somewhat mechanistic approach taken by men. Hence the need for their full involvement also in the actual formulation of transport policies.

3.2 The running of public transport systems

The attributes demanded of a busdriver were, in the past, physical strength and mechanical skills. Today, however, the occupation is undergoing a major change: manufacturers of vehicles have introduced improvements that make driving easier, mechanics has become a different kind of occupation and customer service is becoming more and more important.

Some transport systems in France, foreseeing the implications of this trend, have taken on more women employees. It should be noted that this development has in many cases been resisted by male staff on the payroll or even by trade unions. Already disgruntled by the change in their occupation, men view the arrival of women in jobs traditionally reserved for them as a blow to their status.

The companies that recruited women drivers generally took into account their good relations with customers. But it is particularly interesting to note that women were found to have other qualities that had not been fully gauged at the outset. As women generally tend to drive more smoothly than their male colleagues, they consume less fuel and cause fewer accidents. These qualities are highly appreciated by public transport systems.

Another feature of public transport is the need for a special service during rush hours, which makes the possibility of part-time recruitment particularly attractive. And women are often more interested than men in this type of arrangement, which allows them to combine employment with family life.

In this context, the Secretariat for Women's Rights in France, in co-operation with the Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of Labour, introduced an experiment in rural areas designed to offer jobs as school busdrivers to women seeking employment. The women were given the opportunity to obtain a qualification in the form of a busdriver's licence and employment of a kind that gave them access to the world of work.

The initiative has been a resounding success. The relations of the women drivers with the children they transport are usually less conflict-prone than those of their male colleagues. And here again the transporters noted that savings had been made in the consumption of fuel.

So women have something to contribute to public transport, both in the formulation of transport policies and in the running of public transport systems: the sector would therefore do well to enlist the services of this half of humanity.

CONCLUSION

Transport policies are one of the means available to public authorities to direct urban planning towards sustainable development.

In recent years, the proliferation of private cars has led to the development of peripheral urban areas, converting compact and dense European cities into sprawling expanses singularly lacking in urban character. Moreover, this type of spatial organisation is uncondusive to environmental preservation.

We must change the direction of this policy, control the use of cars and offer a real alternative in the form of more ecological modes: walking, cycling and public transport.

Women can be the catalysts of this new policy. They use public transport more than men and also tend to walk more. They know the advantages of these means of getting around and also their shortcomings. They are more concerned with the quality of urban life than with speed; and they are particularly keen to ensure that children, the elderly and indeed the entire population can move around cities in perfect safety.

If we take the needs expressed by women into account, we can improve public transport and turn it into an attractive means of conveyance capable of competing with the car.

When it comes to changing course, deciding to deal with complex relationships rather than seeking rationality alone, rethinking public transport so that quality of service prevails over automated underground networks, finetuning existing facilities rather than making new investments, giving public relations precedence over mechanics, women have a role to play. Better representation of women in the formulation of transport policies and the design and running of public transport systems should be the mainspring of this change.

The scale of the task to be addressed and the diversity of the skills to be mustered demand that women finally come into their own and make their difference felt, since an exchange of contrasting views invariably adds depth to the approaches adopted.

**PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS RELATED TO
VARIOUS PATTERNS OF LIFE - TRANSPORTATION PERSPECTIVES CONSIDERING
BOTH MEN'S AND WOMEN'S PREFERENCES**

Mobility of women in rural areas

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In my paper the "mobility of women in rural areas" will be dealt with under the following aspects:

I. Causes and motives of a sex-specific mobility

1. Because of their traditional responsibility for the upbringing of children and for the carrying out and setting of errands and problems specific of a family women are tied to a certain chronological framework e.c. the opening hours of institutions such as kindergartens and schools. Thus manifold needs for mobility emerge because of women's responsibility for house and family no matter if they are "only housewives" or whether they have picked an additional job. Women are very much tied to non-occupational duties, the result of which are considerable travelling distances to shops, the authorities, kindergartens and distances to be covered in order to look after old people.

Therefore the mobility of women because of their manifold duties and tasks focuses in resultant "chain-distances" or "chain-rides" to be covered.

2. Distances in rural areas are longer and often the individual villages and minor centres aren't linked by any local public transport system.

3. The possibility of doing the errands in the place you live, of providing yourself with the daily necessities is not given any more because of a concentration process in forcing women to cover greater distances to centres of intermediate or major economic importance.

4. According to investigations carried out by the "department for the equality of the sexes in Rhineland-Palatinate" only 51 percent of the women own a driving licence (men: 81 percent). Only 29 percent of the women have got a car at their disposal permanently (the percentage of men: 68%).

Accordingly women are dependent on public transport to a much greater extent than men. At the same time, however, this diminishes their chances of mobility.

If you combine this state of affairs with the fact that most women either walk or use bicycles as means of transport and that they represent the major group using the local public transport system it gets clear that the mobility behaviour of women must be the subject of various studies if one really wants to improve the local public transport system from an economical and ecologically point of view.

II. Criteria of a pro-women local form of public transport.

1. Above all women use the LPTS only occasionally and not during the rush-hour. Therefore women would prefer an extended service of the LPTS during those times of the day when the LPTS' capacity lies idle, which means:

between
8.30 and 11.30 a.m. and
14.00 and 17.00, p.m.

2. Women claim of an appropriate LPTS to be linked to the nearest "Mittelzentrum" (city of intermediate economic importance) where they can pay visits to the authorities, go to the doctors', do their errands and simply meet. To reach this aim the various lines' dates of arrival should be coordinated and agreed with the opening hours of the respective authorities. If necessary an agreement should be sought between the planning office and those responsible in administrations, authorities, and practices.

3. The timetables in operation on weekdays should also be offered on Sundays and public holidays as well as during school holiday.

4. The links are required to be fast, without women having to change or to take the roundabout way.

5. On the basis of the danger of violence against women especially in the evening hours and at night an improved social security should be provided. Stops and their access should be secure, allow a clear view, be bright and pleasant. They should be installed close to populated areas, e.c. as far as industrial areas are concerned in the vicinity of a door or gate keeper's house. The stops should be sheltered (roofed) and if necessary be movable (mobile shelters).

Especially at night women prefer stops (entries/ exits) on demand close to their door if the route of the bus allows for this.

6. Women like to stay at their destination for about 2.5 hours. This is the time they need to pay a visit to the authorities, to go to the doctors' and do their errands.

7. Above all it is the older women who criticize the illegible design of timetables which prevents them from using the LPTS.
8. Usage of the LPTS mustn't be curbed by unreliabilities such as delays, defective buses not running, or buses not stopping in agreed - upon places.
9. Women also like to see fares at sensible levels. This holds especially true for older women and those living on their own and having to bring up their child/ children.
10. During the rush-hour bus lines should be coordinated with the respective ending of shifts, opening hours of administrations, authorities and stores.

In order to be able to describe the real needs for mobility and to be able to meet these needs they must be documented and developed in the very region where the functioning LPTS should operate in the future.

The following components should be part of any sensible planning in the field of LPTS:

a) topography

In the lowland with bicycles as a typical means of transport bicycle lanes should be installed as accesses to the respective bus lines. At the same time suitable roofed shelters at bus-stops and stations should be an indispensable part of any planning.

The respective vehicles themselves should all offer the opportunity of carrying your bicycle to your destination.

b) population density:

The demands of a region with a high housing density, an increasing population, and a high employment rate (rural areas in the vicinity of conurbations) can't be met by lines running irregularly or only when required.

Sensible planning therefore must try to fill the gaps in the LPTS's timetable (morning and afternoon) as well as provide its operation on Saturdays and Sundays. Those are the hours when especially women and the youth make use of the PTS.

The situation for planning in regions with a less dense population will be dealt with later in this report.

c) existing networks within the LPTS

New plannings of lines must follow those already existing. The existence of a railway line has to be evaluated as the backbone of a future LPTS in the respective region. Therefore carefully planned and fitting access lines without long interruptions (because of having to change trains/ waiting time) are especially important for women in this particular situation. Walking- and bicycle-lanes have to be included, too.

Before establishing a new bus or railway line the existing network should be traced out and registered in a map.

The LPTS is determined by:

- topography
 - the respective stops
 - distance, access to an existing railway line
 - existing LPTS- lines and facilities
 - vehicle
- and the respective needs of the customers

III. **Experiences made during a measure-oriented project aiming at the improvement of the living conditions for women living in rural areas in Rhineland-Palatinate**

In 1992 the department for the equality of women and men in Rhineland-Palatinate launched a project whose aim was to improve the living conditions of women in rural areas. Its highest aim was to include competent and capable women of the region. A local women study-group confined to the project area was founded consisting of female representatives of the political parties, societies, associations, religious groups and initiatives. These women succeeded in overcoming internal differences of opinion and in taking a common stand for the improvement of the LPTS against administration and the authorities.

Moreover the basic needs of women were determined by the University of Kaiserslautern in the course of its scholarly assistance. With the help of intensive interviews - without any standardized answers to choose among about 850 women of the respective district could voice their ideas and conceptions of a women-oriented LPTS and of an improvement in childcare facilities.

In addition about 50 women filled in so-called "Wegeprotokolle" (reports on the travelling distances they cover and the lines they take) and thus described their daily route to reach their working place, their daily mobility for their family and children, for doing the errands, for their sparetime etc.

In discussion groups which took place in the morning or in the afternoon interested women could express their views in a very detailed way. In that way it was possible to gradually supply lack of information on relations and dependencies within the field of LPT Services in rural areas and to get to know the needs of women directly.

As a result of these experiences a package of measures was tailored and has been implemented in a particular region in Rhineland-Palatinate which features a low population density and is economically weak:

- a) The establishment of information-centres in the pilot-project area.

It is the task of these information centres to mobilize women to stand in for their needs in laying out or framing the LPTS and new models of childcare. In addition the centres are to promote public relations work in order to further support the project. The two information centres established so far are led by two women on a voluntary basis and are financed by our department. The establishment and the financial support for these information centres in the investigation area allows for a creative public relations work which - above all - should be of special appeal to the women there. They don't meet the all-embracing needs and functions of mobility centres but

we think that the removal of lacks of information is of considerable importance for the acceptance of the LPTS on a local level. More than that the heads of these information centres coordinate existing bus lines and negotiate with administrations and the particular transport services. They directly receive proposals and suggestions of the women to pass them on to administrations, governmental departments and the university as a scholarly advisor.

b) The Wednesday-bus-lines

As a second step the conception favours the "intermittent services" a certain form of the LPTS that meets the specific conditions and needs of the region and of the women there most.

"Intermittent Service" means that on various lines the trains/buses have their frequency increased on certain days only.

On grounds of the relatively low population density it seems appropriate to connect the individual villages to centres of intermediate and major economic importance. Women prefer an additional service in between "timetable-gaps" to allow for at least one weekly connection to the centre of intermediate economic importance. This satisfies the immediate needs of the female citizens interviewed.

All the discussion-group and study-group meetings considered the daily service to be realistic and in accordance with the needs of women. It is quite important to keep up this service during school holidays. Because of financial reasons the department for the equality of Women and Men at present can only finance three lines instead of 10 originally planned.

In this short period of time it was already possible to prove that the introduction of an additional bus once a week meets a considerable demand and satisfies the needs of the women.

On an average 16 women take advantage of the additional bus each Wednesday. The bus departs at 8.30 a.m. in the individual villages and reaches its destination - the centre of intermediate economic importance - at 9.00 a.m. The return journey begins at 11.30 a.m. and half an hour later the destinations are reached.

This "Wednesday-bus" follows the specific conditions in this region:

The additional line calls at the centre of intermediate importance on market-days. Additional stops (e.c. close to the hospital) have been established.

The heads of the information centres provided the local practitioners (doctors, masseurs) as well as the retailer and the authorities with ample promotional material (brochures etc.) to inform people about the "Wednesday bus-line".

c) Childcare

The project in Rhineland-Palatinate at the same time comprises recommendations for how to coordinate a combination between mobility and childcare with special regard to opening hours of kindergartens and the possibility to include school children into

the services of a kindergarten. Thus those mothers who don't follow an occupation should be given more sparetime in the mornings to maybe qualify for a job or to follow further vocational training.

Experience showed that the crucial point in this problem is the will to cooperate on the part of the heads of the "kindergartens" and the responsible financial backers of the respective institution. Rapid progress can only be made where the committees involved develop a positive attitude towards the measures.

IV. Transferable results

- Women are experts of their own situation and therefore can define their needs best. Because of this they ought to be included into the planning processes at the earliest stage possible. It is the very task of women-oriented politics to render assistance and to develop possible solutions together with experts. These solutions should satisfy the needs of women and be accepted and further promoted by them. This can be done with the help of regional or particular advisory boards to be established. The taking part of women requires a close examination of the existing framework women are tied to (e.c. childcare, mobility). Only by taking into account the totality of their reality their needs can be met and put into reality successfully. In any planning process all spheres have to be included and thought of beforehand.
- Women like to express themselves in groups together with other women. An all-embracing study group on a local level is an appropriate means to put into reality plans and projects sensibly.
- The accompaniment of plannings and projects by an advisory board consisting of experts (authorities, administrations, political parties, dominions) serves to concentrate skills and know-how and to develop and reflect the respective aims on grounds of thorough knowledge.
- Field work in the form of interviews, discussion groups etc., helps to paint a comprehensive picture of the situation in the region.
- Workshop-talks are appropriate instruments to voice the conceptions and basic needs of women towards experts in key-positions. Only in that way can a sensible planning be achieved from those who decide in the political field.
- Seminars prevent social problems from getting individualized. Talks among women are preferred to individual advice because of the opportunities to exchange opinions and information on a very private and intimate individual level.
- Women who stand in for women in their daily political work (e.c. representatives for the equality of men and women) have to deal with a broad scope of duties and tasks and sometimes aren't able to cope with them all. To back them up "planning helps" such as check-lists, hand outs etc. are quite useful. In women-politics these devices serve as a link between expert knowledge and putting it into reality.

THEME 3

**STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN'S APPROACHES IN REGIONAL
AND URBAN PLANNING**

CHAIRMAN: Mr. John ZETTER
Chairperson of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and
Development (OECD) Group on Urban Affairs
London

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STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN'S APPROACHES IN REGIONAL AND URBAN PLANNING

Bringing Women into Urban and Regional Planning: Slow progress to Big Gains

Prof. Patsy HEALEY
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MEN, WOMEN AND PEOPLE

One of the great successes of our era in Western society is that the voice of women is now much more effectively articulated than in earlier times. One of the deeply ingrained characteristics of Western culture, from Greek civilization, through the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and the industrial revolution, was the suppression of women's voice. No wonder, having won the vote, women have pushed onwards this century for recognition of much more. Of course, in Europe, there has been variable success in this struggle. In some countries, there is still much to be done. In others, and notably in Scandinavia, women not only have political voice, they also have effective presence in many areas. The presence has helped to generate support systems which make it easier to manage the balance of work, caring, family and leisure activities which are the daily experience of many women. These support systems have proved beneficial to everyone juggling with such roles. Meanwhile the discourse of women's liberation, in all its current richness, helps women understand their natures and the challenges that face them. No wonder, in recent surveys, it turns out that women are happier with their lot than men.

An argument is now developing that more attention needs to be given to men's lives, self-conceptions and opportunities, particularly in countries like Britain where economic change has devastated the work opportunities in heavy industries where men used to find dignity, political organization and social status. Unskilled young men have a particularly hard time in some countries just now in finding a role, or any respect from the wider society. Not surprisingly, their response to alienation is often aggressive and violent. This suggests that the issue of women's roles in public affairs is more than a question of redressing an imbalance. Western societies traditionally unfairly disadvantaged women. Now we must be careful that our societies do not unfairly disadvantage certain groups of men.

Many now redefine the issues of women's participation and needs in the more inclusive form of sensitivity to *gender differences*. From there, the recognition that women may in some respects (but not always or necessarily) have different perceptions, interests and needs from men widens out into an awareness that people are much more diverse than we seemed to think. But we can understand the issue of opening up our societies to the voice of women in a broader way. While we all knew how varied and variable the people we know are, somehow public policy dealt in the categories of standardized units. And that standard unit seemed always to be an average male. This image is encapsulated in urban planning in Le Corbusier's standardized "modular man", whose dimensions were to be at the core of all design, from furniture to city.

What the pressure of women's politics and feminist intellectual endeavour has done for us is to open a window through which to make visible at the policy level what we knew at the individual level. People are immensely various, in age, size, shape, weight, physical capacity, colour, gender, race, culture and experience. The recognition of social diversity is central to much thinking on what these days is often called the post modern condition. The policy challenge is now to bring this perception to fruition in public policy.

WOMEN AS CARRIERS OF THE FUTURE

This conclusion places the suppression of women's voices within the dominant discourse of modernity. Influenced by past traditions of patriarchy, the modernist concepts of instrumental rationality and of economic competition and survival of the fittest which have underpinned capitalist development in the past two hundred years, have implicitly reified what had become male roles in society. Women were caste in the sphere of reproduction and nurturing, the household and the family. Their world was in the private sphere, or that of the neighbourhood community. We must not forget that the modernist project has brought great benefits, in terms of wealth, welfare and opportunity. Without it, current advances in women's wealth and welfare might have been impossible. Yet it was oppressive too, not just upon women, but in terms of ways of thinking. Competitive, atomistic economic rationality has come to dominate our lives, and our public policy conceptions. Now that, to use Dear's words, the modernist project has "floated away", we see not only social diversity as among people. We also realize that there are diverse discourses and forms of social relations, diverse ways of thinking and acting.

Having increasingly found a public voice, women are now important carriers for this appreciation of difference, as well as campaigners on those issues which are particularly associated with the condition of being a woman, for example, childcare, care of the elderly, children's play, reliance on public transport, physical safety. Of course, not all women notice, value or accept this attitude. Some prefer to advance by accepting the modernist project, becoming "like a man". Others believe that the social relations are fundamentally based on gender difference, and cannot be merged with concepts of social diversity, the "fundamentalist feminist" position. But for most women, their increasing voice in public affairs means that they carry forward ideas about ways of thinking and ways of acting which not only challenge modernist economic rationality. They are filled with real experience of the alternatives, - collaborative, discursive strategies, for example; and paying attention to the interests of diverse members while maintaining the unit, the "family", leading and shaping structures within which members flourish, rather than directing and driving groups of people forward from "on top" or "in front". To the extent that these ways of thinking and doing things are seen as important, both within the economic sphere and in the wider society,

women in public affairs are often "carriers of the future". Thus women have come to have a key role in the present period, not just in the process of human reproduction, but in social reproduction, of our economic, political and cultural relations of existence and "human flourishing".

URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

If the above is a correct interpretation of the potential of the present, such shifts are slow and uneven. While technological and organizational innovation constantly changes the material conditions of our lives, changes are slow in our ways of thinking and acting, and cultures within which these innovations are put to use and made sense of. So those of us who see the need for change, in the opportunities for women as such, and in the ideas which women tend to carry, are always impatient. And our field of urban and regional planning is not particularly in the forefront of thinking on these questions at the present time. This was not always so. As Le Corbusier was constructing his "modular man", radical urban and regional planners were constructing images of alternative social practices within which women could be liberated from the drudgery of household duties, with ideas for the collective management of family support services, as beautifully described by Dolores Hayden.

Figure 1: See p. 161

By the middle of the century, however, the urban and regional planning field had become dominated by the discourse of functionalist modernity. The vigorous efforts in planning in the period after the second world war, often linked to the introduction of the universalist welfare state, were founded on the image of the nuclear family living in suburban family housing.

Figure 2: See p. 162

Men went to work in the city centre or industrial estate, children went to school in the neighbourhood, and women serviced them both, staying at home, using neighbourhood and district shopping centres and services. Women's lot was aided by improved domestic technology, particularly washing machines and vacuum cleaners. This released more time for better childcare and part-time work.

Even in the 1960s, as women began to go to work, it was assumed that they needed part-time and local work opportunities.

Figure 3

*"Employment sites are distributed fairly widely and many are located around the perimeter of the city which will reduce the journey to work... The opportunity of local employment will enable residents, particularly mothers, to find work within walking distance of their homes".
Milton Keynes Development Plan 1970 p 26/41.*

Meanwhile, the process of planning was dominated by elites and particularly the planner as expert, architect, engineer or economist. It was assumed that the expert "knew best" for our societies. In a respected text on urban renewal in the 1960s, a highly regarded British planner observed the 2-parent 2 child family in Coventry City centre going shopping on a Saturday, and a mother, daughter and granddaughter in the East End of London. He remarked: we have to decide which kind of family we are to encourage and plan for them.

In the modernist 1950s and 1960s, planning was not only paternalistically for people; it sought to shape people's behaviour in particular ways. By the 1970s, many critical analysts identified the function of this physical and social engineering effort as shaping social relations to "fit" the needs of economic enterprises.

We now look back on this period and congratulate ourselves that we have left it behind. We know that most women of working age in Europe are working. Many households are now headed by women. Work patterns are much more complex than those imagined by the traditional planners and so work journeys are less predictable. Women often travel long journeys for their full and part-time jobs. When we consider policy processes the expert has been knocked off "his" pedestal, and instead is seen to be "at the service" of the public, working "with" citizens to help them work out and realize their choices, rather than directing and shaping these choices. Across Europe, we now talk of the "enabling" local authority. In Forester's image, the expert is presented as "a critical friend" to those seeking advice. Or has it changed so much?

There are by now many reviews of the agenda of issues which need attention in response to women's concerns in urban and regional planning. There are also plenty of examples of innovatory practice. Yet these innovations are uneven and halting. It takes time both to gain acceptance of new ideas and slough off the old. What follows are comments on the areas which we need to keep under critical review if we are to keep up the innovatory pressure.

1. Recognizing the diversity of physical capacity

Many women from personal experience are aware of how often the built environment seems like an assault course of difficult physical tasks and danger zones. Women have often been the channel through which the voices of children, the disabled and the elderly have expressed their frustration at these difficulties, because women are so often cast in the role of carer. With more recognition of diversity, there are now in many countries an array of pressure groups campaigning for making the built environment more user-friendly, safe and secure. Building and planning regulation in many countries now commonly include requirements for the disabled, and there is increasing research on what leads to environments which seem to those who feel physically vulnerable (men as well as women) to be reasonably safe to move about. Similar shifts are occurring in the fields of transport and housebuilding. Such campaigns have achieved the status of normality in policy discourse.

Figure 4

<p><i>Sedgefield District Local Plan (Draft, June 1992)</i></p> <p><i>Policy D2: Design for People</i></p> <p><i>"The requirements of users of a development should be taken into account in its layout and design; attention should be given to:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><i>a) aspects of personal safety and the security of property, particularly at night</i><i>b) the access needs of users, particularly people with disabilities, elderly people and people with children;</i><i>c) the provision of toilets, baby changing and feeding facilities and public seating where appropriate</i>

But in practice it is more complicated. One concern relates to the power of the policies and the discourses to influence negotiations with builders, developers and managers. Another concern is the potential conflicts between different pressure-groups. We adjust to the needs of those with prams and in wheelchairs, only to find out that this creates problems for the blind. Before long, it all becomes yet another area of pressure group politics. This widens the question into the arena of planning processes. How do we discuss the built environment challenges faced by the diversity of human physical capacity? Do we let experts define how to respond to the diversity? Or do we bring in the representatives of the diversity. If the latter, how do we do this and how do we resolve the multiple conflicts and reach creative solutions?

2. Demography, household change and work relations

The number of people living in two-adult households with children in which the male partner is the sole or main breadwinner has seen a dramatic decline in recent years. In Britain, in 1961, 52% of households were married couples with dependent children. By 1991, this had fallen to 25%, including cohabiting couples. One person households had risen in the same period from 4% to 26% (General Household Survey 1991). By 1987, 56% of mothers with children of 10 years or more were working, more than a third of them full time (General Household Survey 1987).

Women are living longer, and longer than men, so there are more households of single elderly people around. The problems faced by elderly people getting around local environments is very much a problem of women. Social change has also produced more single person households as women strive for autonomy and control over their personal lives, while the rise in single parents and particularly single mothers has resulted both from these pressures and the scale of divorce and family breakdown. In Denmark and Britain, by 1989, 14% of all families with children were one parent families. In Germany and France the figure was 12-13%, and in Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands it was 10-12%. As a result of these changes and other pressures, households are more various in their housing demands and needs. Housing and planning policies have had to adjust to these changes in relation

to the type and price of housing provided and its location. Meanwhile changes in the economy have drawn more women into the workforce, both in the expanding management and professional sector and often in part-time and low-paid jobs. Increasingly across Europe, levels of economic activity are becoming more similar between the genders and the number of working hours are converging.

Figure 5: See p. 163

What these trends have done is often to increase the range of responsibilities women have to undertake - parenting, caring for older or disabled relatives, household provisioning and working. One consequence is that women's travel patterns are often complex as they accomplish daily life, and generate demands for new and flexible support services (the expansion of childcare, the rise of new services - cleaning, home-delivery of meals etc, and the expansion of new forms of retail provision - the once a week family shopping trips, or work-based shops and services). Such issues are often included in general Equal Opportunities policies. Newcastle's draft Unitary Development Plan (1991) proposes the following: Urban planning policies can facilitate or impede the complex lives of women (and men) in this position. Other urban management policies can make a difference too. For example, the Commune of Milano is developing a "Policy for time" aimed at making shops, health and social welfare offices open at times more convenient for many women. Within the arena of spatial planning, plans may contain general policies about access and equal opportunities, but it is not necessarily clear what these should involve specifically. For urban and regional planners, these changes mean not only recasting our traditional conceptions of spatial arrangement and transport movements. We need to conduct or sponsor research into how, generally, people are relating their daily life routines and movement patterns as they move around the urban environment and what this implies for policies about where development should go, what services (both physical and social) should be linked to development and about the development of intra-urban transport systems. And once again we have to address the question of how we get to know what spatial arrangements help and hinder people, and how to deal with situations where what helps one hurts others.

3. Environmental Care

The importance of moderating the adverse impact of contemporary economic processes and ways of life on physical and biological natural systems is now widely understood. The EU, national and local governments all have policies aimed at reducing environmental damage and encouraging resource conservation. Of course we are all as citizens implicated in this effort. But women's influence can be important as we discuss how we address the issues involved. The environmental field is one well-populated with experts, natural scientists, engineers and economists. As Hajer argues, there are often major clashes between these experts as to the nature of the "environmental problem" and how to address it. Solutions are typically put forward in terms of calculation (of costs and benefits) and technology. But these debates remain within the discourse of modernism. In particular, they "crowd out" moral and aesthetic views of environmental care. How we value environmental quality is not just a matter of identifying and weighing preferences. It is a result of moral debate on conceptions of the future, of risk, of the relation of people to each other, their descendants, to other species and to natural systems generally. And this is where women come in.

Philosophically, there is a long-standing tradition linking the natural environment and women, "nature and nurture". Planners in Britain earlier this century saw this clearly.

Figure 6

"The Town and Country Planning Act (1932) rightly includes the statutory powers to deal with both (town and country). But there should be no attempt at fusion between the two: town should be town and country should be country; urban and rural can never be interchangeable adjectives.

..Towards the town all is centripetal, converging on a concentrated and limited area; this concentration must of course be controlled .. but the attitude towards it is identical - from all sides people and interests are converging inwards and ultimately upwards. Towards the country all is centrifugal: with our backs on the town and village we look out in all directions on an ever-widening, opening horizon.

.. the English countryside (is) a Ceres, a well-cultivated matron, who duly produces, or should, her annual progeny. If therefore it is true that the town should not invade the country as a town, the regularising hand of man has nevertheless sophisticated the country to serve his needs .. (a) prolonged and profound process of remodelling by human hands" (Patrick Abercrombie, writing in 1993)

We may reject this simple-minded association. Yet the experience of nurturing and of household management is one in which moral principle, emotional sensitivity and material interest are constantly in play together. It is this experience many women can and do bring forward in their approach to the environmental questions, to help us think about balancing what we do now for ourselves with our concern for the future, for others and for other species. This in turn affects what we consider to be costs, benefits and the timescale of their realization, and our attitude to risks. Consequently, there is a contribution to be made by women from our experience on the shaping of environmental policy criteria in our plans and regulations.

4. Policy processes: Confrontational disputation or collaborative argumentation

What the above examples emphasize is that bringing women into urban and regional planning is not just about shifting the substantive agenda, although this itself is very important. Responding to social diversity is not merely about developing a more sensitive and desegregated understanding of people's capacity and behaviour, and adjusting our planning policies to accommodate the diversity as far as possible. It also opens up questions about values, about what we prioritise and how. Beyond this, it raises questions about how we discuss our common concerns and our differences, about *policy processes*.

At one level, many authorities are paying attention to more sensitive consultation strategies, perhaps with more informal discussion arenas, or women-only meetings, where particular cultural traditions make participation in mixed debate difficult (for example, Leicester City Council's approaches in the UK).

Because of the multiplicity of interests in what happens in places, urban and regional planning systems have long paid attention to questions of process - of how issues are identified, checked out with interested parties, debated, agreed upon and followed through into action. Most systems have provision for some form of public discussion or consultation about plans, policies and/or projects. Whatever the formal arrangements, the policy processes of planning systems have commonly been dominated by the discourses of professionals (architects, engineers, economists, geographers), or of political ideology, or of administrators and lawyers. None of these have been particularly effective in addressing the diversity of interests and values which surround many environmental issues. The processes and discourses chosen may themselves serve to polarize debate and exacerbate confrontation. They also tend to exclude many people from the debating arena, and the understandings and ideas they bring with them. This exclusion may then have political consequences, as those left out continue to challenge decisions, through lobbying activity, the ballot box, and direct protest. In this context, it is not surprising that more attention is now being given to conflict mediation processes in urban and regional planning. However, there are different approaches to such mediation. At one pole, the emphasis is on striking bargains, in the language of calculating the balance of gains and losses to the interests involved. At the other are approaches which seek to encourage mutual understanding, collaborative learning, the collective redefinition of participants' interests, the redefinition of problems, and, in this context, a joint process of invention of appropriate policies and actions. Such collaborative discourse requires skills in mutual tolerance, in listening and learning, in attending to other people's concerns. It is these skills, so Gilligan argues, which have been ingrained in the upbringing of women in western culture. Men, in contrast, have often experienced an upbringing which has encouraged self-centred competition, individual "play to win" strategies and confrontational encounter. It is in this context, that bringing women's voices into urban and regional policy processes may help in the search for ways of democratic and collaborative problem solving. And it is not accidental that many of the academics working on such policy processes are women.

CONCLUSION

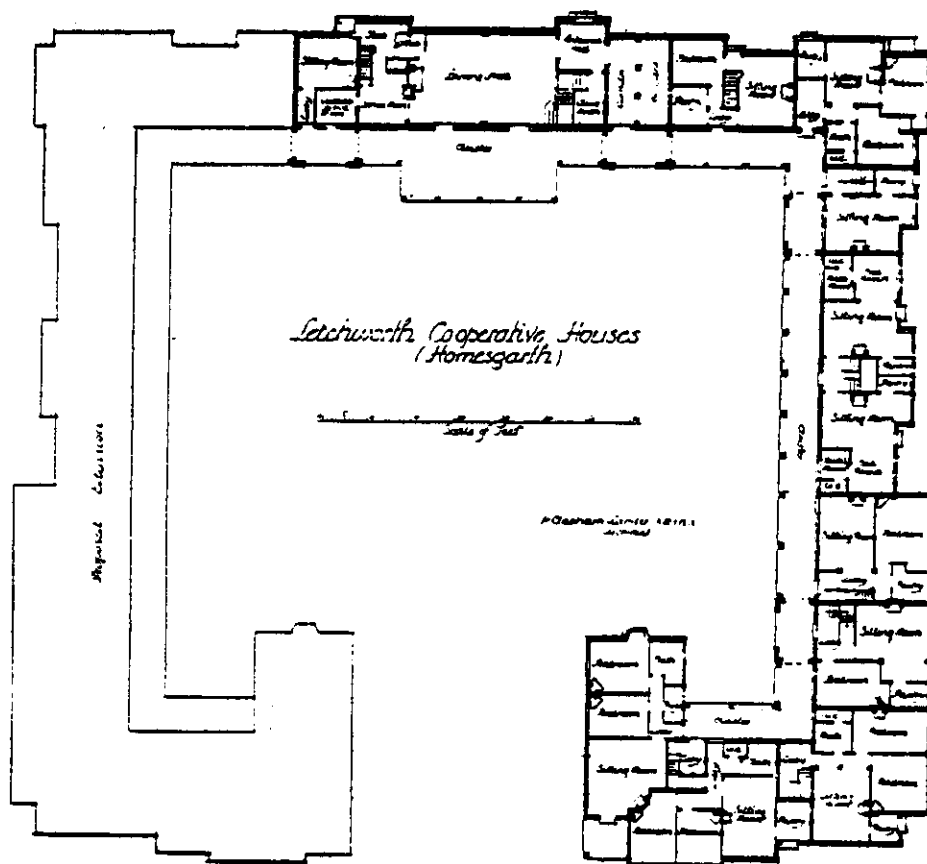
Bringing women into urban and regional planning, then, is partly about a substantive agenda, fostering the escape from "modernity" and the "modular men" and universal standards which have cluttered our field. Outside the modernist "prison", it becomes easy to recognize the different capacities, perceptions and values which people hold. As a marginalized majority, women have both lived experience of marginalization and the strength in numbers to change this. There are now many strategies for pushing forward women's experience, which range from requiring women to be represented in any policy arena to setting up women's monitoring groups in organizations, to raise policy issues and see that they are followed through. The existence of Committees on Womens' issues adopted in some local authorities in Britain has been a valuable way of identifying neglected issues and ensuring they have a place on policy and implementation agendas. In some cases planning and other projects are routinely reviewed by such groups to identify impacts (for example, in Sheffield City Council and Harlow in the UK). In this endeavour, women are pushing forward a broader agenda about the recognition of social diversity. Women, because of their number, can carry forward the voice of other minority groups who have shared in the experience of marginalized, neglected and "crowded out" values and interests.

More than this, however, the experience of many women provides a store of capacities and skills which are particularly valuable at the present time as we search for ways of managing our collective co-existence in shared spaces. This endeavour lies at the heart of urban and regional planning. If we recognize the social diversity, we are then faced with major challenges in negotiating collective strategies for managing urban and regional space which not only are accepted as legitimate, but which provide frameworks within which households, firms, associations and agencies can flourish, and contribute to the objectives of economic development, social cohesion and environmental sustainability. This requires collaborative problem-solving, not competitive confrontation. Women, from their experience and that of their mothers and grandmothers, carry many of the skills and capacities which this challenge entails. So, bringing women into urban and regional planning is not just about redressing a balance, letting women "join" the men. It is about creating a different future for all of us, within which neglected and marginalised capacities and perceptions are allowed to flourish and infuse our thinking about what our cities and countryside could be like and how we might collaboratively get there. This implies that women should not linger too long on the particular problems of the position of women; merely long enough to ensure that women are well-represented in all relevant organizational arenas. The next step is to focus on recasting agendas to recognize social diversity and develop styles of democratic collaborative problem-solving. This is the big gain to which our slow steps are currently aiming.

References

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- I am indebted to Chang-Woo Lee, a graduate student in the Department of Town and Country Planning, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, for introducing me to this Korean concept.
- There is, however, a growing body of research and practice on gender, spatial relations and the physical and natural environment.
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- For example, Susskind L and Cruikshank J 1987 *Breaking the Impasse: Consensual approaches to resolving public disputes* Basic Books, New York, and Forester, (see note 8 above).
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FIGURE 1



11.4 Homesgarth (or Letchworth Cooperative Houses), the first Cooperative Quadrangle, plan by A. Clapham Lander, 1909-1913, Letchworth Garden City, England. An arcade connects kitchenless apartments with the central dining hall and kitchen.

From Hayden 1981

FIGURE 2



GOOD HOMES
MAKE
CONTENTED
WORKERS

13.1 Title page. *Good Homes Make Contented Workers*. Industrial Housing Associates. 1919

From Hayden 1981

FIGURE 5

Average hours usually worked¹ per week²: by sex, EC comparison, 1990

	Hours		
	Males	Females	All
United Kingdom	44.0	30.5	37.8
Belgium	38.1	32.1	35.8
Denmark	37.0	31.7	34.5
France	39.8	34.7	37.5
Germany (Fed. Rep.)	39.6	32.8	36.8
Greece	40.5	37.8	39.5
Irish Republic	41.0	35.1	38.6
Italy	39.5	35.3	38.0
Luxembourg	40.3	35.6	38.7
Netherlands	35.8	25.9	32.1
Portugal	42.9	38.7	41.1
Spain	40.9	37.2	39.7
EUR 12	40.4	33.1	37.4

1 Employees only.

2 Excludes meal breaks but includes paid and unpaid overtime.

Source: Statistical Office of the European Communities

Economic activity rates¹: by sex, EC comparison, 1990

	Percentages		
	Males	Females	All
United Kingdom	75.6	53.2	64.0
Belgium	62.0	37.1	49.1
Denmark	75.8	61.9	68.7
France	67.1	47.5	56.8
Germany (Fed. Rep.)	72.9	45.9	58.7
Greece	67.0	36.0	50.8
Irish Republic	72.6	36.3	54.4
Italy	66.8	35.5	50.5
Luxembourg	68.7	34.1	50.7
Netherlands	71.0	44.1	57.3
Portugal	72.8	47.9	59.6
Spain	67.7	33.3	49.7

1 The civilian labour force aged 16 years and over as a percentage of the population aged 16 and over.

Source: Statistical Office of the European Communities

From Social Trends 1993

STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN'S APPROACHES IN REGIONAL AND URBAN PLANNING

Women's role in planning processes

Mrs Gülfer CEZAYIRLI

Turkey

INTRODUCTION - PLANNING FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND WOMEN

In the context of sustainable development, the role of settlements are not only provision of good living and working environments but also the achievement of economic and social development goals by making optimum use of global natural resource base and life support systems.

Particularly, in the case of developing countries, economic and social sustainability i.e. economic growth with equity seem to be as important as ecological sustainability. Therefore, planning aiming at sustainability must achieve these three components (economic, social and ecological sustainability) of sustainable development towards the ultimate objective of meeting the needs of society as a whole. Meeting human needs implies recognising each persons right to a standard of living, adequate for health and well-being, including adequate access to food, clothing, shelter, medical care and necessary social services.

From this conceptualisation is the need derived to review the existing status of planning in terms of:

- . Making it more responsive to the needs of the majority of the society.
- . Facilitating the integrated consideration of ecological, environmental, social and economic issues. (An integrated approach to planning)
- . Facilitating the mobilisation of scarce resources of human, capital and material resources, in particular in the case of developing countries.

Women are both "a means" and "an end" in this process of planning on equal in terms with men since they constitute half of the mankind.

They are "a means" by which development objectives are achieved, and they are "an end" at which development objectives target.

In fact, what makes women's role as "a means" more critical than that of men in the achievement of the goals of planning aiming at sustainable development, particularly in ecological dimension, is their plus capabilities and potentialities, because of their closer link with the environment as managers of the household, providers of basic needs and critical producers within agriculture (UNCHS, 1993, p. 8).

It is only with the full mobilisation and participation of women and the removal of obstacles to their full participation that sustainable human settlement development can be achieved.

This requires a new developmental approach in planning into which gender dimension is incorporated.

This paper attempts to develop such a new approach in planning.

- . First, the need for incorporating gender dimension into planning is given.
- . In the second part, with a background information on the women's status in Turkey, current planning in Turkey and its inadequacy in achieving sustainable development and thus meeting the needs of society and women in particular is dealt with.
- . Then, the present role of women in this process is analyzed.
- . Finally on the basis of previous discussion, a developmental approach in planning which incorporates gender is developed.

WHY GENDER IN PLANNING

A. The role of women

Achieving the goals of sustainable development thus meeting the needs of society as a whole in planning requires a gender consideration in planning.

Levy and Moser (1986, p. 2) state that because women and men have different socially constructed roles in society, they often have different needs, and therefore when identifying and implementing planning needs it is important to disaggregate on the basis of gender.

That is the triple role of women that planning fails to recognise.

Women's work includes not only reproductive work (the childbearing and rearing responsibilities required to guarantee the maintenance and reproduction of the labour force) but also household managing and productive work often as secondary income earners, in rural areas, in urban areas in formal and informal sector enterprises located either at home or outside. Since the triple role of women are not recognised, women are severely constrained by the burden of simultaneously balancing these three roles. Furthermore, only reproductive work is recognised as work, since it is marketed. Reproductive and managing work, because they are not marketed, are not valued. It has been argued that if domestic work to be quantified it would contribute up to 40% of GNPs of industrialised countries (ILO p. 39 p. 39). In addition, women's central role in production of subsistence is unrecognised. Both economic and land use planners neglect subsistence resource base. Neglect of this sector has

a damaging impact not only on women but also on society and planetary eco-systems. Therefore, recognition of women's work is crucial for not only to ensure equality in access to facilities but also to achieve sustainable development.

B. The needs of women

According to Levy (1992, P. 2) the distinction between strategic gender interests and practical gender interests challenges the notion of women's interests or men's interests as if each were a homogenous group.

Since women and men will have class, ethnic, religious or other interests which at the political level may supersede their identity as women or men, it is more useful to talk of the gender interests of women or men.

On gender focus, strategic gender interests of women or men are committed to challenging the subordination of women ie. feminist agenda, and deriving out of the identification and formulation of an alternative, more equal and satisfactory organisation of society in terms of the structure and nature of relationships between men and women to those which exist at present. These strategic interests and its objectives may change depending on the particular context.

On the contrary, practical gender interests arises from the concrete conditioning of women's positioning because of their gender within the division of labour and does not challenge the existing gender division of labour.

Identification of differences between practical and strategic gender needs, and examination of the extent to which programs and policies meet these different needs assist practitioners to understand that planning for the needs of particular groups (such as low income women) is not necessarily feminist in content.

For planners practical gender needs are often the only specific target for the planning aiming at meeting women's needs.

Nevertheless it is crucial to recognise that practical gender interests can become feminist in content if and only when they are transformed into strategic gender needs (Levy, Moser 1986, p. 7,8). In fact, a focus only on practical gnder needs in isolation from strategic needs may reinforce prevailing gender roles in the society. Eg. creation of part time jobs or flexible working hours are good for women who would not otherwise participate in labor, but there seems a danger of reinforcing women's prevailing gender role.

Similarly, it is stressed by UNCHS Report (1993 p. 8) that within sustainable settlement development context, women's practical needs (those required for survival such as shelter, income, food), will not be truly addressed without taking into consideration women's strategic needs (those which focus on changing relationships eliminating women's subordinate status and empowering women). This implies the limitations of individual sectoral interventions such as trying to address to the needs of women through physical planning and reveals a need for integrated strategies across sectoral lines that is the application of gender planning into practice.

What is the implication of making clear the needs, in terms of gender for sustainable development? Because, only in this way the real needs of the whole society including women can be met. On the contrary, gender neutral planning assuming that women and men have the same needs result in not responding to the needs of half of the population. The consequences of gender-blind planning is not only a generally divided, unequal society. As Dr. Nafis Sadik (cited in UNESCO, 1991 p. 32) puts it rightly, the costs of ignoring the needs of women are a weakened economy in which women cannot participate fully, ineffective agriculture, a deteriorating environment, uncontrolled population growth, high infant and child mortality and a poorer quality of life for all which are obstacles to sustainable development.

THE ROLE AND REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN TURKEY

A. The evolution of women's status in Turkey

Before discussing the role of women in planning it is necessary to look at the general socio-economic position of women in society. Because the role of women in planning cannot be handled in isolation from those indicators which determine the role of women in planning.

Firstly, a brief historical information is given to show how women's rights evolved in Turkey.

The earliest decision on women's rights goes back to 1856 when the concubine (cariye) system was banned. Other important developments in the evolution of women's rights are as follows:

1873 - Opening the first girls' schools

1883 - Appointment of the first female head teacher

1840 - Women started to work in industry

A perception of the need for better living conditions for women and the need for female labour led to some changes in law during the Ottoman Empire. And with the aim of making women equal participants with men to public life, a series of far-reaching reforms was introduced by Ataturk following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey.

Women's rights which have been affirmed in the legislation are listed below:

1924 - Mixed Education Act. Affirmation of girls' equal treatment with boys allowing them to enrol at the same school as boys.

1926 - Civil Affairs Act. Affirmation of equality between women and men regarding marriage, divorce and inheritance.

1930 - Act on enabling women to vote and be candidates in municipal council elections.

1934 - Act on enabling women to vote and be voted in National Assembly elections.

These last two acts are important landmarks in the history of women's rights as they enable women to participate actively in the society's decision making machinery (Durak, 1990, p. 45). If this right is compared with other western and muslim countries, it is seen that Turkish women have gained this right to vote and be elected before the women of France (1944), Italy (1945), Canada (1948) and all other Muslim countries (Egypt 1956, Pakistan 1956, Libya 1963) gained it (Ayata, 1992, p. 41).

Today the legal status of women is equal with that of man in the Constitution and Civil Code for the most part. However, men are designated the legal head of household and have broader rights than women.

According to almost every socio-economic indicator, the standing of women in Turkey has improved significantly. Some indicators are given below which reveal the present socio-economic and political position of women in Turkey and a need for further improvement.

The only female average which is higher than the male in Turkey is the life expectancy factor.

Recent data indicate a female life expectancy of 69 years against 64 years for men.

Health and fertility: now women give birth an average of 37 times down from 68 in 1960.

Education: the proportion of illiterate women in the female labour force has fallen from 69% in 1970 to 29% in 1990 (The World Bank 1991, p. 4).

The rest of the indicators for women are as follows:

- . for every 100 literate males, there are 79 literate women.
- . for every 100 primary school male children, there are 93 girls enrolled. This is not a bad ratio. But beginning with secondary and higher-education enrolments the male-female gap widens in Turkey.
- . for every 100 male secondary school enrolment, there are 62 female children.
- . for every 100 male enrolment at higher education levels, there are 54 girls.
- . for every 100 male wage earners, there are 49 females.
- . 130 mothers die in every 100.000 live births.
- . of 100 women aged 15 years and older, 71 women are literate.
- . for females aged 25 years and older in Turkey the mean years of total schooling is 2.3 years.
- . per 1000 live births in Turkey 80 children die before they are 5 years old.
- . of the total 7.1 percent of illiterate adults in Turkey, females constitute 5.3 percent.

out of total 2.9 percent of children without any schooling, girls constitute 2.2 percent (UNDP 1992, p. 61).

gender participation rates in labour by urban/rural residence again shows marked differences. The participation rates for women/men in rural areas are 51% and 78% respectively, and in urban areas 15% and 70% respectively. Given the migration since 1955 and that the proportion of women in Turkey's population living in urban areas doubled from 29% in 1955 to 59% in 1990, this low level of urban female participation is attributable partly to the omission from official labor statistics of informal sectors workers as well as more limited opportunities for women's employment in urban areas and social constraints to the employment.

Sectoral employment patterns for men and women also differ significantly. Approximately, 74% women in agriculture, 70% in industry, 12% in services while men are more evenly distributed across sectors 34% in agriculture, 24% in industry, 38% in services (World Bank 1991, p. 6).

for every 100 MPs, there is one women MP in the Parliament.

A perception of this gender gap by the Government (as it is seen from the above indicators) in terms of socio-economic and political status led to the adoption of the idea that gender-neutral policies are not sufficient. Thus Government recently initiated a new gender specific approach. This will be dealt with in the following section.

B. Planning in Turkey

Turkey's planning system encompasses two types of planning, one socio-economic and one spatial.

The national socio-economic development plan takes practical shape in five-year plans compulsory for the public sector and optional and guiding for the private sector. These five years plans do not take account of the spatial dimension.

Spatial planning takes its practical shape in the Reconstruction Law. The aim of the Reconstruction Law is explained as ensuring the physical development of settlements and built environment in a planned healthy way and in good environmental conditions

The main planning levels as foreseen by the Act are:

a. Regional Planning:

It has the function of determining regional potentials and facilitating the interregional compatibility of economic sectors. The regional plans will be prepared by the State Planning Organisation when necessary.

b. Territorial Planning:

It covers more than one settlement and aims a balanced development of a specific sector having potential in that area. These plans also aim at protecting the land which has ecological and natural values.

c. Urban Planning:

Settlements with a population over 10.000 must have an urban development plan consistent with the regional plan if one exists. The preparation of urban development plans is under the responsibility of local authorities.

C. The representation of Women's interests in Planning

Regarding the "socio-economic planning level" there are good signs for the representation of women's interests in Turkey. Until 1989, women's issues were handled indirectly as part of other social policies of the State Planning Organisation which is the responsible body for socio-economic planning. In 1987, an advisory committee on women which comprised the representatives of public and academic institutions and non-governmental organisations was established to carry out work on women-specific issues. As a consequence the current sixth five-year development plan (1990-1994) has involved and addressed women's issues in relation with men comprehensively (education, health, employment, etc) in a separate part within social sectors. This is a very positive step to integrate gender into development on the top level government policies. Furthermore, as part of this new Government policy, the Directorate General for Women's Status and Problems was established in 1990. The task of this institution is improving women's status and promoting their full integration into the economy. In addition the Family Research Institute which addresses women as the central element of family was established in 1989. Finally in 1991 the new Government created a separate Ministry for women.

With respect to spatial planning the picture does not seem so promising. The identified needs of women through socio-economic planning can be certainly reflected in spatial planning. But this reveals once again the need for a spatial dimension of regional planning as well as a need for the coordination between socio-economic planning and spatial planning in every level. In Turkey, though regional spatial planning takes place in law there has not been a regular practice of regional spatial planning which would give a spatial expression of economic, social cultural and ecological policies of society and would guide to urban level plans.

This has serious negative consequences in a country, like Turkey, experiencing high rates of urbanisation and economic development and concentration of population and activities in certain centres that are the starting point of urban problems.

To analyze the representation of women's interests in urban planning it is necessary to analyze planning in terms of the extent to which it meets the needs of the majority of the society.

The act defines the object of planning as "land and built environment", and the objective of plan is creation of orderly, healthy and compatible land uses and built environment. Although, this content of land and built environment involves some concepts such as location criteria and land use standards which are fundamental to sustainable development, it lacks the powers of enforcement and implementation.

Because planning is focusing only on a single element of urban reality and a sub-aspect of real object that is urban development (Halla). What is the implication of this for planning in Turkey are those summarised below.

Planning does not have sufficient instruments to respond to the socio-economic dynamics of rapidly growing cities and thus seems inadequate to cope with the requirements of the huge urban populations in a rapidly urbanising society with scarce resources. A lack of integrated approach causes planning to be exercised separately from available resources, infrastructure, engineering considerations without which land use proposals are meaningless. As a consequence, urban areas and major cities in particular are characterised by insufficient urban services. If the consideration is given to the fact that more than half of the physical development of major cities are happening spontaneously, in an illegal way, than planning does not seem responsive to the needs of the majority.

However, women suffer more than man from these consequences of planning. It is because of the triple role women play in society. With the increasingly inadequate housing and basic urban services, it is women who suffer most under the burden of this triple work. Women living in informal settlements waste much time travelling long distances. Lack of access to basic services impacts on women more than man as they are home managers. Lack of cheap child care facilities means that many women have to take their children with them to work or children have to miss school. Lack of health facilities means that important income might be lost.

Zoning regulations that advocate the complete separation of residential areas from commercial and industrial areas are insensitive to the needs of women. Low-income areas which are not easily accessible to town centres and workplaces make it increasingly difficult for women to engage in high-income occupations. A lack of cheap, efficient transport makes this problem worse.

D. The role of women in planning

Women take part at various levels of physical and socio-economic planning: as government policy officials, at public planning institutions, research establishments, universities, as independent town planners or architects or at grassroots.

As an indicator of the role of women in planning, some statistics are given below which show the rate of women planners in central government planning agencies, the number of women planners and architects registered in the chambers, the number of students enrolled in the departments of regional and urban planning at the universities.

Table 1: Town Planners (Registered to Chamber of Town Planners)

Year	Women	%	Men	%	Total
1990	123	56	96	44	219
1991	112	62,9	66	37,1	178
1992	46	51,6	43	48,4	89
1993	44	51,7	44	48,3	85

Table 2: Architects registered to Chamber of Architects

Year	Women	%	Men	%	Total
1990	334	47,3	372	52,7	706
1991	318	46,5	366	53,5	684
1992	293	48,7	308	51,3	601
1993	205	48,5	217	51,5	422

Table 3: Freelance Town Planners and Architects

Women	%	Men	%	Total
85	25	255	75	340

Table 4: Freelance Architects in Ankara

Women	%	Men	%	Total
102	14,1	720	85,9	822

Source: Chambers' Registers

Table 5: Planners and Architects working in the Central Government Planning Agency

Women	%	Men	%	Total
46	66,6	23	33	69

Table 6: Students enrolled in the Urban and Regional Planning Departments of the Universities in 1990-1991

Girl	%	Boy	%	Total
744	51,3	704	48,7	1448

Source: Registers of Higher Education Institute

As it is seen from tables 1, 5 and 6, the percentage of women planners and architects registered to chambers and working in the central government planning agency and girl students enrolled to the planning departments of universities are not less than half and sometimes more than half of the total. Also, there is an increase in general in the number of women registered to chambers. However, the rate of women planners and architects working privately does not show a similar picture, and reveals a big gender gap. This may be attributable to the triple burden of women and the nature of private sector which demands much more time and effort. Also, social constraints are important which disrupt women to participate in private sector.

Although these figures about women planners and architects are one of the indicators of the role of women in planning that should be kept in mind, it does not tell much about the place of women in planning. Because, as we all know, planners do not make the cities. Cities have been made by other forces and not by planners. Planners intervene in this process. The actual patterns of decisions taken in the planning process are a result of the interplay of competing political forces and the outcomes are likely to reflect the relative strengths of the various combinations of such forces in particular sectors at particular times as Leys (1972, p. 60) points out.

Therefore an analysis of the role of women in planning requires a careful examination of these competing forces which is a reflection of the general socio-economic position of both women and men in society. Because of their disadvantaged position, as we saw in the previous section, women have a very little place in this process. On this point, it is useful to look at one more indicator that is the composition of municipal councils which are decision making bodies in planning while they have political and resource raising and allocation powers (look at Table 7). The statistics show that very little percentage of women are represented in the municipal councils according to 1991 elections. This implies once again that to promote the role of women in planning requires the improvement of the overall socio-economic and political position of women in society, and the nature of the relationships between women and men that is meeting strategic and practical needs of women, ie application of gender planning.

Table 7: 1991 Elections

Members' of the Municipal Councils:				
Women	%	Men	%	Total
177	0,7	24230	99,3	24307
97 women out of 177 were elected in the major cities				
Municipal Mayors:				
Total: 2388				
Women	%			
5	0,2			

Source: Oya Citçi "Women's participation in politics" TODAIE vol. 1 No. 3

One more issue about the indicators of the role of women must be mentioned here. The role of women which was explained so far only indicates the level of the involvement. However this does not indicate that women interests are represented on the commensurate level as it depends whether these women are gender aware or not. In fact, the existence of higher numbers of women planners in Turkey do not create an advantage in representing women's interests as they perform their task without an awareness on gender.

A DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH IN PLANNING WITH GENDER CONSIDERATION

The discussion on planning in Turkey made it clear that it is not enough just to incorporate gender into current planning system but there is a need to change the current planning approach which appears to be irrelevant to the needs of the majority of society and women in particular.

1. Agenda

Firstly there is a need to change the content of planning from land to a more comprehensive agenda of development towards meeting the basic needs of society as a whole. By basic means is meant the needs of society which fall into four categories as Halla (1985, p. 37) puts it: safeguarding the physical, ecological environment; growth and economic conditions of society; distribution of sharing of incomes and wealth; involvement of citizen in political and resource allocation processes. However it must be stressed that expansion of economies or production of goods are not ends themselves but merely means of providing people with access to the basic necessities.

In this new approach, the role of spatial design and land use planning is not denied. On the contrary, planning for sustainable development challenges "area oriented planning" to enhance environmental qualities and ecological systems. However, in this new approach, land use planning is not just the organisation of furniture on land without a serious concern for the functional relationships and context of such furniture (Harris 1983, p. 10). Physical planning is pursued as a facilitator of economic growth, productivity, earning capacities of all sections of society and an enabling tool.

In the case of Turkey, this change in the content of planning requires some changes on the legal and organisational basis of planning. New planning concepts with instruments for implementation must be introduced in the law such as structure planning and action planning which would involve an integrated set of strategies on ecological, environmental economic and social issues both on geographic and sectoral levels. Inevitably, there will be constraints in the process of change as it relates to different resource allocation patterns. Thus it is likely that the agenda of planning and the definition of basic needs will change depending on the context and time. Certainly technical constraints in professional skills, coordination, teaming, equipping will appear.

2. Methodology

Secondly, what this new agenda of planning implies is a new methodology i.e. a process of planning. In this new approach planning is a continuous process and a strategic tool for sustainable settlement management. It is a process which is oriented to giving strategic guidance to growth and change in physical, economic social development for sustainable settlements.

That is to say that planning does not only define dominant problems and overall priority needs and puts the most appropriate proposals but also considers the affordability of whole system to achieve its objectives.

The most crucial element is "programming" which should be matched with the available resources of all the actors involved (UN Global Report 1987). However, resource assessment is different than the conventional thinking and it is an innovative creation, mobilisation and maintaining of resources of human, finance, physical and environmental, based on enabling strategies. The enabling strategies which planning must involve are appropriate planning standards, norms, and processes.

Monitoring and evaluation are an essential future of this new approach (Safier 1982, p. 21, UNCHS 1993, p. 12). The establishment of mechanisms for systematically monitoring will dictate changes to the strategy adopted.

Finally, gender will be an integral part of this planning process by incorporating it into every stages. From the above description of process we can infer three interconnected stages into which also gender component is incorporated. (look at Chart 1)

- . System description, analysis of constrains and diagnosis
- . Preparation of city strategy or guiding concept
- . Organising development by action programs

Gender as a regular part of this planning process will be combined in all stages of planning.

The first stages of analysis and system description will involve also an analysis of the system on the basis of gender.

A gender analysis framework developed by Mary Anderson et al. (1985) can be used here which relies on three interrelated components.

i) The first component is "Activity Profile" which identifies what males and females do and where and when they do those activities. It is based on the concept of a gender based division of labour and delineates these first, by gender then, by social class etc. Also is indicated the location and time spent for these activities.

This will reveal the different practical needs of the women in different contexts. Also it makes women works visible. In this case, for example, the need of low income women for efficient transport to high income areas where they work for domestic services may reveal.

This visibility will lead planners to be more responsive in meeting women's needs. However, this also requires a change in the measurement methods and the definition of "economic activity". The ILO (UN 1991, p. 39) elaborated an international standard definition according to which "the economically active" population includes all persons of either sex, who provide labour for the production of economic goods and services including all production and processing of primary products, whether for the market, for barter or for home consumption. But even the ILO concedes that methodological problems in certain aspects of women's work, like domestic work exist.

Accounting women's work is important not only for addressing the real needs of women but also for valuation of women which relates to the strategic needs of women. As Ware (1981, p. 242) puts it rightly, "because women are devalued, they are allowed to play only unimportant roles in development, because they are only considered to play unimportant roles, they are further devalued".

ii) The second component is "access and control profile" which reveals what resources are available for individuals to pursue their activities, what benefits they derive from resource utilisation and what gender patterns exist in the access to and control over resources. Resources may include labour time, capital, land training, education and knowledge. Identification of access and control of resources leads both identification of strategic needs and practical needs.

Benefits which are derived from the access to use of the resources may include education, shelter, food, health care, etc.

Here it is seen useful to emphasise the importance of education, in meeting both practical and strategic interests of women, but particularly strategic interests. There is a direct correlation between education, health, economic and political power. (Women's Education: Key to Empowerment p. 28)

Education decisively determines a woman's access to paid employment, her earning capacity, her overall health, control over her fertility, family size, and the education of and health of her family.

Education helps women overcome social prejudice, take control of their lives and assume a status and identity beyond child bearing, thereby allowing them to participate more fully in public life.

Considering the gender gap in education in Turkey, efforts must be concentrated on reducing the gender gap which is fundamental to responding to both practical and strategic needs of women.

In addition the education policy must involve a strategy to mobilise women's potential in terms of responding to environmental problems.

iii) The third and overarching above factors are "determinants" which shape the context in which activities take place, resources are allocated and decisions are made. Five determinants can be specified:

- a) Cultural factors: social norms, traditions, religion, organisational and institutional arrangements.
- b) Economic factors: the general level of poverty, inflation rates, economic organisation.
- c) Physical factors: infrastructure, quality of land, etc.
- d) Demographic factors: migration patterns, life expectancy, infant mortality.

- e) Political factors: power relationship and control, government, bureaucracy, legal systems, systems for collective decision making.

This component is the one which must be identified first, as it shapes the environment.

As it is seen gender analysis is very coherent and competent with the general system description and analysis of our planning methodology.

However, it must be put that these three components of gender analysis have not to be dealt with on the same level by the same institution. Though "activity profile" and "physical factors" are needed in each different local context, the third component having a more general characteristics for example can be also dealt with by other agencies or higher-levels institutions. The crucial issue here is that on what ever level and by whatever agency they are dealt with, these components must be integrated into planning by ensuring coordination.

For example, in the case of Turkey, it is possible that the General Directorate for Women can deal with this analysis and provide planning agencies with general information and input.

Incorporating gender analysis will lead to the identification of dominant problems and priority issues in terms of gender from which a guiding concept and city strategy will be derived, which will involve also a set of strategies which will be addressed in different spheres. Although strategies are set differently in different local contexts, some common strategies may be derived from the Turkish situation as it is seen in Chart 1.

Finally, action programs with also a gender dimension will be prepared in detail that will involve role-casting and resourcing.

Strategy - Participation

A new planning approach eventually needs new strategies to achieve its goals. As emphasised from the very beginning such a planning aiming at sustainable development can be more likely achieved if it includes participation. Participation is the most important strategy which can guarantee the success of plans in terms of ensuring that the goals and strategies respond to the needs and aims of the population and receive adequate common support. Only through such identification can the mobilisation of all the necessary human resources, both women and men, and creative energy to undertake sustainable development tasks be ensured. Participatory planning not only mobilises the general public but also contributes to mobilising the political and administrative actors directly involved (UNCHS 1990, p. 13). Apart from these, women's participation which is a crucial element to strengthen their role can be possible only within a participatory structure.

Participation and consultation with women is also an effective instrument in gender analysis apart from its benefit of ensuring the participation of women in all planning processes. Gender consultation and active participation of women in the planning process is desirable not only as a means but also as an end itself. However, Levy (1986 p. 27) point out that planning which assumes the participation of women must recognise the constraints women face in balancing their triple role and the very limited free time which gender analysis reveals. Therefore participation must be designed by considering this.

3. *Institutional intervention*

Changing the content and methodology of planning from conventional to gender considered development planning will also require institutional intervention. Institutional intervention is critical to cope with the intersectoral character of this new approach. Leaving aside the complexity of meeting such requirement in institutional restructuring we will emphasise another very important requirement which is a decentralised institutional structure. The reasons behind that are twofold.

One is related with the agenda of planning that is meeting the real needs of the society. In this respect a decentralised approach by which decisions are made at levels of government closer to the point of service delivery appears more likely to reflect local needs and concerns as indicated in an OECD report. It seems likely that this encourage priority setting and targeting of limited resources (OECD 1987, p. 70).

The second reason is related to the achievement of the goals of such planning. As was discussed, mobilising and maintaining scarce resources for sustainable development is crucial. Sustainable development needs the contributions that local people, citizen groups, businesses and governments can make to realistic development plans and to the mobilisation and use of local resources (UNCHS 1990, p. 9). As was already indicated, participation is a crucial instrument of this that need a conducive environment which only a decentralised system can provide. Such institutional structure provides the means for resolving conflicts over who has the right to use resources and they can act as originators of ideas for improving the quality of life.

This does not mean that there is no task for the central government as sustainable development requires the actions of all levels.

Finally, if we are to understand local government in terms of response to local needs and how to involve people in the decision making process, then there is a strong case to consider women. Local government is important to women both for the satisfaction of their practical gender needs and for transforming gender relations and hence empowering women. Women are reproducers and household managers having a closer link with their surrounding environment, have a deep understanding of neighbourhood needs and an interest for the improved service delivery. Therefore women can define and defend both their practical gender needs and their long-term strategic gender interests at a level where they have most experience.

It is thus important for local governments to set up political and institutional structures that will allow and encourage this process which lacks in the case of decentralisation in Turkey. Turkey adopted decentralisation in planning in 1985, and decision-making powers in planning, resource raising and allocation of powers were transferred to local authorities which were already responsible for the provision of urban services. In the major cities decentralisation went further down and two-tier municipalities were established. However, there seems a need to accompany decentralisation with appropriate legislative and organisational arrangements which would facilitate a participatory approach in decision making in planning and mobilisation of human resources both women and men. On this point, there seems a need for a further decentralisation to the neighbourhood level in metropolitan cities. These third level urban administrations, because of their appropriate sizes, seem to create more conducive environment for participation. (See Chart 2). This does not appear difficult since there are elected people called as "muhtar" and the assemblies on

neighbourhood level. However, they have no function on urban affairs. Therefore, urban planning and management responsibilities need to be transferred to this level where women can play a critical role which is not to suggest that women should be confined to the local level.

Gwagwa (1991, p. 73, 74) proposes a women's seat in the local councils at the political level. In Turkey since 1980 political parties tend to attract women into politics. Accordingly, the Social Democrat Populist Party adopted the quota system to represent women in the party administration and local politics. But it should be borne in mind that this approach can work only if the other barriers (socio-economic, cultural) that obstruct women to take part in politics and the decision making machinery of the society can be removed.

The second proposal Gwagwa (1991, p. 73, 74) makes is a committee of women administrators or bureaucrats. In fact the second was implemented by the GLC in Britain which resulted in wide ranging and well documented policies and projects. In the case of Turkey, women's committees must be established not only at local government structures but also at central government planning agency and other Ministries. These committees must be in close coordination both on horizontal and vertical levels. For this, the State Ministry for Women is expected to play a catalyst role and integrate its mandate to other agencies' work. These women committees must not be pursued as marginal groups for which those committees are also charged with increasing the awareness of institutions on the significance of integrating gender concern in their work.

It is likely that in this way gender may be a regular component of "good" planning practice.

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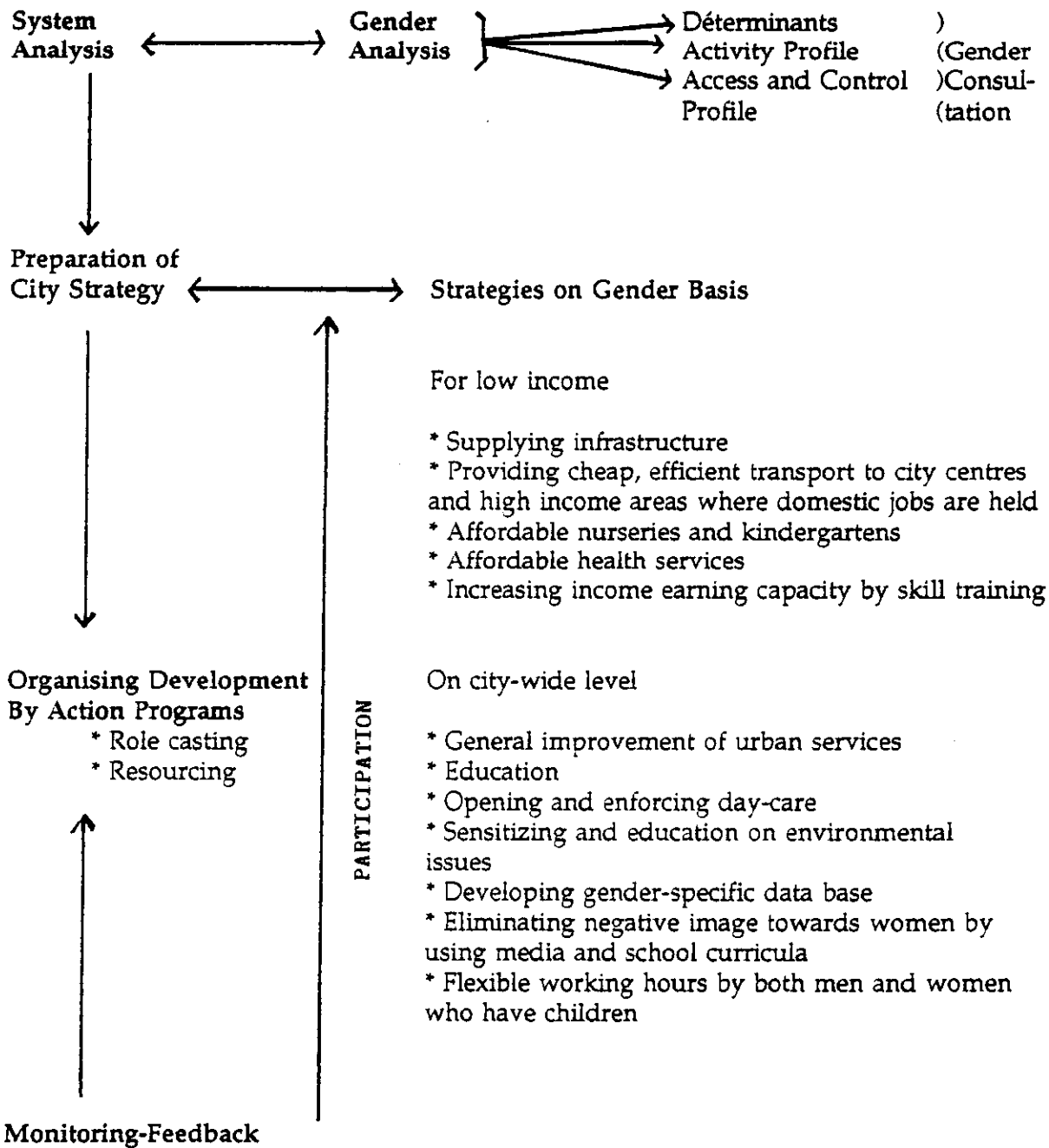
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Chart 1
METHODOLOGY



STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN'S APPROACHES IN REGIONAL AND URBAN PLANNING

Women's participation in decision-making bodies

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INTRODUCTION

In 1989, Poland, as other Central and East European countries enter the period of dramatic transformation. The political, economic and social transition begun to take place simultaneously. In reality, at least in its formal sense, the easiest was the establishment of democratic system through democratic elections and creation of new institutions. In addition, during the 1990-1993 period, significant progress in political decentralization of Polish state has been achieved. Indeed, one of the most successful achievement of this period is devolution of power to local level and the establishment of local self-government. Now, recognized as the most stable element of this unstable Polish political and economic climate.

The economic transition to market economy, while more painful and debatable, nonetheless achieved control of hyperinflation, lead to progressive elimination of structural barriers and to the liberalization of economy, permitted stabilization of Polish currency and the establishment of privatization program. Social costs turned to be the highest. From the perspective of citizens, these major shifts often meant personal sacrifices and loss of rights and benefits. Women, were among these groups which were asked to carry unproportionally greater costs of the transition.

At the same time, the current changes open opportunities for greater citizens participation at all levels. As the citizens of Poland have learned, however, the establishment of deeply rooted and functioning democratic system is a far more difficult process than holding elections for parliament and local councils.

Thus far, for women, the democratic transition fostered the development of dual structures in which women are marginalized and confined to the private sphere and men are encouraged to lead (Regulska 1993a). Alarming evidence shows that women in Poland not only lack basic entitlements, but most importantly they are quickly losing what little was available to them under communism.

Since the World War II, despite women's progress in the level of their educational attainment and their increase in employment, women in Poland remain under represented in management positions, government and parliament. The analysis of employment structure at the high-level administrative positions indicated that the higher the position the less likely women are to be employed. In 1990 while 12.7% of women were at the rank of the deputy director of the department and higher, only 5% of women could be found at the top level. Numerically it means that one woman was minister (Ministry of Culture), one was secretary of state and 8 occupied the position of under secretary of state. The study conducted by the Office of the Plenipotentiary for Women's Affairs pointed out that the promotion of women within the state administration seems to stop at the level of the deputy director of the department where over 20.7% of women can be found (Office of the Plenipotentiary for Women's Affairs, 1990).

Poland as one of very few countries in the world, did have, for a short period (nine months) woman as Prime Minister. While this appointment might have had some positive influence on raising women's consciousness regarding their role in politics, ironically the actual impact of this term, for women, was negative (one of the most restrictive abortion law was introduced and despite many efforts on the part of women's groups no appointment was made to fill the post of the Plenipotentiary for Women's Affairs). At the end of 1993, four years after the progressive transition was begun we can hardly talk about progress made regarding women's participation in public life.

There is no question, however, that the debate about women's future in the Polish democratic state has begun. (Fuszara 1993a; 1993b; Olczyk 1993; Polish Feminist Association 1993; Popowicz 1992; Regulaska 1993a; 1993b; Zielinska and Plakwicz 1992; Zmierczak 1993) Over the last four years, the dialogue has evolved from singular concentration on reproductive rights to a more open exchange regarding social and economic realities. In spite of the discrimination experienced under communism, not all women are aware of current discriminatory practices, and many are unsure of how to approach the situation. For others, discrimination is felt most profoundly in the context of their social and economic well-being rather than participation in formal politics and public life. Yet, another group do not feel that they have been or that they are now discriminated.

This report deals with one specific aspect of current transition and citizens participation in this process, the participation of women in planning and decision-making. It attempts to show that, planning process, as taking place at all scales, presents an opportunity to bring women into different level of the decision-making structures and through them to make a significant difference in women's living conditions. The case of Poland is especially interesting, as deep changes in the planning practices are currently taking place. Can this opportunity be used to the advantage of women? The answer is yes. But will it be used? Only, the practice can show.

This report is composed of two sections. The first section, describes briefly status and position of women in Poland and discusses Polish planning framework. It analyzes four dimensions which are of special importance to the discussion of women's participation in public life: (1) women as a category of the analysis; (2) women's participation in public life; (3) planning decision-making process, and (4) women's culture and internal culture of planners. The second section outlines the priorities that should be included in building effective strategy for change.

WOMEN AND PLANNING IN POLAND

1. Women as a Category

Polish women represent an increasingly diverse group. While they are not yet divided so much by political or religious boundaries, the socio-economic dimensions are becoming more visible. Among them are single mothers, married women, poor women or elderly women. The available statistics often do not permit presentation of the comprehensive picture of many of these groups of women. For example data on single mothers or elderly women are not available. The issues of battered wives and domestic violence is a social tabu. No one knows how many women need shelter to run away from domestic abuse. Homeless women exist, but where and how many of them do exist nobody can tell.

Extensive review of pertinent research publications published by the major Institutes working on the subject, (e.g. the Institute of Housing or Institute of Communal Infrastructure) indicated that, during the last three years women as a category have not been the subject of any analysis. Only in one publication sex of respondents was used in analysis as a variable. (Zaleska 1992) Not any other publications, research reports or analysis addresses specifically issues of concern to women or their living conditions.

Major publications done by the Main Statistical Office provides detail analysis only for married couple but do not provide any information which would consider women when analysing households structure (e.g. single women, single mothers, elderly women). Furthermore, even for married couple these analysis do not brake down collected data in such a manner as to reveal situation of women. When for example living conditions of households are presented, the analysis are broken according to workers, non-workers and retired households. Women seem not to exist. Existence of such procedures indicates both lack of change in the old way of data collection and lack of gender sensitive procedures.

What we do know reflects standard data collection practices. In 1993, women in Poland represented over 51% of the population. Majority of them are married (62.8%). As opposed to men, only small proportion of women remains single (3.4% vs. 27.1%) (Rocznik Statystyczny Demografii 1993:84). Among women living alone, predominantly are divorced women with children and elderly women. Several factors contribute to this situation.

First, in case of divorce women are primary custodians of their children. In 1992 out of the 21,991 recorded custody cases, 69.1% were awarded solely to mothers. While based on the available data it is difficult to asses if this trend is stable, the proportion of joint custody cases (in 1992 - 25.2% of cases) and especially custody cases where the father is the primary custodian (in 1992 - 3.3% cases) are still relatively low. (Rocznik Statystyczny Demografii 1993:139)

Secondly, women live longer and therefore are more likely to be widowed. As life expectancy at birth for men is 66.7 years and for women 75.7 years, over 14.7% of women are widowed, while only 2.9% of men. (Rocznik Statystyczny 1993:61) Thirdly, more women are divorced than men (3.4% vs. 2.2%), although this difference is not major.

The changing economic situation in Poland had more severely affected women than men. Women represent the majority of unemployed (52.3% in September 1993) and the unemployment of women is steadily increasing (since August 1992 by 1.2%). At same time overall unemployment, during the same period, has dropped down. (Rzeczpospolita 1993)

This increased share of women in overall unemployment, results from the fact that women's situation on the job market is far worst than that of men. As women and youth remain unemployed longer, women are also the most affected group by loss of unemployment benefits. Statistics show that the situation of the unemployed is much worst in urban areas. Unfortunately, these statistics are not broken down by sex. However, as women are more likely to live in urban areas than in rural areas (66% of all women) and they are also more severely affected by economic restructuring, they probably will be more likely to be among the worst off groups living in urban areas.

The above data indicate that women's life patterns are different than men's and therefore their experiences of living in urban space also differ from those of men. How these and other unrevealed dimensions or those about which we may have only limited, anecdotal knowledge, should be reflected in planning? What role is played by planning in women's difficulty to regain employment?

2. Women's Participation in Public Office

The mentioned earlier study conducted by the Office of the Plenipotentiary for Women's Affairs found, that within the central administration, women are most likely to occupy management position (from deputy director of the department and above) in the Ministry of Culture and Art (over 35%), Ministry of Health and Welfare (35%), Ministry of Labor and Social Policy (30%), Ministry of Finance and Education (17%). (Office of the Plenipotentiary for Women's Affairs 1990:11) The Ministry of Physical Planning and Construction, occupied middle range position with over 10% of women in top management. Ministry of Defense had no women in management position, Ministry of Foreign Affairs 0.5%.

In 1993, the only woman who occupied the position of the secretary of state, was in the Ministry of Physical Planning and Construction. 23% of directors of the department in that Ministry were women and in seven departments out of 14, women were deputy directors; 11.1% of advisors to the minister were women. In the Fall of 1993, after the formation of the new government, one woman was appointed as a Minister. She is the Minister of Physical Planning and Construction.

In Parliament, the participation of women has been low, but is increasing and the success rate of women's candidates is above average in comparison to the other countries (Women and Political Power 1992). In the first, semi-democratic parliamentary elections, in 1989, 13% of the elected deputies and 6% of the Senate members were women. In the second elections in 1991, the success rate reached 9% and 8% respectively and in the third election, in 1993, the number of both women Deputies and Senators has increased and in both cases is 13% (60 women in the Sejm and 13 in the Senate). Not only numbers are increasing but limited networking and mobilization is also visible. As a result of activities by Deputy Barbara Labuda (Democratic Union) an important initiative took place in 1992 and a Parliamentary Circle of Women Deputies was established. It brings together women across party lines. While not joined by all women deputies, the group aims to serve as a watchdog of women's interest in the legislative process.

In contrast with this initiative there is however a virtual lack of women's voices in the Sejm Commissions. Obviously the low number of women in Sejm is the primary contributing factor, but lack of formal, institutionalized mechanisms for dialogue and review of legislation from gender perspective is of far greater consequences. Of relevance to this study, is the fact, that among 27 members of the Sejm Commission on Physical Planning, Construction and Housing Policies there is only one woman.

Representation of women in local government is also small and is even lower in regard to previous periods when quota system existed. In local elections in May of 1990, women gained only 10.2% (5755) of the seats. Furthermore, in 2,500 municipalities, only 320 women holds local leadership office (e.g. mayor, chair of municipal council). (Regulska 1993b)

From the above analysis we can infer that while women do hold positions in the parliament, state and local administration, their representation is marginal and is more likely to be found at the lower end of the appointment ladder. Even more important, the impact of these appointments, has been rather sporadic and limited.

3. Planning Decision-Making Process

The planning process in Poland is currently undergoing transition. These changes reflect among other factors, political and administrative decentralization of the country. The establishment of the legitimate local self-government introduced strong advocate of local affairs and a new decision-maker. While local level is gaining power, regional planning almost does not exist. The proposed Act on Physical Planning on one hand, reconfirms the primary role of the central and voivodship level institutions in outlining overall goals and directions of national planning policies, but on the other pays particular attention to the role of municipalities in the preparation and implementation of local plans. (Ustawa o Planowaniu Przestrzennym 1993)

At the central level, the Ministry of Physical Planning and Construction, is directly responsible for planning, housing and construction matters. This national planning framework is supposed to be based on studies and analysis carried out by central and voivodship (regional) planning institutions. (Ustawa o Planowaniu Chapter 6: Art.59) The new Act on Physical Planning shall also confer a very important advisory role to the Ministry for other central institutions (such as Central Commission on Architecture and Urban Development or Central Planning Office). (Ustawa o Planowaniu 1993, Chapter 1: Art.5 and Chapter 6: Art.60)

All appropriate pieces of legislation before they are submitted to the Council of Ministries and Parliament are subject to negotiations with civic groups, interministerial approval process (e.g. Ministry of Social Policy and Labor, Environmental Protection or Finance) and are reviewed by the Committee on Economic Affairs of the Council of Ministries. After this approval they are forwarded to the Parliament (Sejm and Senate). Within the Sejm, the Commission on Physical Planning, Construction and Housing Policies reviews, revises and provides its recommendations to Parliament.

The input of the regional level have been drastically limited since 1990, when the Act on Local Self-Government was introduced in March of that year. As a result of the restructuring of central-local relationships, voivodship level remained primarily as a guardian of law rather than as an executor of centrally taken decisions (Ustawa o Planowaniu Act 1993, Chapter 1:

Art.4). The voivodship level no longer develops regional development plans, however each voivodship has within its structure division of physical planning and each voivod has power to establish on its territories pertinent policies. He (there is no women appointed as a head of a voivodship) oversees the implementation of the local plans prepared by municipalities.

Furthermore, voivodship level have certain degree of financial power as it allocates funds for infrastructure (sewage, water, etc.), for rehabilitation of housing stock owned by cooperatives and for energy efficiency grants.

Local level, on the other hand, emerged over the last four years as a more powerful actor in the planning decision-making process. It continues to develop local plans (both master and detailed ones) for urban and rural municipalities. The local planning offices or firms subcontracted from outside, prepare these plans. The proposed new legislation, envisaged even greater role for municipalities in the decision making-process. First of all, not all municipalities will need to have their local plans. Secondly, the new law more precisely establishes the procedures guiding the preparation process and makes personally accountable local level officials for negotiating particular agreements. Thirdly, it demands evaluation of legal repercussions of approved local plans. This last modification, protects citizens as well as municipalities from financial loss when property values changes as a result of approved plans. The legislation requires, that local plans will include among other information and data, the analysis of living conditions within the area included in the plan. (Strembicka 1993; Ustawa o Planowaniu Act 1993, Chapter 2: Art.6.6 and Chapter 3)

While this description yielded only a limited picture of Polish planning process, for the subject of this analysis, it is important that Polish planning practice is undergoing fundamental transitions and that involved institutional structure is very complex and highly bureaucratized. Thus, while the latter factors serves as a deterrent to women's participation the former should actually be viewed as a window of opportunity to introduce the change and raise the question of gender in planning theory and practice.

4. Women's culture and internal culture of planners

The difficulties with introducing women's issues and incorporating women's perspective in planning are among others, the result of two factors: (1) that planning is dominated by male perspective and (2) that while women do participate in the planning process (relatively large proportion of women is employed in planning offices), they do not bring with themselves gender sensitive perspective.

Women are employed in large numbers in planning offices, but this numerical strength is not translated into the power of participation in decision-making. This is not surprising, as the examples of other countries have pointed out, numbers are important but not sufficient enough to make a difference. Do women who participate in planning process want to be passive or active participants? Do they speak about women's issues and if they do, are they heard or to the contrary, are they marginalized because of that? Do they present alternative solutions or introduce new agenda, which incorporates needs of women?

Women's and men's experiences of living and working in urban space are different. (Sandercock and Forsyth 1992) Their interests are also different: they are predominantly related to women's role as mothers. (This is not a surprise in case of Poland where family remains very strongly 'child centred'). As long as women's roles and responsibilities will be

different from men's, women will have different perspective on planning priorities. They will apply different value system stemming from two different experiences. These in turn will influence decision-making process.

For example urban fabric is often organized in such a way as to offer regular transport facilities to and from work but often ignores the duality of women's role at work and at home fulfilling domestic duties. These different tasks performed by women and taking place at varying planning scales need to be link together. There are many examples: child care facilities and its location in relation to work and home, women's safety in urban space and the implications of this commitment for land use planning or the question of connections between social and transportation policies, and their relevance to women's fuller participation in political and economic life. Another area requiring attention of planners and which has important implications for women, is the connection between zoning and locational policies. The location of industries with gender biased work force, do force gendered commuting patterns, subsequently affecting location of other services. Since employees never belong to one group only (only men or only women) those few who will find themselves commuting will automatically be marginalized as a group.

To a large extend this silent presence of Polish women in planning process is explained by women's marginalized experiences of participating in public life. Women do not speak out easily in public and if they do, they rarely speak about their needs. Family and children come always first. Recent surveys suggested that women in Poland are less assertive than men, especially in public speaking. The obvious lack of tradition in public office holding, low occupation of higher level positions and in general gender biased citizens participation are among a few reasons that can be cited. Women also rarely perceive themselves as leaders. In a recent survey conducted by the Foundation in Support of Local Democracy, in 25 small communities, when respondents were asked to identify a local leader, both men and women were predominantly indicating a man. Professional jargon and in general unknown ways in which women can participate in planning process, as well as lack of support network to discuss, prepare and deliver opinions, seems also to be important factors requiring attention.

In general, gender approach has been only marginally introduced into the curricula at all level of educational hierarchy. In planning, the situation is very similar. Planning curricula do not offer specific courses addressing issues pertinent to women living in urban or rural environment. The earlier mentioned aspects of planning such as women, crime and safety in urban areas, working women and location of place of work and home, women and public transportation, women and day care centres, location of shopping, medical and of other basic services are not addressed. The introduction of gender-sensitive curriculum have not taken place. The overall resistance of the society, dominant role of male faculty of planning departments and lack of pressure from women themselves are among forces shaping Polish planning education.

One other dimension requires attention of scholars and educators, and that is the process through which we gain knowledge. Traditionally strict scientific data serve as a base for our judgment what is and what is not important. Planners by examining collected data justify their perspective. But what if our data is biased in the way it is collected and presented? What happens when certain phenomenon are not quantifiable or are ignored by those who collects information? Is our judgment, in those cases, still correct? In the case of Poland, and other Central and East European countries, which are still undergoing process of social transition, the need for expansion of traditional ways of collecting data is enormous. In order to grasp the essence of social restructuring, the active dialogue with citizens is of crucial

importance. For a example in a situation of crises, people tend to organize themselves in many informal ways. They are willing to provide for and share with others. How is this new social dynamics acknowledged in the planning process?

STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE

Any strategy aiming at increased women's opportunities to influence decision-making process need to account for particular conditions, in our case the situation of women in Poland and of Polish planning. Discussions in the previous section attempted to draw attention to three aspects that should serve as a backbones of such a strategy for change:

1. Women as a group are diverse and cannot be treated uniformly. This diversity needs to be mirrored in the ways women's needs are address in the planning process. At the same time, it is imperative to remember that there are issues common to experiences of all women and therefore they also require planners attention.
2. While women are under represented in the decision-making processes, nevertheless they are present in Polish politics, management and administration. Often however, women's presence is limited. This indicates that although numerical representation is crucial, the issues of participation requires nation-wide discussion regarding women's access to public office; strategies for mobilization among women's groups and legislation promoting equality among sexes.
3. The current transformation of the Polish planning process provides opportunities to bring women out of silence and involve them at both the national and local levels in planning practices. The lack of planning legislation actually opens the door for the introduction of gender question in planning. Furthermore, the institutional complexity of the decision-making process, points out that the practical realization of the principle of equality requires a strategy accounting for the entire system. In practice it means examining planning education, procedures for appointments, data collection and deeper understanding of planners and women's culture.

Based on carried out discussions, reviews of available data, research studies and existing Polish legislation two groups of factors have been identify, those which provide opportunity for and those which deter women's access to decision-making process. The two groups are as follows:

A. Positive elements included:

1. General tendency for devolution of power and planning decision-making process to local levels, thus permitting for greater citizens participation;
2. Lack of final acts on physical planning, construction law and several other pieces of legislation, and therefore an opportunity to review the act and to introduce: gender sensitive language, requirements regarding women's participation in approval process, or actual incorporation of measures addressing lack of gender question;

3. Existence of the requirement, that any legislation before Sejm approval should be consulted with civic organizations, trade unions, etc. and thus making possible for example consultations with women's groups;

4. Requirement in the proposed Act on Physical Planning, that local plans should take into the account living conditions of the population to be affected by the plan and therefore opening a possibility for conducting local gender-sensitive studies;

5. Leading role of the Ministry in respect to setting agenda for analysis and studies aiming at the development of nation-wide priorities and directions for urban and regional planning and thus Ministry's power to introduce nation-wide standards for gender-sensitive analysis.

B. The negative forces on the other hand include:

1. Lack of clear commitment to gender equality in all aspects of life as expressed by lack of appropriate legislation and of promotion of equality between women and men by central institutions;

2. Insufficient representation of women at all levels where it is possible to influence agendas, priorities and their implementations;

3. Existence of gender-biased data collection process and lack of gender-sensitive research and planning studies;

4. Traditional, gender biased planning curriculum and approaches used in teaching and educating new generation of planners;

5. Lack of consciousness on the part of women and low mobilization to force the change in their unequal status.

This report argues that identified above "positive" circumstances should be utilized in first instance. In other words, that priority should be given to incorporation of gender issues into planning practices at the local level. Simultaneously, questions regarding significance of gender in planning policies should be raised at the central level by opening legislative process for review and discussions on the role of planning practice in promoting equality of men and women, both in its processes and outcomes. Specifically, five areas should be addressed:

1. Introduction of the gender sensitive planning practices at the local level achieved by:

1.1. development by the Ministry for Physical Planning and Construction of gender sensitive procedures for collection of data used in the local planning process and their analysis;

1.2. development of clear guidelines for women's active participation in the design and approval process of local plans (e.g. clear indication how women's contribution will be solicited and in general how citizens will participate in the process).

2. Increased role of the Ministry for Physical Planning and Construction in setting nation-wide standards, through:

2.1. initiation of nation-wide assessment of living conditions of women in rural and urban areas, this could be achieved through a series of special reports at the regional and local level aiming at examining needs of women in general and of particular groups of women (e.g. single mothers; unemployed women; handicapped);

2.2. development of priorities in which they can be address through opening of the dialogue on the role that women do play and should play in shaping the living environment, both urban and rural;

2.3. establishment of special task group or a special office which would address the question of gender in planning and would both promote and monitor the actual implementation of the approved guidelines.

3. Legislative initiatives which would:

3.1. introduce Equal Status Act legislation which among other postulates would introduce equal representation of women in the government, parliament and other high ranking posts;

3.2. reestablish the Office of the Plenipotentiary for Women's Affairs at the Ministerial rank and develop active policies aiming at gender equality;

3.3. establish the Office of Ombuds(man) for Women which would actively intervene in cases of discrimination of women.

4. Mobilization of women focused on:

4.1. greater involvement and organization of women around specific issues, increased networking and cooperation between different women's groups and variety of institutions;

4.2. active engagement in the decision-making process (e.g. formal and informal consultations with the parliamentary commissions, Ministries etc. and establishment of a resource list of women from different professions who can be easily contacted when needed);

4.3. consciousness raising and better understanding of women's own political culture, (e.g. preferences and benefits from working within organizational structure which suits women better: pyramid shaped vs. flat structure).

5. Increased representation of women at all levels achieved by:

5.1. development of strategies addressing the issue of representation of women, at both elected and appointed posts, in politics and in state administration: how to encourage women to enter positions which lead to decision-making level and what should be done to encourage women to stay involved in politics, management and administration;

5.2. design of strategies to increase women's visibility and input into negotiating delegations, internal committees and representation in the bodies that prepare issues for decisions, set agendas and draw general guidelines.

CONCLUSIONS

The already begun process of decentralization aiming at the restructuring of power relationships between central and local level, and fostering greater citizens participation should be viewed as an unique opportunity to introduce women's issues and to increase women's participation in the planning process. Municipalities already have and, in the near future, will gain even more power over the planning process. Local councils will be responsible for review and approval of local plans. At the same time, the upcoming local elections in June 1994, provide a chance for women to increase their participation in local elected offices and therefore to have greater influence over the decision-making process in their local communities. If these opportunities are used, (the opening of the planning process and an increase of women holding local posts), then a first step towards change has been accomplished.

Such changes will not however be sufficient and should not be isolated from addressing issues of representation of women at the central level, planning education, equal treatment of women and men, or greater understanding of social and economic experiences which men and women have during their lives. Obviously legislation alone is also not enough. Subsequent decisions regarding the action plan and its implementation, choice of priorities, actual design of guidelines and reinforcement of priorities, often are more important in achieving greater women's participation in decision-making process. Finally, equal rights will only be achieved if they are seen as an integral part of democracy and therefore have a support of the general population. It is not enough to incorporate democratic rights into the law, they need to be exercised and safeguarded in a manner that is accepted by the society.

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STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN'S APPROACHES IN REGIONAL AND URBAN PLANNING

Women's participation in planning processes in six communities in Norway

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1. INTRODUCTION - TODAY'S SOCIETY AS BACKGROUND FOR THE PROJECT

In a way, the Report from the Brundtland Commission represented the start of a new epoch in Norway. We find that, today, the global society is experiencing serious problems of a technical and economic nature, and connected to the trade and security policies.

The complexity of our society implies that we no longer have a clear picture of all that is going on around us, and the future is unpredictable. Globalisation, which has made the world on place, is already a fact. We have stopped believing that there is a limit to technological development. So, in a way, we have lost much of the control that we ought to have over the future.

In addition, we are beginning to understand the deep structural problems facing global society today. The world is wasting its human, economic and ecological resources. We all know that a change of course is essential, in the labour market, in world trade and in the policy on the environment, where the danger of holes in the ozone layer, the greenhouse effect and the accompanying changes in climate, floods and disasters have affected each and every one of us. In this situation it is not surprising that the question of values has once again become important in politics and planning. What is right? What is important?

This is the situation in which women and men find themselves today, and it is in this perspective we must decide what values society should develop.

The prime objective of our planning is not only to plan a good life for ourselves and for the nature on which we depend. It is just as important to plan so that future generations will also have the possibility of a good life.

Are our plans based on the right choice of values in relation to the kind of society we want? So far, the course has been decided on the basis of economic and technical evaluations; partly because these are usually the easiest to measure.

Themes such as caring and responsibility for others, and the fundamental elements on which all our lives depend - earth, air and water - cannot be uniformly priced and are therefore not included in the systems of accounting in all parts of the world. But these five factors are of great concern to women. Our aim should be not to increase the rate of development, but to **change the course of development.**

2. THE INITIATIVE BY THE MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT

This is why the Ministry of Environment took the initiative for a national project: "A WOMAN'S PERSPECTIVE IN PUBLIC PLANNING - MUNICIPAL PLANNING ON WOMEN'S Terms".

The aim was to use the project as a means of encouraging a debate about fundamental values which would put us once again on the right path. Four other ministries and the Norwegian Association of Local Authorities were asked to participate, and all wished to do so. As we all know, the planning system is a strong instrument for directing the development of society.

The primary objective of the project was to incorporate women's specific values into the municipal planning.

The provisions on public participation, that is to say, section 16 of the Planning and Building Act, have also been an important factor. It is stated in this section that all residents in a community have a duty and a right to participate in the planning of their own municipality, and of society. It was hoped to give this section of the Act a new content, and that the selected municipalities would mobilise the residents to make a personal effort to address the tasks, and to take an active part in the planning. It was believed that this mobilisation would create enthusiasm, initiative and creativity, and help to legitimise the municipalities' decisions.

3.a. EVERYDAY LIFE AND RELATIONSHIPS

It cannot be denied that, up to now, planning has been dominated by a philosophy of growth, productivity and efficiency. These terms are not negative in themselves if the process takes place as part of an ideology based on "sustainability".

The planning process has been criticised for being an authoritarian and man-dominated process, characterised by one-way communication. Values that have not been included to the extent they should have been are such values as caring, closeness and interpersonal relationships.

Today, our everyday lives are shaped by various forces which are partly regulated by the market, and partly by politics and planning in the different sectors. The consequences for our everyday lives as a whole are not foreseen. There is no coordinated policy for everyday life. We need to have a possibility of directing the development of society based on a comprehensive standpoint on what the everyday life of a family should be like.

Planning that is concerned with how our everyday lives are organised, with tasks connected to upbringing and the environment in which our children grow up, with environmental protection and more equitable distribution of jobs - that is to say, planning expressing a women's perspective - is not the sort of planning that has taken place up to now.

However, if the "grass root" population is not included in the planning, we are not making use of valuable experience existing in society, experience which, for instance, women the world over possess through their responsibility for reproduction, food production and the upbringing of new generations, and as local organisers in the community.

3.b. THE SITUATION OF THE MUNICIPALITIES

In Norway today, the municipalities have been given many new tasks, while having to face tighter economic frameworks and demands for greater efficiency and management by results. The municipalities are striving to develop a more comprehensive perspective across sectors. Therefore, more than ever before, they are looking for new ways of solving their tasks.

It has also been specifically shown that when women's interests and problems are not taken care of adequately in the municipal plans this can have adverse consequences not only for women, but for society as a whole. This is clearly seen in our peripheral regions, where the whole settlement pattern is threatened because the young women are moving out. The population becomes dominated by old people, with too few younger persons to provide the necessary income.

3.c. THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

At the global level, we are in the process of undermining the possibilities of continued existence on the earth. We cannot just stand by and watch this happen. A change of course is absolutely essential.

We must create a counterweight, and this must come from the "grass root", from local sources. We need a change of values both at municipal and at national level. This means that women's values must be placed at the top of the agenda, in order to create more understanding of the need for closeness and stability.

At all events, from a women's perspective, discussions about development and the environment cannot be confined to cleaner technology and "green" consumption, but must take place in a wider context.

4. THE PROJECT: "A WOMEN'S PERSPECTIVE IN PUBLIC PLANNING - MUNICIPAL PLANNING ON WOMEN'S TERMS"

Organisation - Methods - Implementation

As a start to the project, representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Fisheries, Ministry of Local Government and Labour, Ministry of Industry and Ministry of Environment (as initiator) and of the Norwegian Association of Local Authorities established a central steering group. The participating organisations allocated a total of about NOK 7-8 million in the course of the project period.

Six selected municipalities were asked if they would like to participate in the project. All answered in the affirmative. Each municipality established a project group, consisting of a permanently employed leader and 7-8 members. The members represented the "grass roots" / the women in the municipality, as well as the politicians and the administration. The steering group paid half the salary of the six project leaders. The other half was paid by the municipalities themselves for the three years that the project lasted.

A criteria for participation was that women should actively take part in the planning process. The 6 municipalities had to undertake, by political decision, to implement planning processes in their municipality which made sure that the women's perspective was taken care of in binding municipal plans.

Thus, a unique feature of the project was to work from below upwards, but in close contact with the municipal administration. In the municipalities involved in the project, all planning was to take place just as much on women's terms as on men's.

The objective of the project was three-fold:

- a) To acquire knowledge on and develop models for how to integrate women's values into the municipal plans.
- b) To prepare municipal plans with a stronger women's perspective on the residential environment, the economic and employment policies, and the health and social welfare policy.
- c) To spread the knowledge acquired from the project to other municipalities (Today, the third objective is taken care of by the counties).

The steering group had the following responsibilities:

- overall responsibility for the project
- to coordinate the different ministries' interests and the instruments and incentives at their disposal
- to control the progress of the project
- to spread information
- to manage the economy

A so-called "EGA Team" (Education, Guidance and Assessment) was established to help and advise the municipalities involved while the project lasted. The three members came from the following research institutions:

- the Research Centre in Møre
- the Norwegian Building Research Institute
- the Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research

The EGA Team had the following responsibilities and tasks:

- to educate participants about the planning process and the themes of the planning
- to advise on how to organise and carry out planning processes and experiments
- to assess the processes, and advise on modifications to the experiments
- to prepare reports and assess experiences

The municipalities had the following responsibilities and tasks:

- to give high priority to allocating personnel and funds for the project
- to organise and carry out experiments in their own municipality, coordinated with the planning
- to adopt a municipal programme with a women's perspective, together with an associated plan of action, and to implement specific measures as a consequence of the municipal programme
- to make practical arrangements for educational measures, seminars etc. in their own municipality
- to report their own experiences in the form of an assessment report in cooperation with the EGA Team

5. RESULTS: - WHAT THEMES WERE INCLUDED IN THE MUNICIPAL PLANS?

In the project municipalities, the themes included in the municipal plans showed a shift to more feminine values such as: a holistic perspective, caring, protection of the environment and ecology, emphasis on people's everyday lives, greater consideration to individuals and groups with poor resources, new ideas and creativity (Assessment report).

There was widespread mobilisation in the local communities within the municipality.

In the course of the project, a number of measures were undertaken which required extra economic resources. These were the first visible signs that the project had had results at local level. This was important, because people had had great expectations of the project.

The results tended to reflect a change in attitudes and values. The following "headings" indicate the areas given special priority in the project municipalities in the planning work, and important objectives and measures in this connection.

Ramnes:

Children's and young people's socialisation environment and living conditions as a permanent topic in the municipal plans.

Protection of the environment, jobs, care, health etc.

Programme for Women, activate local groups, women in politics, in the administration in management etc. During their everyday lives women acquire special experience of organisation in connection with children/caring/making things work. This experience should be exploited in the planning process.

Sundal:

Care: "Sundal - top municipality for care".

Well-being, and feeling part of the local community

Plan of action to promote equality between men and women

Weaving project, home industries - local tourist arrangements, refugees, women - culture, competence building etc.

Bremanger:

- Women as politicians**
- Women as providers of care**
- Women as employees**
- Women as social individuals**

All municipal initiatives will be placed under one of these headings.

Leksvik:

- Care**
- Transport**
- Employment**
- Culture/environment**
- Education, and the socialisation environment**

Overriding objective: the women's perspective shall become an integrated part of all municipal planning and municipal activities.

Gausdal:

- Resident participation**
- Jobs for women**
- Ecology**
- Outdoor pursuits in the neighbourhood**

Programme for Women, Women's Forum - Report on Housing - Information Centre, whole day school. Children's Municipal Council.

Nesna:

- Environment**
- Care**
- Culture/recreation**
- Transport and communications**

"Secondary School for Adults", information magazine, "The elderly help the elderly" and "grandparents"-contact.

A special assessment was made by the Institute for Urban and Regional Planning at the Norwegian Institute of Technology, University of Trondheim, to see if the municipal plans of the project municipalities differed in any way from the plans of six comparable municipalities. It was found that there was a difference in the content of the plans, towards less emphasis on material values and more concern for human values.

6. LITERATURE PUBLISHED IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROJECT:

"RECIPES FOR PLANNING BY THE PEOPLE" was published before the project started. The book is addressed to all women in Norway, and tries to make planning less "frightening" - more commonplace. The book shows how the County Plan, the Municipal Master Plan and Local Development Plans affect our everyday lives. The part of the Municipal Master Plan that refers to land use specifically determines how we will use our natural resources, our land and our marine areas in the years to come.

The book contains "recipes" for what women and other groups in society can do to exert greater influence on decisions in specific planning situations. The Planning and Building Act stipulates that everyone has a right to be heard, and a right to shape the future of both society as a whole and of their own community.

Experience has shown that women can bring new vitality into the planning and create enthusiasm. Women communicate more openly and directly than men do, and also find it easier to arrive at and implement appropriate measures than men do.

Participation of women in the planning is often the answer if one wants to:

- unloose local initiative and local resources
- find solutions that meet people's everyday needs
- strengthen local democracy
- make the best possible use of the community's resources
- achieve more general support for the planning and the plans

The book shows how people should organise themselves, so that their interests will be heard in a particular case, and at what stage of the administrative procedures it is important to really "put on the pressure".

The book also contains information on who is responsible for what in the municipality, and a glossary, to make it easier to understand the professional terminology. The central authorities do not only intend the book to be distributed, they believe that it should also have a function in society. A seventh edition is to be printed.

"A MANUAL FOR ALTERNATIVE MUNICIPAL PLANNING" sums up the experience gained from the project. The purpose of the book is to inspire Norway's municipalities to try to address their various tasks in other ways. The book is not an assessment of the project. It gives advice on what to do and what not to do if the municipality wants to attach the necessary weight to the women's perspective in the municipal planning.

The book has two main parts:

- Part 1: Why and
- Part 2: How

The part called "Why" defines what the six pilot municipalities mean by the term "women's perspective" and why it is so important to give higher priority to this perspective in the planning than it has received up to now.

The part called "How" contains a summary of experiences and advice connected to municipal planning with a women's perspective. The experiences are described in chapters dealing respectively with organisation, mobilisation, ways of working and follow-up. Emphasis is placed on the different strategies than can be used to achieve the goals.

7. GENERAL PREMISES AND EXISTING STRATEGIES

The main theme of the project described above is the development of a local planning process based on the situation, views and expectations of women. The purpose was to meet, in a better way, the needs and wishes of people in their everyday lives, and to develop a broader basis for making political priorities, and thus secure more sustainable solutions in politics.

To obtain a deeper understanding of the project and the strategies it is also necessary to focus on the situation of women in our society, and to mention the main principles of decentralisation and democratisation of the planning system.

In Norway, as in the other Nordic countries, women have achieved a comparatively good position in political bodies and organisations. Between 30 and 40 per cent of those involved are women. Even so, women are strongly under-represented in the regional planning and building processes and in the top public administration.

The position of women is partly a result of the system of quotas fought for and finally achieved by the feminist movement. Gradually, over the last twenty years, more women have been elected to the Storting (National Assembly) and have been made members of the Government. The same pattern is also seen in the county and municipal governing bodies. Naturally, this has done a great deal to bring the women's aspect into politics.

In spite of this, we have to ask:

How do women influence political trends and politics in general? Do women have only a formal position, and no real influence? - and How are women's needs and values taken care of in the decision-making?

Another fundamental premise for the project is that, according to our regional planning system, responsibility and authority are decentralised to the local political level. Municipal Master Plans, including programmes for physical, social, cultural and economic development, which all municipalities are required to prepare, are adopted by the elected Municipal Council. People have the right to participate in the planning process. By law, the planning authorities also have a duty to mobilise people to take part in the process, to consult and co-operate with the residents of the community, and to exchange information. In Norway the municipal units are rather small, and the larger municipalities are divided into smaller units, making it possible to some extent to stimulate the different groups in the community, and integrate their views into the planning process. This means that women can make an important contribution to the process of decision-making in the municipality.

It is the goal to integrate the women's perspective at all levels of the planning. The practical attempts to achieve this goal must be understood in a local context.

As we all know, there have been major changes in public planning in recent years. Today the agenda of the planning is changing, and is no longer dominated by traditional physical and economic planning referring to land use, roads, housing, etc. We have become more concerned about education, job-creating activities, culture and the increasing challenges facing the environmental sector and the health and social sector. These issues are often a municipal responsibility that is dominated by the budgets of the local authority, and the importance of mobilising women in the public planning must be seen in this context. Women's involvement and contributions are indeed needed, and are as valuable as those of men.

Based on experiences from the project we must secure women more influence, more resources and more training, so that they can help to solve the complex problems that exist in our municipalities. Most of these problems have to be solved at local level.

8. COMMUNICATION OF EXPERIENCES

We are continuing to mobilise women to take part in local planning and decision-making through our national programme of information. This year, 5 counties have established their own programmes of information to encourage the municipalities to include the women's perspective in the local planning. Because many counties are experiencing serious out-migration of women, and have an unbalanced, male-dominated economic structure, many County Plans are now taking up women's problem and include women's perspectives. In the connection with approval of the County Plans by the King (represented by the Ministry of Environment), the Government, through the other ministries, puts forwards strategies for incorporating women's approaches into the regional and local planning. The ministries that have collaborated in the project described in this paper, such as the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Fisheries and the Ministry of Local Government and Labour, are also preparing their own programmes to incorporate women's perspectives into their own activities and policies.

9. CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS

The motive for the decentralisation of authority is that decisions should be made at lowest possible level. The people who have to live with the consequences of the decisions should also be able to influence them. The decisions will affect women more often than men. Women are dependent on these decisions, and it is they who are responsible for many of the functions which ensure the smooth running of everyday life. Since women are the most homebound part of the population they also take care of social networks. Women carry out the greater part of the work in the health and social services. They recognise the importance of local living conditions and of the environment for the general well-being of the population. There are indications that women are more likely than men to be receptive to the needs of other, weaker groups during the planning process. The Norwegian project has shown that women tend to be more concerned about the environmental situation than men have been. To satisfy the need for sustainable management of nature and natural resources it is vitally important that women take part in planning and decision-making at all levels. Women are likely to represent a new drive and new enthusiasm, and to introduce more open, informal forms of communication.

Up to now, women have been less visible and less active than men in the decision-making. Participation on equal terms is a matter of democracy.

- a) One of the main conclusions is that decentralisation and delegation of authority to local government, and the right of all persons to participate, are important premises for changing present patterns and for getting the women's perspective incorporated into local and regional planning. Women's participation in local planning will
 - unloose local initiatives and new local resources
 - give women self-confidence

- create solutions which will meet the needs and wishes of people in their everyday lives
- strengthen democracy
- develop a broader basis for planning and deciding political priorities, leading to more sustainable solutions

b) Another main conclusion is that the projects have demonstrated the importance of women obtaining a position in political bodies and organisations, and in local government. In the Nordic countries the quota system has worked quite well. Other countries will possibly find other equally good systems.

At any rate, it is of utmost priority to secure a better and more democratic and fair position for women in political life.

This can be expressed as follows:

Women's influence on political trends and in practical local and regional politics depends both on higher representation in political bodies and government, and on finding ways of bringing women's aspects into the practical decision-making at local level.

c) A third main conclusion is that something must be done in order to realise the goals:

We recommend the Norwegian way, but other strategies must also be discussed. The important thing is to mobilise women to exercise their right to influence and control their own lives and the conditions under which they live.

This is a democratic right, and is strongly needed in our times.

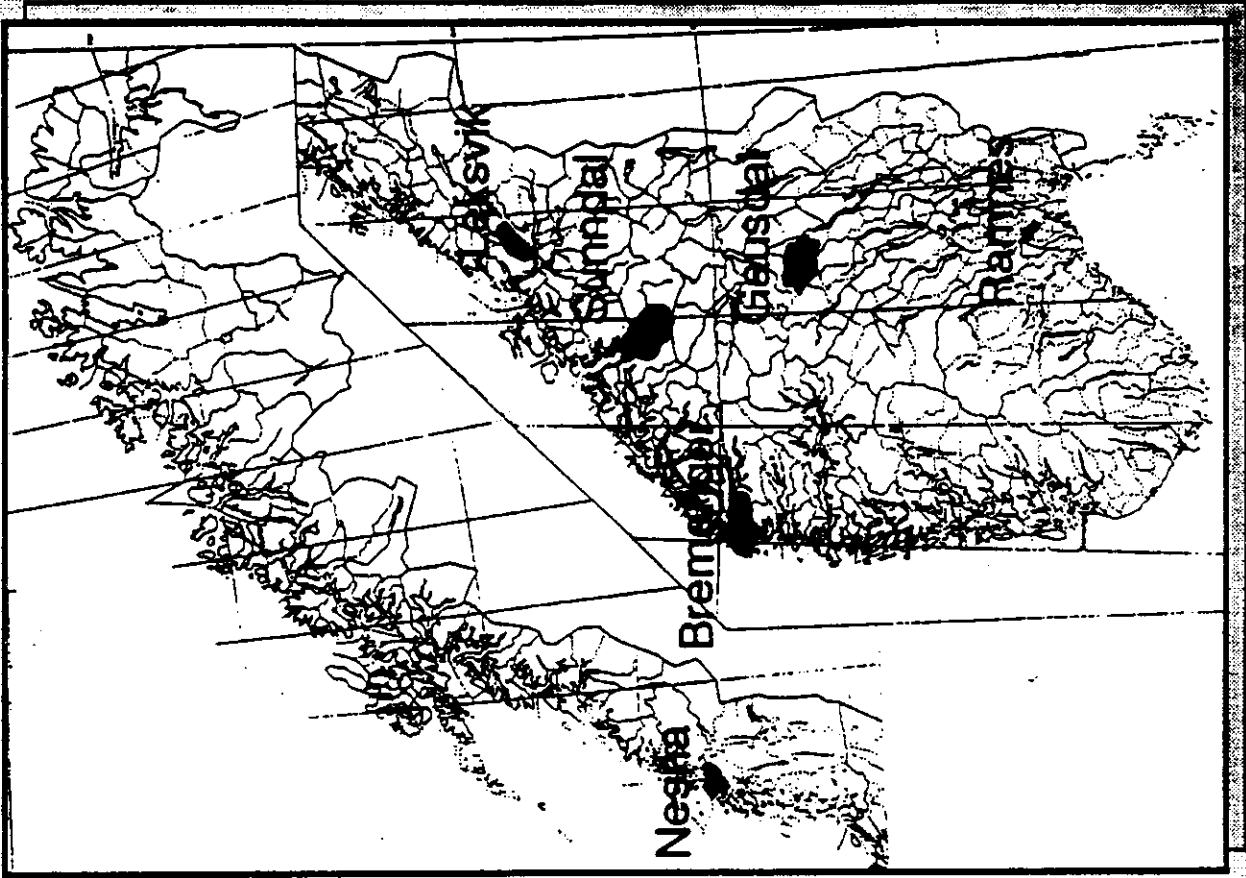
Women can be encouraged to take part in local planning and decision-making in many ways. Let us focus on some of these:

- meet the women where they are to be found
- search for female leaders and motivate these women to participate
- start with the most urgent concerns at the present time, and leave the agenda open
- take up issues concerning everyday life, such as children, the elderly, housing, health care and social services, jobs, transport to school, the environment and common facilities in the municipality
- emphasise that participation provides an opportunity to improve one's own situation and in turn the conditions in the whole community. One mobilising factor is making women more aware that they have to participate and cooperate if the community is to be able to solve its problems in the best way possible.
- face to face contact promotes confidence and a chance to explain the motives for involving women in local planning, and what role they can play in this process
- strengthen women's confidence in themselves through various forms of training in communication, leadership, holding group discussions, conflict solving, planning and budgeting.

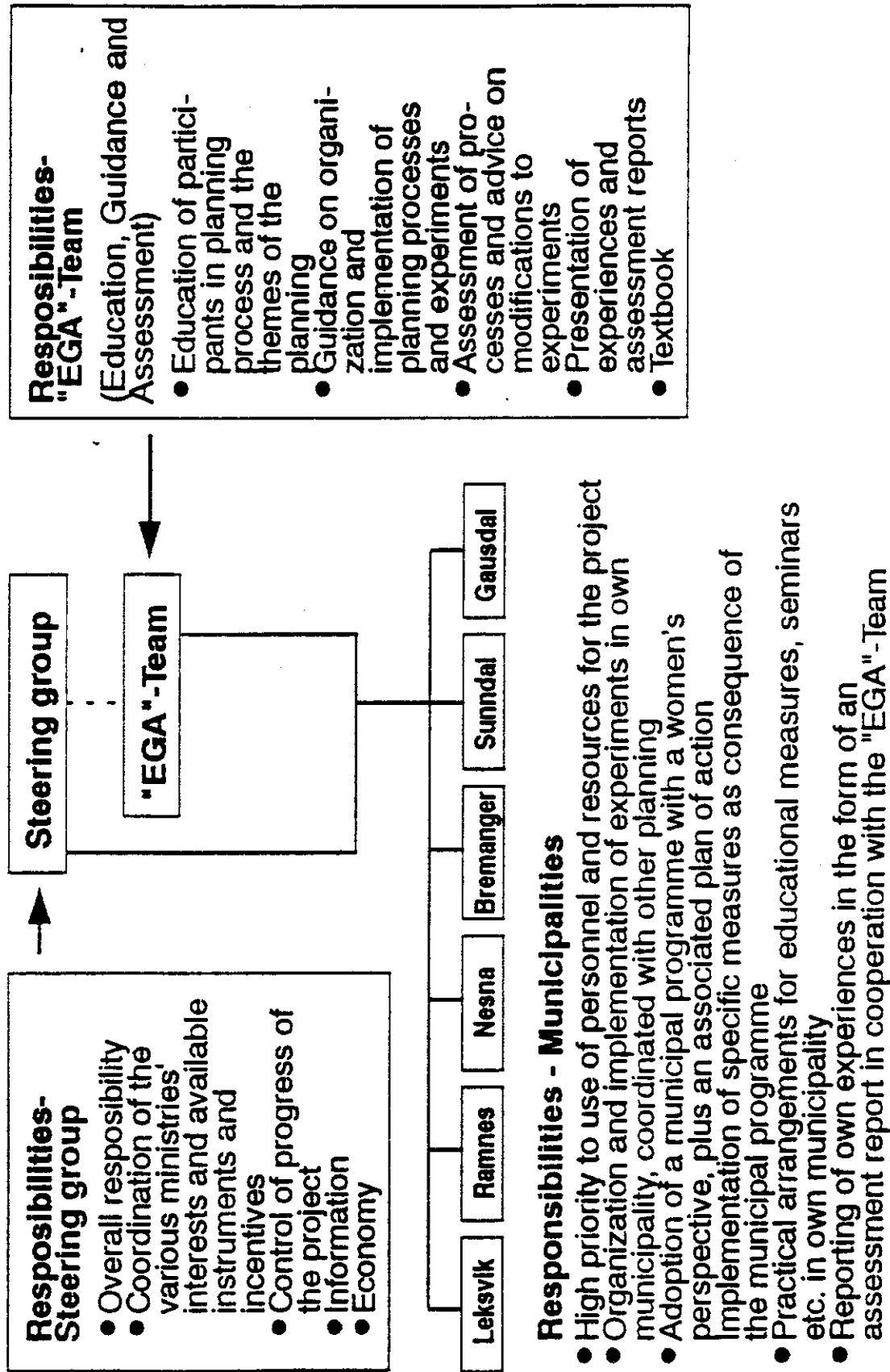
10. FUTURE WORK

It is recommended that above conclusions (points a), b) and c)) should be discussed at the seminar and that the results should be presented to the committee.

Geographical Location of the Six Project Municipalities in Norway



Organization of the Experiment - a Woman's Perspective in Public Planning - Municipal Planning on Women's Terms



STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN'S APPROACHES IN REGIONAL AND URBAN PLANNING

Development alternatives seen by women

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Development alternatives are always seen from a context. My context is Finland, which is the fourth largest country in Europe by territory, but one of the smallest by population with her 5 million inhabitants. The Finnish women were first in Europe to gain universal suffrage in 1906. Presently nearly 40% of the members of the Parliament are women. Women constitute nearly half (47%) of the total working force and they surpass men in education. But in the issues of urban planning they are latecomers. Presently, however, the Ministry of the Environment is headed by two ministers and one director general who are women. The playing up of gender in neighbourhood development and in urban and regional planning has thus begun.

Speaking about alternative developments requires a description of what is "normal" or conventional in urban and regional planning. In Finland and even in other Nordic countries a technorational ideology, a hierarchical organization, a monopoly of specialists, and a restricted focus on physical or aesthetic results have been characteristic of urban planning. The new trends of negotiation with private sectors have hardly changed the underlying principles. What are then the development alternatives, which women can bring about? The alternatives women try to struggle for are the exact opposite of the conventional model described above. They include a rationality of care and responsibility, the entrance of new groups into the planning process, a wide focus of content and a network-like organization of planning as a whole. Some of these features are presented here in the light of a Finnish experiment of women in planning. The paper ends with a few proposals for improving the present situation.

A multilevel experiment of Finnish women in urban planning

There is an abundance of research conducted on feminist architecture and on the social construction of gender and space. The New Everyday Life project conducted by Scandinavian women has been a major inspiration for both the Norwegian experiment on Women in Municipal Planning as well as for its Finnish equivalent. The Finnish experiment was initiated and fostered by the Minister of the Environment, Sirpa Pietikäinen. The starting point was the first regional conference on women in planning held in Helsinki in September 1992. Nearly one hundred women participated in the discussions, forming a market for a variety of women's projects. This provided impetus for various environmental initiatives at the local, regional, national and international level, as described in the following pages (cf. Table 1).

Local action

Currently there are many different kinds of local projects going on where women are active participants. Typical examples include the creation of a collective "living room" for the neighbourhood, a support group for battered women and children, and an association for trading organic food. In spite of their differences their common theme is the creation of a viable intermediate body between the individual households and the municipalities. Local action is described here in the form of a project called Kids in Planning. A small rural municipality in northeastern Finland decided to "do something for children" when it was officially conferred city status two years ago. The heads of the school and welfare departments suggested that children might participate in the improvement of a problem neighbourhood around their school. Planning started in the fall of 1992 in the form of a special club led by two teachers twice a week after school. An architect and an environmental psychologist were hired as development researchers both to animate the planning and to evaluate the project.

Various participatory techniques were applied in the planning process. A major technique used at the early stages of the project was a "future workshop" for both the children and the residents of the area. The workshop and a survey helped to formulate the different goals of planning. The children also used various expressive methods to display their visions and ideas, such as drawing, writing, photography and model building. During the spring term some twenty children aged 8 - 12 were actively involved in the club, and the rest of the school participated on special theme days on environmental issues.

Parallel to the children's involvement, some women residents who had participated in the future workshop, continued to mobilize other residents in the area. This resulted in a series of local events and finally the founding of a neighbourhood association. The spring of 1993 culminated in a colourful exhibition of children's products held at the municipal centre. The proposals were discussed at a panel where the children, local politicians, residents and teachers were represented.

In the following autumn the children's ideas were made into special projects concerning, for instance, the improvement of the schoolyard, the outside area of the multifamily tenant houses, the use of the shores of the lake, and the road safety in the neighbourhood. The children presented the lastly named project at the meeting of the local council and the proposition was turned into an official citizen initiative for which public funds were allocated.

This local project, which is still in progress, has helped to expand the school curriculum as well as that of urban planning on the part of ecological and social issues. The newly found competence of the children and the mobilisation of the residents have exerted pressure on the hierarchical organisation of urban planning. The project has also opened the way to new modes of interaction and networking in municipal administration.

Regional action

The aim of the three regional conferences on women in planning aimed at mobilizing women to speak up and to serve as an arena for assessing and providing stimulus for local projects. This involved a series of seminars with lectures, rehearsals of planning and conflict solving techniques, the spread of information through the seminar proceedings and a survey mapping the motivation to initiate feminist experiments in the country. The network currently consists of 150 women, who have diverse opinions rising from differences of age and social class. Irrespective of these differences, the women share the same basic views on the content and scope of urban planning. According to the survey the content of urban planning should reflect the values and interests of everyday life, including areas such as supportive infrastructure for daily living, secure traffic and transport system, basic services as an integral part of the housing area, and an ecological system of waste management. Women have begun to see spatial and environmental issues as social constructs. This means that they have to be able to incorporate their visions, interests and interpretations into the plans. The present urban environment reflects an undemocratic structure and use of space. Women are now questioning male priorities and norms reflected in the ubiquitous presence of highways, monumental sport palaces and business centres. The scope of both plans and planners should be expanded. The entire planning process should be opened to ordinary women and men as well as to the "weak" groups, i.e. children, young people, the elderly and the disabled. Thus people representing the whole lifecycle and the different roles attached to it would have a voice. The women involved in the project wanted to "reconceptualise" urban planning as a polyphonic strategy of survival aiming at the creation of a viable culture of subsistence.

National action

A special committee was set up in the autumn of 1992 to amend the present Building Act. The Minister of the Environment appointed two women representatives one of whom was backed up by a subcommittee called Women and planning. The aim of the amendment was to devolve power from the State to local authorities on issues concerning land use planning. In future the government will concentrate on issues important at national and regional level, by publishing planning directives. The latter may concern the quality of the environment or national land use priorities, such as main settlement networks, urban development, national infrastructures, nature conservation and cultural heritage. This shift of power from the State to local authorities may be disadvantageous for the ordinary citizen and local community as the interests of everyday life are seldom represented in political cabinets or on local councils.

The women's subcommittee worked out a structural amendment to the Building Act, consisting of paragraphs that stress both the ecological and social aspects of planning. The present paragraph on participation was defined in greater detail and integrated with environmental impact assessment. Questions regarding the legibility of the planning documents were raised. These structural amendments will mean in practice a shift from a form of planning that has focused on the average user to that of diverse user groups

including children, young people, the elderly and the disabled. It will also mark a shift from a planning process, in which at the final stage statements are requested from a few institutions, to a polyphonic and interactive process of communication.

Following lengthy discussions these propositions were accepted by the competent committee. The amendment will be examined in Parliament in the spring of 1994.

International action

The original inspiration for the Finnish experiments at local, regional and national levels was the Athens seminar on Participation by Women in Decisions Concerning Regional and Environmental Planning arranged by the Council of Europe in 1990. There the Nordic representatives spontaneously presented the New Everyday Life project and its applications. The New Everyday Life project is a vision, theory and model of action for reorganizing the basic tasks of daily life in a manner that enhances the experiencing of reality as manageable and meaningful. It is a critique of the present conditions, and also a vision of a more harmonious, creative and just society in which the reproduction of human beings, nature and culture is not subjugated to the interests of economics and production. The vision paints a mosaic-like society consisting of various self-governing local units.

As a practical enterprise the aim is to organize the structural basis of everyday life in a more integrated way in the neighbourhoods. The following dynamic model was created to this end (Figure 1).

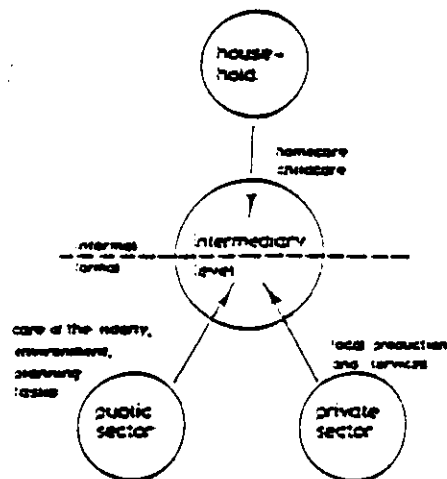


Figure 1. Scheme for the development of the intermediary level based on the transfer of activities from households and the public and private sectors.

Its central concept is **the intermediary level** - a structure between the State, the market and the private household which is lacking in present-day society. The intermediary level mediates between the private and the public, and the formal and informal spheres of life. It enables reproduction, production as well as the female and male cultures to be organised in a new way. Central to the practical development of the intermediary structure is the creation of its functional basis by integrating dwelling, care and work in space and time. This takes place by transferring certain daily tasks, now located in different sectors, to the near environment. Domestic chores and child care can be transferred to the communal sphere. Care of the elderly and environmental planning and management can be transferred from the public sector to the near environment. Even "the market" will occasionally show interest in creating some production that serves the local community. All these transfers result in localization of housework, care, production, and planning and management. Thus the intermediary level - a neighbourhood or part of a municipality - will be transferred into an integrated functional, social, organisational, economic, geographical, cultural and even political unit.

The New Everyday Life is not a static model but a way of thinking and acting which emphasises the envioning reality as a context bound transactive process with an explicit value-laden basis and set of goals. Every locality and country has to develop its own tailor-made applications. This is clearly shown, for instance by the differences in the applications of respective Scandinavian countries and in the alternative experiments of Central Europe.

The seminar in Athens concluded with a call for further work on women's approaches and how they might influence the official agenda of urban and regional planning. The Swedish and Finnish Ministers of the Environment formed an alliance, which resulted in this preparatory conference in Sweden dealing with the challenges facing Europe and the role of women in urban planning.

This is only the beginning. After the meeting of the Conference of European Ministers responsible for Planning in Oslo in September 1994, there will be a UN conference on Population and Development in Cairo, another UN world conference on women in Beijing in 1995, a second Habitat conference in Ankara in 1996. Especially the Habitat conference will be a forum to assess both local and global issues that are important for women. These international meetings may provide an arena for women to build up a common global perspective that can be taken seriously and applied in different local communities.

Results of the Finnish experiment

The experiences of the Finnish experiment are analyzed with the help of Table 1, which describes the aims, methods, results and conclusions on the different levels of action. The results of the analysis are the following:

- women's participation has opened the planning process to women and men interested in everyday life as well as to other disempowered groups, such as children, young people, the elderly and the disabled. This has put pressure on the reorganisation of the municipalities and even slightly on the national level.

- more and more women are beginning to realize that space and the physical environment are not something static and neutral, but part of a material, ecological, sociocultural and political process of dynamic construction or even struggle. The environment may enhance or hinder daily activities depending both on the structures of the setting and the consciousness of the appropriation of the users.
- the whole concept of urban and regional planning needs to be reconceptualized. Urban planning requires a **substantial theory**, which recognizes the values and interests of everyday life of various user groups. It also requires a **procedural theory**, which regards the planning process as a polyphonic and transactive dialogue between different stakeholders. The latter sets demands on the mastering of different participatory techniques of creativity, expression and conflict solution.
- women are active on many levels and apply duly different methods and strategies. Nevertheless the consciousness of the need to make inventions on many levels simultaneously is not yet self-evident. In addition the consequences of the interconnection between the different levels - local, regional, national and international, are in need of deeper analysis. It is evident that the entering of women into planning needs backing up by **political power**, such as alliances between women ministers. This kind of power may pave the way for resources of experimentation, and for the development of special arenas -national or international - where women can build and test further their visions and ideas.

There are many differences between women within the same nation and these differences are magnified on the international level. Northern and developing countries march at a different pace. Northern solutions may sound trivial from the Third World perspective where the greatest need is for fresh water and shelter. In spite of their concern for sustainable development, the Finnish women did not, for instance, take up the parallel issue of overpopulation, namely that of overconsumption. Nevertheless, there are common global themes that women can apply locally. There is a common enemy in the form of large-scale, multinational economic structures that in many parts of the world destroy the local economy and negate the traditional competence of women and children. There is also a shared goal for a supportive local infrastructure. For instance the village greens that women in India are fighting for as a necessary means of survival, are analogous to the Nordic concept of the intermediary level. In the times of a global depression all those in charge of everyday life - whether women or men - are in need of local structures that will yield security and livelihood. Therefore the real challenge lies in continuous work to explicate and compare from the perspective of sustainable development the conditions for a viable culture of subsistence that may take different forms in different parts of the world.

Propositions for improving the present situation

The following propositions for improvement derive from a North European context:

1. The present "machinery" of urban and regional planning, which differs from one European country to another, should open up to become a polyphonic and interactive process of communication. Communicative planning should be based on a diverse "tool kit" that empowers the various participants and allows them to interact with their environment.

2. The range of "planners" should be expanded to include stakeholders who are presently underrepresented. These special groups include children, young people, the elderly and the disabled.
3. The content of urban and regional plans should focus on ecological and social issues and reflect the potential supportive network for a sustainable everyday life.
4. Women and Planning should continue to be kept on the agenda of the Council of Europe, since it stands as a guarantee for a continuous impact assessment of everyday settings. In addition, the issue of Women and Planning is based on a dynamic movement nourishing creative solutions which should be spread to international arenas.

Table 1. The aims, methods, results and conclusions on different levels of action

Level of action	Aims	Methods	Results	Conclusions
Local	To enhance local projects, in urban planning	Future workshops, model building, exhibitions, panel discuss.	New content of planning. New transactive modes of working	New groups, like kids, put pressure to reorganise common resources
Regional	To mobilise women in planning	Three regional networking seminars	The renewal of planning	Planning seen as a polyphonic strategy of survival
National	Women's perspective in the amendment of the Building Act	A women's sub-committee in the amendment work	A structural solution of quality and participation	The legitimation of participation may voice new groups
International /global	To build up the women's view globally	Taking part in international meetings	The rise of a multidimensional women's view	Communalities: a concern for culture of subsistence

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STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN'S APPROACHES IN REGIONAL AND URBAN PLANNING

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I. Introduction

At the Conference of Ministers responsible for Regional Planning in Ankara in November 1991 during the discussion about "how sustainability can be implemented into regional planning", the question of women's participation was raised. How can women take part in planning procedures? Do they take part and to which extent? How would the outcome of spatial and regional planning differ if women were integrated? This conference here in Sweden has been organised to answer these and more questions and prepare recommendations to the next Conference of Ministers in Oslo later in the year.

II. Why is this theme so important?

Spatial and regional planning can be defined as purposeful influence on the spatial development of society, economy and natural, men-made as well as social environment with the overall aim to raise the standard of living for the people. As people are often seen as a homogenous group only distinguished by number of prevailing occupation (e.g. farmers), the often very differing lifestyles and contexts of men and women and as result their different needs and demands directed towards planning and development schemes remain unconsidered.

The discussion about sustainable development as well as the establishment of feminist research at university level enabling the advancement of feminist concepts has added a new dimension to the debate on equal chances for women and men. Being discriminated as a woman does not only mean lower pay or difficult access to education and career, but much further than that being deprived of mobility and decision-making due to regional and timerelated facts. Women's life contexts differ considerably from men's as society still demands different functions. Whether women have jobs or not, they are expected to - at least - coordinate the household and child care, look after children and later take care of old and sick relatives.

This leads to specific structures concerning time and space:

Time:

The main difference between the time schedules of men and women can be found in the fact that male structuring of time is influenced mainly by job demands, while women have a far more complex task to master, that is, to coordinate job with family demands. Especially when children are young and have to be taken to child care or school, the scheduling of time and fulfilling of all the tasks in time becomes a complicated and demanding burden.

Space:

The limited time budget of women when linked to the development of infrastructure and extension of towns as well as traffic policies and organisation makes it very hard to master everyday's life. The traditional compact unit of working place, home and services has been broken up and replaced by a less integrated system causing travelling over longer distances, needing more time.

The woman of today has become more mobile than her mother, often has a better job and is more active, nevertheless the space women use has been extended only insignificantly.

III. The everyday's life of women is the most precise indicator for the practability of town structures (Petra Rau, scientist and planner, Berlin)

Studies considering the living situation of women have very similar results and name the following identical fields, where considerable failures of planning can be detected and where women express their needs and demands. A wide survey in Vienna (Austria) asking women how they would plan their town can be taken as example.

- Traffic infrastructure and organisation

- * In the daily traffic two thirds of the drivers are men, compared to one third of women.
- * The typical user of public transport systems are women. (In Vienna 59%).
- * About half of the female population wants wider sidewalks, even if this means less parking space.

- Residential areas and public services

- * 96% of women consider quiet residential areas, with a lot of gardens and trees plus a good connection to public transport systems as ideal for living.
- * The main demand is green zones and reduction of traffic.
- * Parks are considered as leisure areas by men, for mothers a park is part of her "working place".
- * Women expect residential areas to have sufficient shopping facilities and regard easy access to child care centres, doctors and community centres as important.

- **Security**

- * Especially in the city centres public space is connected with notions of fear by many women. This fear leads to self imposed restrictions - even renouncing activities - and thus results in a smaller zone for living.

Stations of public transport systems, subway crossings, car parks as well as doorways and staircases are listed as frightening places.

Although there is quite a tradition in Austria of politics by and for women, expressing women's needs and demands in connection with town planning is relatively new.

Let me describe two initiatives which are both taking place in towns.

The "**Vienna Women's Bureau**" with a female planner as director works predominantly on the creation of a town adopted to women's needs. In this context a special project called "women's work shop" has been launched and female experts are developing the principles of female friendly planning. The results will be implemented into the town planning of new districts of Vienna.

The aim of the project is to find solutions for the important questions of planning and designing by women. In an information brochure of the City of Vienna the goal is described as follows: an urban area shall be built where different lifestyles are possible, where space has "eyes for society and thus enhances meeting people and deepening social contacts, which leads to an everyday life easier and friendlier for women.

The female planners consider themselves as guaranteeing that details relevant to the smooth functioning of life of men and women will be taken into account in the urban development.

The importance of such an access and the acceptance by the people can be studied in the results of a survey made within the framework of a competition "Chances for the Danube Basin" in Vienna. The participants being asked about their opinion of the future development of Vienna answered with yes to the question: "Should the town council encourage economy by large investment and big building projects"? 29% of men, but only 14% of women.

The statement "There should be fewer big building projects, but more improvement of details", 37% of men and 46% of women.

In Linz, an industrial provincial capital a project called "**Workshop Living Environment**" has been established. Created and managed by a woman the project is situated in a new district and aims at supporting men and women to improve their surroundings. The emphasis of the work is directed to traffic reduction, waste prevention, health promotion, leisure activities for children and active learning. Another task of this initiative is developing and testing of a citizen's participation model for community work.

IV. Expressing women's points of view and implementing women's interests in regional and spatial planning

Due to mainly structural reasons women are not integrated in the planning procedures. Discrimination they still suffer from in the labour market and a restricted time budget due to family responsibilities prevent women from participating even at local level. Low self

esteem and anxiety to speak up in public makes it difficult to pursue their interests and those of the children.

We have above discussed the different ways of life of women and must be aware that the needs of children are still so much interlocked with their mothers' demands, that they are often communicated as necessities for women although it is the children who are concerned.

The most important prerequisite for considering female interests in planning is the entering of women into the various processes of decision-making, planning and designing. Only integration secures that all knowledge necessary for recognizing the problems that exist due to the specific situation of women is available to the planners. Considering female needs and interests as well as other will lead to better and more acceptable planning solutions.

V. Political conclusions

In European countries with general suffrage women can take part in the political life as electors and elected. Although the female population exceeds in most countries the male one, very few have a corresponding number of women politicians. Furthermore, these are active in traditional women's fields, e.g. education, health services.

To activate women and ensure their taking part, also politically, in regional and spatial planning, various measures are necessary:

Citizens' participation

This is an instrument to have a say locally, to develop planning with consideration of the needs of the community and integrate local interest and living conditions.

This instrument can be made more available to women by setting up time schedules and opening hours corresponding with their family obligations and by introducing fair discussion rules free of jargon as not to intimidate.

The representation in a citizens' planning group should reflect the actual population in age and sex.

Include women's organisations and other groups as opinion leaders into the planning process

Local and regional interests often have to be discussed within a larger frame (national or European) in order to integrate these interests and to provide equal opportunities on a wider scale, both necessary for fair solutions.

Women NGO groups have to organise lobbying and representation on various levels of society to enhance female ideas.

Female planners

Being a woman is not sufficient for taking into consideration the problems that are eminent for women. Therefore the necessary structures for cooperation and communication have to be installed and used. Thus ideas can be shared and networks

can emerge to support women who do the planning and women who participate in it.

Female representation in the decision-making

As men in committees seldom share the actual life context of women and thus have less knowledge about the effects of planning decisions on women than on men, they find it difficult to change structures and have little interest in doing so. The seats in decision-making bodies should therefore be divided equally between men and women to guarantee impartial solutions.

VI. Draft Recommendation

The Council of Europe should give the question of women's participation more consideration by

- i) development of instruments within the legal framework to ensure female participation in planning.
- ii) providing training for administrators of communities to install female friendly planning processes.
- iii) making sure to enhance integration of women into politics in the new democracies.

CONCLUSIONS

by Mrs Görel THURDIN

Swedish Minister for Physical Planning

1. THE ROLE AND REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING AIMING AT SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

WOMEN'S RIGHTS ARE HUMAN RIGHTS. The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination must be implemented in all parts of the world. Clear definitions of land tenure and land-ownership is a prerequisite for planning activities and a functioning of a market economy.

The Örnköldsvik-seminar was agreed upon two and a half years ago, in Ankara. It grew out of the seminar on participation by women in decisions concerning regional and environmental planning, held in Athens in October 1990, sponsored by the Council of Europe. I here pay special tribute to Gunlaug Östbye who brought my attention to that seminar.

Since then the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development has provided us with Agenda 21 for the survival of humanity. Agenda 21 should be seen as an international work programme for the coming years. Agenda 21 is an instrument for the involvement and participation of everyone.

Sustainable development requires new thinking and new actions among all those involved at all levels. It is a challenge for both men and women which requires changed attitudes and awareness of gender aspects. Especially countries in transition and developing countries struggling with acute, day-to-day problems, with insufficient resources, must make sure that long-term interests do not prevent visionary work which in the longer term will bring benefits to us all.

The importance of regional planning policies for social economic and environmental development has been underlined in this seminar. Regional planning is a political process. To reach sustainability we depend on the activities and decisions by every single human being all over the world. Therefore the planning process must take into consideration the involvement of both women and men, youth, the elderly and children. Politicians must listen to the people. Sustainability requires participation from everyone. Everyone must be given the right to information and participation in the decision-making process on equal terms.

Women but also men have special needs, interests and experiences which should be accounted for in order to promote sustainable human development in all societies. The wish to preserve and not to waste is an integral part of the know-how and daily life of many women. It is necessary to add the views of women in the planning process.

The seminar in Örnköldsvik has gathered together over a hundred women and men from 30 countries, with different circumstances, different traditions and in need of different solutions.

On the basis of your discussions and presentations made today, the following conclusions seem to be commonly shared:

2. THE PARTICIPATION AND EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN IN THE DIFFERENT PHASES OF THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS MUST INCREASE AND BE ENSURED

The necessity of gender analysis in planning and development areas must be recognised.

Women must be encouraged to assume more responsibilities by ensuring them possibilities to hold responsible posts in political bodies through nomination procedures etc.

Women can improve the quality of life through participation in the planning process as well as in the definition of economic structures and policies and participation in production.

Women should also be encouraged to develop alternative proposals and policy processes both as experts and users. Communication through networks is important and must be supported at all levels in society. Local action must be supported and made coherent with national and global goals.

3. INNOVATIVE CONCEPTS AND NEW APPROACHES REGARDING URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING SHOULD BE PROMOTED, which recognise a pluralist emancipated and sustainable society

Urban and regional planning policies should encourage a holistic approach to functions, integrating the location of jobs, services and leisure facilities close to each other; increasing accessibility through public transport systems; making better provisions for social safety and ensuring availability of safe green spaces in cities to be used for recreation and as social meeting-places.

There must be an integration of the ideas of women when new policies concerning the future of the countryside are being formulated. Women can support themselves in a new context combining different jobs, small enterprises with the help of new technology and new models for communication.

Women should be seen as a resource for launching new concepts for sustainable development. Ecological cycles must be sought for instead of linear solutions. Short-term interests may be a threat to women when sustainable development requires a lower consumption of natural resources.

4. THERE IS A NEED FOR A NEW APPROACH TO TRANSPORT not only for the sake of women but also for sustainable development

It is important to develop alternative public transport systems adapted to the housing environment on the basis of the different needs of the various categories of the population and the need for sustainable mobility. Women have a role to play in rethinking public transport since they are more concerned with the quality of urban life than with speed.

Transport-studies have not been particularly oriented to women's travel demands although the methods and data are generally available. It is not clear to what extent observed travel behaviour reflects real travel needs. Travel patterns of men and women are different. Women's mobility behaviour and needs must be the subject of more studies if we really want to improve the local public transport system economically and ecologically. Research and awareness about the gender dimension must be integrated into all sectors of society and not only as a matter of women's affairs.

5. WOMEN PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN ORDER TO FIND A BALANCE BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY

Society must support regional centres for developing women's competence i.a. in business. Such local and regional networks of competence should be connected to national and international network centres.

The ecological balance may be better safe-guarded through a re-assessment of the importance of the countryside. Strategies should aim at replacing the strict division of roles between women and men by giving equal values to public and private activities.

6. EDUCATION AND RESEARCH ON WOMEN'S ROLE AND REPRESENTATION IN THE URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING FIELD MUST INCREASE

Until now, men have set the standards for the areas and subjects research should be focused on. More has to be done in order to learn about the realities of the other members of households.

It is important to provide research and development projects on women's possibilities to support themselves in different regions in the framework of sustainable development.

And we need more education and capacity-building for a better participation of women in planning and the decision-making process.

7. THE NEED FOR INCREASED AWARENESS AND INTEGRATION OF THE GENDER DIMENSION

Urban and regional planning should be based on everyone's needs. Men must become more conscious about the gender dimension. Home and family, care for the children and the elderly are responsibilities for men as well as for women.

The "public" is not a neutral being. The public consists of both men and women with different interests. All sectors of society must include a gender-dimension in planning and policy making. Women and men should be inspired to work in common for equality and sustainable development.

8. Equality between women and men and sustainable development demand a **FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROCREATION** by men as well as by women. This responsibility should be reflected in urban and regional planning including systems and decisions for living, production and transport.

The conclusions from this seminar will be reported to the next meeting of the Ministers responsible for Urban and Regional Planning in Oslo.

As we have heard, this Fall, in Cairo, the United Nations Conference on Population will address the issues of demography and development. Next year, a special Social Summit is being held to focus on issues related to welfare and development and later on, in Beijing, the situation of women is in focus. In 1996, the United Nations has agreed on a new conference devoted to issues related to the right to a home and the consequences of urbanisation.

New seminars are taking place on "Emancipation, Housing, Planning and Transport in a European Future" in the Netherlands in September this year, on Women in the city in the OECD in Paris in October and a Women's Nordic Forum takes place in Finland, also this Fall. All these seminars and conferences are of particular concern to women. The outcome of the Örnköldsvik seminar will be communicated to the organising bodies for those conferences and seminars.

Let me conclude in short:

We have to believe in change. In my utopia men and women integrate their visions into a holistic perspective in a planning process for sustainable development. Together we represent humanity. Through democratic planning we will all be winners since we will all have a better chance for sustainable human development.

We have great expectations for further work on this theme by and within the Council of Europe as well as within the Commission of the European Union, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, the OECD, UNCHS (Habitat), the Nordic Council and other international bodies interested in promoting the role of women in planning.

I am proud of your work and participation in this meeting.

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