Thesis - PLAN 4132  
Prepared by Wendy Wang  
In partial fulfilment of the UNSW Bachelor of Planning Degree  

University of New South Wales  
Supervisor: Prof. Susan Thompson
ABSTRACT

The role of gender within a professional framework in the built environment has long been debated, and the question still stands; what is the role of females in planning, architecture and design? Who gets what? Where? And How? This thesis seeks to study and reflect the gendered nature of the beliefs, policies and methods of implementation professionals have espoused in creating urban spaces.

Today, many would argue, and correctly so, that the situation for women within many professional industries, as well as the women who utilise spaces generated is indeed improving. Education has indeed expanded and diversified and become less sexist, less elitist to include feminist discourse as a legitimate field of study. However, it is intended to examine this perception of women, as anything more than abstract image, as although, in a quantitative sense, there are more women entering planning, architecture, and design, this is not indicative of marked improvement in qualitative measures.

The following thesis endeavors to investigate, through thorough review of literature on women in planning theory and urban development, as well as in-depth qualitative research methods whether or not we do in fact live in a male dominated urban landscaped remnant from historical outlooks embedded within a wider theoretical framework inspired by Greed, Fainstein, and Sandercock, which encompasses the themes of gender, design, and male dominated views vs. feminist perspectives.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to Professor Susan Thompson. For reasons which you know, my deepest gratitude goes to you for your guidance and understanding, both professionally and personally.

Thank you to family, who have given me their unfaltering support from day one. To mum, dad, grandma, grandpa and Oliver.

Finally, Nancy. Y, thank you for all those academic dates, dinner, and proof reading, as always, I would be lost without you.
FIGURE 1. WOMEN'S LABOUR FORCE STATUS: Australian Bureau of Statistics
Source: Labour Force, Australia, Detailed - Electronic Delivery, Monthly (ABS cat. no. 6291.0.55.001)

TABLE 1. Interviewee organisational and employment details
CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Statement

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse and discuss the place of women in professional roles within urban planning, architecture and design. It is also hoped that the findings can be used to develop awareness for policy makers and practitioners to ensure that professional women are not disadvantaged in built environment careers. Further, the results can assist in ensuring that the policies and practices in planning, architecture and design are fully inclusive of both genders.

Gender analysis is vital to the ability of the built environment to respond to the needs of all who utilise planned spaces. Understanding the role of gender can be helpful in the process of developing gender sensitive planning strategies. It is recognised that now, more than ever, in a time when cities are growing and developing at a tremendous pace, that the identification of gender equality, along with subsequent strategies, is imperative in accommodating change in the workplace and social demographics. The increase in the number of women in the workplace reinforces the urgency of this task.

There are a number of different frameworks for undertaking gender analysis. This thesis outlines the progress of feminism in doing this in professional design and planning arenas. It also looks at issues that need to be addressed to undertake gender analysis for each of the different aspects. The thesis draws on concepts from a number of different frameworks, primarily literary works and past precedents.

Hunt (2004) discusses in her article titled “Introduction to gender analysis concepts and Steps” the close relationship held between political consciousness and feminist perspectives. She indicates that recent developments in academia have had limited effects on political initiatives. For example in government, the “underlying, and often deep-seated issues related to discrimination in the workplace. These are addressed in terms of legislative material but seemingly cannot be eradicated from the consciousness of professional practitioners” (Hunt, 2004, p. 106). This thesis aims to delve into the consciousness of female professional practitioners and shed light on
the different issues in academia, politics, and professionalism with regard to feminism.

### 1.2 Theoretical and Conceptual Context

For most part, development of the urban environment over time displayed little acknowledgment of gender differences. Consequently, with the rise of the modern workspace and a transformation of work ethics, professionals in the fields of planning, architecture and urban design did not distinguish gendered needs in the city. These professionals are the women (and men) who sought to maintain the balance between the identification of feminine perspectives as a unique and integral part of planning and development. With the active involvement of women in bettering the urban fabric, their approach distinguishes issues of gender from those more generally associated with unequal treatment. Nonetheless, the early history of these professions embodies one striking similarity, that there is a sexual division of labour, where the primary concerns of women lay in more socially oriented aspects of the profession. To some extent, it can be argued that the theoretical context of this has not changed a great deal since the rise of prominent female roles within these high profile professions. With the emergence of feminist studies and the growing recognition that women play a pivotal role in the design and functionality of our cities, social sciences and scholarship began to identify ways in which the interests of women could be better addressed.

To fully appreciate the context in which gender is applied to careers in the built environment, the concept of gender, as well as the way in which gender fits in and affects the urban environment, must be examined.

Gender analysis in the built environment can be described as the “process of assessing the impact that a development activity may have on females and males and on gender relations as defined by the economic and social relationships between males and females which are constructed and reinforced by social institutions” (Hunt, 2004, p. 100). Issues related to the concept of gender are discussed more closely in the following chapters.
1.3 Thesis Organisation

This thesis is organised into chapters relating specifically to architecture, planning and urban design - the three facets which are the backbone of urban development. Each is considered from a feminist perspective, supported by findings from three in depth interviews conducted with female practitioners in each field, set within the context of academic studies and literature. The thesis chapters are as follows;

- Chapter 1 details the scope of the research, introducing key objectives and outlining relevant research contexts.
- Chapter 2 – analyses the topic in light of the theoretical context of feminism and the built environment. It focuses on the place of women in the professional arena, the role of gender, and the notion of feminism in today's society. This chapter also briefly discusses the evolution of feminist studies as an emerging source in academia as well as in political considerations.
- Chapter 3 is a feminist critique of professionalism. It discusses the concepts of work from professional and domestic aspects.
- Chapter 4 discusses women in planning with reference to the interview findings from a female town planner employed by from a Sydney local council.
- Chapter 5 focuses on women in architecture with special reference to findings from an in-depth interview conducted with a female architect from a Sydney architectural firm.
- Chapter 6 focuses on urban design theory and the physiological presence of a woman in the urban environment. Findings from an in-depth interview conducted with a female urban design professional, who has also had planning experience, are analysed and discussed.
- Chapter 7 draws the previous chapters together, summarising the research findings.
- Chapter 8 provides recommendations for the future incorporation of gender awareness in built environment. In particular, emphasis is placed on increased consultation, balance and education in the built environment professions.
1.4 Literature Review

This section provides the foundational framework in which the topics of feminism in the workplace and discusses the implications on existing knowledge of feminism and recognition of change.

Issues questioning gender in the built environment are as multidimensional and interdisciplinary as the professions they seek to examine. They span professions, socioeconomic themes, and relate to physiological differences, as well as similarities between the sexes. They touch on subjects of housing, childcare, transportation needs, education, healthcare, infrastructure, elements of design, aesthetics, women’s contributions to the city, suppression, empowerment, suburbanisation, and issues relating to discrimination, concepts of family, economic growth, wages (Ann Markusen (1981), comments on economics and women in urban areas and over the last 25 years while Lourdes Beneria (2003) addressed the economic situation of women in developing countries. Also, Heidi Hartman (1995) discusses economic disadvantage, welfare, and taxation in a feminist light), professional and family responsibilities, and recognition of women in the built environment. These topics expand to form the core of feminist analysis of planning and the urban environment.

As Sandercock and Forsyth (1992, p. 52) note: “With the new wave of feminist thinking in the 1970s came a spate of research on women and the urban environment, but the integration of that rapidly growing body of work with theory and paradigms to explain women’s urban experiences was ‘still far in the future’”.

Tangible contributions were significant in developing a broader outlook standard planning, architecture and design discourse. Particularly notable in terms of urban design concerns were works by Dolores Hayden (1981), the British women’s collective Matrix (1984), and the geographers Linda McDowell (1983) and Briavel Holcomb (1984).

In a similar vein, the works of Bronwyn Hannah and Julie Willis in “Women Architects in Australia 1900-1950” (2001) chronicles various issues and aspects relating to women architects in Australia. Their essays examine at length the trials, achievements, and personal growth through the education process, through to
tertiary qualifications, employment and the establishment of one’s career. Hannah and Willis (2001) also acknowledge the contributions women have made to other professional bodies such as urban planning, education, and heritage preservation. Hannah offers strategies for transforming conventional architectural practice through reflective discourse, providing a deeper understanding of the built environment and the significant contributions women have made. Hannah makes reference to prominent female architects in Australia such as Florence Taylor, who combined her passion for urban planning, design and architecture to become the first woman in Australia to qualify as an architect and engineer in the 1900’s, a time where women were seldom recognised in the professional or academic world. In Hannah’s 1999 Thesis (Hannah, 1999, p. 2) “Absence and Presence”, she discusses the almost complete lack of women in Australian architectural history and argues for their recognition and achievements in widespread historical attention. Prominent theorists and practitioners such as Sherry Ahrentzen, Henrietta Avery, Clara Greed, Susan Fainstein, Lisa Servon and Leonie Sandercock all contribute to the wealth of profound commentaries on the role and progression of feminist theory in the evolution of the built environment.

Sandercock and Forsyth (1992, p. 51) analysed how feminist theory overflows and contributes to planning theory and concludes; “that paradigms on which planning and theorising about it have been informed by characteristics traditionally associated with the masculine of our society”. Further, Leonie Sandercock comments on social differences in her 1998 book *Towards Cosmopolis*.

Within the areas of transportation, Gerda Wekerle, Sandra Rosenbloom, and Martin Wachs all strive to place emphasis on the needs of women when planning for transport networks and modes of travel. Martin Wachs examines at length the fundamental differences between men and women when it comes to traveling, and planners failure to acknowledge this diversity. He sums up the reason for these persisting differences in this way:

*If we accept...travel patterns to be a reflection to be a much broader pattern derived from the cultural norm of domesticity, and we note that women’s domestic roles are persistent because the cultural stereotyping of gender roles is persistent, it follows that women’s*
travel patterns will continue to differ substantially from that of men...Our society’s expectations regarding women and men’s roles gave rise to the land use transportation system which we have today, and while evolution of transportation technology and urban form have changed travel patterns in marginal ways, it remains to be seen whether we are ready to adopt new models of gender roles. Travel patterns of men and women will not create those changes in cultural norms, but rather will be an indicator as to whether or not they have occurred. (Wachs, 1991: 100)

Integral to this thesis are works which comment on architecture and the provision of housing. Works of significance which explore and recognise the diverse needs of women include: Gwendolyn Wright’s Building the Dream (1981), Eugenie Birch’s edited collection The Unsheltered Woman (1985), and Robert Fishman’s Bourgeois Utopias (1987). They detail development within distinct arenas of feminist discourse, and connect the home, the public domain, and the so called professional domain, which remains to be conquered in the same sense that one can in a home or urban setting.

In the early years of growing awareness of gender related issues, the growth of literature regarding women and economic development was significant.

Iris Marion Young and Martha Nussbaum are two prominent feminist philosophers who have also made significant contributions to planning theory, noting issues concerned predominantly with issues of public involvement and equality. Discourse relating to the plight of women is discussed by Nussbaum and modes of measuring the quality of life as defined by their physical surroundings as she draws attention to the complex notion of diversity. Nussbaum (1999, 2000) concerns herself with theories of social justice, especially within the context of human capabilities that connects their gender issues with development policy approaches.

Planning theory has become enhanced by many feminist philosophers, who have delved into issues of public policy development. Iris Marion Young (1990, 2000) makes efforts to define inclusion and social justice with reference to planning and urban segregation.
From the 1990s stemmed a stream of discussions relating to the connections between gender and urban planning, with concepts of sexuality and differences being scrutinised more closely as gender related issues were becoming more distinct as their own fields of study along with the growth of awareness and acceptance of feminism as something that encompasses more than stereotypical women’s dialogue.

More contemporary material on planning includes the works by Susan Thompson, who, in "The Quest for Heartful Environments: A Qualitative Researcher’s Journey" (2006) incorporates modes of research as a part of a broader theoretical concept for understanding the feelings and experiences of migrant women in the home. Saskia Sassen (1988) had previously raised issues concerning the role of immigrant women. Robert Waldon, in his 2006 book Planners and Politics, summarises recurring and pivotal themes ground breaking and dynamic planning. He advocates civic engagement and participation in the developmental stages of planning initiatives so that the needs of groups, (men, women, children, aging population, non-English speaking migrants, just to name a few) can be adequately addressed. He also acknowledges that what may be in the best interest of an individual may not be the case for the community as a whole.

This review points to the continuous and improving expansion of knowledge in feminist theory, as well as drawing links between gender, planning, and the urban environment. The built environment and its development rely on supporting scholarly research to bond theories which sometimes do not clearly indicate traversal across disciplines.
1.5 Methodology and Workings

The purpose of this section is to:

- Establish research aims
- Discuss and analyse the process of selection of participants for the in-depth interview process
- Outline the ethical issues and the ethics approval process for the study
- Briefly discuss the effect that the chosen research method has on the outcome of the thesis and subsequent collation of relevant data.

The previous sections detail the contextual and conceptual framework in which this research thesis takes place. It is upon this foundation that further studies can be undertaken. Given that the foundations for the thesis are complex and deeply entrenched in literature, qualitative research methods were adopted to adequately examine the myriad of concerns facing professional built environment female practitioners. The research strategy for this thesis comprised initially of an extensive literature review. This enabled me to establish the range of themes to be explored, as well as the theoretical framework for the empirical research.

Conducting empirical research for this thesis serves three main functions. These functions needed to be examined so that I could establish why qualitative methods were necessary and can effectively assist in the research process, providing me with revealing information so that recommendations can subsequently be made for better inclusion of both genders in built environment professions. As noted by Babbie (2001, p. 91), “exploration, description, and explanation” are the three common purposes to empirical research. As explained below, the thesis required primarily the exploratory and explanatory kind.

Exploratory studies serve to promote a better understanding of the core objectives of the thesis, as well as a method for developing techniques that can be employed in subsequent studies. Exploratory studies can also hint at results and suggest other research methods which could provide more illumination and further understanding. This method adopted here is also extremely useful for breaking new ground in research.
Explanatory methods question ‘why’ in the context of the built environment and the role of women as professionals contributing to the urban fabric. It is important to question why some projects are more successful than others, why some values are recognised and others compromised, and why women experience varying degrees of job satisfaction.

This thesis uses both existing literature and findings from in-depth interviews. These work together in answering the research questions and ultimately providing a series of recommendations for policy makers and practitioners in built environment careers so that gender inequalities and biases of the wider society can be challenged.

In addition, extensive consultation of online databases, electronic journals, and websites was utilised for the research. The research methods selected reflect on a personal level the trials and hardships female designers may have experiences in order to provide better design outcomes. It is assumed that feminine perspectives affect the fabrication of the built environment, as well as the operation of organisations.

The methods of research I have chosen to adopt facilitate in gaining an enlightened perspective to my research quests, which aim to provide an understanding to the function of gender in the built environment, how women contribute to the urban setting, and their personal experience. These are all helpful in developing better work places, and can act as a catalyst for legislative, employment and academic reform that is unbiased.

1.6 Interviewee Selection Process

When compared to standardised methods of research that involve large quantities of data, qualitative methods of research have the ability to delve into the experiences of the participant and take into account people’s points of views. Used in conjunction, a full methodological spectrum of qualitative and quantitative inquiry produces the most effective planning outcomes (Thompson, 2006, pp. 17-20).

To effectively gain an understanding of the role and ultimately, the experience of women in the planning and design industry, qualitative research methods were used.
In conjunction with the relevant literary material, qualitative research methods can provide a more holistic real life response to feminist discourse found in academia.

Three respondents were selected to interview. Selection was based on experience in the professions of planning, architecture and urban design, as well as experience as a woman in the modern workplace dedicated to the built environment. The informants were selected due to the varying number of years they have been involved with their respective careers (see Table 1 below). These selection criteria served to help differentiate between actual versus perceived feelings of unequal treatment due to gender in the workplace and add greater reliability to the responses generated. It was anticipated that those relatively new to the profession, or with little workplace experience could have different outlooks to those who have working in the profession for some time and now occupy senior or managerial roles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Number of years held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Local government</td>
<td>Development assessment officer</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sydney architectural firm</td>
<td>Undergrad architects – Part time</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Various Planning firms. Currently Department of Planning.</td>
<td>Urban designer/planner (General manager)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 1. Interviewee organisational and employment details, Source: Author (2008).

For the purpose of this thesis, the three participants selected chose to remain anonymous. They did not want any comments made in response to my research questions to have any negative implications for their professional relationships. As such, the positions held by the participants have been specified, but the actual company or local government area has not.

Initial contact to request permission for an interview was established with each participant by phone. Once consent had been obtained, each participant was contacted by email and sent the relevant objectives of the research. Further phone and email contact helped to establish rapport prior to the interview. The interview questions were the same for each respondent such that responses could be easily compared. The interviews were recorded with permission and transcribed to draw out
similar themes and main points for discussion. This allowed me to draw parallels themes found in related literature. The interview questions can be found in Appendix A. When I use quotes in the subsequent chapters, I refer to the informants and the interviews as;

- Town Planner interview with Council Development Assessment Officer in Local Government; (planner interview, 2007)
- Architect interview with Undergraduate Architect from Sydney Architectural Firm; (architect interview, 2007)
- Urban Designer interview with Experienced Female Urban Planner and Designer; (urban designer interview, 2008)

1.7 Ethical Considerations

The qualitative interviews were guided by the University’s ethics protocols. In order to carry out my research, an application (Approval Number 75096) was made to the Human Research Ethics Advisory Panel of the University of New South Wales requesting approval to conduct research involving humans including information regarding (Ethics approval material can be found in Appendix B):

- Details of timing schedule.
- The Faculty of the Built Environment’s Fieldwork Application form
- Intentions of research proposed
- A letter of support from the intended employee’s organisation

Further, the provision of Fieldwork material was necessary in the completion of the research process.

Concerns which could arise from the interviews included anonymity, confidentiality, informed consent, voluntary contribution of information, and a transparent objective for the study needed to be addressed prior to commencement. Thus, each participant was provided with formal documentation stating the purpose and objectives and likely/potential outcomes of the interview process and approval was sought from each individual taking part in the project.
CHAPTER TWO - A HISTORY OF FEMINISM
CHAPTER 2 – A HISTORY OF FEMINISM

The following chapter briefly outlines feminist movements from a historical perspective, from the position of the built environment, as well as an independent field of literary discourse and study. The analysis of gender is also discussed in light of the roles and positions of women in the professional world. Also discussed within this chapter are the interview findings in support of the literature mentioned.

_Feminism encompasses a range of discourses and practices committed to the political, economic and social equality of women and to a doctrine of social transformation which aspires to establish a world for women beyond rudimentary equality._ (Humm, 1992, p 252)

With the increased development of feminist approaches to disciplines and professions, discussions in planning and design regarding the needs and experiences of women are becoming more common. Alongside increasing dialogue regarding feminist issues, there are now also more collaborative approaches to professional practice. Such concepts of feminist planning and design can be expressed within a professional code, values in professional relationships, address power imbalances, equity, emphasis on process and the natural environment. Further, its role within the realm of the built environment and planning professions would useful to informing awareness in development.

Feminist studies have long been concerned with the environment. However, this study historically refers to the natural environment. Primarily through eco-feminism, extensive focus has been placed on the relationships between women and nature, its preservation, and the prevention of its destruction. The designed environment -- the places and spaces that human beings design and create -- is largely absent from the women's studies agenda. Designed environments are only in more recent years being taken into account within academic teaching, conferences, and journals, despite the rich outpouring of feminist work in design and related technology fields, and despite the critical importance of the environments where we live, work, and play to women's well-being and women's empowerment.
A changing paradigm for feminist thinking in planning

Feminist thought and discourse has brought fresh and insight into basic planning theories and applied practice. Sandercock and Forsyth (1992) opine that it challenges the very basis of the traditional comprehensive model. The feminist thinker sees urban planning and architectural design based on gendered assumptions about transportation, human services, housing, and safety (Eichler, 1995). These kinds of perceptions show planning and design heavily influenced by, and laden with politics, a process that produces and reproduces unequal gender relations. In this light, the masculine values of the profession are amply evident (Rahder and Altilia, 2004, p. 108).

During the 1970s and 1980s the development of feminist perspectives emerged as a legitimate area of academic disciplines such as sociology, planning, politics, architecture, engineering and design. This challenges the invisibility of the woman and accentuates the male-centered nature of existing approaches. The redefinition of social, political, and economic relations through feminist perspectives gave way to a broader recognition of the importance of gender relations in the understanding of gender in social processes and outcomes (Little, 1994, p. 135).

Upon an examination of core planning texts and literary discourse on feminism in urban planning and its related professions such as architecture and urban design, it has become apparent that feminism in such professions enjoyed a peak in the early 1990s. The occurrence of articles focusing on ‘feminism’, ‘women’ or ‘gender’ as a key concept was at its highest at that time. Although these themes are persistent and recurring in planning history, there are some noteworthy shifts in paradigm. Rahder and Altilia (2004, p. 113) note that the use of the word feminist and/or feminism as a key indication of content appears to have declined while the words gender and women have increased in use towards the late 1990s. Moreover, there has been a notable change in the context for analysis, with the spectrum for discussion broadening considerably, to include an international perspective of women’s issues in planning professions. Recently the shift toward diversity has been more dramatic, with focus multiculturalism in addition to the studies concerning gender.
Western feminisms have always been concerned with the spatial politics of difference (Blunt, 1994). In order to understand the politics of male and female spatial politics, the distribution of space, power and patriarchal geography must be investigated over historical and contemporary contexts.

A historical and hallmark discussion is the collection of essays brought together by anthropologist Shirley Ardener (1981, p. 24) that focuses on the differences between the genders. She argues “a social map of patriarchy created ground rules for the behavior of men and women.” and that “the gender roles and relations have constructed some spaces as feminine, and others as masculine, thus allocating certain kinds of activities”.

Planning theorists, like feminist theorists, do not agree on simply one theory. Instead, competing theoretical perspectives are discussed and the differentiating meaning and impact on both men and women have not been adequately explored in literature. Feminist studies in planning call for the examination of diverse intersections where the analysis of gender is relevant.

Planners “assume the value set that is inherently and historically masculine…the overriding goals and objectives are more likely to be shaped by men than women politicians, male corporate heads rather than female, but women face problems of such significance in cities and society that gender can no longer be ignored in planning practice” (Leavitt, 1986, p 181). Although today, feminist discourse is steadily moving away from the entrenched view that planning, and arguably, all professions are now becoming less profoundly gendered, the key assumption underlying much of the theoretical work is that fundamentally, men’s and women’s texts are different. Moving away from the duality of “feminist perspectives” and the “mainstream” will perhaps allow a different allocation of priorities to reflect planning for females, as opposed to feminist planning theory.

Planning and development initiative must be based on a thorough understanding of gender within, as well as outside of traditional feminist contexts. Gender refers to women's and men's roles and responsibilities that are socially determined and is related to society’s organisations which ultimately shape perceptions of what is considered to be acceptable, not biological differences.
The roles of gender differ from biological roles of the feminine and masculine, although they may overlap in nearly all societies and demarcate responsibilities between men and women in

- social and economic activities
- access to resources
- decision making authority.

These roles shift and evolve with changes in social, economic and technological revolutions. A primary example of such change would be demonstrated in introduction of new crops and technologies, mounting pressure on land, or increasing poverty or migration can change the roles of men and women in agriculture.

The distinction between sex and gender changes with social and cultural factors. Gender sensitive planning is a process of rational decision-making and calls for comprehensive information on the condition and position of women and men, thereby suggesting actions for transforming their current conditions and needs. This refers to conditions imposed on the individual by current practices, experiences and positions (in the home as well as in the workplace). It should be noted that information on the specific roles of individuals influences the direction of transformation. Further exploration can help individuals and professional bodies analyse and develop methods of intervention to increase gender equity. From this, plans can developed to improve the positions and responsibilities women within professional planning, design and architectural roles.

Female urban planners, designers, and architects face a series of provocative questions in relation to gender and planning spanning over the past 30 years. Although much of the gender values and theory encountered today is largely intended for an academic setting, and quite densely theoretical, many matters of feminist perspectives in design area accessible to a much wider audience. Specifically, the intention of this thesis project is to provide outcomes, answers, and suggestions which could be useful to professionals who may have missed gender-related topics in their own urban design and planning education.

It is the intention of this research project to provide for and include thoughtful dialogue on the history of feminism, planning, urban design, design movements, values, project outcomes, and architecture.
The questions surrounding feminist inquiry have been percolating for years and seem to feature speculation on at least two broad possibilities (Rahder and Altilia, 2004, p. 109). Firstly, as feminism broadens out to embrace the experiences and knowledge of others, the notion of gender has become deeply integrated into the analysis of difference that it has become almost invisible. The second theory is that perhaps that the emancipatory potential of feminism is well on its way to realizing its potential to transform professional practice.

2.1 The Analysis of Gender

If gendered analysis of the community and built environment are set aside, the trend towards greater inclusiveness represents the positive evolution of the feminist mission in planning, architecture, and urban design. Moreover, experience can sometimes create skepticism of such interpretations. If it is established that feminism is less visible in built environment theory, it is possibly because women’s issues have once again become marginalised. The question then is whether or not feminist dialogue should shift its focus away from gender as a distinct category of analysis and if so, to what degree? And would this dilute the impact of feminism? (Rahder and Altilia, 2004, p. 115). The concern comes from recognition that the social justice potential of a multifaceted framework is far from guaranteed.

Gender is not restricted to studies about women. It spans societal roles and relationships, and how different groups have varying levels of power and access to resources. By approaching gender in a more dynamic way of thinking, planners question their standard practices by acknowledging that cities are not designed simply for humans universally, but for a highly diverse group in terms of race, ethnicity, and class, in addition to gender.
2.2 A brief History of Feminist Movements

The concern is that the balance is tipping away from the integration of feminist theory in planning is fuelled by considering the uneven history of feminism more generally and reflecting on its current sociopolitical context. (Rahder and Altilia, 2004, p 108)

As Black and Coward (1981, p. 83) put it: “Women are precisely defined, never general representatives of humanity or all people, but as specifically feminine, and frequently sexual categories...Being a man is an entitlement not to masculine attributes, but to non-gendered subjectivity”. Thus, men’s specific gender is ignored; they represent the universal, and the human to which women are ‘the other’. This perception of the female as ‘the other’ has been taken for granted in most social and political thought. Women are constantly being defined in relation to men, a point of comparison for being.

One of the most important and most challenging issues which have faced women’s movements and studies as it developed as a discipline has been the need to recognise, describe, and explain the extent to which there are differences between women. As a political practice and academic subject, feminism in many countries has been open to some criticism that it has prioritised the concerns of middle class white western women. There was, until relatively recent years, little regard for other factors (such as race, income, residential standards) which all affect the social definition of women. These factors also affect or dictate their place in society.

The so-called First and Second Waves of feminism have been undermined by internal forces, as well as external, to feminist movements. Many of the most basic tenets of feminist thought have unacknowledged precedents in Native culture. The role of women, in particular, has been misunderstood, downplayed, and ignored (Allen, 1992, p. 30–42). Allen states that “Traditional tribal lifestyles are more often gynocentric than not, and they are never patriarchal” (Allen, 1992: 32). Many traditional Native nations are egalitarian, having promoted democratic ideals for hundreds of years. (Allen, 1992: 209–15).

The absence of history, even amongst feminists is indicative of the ease with which significant parts of history can be erased by more powerful, and often more
privileged groups in society. What is commonly known as First Wave of Feminism was more so the first wave for white women. Nonetheless, these 19th-century women reformers raised critical social issues of the time. The movement faltered due to ideological differences among feminists themselves. While some were fighting for equal rights in all spheres – inside and outside the home – others were champions of the view that women should be the moral caretakers of the home, the family, and society in general (Ginzberg, 2002, p. 426). This fundamental division in views on the role of women in the world meant there was little agreement on the purpose or goals of the movement, thus rendering it susceptible to criticisms from those who opposed the views.

The Second Wave of feminism that began in the 1960s again involved women reformers (women in other social movements like the peace movement and the civil rights movement) whose experience of being marginalised within these broader social justice movements propelled them into questioning men’s strangle-hold on positions of authority and leadership.

The Third Wave eventually challenged its liberal feminist bias. The Third Wave raised critical questions about the tremendous diversity of women and ways of knowing excluded or silenced by liberal feminist. They honored contradictory experiences and deconstructed categorical thinking, embracing ambiguity rather than certainty. Third wave feminists engaged in multiple positions, and practice a strategy of inclusion and exploration. They also proposed different politics, challenging notions of universal womanhood and articulated ways in which groups of women confront complex intersections of gender, sexuality, race, class, and age related concerns.

In closing of this chapter, it can be seen that modern feminist discourse is informed by the progression and theoretical findings of its predecessors. As such, the place of women in the professional workplace is followed in the footsteps of modern feminist movements resulting in the recognition and acknowledgment of the importance of a new era of political awareness, one which incorporates multidimensional and multi disciplinary studies of not merely feminism in its own rights, but notions of class, culture, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, age, and sexuality.
CHAPTER THREE - FEMINISM AND PROFESSIONALISM
“Feminism and Professionalism” focuses on the position of a woman in the workplace. This chapter introduces notions of gender analysis, and the fundamental differences in men and women as professional beings. Also discussed are the theoretical and historical facets in the nature of education and achievements in tertiary education. This helps in shedding light on the sometimes-ambiguous definition of "profession" and "professionalism".

Many institutions and individuals believe that a racially, ethnically, and socially diverse student/professional organisation is the embodiment of excellence, an essential means by which each participant in the educational process will maximise educational potential along with personal and social development. The force behind these beliefs is grounded within notions such that the importance of diversity has become of a common faith in higher education. Thus, it is unfortunate that many institutions and degrees find it difficult at best to achieve the desired effect of increased diversity through common admissions and employment processes. Issues of equity and group differences are always viewed with importance, and as a result, a great number of scholars have turned their attention towards more academic pursuits to examine issues of gender and equity. It has been found that whilst overt gender discrimination is rapidly disappearing in many careers, it is being replaced by more subtle forms of bias; such as increasingly specialised research. This in itself affects the professional bodies in that career options lend themselves to more avenues of consideration, which can serve to differentiate men and women over time, such as lack of ability to commit to research due to time and family constraints.

Bias has become more subtle in professionalism, and has been reflected in examination of job progress, salaries and other quantifiable measures, along with qualitative research methods.

On the whole, it can be said that while overt discrimination is disappearing, this diminishing of sexism does not necessarily translate into women rising to the top ranks in their professional fields. For example, departments routinely had smaller shares of women than could be found among younger members of their disciplines. Research also concluded that men were significantly more likely to earn out-of-cycle
increases in salaries (generally as a result of offers elsewhere). These and other changes translated into women earning less, on average, than did men, with women “articulated feelings of invisibility and marginalisation that grew worse as they moved into the tenure ranks.” (Jaschick, 2006, p.1)

In order to more effectively discuss the role of feminism in a professional context, in education, and more importantly, the progression from one to the other, it is important to broaden the scope to beyond planning and architecture.

It can be said that within all professions, whether they be medicine, engineering, science, business and economics, the story is fundamentally the same. There is an increase in the number of women who were in graduated from these fields of study, yet when the top cohort in each field is examined, it is not proportionately half of each sex, nor are the same number of women in the workplace present as that which can be observed educational institutions. The women who achieve highest ranking in their professions are nearing total commitment to their work, as they are placed under increasing workloads and responsibilities. They are expected to commit a large number of hours in the office, allow flexibility of schedules to respond to contingency, and are expected to continue with the same level of effort and commitment through the life cycle. This is a commentary on society as a whole, that there should be a high level of commitment that a much higher fraction of married men have been historically prepared to make than of married women. This raises the question, is society correct in having expectations as to having familial arrangements under which women are required to make choices which are not applicable to men in many instances?
3.1 The Concept of Work

Work of various forms, but primarily wage labour, constitutes a large part of most people’s sense of self. Conventionally, work is regarded as an area that is clearly demarcated from domestic or social lives. Often experienced as the opposite to home, it constitutes the ‘public’ sphere of everyday life. Outstandingly, work is represented as a masculine domain, both in terms of the arena, in which men are dominant, numerically and in terms of power, and as the arena in which masculinity is created (McDowell and Pringle, 1992, p. 411).

This does not, of course, indicate that men are absent from the household domain, or that women are absent from the workplace, rather, it stipulates that work is primary to masculine identity and the home and family are primary to the construction of femininity. This separation of men and women’s work between the labour market and the home, but also within wage labour has evolved historically. Chris Middleton (1988, p. 2) has demonstrated that patriarchal forms of divisions of labour long predated industrial capitalism, findings in which he suggests “will no doubt be received as meat and drink by those who believe in the system of autonomous patriarchy and wish to assert its independence of the mode of production and class structure”. Middleton himself rejects the idea that patriarchy is an autonomous structure and emphasises the way in which both gender and class relations are historically constituted and interrelated in particular places at certain times. The notion of ‘women’s work’ in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is linked with the categorisation of women as dependants, and the obscuring of their contribution to family enterprises.

The efficiency of household sexual division of labour varies by the economic system of production and as levels of divisions within household increase, the bargaining power of the female figure decreases outside of the home. The phenomenon of patriarchy, or as we view it in the professional arena (private and public spheres) is the direct result of a comparatively weak female bargaining power.

Feminists interested in work have been concerned with what they refer to as the sexual division of labour, and the allocation of tasks on the basis of sex. Feminists stress that work cannot be narrowly based on employment or productivity, and that women’s activities in the home constitutes as work.
3.2 Feminist Critiques of Professionalism

While the concept of professionalism is a problematic one, it can generally be organised and viewed as a hierarchy, differentiated as “major” and “minor” (Glazer, 1990, p.4), or “pure” professional and “semi” professional (Etzioni, 1969). The characteristics of professionalism have been identified to be membership in an occupational group, having received theoretical and practical training, and the completion of a degree of license and adherence to a code of ethics and practice. (Glazer, 1990, p. 5)

When professionalism is critiqued from a feminist perspective, substantive differences emerge. Historically, women’s claim to professional status has been challenged continually by definitions of professionalism as these definitions have been entrenched in male perceptions relating to values of status, power, exclusivity and autonomy. The hierarchical model only serves to reinforce male domination in many professions due to the functions of training and certification. The idea that feminists would find much to critique in this characterisation of a profession and doing professional work then become immediately apparent (see Baines et al., 1991; Dominelli, 1992; Howell 1978; Sherwin, 1989).

The influx of women in modern day professional fields leads to questions of underlying assumptions of the process of professionalisation. In order to achieve reform in professionalism, knowledge and credentials must be available to women in a way that is democratic and non-alienating. One must challenge assumptions about professionalism, and more specifically, determine the relative impact of feminist scholarship on professional bodies.

Consistent with this definition of feminism, women have found themselves excluded or under-represented in many professions (Chase, 1989), including planning (Birch, 1994; Greed, 1993; Hendler, 1997). Even in those professions in which women do have a position of strength in numbers, their male counterparts often overshadow their contributions to scholarship, leadership and innovation. In addition, many women who ‘make it’ to the professional ranks may well lose their feminist sensibilities along the way (through professional education, mentorship, apprenticeship, etc.) or may choose not to express such values in the context of their professional work.
Survival strategies women have adopted in dissonant professional/personal environments include “superperformance, voluntary subordination, career innovation, and separate institutional career paths” (Slater & Glazer, 1987, p. 132). As indicated above, a profession is typically conceived as a particular kind of work. More specifically, it is work that has a specific intent serve in the public interest. This aspect of ‘profession’ has traditionally served to separate professionals from non-professionals in a hierarchical fashion.

Feminists are wary of the traditional notion of profession, advocating the development of more equitable, empowering relationships in which ‘expert’ knowledge is made accessible to professionals and lay people alike. Feminist professionals recognise the power laden aspect of their work and speak of working towards a more empathetic or caring notion of professionalism in which there is a proactive emphasis on equality, collaboration and a blending of matters of the ‘head and heart’ (Hendler, 2005).

Sue Hendler (2005) states that traditional views of professions also enable or encourage the control of one group of people (professionals) over another (clients). Feminist approaches attempt to eradicate this sort of paternalism and emphasise working in partnership with clients.

Writers such as Bricker-Jenkins & Hooyman (1986), Bunch (1986) and Dominelli (1992), have attempted to describe what they believe would be a feminist approach to professional practice. They list principles such as; ending patriarchy, empowering individuals and groups, focusing on process, emphasising diversity, interconnections and interdependencies, connecting theory and practice, and validating women’s ways of knowing. A feminist profession, then, would differ from traditional conceptions of profession in theory and in practice. Every aspect of a profession from its knowledge base through to its methodology and its organisational structure would be affected.

To conclude this chapter, I reiterate the opinion that the notion of equality must extend beyond the confines of the workplace and corporate sphere. It must expand existing philosophies to include domestic and social arenas. Feminist critiques of professionalism cannot simply be restricted to definitions, but rather encompass the
wealth of knowledge that feminist philosophers and professionals have accumulated through research and experience.
CHAPTER FOUR - WOMEN IN PLANNING
Interest in the status of women throughout the world has resulted in, amongst other things, a steady growth in studies addressed to analyzing and highlighting the “gender” factor and bias within the nature of housing and urban planning legislation (e.g. Moser and Peake, 1987; Brydon and Chant, 1989; Dandekar, 1993). This chapter discusses the role and goals of women in planning. How the very nature of being female can affect and inform one’s planning directions. These factors can be conscious decisions, or sub-conscious acts inherent to the comparatively compassionate and environmentally aware character of a woman.

It is becoming more apparent that spatial planning authorities have a pivotal role in shaping the built environment through the production and implementation of development plans. However, research indicates that the needs of women have not been given as much attention as those of men in the formulation of such policies and that a generic, rather than gendered, approach to mainstreaming prevails. “Gender is given a relatively low priority relative to other over-arching policy considerations, such as environmental sustainability or racial equality” (Greed and Reeves, 2005, p. 1059).

While planning authorities exert considerable influence over the design and operation of the built environment and the planning system, their decisions are based on Local, State, and Federal policies for development. The formation of such policies requires planners to integrate a variety of knowledge and experience in a broad range of social, economic and environmental considerations (Greed and Reeves, 2005, p. 1059). It remains that, however, the needs and requirements of women, as practitioners in design, as well as users of the built environment have not been taken fully into account in planning policy and practice (Greed, 1994; Little, 1994; Reeves, 2005). As a result, the introduction of gender considerations into the statutory planning system has now become an issue of high priority in the development and implementation of planning policies and controls. Central to these developments is the process of community consultation and engagement.

In early years, Hugh Stretton (1970) criticises the philosophy of “women and children last”. He refers to planning that promote and optimise those activities engaged in predominantly by men, even if the area is used primarily by women.
From this it can be seen that a transformation has to be prompted in the planning process, so that women may take an active role in decision making processes and allow them to be incorporated in the process of developing designs for residential areas that maximise the ease of (for example) travel to improve safety and amenity.

Although there is increased integration of feminist dialogue in modern urban planning, the needs of women are not reflected in the same proportions in planning processes and the profession itself. Improvements to this phenomenon continue to be seen in additional community consultation, the steady rise of women in the workforce and in planning, and progress in the provision of infrastructure to cater for women’s needs. Despite this, it can be said that women’s contributions to planning may be under-recognised. One explanation of this could be that women’s ways of knowing and working are different from the “rationalist, competitive and hierarchical models promoted by the traditional planner”, whether male or female (Ritzdorf, 1992, p. 13).

While there has been, through many years of study and evolution, significant data collected and generated on women and the problems they face, many aspects of feminism in planning simply deal with education, employment, leisure, and health. However, discussion on equal access to opportunities and resources affect or reinforce the conditions of a female in a planning and feminist perspective.

Although blatant attitudes of sexism and exclusion are no longer common in today’s planning and development, it is evident from studies of attitudes and outcomes of planning policies that such orientations arise from planners failing to take into account that a diversity of interests must be considered. This is to say that planners have, for sometime, made generalisations about the “common good”, glossing over key differentiating factors in the needs of men and women. In Australia, this is more apparent at State and Local government levels.

Conversely, gender mainstreaming goes “beyond a concept of ‘equality’ based upon ‘treating everyone the same’ (as men) because it takes into account the differing lives of women and men, and consequently requires planners to reassess, afresh, the land use and development requirements of each” (Greed and Reeves, 2005, p. 1061)
Drawing on a synthesis of secondary data sources, including an extensive body of research and published material on ‘women and planning’ (for example, Anthony, 2001), and on ‘gender and space’ (for example, Moser, 1993; Darke et al., 2000) I attempt to explain why it is important to mainstream gender into spatial planning, both at a professional level, and from feminist perspective.

Over the last 20 years a wide range of international research has demonstrated that the needs of women have not been adequately taken into account in the planning of town and cities (Moser, 1993; Little, 1994; Agrest et al., 1996; Greed, 2003). This is despite women comprising the majority (50.6 per cent) of the Australian population (ABS, Population census data 2006: person characteristics) and the majority of many other disadvantaged groups and approximately the same percentage of women now represent the labour force. It has been shown that gender differences have implications for all aspects of spatial planning and the design of the built environment, from the interior design of housing (Roberts, 1991) to the planning of entire cities (Darke et al., 2000). Based on this, one would have imagined their needs would be given higher priority in the planning process than has found to be the case (Reeves, 2005). Specific gender roles result in women using the built environment differently from men, with distinct needs and expectations in respect of urban structure and planning policy. Today, most women combine paid work with caring for the family. For example, over 47 per cent of women of working age are in employment (ABS, 2004).

**WOMEN’S LABOUR FORCE STATUS**

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<th>1979</th>
<th>2004</th>
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<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>1 428.5</td>
<td>26.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>749.7</td>
<td>13.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2 178.3</td>
<td>40.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>194.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not in the labour force</td>
<td>3 071.1</td>
<td>56.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Women aged 15 years or over</td>
<td>5 443.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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*FIGURE 1. Australian women’s labour force statistics. Source: Labour Force, Australia, Detailed - Electronic Delivery, Monthly (ABS cat. no. 6291.0.55.001)*
Given this information, it is therefore important to recognise that the issue of gender inequality is not merely a numerical one, but rather of “male dominance in the theories, standards and ideologies used to guide planner’s work – that is, in the internal work of planners” (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992, p. 77). Gender is an issue that rates very low in the consciousness of most planners, and thus has to be mainstreamed into general consciousness in order for reform to commence.

The concept of mainstreaming gender studies into the planning profession can be applied to the allocation of resources and aid in the development of a more refined set of principles of social justice so as to redress gender inequalities. This is to provide for women the necessary tools so as to enable them to participate fully as political, social, and economic citizens. With this in mind, basic planning principles must be reconstructed in such a way that they are applicable to the relationships between the genders. In the public sphere, this means eliminating the barriers to women’s participation in employment and community participation, provision of a basic income guarantee, along with a equitable tax and healthcare system (Troy, 1987 & Cass, 1990). Mainstreaming the notion of gender, and its key differences, where relevant, is the vital component in reforming the planning profession. One major aspect is the changes in access to education over the years which has allowed women to gain high levels of tertiary education, and thus higher levels of educational qualifications to partake in the shaping of the cities in which they live and plan for. To illustrate, recent studies conducted in the United Kingdom found that almost nine out of 10 adults in Britain think more women should be involved in designing our towns and buildings, and that placing women in charge of designing our towns and cities would make them more practical and user-friendly. The survey by engineering consultancy Atkins found 88% of British adults think more women should be involved in building towns and cities. (Clarke, 2007)

Despite an increasing proportion of women in planning, women continue to face gender bias in a variety of ways. Women in the planning profession still face a significant wage gap. Women in planning programs continue to experience subtle, as well as some quite blatant, forms of harassment and discrimination. And women in general are disproportionately affected by the lack of affordable housing, the lack of child care, transport options, and funding for care of the disabled. There is also the major concern of safety for women in and outside the home. Despite this bias,
planners have, by and large, been unable to adequately cater for the problematic nature of gendered perspectives.

As such, planning educators and professional planning associations have a responsibility to address issues of gender inequity within the profession. To overcome this historic and systemic bias against women, it is necessary to integrate feminist perspectives in both the educational and the professional practices of planners. What is important is whether a planner recognizes the existence and causes of gender inequality, understands the specific needs of women which stem from this inequality, and whether she or he has a professional commitment to advocating changes in the current system. (MacGregor, 1994, p. 85)

As part of the qualitative studies conducted in association with this project, a respondent in the New South Wales Local Government sector has indicated that while there has been an almost exponential increase in the number of women in the workplace, many fail to reach the top of the corporate ladder. This corresponds with the results of surveys conducted overseas. This response also represents many similar views apparent in the planning realm. The informant also draws into the picture constituents such as age, experience, and the sense that some fields of planning differ from others in terms of what the planner can actively contribute to feminism in planning.

4.1 Interview findings

The respondent, as a woman in the planning profession, especially in the development assessment section, expresses that there is little opportunity to put forth personal points of view, but rather, decisions and subsequent outcomes are largely dictated by legislation and highly political. This differs significantly from the role of designer and architects. "A few instances where I guess you could say that I feel that I have actively planned as a woman, and for women are simply the developments that may compromise someone’s amenity and that someone happens to be a single mother, or an elderly lady who’s on her own, and has no one who will come forward and represent them. When they object to something, the general attitude is that they don’t have legitimate concerns, that they can take a backseat when it’s against someone who is louder and more obnoxious” (town planner interview, 2007).
In this instance, the informant expresses understanding and places focus on compassion and the need to realise and acknowledge the needs of different people, men and women alike. She states, “You really just have to sit down with them and offer them a little bit more of your time. Sometimes all they require is a few minutes extra, for you to be compassionate and explain things. Women with children will obviously have different concerns to a single man in his 20’s” (town planner interview, 2007).

Further, the respondent discusses experiences in attitudes where women, due to, for example, having to take maternity leave and juggling family and professional responsibilities, fail to rise to the top of their profession. While there are managers and directors who are women, and professional planning is moving closer to equality, she still feels a sense that “the glass ceiling is still there. Being younger may contribute to a sense of inequality as well. I recall when I first entered the workforce, some people just don’t take you seriously” (town planner interview, 2007). Others in the firm make assumptions based on age and sex, and often is the case, women must work harder in order to prove themselves. The respondent does agree that it isn’t all negative, and experiences an overwhelming sense of achievement once she has moved away from that position/label. Many assumptions made in the workplace are to do with one’s personal life as well, and colleagues are quick to pass judgment.

“\[A woman who wants to have her feet firmly planted as a planner has to prove herself in more ways than one. The way someone dresses, carries themselves at work, ability and professionalism are all things which constantly come under scrutiny. Small, seemingly inconsequential things may affect your credibility\]” (town planner interview, 2007). The respondent accepts these things as “a way of life”. While she acknowledges that being under constant scrutiny is not a positive attribute to the job, its not simple a case of feminism and reform in the workplace, its something of an outlook that society has to shift altogether.

While the respondent disagreed on whether her gender influenced her role in the profession, the notion that women planners may approach their work in different ways suggests an epistemology worthy of closer examination. It was indicated, however, that gender influenced their role in part. Most of the description was made in reference to women’ s ways of working within the profession as different from the
typical activities of their male colleagues. For example, women were described as more likely to be involved in consensus building, more willing to compromise, and putting greater emphasis on process and participation. Women were also described as more interested in social issues. Similar findings have been discussed in other literary discourse reported by Klowdasky (1985) and Greed (1994).

To conclude this chapter, it is fundamental differences in the way men and women approach an issue, as well as the variation in desired outcome that tells us that male and female planners not only bring varied perspectives, but also project outcomes. Perhaps the most critical aspect in learning to see differently is recognition that it is possible to do so. The role of personal experience in seeing differently (and in a feminist perspective) is discovering an arena of choice typically seen as a signal for personal insight of revolutionary dimensions.
CHAPTER FIVE - WOMEN IN ARCHITECTURE
CHAPTER FIVE: WOMEN IN ARCHITECTURE

Architecture matters in the daily play of gender, and vice versa. A myriad of projects, research studies, and writings lends increasing insight to understanding the gendering of architecture in its many manifestations and doing something about it (Ahrentzen, 2003, p.179).

In the professional office, feminism and the notion of gender as a scope for study is not often discussed. Many women architects are seeking acceptance in this still male-dominated field. In 2002, 43% of the total population of architecture students in Australia were female (Royal Australian Institute of Architects, 2003, p.71). However, in that very same year it was recorded that less than 1% of the total number of registered architects who were directors of architectural companies, were female (Whitman, 2005, p.7).

This chapter provides a brief overview of some of the literature related to feminist concerns in architecture. My purpose is to attempt to identify the reasoning behind an apparent lack of representation of women in senior roles and significant leadership positions in architectural practices. This chapter attempts to uncover why women, and the concept of feminism in architecture, are sometimes overlooked or devalued, with reference to the implications of feminist movements and ideologies within the realm of professional architecture.

Writings about feminism and architecture

There has been a plethora of books and collections on the issue of gender or feminism and architecture in the 1990s. These ranged from international perspectives on public versus private sector experiences, to more multi-disciplinary studies venturing into professions such as engineering and surveying, all of which help to provide an insight into the situation of women within the architectural profession today. The vast array of material on the subject range from edited collections to essays and books largely fail to target a specific topic or issue in architecture. Rather, they encompass an often disparate assortment of ideas. However, the most prominent and striking characteristic is that most of these edited collections hold a common desire to be pluralistic. The editors refrain from providing a framework for rendering and rigidly interpreting the intellectual terrain in the book.
Some even opt choose to subdivide the chapters into sections, claiming that such formal structures are divisive and alien to the multidisciplinary nature of feminist work.

Whilst this refusal to provide an explicit interpretation is considered to be relatively postmodern, the lack of framework and basis for selection may unintentionally convey to readers a lack of intellectual development, connectedness, or even synergy of these myriad projects and writings (Ahrentzen, 2003). Jane Rendell (2000) believes that readers often desire (and can certainly deal with) what she calls "markers" or "conceptual schemas" that they can use to engage in their own thinking about the nature of the field.

Furthermore, various academics have discussed and reprimanded that general lack of stance or conceptual framing posed by the editors of these collections (e.g., Haar 1997; Adams 2001). With the growing number of these collections and special journal issues in the past decade, feminist scholars have become more visible, vocal players on the stage of architectural inquiry and practice. Yet ironically, as Nancy Hartsock fore-warned (1987), the postmodern turn away from grand narratives and has suggested that since all voices are partial, an attempt at overarching synthesis or even categorisation is simply a wasted effort. However, within an appropriate context, these texts are nonetheless insightful and through the vast amount of information provide further development of conceptual frameworks upon which new studies can be based and elaborated upon. Accordingly, the material serves to benefit researchers and practitioners alike.

In the process, the marginalisation of women in architecture must also be questioned and the categories themselves must be challenged. Past attempts to put together literature of this kind took place in the United States, such as works of Dolores Hayden and Gwendolyn Wright on "Architecture and Urban Planning," (summer of 1976, Vol 1 , No.4) from “Signs” or Doris Cole's From Tipi to Skyscraper (1973). By the mid-1970s there had emerged growing numbers of essays, articles, and works in progress on individual women architects, planners, and landscape artists, both past and present.

In-depth history, alongside analysis of the challenges that face women in architecture, and the place of feminism itself in architecture, brings new knowledge
and experience to areas such as domestic space design, symbolism, critique, and professional roles. ‘Heresies’ (Vol. 10, 1981) was devoted to women and architecture and offered many valuable contributions on spatial design and thought by and for women. Included within are essays on European designers of the early modern movement, women’s collective efforts to take charge of designing for themselves, and the pros and cons of the controversial issue of whether women design differently from men.

These early works also began to critique the profession of architecture itself by probing the neglect and omission of women. Hayden and Wright (1976) point to the hierarchic structuring of the profession and the neglect of domestic architecture. In 1989, a collection edited by Ellen Perry Berkeley and Matilda McQuaid, “Architecture: A Place for Women”, expounds on the persistence of exclusionary practices and the ways women are challenging assumptions and expectations as greater numbers of women enter the profession (Rothschild, 1998).

Visibly, with the onslaught and insight of post structural criticism in the 1990s, there was a recognition that not all frameworks were set in stone; they are dynamic and follow developments in the consciousness of scholars. But if there exists several frameworks for study, feminist dialogue has a solid foundation on which new findings can be made. "What is not being said when refusing to frame this ecumenical blend of feminist projects and epistemologies is that creating such a comprehensive, nuanced, yet elegant framework that could embrace, not straight-jacket, the various feminist contributions in architecture over the past twenty years is a Herculean task" (Ahrentzen, 2003, p. 181).

In the introductory essay to the book “Design and Feminism”, Rothschild and Rosner (1999) organise feminist work in architecture along three avenues of inquiry.¹ In the book, there were three major sections running along three themes. "Women in Architecture" discusses the work of neglected women architects and the demographic accounting of women architects. "Spatial Arrangements," explores how women experience the spaces they occupy and use, while "Theories of Architecture and Gender," examined architecture in terms of female-male and feminine-masculine

¹ This book discusses other fields of design as well as the treatment of architecture, which is the primary focus of this chapter.
differences. The theories of many feminist architects challenged the social context and social conditions that make a multiplicity of differences matter.

In order to effectively fill in the silences in feminist architecture, the concept of inclusion, as well as architecture as a diverse and multidisciplinary profession must be recognised. Within are elements of design, history, psychoanalysis, literary studies, and philosophy, but also archeology, sociology, urban planning, urban design, policy design and legislation, science, engineering, and politics.

In much of the architectural discipline today, empirically grounded theory commands little respect. Sherry Ahrentzen, (2003, pp. 194) wrote: “The absence of empirically grounded theory in what is labeled feminist theory in many of these collections reflects in part the postmodern turn in architecture. What is not being said is the dilemma of what constitutes "theory" and why certain writings are deemed theory and some are not”. This in essence reveals the lack of acceptance to theories that aim at explaining the lack of recognition for women in the profession, and to an extent, those who develop those theories. Professionals and academics alike must realise that in order to fill the voids in feminist discourse within architecture, it is important to recognise the discipline of study as a whole.

*Why do we need diversity among designers? And why is designing for diversity such a paramount concern? The built environment reflects our culture, and vice versa. If our buildings, spaces and places continue to be designed by a relatively homogenous group of people what message does this send about our culture?* Anthony (2001, p. 14)

**Designing and Planning for Diversity**

The implication of Anthony’s comments is that without greater diversity in the membership of the construction professions to reflect the composition of society, the resultant built environment will fail to meet the needs of the diverse population. There is a growing concern, among professionals and academic commentators (Matrix, 1984; Bagilhole et al., 1996; Weisman, 1992; Greed, 1999, 2004; Manley, 2001), that the built form of towns and cities does not meet everyone’s needs
Research has also canvassed that the under-representation or absence of women in design teams contributes to this failure.

This concern crosses professional divides, and many firms and organisations are pressing for a more diverse profession where ethnic minority groups, and the under-represented can also take part in the profession and contribute to the shaping of their built environment. Greed (2004, p. 1035) has pointed out “some of the construction professions think that they have already dealt with the issue of women and have ‘ticked the appropriate boxes’ by introducing equal opportunities policies or moving towards gender mainstreaming”. This apparent acceptance of the need for diversity can mask the true picture.

Collaboration with feminist architects and planners would enable teachers to embark on new progressive projects. As Adams (1990) stresses, changes in attitude within the education system often come not from within a system, but from external sources. Should feminist architects and planners' ideas and approaches be incorporated into education, students are more inclined to develop non-sexist attitudes toward the built environment. Moreover, the academic setting could provide a venue for female architects and planners whose views are under-represented in the professions.

Female architects and planners could also provide role models for aspiring students, serving as inspiration for students to participate in future designs and positive project outcomes from a perspective which deviates from the mainstream. Through encouragement in contributions to the design, planning and management of their surroundings, feminist outlooks can be perpetuated from the initial stages of study, planning, and eventuating in the design and construction. More experienced architects and planners can help to clarify the profession for those wishing to pursue a career in the profession.

Within government agencies, this is also possible. Experience can be passed on regarding the political and bureaucratic decision-making process and its strengths and weaknesses. This can encourage students to “question proposed solutions and would assist them in formulating subsequent knowledgeable opinions and actions, and judge built form and space and ultimately to develop more socially responsible environments” (Avery, 1994, p 177).
Although some argue feminism in architecture is becoming more evident regardless of the gender of the designer, there are some real and tangible constraints on female architects in terms of time management, the need to place emphasis on family life, and lack of flexibility on the employer’s part. The biggest constraints on time and energy placed on women are linked to the widely accepted social convention that women are responsible for domestic duties. While today’s society is far more accepting of women in professional roles, and encouraging the concept of equality, there has been no marked improvement on how to balance these new professional responsibilities with domestic ones. Employers often fail to recognise this as an acceptable excuse for compromised work hours and sticking to commitments. In order to successfully manage personal and professional development, many women see chances for career advancements as a trade off for family responsibilities.

Architect Frances Voelcker (2007) states that houses designed by women would probably be more family-friendly, although male architects varied in their understanding of parenting. “Young men who have been brought up to prepare their own meals, wash their own clothes and care for their own children will probably make better designers of domestic or nursery properties because they know more about how these things work, “Boys suffer more from tunnel vision than girls. They can get seduced by hi-tech solutions or glamorous images. Women are less specialised. They’re more focused on social networks”. (Voelcker, 2007, p 2)

The chief setback many female architects experience today is the time for one to become established. Due to the intensive and involved nature of the profession, female architects experience something of a clash between their career and the “biological clock”. Following qualification, practical experience, and the prospect of establishing themselves professionally, a woman has most likely reached a stage in her life where domestic duties have also peaked in terms of demand and relative importance. Professional advancements overlap with the timeframe in which a woman is also seeking to ascertain her role in the home, as a wife and a mother, placing extra strain on her ability to perform in the workplace at an “optimum” level, a definition often used by employers in an economical context.
5.1 How masculine and feminine design affect our cities

Louis Sullivan, described a towering building as: “A man... a virile force, an entire male... it sings the song of procreative power”. Similarly, Leslie Kanes Weisman criticises the urban skyscraper of the twentieth century as “rooted in the masculine mystique of the big, the erect, the forceful - the full balloon of the inflated masculine ego. Skyscrapers in our cities compete for individual recognition and domination while impoverishing human identity and the quality of life.” (in McCauley, 1989, p. 1).

The built environments world has, up until relatively recently in terms of the existence of architectural design as a discipline, been largely defined by men. Of which the skyscraper is the most apparent example. Much closer to contemporary architects however, the design of cities and homes can reflect a rich set of ideas about professional architecture, women, and family life.

It has been said that female designers tend to have a greater empathy for diversity, whereas male practitioners have a greater tendency to focus on technologies, structures and construction. This reflects largely the assumptions of a woman’s nature, being the role of the nurturer, and that of men being the traditional “bread-winner”. The proliferation of women in the professional realm challenges these traditional views and while the female agenda has become accepted, and at time even invisible, some of the men dominating design and planning perpetuate old values through practices and unconscious actions which can be misconstrued as a form paternalism or sexist behavior (Architect interview, 2007).

Conversely, some dispute the suggestion that women hold a softer design approach to men. The dilemma lies in one key factor. In striving toward a more feminist approach and promotion of equality, men and women tend to be categorised differently thus resulting in a self-promoting wheel of feminist discourse. Jane Boyes, a partner at a leading Australian based architectural firm, is dubious of the idea that women have a softer approach to design than men. “I consider us all to be equal, and the female designers and technicians in our practice approach projects very much in the same way (as the men)” (Boyes, 2007, p. 3)
Often, the bias can be evident from the developer’s point of view, and the architect and planner simply follow instructions in being told what is acceptable to the public. The emerging shape of more feminine based architectural design is the modernisation of retail development, access to natural surroundings, and designing in a way that is convivial and focus on connectivity. By minimising walking/travel distance for pedestrians as well as vehicle owners, networks which have been designed by female architects tend to be smaller in scale and more intimate. Focus should not be placed on how women design differently to men, but rather the fundamental differences and commonalities so that recognition is given to the varying perspectives in the field of design. This provides for more holistic approaches and subsequent design outcomes which take into account the socio-economic, biological, and physiological differentiation between the sexes.

5.2 Interview findings

Having been in the profession as a part-time undergraduate for approximately one and half years, the subject informant expressed her motivations in seeking architecture as a career path as indirect. The informant originally had intended to seek a career in interior architecture but became more interested and drawn into the structure of a building as a whole. She considers that architecture provides for more avenues of interests to explore. External influencing factors such as art, the economy, politics, cultural influences and trends makes for complex architecture that aims to enrich the users and their community. It was discovered that when planning project outcomes and during the design process, precedents and past experiences are most valuable when dealing with new projects as they “influence the method of design, design process and outcomes” (architect interview, 2007). During this process, personal preferences will generally be documented and displayed to the client, after which a process of discussion, consultation, and analysis helps in the solidification of final design outcomes. As a relatively young and aspiring architect, personal visions and directions are not always expressed in project outcomes. The informant, currently employed by a property developer, places emphasis on the learning experience, and gaining knowledge in the field to expand upon her relatively limited on-the-job experiences. Prior to this, academic studies and related achievements resulted in only a limited field of knowledge that can be drawn upon in the professional workplace. Architecturally, it is apparent that job satisfaction stems primarily from personal achievements, that is, “to see one’s commission being built
and realised. In a larger firm, I may contribute to design discussions and solutions but clients, budget constraints and project architects will have final say” (architect interview, 2007). According to the respondent, primary considerations within the design and planning process relate to:

- Client: needs, wants, desired architectural outcome
- Architectural merit
- Aesthetic integrity
- Suitability of location, benefits and constraints, environmental impacts and subsequent outcomes
- Legislative requirements
- Heritage values and impact assessment
- Economic impacts
- Budget

With regard to feminist perspectives, it becomes apparent, as reflected/reported in the literature, that while observable discrimination in the professional arena is decreasing, women must still “work harder to exert their influence and prove their abilities in an ‘all-male’ environment” (architect interview, 2007) and overcome stigmas attached to females on the buildings site. In certain situations, one clearly knows that their opinions are being disregarded. This behavior is embodied in exclusion of the female architect in design discussions and reports of sexual harassment on or around building sites. Attire can often determine how seriously one is taken on site and in design review panels (architect interview, 2007).

The informant acknowledges the effort of policy makers and practitioners in attempting to eliminate discrimination against professional females; however, for her, discrimination is still apparent on worksites. This reinforces literature detailing the differing approaches of male and female architectural professionals. Women tend to be more artistically in tune with the element of design while men are generally considered to be more technologically advanced, excelling in construction and management aspects (architect interview, 2007). In relation to disparities in perspective that were so entrenched in the profession a decade or more ago, the informant expresses concern that there is, despite advancements in knowledge and reforms in the workplace, a degree of imbalance between the treatment and acceptance of men and women in the professional arena.
Compared to the state of feminism in architecture a decade ago, the informant agrees there have been some shifts in paradigms. There has been a redefinition in female architects, and they are far “more widely accepted as professionals” (architect interview, 2007). There is a gradual acceptance and accommodation of females in such roles and the notion of apparent gender differences is slowly disappearing.

The informant places particular focus on encouraging aspiring female architects and planners to follow their ambitions and aspirations. She stresses that one is what they make themselves in society and must not allow restrictions in gender/wage to determine career options. Moreover, she says it would be “foolish to abandon the design profession as it is rewarding on so many levels, although perhaps not on a financial level”. (architect interview, 2007)

In regards to sexist attitudes experienced in the workplace, experiences on-site tend to be more negative than in the office. Although there are no direct remarks made in regard to sexuality, attitudes are embodied, and thus can be felt, “through actions”. These incidents include directing comments solely at more senior members of the firm and being dismissive of women’s suggestions and opinions. The informant does, however, point out that these experiences could also be a result of her age and lack of experience and knowledge in the field. This gives her more incentive to work harder, produce better designs and display her abilities so as to improve her position in the firm. She adds that these attitudes of sexism cannot be avoided if people choose to behave in a sexist manner. It is more important to simply “move on and deal with the problem in a professional manner that can reach a best solution and to draw upon precedents in following projects” (architect interview, 2007).

Compromised designs are a common occurrence in architecture, but this is not always the result of the practitioner(s) being male or female. These situations “occur regularly to many projects in the office, however, it happens to everybody even senior architects as issues may not be within the architect/clients’ control. Personal commissions often allow more flexibility in terms of planning, design and execution” (architect interview, 2007).
As a female professional in architecture, the informant expresses that there is a great deal of job satisfaction for her. Architecture is a very enjoyable career, being “rewarding on a personal level and seeing projects being built provides a great sense of satisfaction and pride”.

5.3 So why do women still leave architecture?

While a significant (and growing) portion of women are now pursuing career prospects in architecture, this increase is reflected disproportionately. It seems that many are opting to leave the profession after qualifying. “No single reason can account for this trend but a multiplicity of factors, such as low pay, poor promotion prospects, discriminatory attitudes and sexist behaviour were found to influence departure” (Johnson, Manley and Greed, 2004, pp. 1036)

When questioned on personal experiences in relation to choices, workplace ethics and opportunities to express one’s own opinions in relation to designs, my architect informant gives thoughtful insight, in support of the aforementioned theories as to the conditions of a young woman working in an architectural firm as an undergraduate architect. The previous section reported on the findings of the interview. It also reiterates some of the issues raised within this chapter.

Manley and De Graft Johnson (2004, pp. 19) state that “successive generations of commentators have raised concerns about the lack of diversity in the profession and expressed the belief that the built environment can be enriched including amongst its members both men and women and a diverse range of people of different races, cultures, abilities and backgrounds”. It has been commonly accepted that women tend to be more in tune with emotions and creativity, leading many to believe that women are generally more intuitive and possess superior language skills. However, this perception suggests that women are not well equipped to excel in such professions as architecture. Scholars and professional practitioners have suggested that this is the reason behind the under representation of women in the architectural profession. Others suggest that the balance needed between the challenges of the domestic environment, motherhood, and the demanding nature of the profession have led to the significant drop out rate for women in architecture. It is unreasonable to suggest a single reason behind the number of women choosing to leave a career in architecture. The obligation demanded by architecture can place strain on family
commitments, relationships, and disparity between wages, as well as levels of professional comfort experienced, all contribute to the decision to leave or remain in the profession.

Generations of commentators have raised concerns about the lack of diversity in the profession and expressed the belief that the built environment can be enriched by including amongst its members both men and women and a diverse range of people of different races, cultures, abilities and backgrounds (MATRIX, 1984, Anthony, 2001).

In a study led by Manley and De Graft Johnson (2004), the need to recognise that it was essential to ask the women who had left the profession the reasons for their decision was identified. Through use of various media as forms of communication, women who had left the profession, or were considering leaving were invited to complete an online questionnaire giving the reasons for their decision. Reactions were mixed. The result included a number of hostile responses and discussions ranging around the basic premise that women may not have appropriate brains for the practice of architecture were common. Conversely, many people welcomed the study, especially women, who had invested both considerable amounts of money and seven years of their time training as architects only to leave the profession (architect interview, 2007).

Amongst reasons why women leave architecture, Manley and De Graft Johnson (2004) reported findings concerning such issues as: employers flouting the rights of women in relation to contracts and maternity leave. Women cited a form of unwitting discrimination where a well intentioned desire to protect women from awkward or unpleasant tasks, such as dealing with difficult clients or contractors was preventing personal growth and the development of skills. In these situations of misguided paternalism, it was difficult for a woman to gain confidence and skills. It was then harder to gain promotion and recognition. The result was a sense of “frustration, limited scope for creativity, and a lack of job satisfaction” (Manley and De Graft Johnson, 2004, p. 20). This was reiterated by my interview findings, where the architect interviewee expresses similar frustration at the lack of opportunities for self improvement; “Sometimes I got increasingly impatient with the whole thing. My parents even advised that it was a very stressful career I was taking on...at work, to prevent mistakes due to inexperience, older, more experienced colleagues would...
sometimes help me with my tasks. While that’s a positive thing, I get no experience in certain aspects of my job” (architect interview, 2007).

The extent to which the profession is sexist is inevitably a subject for discussion within feminist discourse in architecture. Overall, female practitioners were accepting of behaviour that would not be tolerated amongst other professional communities, but the sexist attitude towards working long hours, which seemed to be an accepted part of the corporate culture, was a cause for great concern.

For women, the continuing struggle between the role of mother and wife in the family sphere, together with other domestic responsibilities proved particularly problematic even when the woman concerned had opted for a reduced working week. It is also common for women in the profession to feel they are not taken seriously upon re-entering the workforce after having a family. This is not a phenomenon exclusive to the architectural profession, and can be seen in the responses of my in-depth interview conducted with the urban planner/designer presented in the following chapter. Women can sometimes find themselves in situations where they have been demoted, or not considered for a position or promotion when they are seen to be diverting too much attention away from the demanding nature of their profession. Although few cite motherhood as the sole reason behind their leaving the profession, they regret the fact that their motherhood, along with its organisational and time constraint challenges had diminished their status as architects in the eyes of their employers” (Manley and De Graft Johnson, 2004, pp. 19-20).

My work keeps me exceptionally busy and half the nights I don’t have time to spend with my family. On top of all the study that’s required by the course, the practical works takes up the majority of my day. This isn’t a huge issue in the sense that I am still young, and can afford to work this hard to build a career, but I am concerned that later down the track, when I decide that I want to dedicate more time to a family, I’m just not going to able to put in such effort (architect interview, 2007)

In summary, there is no single definitive answer to the central question of why women leave architecture and why they become dissatisfied with their careers. Nonetheless, the underlying themes revolve around the extremely time demanding
nature of the profession. A pattern emerged that indicated that a woman’s decision to leave was likely to be a combination up of a number of factors rather than one particular matter, although in some cases a relatively trivial issue may have triggered the final decision.

The extent to which the loss of female talent in the architectural profession is an international issue. This reflects the ever growing need to promote diversity in the architectural profession as part of a move towards creating an environment that responds to the broad diversity of the human population. The final question is, how can women architects be encouraged to stay in the profession?

To conclude this chapter, I refer to Bronwyn Hannah’s book “Women Architects in Australia” (2001), which reiterates the fact that women have not being absent in the creation of the built environment in Australia, but rather, a misconception has been created. By the end of the late nineteenth century, and early stages of the twentieth century, a transformation took place within the architectural profession where “professionalism took over the practice or architecture” (Hannah 2001, p.1), and women in architecture began to receive earnest recognition as multidimensional practitioners.

Attracting and retaining women in architecture should be seen as an opportunity to improve work culture. Organisations such as SWIPE (Supporting Women in the Professional Environment – Set up by The Royal Australian Institute of Architects) are task groups which aid in the development of progressive equal opportunity workplace policies which can be adopted by individual offices. These policies strive to retain women in architecture, as well as appealing to male and female family-oriented architects.

Employers can provide assistance in terms of child care, more flexible hours, and career break schemes as a way to help women effectively combine work and family obligations. Thus, valuable professional staff have added incentive pursue in a career which they are passionate about. Focus for future research and policy change should target an increased understanding in career patterns and establish support/mentor networks to include women in the practice.
CHAPTER SIX - WOMEN IN URBAN DESIGN
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Urban Design Theory

This chapter discusses theories in urban design, the relationship between feminist approaches to urban design, actions and interventions, and design outcomes, all of which result in the creation of the urban environment that reflect the quality, livability, and evolution process of a city. Rather than alienating any of the theories and ideas mentioned above, which will ultimately result in ad hoc environments with little chance of success, by encompassing feminist theory and physical relationships of spaces, better strategies can be achieved and implemented.

“In the evolution of cities, human intervention has taken place at every level of organisation and design, architecture and urban planning- in other words they have been designed” (Cuthbert, 2005, p.1). Urban design and its related theories are expanding disciplines, continuously evolving and drawing on the ideologies and practices of what can essentially be viewed as its sibling disciplines of architecture and town planning. Traditionally, urban design theory was not given recognition as an independent discipline, but rather as a somewhat insubstantial hybrid of its major theoretical proponents, including, but not restricted to economics, social and political science, psychology, geography, or the humanities.

It can even be said, that urban design has not even embraced what today would be recognised as “significant sub-disciplines, such as urban geography, urban economics, urban sociology, or cultural studies, the latter only recently emerging as a major force in critical theory” (Cuthbert, 2005, pp. 2). Until relatively recent years, urban design has been somewhat removed from its own distinct and substantial theory as a discipline. It has been seen as a combination of other related professions, for example, a macro scale form of architectural design, or more site specific version of city planning and legislation. Notwithstanding this, the interrelated concepts and relationships suggest a theoretical dependency on architecture and planning, focusing narrowly on the function of urban design as a social technology. While it should be stressed that urban design in itself is a pluralistic body of knowledge, recognition of its theoretical integrity lies in a deeper understanding of its
social process, in which the key element is to discard the notion of urban design as being an element of design derived from other environmental disciplines.

Its power derives from the fact that, irrefutably, it is a deeply embedded social practice that societies have valued from time immemorial, and therein lies its value. As such it does not have to justify its existence through reference to a discrete set of home grown theory’ (Cuthbert 2005, p. 10).

Architecture and planning have been seen as main contributors to bodies of feminist work in design, the two at times grouped together, spatial design and urban layout of cities acts as a key constituent in feminist discourse in these fields. Such feminist discourse is detailed and recorded in now well established associations of registered and recognised professionals such as “Constructive Women” in New South Wales.

Traditionally, as seen in other areas of feminist studies, much of this work began as historical, uncovering women's roles and contributions.

The social critique on the relation of women to the built environment, as both users and designers, emerged by the mid-1970s, extended to the urban environment. In the 1980 spring 1980 of “Signs” devoted to “Women and the American City,” Gerda Wekerle's important review essay noted the "explosion" of work since the mid-1970s on the subject. Offering both theoretical analysis and actual planning designs, this work raised key issues and charted directions the field would follow. For example, Susan Saegert's "Masculine Cities, Feminine Suburbs" in the “Signs” issue shows how the urban/suburban split and its public/private, work/home, male/female dichotomies are the "guiding fiction" for public policy, even though the reality is otherwise. Saegert called for new theory and practice to integrate domestic and productive work and life. Hayden's "What Would a Non-Sexist City Look Like?" (2005) (Expounded upon further in this chapter) proposes "experimental residential centers" to "develop a new paradigm of the home, the neighborhood, and the city," drawing on contemporary European cooperative models and her own research into those of the American past.

Within the following year, “The Grand Domestic Revolution took place”, in which Hayden explored the innovative housing and neighborhood and city planning designs by and for women in the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries. "Redesigning the
American Dream” in 1984 further brought together her visions to integrate home, work, and family life.

The early to mid-1980s witnessed the spread of activist groups and designs in the urban environment that continue to the present. They began to account for other dimensions of feminist work in architecture and city planning. Concerns were raised for disadvantaged groups like women, children, people with disabilities, and the elderly, and the importance of participation and civic engagement in the design process.

One of the most significant aspects of feminist literature found in urban design and planning is that it demonstrates how feminist work repeatedly challenges and influences changes in existing paradigms. Among the issues that Leslie Kanes Weisman brings up in “Discrimination by Design” are the violence and safety concerns of women in the urban environment that feminists have sought to meet in building and spatial design Weisman synthesises feminist criticisms of architecture and planning of the previous decades, and reviews a variety of past and present efforts to challenge and change the built environment. Similarly, Marion Roberts’ (1991) “Living in a Man-Made World” provides a historical view of the gender assumptions of housing and urban design.

The role and purpose of feminist perspective critique of the process and nature or designing our urban environments must serve to expose the gendered assumptions that inform the spaces and places we experience in our daily lives—whether in the size and shapes of tools and appliances; the layout of rooms, apartments, houses, city streets; or the design of computer programs and electronic media.

Another role taken on by feminist critique is to show and examine how the feminist perspective can be dealt with in a creative manner whilst keeping within the confines of real issues in the needs for designed urban environments raised by feminist analysis. Academics and professionals should direct attention away from theoretically based critique analysis to action. Further, feminism should be brought to bear on design, taking into account sensitivity to power imbalances of race, class and other inequities, as well as those of gender.
There needs to be an integration of design and feminist principles within urban design theory. This integration should bind theory and practice, taking into account practicality, emphasising designed environments and women's studies. It is also vital that relevant materials on designed environments are integrated into knowledge for other disciplines, such as urban planning and architectural design. The exploration of home, work, school environments, for example, place focus on what is familiar. In addition, the examination of public spaces, including the street, neighborhoods, transport, public surveillance and building design move the study area into the wider designed environment. A key issue to be explored here is the blurring of the public and private, which has important gender implications as the old dichotomies break down with women more visibly in the public sphere. This point is central to the theoretical underpinnings of the presence of feminism in urban design theory.

Focus on process is another important factor in feminist critiques of urban design. It examines how things are designed and how the process should take place. Greater depth in the examination of theoretical issues reveal deep seated relations to general feminist theory. Collaboration with planners and architects (as mentioned in previous chapters can help to relate women’s concerns, such as safety, access and transportation. Still another area to look at more closely would be technological aspects, making connections with existing work being covered, not only in women and technology, but also in computer and media studies. The use of personal and collective experience as the benchmark to integrate theory and practice will serve to keep urban design grounded in a social context. In turn, this can include the promotion of collaborative and participatory processes whilst adhering to concerns for ethics and values.
6.2 A Woman’s Place in the City

The problem of work and family balance occupies a distinct spatial dimension in the minds of a city's users. For those households in crisis where the woman may be experiencing domestic violence or social isolation, vulnerability can be amplified by location and the constraints of design. For others, material culture is an anathema; the home acting as an empty box in need of commodities and consumables. While double income families can overcome the problems of established housing patterns, price and the complex matrix of access to employment, schools, child-care, safety and other social services leaves few options to the vulnerable woman. Far more efficient use of the city can be made by recognising the need for a different environment. Housing design and the thoughtful location of services and facilities can aid in bettering a woman's position in the city.

The role of an urban designer, as a profession which includes both men and women, is to use the powers of influence bestowed upon the individual by their training and expertise to push for change and development to make better places. Places which inspire the notions of community, promote user-positive changes. Feminist paradigms must not be forgotten or rejected in order to effectively create quality urban environments. While design professionals may not necessarily view themselves feminists, they do tend to unconsciously classify themselves into certain categories within the overall field to incorporate feminist rational that is more logical in layout and dispersion for all users, not simply women.

To date, the mainstream of urban design thought has not been shaken by debates about feminism and the nature of masculinity and femininity. This is not to say that urban design writings have been completely blind to the notion of gender. Women have entered the discussion on a number of levels, but have yet to occupy centre stage. As debate about the future of urban areas increases in intensity, the need to include gender relations becomes more acute.

The most appealing topic for urban designers has been that of safety and security. Considerable effort has been made in examining issues of safety and security with regard to a number of situations ranging from city centers to housing estates and green spaces (Oc & Tiesdell, 1997, pp. 82-84). The concern of key elements of
safety as fundamental heads of consideration for urban design began in the early 1980’s. Whitzeman (1992, p. 171) notes that: “The quasi-feminist terms of reference – emphasising women and children...victims of crime were a result of lobbying by women’s advocacy groups, as well as the presence of ‘femocrats’ in the presence of local government”

Thus far, the message is that women are particularly vulnerable to the fear of harassment and attack and that this considerably limits their use and enjoyment of public spaces within the city. In addition, the extent to which assumptions about a ‘natural’, ‘fundamental’ or ‘biological’ division between the sexes has been inscribed in the built environment itself has received considerable documentation. Much of the existing research elaborates the manner in which the built environment has been structured around stereotypical notions of masculinity and femininity. It has been argued that these models have been based on idealised notions of gender relations which were, and are, of dubious universal value. In Australia, a number of groups have been formed to provide support and assistance in the eradication of the delineation between industries which are seen to be more suitable for women, or conversely, more male dominated. One such group is Constructive Women, which is an association of women in planning, architecture, landscape architecture, engineering and construction. The group was founded and formed in New South Wales in 1983 by Eve Laron, which led to the foundation and establishment of Constructive Women Architecture and Design Archive in 1995, beginning the documentation of contributions to the built environment by women in Australia.

The nature of the debate has now moved on, and adopted a more philosophical approach to a mode of analysis which has pre-occupied feminists and designers, with one main aspect being the consensus that women cannot simply be treated as a group of people, but rather as a line of study that pursues the oppositions of male and female, along with their use of and contribution to the design of urban space.

Questions about the future shape of urban areas cannot simply be ignored. In this discussion, which focuses on providing for the future economy and contemporary lifestyles, questions of gender relations are central. From this flows an interest in the nature of the household, the structure of employment and the quality of mobility, all of which, particularly in areas experiencing high levels of urban activity, such as Sydney, have been the subject of profound changes over the last 15 years.
There is significant change in contemporary gender relations and in turn to lifestyles and culture. For example, women from ethnic minority communities can no longer be portrayed as silent victims, as many are finding a new voice and increasingly powerful positions in a still reluctant host society (Roberts, 1998, pp. 133-135).

As the decline of traditional 'male' industries have become more apparent, the labour force has become more flexible in terms of working patterns, stereotypical relations of male breadwinner versus female dependant have been transformed. This is not translated into women being better off, but rather that there is a complex picture of an increase in independence and choice for women.

In summary to this chapter, the urban fabric is comprised of both masculine and feminine elements. Whilst many hold negative views of contemporary urban living and place emphasis on the positives of traditional town centers and communities, one must not forget that many of the changes which have occurred are the results of genuine shifts of power in relations of gender, sex and race and that some of these transformations in relationship have been entirely positive.

### 6.3 Interview Findings

To augment the interview data for the planning and architectural professionals, another in-depth interview was conducted with an experienced practitioner. The informant has planning and urban design experience and holds a managerial position in a prominent organisation for planning and design department in Sydney. This informant discusses a range of personal experiences and situations encountered over the past 20 years. Since commencing her career as a cadet planner in Victoria in 1989, the respondent has been involved in many aspects of urban planning. While she considers that there has been great progression in terms of addressing systemic discrimination or disadvantage based on gender, there still exists a lack of recognition for gender related issues. She believes this is more prominent in the public sector than it is in private consultancies.

The respondent’s decision to seek to progress her career in urban planning and design was largely motivated by tertiary studies, where she studied urban geography. As a result, urban planning was seen to be “a great fit to apply my
understanding of urban systems to future development” (Urban Designer interview, 2008).

When questioned on personal objectives and visions translating into the professional workplace and the design process, the respondent indicates that personal aspirations do not gain a great deal of recognition in a field that is largely dominated by legislation and the need to objectively assess and respond to issues. Similar to the responses of the other interviewees, she indicates that whilst skills and expertise are applied when looking at a development proposal or negotiating a design proposal, it is critical that planners working for public authorities actually look to the relevant statutory controls rather than applying their own ‘wish list’ of how they want a design to be resolved. “I have seen many circumstances over my career when inexperienced junior planners and designers doggedly demand design changes with little or no skill or understanding of what these actually achieve – or how they may jeopardise another more significant aspect of the development”.

This aspect is especially important in providing practitioners with recommendations on how to achieve the most optimum level of compromise. Designers should allow for the factor of gender to come into play in terms of recognition of differences, but at the same time, not let this outlook to impact on development in a way such that positive design is compromised through lack of knowledge. The issue, according to the respondent is that design objectives must be defined by statutory authorities so that the staff can utilise these guidelines when called upon to assess a preliminary development or design proposal. While she does not believe that a practitioner’s personal ‘vision’ of design is completely irrelevant to project outcomes, she stresses that when one is not within their field of expertise, for example trained in architecture or design, then that does not warrant expressing any vision in the project outcomes. In this instance, the respondent takes a seemingly objective stance in relation to be best possible design solution or planning outcome.

In relation to her considerations when taking on a project, she points out that “ideally all projects should be challenges – but the reality is that we have little choice in the real world as to what projects we take on or not whether we work in the public or private sector. For instance, as I am a consultant, I don’t have to agree with a
planning project to take it on – that is the reality when working in the private sector”.

As this thesis was prompted by motivations in seeking a balance and equality in the professions of planning, architecture and design, it was important to make enquiries regarding perceptions of the presence of feminist aspects of the respondents. It was also useful to discuss the balance between retaining one’s position as a woman whilst progressing in the professional arena in workplaces which until relatively recent years, failed to give women the full recognition their work deserved. When confronted with questions relating to feminist perspectives and whether or not she feels feminism is relevant in today’s workplace, the participants states: “Yes – feminist issues range from the provision of additional female toilets in retail and entertainment facilities – through to the design of subdivisions and lack of public transport integration with new development resulting in the necessity for families to own two cars to just access basic services in local areas. The issue of safety has also arisen with work in the Sydney CBD – although not specifically as a feminist issue”. In this one response, the importance of gender can be seen in several planning and design areas/situations.

The respondent does not, however, feel that policy makers and practitioners take female users into account in their design decisions. When asked to what extent does gender come under consideration in the policy making process, she responds, “Not at all, the only provision is the building regulation requirements in most circumstances for disabled access (which has the benefit of assisting parents with prams). And similarly, they neglect older people and young people’s needs”. This response is contrary to that of my other interviews. For someone who has been in the industry for a long time, her response is indicative of the differing perspectives an individual has on how change takes place. As stated above, younger female professionals interviewed tended to have a different view than that of this more experienced practitioner. She does, however, go on to say that the private sector does take female users into account in their developments, with the best example being the “impressive new services provided in retail centers where there are dedicated parking spaces for careers with prams, unisex parents’ rooms, and family friendly accessibility”.

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In relation to feelings of difference in the workplace, the respondent firmly believes that the disparity in perspectives that was so entrenched in the profession a decade or more ago still exists in the workplace today. She follows on to recommend that it is necessary to incorporate feminist perspectives into design and planning, and that proliferation of feminist perspectives will only succeed if it is integrated with an overall approach that prioritises all neglected groups. Such groups include, but are not restricted to older people, parents, people with disabilities and young people as a recommendations do you have for improving policy creation and implementation so as to incorporate an essentially feminist perspective.

While she does not feel that there has been a significant step forward in the redefinition of female architects/urban designers/planners, "although many senior women are working in these areas, women in construction group are trail blazing the building and construction professions". In order to succeed in these professions, "You need to have a thick skin and work twice as hard as the men".

This is indicative of the parallels drawn between my interview results and the issues raised by "Constructive Women", an association of women planners, architects, landscape architects and women in the building industry in New South Wales. These parallels lie in the perception that is driven by the desire for success, that women must work twice as hard to exert their authority and establish themselves in an industry which has [been documented] long been a man’s domain. This trend has been, and continues to be bucked, by women, such as the third interviewee. She maintains that today, hard work and dedication does pay off and one is recognised for their abilities and achievements in a way that was previously receiving lack of documentation.

Contrary to the results of the previous findings, the third respondent indicated that her experience of sexist attitudes in the workplace was confined to the public sector in local government. "I have found the private sector to be incredibly supportive of women in the workplace, where as in the public sector, I have been sworn at by elected officials – and called derogatory names. Needless to say, I was very much unimpressed and angry – given my hard work". She also stresses that in order to avoid and alleviate these instances of discrimination, executive management must ensure they do their part in monitoring behavior in the workplace.
On the whole, as was found in the other interviews, although she is confronted with day-to-day challenges, both professionally and personally, her level of job satisfaction is high, “I have had high levels of job satisfaction in my career as I have enjoyed the challenge of urban planning” (Urban designer interview, 2008).
CHAPTER SEVEN - CONCLUSION
This thesis has explored the influence of gender and feminism on the professional projects of female-dominated professions, through three case studies of city planning, architecture, and urban design. Full professional status has eluded many female-dominated professions due to the primary constraints of family versus career decisions. Traditionally, the spatial planning of our cities and urban spaces, as well as policy-making mechanisms and implementation systems were all defined as work for men. In recent years, these three facets of spatial planning have pursued a professional acknowledgement of females in these professions with success in various degrees. Ideas about gender and, particularly, feminism have been central to their professional project.

Research of gender theory and feminism in the built environment concentrate on where feminist theory has relatively little to say: case studies on planning practice, practical and strategic gender interests, the internal culture of professional planning, architecture and design, education and reform in terms of gender specific issues, and the balance between equity and the notion of multiple differences. This thesis project, as a feminist critique of planning, architecture and urban design theory and practice, highlights the very real need for gender awareness. This refers to both individuals and organisation:

- Gender sensitive attitudes
- Commitment to placing both women's and men's needs and priorities at the centre of development planning, to analysing programs and projects for the impact that they may have on women and men, and to designing programs which will involve both women and men
- Knowledge about the impact that development activities have had, and can have on women and men, and about the fundamental features of women's and men's social and economic roles and experiences
- Analytical and programming skills, and
- Accountability to women in professional industries serving the built environment

Gender has shaped—and continues to shape the work of planners, architects, and designers alike in their personal and professional pursuits. Originally having been
touted as male dominated fields of study and work, urban planning and the built environment have come a long way in recognising the experiences and achievements of female practitioners and scholars. More recently, all three professions have pursued a professional project in which ideas about gender, and particularly feminism, have been influential. It is clear in the sociological literature that, historically, gender has shaped the establishment of both male and female professions.

What the experiences of planning, architecture and design illustrate is that gender continues to be influential within professional projects today. Females in these professions use various strategies to assert the validity of their own claims to professional power and expertise. They simultaneously draw on ideas about gender to argue that as women they possess a unique set of skills, and a unique scope of practice that are deserving of professional recognition and status. This professional project is a radical one in that it involves not only challenging dominant professions, but also challenging traditional definitions of "profession" and "professionalism", as well as increasing the social value attached to women's work and skills.

The complexity inherent in this project is enhanced by the changing gender composition of formerly male-dominated professions. While it is incorrect to conclude that these professions are still as male-dominated as they have been in the past, there still exists a sometimes-invisible barrier, much like the glass ceiling effect between the recognition and responsibilities of men and women. However, women are moving into the profession in significant numbers, urban spatial planning and design are no longer considered the "men's" profession it used to be. Arguments that female practitioners possess unique skills as women-skills that are different from their male counterparts have, though this study, been validated to some extent. It is acknowledged widely that the nature of being female is to be intuitive and compassionate, thus lending a softer edge to conventional theory, where in the face of opposition, there are those who counter that planning and design skills and knowledge are neither particularly unique nor extensive to women. Professional inequalities found through the studies point to issues of gender as opposed to inferior expertise.

Planning and design occupations, along with many other women's professions have more cultural and material resources to draw upon in their professional projects than
they did in the past as a result of increased gender equality. These greater resources have aided women in spatial planning in its current professional project, but whether they will prove substantial enough to win full autonomy from gendered biases and greater social status for practitioners and academics is still to be determined.

In order to explore how professional and academic women can go about bringing change and equality, the following chapter makes some recommendations to better understanding of feminism in the built environment. These recommendations are based on the literature explored in this thesis, alongside with my interviews with experienced women in the fields of planning, architecture, and urban design. They can help to facilitate women in attaining their career goals and provide a means by which they can contribute to the greater community.
CHAPTER EIGHT - RECOMMENDATIONS
CHAPTER 8- RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter aims to establish some methods by which women can be better supported in the workplace and in education. These recommendations are based on the findings from my thesis. It is hoped that they can assist practicing and aspiring female planners, architects and urban designers in overcoming their career barriers and strengthen networks. Through recognition of the positive contributions women make to these professions, improving working environments, and ultimately provide a more balanced lifestyle, more women can be attracted and retained in these professions. Their expertise, passion, experience and skills are valuable in creating an unbiased built environment which can truly reflect the diversity of today’s cities.

8.1 Understanding Experiences of Women

With more and more women entering the fields of planning, architecture, and urban design related professions; professional gender inequality and differences no longer remain an issue of merely numerical dominance of men over women. Rather, it is an imbalance, or dominance of theories, ideologies and standards that shape and guide the professional women in the built environment. Although, as this thesis project has established, there is an ever-growing awareness and acceptance of women as equals in the corporate world, there nevertheless remains considerable structural inequalities between men and women. Some planning and architecture fields still find women in human services, consultation and social planning roles, or in divisions with relatively small and vulnerable budgets and little prestige and real power beyond the role of consultants and advisors to those who ultimately make the decisions. In comparison to men in positions with development control, transportation planning, and metropolitan strategies, women are still on the periphery, as opposed to being within the core of planning polices and practices. This is beginning to, and will undoubtedly continue to change over time as women move up the ranks and exert more influence over their professions from positions of power. It is more important than ever to facilitate further consultation in the form of in-depth interviews could be done about the experience of women in the work place to assess whether and to what extent the gender inequalities and biases of the wider society are being reinforced or challenged.
8.2 Balancing Differences and Equity

Feminism recognises difference in the experience of men and women. These differences can cause some to become disadvantaged. The focus of feminist work has shifted towards recognition of differences between different women, and how they use the city. Questions relating to the use of public spaces, housing design, experiences of single women and families, women of various nationalities and socio-economic backgrounds are critical in overcoming issues of inequity. Understanding and obtaining a balance of gender (recognition) and equity will provide solutions to the inquiry of how men and women can better appreciate how gender inequity is perpetuated and embedded in the culture of a profession. It is hoped that with further understanding of gender inequities, the notion that these imbalances are natural can be eradicated. Systematic differences in women and men in their own communities must be taken into account so as to achieve gender conscious design and planning.

8.3 Reform of Feminist Education

It can be seen through the significant amount of theoretical literature on feminism in planning and design professions that awareness is steadily increasing. However, given the dense nature of the information, not everyone comes across, and is able to gain benefits from traditional feminist discourse in the academic sense. The result is, issues of gender in the planning scene are very low in the consciousness of many professional practitioners. Many are even actively anti-feminist. These women are afraid to speak voice their concerns for fear of being labeled simply as a “noisy feminist”. The importance of gender and history should, and need to be integrated into the consciousness of students, academics and professionals alike. There is a dramatic polarisation of views on feminism, some embrace concepts raised within this thesis project, while others (even some women) have very little interest in the field. This reveals a need for, and the resistance to gender conscious approaches. The introduction of gender awareness, as opposed to strict enforcement will lead us on an arduous path to true equality that will continue to be met with resistance and incomprehension in male dominated faculties and professional bodies.
The implications for our planning and architectural framework lie in themes reflected in “The Thereness” of Women: A Selective Review of Urban Sociology,” (Lofland, 1975). She asserts that in empirical and theoretical urban sociology, women are perceived as being part of the scene, but not the action.

Women are part of the locality or the neighbourhood or the area. They are important contributors to income, ecology, and demography, yet remain largely irrelevant to the analytic action. They reflect a group’s social organisation and culture, but they don’t seem to be much involved in the process of creating it.

My assertion is that feminist theory should also represent feminist politics. In this instance gender can function as a key lens for analysis. Feminist education and theory development should aim at producing emancipatory knowledge, and reduce the barriers for education from a feminist perspective. Furthermore, within mainstream theory, women should be seen as subjects of theory, and the future of feminism in planning and architectural professionalism lies in the recognition of a far more subtle and complex theory than simply the tradition of exclusion. The paradigms on which the integrity of these professions based upon, and informed by characteristics that are traditionally associated with the masculine in our society must shift. There is a need to rethink the very foundations upon which these disciplines lie, its epistemology, and its varying methodologies. Feminist critique and literature need to be incorporated and deeply entrenched into debates on planning, architectural, and design theory.

Lastly, the recommendations I make in this section are by no means sufficient in addressing the myriad of trials and tribulations that professional women encounter on a day-to-day basis. They are merely indicative of some directions which reform and education of feminist education can shift. It is important to realise that fundamental shifts are not going to achieved over a few years, but rather, allow women in planning, architecture and urban design to become conscious the possibilities that they can help to create.
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APPENDIX A
Overview of Interview Questions:

Questions about profession and experience:

1. How long have you been in the profession?
2. What motivated you to seek this career path?
3. In your opinion, how do your own objectives/experiences come into play during the design process?

Personal issues in design/planning outcomes:

4. Do you feel your own visions are being expressed adequately in project outcomes?
5. What considerations do you have when taking a project (planning or design) on?
6. Are there specific issues raised with regard to feminist perspectives which have been raised during your time in the profession?
7. Are you able to give me some specific examples?
8. To what extent do you feel that policy makers and practitioners take female users into account in their design decisions?

Equality between the sexes- perceptions in the real world:

9. Do you feel there still exists a disparity in perspective that was so entrenched in the profession a decade or more ago?
10. What recommendations do you have for improving policy creation and implementation so as to incorporate an essentially feminist perspective?
11. Do you feel this is necessary?
12. Has there been a redefinition of female architects/urban designers/planners roles in the profession?
13. What advice would you give young women aspiring to be (planner, architect, urban design consultant)?
14. Have you experienced sexist attitudes in the workplace?
15. Can you describe the incidents/remarks? You can leave out names and details as necessary
16. What impression did this leave you with?

Recommendations/future:

17. How, in your opinion, can these situations be alleviated and or avoided, if at all possible?
18. Are there any particular project outcomes where you feel that your own opinions have been adequately represented thus reflected? Or conversely, compromised?

Job satisfaction:

19. On the whole, what is your level of job satisfaction and why?