ID 1309 | PLANNING FOR DIVERSITY AND SUSTAINABLE SPATIAL PLANNING RELIGION SPACE GENDER AND ETHNICITY

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ABSTRACT: Sustainability objectives are central to modern urban planning, shaping all aspects of. Originally, sustainability had three components, environmental sustainability, economic well-being and social equality: - Planet, Prosperity and People. But, the environmental aspects of sustainability have tended to predominate. This leaves little space for social issues, and aspatial (non-physical) factors such as belief and religion. It is argued, with reference to UK-related research, religion has major spatial planning implications for all aspects and levels of urban policy. Neglecting religion's existence results in an incomplete planning agenda which undermines equality, especially ethnicity-related policies. The implications of this gap are discussed with reference to the environmental, economic and social components of sustainability policy. There is little recognition of the contribution of religion to cities: rather a negative mentality predominates amongst planners. Ways of changing the planners' understanding, and mainstreaming religion into planning are discussed, drawing on methods used to integrate gender into planning.

1 INTRODUCTION

The urban planning policy agenda is strongly influenced by sustainability objectives with particular emphasis upon environmental issues. But, the original definition was much broader and included economic well-being and social equality as well as environmental balance. But it is environmental sustainability, as illustrated in this paper with reference to the UK, that has become the ersatz religion and zeitgeist of politicians, urban policy makers and academics (Boot, 2014: 186). However worthy and admirable it might sound to be concerned about 'saving the Planet', in reality this agenda provides little space for social policy (Dempsey et al, 2011), or for taking into account the wider value base of the policy makers, or the beliefs and religions of the planned. There is little consideration given to the ways in which particular sustainability policies might impact upon different groups of human beings in society, in terms of their class, gender, lifestyle and religion and so forth. Likewise there is little linkage between sustainability policy and social issues such as poverty, social exclusion, disability, unemployment, and homelessness. A strict application of sustainability policy, which puts environmental concerns above human considerations, may actually exacerbate the situation by creating a people-less approach to planning (Greed, 2011). In the UK, the 2010 Equality Act lists seven protected categories that should be taken into account in all aspects of government policy making, including (in theory at least) urban planning. These are Age; Disability; Gender Reassignment; Pregnancy and Maternity; Race; Sex (gender) and Sexual Orientation; and Religion and Belief. However, overall equality issues tend to be given low priority compared with environmental considerations (Greed, 2005; 2017). Religion is on the list but it does not follow that it will get as much attention as the other categories. Some issues are higher up the pecking order than others, and nowadays sexuality tends to be given primary attention as the factor defining a person's identity (Habermas and Ratzinger, 2007). Social class (which does not even appear on the list) used to be the primary social factor, arguably because planners could justify their unpopular policies by claiming they were planning for the working class and knew what was best for society. Religion, faith and belief, as will be explained, are very low on the pecking order.

But does it matter? Surely religion is only of interest to a few people in these secular times? For many years pundits have declared that we are now living in a secular society (Cox,1965) and that the church is in decline. But there are still significant groups of people who need the time, respect, space, and building accommodation to exercise their faith. Firstly, there has been a major influx of immigrant groups and many give great importance to religion, as they come from countries which have never been secularised. Both Asian-origin Moslems and African Pentecostals have challenged the planning system in seeking planning permission for large buildings for worship and related community use. Demand has been generally been concentrated in ethnic minority areas particularly within the inner city. In many inner London boroughs over 60% of the population are now so-called 'ethnic minority' (in fact the majority) and they have set up scores

of small churches and meeting places (Onuoha and Greed, 2003). According to www.brierleyconsultancy.com, there are 500,00 Christians in black majority churches, and 1 million other Christians in Britain from Black, Asian and other minority groups, who are to be found in majority churches. Around 7,000 new churches have been started since 1980, and in the last ten years more new ones have started than old ones closed down.

Secondly contrary to the assumptions of Marx and other secularists (Tawney 1966; Cox,1965), religion has not withered away but is also growing within the white indigenous population too in the suburbs especially in charismatic and evangelical congregations in both traditional and independent churches (Cox, 1995; Davie, 2015). Goodhew (2012) found that that adult membership of the Anglican churches in the diocese of London has increased 70% between 1990-2010, and much of this growth is due to immigration. Thirdly, demand for church expansion has also come from East European immigrants swelling UK Roman Catholic congregations. All these new groups do not want the sort of cold, cramped, inflexible accommodation offered by buildings vacated by traditional dying denominations, but are demanding the right to create their own worship spaces and related facilities. As will be explained all these religious changes do have a spatial impact which planners need to acknowledge.

2 CONTENTS

This paper seeks to explore and illustrate the relationship between spatial planning and religion. The implications of these requirements planning policy and regulation are discussed. Examples, throughout the paper, will be related to the UK situation but there are parallels with what is happening in other countries too. The methodological and conceptual approach will be summarised. The ways in which religion itself and faith groups are treated in the planning system at the local authority level will be discussed, not least how the pursuit of sustainability policy marginalises such 'social' policy areas. The paper will take into account the two main components of the UK planning system, namely the development plans prepared by each local planning authority which set out planning policy for the area in question, and secondly detailed development control and regulatory requirements, regarding applications for new development and changes to existing buildings. It is at this detailed level of interpretation and application of regulations that the faith groups have the most problems with the planning system, and where local planners have the most discretion as to how to apply planning regulations. Examples are drawn from the environmental, economic and social fields of planning policy and practice. In the final section I set out some recommendations on how to change the system, and will include a 'toolkit' on how to mainstream religion into planning.

3 METHODOLOGY AND CONCEPTUALISATION

Since material on 'religion' was often absent within planning policy and regulations, I adopted an approach similar to when I was researching 'women and planning' policies because in both cases I was looking for something that was often missing or invisible (Greed, 1994, 2005). When I had investigated the values, world view and characteristics of the planning subculture I found a male-dominated, secular, technically-minded profession (Greed, 2013). One can observe, what Doreen Massey identified as 'the reproduction of social relations over space' in this case the transmission of the planner's personal experiences and world view onto the built environment, through the vehicle of professional decision-making (Massey, 1984). In this process some policy areas are majored upon and others are marginalised, and religion, along with gender and ethnicity, is a major blind spot (Mc Clymont, 2015).

I sought information both on development plan policy and planning control regulations related to religion. I undertook a web search of all planning applications, appeals and case law that related to 'places of worship' including using key words such as church, gospel, mosque, faith, and the names of the various denominations. I used www.compasssearch.co.uk which, in association with the Royal Town Planning Institute, provides frequently updated reports on current cases and appeals. I also searched using DCS (Development Control Services Limited) which is a password-only professional planning law site. I looked for relevant articles in the planning press, such as in 'Planning' which can be accessed at www.planningresource.co.uk . Since many of the key cases are related to London, I also consulted the GLA (Greater London Authority) and Planning Aid for London (a voluntary advocacy group). I combined,

and triangulated this approach, with a more informal and anecdotal approach of simply talking to people from a range of churches and other faith groups on their experiences and views on the situation.

There are only a few other existing research studies, for example by CAG a planning consultancy which has undertaken four key studies on the attitudes and policies of planners towards the needs of faith groups (CAG, 2008 a and b, 2009, and 2013), related to the situation in London and in the Midlands, focusing on Pentecostal and Moslem faith groups respectively. Doing a web search for the words church, religion, belief, faith in development plans, I found, brought up the obligatory equalities statement mantra at the start of every policy document. But hardly any local planning authorities actually follow on by referring to these matters in their policy statements, and very few have a separate chapter or section just on religious land-use matters. But the word 'church' came up hundreds of times, but only because the documents are referring to geographical locations such as 'Church Street', and every town seems to have at least one, reflecting our more religious past when religion did shape city form and structure (Greed,2017).

4 PLANNING POLICY

At an international level the sustainability agenda has dominated for many years. Environmentalism is a foundation of much government policy, However, the original definition of sustainability, as set out at the 1992 UN Rio Earth Summit by Mrs Gro Harlam Brundtland, (the first female Prime Minister of Norway) included (as stated) economic well-being and social equality as well as environmental sustainability. Through processes of subsidiarity, UN directive implementation, and the rolling out of the Agenda 21 programme, sustainability policy and regulations were transferred down to each nation state, in the UK's case through the intermediator of the European Union (EU) and into the UK, where the concept of sustainability had to be fitted into existing planning structures and cultures (Greed and Johnson,2016: chapter 10). The planning profession appears more at ease with physical, land-use matters and has particular affection for issues that can be quantified and counted. Therefore planners were happy to undertake Environmental Impact Assessments which measured mathematically the environmental effects of development. But they shied away from the more qualitative and less controllable non-spatial aspects of sustainability. In particular, anything to do with gender and 'women and planning' has always been a challenge to the planning profession (Greed, 1994). In fact in the environmental movement women have often been seen as the cause of the problems for 'having too many children' so from the start it was not particularly friendly to women, and was rather judgemental towards ordinary people too (Greed, 2011).

In contrast to the emphasis upon environmental issues, there have been very few requirements to 'count' or assess the social and cultural impact of planning policy and development proposals, either within the sustainability context or in relation to the social aspects of planning. Indeed planners may imagine that the impact of so-called social types of development cannot be 'counted', be they childcare, worship, community development (Greed, 2005; 2016). But places of worship, such as churches and mosques, like factories, do have a tangible physical building and fixed location, and, as will be explained they do have an impact in a variety of ways upon the surrounding urban area, in terms of transport needs, community development and employment opportunities. Whilst the planning system surveys and keeps records of details of many different land-uses, including housing, industry, commerce, recreational land and so forth, religion remains 'beneath the planners' radar' (Mc Clymont, 2015). Since there is no survey of religious building requirements, it is very hard to say how much land is needed and whether there is an over or under-supply of building space that might be used for religious purposes, and how or whether the situation is affected by sustainability requirements. And there is no high-level policy guidance to judge planning applications by.

However, there have been attempts to introduce Equality Impact Assessment, to parallel Environmental Impact Assessment. The current system (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010) seeks to integrate equality assessment into all aspects of policy making for all government departments in all departments, including planning. This builds on previous individual requirements in respect of gender, disability and ethnicity inter alia, and a PSED Public Sector Equality Duty exists to ensure this happens. However, as we found when undertaking research on mainstreaming gender into planning policy and practice, take up has been very limited in planning departments and many planners do not seem to think it is anything to do with them, owing to the technical and environmental nature of their work. In contrast it was found such measures are more acceptable in more women-related departments such as social services, health, education and personnel departments. There was little concept that gender might have

implications for apparently people-less, or male-dominated policy areas such as sport, industry and transport planning: although all these do really have major gender implications. Likewise religion was not seen as an issue to consider within mainstream policy making and it seemed to be a minor matter that would only relate to specific church building applications.

Furthermore there are no detailed standards as to how much land or what size of buildings should be provided for particular religions, relative to numbers in the congregation or catchment area. But Mulkeen (2014) notes that in past there were some attempts to come up with some guidance especially when building the post war New Towns, when in more religious times it was considered essential that every neighbourhood unit should have space set aside for its own church. But as CAG (2009) notes nowadays there is no attempt to quantify the need for land for religious use, nor for local authorities to specify standards for levels of provision. If one compares the lack of reference to religion in development plan policy, with the situation regarding retail development one can see how discriminatory the situation has become. Entire chapters in development plans are devoted to establishing how many shops are needed, using sophisticated techniques, such as retail gravity models, to establish hierarchies of need and the extent of catchment area at national, urban, local and even international levels, ranging from the enormous pulling capacity of major, out of town, shopping malls, to the role of traditional city centres, and down to the provision of local corner shops. If the same principles were applied to places of worship, there would be surveys of the needs of the different religions and denominations, the extent of their respective catchment areas, the times of opening, and consideration of all the ancillary issues such as parking, public transport and community accessibility. For example, the new Pentecostal mega churches and large mosques attract national, if not international congregations, and are bigger than most traditional cathedrals, and may be compared to major sports arena and football grounds in terms of pulling power. But planning policy would also need to take into account the more local levels of provision, such as smaller scale city-centre churches, and small chapels and Gospel halls serving local neighbourhoods. So, many churches and other faith groups find there is no recognition of their needs in development plan policy and thus no guidance on where they should locate when they approach their local planning office for permission to develop.

5 CONTROL OF DEVELOPMENT

Planners tend to shunt religion ‘down’ , out of the strategic policy making level, and into the local level of building control, confusion and ignorance seems to reign at this level too. There are many examples of churches trying to obtain premises in inner city locations, near to where their congregation lives (which would reduce the carbon footprint in terms of travel and contribute to the social strength of the area) and being refused. In desperation churches have been pushed further and further out and end up applying to use vacant industrial units, where they are likely to fall foul of antiquated planning laws. The Use Classes Order (UCO) sets out a series of categories of land use, such as shops (class A1) and cafés (A3), businesses (B1) industry (B2) , dwelling houses (C3), and non-residential institutions (D1) and places of assembly and leisure (D2) (Greed and Johnson,2014: 49). Churches, mosques and other religious building come within D1 alongside community centres, museums, exhibition halls and so forth, whereas some ancillary religious uses would come under D2 which is concerned with public halls, cinemas, sports facilities etc. So there is no separate Use Class just for religious buildings and they have mixed up with all sorts of other social and community uses.

But, this was not always so. Andrea Mulkeen (2014, page 23) found that between 1948-1987 religious buildings were separated out into their own Use Class, under the post war planning legislation that was the basis of the modern planning system under the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. But they were amalgamated with other uses following the ‘streamlining’ of the system in 1988. One of the biggest problems caused by religion not having its own proper use class and being put in with leisure and places of public assembly is that it is seen as an economically non-productive commodity which actually detracts from employment and urban regeneration. There are many examples of churches trying to obtain premises in inner city locations, near to where their congregation lives (which would reduce the carbon footprint in terms of travel and contribute to the social strength of the area) and being refused (Greed, 2016). Robert Wickham a planning consultant specialising in representing religious groups has produced statistics that show there is a greater level of refusal of planning applications from religious buildings (Wickham, 2014). The high level of refusals and other planning problems faith groups encounter when seeking planning

permission will now be illustrated with reference to examples related to the three component policy areas of environmental, economic and social sustainability.

6 REASONS FOR REFUSAL

In summary the reasons for refusal that seem to come up again and again are as follows:

1. Economic and employment factors: 'taking' buildings and land allocated for employment and urban regeneration (even when they are empty and churches generate employment opportunities) for 'non-productive' religious uses.
2. Urban conservation, design, and external appearance issues: concerns about the overall character of an area, Advertising and signage, impact of minarets and foreign architecture (even in predominantly Moslem or ethnic minority areas).
3. Social issues around social cohesion and destroying the character of the area, issues about 'outsiders' disrupting the community and upsetting diversity balance.
4. Transport and parking issues seem to be applied particularly harshly, even when people tend to walk to church, or use minibuses or public transport.
5. Technical issues around building control, public health regulations and noise, pollution and disturbance, amenity, which seem to be especially harshly applied.

In the next subsections the environmental, economic and social implications of these attitudes will be discussed with reference to planning policy and sustainability, using examples, particularly from the ongoing saga of The Kingsway International Christian Centre (KICC) which encapsulates so many of the issues. Transport and technical considerations will also come into the discussion.

6.1 ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

The highest priority is given to the environmental aspects of sustainability within the UK planning system, and this is manifested strongly in transport policy and control over the use of the private car to reduce people's carbon footprint, (regardless of whether any public transport exists outside of London). Because this branch of sustainability practice is linked to transport planning it has inherited all the quantitative, people-less characteristics of previous generations of transportation planners, a silo of planning which has never been famed for concern with human beings (Greed, 2012). For years all the necessary social journeys to service the family in terms of doctors, post offices, government departments, and childcare were seen as merely social leisure journeys (Greed,2004). So there was no place in this arrangement for church journeys which were seen as individual mainly taking place on at the weekend and so were of little importance to transport planners mainly concerned with the journey to work. Many small churches have had problems with restrictive controls on car parking spaces, with little allowance for the fact that elderly and disabled people may need to travel by car and some people come from quite a distance with no Sunday bus service available. On the other hand some Jewish and Moslem congregants will only travel by foot to worship and so requiring parking spaces to be provided, in often tight cramped inner city sites is equally unrealistic.

But when it comes to church-related planning appeals, curious decisions can be made that do suggest a level of discrimination that results in some planners putting aside their environmental credentials, as in the case of KICC (Kingsway International Christian Centre) . This is a huge church of over 12,000 members from 46 different nationalities, which has been seeking to build a mega church which would seat more people than any existing cathedral in Western Europe. The church had to move from its previous premises to make way for the London Olympics with the promise from the planners that any alternative site would be looked upon favourably. But not so! Since then the church has tried to get planning permission on several different buildings and new sites, whilst its congregation remains fragmented and reduced to holding multiple services in a range of scattered venues. Back in 2009 KICC's application for an 8,000 seater mega-church in Rainham Essex (on the outskirts of London), on an industrial estate was refused. They partly chose this site because there were no near neighbours so they could not be accused of causing a disturbance and being too noisy. This application was refused on the grounds that the site was already allocated for industry, although most of the units remained empty.

The Planning Inspector dealing with the Rainham actually stated that the church would put too much demand on local bus services (isn't that was buses are for?). This is extraordinary in that nowadays transportation planners are obsessed with getting people out of their cars and on to public transport for 'green' environmental sustainability reasons. In the cinema case too, the [new] planning inspector also raised concerns about too many pedestrians being generated, because many of the congregation would walk to church, as well making as a range of curious comments about the use of bicycles, local taxis and public transport all being overwhelming for the area (DCLG,2009). The KICC Christians meant to fly to church on angels' wings? Planners would not apply the same mentality to office or retail development, where (for another set of confused reasoning) they are encouraging people to use public transport and leave their cars at home. As a result of all these problems the KICC saga has been solved to some extent by the church 'leapfrogging the green belt' and moving into more rural premises has now moved to Buckmore Park, Maidstone Road, Chatham, east of London, as well as still retaining churches in Walthamstowe and other satellite locations, http://www. kicc.org.uk. People are ferried to and from the new Chatham site by minibus or commute by car, as public transport is not direct, and arguably this has had more impact on the environment than just letting them stay in London.

More broadly, secularised environmental attitudes often disregard the environmental principles already found in many religions, and do not work with faith groups. Both Christians and Moslems have emphasis on being guardians of the earth and caring for it, and Creation stories, so should be encouraged in instilling the young with a care for the environment. Much more so Hindu and to some extent Buddhist religions have very strong emphasis upon protecting the natural world. So it is ironic indeed that faith group members are often picked on for lacking environmental awareness, particularly when many are relatively poor immigrant groups and not part of the mainstream consumer society (Narayanan, (ed) (2015).

6.2 ECONOMIC REASONS

Many churches and other faith groups have been forced to look for accommodation on the outskirts of cities, and have applied for planning permission to use industrial units on business parks. In many cases they have been refused permission because they are seen as taking up space needed for employment even when they have remained vacant for several years. Overall faith groups are seen negatively as having no economic contribution to make to society. But such faith groups often supply social infrastructure and social capital that enables people to work in the first place, especially childcare facilities, local advice and training on employment opportunities and a voice in the community. Larger churches may also provide in-church employment in running bookshops, websites, cafés and food banks and all sorts. In fact The provision of childcare and home support for the workers has been seen as a key ingredient in ensuring that urban regeneration programmes can actually work . More broadly, anthropologists investigating the role of factors that generate economic development in South Asia and Africa, have found that Pentecostal and Evangelical churches can have a positive role, in generating employment, education, local business growth and even health and community wellbeing. This is partly of adherence to scriptural principles regarding saving not spending, reductions in crime, more stable family life and an overall more aspirational approach to life. Because church leaders are local and not part of the ex-pat expert advisor brigade they are likely to have more influence and understand what really works locally. Granted such changes may open local communities to western-style consumerism and rejection of traditional indigenous values, but it is generally found that with time people can reflect on their lives and retain what is good from the past as well as the present (Freeman,2012).

Likewise inner city faith groups can have a major role in urban regeneration and renewal which is going to be more sustainable in the long term than being dependent on bringing in footloose multi-national companies attracted by the grants, whilst national retail outlet chains often put locally run shops and traders out of business (Brownill, 2000). Patrick Anderson a Christian working with Planning Aid for London, told me sadly, that 'church is not seen as the engine of the economy' by the planners. He also commented that globalisation of production, is the reason that so many reason industrial units remain empty because industry has gone elsewhere where labour is cheaper, and the same global forces have increased immigration to the UK. So it is foolish for the planners to hold on to the industrial units and wistfully wait for traditional industry and business to pick up, and rather they should be encouraging and supporting faith groups, and immigrant groups as a whole, as the new sources of economic growth and urban regeneration.

6.3 SOCIAL FACTORS

As can be seen faith groups can provide a whole range of social goods and social and religious capital which supports and regenerates communities. Pentecostal churches have an emphasis upon the full Gospel of healing, healthy living, prosperity and wellbeing. So one would imagine they would be ideal partners in Healthy city programmes which are often closely aligned to sustainability objectives and World Health Organisation initiatives (Guise et al,2010). Even if the planners take a purely secular view of the value of religion, as Katie Mc Clymont explains (2015) churches have always made a major practical contribution through what she calls 'municipal spirituality' by providing church halls, and other ancillary buildings for use by the community, for crèches, community meeting places, food banks, support groups, emergency accommodation for the homeless and refugees, and also simply quiet spaces in busy cities where people can contemplate and even worship, such as in graveyards, cemeteries and church gardens. But much of this seems to be 'under the radar' of the planners, not least because some of this provision is mainly used by women, those with small children and also the elderly.

Previous research on 'gender and planning' issues (Greed, 2005) found that many essential services and activities essential to women did not register as being relevant to land-use planning. For example childcare requirements generates the need for crèches, day care facilities and nurseries, although they require buildings and have a substantial impact on journey to work patterns therefore should be a major consideration in formulating land use, transportation and locational policies. But planning applications for such facilities have often been refused, and on appeal it has been deemed that such uses are social and therefore ultra vires that is outside of planning law's remit because they are not to be 'a land use matter' (Greed,2004). In contrast Sport, has always been seen as a valid physical land use, especially playing fields for male ball games , for which large areas of land is provided, although arguably sport is also just a social matter. In the same way, religion and all the so-called social facilities it provides have often been unrecognised and therefore rendered ultra vires in the planning process, even when this neglect has major environmental sustainability implications in reducing the availability of local facilities resulting in more journeys outside the area in question.

In addition to planning control, building inspectors seem to have problems with multi-use buildings where maybe there are worship and meeting places, but also offices, communal areas, catering, educational facilities and maybe even cafes and retail outlets. Strict application of rules and controls, never designed for such multi-use buildings, will result in refusal, or in increased costs and lengthy delays. Building control operates separately from planning control with additional sets of rules. An application may be passed around to all the relevant departments such as to the fire department, licensing authorities regarding 'live music', public health and sanitation, and even the police and magistrates. One also needs to consider under environmental issues, policies and controls regarding, noise, disturbance, cooking smells loss of amenity and so forth. For example, there are all sorts cultural issues around whether people accept or complain about religious noises such church bells, Moslem calls to prayer, gospel singing and street evangelism accompanied by music. Noise is a frequent reason (excuse) for refusal, and there are many examples of 'non-traditional' (black) churches being required to install treble glazing.

However, paradoxically, when it suits their needs, governments actually like faith groups when they take some of the burden off the welfare state by providing housing, health, education and social care for free. But this is not translated into acknowledging the need for buildings in which to undertake this work. Whilst they like this 'religious capital' (social capital) that faith groups provide, they are much more wary of their 'religious capital' that is their beliefs, because of fears of fundamentalism and social division (Baker, 2012). As stated although religion is one of the seven categories under equality legislation, it is low on the pecking order and often viewed negatively and as incompatible with other equalities issues, such as gay rights and the need for social cohesion. Yet, many churches and mosques contain people who themselves suffer high levels of discrimination because of their race and yet they are powerless to fight back and find themselves cast as promoters of discrimination, rather than being discriminated against themselves.

Faith groups may receive opposition to their presence in local areas from both progressive groups concerned with equalities (as above) and from more traditional, reactionary groups in society. For example, returning to the KICC saga, in their search for large buildings (before moving out altogether to Chatham), the church put in applications on a range of sites and buildings within London. For example they bought a redundant cinema in Bromley, inner London, near to Crystal Palace, and started using it as a church, in the hope of receiving retrospective planning permission. They were subject to the threat of enforcement proceedings on a whole series of technicalities. As the local press attests, local residents

expressed objections on a much wider range of criteria. In particular they have expressed concern about 'outsiders' taking over the building, thus apparently depriving existing residents of its use, in spite of the cinema being derelict and unwanted for years. Fears were expressed by some local residents about noise, disturbance, increased crime and anti-social behaviour taking place, and overcrowding on the pavement (sidewalk) outside (www.crystal-palace-mag.co.uk). In reality nobody has wanted the building for years, the locality has a substantial and long-established ethnic minority population and members of the KICC church are known for their holiness and good works, and are hardly part of the perceived criminal fringe.

More broadly, this example raises questions as to quite 'who' comprises 'community' and 'local culture' in the minds of the planners. It also raises issues as to what local planning authorities see as valid leisure, entertainment and cultural uses. Many local councils are keen to promote the 'night-time economy' and the 24 hour city. Such policies usually results in over-provision of licensed drinking premises, with attendant noise, public drunkenness and street urination. There is clearly a double standard as many churches are refused permission on the basis of noise and disturbance, although many congregations are likely to be tee total and careful not to disturb the peace. In the end the cinema building was turned into an arts complex, a use which arguably does not reflect the needs of the majority of the local population but that of the metropolitan elite. But culture, media and the arts are far more likely to be seen by the planners as drivers of urban regeneration and the local economy, than religion as attested by many other examples from my research, circus school (SOAS, 2014). Because there is no survey of the actual need for church premises, planners base their decisions on the assumption that there is a drop in church attendance, and thus decline in the need for church premises, and so it is argued that more redundant church buildings should be returned to community use (Branson, 2009). For example, St Paul's Church Bristol, built in 1790 and restored through the Heritage Lottery Fund, which was adapted in 2005 to make space for a circus arts academy. Note this is a majority ethnic minority area where just up the road one can find Black churches precariously holding on to tenancy of industrial units who would have jumped at the chance to be offered such redundant church buildings in the area.

7 CONCLUSION

The planning system does not value religion or the role of faith groups to increasing economic, social and environmental sustainability. Planners either ignore the spatial implications of religion, or relegate it to the wrong planning law categories (Rogers and Gale, 2015; Wickham, 2014) Both ethnic minority groups and women feel particularly discriminated against in this respect. Women ministers of Pentecostal churches felt they were not taken as seriously by the planners than white male vicars (Onuoha and Greed, 2003).

Both attitudinal and procedural measures are required to change the current situation. Both sides: planners and faith groups need to understand each other's viewpoint and goals. Congregations, through the auspices of advocacy and planning-education groups such as Planning Aid, need to learn about how planning operates, and how policy statements and legal parameters delineate what planning can and cannot achieve. Planning, architecture and local politics need to be promoted as careers for young people from faith groups which can reshape the future, as is already being done at the KICC church (Beckford,2000; NCLF, 2015).

But, it is the planners, not the planned, who hold the most power and responsibility. So all development plan-making should include surveys and analysis of the numbers of religious buildings and spaces There should be a calculation of how much need there is, in terms of numbers of existing, vacant, suitable buildings and levels of existing and future demand. A hierarchical model of the different sizes and types, of catchment areas and levels of attraction of different sorts of religious development should be created (along the lines of what is done already through retail gravity models of attraction, catchment area and demand) (Greed,2016).

The implications of religious land-use and development should be related to employment, transport and housing policy. Likewise sustainability policy, economic development policy, and equalities assessments should all take into account the value of religious development which would thus be integrated into high-level, city-wide policy and not treated as an isolated, local-level afterthought. Considerable attention should be given to public consultation and participation, involving faith groups from the start.

At the national level, there need to be changes in planning law, especially in the UCO to ensure that religious development is not lumped in with other competing uses, and that it is given full value and respect. At the local planning level, there should be a more tolerant, less negative, and less judgmental approach to development control, and a more sensitive approach towards applying building regulations and rules which were designed mainly for commercial buildings, not worship spaces. It is to be noted that the Greater London Authority has taken some of these issues on board, including some more positive references to religion both in its main development plan document and its related Supplementary Planning Guidance (GLA,2007; GLA, 2009, pages 22,62,86,91, 264). If we do all this it will help create sustainable, functional towns and cities, whose populations benefit from a more equal, peaceful and understanding way of life.

In order to integrate religious considerations into the planning process, I have been adapting the 'Women and Planning' principles of the Gender Mainstreaming Toolkit for planning officers (RTPI,2003; Reeves,2005) in order to apply it to religion in Figure 1. A fuller version is presented in my research report (Greed, 2017).

FIGURE 1: TOOLKIT TO MAINSTREAM RELIGION INTO PLANNING POLICY

To integrate religious issues into the planning process one must ask the following questions:

1. What organisational resources and expertise is available to the planners on faith and religion?
2. Does the policy-making team include those knowledgeable on religious issues?
3. Who are perceived to be the planned?
4. Who is consulted in terms of ethnicity, class, gender, and religion?
5. Are both leaders and laity included? Both Clergy and community members?
1. 4. How are statistics gathered, are they disaggregated by religion?
6. Is there adequate funding to carry out the work?
7. What are the key values, priorities and objectives of the plan?
8. How is it evaluated? By whom?
9. How is the policy implemented, managed, monitored and managed?

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ID 1325 | THE RIGHT TO THE CITY FOR REFUGEES AMID A EUROPEAN CRISIS: AN EXPLORATORY PERSPECTIVE

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1 INTRODUCTION

My presentation for the AESOP annual congress falls within the scope of a wider exploratory approach embraced at the launching of the post-doctoral research project INSEHRE 21, focusing on the process of socio-spatial and housing inclusion of African and Middle Eastern refugees and asylum seekers in contemporary Europe, with reference to the reception of Portuguese-speaking African communities in Portugal, from 1975 until today, i.e., after the liberation of most of its former colonies. The aim of this presentation is twofold: to introduce some theoretical authors selected for structuring the INSEHRE 21 investigation; and to confront the key concept of inclusion with the European possibility of constructing responses directed (or not) to the access of these needy immigrants to the Right to the City (Lefebvre, [1968] 2009), both purposes with reference to the current neoliberal crisis in the Western countries, particularly in Europe.

This presentation is organised into three interconnected parts, the first one concerning the theoretical-methodological structuring notion of inclusion starting from the thoughts of four important scholars, such as Michel Foucault, Slavoj Žižek, Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey, seeking to identify the broader meaning of belonging, and its paradoxical significances, and of “spaces of inclusion”, namely its materialisation. The second part refers to the project INSEHRE 21 itself, its principal objectives, description (theme, object of study, questions, methodology and structure) and state of the art, addressing social (self-) production and official production of housing (and urban) space in Portugal and other European countries. The third part discusses the theoretical premises of the project in light of its principal intentions aiming to frame spatial (and intersectoral) inclusion processes in future reflections and to identify new avenues of theoretical and empirical research.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the late 1970s, the French philosopher and social theorist Foucault ([1977/1978] 2008) defended that, in general terms, the government seeks to include all citizens, according to several levels of partaking in the building of society, so they best meet its policies. In short, for the author, inclusion equals normalisation within the framework of “governmentality”. It means preserving all individuals inside of the capitalist neoliberal system involving them in activities targeting the maintenance and reproduction of its segregating market logics. This contradictory process – inclusion as a path for rejection – implies larger surveillance and state control over the behaviour and wealth of communities. Nevertheless, referring to the crisis of the global system, Foucault (ibid.) also stressed its symptoms, outbreaks and/or forms, e.g., the resistances and counteractions that seek to encourage society as the legitimate holder of its knowledge whilst protecting collective needs.