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PLANNING FOR OUR OWN TOMORROW

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1. Introduction

This paper attempts to understand the relationship between older people and planning and the impact of planning decisions on the lives of older people. Because planning is shaped by people who are products of a particular culture and society, it may be argued as in the case of women (Little, 1994; Greed 1994), disabled people (Gilroy, 1993) and ethnic minority groups (Krishnaryan and Thomas, 1993) that the difficulties faced by older people can best be viewed by setting this discussion in the context of wider causes and manifestations of inequality.

The paper examines the consideration given to the needs of older people as demonstrated in the forward plans of six local authorities with significant populations of older people. The paper draws out conclusions and recommendations for the inclusion of older people and their concerns within the planning process.

1.1 Terminology

Throughout this paper the term "older people" rather than "old people" is used. This is in line with the terminology used by the European Year of Older People and Solidarity Between Generations. It is a movement away from language which suggests that at certain life stages there is homogeneity when for example between those aged 60 years and those of 90 years there is a clear generation gap with different life experiences and shaping influences.

It suggests a continuum of life and experience as opposed to one in which citizens are shunted from one life band to another purely because of chronology. The term acknowledges our own participation in the universal ageing process. If it is agreed that ageism not only uses chronological age as a means of marking out a class of people who suffer the consequences of this denigration but also generates a fear of the ageing process which is integral to the life process; then it is damaging to suggest that those who discuss ageism are somehow exempt from the ageing experience (Bytheway and Johnson, 1990).

The term looks ahead to the debate which we have yet to have in this country on how old age might be defined. Traditionally old age has officially been seen as those years when citizens claim the state retirement pension which for now is from 65 years for men and from 60 years for women. While this is still the definition in common usage recent changes in society begin to suggest that this definition needs re-examining.

The first of these changes is the decrease in economic activity among the those aged 55 and over. Many have experienced redundancy through restructuring of industries or recession. While these individuals are available for work, statistics demonstrate that this age group suffer longer periods of unemployment than younger people (Central Statistical Office, 1994).

Table 1: Civilian labour force economic activity rates in percentages by sex and age.

	1986	1990	1991	1992
Men				
45-54	91.8	91.5	91.0	91.0
55-59	81.1	81.0	80.3	78.0
60-64	53.8	54.4	54.1	52.9
Women				
45-54	70.5	72.8	72.7	74.5
55-59	51.8	54.9	54.5	54.7
60-64	19.1	22.7	24.1	23.4

(Source: Employment Department quoted in *Social Trends 24* (1994).

Those made redundant from managerial posts face the prospect of never working in this capacity again. An examination of many of the "top jobs" advertised in the quality press reveals widespread use of age barriers.

It is unlikely that anyone outside 35 / 35 years of age will have the necessary experience or drive essential for the rapid achievement required.

[Source: *Sunday Times*]

Other people within the older age group have exercised choice by withdrawing from the labour market using early retirement schemes. The latter group cannot draw upon the state retirement pension but may be in receipt of occupational pensions or pensions built up by voluntary contributions.

2. The importance of planning for older people

When we consider those services which have greatest impact on the lives of older people we tend to turn to housing, to social services and to the health service. These are the recognised key players in community care; the concept of bringing people out of institutions with the aim of reintegrating them into the community and also keeping in the community those vulnerable to entering institutional care. An examination of articles on planning and older people in recent years demonstrates a lack of awareness of the place that older people have in the community and an over concentration on issues surrounding the siting of nursing homes. This view of older people as dependent conforms to what Wilson (1991) describes as the "terminal decline" model" which sees again as an inevitable and irreversible slide down into dependency.

With greater numbers of older people remaining in the larger community, planners have a need to incorporate the needs of older people in the plan and the planning process.

Since the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, local government has had a clearly defined responsibility for planning and managing the environment for the benefit of the community as a whole. The extent to which planners have seen older people as members of that community must be questioned in the light of some planning decisions which have placed less affluent and less mobile people at a disadvantage. Many city centres are "no-go" areas for the less athletic who cannot dash through fast moving traffic, nor manage pedestrian subways (often intimidating places anyway); similarly the lack of places to sit and rest with shopping bags, and the absence of conveniently sited public toilets can make city centres an ordeal - and not just for the older generation... Balancing the needs of all members of a community is no easy task, but an awareness of the limitations and requirements of older people is crucial to sensitive planning and will in many cases benefit everyone else who lacks private transport or whose mobility is restricted, whether by a sprained ankle or baby buggy (Norton, Stoten and Taylor 1986).

These elements make up what might be called a hostile environment created by thoughtless planning but this can be worsened by a lack of or badly located community facilities:

* restructuring within the postal services has already led to closure of many sub-post offices. The 1994 threat of privatisation seems to have been averted nevertheless more closures are anticipated. Forty per cent of older people are wholly or mainly dependent on the state pension which is usually in the form of a cashed money order at the Post Office. Alternatives allow pensions to be paid directly to a bank account but this supposes that an older person has a bank account and has easy access to the bank. In rural areas many settlements have neither bank nor post office.

* the trend to out of town shopping centres accessed primarily by car, only now being questioned, may have forced the closure of local shopping facilities.

* deregulation of buses may have hit frequency and routes of services

* cut backs made by local authorities may have reduced the support and endangered the viability of community centres and advice centres which provided social support and assistance to older people.

To elaborate on one of these issues consider the case of the 75 year old man who lives alone.

He shops daily at his small shopping centre located 200 yards from his home. This man may need to shop daily because his kitchen storage facilities are poor or his fridge is not working and cannot be replaced because of cost. He may also choose to shop daily for the social contact it provides. The morning discussion of the headlines with the newsagent and the chat about the weather in the greengrocer's may be the limit of this man's social exchange. These shops close suddenly and the nearest shops are one mile away. The bus service is infrequent and expensive for someone on a limited income. This man may find that he needs a home help to do his shopping for him or he may be offered meals on wheels. He has lost his independence, lost a means of structuring his time, lost his role as a shopper and lost valued social contacts.

If it is clear that planning plays a significant part in helping older people maintain their independence a further question to ask might be why be concerned now. For the answer to this we must consider a number of issues:

- * the designation of 1993 as the European Year of Older People and Solidarity between generations
- * demographic trends.
- * the discovery of the voice of older people

2.1 European Year of Older People and Solidarity between generations

On 24th April 1990 the European Commission presented a communication to the member states, setting out proposed measures to be taken at European level to increase awareness of and to supplement efforts being made at national level to help older people. The first Community programme for older people was approved later in the same year with 1993 being designated as European Year of Older People and Solidarity between generations.

The wider aims of the year were (92/440/EEC)

- a) to highlight the Community's social role;
- b) to heighten society's awareness of the situation of the elderly, the challenges resulting from present and future demographic developments and the consequences of an ageing population for all Community policies;
- c) to promote reflection and discussion on the types of change required in order to deal with this situation and these developments;
- d) to promote the principle of solidarity between generations;
- e) to involve the elderly more in the process of Community integration

Within this framework each member state constructed its own agenda for action and in Britain this was as follows:

- a) combating ageism
- b) encouraging older people to volunteer
- c) the promotion of health and active leisure pursuits
- d) removing barriers to social and environmental integration.

Through this paper recommendations will be made as to how planning and planning related services may make a positive contribution to these aims.

2.2 Demographic Trends

Long life is the gift of the twentieth century: however it is a gift to which we have not yet adjusted in policy terms.

The 1991 Census showed an increase in the percentage of people of pensionable age in Great Britain compared to the position in 1981.

Table 2: Comparison of age bands in the population of Great Britain

	1991	1981
children under 16	20.1%	22.3%
adults aged 16 - 59/64	61.2%	60.0%
pensioners	18.7%	17.7%

(Source: National Monitor (1992) 1991 Census, Great Britain).

Not only are there more older people in the population but there is a substantial increase in those aged 75 or more who now number 3.6 million or 7.1 per cent of population. It is projected that it is among the very old that there will be continued increase so that by 2031 the over 75 group will be 11 per cent of the total population of Britain.

In the twelve months to June 1992, 263 men and 2,090 women celebrated their 100th birthday. (Hansard 1992)

This ageing of the population is due to a decrease in fertility leading to fewer young people and children in the population and an increase in longevity for those reaching old age. It might be supposed that advances in medical science have been responsible for this increase in life-span. While it has played a part it is more that improvements in the care of pregnant women and young children including premature babies have led to more individuals surviving the vital first five years than any expansion in care of people at the furthest end of the life span.

Findings from the 1991 Census reveal that this increase in the numbers of older people has not been felt equally across Britain. The proportion is over 30 per cent in many coastal districts with Christchurch at 34.6 per cent having almost double

the national average of 18.7 per cent. This concentration is a clear indication of the trend for older people to move to seaside areas on retirement. It is also the case that these areas have the greatest concentration of older owner occupiers. Common among the areas with the lowest proportion of pensioners were those developed as new towns such as Milton Keynes, Bracknell and Redditch. The lowest proportion of pensioners was recorded at Tamworth in Staffordshire with 11.6 per cent.

An important factor is the dominance of women among the older age group. Sixty five per cent of the retired population is female while among the oldest group (the over 85s) seventy five per cent are female. As in discussions of disability, gender aspects of aging are often under stated suggesting that old age is viewed as a period of life when gender ceases to have significance; that the issues confronting men and women in later life are identical; that the patterns of earlier life are simply replicated:

women's retirement has been neglected because a major stumbling block was the belief that it did not constitute a salient social or research issue, backed up by the highly questionable but prevalent assumption that retirement from work is a less significant event in women's lives (Szinovacs, 1982)

What is the significance of gender in later life?

There is also a high incidence of disability which again has a strong gender dimension.

Table 3: The prevalence of disability according to age and sex (1988) per thousand of the population

Age	Boys/Men	Girls/Women
0-15	37	26
16-59	56	64
60-74	283	264
75 and over	533	631

[Source: Bone and Meltzer (1989) and Martin et al (1988)]

Perhaps it is another aspect of the negative approach to old age but it is frequently assumed that disability in later life is a once and for always condition. Disability, at least in the ability to live an independent life, is tightly bound up with environmental issues and therefore can increase or decrease over time. Over these issues planners exercise control and thus have responsibility.

2.3 Finding a voice

Over the last three decades people have been striving to establish human rights in the face of dominance by a powerful culture (whatever its political colour). In the process skills have been learned, techniques evolved and consciousness raised (Berrett, 1993, p. 38).

Beginning in the United States in the sixties, successive groups of under privileged or disempowered citizens have successfully campaigned firstly through street protests and then through the legislative process for civil rights. In Britain there has been both protest and legislative response but to date this has benefited only two disempowered groups: ethnic minority citizens and women with the passing of the three successive Race Relations Acts (1965, 1968, 1976) and the Equal Pay Act of 1970 together with the Sex Discrimination Act (1975).

It would be naive to assume either that the passing of legislation inevitably creates social change (Lustgarten and Edwards, 1992) or that once legislation has been passed, the rights of these groups are secured. The rights of women over their bodies has been questioned in the successive debates about limiting abortion. Similarly recent debates about fertility treatment suggests that only married couples will be helped by the National Health Service while single women and those in lesbian relationships will be excluded meaning that those women who have no dependency on men are unacceptable for motherhood (Hanmer, 1993). An extension of this is the way in which the standing of single mothers has been endlessly battered by writers on the so called "underclass" who seek to blame single mothers for wider changes in society. In July 1994 government announced changes to the Homeless Persons legislation which would limit the rights of homeless priority groups to temporary accommodation only. This will particularly hit women who are more vulnerable to homelessness than other groups.

Black people in this country are still waiting for racial harassment and racially motivated attacks to be listed as specific offences. Through the summer of 1994 there has been debate which indicates that legislation may soon be agreed, nevertheless it is seven years since the publication of the Commission for Racial Equality's influential report *Living In Terror* (1987) which stated that part of the problem was the lack of clear policies and the failure to implement policies where they existed.

This is where British legislation has stopped. Unlike the United States there is no legislation to prevent discrimination against disabled people. Attempts in 1994 to have their position recognised by government and the law have been rejected though legislation to give greater protection to disabled workers is promised in the 1994-1995 session of parliament. However disabled people have succeeded in gaining attention for the debate on the reasons for their disempowerment. They have also excited media attention by taking to the streets in their "Rights Not Charity" campaign against their portrayal as icons of pity by TV. Telethon for "Children in Need"¹.

The Grey Panther movement of the seventies which successfully asserted the rights of older people in the United States has yet to find its counterpart here though there are examples of older people coming forward in numbers. Retired workers have been active in lobbying for changes in the level of the state pension under the leadership of retired Trade Union activist, Jack Jones. Issues such as the initial imposition of VAT on fuel in 1994 brought many older people out on the streets to protest at the erosion of their living standards. Locally in February 1994, Alan Donnelly MEP for Tyne and Wear successfully brought together a myriad of pensioner organisations to form an umbrella group which might act as a conduit of older people's views to him in the European assembly and for dissemination of information to older people.

Against this background of older people discovering their voice and political power, planners need to re-examine the processes through which they interact with the community. The first edition of *North East Pensioners Voice* (June/July 1994) highlights the token forms of participation frequently offered to older people:

It is becoming a practice for local health authorities to hold so called forums as a substitute for consultation.. they invite some older people to attend as a token gesture. We are usually outnumbered - and often drowned out- by non elderly professionals who, however well-meaning, speak on our behalf. It is rare that in depth discussion can take place because of the nature of the forum and very often no report is produced or recommendation acted upon. If representatives of older people's organisations could meet together in their own areas, formulate their agenda, discuss common aims and decide how they want to achieve them, they would be able to speak with one voice and therefore be that much more powerful.

Whilst all local councils are sympathetic towards the conditions of older people it is an unfortunate fact that they put less resources into the Pensioners Movement than happens in most parts of the country.

The fault is not theirs it is ours. We do not press our case hard enough and we allow ourselves to be patronized. We should be able to present reasoned requests and keep pressure on for action to be taken. then we will see that we are consulted as a matter of course. We will be able to demonstrate to others the benefits from our efforts and local councils should be keen to provide us with proper resources for effective forums (Sowerby, 1994).

Since the Skeffington Report in 1968, there has been a recognition that many groups are unable to participate because of the inter relationship between equity, access and resources which could, in part, be ameliorated by planners and other professionals taking a more pro active stance in seeking their involvement. The ability and extent of an individual's capacity to participate will depend largely on resources. These resources may be individual (income and education) as well as organisational (links to groups, to networks of support). Lying behind these resources are social, cultural, ideological and economic factors all of which have a bearing on equity and increase or diminish the ability to obtain resources as well as shaping the ability of individuals or groups to act upon them. These factors include social class, place of residence (tenure now plays as important a part as locality), age, gender, ethnic group, disability and personal and collective values (Parry, Moyser and Day, 1992).

Within this framework consider the position of older people. Among the retired population, 40 per cent can be described as poor, in having little or no savings, being heavily dependent on the state pension and reliant on the social rented sector or lower end of private renting for their housing (Bull and Poole, 1989). This is likely to be a group with poorer access to decision making. The dominance of women also has implications for the involvement of older people in decision making. While a number of studies have explored the role of women in protest movements and in community development, no studies in this country have considered roles played by older women. Leavitt and Saegert (1988) in

their, examination of community regeneration in Harlem uncovered leaders among older women who were working to "hand on a vision of a better remembered Harlem" (page 491)

For all older people there is the burden of ageism whereby older people confront the negative attitudes of others and frequently come to internalise those attitudes until they become part of the accoutrements of old age itself (Gilroy, 1993). In addition those who are poor and /or disabled and/or female bear multiple disadvantage, carrying, as it were, the conjunction of many forms of socialisation (Lonsdale, 1990). For many older people, age may simply exacerbate the divisions experienced in earlier life.

Planners and other professionals need to be aware of the way all of these groups have been marginalised and disempowered. They need to understand that power not only constructs a framework for dialogue but also defines what counts as knowledge and therefore what constitutes reality. Sandercock and Forsyth discussing women and planning argue that power structures and the traditional epistemologies create inequalities by excluding certain groups as agents of knowledge and ignoring their ways of knowing. The importance of story telling, listening, intuitive knowledge and symbolism in opening dialogue between communities and professionals has been acknowledged by feminist writers and radical planners (Forester, 1992). This acknowledgment of different ways of knowing and multiple realities needs to be developed into pluralist participatory forms which embrace the views and aspirations of older men and women. More fine grain work is needed examining the way older people articulate their concerns if planners are to develop best practice participatory forms.

3. Fulfilling the British aims of the European year of older people.

This section identifies the part that planners and planning related professionals may play in fulfilling the British agenda.

3.1 Ageism

Ageist attitudes to older people may limit resources for older people based on the view that they are less valued members of society than working people or children: this is the pernicious face of ageism. The patronising face of ageism may shape the type of services and the delivery of those services, seeking, with good intention, to minimise the risk to older people but achieving a considerable inroad into an individual's independence.

In examining these attitudes in public policy is it the actions and thoughts of individual officers that are being uncovered? Is it that such actions or omissions are supported or tacitly condoned by agencies who have not questioned their views of older people? Is it that by examining the actions of individuals and the policies of organisations we may gain a window into the operation of the wider society and see these as a commentary upon the relationship between older and younger people? The answer must be that all of these are true. Policy makers act on the basis of information received from a large range of sources. Some of that information can be classified as facts that is material which is consciously known or can be researched. However a large share of information arises from unconscious assumptions which are absorbed in the course of the life experience or that individuals become accustomed to in the work place. These assumptions go unchallenged because they are unconscious. These assumptions may be determined by commonly held attitudes to ageing and older people which are reinforced by the decisions of individuals and institutions.

In order to make a difference, pressure needs to be brought to bear on individuals through education and training; on institutions by greater guidance from central government and the planning professional bodies as well as dissemination of good practice models; on society by anti discrimination legislation and by older people gaining decibel power to raise the profile of their concerns.

3.2 Encouraging older people to volunteer

The true picture of volunteering remains difficult to judge because its very nature means that the contribution of workers is often unrecorded. We are forced therefore to examine small scale case studies and anecdotes to gain windows into the position of volunteering in Britain and older people.

A ceremony held in Newcastle in March 1994 celebrated the contribution of volunteers to the aims and objectives of the Social Services Department. Many organisations throughout the city were represented and it was clear particularly in looking at who provided services for older people, that it was older people themselves. One of the women being celebrated was well into her eighties and cooking a mid day meal for a well attended luncheon club in the west end of the city. On a less public plane many documents about caring for a dependent older person comment on the care being given by those sons and daughters in their sixties and early seventies for their parents who are in their nineties. Others

document the position of elderly husbands and wives caring for their same age spouse. To see the older age group as simply passive recipients of care is to dismiss the role of many older people, some of whom may be in need of care themselves, in giving care to family and neighbours.

The ability of older people to volunteer their services in some sectors is constrained by ageism which sees them as having nothing to offer or judges that it is uneconomic to spend money on their training. A questionnaire survey undertaken by Age Concern in 1989 revealed that several institutional member groups practised age discrimination. Several stated that while capability should be the main criterion, seventy years of age should be the upper limit since after that age experience becomes dated (Midwinter, 1990). The idea that certain kinds of knowledge is date stamped is readily accepted but that this can be applied to experience is totally false and must be challenged. The same age barriers are erected against those who wish to volunteer their services to the Community Health Councils and those who would like to give their time in jury service: neither will appoint those over the age of seventy.

Planners and other related professionals need to examine their own practices here. In many local authorities it has become the practice to set up advise giving forums who might assist policy making for women or who might comment on whether development proposals make adequate provision for disabled people. There is the issue of whether forums of older people should be constituted. A more basic question is the attitude to involving older people per se.

There remains the fundamental issue of what value is given to volunteering? Here there is surely conflict and confusion. If employment and the ability to consume are the main touchstones whereby society judges the worth of an individual (Ford and Sinclair, 1987; Wilson, 1991) then older people may be unable to raise their status by undertaking even the most valued voluntary work. Against this must be recognised the value placed by individuals on volunteering frequently expressed as the desire to "give something back" or the spirit of titheing which underlies not only gifts of money to organisations but also the giving of time and talent. This emphasis on increased self esteem has been promoted by government in their "Active Citizenship" campaign but this might equally be viewed cynically as promoting cheap or even free methods of delivering services which are increasingly vital in times of severe revenue cuts.

3.3 Promotion of health and active leisure pursuits

The linking of health with active leisure is a deliberate move to consider health from a positive view point that is the promotion of greater physical and mental health through keeping the body active and increasing a sense of well being. But what does promote a sense of well being in later life. Are we guilty of judging by inappropriate models?

Western societies have very ambivalent attitudes to leisure even when it is regarded as "having been earned". We do not seem to have any idea how to talk or think about leisure or non-work in ways that give it status and see it as legitimate in its own right. Rather we tend to talk pejoratively of people with "time on their hands", or to place the discussion of leisure within the framework provided by the dominant norms and search for ways to make leisure "constructive and productive". Referring specifically to the elderly, one writer (Parker,

1980) says: "A life of leisure is not a socially recognised virtue in our contemporary society ... retired people are too often left alone to live out a presumed dotage" (Ford and Sinclair, 1987)

It would be valuable to undertake fine grained qualitative research with older men and women into their use of time and their attitudes toward leisure. An assumption to test would be that women are used to multi task lives and therefore are less likely to find themselves without a role on retirement from waged work. Men who are encouraged to find all or the greater part of their satisfaction from work may find themselves struggling to find an identity and meaningful ways of spending their time.

The European Observatory and Eurostat surveys of older European citizens found that on average two out of three citizens (gender unspecified) are either very busy or leading full lives. While the activity that took up most time was watching television, seven out of ten of those questioned were shopping and doing housework. Two out of five are doing gardening and or home maintenance. Nearly one in three had attended a religious meeting but only one in seven has attended a club or centre for senior citizens (Commission of the European Communities, 1993).

The question is do older people spend their time as they would wish and if not what are the barriers?

3.4 Removing barriers to social and environmental integration

Three major barriers prevent older people from fully participating in society: poverty, accessibility and fear of crime.

3.4.1. Poverty

Adequate money is the most important single thing which separates a good from a bad old age...enough money is the thing older people need most (Comfort, 1977, p. 160)

A survey of older people undertaken by the Commission of European Communities (1993) revealed that the Community is split into three groups. In Denmark, Germany, Luxembourg and Netherlands the large majority of older people regarded their pension as adequate. In Belgium, France, Ireland, Italy, Spain and in Great Britain opinion was divided on adequacy versus inadequacy. In Greece and Portugal a large majority felt their pension was inadequate. The results of a second question ("taking into account the contributions you made during your working life, do you receive now a pension that allows you to lead the life you would like to lead?") revealed a high level of frustrated aspiration. At the time of writing there is growing concern about the degree to which the British pension contract will be honoured in the future. The debate has been couched by politicians in alarmist terms suggesting that older people have become a burden on the state and that individuals will need to take on the lion's share of providing for their own income in old age. John Hills (1993) introduces a calm note by reminding us that a decision to increase pensions by linking them to income would increase spending on GDP by a very small amount and will not create a situation where welfare spending spirals out of control. Ultimately the decision to create a better standard of living for pensions is a political one. What part can planners play in reducing poverty among older people? While not able

to increase income, planners have a role in enabling older people make their money go further by for example:

- * promoting public transport
- * encouraging developments which can be easily reached by public transport
- * promoting policies of energy conservation particularly in the home and aiding these with grant aid targeted at poorer households who spend proportionately more income on fuel.
- * Financial assistance to owners of small shops who want to make improvements to frontages, concentrating such grant aid on areas of poverty where lack of mobility and income create a demand for local shopping.

Any and all of these could make a difference to an older person's quality of life and are within the control or influence of planners.

3.4.2 Fear of crime

For many people it has become impossible to consider leisure choices particularly in the evening without thinking first about their personal safety, particularly how they will make the journey in safety (Worpole, 1992). Concern for increasing personal safety and decreasing crime against property has always been within the scope of planning since PPG 1:

Crime prevention is one of the social considerations to which, in accordance with the Town and Country (Development Plan) Regulations 1991, regard must be given in development plans (DOE, 1992).

through to the more recent circular 5/94 which discusses general principles of good design under the banner of planning out crime and also gives thought to the effective management of spaces.

One of the main reasons people give for shunning town centres at night is fear about their security and safety: one of the reasons for that fear is the fact that there are very few people about. Breaking that vicious circle is the key to bringing life back to town centres.

This links through to PPG 6 in promoting a variety of uses to create welcoming and lively environments as well as encouraging late running public transport.

Crime statistics tell us older people are under represented among those suffering crime nevertheless circular 5/94 reminds us that

Fear of crime, whether warranted or not, is a significant problem in its own right, particularly among those in the more vulnerable sectors of society, such as the elderly, women and ethnic minorities.

Fear of crime is increasingly being recognised as a major problem rather than a symptom of neurosis. Research at the local level (Painter, 1992) suggests that older people suffer a range of intrusions such as having plants taken from their gardens; milk bottles being smashed on the doorstep; men urinating against their door. None of these incivilities is likely to excite police interest yet someone

suffering such actions may well feel victimised and vulnerable. The same locally based research reveals that as many women as men are victims of crime: what varies is the nature of the offence. Since the majority of older people are women, it may be a continued victimisation of women that we see rather than of older people. It would be interesting to conduct research with women across the age range to determine whether all women fear the same type of offence and whether coping strategies vary across the age spectrum. Are older women more likely to use time/ space avoidance strategies and younger women to rely on environmental responses or physical defense strategies (Valentine, 1992)?

The fear expressed by women, by older people, by disabled people and by black citizens is a commentary on their position in society and their relationship with the "norm" or dominant group. With this in mind the role of design in promoting a sense of security is questionable. can only be a minor one. However it would be valuable to undertake research in those projects which have been centred on designing out crime. Are schemes more successful where community groups have been involved in the design rather than resting on the views of professionals (generally white, able bodied, non elderly, non vulnerable men). Does inclusion in the process make participants happier about using the solutions and does this in itself reinforce a feeling of security?

3.4.3. Accessibility

Issues of accessibility include the design of buildings, the design of the street scape and availability and affordability of transport which is user friendly. On all of these issues there is a considerable amount of guidance for planners ranging from the general exhortation of PPG 1 which recognises the universal aspects of access

The development of land and buildings provides the opportunity to secure a more accessible environment for everyone, including wheelchair users and other people with disabilities, elderly people, and people with toddlers or infants in pushchairs (DOE, 1992)

through to the more specific wording of PPG 6

People with disabilities, the elderly, and shoppers with prams or pushchairs need good access to shops and other buildings and facilities in town centres. Local planning authorities should encourage level access to shops, parking for people with disabilities and covered areas close to shops and transport routes. Increasing accessibility demands the provision of seating and other facilities, good pavement design and surfacing materials, the location of dropped kerbs and other pedestrian priority measures...

Good town centre management... can bring forward initiatives such as: improved pedestrian environment [and] provision for disabled people, the elderly and those with young children (DOE, 1993)

An examination of town centres shows that in some respects there have been positive changes such as an increase in the provision of seats and the use of textured surfaces to indicate the change from pavement to road. Talking to older people reveals that many problems remain: lack of public lavatories; pelican

crossings with too little time given for crossing; poor spread of bus shelters to name but a few concerns².

Significant improvements have been made in public transport due to the introduction of the Disabled Persons Transport Advisory Committee guide-lines in 1988. Through adoption of these guide-lines we are seeing buses with larger numbers; buses with better internal grab rails and improved stepped access; improved internal design. New European legislation will help us introduce low floor buses which have kneeling suspension which will benefit the ambulance disabled, those who are arthritic, those with young children: in short most of us. In other transport areas, there has also been improvement: British Rail on the new 225 train have wheelchair spaces and wheelchair accessible toilets. Change is coming but what is essential is that there is clear central and local government support for public transport and that service providers can see that investment in design is both beneficial to the community and good commercial sense.

4. CASE STUDIES

In PPG 12 (DOE, 1992) there is a general spur to consider the needs of people and in particular certain groups when drawing up the plan:

The Regulations also require planning authorities to have regard to social considerations in preparing their general policies and proposals in structure plans and UDP Part 1s. But, in preparing detailed plans too, authorities will wish to consider the relationship of planning policies and proposals to social needs and problems, including their likely impact on different groups in the population, such as ethnic minorities, religious groups, elderly and disabled people, single parent families, students, and disadvantaged and deprived people in inner urban areas.

In order to test out whether plans were giving due consideration to the needs of older people, the forward plans of six local authorities³ were examined. The six were chosen because all had populations in which the proportion of older people were higher than the national average of 18.6 per cent and between them they represent a range of authorities with very different problems:

Table 4: Case Study authorities

Authority	Type	% of older people
Arun	Coastal district	31.2
Worthing	Coastal district	30.0
Bath	Historic City	23.4
Stratford	Historic Town	20.1
North Tyneside	Industrial centre	20.7
Sheffield	Industrial centre	20.9

It might be assumed that the coastal areas would be concerned about possible imbalance in the population and impacts upon caring services. Issues for industrial centres might be concentrations of poor people including older citizens and the need to prevent a further widening of the gap between these people and the better off. For the historic towns there might be concerns about creating a balance between the need for accessibility; the need to conserve a highly prized historic area and the need to capture tourist trade with an increasing number of tourists being older people.

The case study examines a number of policy areas and charts the policies and explanations of each authority before analysing the quality of responses. Simply relying on policy statements potentially obscures important conflicts that may fundamentally influence a planning authority's approach and their own interpretation of policy (Little, 1994). A nationwide study enriched by sample interviews and examinations of the planning process is still needed.

4.1 Accessibility

Table 5: Issues of Access; buildings and streetscape

Authority	Policies
1. Arun	No policies
2. Worthing	Encourages pedestrianisation. Requires development to comply with statutory requirements relating to access for the disabled with a view to achieving good access to both new and existing buildings (Policy M8)
3. Bath	People with disabilities or who are mobility impaired are too often over-looked when designing streets for wheelchairs or even push chair use. Dropped kerbs, appropriately located ramps and access to public buildings are basic requirements. The City Council is not able to impose a duty on owners of existing buildings but can help by encouraging and by ensuring that ramps and drop kerbs are installed where street works offer the opportunity. (9.66)
4. Stratford	Subject to compatibility with other relevant provisions of this Local Plan, planning permission will normally be granted for proposals which fulfil the following requirements, where applicable. Failure to meet one or more of these requirements, where relevant, may result in the refusal of planning permission... avoid impairing road safety both for road users and pedestrians...provide for people with disabilities in terms of access, circulation and facilities. (Policy Env 1) The District Planning Authority will not normally permit

proposals involving development to which the public shall have access unless the design and layout provides for proper access for people with disabilities and incorporates facilities for use by people with disabilities. (Policy Env 33). The rationale for the policy discusses the benefits accorded to older people and people with young children.
Seeks to extend pedestrianisation in the town centre with one of its objectives being to reduce vehicle and pedestrian conflict (Policy T S4)

5. North Tyneside
The needs of pedestrians will be given priority when considering all transport and development issues. To ensure that pedestrian environments are designed to meet the needs of people with disabilities (Policies T 11 & 12)
Aims to create a barrier free environment.

6. Sheffield
The design of buildings, landscaping and lighting should promote all aspects of personal safety and security, particularly at night time (BES j).
Designs should meet the needs of users, particularly people with disabilities, elderly people, people with children and women (BE5 k)
In all buildings which are to be used by the public, provision will normally be expected for people with disabilities or with young children, including:... facilities for people with young children and for elderly people (BE7).
The design and environmental improvements of streets, pedestrian routes and areas, cycleways and public spaces should, where possible: make them convenient and safe to use for people with disabilities, elderly people, young people, and people with young children; (BE10)

Analysis

Problems of mobility within cities are more seriously felt by women who figure largely in the users of public transport and in the ranks of pedestrians. The problems faced by women are carried into old age when the difficulties of negotiating the environment carrying a toddler and pushing a baby are exchanged for impaired senses, mobility limitation from arthritis and a walking stick.

It would be naive to suggest that all the ills and therefore all the solutions lie at the door of planners. Nevertheless it is within the power of planners to influence and direct the design of urban spaces. It is therefore a duty upon planners to reinforce this by clearly stating their priorities for safety and access.

An examination of the plans of the six local authorities suggests a wide range of attention to this issue. Arun has no policy statements while Worthing discusses the commitment to pedestrianisation and to Part M of the building regulations. All other authorities go further with Bath highlighting the need for a user friendly streetscape and good access to public buildings. Stratford takes this one stage further in discussing the priority to pedestrian safety and Sheffield adds a fourth dimension by highlighting the access barrier created by fear of crime.

It is important to be aware of the weighting of the policies. While Bath conveys a greater understanding of the problems faced by the mobility impaired and the responsibilities of planners, the plan talks only of encouraging developers to make changes while Worthing lays an obligation upon developers and Stratford states that failure to meet the requirements of the plan may be refused planning permission.

Only Sheffield and Stratford specifically refer to the needs of older people while Bath and the other three plans focus the discussion on people with disabilities. Is this an issue in itself? Does it matter if benefit to older people (and parents of young children) accrue as a result of policies taken to benefit others rather than action directed at them? Achieving a desirable end, is of course, of great importance but as important is the process. If the needs of older people are not recognised then their views may not be sought. This is the issue.

4.2. Transportation

Table 6: Transport needs of older people

Authority	Policies
1. Arun	No policies
2. Worthing	<p>The elderly make considerable use of public transport in the town which enables companies to provide services of benefit to all residents (2.14)</p> <p>It is important that WBC gives careful consideration to the access needs of public transport in determining planning applications, in order that an efficient service to the public can be maintained by the operators. As a result of recent changes in legislation relating to bus services, that consideration will now be expanded to embrace a wide range of potential services , such as traditional buses, mini buses and taxis (11.21)</p> <p>In determining planning applications for new developments, Worthing Borough Council will take into consideration the access needs of public transport (Policy M10)</p>
3. Bath	<p>The public transport service must play a major part in relieving some of Bath's traffic problems. A significant proportion of households have no access to a car and some age groups, such as the elderly and young teenagers in particular, need an inexpensive and effective bus service which should relate to the services offered by trains and taxis. these are all an essential part of the traffic systems in the city. (9.48)</p>

4. Stratford	No particular policies but encourages public transport
5. North Tyneside	The provision of Public Transport facilities requiring planning permission should normally include suitable access and facilities for disabled persons and any reconstruction or refurbishment of older transport facilities, should, as far as practicable, incorporate improved access for disabled persons (Policy T60 In rationale discusses the need for seats, clear information, safety and lighting. Quotes from the 1985 Transport Act which states that Passenger Transport Authorities and Executives have a "duty to have regard to the transport needs of members of the public who are elderly or disabled. Adequate provision must be made for taxis and special buses to set down and pick up passengers close to town centres bearing in mind the mobility ranges of disabled persons (8.53).
6. Sheffield	Aims to create a more caring environment, by improving road safety and catering for people who cannot get around easily (page 282). Promotes supertram which is easy access for those with disabilities (T3) Will introduce traffic calming measures targeted at locations where large numbers of pedestrians come into conflict with motor transport.

Analysis

An issue strongly related to that of access is the spread and accessibility of transport. Women and older women, in particular, are heavily reliant on public transport while in later life men may lose their advantages over women by giving up driving for health or economic reasons. Bath focuses on the income problems faced by older people and teenagers and promotes the need for public transport on these personal cost grounds.

While the provision of public transport, pricing policies, frequency and timing of services are critical issues for older people: this is admittedly an area in which the influence of planners is limited. Nevertheless planners may legitimately concern themselves with demanding safer waiting areas; relocation of taxi ranks to areas with better surveillance; putting forward consideration of alternative forms of transport such as those with decreased mobility. Worthing promotes a range of public transport services but focuses on a range of conventional services operating on a deregulated basis rather than promoting the introduction of innovative vehicles for people with disabilities. North Tyneside does advocate the increase of adapted taxis and special buses and only North Tyneside considers the needs of those waiting for transport by promoting concern for the access and safety of passengers using bus stations.

The majority of the plans take sustainable development as their focus in transport issues but fail to state that transport needs to meet the needs of all members fo the travelling public.

4.3 Shopping policies

Table 7: Shopping policies for older people

Authority	Policies
1. Arun	Encourages small scale change and developments in existing smaller centres to meet local needs (6.5.iv)
2. Worthing	Supports local shopping
3. Bath	Supports local shopping
4. Stratford	The District Planning Authority will normally support the provision of community shops in small villages. The Authority may be prepared to relax [development control criteria in the interests of securing a community shop, as long as highway safety is not jeopardised. (Policy EMP 20). Goes on to discuss the importance of retaining post offices for the benefit of older people. The Planning Authority will give favourable consideration to proposals to provide alternative premises in the event of closure.
5. North Tyneside	Shopping is a necessity. The purchase of food and other household goods is an activity carried out by all sectors of the population; male, female, young and old, disabled and able bodied. (7.1) The council will ensure the availability of a wide range of shopping opportunities to which people have easy access (Policy S1). Having regard to the size, function and location of shops, new retail development will normally be expected to provide a range of facilities for the shopping public. ...the provision made for elderly persons and for access for those people with disabilities (Policy S9).
6. Sheffield	New small shops will be encouraged, especially in

...areas without enough shops to meet local needs,...areas not directly served by public transport (S 6)
Retail development will normally be required to: provide access for pushchairs and people with disabilities...provide for safe and easy pedestrian movement at ground level...facilities for the comfort and convenience of shoppers (Policy S 13).

Analysis

All six plans talk of the need for small shops and neighbourhood facilities though only North Tyneside and Stratford upon Avon set out the beneficiaries of such a policy:

These are particularly valuable to less mobile people such as the elderly and people with disabilities, and are also able to fulfil a social function (Stratford, p. 118)

Stratford goes on to discuss the problems of rural areas where the viability of the village shop is intertwined with the business also functioning as a sub post office. On the death of the post master/ mistress, it is common for the GPO to review the situation and possibly withdraw services. The local authority supported the retention of village shops and will consider alternative premises, however without more positive action from GPO it is difficult to see how shops serving very small communities can survive. PPG 6 talks of

The planning system can help to provide an environment in which small and specialised outlets can thrive.

Without the benefit of favourable market forces it is difficult to see how this can be achieved. North Tyneside faces the same problem in that the imminent closure of Swans shipbuilding industry will force the closure of many small shops who were dependent on these workers. Without their sale of morning and evening papers, hot food and sandwiches at lunchtime, many small businesses will find that the local community will not generate enough trade to keep them viable.

Only the large urban authorities (Sheffield and North Tyneside) were concerned with accessibility of larger shopping areas for older people and only North Tyneside mentions the group specifically.

It is important that both large and small shopping areas are discussed in relation to older people. However much it is agreed that local shops benefit older people it must be acknowledged that local shops cannot meet all a person's needs . larger shopping areas may offer a different range of goods and may offer better value in daily purchases. Planners must work to create choice which includes the right to shop other than locally or simply to have accessible shopping centres with facilities for older people which can be enjoyed when going out for a day's window shopping.

4.4 Leisure and Recreation

Table 8: Older people's leisure needs

Authority	Policies
1. Arun	The need for a public leisure service is still great among such groups as the handicapped, single parents, children, the unemployed and those elderly who are on low incomes (7.4)
2. Worthing	Shortage of indoor bowls rinks reflecting the town's higher than average demand for this facility. No specific mention of older people (9.16).
3. Bath	Areas of open space range from the small areas of children's play space to the eight large parks maintained by the City Council and include areas of open land within housing estates. They are important to local residents both the very young and the elderly should be able to walk to an area of open space easily and safely.
4. Stratford	No particular policies
5. North Tyneside	In planning for leisure and recreation council has to seek to meet the needs of many different groups within the community older people need places for games, or to watch others playing ...particular groups such as the disabled or elderly infirm need additional physical measures such as ramps or signing to facilitate their enjoyment of spaces, or built leisure facilities (9.6) local open space can serve as a meeting space for older residents (9.7) these areas need to be accessible, safe and usable by disabled and other disadvantaged groups (Policy R 3).
6. Sheffield	New leisure uses and facilities, and improvements to existing ones, will be promoted, particularly where they would..be easily available and accessible to disadvantaged people (Policy LR 2) As opportunities arise, appropriate improvements will be made to public

open spaces, which would...improve access, especially for disadvantaged people... enhance the personal safety of users (Policy LR 10).

Analysis

This is one of the most limited discussion areas with bland and stereotypical views to the fore. Arun talks of the need by older people among other low income groups for a public leisure service without making clear what that service might encompass. Sheffield builds upon this by talking, again in non specific terms, about the need to recognise availability and accessibility for disadvantaged groups. Bath sees the older group's leisure needs as confined to walking in open space but demands attention to safety while Worthing alludes to older people when discussing the shortfall of indoor bowling greens. Only North Tyneside takes a holistic view in seeing the older group as one which engages in active sport as well as spectator. One of the problems is that central government has given little though to this issue as witnessed by the extract from PPG 17 :

The Government attaches great importance to the retention of recreational and amenity open space in urban areas. Demand is concentrated there, and it is important that people - particularly children and elderly people - should have access to open space close to where they live).

This may well be another area in which planners do not have the power to make specific demands particularly when provision may be by the private sector nevertheless planners can seek to influence the type of provision and location of that provision but engaging older people in dialogue to determine what is wanted.

4.5 Older people and Housing Policies

Table 9: Housing Policies

Authority	Policies
1. Arun	<p>Planning permission will normally be granted for the erection of new dwellings restricted to occupation by persons over state pensionable age providing that standards of car parking and amenity space are observed (Supplementary guidance A and B)</p> <p>Planning permission will normally be granted for the erection of, or extension to, residential care and nursing homes providing that they meet car parking standards, don't materially change the character of a neighbourhood nor are detrimental to amenities of adjoining properties (Policy HSG 12).</p>
2. Worthing	<p>Regarding the form of new housing development, the Structure Plan encourages the provision of small homes rather than large ones, suitable in particular for the single, for small families and for the elderly, and involving development at densities of 30 dwellings or more to the hectare. It is this sort of housing for which there is the greatest need in West Sussex.</p> <p>(1.10) This is translated into Objective 5 which seeks to see a mix of dwelling types including those for smaller households.</p> <p>Locational factors for sheltered housing (5.25) easy walk of parks, libraries, churches, community halls, clubs, pubs, day centres and specific facilities where they exist for older people. Plus food shops, chemists, medical services, banks and post offices.</p> <p>Allows residential and nursing care but stresses need for garden space of 10 square metres per resident (Policy H14)</p>
3. Bath	The number of elderly residents is growing steadily and some of them

have special needs. Appropriately located sites need to be reserved , either for City Council developments or for those by Housing Associations, which are playing an increasingly important role in this market (5.28)

The City Council will allocate and if necessary acquire appropriate sites or property for housing elderly people and others on low incomes or with special housing needs (Policy H 8).

To meet the demand for accommodation not met by the private sector, the city council will, as resources permit, continue a programme of providing appropriate special housing and;

- a) provide and support the provision, by housing associations, of purpose built accommodation for the elderly, single and disabled (Policy H 9).

The City will seek to safeguard the city's housing stock and permission will not normally be granted for a change of use (but will include)

- c) a hostel or nursing home or other quasi residential use (Policy H 10)

The city council will normally encourage the improvement, repair and maintenance of the older housing stock and, where appropriate, the improvement of its immediate surroundings by:

- c) operating a specialised agency expressly to assist elderly occupiers and tenants to remain in their own homes (Policy H 15).

4. Stratford

The District Planning Authority will seek to secure by negotiation with applicants for planning permission for the development of any site allocated for residential development in Category

One and Two settlements [larger communities], an element of housing specifically to meet the needs of the elderly. Within the housing allocations proposed in this plan, schemes specifically for occupation by elderly residents will be actively encouraged where research indicates a specific need or demand. Such schemes will be subject to controls over the minimum age of the occupants (Policy H 8)

5. North Tyneside

In considering proposals for new housing development and for conversions and change of use of properties into residential accommodation the council will encourage applicants to meet the housing requirements of people with special needs including elderly and disabled people, single persons and ethnic minorities (Policy H 9)

3.5 per cent of the borough's population is registered disabled and the borough has the highest proportion of persons of pensionable age in Tyne and Wear. These are significant groups with special needs ...the policy objective is to ensure where practicable equality of access to housing (6.62)

The council would wish to see the needs of [those registered for rehousing] met. The council has identified requirements from single young persons and from growing numbers of elderly residents. The implications of Community Care legislation will also need to be recognised (6.69).

Design standards should take into consideration provision for special needs such as the elderly (Policy H 15).

Applications for care and residential homes will normally require that any proposals are in accord with development control policies and standards for care and residential homes (Policy H 19).

6. Sheffield

In all new or refurbished housing developments with 25 or more dwellings where there is a local need, developers will normally be expected to provide sufficient dwellings which are specifically designed as mobility housing. All new storey houses, ground floor with lift access should be built mobility standards (Policy H 7).

New and refurbished housing in the form of supportive accommodation, sheltered accommodation, care homes and nursing homes will normally be permitted in suitable areas provided that residents have a pleasant outlook, located near shops, suitable for those with disabilities, has amenity space and provides or is next to a reasonable area of open space.
(Policy H 8).

Analysis

In the housing policy area all plans indicate a high level of understanding of the objectives set out in PPG 3

Development plans should ... take account of demographic and economic developments in the region, changing patterns of employment and travel to work, the increasingly varied types of housing requirement met by the private sector such as those of single persons, small households and the elderly. Plan policies should also take account of the housing requirements of people in special need of help or supervision, who may have special locational requirements and for whom conventional housing may not be suitable.

While all local authorities encourage the provision of specialist housing, the percentage of capital targeted at sheltered housing is falling as housing associations reorientate their priorities to homeless families in line with local authorities. In 1989/90 some 22 per cent of Housing Corporation funding went to the development of older people's housing; by 1992/93 this had dropped to 11 per cent and to 5.7 per cent by 1993/94. While this is worrying because of the high demand for sheltered housing; it does give the opportunity to ask whether sheltered housing is always the most appropriate form of housing for older people. Those who have very low levels of dependency may find the experience stigmatising and a means of draining their dependence.

All plans discuss the need for smaller units and for specialist accommodation whether it be sheltered housing or residential and nursing care. Discussions with older people themselves suggest that what professionals feel are suitable dwellings in terms of size are not seen as such by older people. A discussion at a conference in Sunderland (February, 1994) revealed a widespread dislike of sheltered housing with their small space standards and the limitations of one bedroom accommodation. Couples talked of the need for two bedrooms in times of illness and all spoke of the need for accommodating relatives. While sheltered schemes usually have guest rooms, there was a demand for greater privacy offered by more personal space. The whole issue of space is interesting. If we consider when does society give lowest space standards, the answer is when it deals with the incarcerated. Prison cells and hospitals when space is usually shared. What does it mean psychologically to be deprived of space in residential care or sheltered housing where large areas are for communal use (and are often

poorly used) and mean space standards are given to individuals? There is a need to consider the design of older people's spaces and to do this in conjunction with older people themselves.

What is also plainly needed are more flexible options through which ring fenced capital to improve the housing of older people including owner occupiers and ensured levels of domiciliary support appropriate to the individual. Only Bath discusses the benefit of a home improvement agency though nationally the older age group make up a large proportion of owner occupiers. This proportion can only grow as owner occupation becomes the tenure of an increasing majority.

While care packages designed to keep older people in their home are supposed to be increasing because of Community Care, the reality is that in many areas services are being cut away and others are being offered only if contributions can be made by the older person. There is a need for careful monitoring of the impact of these policy changes on the lives of older people.

5. Conclusions

This paper has examined the extent to which plans are alive to the concerns of older people and whether the ideas offered give any insights into the degree to which professionals have contact with groups of older people when formulating forward plans. While the plans were chosen to focus on authorities with high levels of older people in their populations there was a wide disparity of awareness. The urban authorities seemed to convey greater levels of understanding which may indicate more active seeking of the views of communities or that planners have absorbed the priorities for social action set out by political leaders. Those authorities with the lowest levels of awareness were those with the highest populations of older people.

Both Arun and Worthing expressed concern at the imbalance of their populations and stated that they had, in the past, investigated ways in which the plan might try to correct the balance by promoting new economic development and refusing new rest and nursing homes which would increase their areas attractiveness to older people. Central government's advice that local planning authorities should concern themselves only with the land use issues involved and, in the case of Worthing, an appeal against the Council's refusal of planning permission for nursing homes, caused the local authorities to reconsider their strategies. A new track is to view the older population in a more positive light:

There are, for example, more than 2,000 people employed in rest and nursing homes [in Worthing], and many more employed providing other services for the elderly (2.14).

and

A survey of businesses carried out in 1985 [in Arun] showed ...49 per cent felt themselves to be moderately or highly dependent on the elderly (4.8)

This is an idea that needs to be more widely publicised. Far from being a drain upon the national economy; the older group need to be seen as creating jobs for others.

If the growing percentage of older people are to play as full a part as possible in our society, planners must have an understanding of the marginalised position of older people. Uniquely planners must take responsibility for bringing older people into the planning process. In other areas in which we see planning creating or challenging inequality we can look to an increase in the number of women, in disabled men and women, in black men and women coming through to decision making positions who can promote change in the planning culture. In the case of older people, we see a group which has been excluded from the employment field leaving them with a role of volunteer workers, community activists and citizens. Planners must make themselves aware of the relationship between older people and society and must use this awareness to find ways of drawing older people into the planning process. Only by finding out more about the aspirations and demands of this group can planners begin to develop strategies to improve their (and ultimately our own future) lives.

Notes

1. Jenny Morris writes cogently of the experience of demonstrating as a disabled person in *Pride Against Prejudice* (1993), The Women's Press, London. Colin Barnes charts the progress of disabled people's emancipation in chapter 9 of *Disabled People and Discrimination* (1991), Hurst, London.
2. Comments raised by the audience of older people at the Age Concern sponsored conference "Removing barriers to social and environmental integration", September 1993 in Newcastle.
3. The details of the plans are as follows:
 - * ARUN district local plan August 1993, adopted May 6th 1993;
 - * WORTHING borough council, adopted February 1994;
 - * BATH city local plan, draft for deposit January 1993;
 - * STRATFORD UPON AVON local plan, deposit draft, January 1993;
 - * NORTH TYNESIDE UDP, consultation draft October 1993;
 - * SHEFFIELD UDP, deposit version, January 1993.

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