The position of women in surveying

Thesis

How to cite:

For guidance on citations see FAQs.

© 1990 The Author
Version: Version of Record

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online’s data policy on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.
VOLUME 2

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN SURVEYING

continued

Clara H. Greed
PART II  continued ... 

THE WORLD OF SURVEYING
CHAPTER IX - FITTING INTO SURVEYING EDUCATION

Introduction

This chapter relates more to the meso and micro levels of the model. It is concerned with how women experience the subculture on a day to day basis within the territory of surveying education using representative examples of the situation nationally drawn from all three ethnographic sources, and incorporating, as will be seen, specific illustrations from my own experience of teaching surveying students. It draws out the constraints and awkwardness of operating in, what is for many women, an alien environment. Women can be put off by being made to feel uncomfortable because of what they perceive as the inconveniences and little 'nastinesses' of everyday life. In this chapter these incidents are itemised (under sub-headings) and are seen as the very building blocks sustaining the whole subcultural edifice, 'controlling' the perceptions of, and position of women within it, and thus ultimately affecting "what is built". It was decided to give a relatively uninterrupted descriptive account, which stands in its own right as a means of illustrating 'how' this happens. However, my approach was informed by the material covered in the literature review which highlighted similar phenomena in other educational situations. It is within college that the foundation stones of professional socialisation are laid, and those women who would be successful in practice must be able to ascertain 'precisely' what is expected of them as women to succeed in the world of practice. A predominant theme is that those women who are the most successful are those who learn to adapt correctly and fit in, within a situation
n which women's needs are marginalised as 'special' and secondary to the normal way of life. This is a very different type of success from achieving what they might really want from surveying education as women, and (regards the model) does little to change "what is built".

Space Matters

Atmosphere

The physical setting and atmosphere were frequently mentioned by women as factors which they noticed most when they first entered the territory of surveying education, and within which they operated each day subsequently. The women in one polytechnic surveying department commented that the 'brutalistic' nature of the architecture and the general environment could put women off (Sheffield, 1986). On entering some surveying departments, particularly at the change of the hour when there are many students in the corridors, the appearance is overwhelmingly male. There is little 'space' for women, as any common areas (especially those belonging to the Students Union) are likely to be male commandeered, the territory being strewn with empty cups and cigarettes (compare with the men's house, Ardener, 1981 and Millett, 1985: 48-50). Many women in various colleges have pointed out to me the lack of adequate women's lavatories as numbers increase.

Regional location

A course's location in the country lends it a particular nuance. As a southerner it seems to me that northern courses are 'tougher', indeed
some northern courses still put considerable emphasis on "real surveying" (and have fewer women), whereas the south has moved more towards business and management orientated courses to produce the property professional that the City requires. However, regarding the model, neither a technological 'rough' ethos, or a commercial 'smoothie' ethos, are necessarily going to accommodate awareness of social or indeed spatial issues in the built environment.

Inter-departmental differences

The faculty and site in which surveying is located can affect the ethos and 'feel' of the course, surveying departments being found in a diverse range of academic locations. If surveying is located in with construction, it will create a different climate than if it is located with law or business studies. This is not to say that one is better than the other, but one might be more 'gentlemanly' and less 'macho' than the other, there being advantages and disadvantages in each 'sub-universe'. Certain women lecturers were convinced that when (thanks to their efforts) the numbers of women increased, their course was purposely swamped by being put in with other courses with a much larger male majority by rearranging the faculty structure. This one can never prove, because there are many other perfectly reasonable reasons why these changes might have been made, but one senses that something is wrong.

Intra-departmental differences

Surveying courses are all different, and there are all sorts of nuances and sub-universes to be taken into account, even within the
same department. For example male quantity surveyors, housing managers and general practice surveyors all dress differently, but they are all surveyors. Women have a double problem in 'precisely' interpreting how these predominantly 'male' differences should affect their choice of appearance and demeanour.

The Normal Way of College Life

Making a fuss

It was not so long ago that it was frequently stated in surveying education that, "letting more women in would lower the standard and make the course less professional" (p). This was not only said by men, but by certain 'patriarchal' women lecturers too. Nowadays requests for anything else in addition to the right to enter a course can still be met with comments such as "if women come on the course they must learn to fit in, they can't expect us to change everything just for them" (p).

Mature women students, in particular, were critical of the organisation of surveying education and wanted a more flexible approach with more opportunity for part-time or 'interrupted' study. When they sought to complain they were confronted with the brick wall of the status quo. Men have often excused the present system by explaining to me that it grew up to meet the needs of the 18 year old school leaver, "because that's the way it's always been, we didn't do it on purpose" (p). Did I imagine all those years of part-time surveying education for people in offices, and the surveyors' natural
antipathy towards full-time academic education, as described in chapter VI.

Childcare

On the rare occasions that women staff or students have babies, such activities may be described as "bad planning on their part" (p), and "inconvenient", or a sign that such women are unreliable and irresponsible. Therefore some women carry on exactly the same as if nothing has happened, and seldom mention the existence of their offspring (although behind the scenes they may be frantically, "making arrangements" [c]). The same accusations are directed at women out in practice, who observe, "they never think it's the right time, whenever you do it someone will complain" (p). Very few surveying or town planning departments have creche provision, and those that do are likely to be achieve this by being on the same site as a more enlightened department such as humanities. When I raised this issue in the past, I was told by a union representative "you should be concerned with those taking early retirement, that's far more important"; and more recently that "it would only affect, three mature students at the most". The 'space' was not available. (Paradoxically I have observed that women with ready made children are seen as less threatening than those without).

The importance of sport

Whilst women's essential needs are marginalised, there is plenty of space and time for men's leisure activities. Many women are mystified as to why colleges allocate a whole afternoon per week for sports,
when they may have been told at school that an enthusiasm for sports is a sign of being unacademic, and to spend time on yourself is a sign of selfishness. Also there is a strong emphasis on the 'pub culture' (Hey, 1986) which is seen as 'normal', but which many women particularly older ones have little time for (especially if they want to get through the course as quickly as possible). 'Socialising' is an important aspect of surveying and women often underestimate or despise it, one graphically referring to, "pathetically immature, acne covered, public school boys, puking all over the carpet" (v). Whilst many of the women see the boys in their year as stupid and immature, the boys and many of the lecturers may refer to the girls as being of little consequence, as "rather childish and sweet" (p). Quiet studious girls are often seen as not very interested (or interesting?), whereas noisy and easy going boys are seen as good chaps.

If men want to go and play rugby, or golf and leave early of a Wednesday afternoon, they will simply come and tell me so, "Mrs Greed, I have to leave at 11.30 as I have got to go and play golf" (one man told me there are only really two types of surveyor those that play rugby and those that play golf). If I object they will looked puzzled, even offended and make some comment like "but it's sport", as if that gives them a divine right to leave early. In contrast I have had several instances of older women students with children coming to me and explaining with great embarrassment, "I hope you will not mind, but you see my childminder is ill and well there's nothing else I can do, if I could be allowed to leave early" (p). They seem to assume that women in authority are not necessarily on the side of women.
Likewise rugby injuries are looked on with sympathy even admiration, whereas women's illnesses are looked on with suspicion or a sign that women are not tough enough (tough boys often seem incredibly weak and fragile to me). I remember a group asking me to let them "recover and warm up first" when my lecture followed a land survey session in mid winter. When another group didn't go out, they told me, "the lecturers thought the girls shouldn't go out in this weather". The boys had shifted their own weakness on to the girls and then seen them as the inferior to themselves. In comparison when I was working as a planner, I returned frozen and worn out after being out on site. I told my team leader that I had "to recover first". He wanted me to do something else straightaway without even a coffee, "but you haven't uncovered yet", he said refusing my request (which was just one small example of ongoing harassment).

'Who' is 'we'?

Another sensitising concept which I came across frequently is the use of "we" which marginalises women. I remember a conversation with a member of staff, after I had been there several years and as I saw it had done a great deal of work, "Oh", he said, "we sometimes let women lecturers in", as if I had not been there before, and was not part of "we". More amazingly, when I asked a new little chap on the first year in the first week of term why he chose surveying (to be friendly), he replied totally out of context, "Oh we sometimes allow married women to work", no doubt feeling threatened by women lecturers. A variation of this is for boys who have spent two weeks in their uncle's office over the summer before coming on the course to state, "in practice [c], we do such and such", implying that I know
nothing of practice and they do. At the beginning of the course the students have to establish a pecking order between themselves. One way of achieving this is to put down women lecturers and other people who are 'different'. After some 'readjustment' on all sides, one is likely to be treated 'normally' by the male students by the end of the first year, until the third year. Then the promise of higher status in the real world presses in upon them. I have found that some male students will 'change' again to becoming quite 'superior' almost as if they are seeking a new identity, and they construct this by going back to looking down on women in the department, one woman lecturer commenting of such a 'superior' male student, "I'm sure he blew smoke in my face on purpose" (v).

Styles of Communication

Impersonality and professionalism

Lecturers in their desire to project an image of "professionalism" (c) may be seen as creating a sense of impersonality, regimentation and officiousness by women students, many commenting that, "the coldness of the way they teach is a real barrier" (p) (this observation was not made only of male lecturers). Some women lecturers were seen as negative role models for women students, some of whom made criticisms of individuals such as, "she was a real bitch, I never want to be like her". Likewise some women lecturers were put off by the demeanour of some men lecturers, saying of such individuals "I thought I knew him well, but in the meeting he addressed me as if he had never met me before" (p), and of some male students, "they never smile when you
look at them like women do, there is no feedback" (p). Women students may consider impersonality is the opposite of professionalism, which they imagine is about being "good with people" (c). They find it difficult to square their expectations of value being put on individuality and the ability to "paddle your own canoe" (c), with the emphasis on 'team spirit' which pervades everything from student group projects to course management. If they go along with this spirit, they may find that their contribution to the team has not "counted", and in return they are given a traditional female role, on an individual personal basis by male colleagues and students (a knot in the model).

Presentation of coursework

There is a strong emphasis on practical coursework in surveying, architectural and town planning courses which is often undertaken on a group basis. Several women have commented that the 'crit system', in which students must defend their work whilst it is being verbally torn apart by lecturers and rival teams, can be an unsettling experience for women used to individual work and less adversarial approaches to gaining marks. Some projects have to be presented as written reports and a very impersonal style is expected. Women have to learn how to do this and a million other strange things, and 'quickly', but no extra praise is given for this achievement. Some women students who pride themselves on neat handwriting and appearance are surprised when this is seen as a sign of lack of seriousness. Male messiness as manifested in handwriting and the general environment is seldom criticised but seen as a sign that the males are too serious to be tidy (unless it's really bad).
Student interaction and participation

In tutorials I tried to keep track of which students spoke, how often and when. Sometimes I got so interested in what they were saying that I completely forgot. But it did seem that overall men spoke more and definitely interrupted more. Even when the numbers of women in groups increased, women students seemed to be less visible or attended less, whereas in the past the one exceptional woman was much more visible (Spender, 1982).

Male students can take over. A rather quiet first year female student was struggling her way through a paper in a tutorial when suddenly one of the more assertive males looked directly at me engaging my attention with great urgency (thinks the Poly is on fire and I haven't noticed) "Mrs Greed, my neighbour has just received an enforcement notice about his panel beating business, the planners say that it counts as a change of use, what should he do?". I was completely taken aback and like an obedient teacher my mind was already going through relevant planning law. But stop – there is a totally bewildered female student looking quite exasperated, plus a disturbed group some of whom are full of admiration for the culprit. I say, "discuss it with me afterwards". He looks hurt, "I do like people to relate planning to real examples". He looks happier, "but we're doing something else in this tutorial".

Some women seem to land themselves in it unintentionally (out of nerves?) such as the woman who gave a talk on, "improperly mixed concrete" (v) or they will make self derogatory comments like, "I'll do it in my own dim little way". By this, the girl seems to be
demonstrating that she is not to be seen as a challenge. Some girls are giggled at when they speak, whereas others are taken much more seriously and treated 'the same'. On the other hand some boys who were seen as "a bit wet" by their peers, and go around with the girls might also be laughed at. I am still pursuing the reasons for this, but it would seem that some girls are made out to be silly, and are picked on, often because they are really seen as potentially threatening or unusual. On the other hand one sometimes gets an older or more mature woman who virtually takes over the group, and raises the standard. The boys seem to be cowered by this and accept it sullenly, as if they know it's good for them (i.e. it is not a position of power but an inverted 'helper' role (Heine, 1987): like a mother. I have observed that such women might not subsequently do as well in practice, as those they dominated and helped.

Interaction between lecturers

In 'grown up' staff meetings, and day to day interaction between lecturers, many of the same attitudes and occurrences can be observed. A man and a woman staff member may be asked to do the same activity, such as that of being a year tutor. A woman may feel she has been saddled with a deadend counselling role, but for a man, the same job may be the first step on the vertical ladder to course leadership, women commenting, "you can't win, if you do anything they will always see it differently from if a man does the same thing" (p) (a common sentiment which was expressed in relation to just about every topic!). One can be independent and initiate something and still find you are seen as the helpmeet in your own creation, a common complaint. Likewise, some women lecturers comment about meetings "you
say something really good and they ignore it and carry on speaking as if they had not heard you. Then ten minutes later a man says exactly the same thing and everyone stops and says it's a wonderful idea" (p). Also it is noticeable that in the rare meetings that women chair, they may concede to use 'chairperson', but then continue as if women are not part of the context which they are discussing either as students, staff or people in society, women commenting, "it means nothing". All the elements of not being heard, being 'wound up', and being rendered invisible, as described in the feminist literature (Spender, 1982) are clearly evident. This must ultimately influence "what is built" for (as wise women in practice have commented) "if they won't hear you or see you, they aren't going to listen to what you have to say" (p).

The Ideal Woman

Women and sport

The women that fit into this sporting subculture need to be sporty types themselves, as one male student put it, "professionals are more athletic" (v). However women's sports can be seen as a joke, whether it be hockey or more exotically women's rugby. Games such as "Pudox" (a departmental speciality) can be played by either sex, but I overheard some worried boys saying, "oh girls are good at that, that might be a handicap". It would seem better to choose a high status uni-sex sport such as sailing or hang gliding that one is not too good at. One woman, now in practice, explained the importance of this to me saying "we all went through a dangerous sports phase, but now the most I do is help to organise the squash ladder". The important thing is to be involved and show some interest in sport.
Presentation of self

The women that do well are those who learn the arts of survival and camouflage. Many adopt the unisex uniform of jeans and even older mature women students manage to lose all their previously distinguishing characteristics, and become 'younger' (not necessarily a bad thing). Women are still judged more than men on the basis of what they wear, and men lecturers have been heard to make comments like, "she won't be able to dress like that when she goes into practice" but at the same time are more lenient towards boys who are seen as "going through a phase" (c). A theme that came to me again and again, was that although women in surveying are not 'feminist' they do know it's unjust; but they know how to play the game of life and fit in. Rather than challenging the system or complaining they learn the best strategies to survive and succeed. Therefore they may be unwilling to talk about their difficulties to fellow students or lecturers, particularly not on male territory within the department. This can be confusing for women who have been used to a more open sharing of problems between women, who might therefore feel "it's just me" (c).

The Role of Women

The helper

The position of women in surveying education prefigures the situation in practice, which ultimately affects their power to influence "what is built". Within project groups, all students are doing 'equal' work
to achieve a group mark. It is noticeable that women are often given the helpmeet role of the secretary in a group in which they are in the minority. The men might be initially friendly, but gradually the women find themselves doing everything (friendly and apparently non-sexist behaviour can prove the most patriarchal). A woman student may find herself being given all responsibility, and blame, for organising everyone else, one telling me, "it's just like at home my brothers expect me to pick up their socks for them, and here they wouldn't do any work on the project until I had sorted it out for them". More cunningly some teams will make the woman the actual leader, rather than the secretary, but then she may find herself doing even more work, whereas a male leader may do very little. I drew a comparison with an example given to me by a woman I met at a conference, who ran outward bound courses for young people (from deprived backgrounds). In spite of women always being told that they lack visual spatial abilities, both in the case of her students and mine (in spite of class and educational differences), a girl was given the job of map reader, and the boys would wait for her to direct them. Needless to say in the final project presentation the men did most of the talking. I even had a case of a student telling me he could not do his talk properly because, "she has not had enough time to prepare my notes".

When there is a free choice of members for project groups women lecturers observed, "women choose their friends, whereas the men choose whoever they think is best whether they like them or not" (p). A lone woman or overseas student might get chosen if they are seen to be 'good', otherwise they might be ostracised altogether. If one is a black male, but a good fast bowler, all else may be forgiven.
Exceptions

What is fascinating is that as numbers of women increase, some women seem to get lumbered with traditional secretary roles, whilst curiously others may be treated the 'same' as the boys. There are many personality factors that need to be taken into account above the base line of gender. Listening to my students, I have observed a great range of behaviour. Sometimes I wonder if it is a trap to attribute importance to manifested behaviour, as it seems, various women opining that, "things happen, completely unrelated to how people behave, your face fits or it doesn't, there are no rules, they are just playing with us".

Reflections

I spend much of my time in college avoiding being seen as a helper. I fell into this trap at one stage and spent several years willingly helping (out of delight and gratitude that they wanted me as a lecturer in the first place ... in fact I still feel 'grateful'), only to find that "it didn't count" (c). (Umpteen women surveyors in education and practice give their own versions of this one.) One can get stuck horizontally in accepting this helpmeet role; but paradoxically if one is really good at it, and is not seen as threatening or feminist one might be promoted to a higher level version of this role, but one still serves. When someone says to me, "Clara you can help ...." (either followed by a person or an activity) I am on full alert (although not unwilling) knowing that if a man were asked to do the same thing, they would say "Mike you can be responsible for ....". 
Social aspects

Whatever subject a woman teaches, even the more technological ones, she may be called upon to do more social type teaching such as communications projects, seminars, and social aspects. Women lecturers seem to be considered more naturally literate than men and will be expected to be good at 'English'; and perhaps First Aid too. Women students in projects groups may also be given the 'social' component of an assignment by their male classmates. Even if women teach more technological subjects (or as in my case occasionally add a more 'technical' component to my lectures) they may find their work being questioned. I remember producing a very factual and somewhat mathematical handout, to assuage comments that "planning is getting too social and waffly", only to find that a colleague wanted to know why it was chiefly in imperial and not metric measurements. I had in fact provided the conversions in brackets throughout, but most students and many practitioners still use imperial. I had a distinct feeling that nobody else would have received this criticism.

The Subject of Women

Observations

I noted the comments my students made as to their perceptions of women's needs in my planning tutorials. The very question of provision for women is often seen in itself as a sign that women are selfish. Nurseries or childcare facilities on housing estates are seen as indulgently middle class, even if intended for working class
families; but of course pubs and sports facilities are seen as essential.

Abstract females

Women students make the oddest comments about 'women', almost as if they see themselves as the typical male practitioner (and not as themselves) in their minds eye. Perhaps part of the professional persona is not to personalise matters, but to act as a disembodied authority with no needs or wants of one's own. Women lecturers may encourage this, one had written on a female student's essay, "try to play down your own views the examiners may not like them". Also surveyors always talk about 'females' rather than 'women', when discussing both data and people which is a symptom of the impersonal ethos.

I get the impression that neither the male nor suprisingly the female students associate what is said about 'women' in the abstract with their classmates. I remember a woman describing an area as "a bad area because the women go out to work": when she intended to do so. There seems to be an inbuilt assumption that women, and especially "housewives" are "a problem", along with "blacks" and "the unemployed". "Overpopulation" (i.e. the 'wrong' people having children) is seen, especially by women students, as "very bad". The fact that it is all women's fault removes the need to provide anything for women because "they bring it on themselves" (all cliché words/phrases).
Women become very embarrassed in class if 'women' are discussed as an issue. They will either seek to disassociate themselves from "those sorts of women" (c) (who presumably live on council estates) or go completely silent. Once when I dared to suggest 'women and planning' as a seminar issue, one girl in the group let out a shriek of embarrassment. If one seeks to discuss 'ethnic' issues in the inner city, I have often noted that black overseas students will totally distance themselves from what they will describe as "those sort of people", and appear very embarrassed. A similar situation may arise if there is someone of the wrong class in the group, who may be the subject of comments like, "I expect you live in one of those sweet little terraced houses". There are however occasions when 'minority' students speak their mind, as follows.

**Ethnic dimensions**

There was once a most self confident socially aware black female student in an otherwise totally white and predominantly male class. She started giving some very insightful comments to the group. Suddenly one of the more aggressive public school white males (not previously known for his political awareness) cut right across her. Addressing me directly and loudly he declared how important race was and how black people should be asked for their views more often. He looked at me as if I he wanted me to praise him, as if he was jealous that I had given my attention to the girl whom he had interrupted. The black student was left upstaged, and it seemed that the whole class had rallied to the side of the white student. The desire of white middle class males to take control of and 'solve' the problems of others creates an inverted colonialism (the spirit of the colonial
land surveyor lives again). This is a theme which I have had various
women telling me in respect of males on housing courses, "they don't
care a damn about women or black people really, but they've got to
feel that they are in charge all the time" (p). The desire for
control, either through the market or through social policy, is a
factor which unites surveyors from both ends of the spectrum. It
explains why people who superficially appear to be ideologically
incompatible can form powerful alliances to their mutual interest in
the maintenance of patriarchy and "more jobs for the boys" (p) (two
sides of the same coin; link in the model).

Women's fault

I can never forget how just about every lecture (whatever the
subject), when I was a planning student, began or included comments
to the effect that all the world's problems were women's fault (thus
legitimating the need for rational men to take control through
planning - and setting ticking the future demographic timebomb). It
was constantly said that "women have too many children", this being
prefaced by the inference that men were blameless because women
seduced men and asked for it. Surprisingly it was suggested that
nurseries and childcare should be provided, but not for the benefit of
women, but rather because this was more efficient to enable women "to
work" and because women were such a bad influence on children. In
particular, the comment "housewives are stupid" was repeated
endlessly. Indeed some of the lecturers wanted to abolish women
altogether and produce the right size of population for their plans by
artificial methods. They would wax lyrical about the future
possibility of babies grown in test-tubes (which apparently did not
cause overpopulation). Nowadays I hear reports from women students of such attitudes being perpetrated in architecture and town planning courses. Relatively speaking, I find surveying light relief as it is 'peopleless', and has less social content, there is less opportunity for sexist comments and anti-women policies to pervade the discourse.

**Men taking over?**

One chap went on and on in my tutorial about every conceivable problem related to women living in flats. I was watching the female students, and they were silently giggling at the silly things he was saying. When I questioned him as to why there were no men in the block, and who these strange women were, he replied, "Oh I did women, because I thought that's what you wanted, because they're all women in this group" (a gross exaggeration). Another male student once put a maternity hospital right in the middle of his housing layout to please me. A minority of boys will try and shock me and the women students by scattering references to prostitution, and rape (and once to child molestation) and such like through their discussion of the inner city.

Some town planning and housing courses now include something on 'the changing role of women' as taught by men (the RTPI now requires that the needs of 'minorities' are paid lip service to in planning education). This is seen as very enlightened by men, but in practice can be quite soul destroying for the women listening, as the whole implication is that patriarchy is not the problem. Indeed there is no problem at all, but women are now given more opportunity to succeed and improve themselves. Some women find the efforts of such men quite funny, but would never tell them to their face of course.
Other People

Social class

There are some strange attitudes manifested regards social class. There seems to be an assumption that they, the students, are 'ordinary' and that anyone that does not succeed or is unemployed "has not tried hard enough at school" (p). It seems to me that many of the working class girls that I knew at school were far brighter and worked so much harder than surveyors ever do, but got nowhere. (I am always conscious of the 'dual' education system.) Housewives and the unemployed are often lumped together, as "the less active members of society" (p), or in the worst example yet as "work shy, home bound mental defectives, slack muscled workers at home" (v). Some seem to come from very sheltered backgrounds, manifesting this in comments like, "I know there is no unemployment in Lancashire, because I live there", and "everyone has a car nowadays", or "houses are not expensive". However there is a willingness to learn and a strong social awareness amongst some of the male and female students, but there is no need to have this perspective as it is not required out in practice, or in other subject areas.

Sometimes students appear to show awareness by raising perfectly valid issues and then put their foot in it as to their suggested solution. One student correctly noted that there were no local shops or amenities provided near to a run down block of council flats, but then said, "therefore the housewife will have to drive further to the shops" in an area where very few people owned cars.
Sport for all

When students do show concern, it is likely to be framed within the viewpoint of traditional male social policy. 'Sport' is seen as the panacea for all social evils and problems, as if the world is composed entirely of young males (like themselves but of a different class). Likewise students 'believe' urban sociological literature that stresses the importance of working class communities, 'Mum' and 'work', which of course only give a partial 'malestream' and conservative world view.

The role of town planning

More broadly, it is significant that town planning has been separated out from surveying, into two sets of courses and two sets of professions. Surveyors are alleviated of any necessity of being concerned with the non-profit making aspects of the social and spatial structure of cities because, as several women and men surveyors have commented wide eyed and innocent, "that's the job of the planners isn't it?". This attitude trickles down to education, indeed many students come on the course already convinced that planning is bad, unnecessary or irrelevant, "there is a great deal of consumer resistance" as one man lecturer put it. Strangely the students may know about and support some aspects of town planning, but planning lecturers have commented, "that's because they think it's geography" (p), which is a popular school subject with students. One of the roles of first year planning is to help the students sort out for themselves what is the scope of planning, geography and surveying, so they "don't support the wrong team" as one woman lecturer put it.
Subjects Taught

Introduction

Most general practice surveying courses will include the following subjects: valuations, urban economics, law, town planning and development, estate management, construction and services, computers, a little land survey, and in some colleges an element of management studies. Three themes were observable when looking at the nature of the different subjects, namely fragmentation, abstraction, and commercial orientation.

Fragmentation

Students often do not interconnect the subjects. To take a non-gendered example, they may not realise that the rights under private property law must be seen within the context of town planning law. More worrying they may not see the implications of what they learnt from my 'social aspects of planning', for property development projects later in the course, saying, "we did that last year we didn't think it was relevant". Likewise many practising surveyors stated directly, "social issues are nothing to do with the market" so they cannot see how their actions affect the lives of others, or have wider implications for the nature of the built environment.

Abstraction and peoplelessness

A second theme was the abstraction of it all, and related to this the peoplelessness of their world view. When looking at urban
development, the impression was given by both students and lecturers that some impersonal force had made it happen; not human developers who were meeting the needs of other human beings, for whom development is. It seemed that if students had studied human geography at school, it created the right 'peopleless' attitude that could be built on at college. (The people were subsumed under areas, classes or problems and never seemed to surface as real individuals). New students may rattle off what they have learnt about the inner city and its people, and although they have never met them, yet they speak with the voice of authority. Sometimes I am stunned by their self-confidence when they are talking absolute twaddle. This 'peoplelessness' softens them up for accepting another 'peopleless' world view; namely a commercial professional one. Although they can transfer the 'impersonal' element easily from geography to surveying in the first year, it can take until the next year before they think from a commercial market viewpoint rather than a geographical perspective. Indeed many surveying lecturers wish that school geography was more commercially orientated for this reason.

Just occasionally one comes across examples of 'people' being used to liven up other people's lectures, a trend which I find worrying. Within management studies, I heard of stereotypes being used, such as 'Mildred the militant housewife' who married too early and therefore blamed society for her own mistakes. Also there the example of a fifty year old woman senior partner with three children to illustrate a non-gendered point in a lecture, whom I very much doubt exists but given as a typical example (remember only about 600 women surveyors are over 30; and I estimate about half of them have no children, the majority of the rest having one or two). Such examples are the most likely to
crop up in management studies, where there is a people element of sorts. More positively another lecturer used the example of a small surveying firm in which one of the three partners was a woman (giving a very sensible role model) within 'the padding' of a valuation examination question.

**The commercial and factual emphasis**

Other subjects bear no relationship to what they did in school. Valuation, although a totally impersonal subject, creates a new way of looking at life, based on seeing everything in terms of monetary value. Also it 'appears' to be a mathematical subject and can therefore be used as an exclusionary mechanism in itself. In fact many valuers in practice use the 'comparative method' which means phoning up a colleague and finding out what the going rate is. Also nowadays there are computer programmes that take all the hassle out of valuation. I have observed how poor many of the boys are at maths, and when I compare them with the girls I knew at school who ended up in banks using their 'O' level maths to add up other people's money, I realise again how much a double standard pervades the educational system (based on class and gender). Outsider academics (such as visiting lecturers) have confided, "they don't realise, they think they're wonderful, as they've never met anybody better". Some of the boys think they are good when they are quite mediocre by the standards applied to women. One such chap said he wanted to be a mathematician, but had chosen surveying because, "mathematicians aren't professionals".
Surveying students like factual subjects in which there is one right answer and a fixed area of study. However, much of the art of being a surveyor to do with making value judgments on the basis of a range of inchoate material and hunches. Like Joseph I had imagined that planning would be seen as one of the most "waffly" subjects. On the contrary! It would seem that town planning has hardened up to reflect the greater emphasis on partnership between the public and private sector within the enterprise culture, the social aspects having been roped off and dealt with as a separate subject or not at all. Indeed several women ex-students from a certain college, told me that construction was the most waffly subject, and that the man that taught it was a "complete wally" (no doubt he saw himself as a macho-technological male). On the other hand town planning lecturers were renowned up and down the land for arranging visits to new developments and talks by people in practice.

Borrowed glory

Subjects that are associated with high status professions outside surveying, or are associated with property, land and wealth are popular. My husband teaches real property law to surveyors and gets a more sympathetic reception from students than I do as a planner (or as a woman? or as me?). Those aspects that one would imagine they would find irrelevant because they are ancient and of limited practical use today except to very small percentage of the population (perhaps 50,000 people at the most) such as the laws relating to settled land and hereditary estates, are welcomed because they reinforce subcultural values. My subject which affects over 50,000,000 people, is seen as definitely less relevant because it is 'social', and "less
factual" (sic) and therefore not 'real' (although my subject is concerned with 'real' land as against 'cultural' land). It is often the women students that like law best, and strangely they seem to identify with the principal male actors and do not even consider the obvious (but seldom stated) fact that women effectively had no right to own anything for many centuries. Some women confirmed gender stereotypes, individually declaring to me that it was the most interesting subject because "I could get on with it on my own" (p).

Gender differences

All this seemed less true of the women students. If at the beginning of the course, I ask male students what are the social issues in planning, they will inevitably refer to the abstract issues of regional planning. Females are more likely to refer to the need for community facilities (which actually confirms gender stereotypes). However, give it a term or even a year, and women in particular will start purposely choosing impersonal approaches to topics. I have had incidences of women discussing problems of residential areas, purely in terms of building and maintenance issues, who earlier on appeared more aware of residents' needs. At the same time, some of the impersonally orientated boys are "learning to play the game" (p) and integrating social issues into their work (so the girls are still one step behind, even after swapping rides).

Some women housing students got upset about lecturers "livening up lectures" by using sexist examples, but seemed to miss deeper structural issues embedded in the nature of the subjects themselves, (as in law); and in the process further alienated themselves in the
eyes of many of the lecturers. The fact that I have many reports of all sorts of sexist comments made by construction and technology lecturers is not surprising. What is surprising is that the women take it all in their stride and see it as an occupational hazard to joke about. Women students recounted things that had been said to them, such as, "now girls you will know about hot water systems because you know about airing cupboards won't you", and "I won't ask you this question as you don't even know how to change a plug" (ad infinitum). Some women answer back. One lecturer told a female student that "mixing concrete is like mixing a cake" to which she replied, "I didn't know that you baked cakes". Another on being told she lacked visual spatial ability (Haccoby, 1972) replied, "I told him, 'don't be silly, my sister's an architect and she is doing very well, much better than you '. That shut him up" (v). (how fearless!). You have to be brave and foolhardy to do this, indeed most women don't, they prefer to ignore it. When similar things happen in practice they are already conditioned to accept it. On the other hand I have several examples of boys doing the daftest things, such as putting windows in the wall of an inside corridor in their project work. I'm sure if a girl had done that, we would have never heard the last of it.

Conclusion

When I look at my department running like clockwork and the students of both genders busily working away in groups, and drinking coffee together, I feel quite neurotic about imagining that anything is wrong. Perhaps they are right it is only me. But there is tension there. I tracked down some of the women who had left surveying education early, as their experiences were of value in understanding
what is wrong. The general opinion was "it's not overt sexism and discrimination, it's all the little things, you can't put your finger on it". Several were vaguer in describing a general feeling of "not really knowing what it was all about and where I was going". These were not casual students but women who were originally very determined to do surveying. Some of them experienced 'culture shock', saying, "it was all so different from anything I'd ever experienced. I don't think I ever got over it". This was particularly true of women without brothers and 'men' in their background. There also were a few instances of actual harassment in various colleges.

In conclusion, it would seem that whilst men in surveying education apparently want to encourage more women to enter, both as students and lecturers, they simply have no idea how to treat them when they enter the territory of the subculture, and make very little effort to change their personal attitudes, or to provide organisational changes to meet the specific needs of women. The values of the subculture remain relatively intact reinforcing assumptions about women's role, and making little difference to the nature of the subject matter taught. The women that are most successful in this situation are those that 'fit' in best, whose presence, therefore, only serves to reinforce and not challenge the status quo.
CHAPTER X - THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN SURVEYING PRACTICE

Introduction

As can be seen from Table I below, the bulk of surveyors are located in the general practice division (GP), followed by the quantity surveying division (QS), and then by a series of smaller divisions, including planning and development (P&D). (Housing counts as an 'option' with the GP division). There is a disproportionately high percentage of women in general practice. In contrast only 6.2% of all female surveyors are in Building Surveying, but as shown in Appendix I, only around 3% of all building surveyors are female.

Table V: Percentages of Surveyors by Division 1986 *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>JO Membership</th>
<th>All Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Surveyors (BS)</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Practice (GP)</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Agency (LA)</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Surveyors (LS)</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning and Development (P&amp;D)</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantity Surveyors (QS)</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerals (MEM)</td>
<td>&lt;1.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: (JO, RICS, 1986:11; RICS Records Office, 1987) Note these proportions have not changed significantly over the last three years, and comparable figures were most readily available for 1986 between the JO (members under 33 years of age) and the RICS as a whole. For total RICS membership percentages for 1989 see Appendix I.
This chapter looks at the horizontal and vertical position of women within the organisational structure of the surveying profession, and relates more to the macro and meso levels of the model. Women's location and role will determine the likely influence they can have on the higher decision making which affects the nature of the profession and ultimately the built environment i.e. "what is built". It is a false impression, as one prominent woman surveyor imagined, that because only 2.9% of women surveyors are in Planning and Development (P&D), therefore the position of women in surveying has very little effect on what is built. The whole ethos of the surveying profession and many of the professional decisions in all the divisions affect women as consumers of the built environment. In particular the commercial 'perspective' which predominates in both the general practice and quantity surveying divisions of necessity precludes a wider outlook, the decisions as to the viability of many land use and development proposals being based on a limited world view. Also the separate P&D division was created less than ten years ago and has received a mixed reception; indeed many surveyors who have stayed in GP are doing P&D work.

The Junior Organisation has noted that those women who are in P&D are likely, on average, to receive higher salaries than the rest, as many are employed by investment companies (JO, RICS, 1986:5, 1988:29) who are seeking development 'opportunities', rather than to meet social or spatial need. The sort of women working in this area are likely to be either rather 'up market' and involved in inner city and dockland yuppification; or alternatively bright but 'down market' "back room boys" (as one described herself) doing research on lower salaries, and those in local government.
The Modern Surveyor

What exactly surveyors 'do' (in any of these divisions) is a bit of a mystery (even to surveyors); basically if a surveyor is doing it, that is what surveyors do (and much of what they do is scarcely related to 'land') and might be equally undertaken by an accountant, lawyer or general manager. Surveyors nowadays see themselves as the new property professionals and investment accountants of post Big Bang optimism (Avis and Gibson, 1987; e/t, No.867:14-15, 24.10.86), a theme reflected in many articles over the last few years (e.g. "Surveying the new frontier", c/s, Vol.15, No.12:976, 19.6.86; "The signs of an end of an era" e/t, No.869:17, 7.11.86) and discussions about 'the opposition' ("The Big Bang", c/s, Vol.18, No.6:63, 12.2.87). Much of the old-time technical toil has been removed by the introduction of computers and the shifting of much routine work to the technician grades, to enable the surveyor to concentrate on professional issues. Indeed it was felt that, "they've got to make it more sexy and exciting if they don't want to end up as 'technicians' " (e/t, No.855:8, 25.7.86). As the profession has progressed, there is more 'space' for women. Women who were put off by the rather macho-technological image of the past are now attracted by the smoothie office image of the property professional, notwithstanding the emphasis on computers, and in spite of the 'rough' image still being projected for popular consumption. "They have taken the wellies out of surveying" as a male colleague commented to me, "no more wellying about on muddy building sites", (but wellies are still cult objects, e.g. "Winging a winning wellie", e/t, No.859:7, 22.8.86).
The Nature of Surveying Firms

Surveying firms come in two main types. Firstly there are the large prestigious practices, mainly located in London, who may have 50-100 full partners (with an inner sanctum of very senior partners) and a vast pool of associate partners below that, and then below that again numerous young surveyors. In recent times, the numbers of new recruits taken on by some really large practices, in any one year can be as great as a number equivalent to a third of their total existing 'man'power. However this is far less common amongst smaller firms. Several of the large practices are now going over to a corporate structure, which many women welcome as they believe that promotion will be more likely to be based on formalised criteria than on grace and favour (although others are more cynical). Indeed some surveyors believe that in the future the majority of practices would go over to a corporate structure (no doubt with men still in control). The large London firms deal primarily with large corporate clients, and land owners, and are unlikely to undertake any residential estate agency. Some large firms combine their general practice commercial activities, with building and quantity surveying, but in most cases this is not so, and there are other separate prestigious London practices covering these areas. Again these will deal with 'big projects' and they would not be seen dead doing a house survey. Most of the large firms, whatever their specialism are primarily dealing with "good commercial property" (c), i.e. prestige office, shop and industrial developments. As with people, buildings come in different social classes!

Secondly, there are literally thousands of much smaller firms throughout the country, as will be seen by glancing through the RICS
Year Book, ranging from sole practices to small provincial firms with perhaps 3-20 partners. There are also a few prestigious provincial practices which are much larger, and often 'ancient', and in the same elite league as the large London practices. Not all practices in London are large and there are hundreds of smaller practices in London and the Home Counties too. Many of these both in London area and the provinces have a strong estate agency component and it is these that are being gobbled up by banks, building societies and other financial institutions (since the deregulation of financial services mentioned above, e/t, No.931:10, 12.2.88). National monopolies are developing, and some predict that eventually we will end up with a situation similar to that of North America where estate agents (realtors) are dominated by one large company which operates on a franchise basis. Women have mixed feelings about this, although ironically many of the franchise holders are women.

In Britain some believe that the influence of the banks and building societies, which are traditionally employers of large female workforces (albeit non-professional) may be to their advantage. Others feel it makes it even more difficult for women to set up their own independent businesses. As one woman owner of an estate agency business put it (who had been pressurised to sell out to one of these chains) "all they wanted was the site of the business, and all my staff under the age of thirty ... they didn't want me for a start!". Many women try their best to avoid 'resy' i.e. residential work of any kind as it is seen as low status and quasi-professional, but there is no denying it does provide a viable career alternative for women surveyors who said they had "dropped out of the London rat race" (p) (usually because of home commitments or the effects of husbands
pursuing their careers). The trend to hive estate agency off, as a non-professional department, separate from mainstream surveying, "so that anybody can do it" (paraphrase of indignation) may be to the detriment of professional women who have established their 'niche' in this area. Estate agents are also vulnerable to the vagaries of the residential market: it can be a risky venture for any woman or man.

**Distribution of Women Surveyors**

As can be seen from the following table over a third of all young surveyors are located in London and the South East.

**Table VI: Percentage of JO Membership by Areas 1986 (male and female)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow and Edinburgh</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of Scotland</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merseyside and Manchester</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rest of Northern England</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Midlands</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincolnshire to Suffolk</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rest of the Home Counties</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rest of the South and South West</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All of Ireland</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source, JO, RICS, 1986: 3, the situation in 1989 remains similar).
I could not get figures on women for all regions, but, in comparison, the JO notes that 42% of women surveyors are located in London and the Home Counties (JO, RICS, 1986: 11) and the majority of our women students now go to London. There is a greater predominance of women in the south as a whole (than for the men) and far fewer women in the north, women explaining, "there's hardly anybody between Manchester and Edinburgh". Regions are big places, and overall figures give a false impression, as women will be dotted about rather than grouped together in one clump. In some firms, especially in London, 10% of their young surveyors will be women, but others will have far fewer ("the typists don't count of course"). But some women say, "I don't like being with a gaggle of women, I prefer working with men". For those that would like to work with, or at least know of other women in their area, it can create a sense of isolation and fragmentation. Several women from the different sections of the same practice only met for the first time as a result of my arranging a meeting with them all. Within provincial firms there are far fewer women, except for a few concentrations in the more prestigious firms in the larger cities, women in practice demonstrating, "you can count them on the fingers of one hand". In these 3% to 10% of surveyors will be women which may mean (taking actual examples) 3 in a firm with 35 surveyors, or 7 in a 'large' regional office of 70, and only 1 or 2 in many other smaller firms, women observing, "the smaller the firm the lower the proportion of women". London was seen as the best bet for women, if they didn't want to be completely isolated.
Methods and Attitudes

I started by visiting one of the largest and most prestigious of the up market West End practices in London, which comprises within it the full range of professional activity, and a fair spread of different types, ages, and specialisms of women surveyors. They arranged for me to meet with about 15 women from their various sections. To balance this private practice emphasis, I then visited a group of women surveyors in one of the large insurance companies that employs a number of surveyors to advise on its property investments, which are the backbone of much pension and insurance fund financing nowadays. I also contacted women who work in other non-surveying organisations such as large commercial companies with their own estate management departments, including industrial undertakings and nationwide chain stores.

I contacted women who work in other non-partnership structures such as the large building contractors. These have their own construction industry subculture which is somewhat different from that of surveying, which some say is more favourable to women (few though they be in this realm) because it is more meritocratic and less 'male upper class' or exclusive. Interestingly, some building and quantity surveyors within the RICS also see themselves as part of this 'other' culture. As one chap put it, most forcefully, "I don't belong to the landed professions, I belong to the construction industry" (v), a point replicated frequently by others, including women.
I was kindly invited by a well-intentioned senior man surveyor to visit one of the main central government property agencies to meet both him and "his ladies" (v). A considerable number of women work in the public sector, and therefore I also visited both the headquarters and the local regional offices of a certain major Transport Board with enormous property interests.

Not wishing to over-concentrate on London and the big practices, I visited a prestigious local practice, a large midlands practice, and a truly rural one. I made contacts with women in the local estate agents in my own town, to get the full range right through the different status levels and sizes of practice. I visited one of the main local authority departments in the provinces that employs an increasing number of women, especially at the trainee level; and made contact with a number of women in valuation and estate management departments elsewhere. I often met contacts I had made at these meetings again, in a range of other professional and social meetings, which I attended in London, and locally.

I was invited to meet with members of the Lionesses committee early on in my research, and was subsequently asked to speak at one of their meetings. I was to keep coming across a core of women from this group at several subsequent events as the world of surveying is very close knit. Some women were of the opinion that the Lionesses were not representative, either because they were too London based or too private sector orientated and 'up market'. I tried to balance this by contacting a far wider range of women by telephone, phoning women surveyors throughout Britain in all sorts of specialisms and stages of
personal life and levels of professional life, including those who were currently out of surveying practice.

I spread the net wide, and even managed to get a letter printed in the Estates Times (e/t, 15.5.87, No.894:10) asking women in property to write in, and got several fascinating replies, including ones from that rarest of breeds, the woman property developer. All my respondents experienced the 'same' problems whatever branch of the landed professions fraternity they encountered in their daily work, and whatever 'class' they were. Also I kept in touch with the JO, and was pleased when they sent me a letter, stating that they agreed with many of my observations, and even some of the young men thought it was "so true"! My report was tabled at a national level JO meeting in support of a motion to get an official research study done of the situation, but the motion failed.

I contacted women outside the profession but within its influence. I talked to a few wives of surveyors including those that had been in surveying themselves, and might now be seen by the world as failures in that they had gone into clerical work or turned to working with children. I found one particularly unhappy example of a wife of a surveyor who was renowned for his social awareness, but whose equally qualified wife had gone into ordinary clerical work out of boredom. She commented (with apparent approval), "my husband's work on the problems of the inner city is far too time consuming for him to think about women's issues" (p) (A touch of the Stepford Wives? Levin, 1974).
Although I did not make a formal comparative study of men surveyors (like Gallese, 1987) in the course of my travels and conversations, I came across a fair range of what I call 'incidental men', including ex-students. To give an idea of the disparity of progress, when I came across a male contemporary of one of the 'first woman' in my college (mentioned below) and attempted to contact him, I was invited by his office, to speak to him on his car telephone, which I did (although the conversation went dead every time he went under a motorway bridge). He had one car telephone; another phone, personal secretary and office in the City; and another phone, personal secretary and office in the London Docklands. In contrast my 'first woman' had an average but good position with a government body, and was quite unobtainable when she was out of 'the office' on site, but I could leave a message with the switchboard.

Other incidental men consisted of personnel officers, professional section heads and a few younger male surveyors, who gave me further ethnographic anecdotes. Government bodies are very conscious of their public image and the personnel officer might waylay me and give me his version "before you meet the ladies" almost as if he thought I was some sort of Inspector sent to check up on him, "we believe in equal opportunities, 60% of our clerical staff are women", one said proudly. In a certain large firm, located in commodious premises, I was 'convinced' of their good record regards women surveyors. But when I used their Ladies loo after the meeting I found the main photocopying machines in there in an anteroom, including a very large one used for map production. I expect that put a burden on all the women, one would be expected to run off a couple of maps every time one made a call. Or perhaps it was to cut down on too much photocopying. Space matters.
I had intended to have a longitudinal element to my research but as stated earlier, there were various 'problems'. Nevertheless I was able to contact a number of women ex-students, bearing in mind that until only a few years ago, 5 per class would have been an exceptionally large number. I contacted what was the first woman student in the department, and talked at length to both her and her mother about her subsequent progress. However it seemed more valuable to seek a wider range of women to get more variety and coverage. Overall there seemed to be little correlation between academic achievement and career success, indeed more than one exceptionally 'bright' student had ended up in property research, which was seen by many as a fate worse than death. It seemed that the personable, worldly wise, yet 'average' woman was likely to do far better, and was seen as less of a threat to the men. However this chapter and the next do have a longitudinal element within them, as I describe the problems that women surveyors encounter at different stages in their careers, drawing on the experiences of a variety of women.

**Employment**

Although increasingly large numbers of young women surveyors have been entering the private sector, many women are still found in the public sector as can be seen from the tables below. Tables VII and VIII are not directly comparable, but all categories except public sector are effectively private sector. It is only in the last couple of years that the private sector has begun to overtake the public sector in recruiting women, and providing the leading role models for women within the profession.
Table VII: Percentages of All Young Surveyors in Each Sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1986</th>
<th>1988</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private practice</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance and pension funds</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractors</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Sector</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: JO, 1986: 1; JO, 1988

Table VIII: Estimated Approximate Percentages of All Women Surveyors in Each Sector 1989

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private partnership firms</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pension funds, insurance etc</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractors</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public sector (including 2% in education)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not professionally engaged and other</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data Status: These estimates are based on incomplete employment category records from the RICS 1989 for female corporate members only, i.e. fellows and professional associates; plus additional qualitative 'guesstimates' for probationers, and trainee 'student' members in employment (and fuller confirmation of corporate member situation) as informed by observations of trends and distribution of female surveyor employment gained in the course of doing the research; plus some indicative quantitative material, such as first destination data from
some colleges and (confidential) statistics from public sector employers. Therefore they do not have the same quantitative status as the percentages presented in Table VII, being based on estimated 'proportions' (fractions). But this table was included in the main professional journal (Greed, 1990:1242,c) and no editorial objection was raised, as to the acceptability of the reasonableness of the figures.

Progress of the Young Woman Surveyor

I went through a range of glossy recruitment brochures which the various public bodies and private firms produced to attract graduates in their direction. Much of it was classically 'male' in terms of descriptions of future career patterns and opportunities (without breaks) and the photographs used. Some application forms asked the strangest questions as to weight and height, and details of sports and interests. However some of the public sector bodies had tried to present good female role models in their literature. At the recruitment stage after leaving college (or more likely whilst there in the last year during the "milk round" in which surveyors will come to the colleges, in what is nowadays a sellers market) "all seems fair" (c) as the women and the men seem to get offered the same jobs. Indeed, 99% of all surveying graduates get jobs. Nowadays 60% of all our students, but 80% of female students go to London, most to the large prestigious firms, and this is fairly typical of southern colleges. They are more motivated by the pursuit of status in their choice of job and location than by any desire to influence "what is built".
Many young surveyors move out of London after a year or two, but often remain in the South East. Some women swap over to the public sector and appear to be happier doing what they see as a wider and more interesting variety of work. The private sector is in a period of expansion and many people have said if you go into the public sector that shows you are no good and a failure, which is very different from the past when around 30% of all students would have gone into local authorities to get 'experience' (Nowadays, less than 20% of all surveyors are in the public sector, representing a continuing decline as in 1985 the figure was 24% (c/s, Vol. 12, No. 220: 668, 12.9.85). It is now almost obligatory to go to London to get a grounding, in the same way that it used to be considered essential to work in public service especially in the 'DVs' (District Valuation Office). However people are unlikely to get the full range of experience in one London firm (often being 'stuck' in one specialist department) that they would get in local government, or in a small all-purpose private practice. This may not be a major drawback as the trend is for people to specialise more than was the case in the past. However many women have warned me of the dangers of being so good at one particular area that this actually works against them as they become 'indispensable', and they are passed over in favour of generalists (usually men) when it comes to promotion. However a woman dare not be a generalist, as she must be seen to be good at something.

On taking the first job, there may be the initial shock of starting at the bottom again as the junior and being given fairly menial work even in a 'posh' firm. Several women have commented that they suddenly seemed alone, as if all the other women surveyors had evaporated into thin air. However many ex-students who go to London share a flat with
someone else whom they know from college because of the cost and this softens the blow. What they actually do at the beginning seems to vary considerably from (at worst) colour washing plans; to being given quite difficult structural surveys or valuations and being sent out on their own with full responsibility for their actions. Much depends on personality and it is difficult to generalise as it is not necessarily the women that get the rubbish jobs. Indeed the women may be seen as more mature, competent and useful at the beginning, and the men are given time to catch up later. If there were a complete 50/50 # male/female split in Surveying, then I dare say women as a group would be allocated lower status jobs, but while we are at the stage of a few bright exceptional females in amongst a sea of more run of the mill males other rules apply (at least at the beginning of their careers). In Housing where there are relatively more women, it is already much more noticeable that a disproportionate number of women are in lower level positions (Levison and Atkins, 1987:10, Figure G).

Salaries vary considerably, not just between male and female, but between different individuals and firms, although several women are convinced the men are earning more (one told me she was definitely paid £3,000 less than a male colleague). The JO did not find much disparity in salaries between the sexes (JO, RICS, 1986:13), although those women who worked part-time proportionately earned less. Very few women surveyors are working part-time compared with women solicitors (of whom 26% of those who were admitted in 1977 are now part-time, Law Society's Gazette, Vol.85, No.30:5, 24.8.88; and Marks, 1988). Would-be part-time women surveyors have commented, "it's all or nothing, they don't want part-timers, it's a twenty four hour job" (which it isn't). Women who kept going above the age of thirty often received reasonably
good salaries, but it should be remembered that there are relatively few of them. Some women had never asked what the others were earning, and seemed to expect me to be able to tell them, as if I had some way of discovering more about their own firm than they did. Contrary to popular opinion in the midst of all the investment wealth of London, some surveyors are considerably worse off than their colleagues in local government or the provinces. There seems to be a pressure to dress well, but 'properly', to fit in with the affluent image. One of my ex-students was 'lucky', explaining, "I only had the suit I had worn to my interview and I wore it for months on end, perhaps it made them take me more seriously as they thought I wasn't interested in clothes" (p).

Whilst at the first interview, the "treat them all the same" (c) factor may be at work, once in practice 'in the grown up world' the situation may change if women seek another interview to change jobs. Several women have mentioned loaded interviews in which they have been asked about their personal lives and whether they have children. Women variously commented, "If the firm is like that, I don't want them and they don't want me, I can always go somewhere else", and, "if a man gets married it's a sign he is settling down and its seen as good for his partnership prospects, if a woman gets married she is taken out of the running and written off". There are some firms of which I have been told "they would never employ women" and so everyone 'knows' it is a waste of time applying to them, but these are in the minority, and "you can always get a job elsewhere". One man bemoaned, "we can't keep them, they can always go somewhere else", which reflects a prevalent double standard, as I have often heard males being praised
for their dynamism when they move. However it is true with some of the more traditional firms they still want people 'for life'.

All this may be true for younger women surveyors, but less so for older women as the pyramid narrows. In respect of employers looking at the pool of potential candidates for further promotion, older women commented "it's almost as if the women don't exist" (p). Therefore, I would go so far to say from my investigations that women are recruited on completely different criteria (although they may not realise it) to meet short term 'manpower' shortages, and that in reality employers have very different expectations of them. These factors might not manifest themselves for several years as all surveyors are 'juniors' until their late twenties (and they have to complete their TPC [test of professional competence] before counting as fully qualified). I have come across women who have sailed along, obliviously thinking that all is well, and that they and their work is highly valued, when they get an almighty shock of being overtaken by men whom they had discounted as unimportant. The fact that the senior men seemed to treat them decently, or even like them, may have counted for nothing in the long run. As with student projects, men don't even have to like each other to work with or promote each other.

What do the men really think of women? One very senior man in a prestigious London practice told me, "I think the chaps welcome more women being taken on, as they know that means there is less competition for them as the women are bound to leave. It's pleasant to have women around, the chaps like it" (v). Another senior partner said, "We like to think we're modern. It's good to have a computer and a couple of women surveyors in the office, it shows we're with it"
A woman lecturer in another surveying department was convinced that the old 'finders, minders and grinders' management concept applied adversely to women. Talking to a range of people, it would seem to me, that women might be prematurely put into the first category, using their charm, breeding and 'attraction' to deal directly with clients (who are male of course), but as their looks declined they might become minders or indeed more likely 'helpmeets' on other people's work, and eventually they might be channelled sideways to becoming mere grinders. They were being given these roles in a sequence that men seldom experienced, which bore no relationship to their income, status, or seniority.

Vertical Distribution of Women Surveyors

It is one of the main propositions of this study that in order for women to exert a strong influence on the nature of the profession and put forward alternative policies, first of all, they have got to be fully accepted into the profession and achieve positions of seniority within it; which in surveying would usually mean reaching full partnership level. Regarding vertical distribution, even allowing for the fact that many women surveyors are under thirty years of age, and in fairly junior positions, there are a considerable number of older women around who have failed to reach the levels of seniority to which they consider they should have been entitled. It would appear (based on figures given in strictest confidence from public sector bodies, and extensive investigations on the grapevine in the private sector) that very few of the surveyors at full partnership, or higher management level, are women. According to the RICS (1989, Records Office) around 82 of the total number of women in surveying are at
'principal' level (compared with 36 in 1983) but I would estimate that barely a tenth of these count as 'really' senior partners or equivalent. In contrast the 2% of women surveyors in education (Table VIII) do proportionately better in terms of gaining seniority.

Private sector

Many older women have reached associate partnership level, which in surveying provides a pool of possible 'talent' from which further promotion to full partnership is made. Women have commented to me that a log jam is building up as the new wave of women surveyors reach their thirties, and are not promoted further but left at this lower management level. For example, one woman commented, "Now I'm older I can see men who are younger and less experienced being picked out and promoted for partnership, whilst I'm still left where I was. They won't let me through" (v). Indeed there seems to be a myth that there are not enough competent women around, or that they are not putting themselves forward, when in fact many women are blue in the face with trying. An alarming example of this view was expressed in Parliament (Hansard, '1986) which specifically mentioned women surveyors.

Women pointed out, "the men are all being given associate partnerships and bigger car allowances, we feel ignored" (p). They observed that the men are likely to be groomed for partnership earlier whereas women after an initial climb are then shunted horizontally into specialist areas rather than continuing up vertically. Although a few women have broken through to partnership level, there are partners and partners. It can be a way of employing people on a fee sharing basis (with taxation advantages) or it can be a sign of great importance at
the senior level. Even at the non-partnership level one comes across men surveyors who are employed on what appear to be low salaries, but in addition they have the benefit of an "attractive package" (c). Many women feel uneasy about this sort of offer, particularly if they don't understand how to play the game.

I only found three of my women ex-students who have become partners (but know of a number of male ones). One was exceptional as a student, coming into the 'first woman' category several times in her career so far. Another is a partner in her father's firm and is clearly expected to continue 'in harness' all her life taking over the business in the absence of a brother; whether this counts as equality is another matter. Indeed she went through a phase when she wanted to become a dancer, and for her this would have involved going against "the expected path" (v) as much as it would for the average woman to become a minerals surveyor. She now feels rather pleased that she became a surveyor and is highly thought of by many. There are boys in similar circumstances (some of whom manage to fail their examinations in the hope of not becoming a surveyor) women commenting, "some men have no choice but to be a surveyor, and they resent women that do".

Ironically, in the later stages of doing this research there have been a few spectacular appointments of women to full partnership level, but it is noticeable that older women have been "ignored" (c), who by rights should have been taken first, and much younger women have been chosen, creating mixed feelings all round. Having heard the life story of several of the women involved, and their jubilation or bitterness, it is a very 'difficult' situation. So now women at partnership level seem to be composed of a few of the older 'exceptional' women, and a
number of much younger women, who appear to have leapfrogged over others who were battling their way along, which further 'fragments' women as a group.

There are large numbers of small practices out in the provinces consisting of only a few partners, most of whom are male. However such practices survive on the work of the vast numbers of 'office ladies' they employ, many of whom are really doing quasi-professional work. Even nowadays one finds that a few young men will seek to establish themselves in a 'new' sole practice. There seems to be another sub-universe within the patriarchal professions of the independent practitioner who is found in small towns, where all such men belong to the Rotary and usually the Masons. They are big fish in a small pond, and somewhat conservative and local in outlook rather than cosmopolitan or 'dynamic' (Pahl, 1965; and Gans, 1967). Many women have found, either as fellow professionals or as clients, that such men can be highly patriarchal in the way they treat women.

Some women have set up in practice on their own, but whether this should be seen as evidence of equality or exasperation is another matter. I came across just a few women building surveyors who were working on their own from home doing house surveys, whilst combining this with their family commitments. Nowadays with the problems of indemnity insurance and other overheads, it is significant that women are entering this area as men are leaving it, as one man put it, "independent building surveyors are a dying species, it's too much worry nowadays" (p). Going into a technological area is not necessarily a sign of progress. Likewise being a partner or owning your own business is not a sign of power or incipient capitalism at
this level (indeed such people might constitute another micro-proletariat). Even women that set out with feminist intentions, tell me their minds are perpetually preoccupied with "keeping the business afloat" (c).

In contrast, solicitors and accountants are organised in a way which allows for many smaller firms, as well as the larger London based ones; and generally they have a 'flatter' hierarchical structure with more professional staff being partners, rather than employees, and with less emphasis on the intermediate band of associates found in surveying, which many women solicitors envy, "you're lucky, it's all or nothing for us" (p). Most legal practices now have at least one woman partner (Law Society, 1988: and see the Law Society's Gazette, Vol. 84, No. 12: 921, 25.3.87), although there is still a marked disparity in progress (The Law Society's Gazette, Vol. 85, No. 5: 3, 3.2.88; Nott, 1989). The Law Society are getting more and more worried about 'the recruitment crisis' (i.e. too many women) (Robinson, 1987). 50% of newly qualified solicitors are female, and yet the profession is making very little allowance for their needs. Therefore many women are leaving in the late twenties and early thirties. One of the big problems for women, in partnership based professions, is that as associate or full partners they are not covered by normal employment legislation as they no longer count as employees and cannot therefore depend on getting maternity leave. Women solicitors (Law Society, 1988) have recommended that 'special' provision for women should be written into the Deeds of Partnership, and paid for by the fee earning capacity of the whole practice (which has received a mixed reception).
Public sector

The categories of work are superficially 'the same' in the public sector, but the ethos is somewhat different. Although there are a significant few who are in the higher echelons of public service, for example there are four women at the highest level in one branch of public service surveying, there is then a considerable drop, without much in between, to the lower levels. One can see a similar jagged pattern to the 'splutter' effect in education. However at the junior 'cadet' level, around 30% and in some cases 50% of new entrants will be women, and there 'appears' to be no discrimination, indeed it would seem that employers prefer women. I was told, "we could assess the effect of equal opportunities better, if women did not leave to have children just when they are at an equal stage of pay with men: opportunities are there if they want them" (v). In the public sector women feel they are better off than those in the private sector in terms of salary, pension rights and equal rights, stating, "it is less exciting but more secure than the private sector" (p). The men are seen as dull and grey. One hears of twenty year old males working out their superannuation payments for when they are 65; obviously not the risk taking type. In contrast the women are likely to be entrepreneurial in character, and are seen as "too lively and unsettling". Being too 'bright' was seen as a reason for women losing out on promotion in some organisations. Many women are convinced they are given less challenging work, and scrutinised more, by what they see as men who are not as bright as themselves, if not "failures" (c).

Nevertheless, women believed the public sector offered them responsibility, and an interesting range of work, especially in
central government departments in London, commenting, "you can be doing anything and they have a policy of encouraging you to take complete responsibility, you are your own boss". This is paradox as in the private sector many women did not feel personally part of the enterprise culture, "I was just doing all donkey work for my section head and he got to meet the clients and got all the praise for my efforts. I am very glad I moved over into the public sector, they make you feel valued". (So much for stories of women being lost in big state bureaucracies.) How long all this will last is another matter as everyone mentioned the likelihood of privatisation of Government assets. One senior man told me, "we are responsible for more millions of pounds than any private company, we are the biggest, look at all the Government property there is".

Women may be working in the centre of government but have very little opportunity to shape policy as against carry it out, as most decisions seemed to come from 'on high', but many women just accepted this, "you're too busy to think about it". Women talked enthusiastically of being responsible for new prisons, MOD property, and one woman who was in raptures in charge of government "dog pounds" (sic) which she found so much more interesting having previously been in a very boring job in a very prestigious private practice. I have had glowing reports of another female rural surveyor who is responsible for managing the farm land around the perimeter of a nuclear power station. Some women are so proud of their work and love doing it so much that it does not occur to them to question the rather debatable social implications of their work. Likewise others did not question the tax collecting role of the district valuation office, in which they work: although they espoused strongly conservative and entrepreneurial values.
Horizontal Distribution of Women Surveyors

The extent to which the presence of women can affect "what is built" is related to two factors, the nature of their work and their motivation for going into surveying, in particular their awareness of urban issues. Women seem to be increasingly channelled, horizontally, into certain specific areas (parallels with the medical profession; see Lorber, 1984). Three areas seem to be specially reserved for women, although of course there is also a majority of men in these areas too (as there is in all areas of surveying). Firstly, anything that has an element of 'prettifying' in the worst and most superficial sense, whether it be in relation to conservation, landscaping or indeed creating an attractive image in the office by their very presence, seems to be reserved for women.

Secondly, anything to do with residential development is a 'woman's area'. As stated many women surveyors avoid 'resy' like the plague because of its low status association with estate agency (selling houses) which is a quasi professional 'trade' area. This is unfortunate in that many urban feminists are very concerned about housing as a woman's issue, although one can understand why women professionals do not want to be marginalised into this area. More broadly, many architects would not even see house design as real architecture, presumably because there are so many women in it (Wekerle et al., 1980: 205). This is also an area where lower status men might gravitate, especially those without the right contacts. I have observed that the rare male working class student might actually say that he wants to go into estate agency as his first choice.
Many women are initially attracted to surveying because they like the look of estate agency and then realise there are 'better' specialisms to consider. Other women were attracted to surveying because of an interest in 'male' areas of practice and found themselves shunted into estate agency. In particular some 'county' women with farming backgrounds were fascinated by auctioneering, and land agency, individuals commenting, "I wanted to sell cattle and ended up selling houses" (p). Nevertheless such women are still a significant group within rural practice. They possess the surveyors' love of "getting out and about" (c), but when this is manifested in a love of horse riding, it is seen as a joke by the men. The word 'ponies' is met with the same reaction as the phrase 'women drivers' (a control on women taking over 'space' perhaps). Also in the past it was possible for "ordinary office women" (c) who worked in estate agencies to work their way up to being a negotiator and eventually to be allowed to go on a quasi-professional course, and in some cases make the leap across to the RICS courses. In spite of the talk of more opportunities for women nowadays, this route has now been effectively sealed off, because of the emphasis on college education, and the hardening of 'status' barriers in the profession.

The third area which women are seen as 'naturally' fitting into, is 'property management', not management in the executive sense, but in the worst sense of 'caring for' property almost as an extension of the traditional housewife and 'helpmeet' role. For example such women will be concerned with keeping the tenants happy in a shopping complex development, and dealing with rent reviews, servicing contracts and public relations. It should be noted that in none of these specialisms are the women directly involved in actually planning, designing and
making development happen, nor in large scale investment and risk taking activities. All this is mainly reserved for the men. Another alarming trend in all specialisms, which I have very mixed feelings about, although on the surface it seems a 'good' trend is the increasing numbers of women who are going into property research. Paradoxically women with not inconsiderable intelligence, expertise and even feminist awareness, 'prostitute' their brains for the gratification of the demands of male policy making; in which they are likely to have very little influence and which is not necessarily in the best interests of women.

However, women welcome work that is related to commercial development, to avoid 'resy' perhaps? There is very little social content in all this as most of the work centres on investment, letting and management of portfolios of office development. It is one the most capitalistic and patriarchal areas of surveying, and interestingly women want to join and support the men in this area, rather than questioning the impact on women and seeking to change it. Around 80% of all the investment related to office and commercial development is concentrated in London and everything in the provinces is small fry in comparison. However this development does affect "what is built" over a much wider radius, generating housing, transportation and service industry throughout the South East and further adding to the overall congestion.

Much smaller groups of women are also of particular interest, namely those women who have reached positions of authority; those in the most male dominated macho-technological areas of surveying; and those who are 'unusual' in some way, such as the very small number of black
women surveyors. I tried to trace some of them (few though they be, about ten women at the last count, and a very slightly smaller number of men, excluding the small group in housing management, and overseas surveyors). I found it difficult as such women whose photographs occasionally appeared in the journals might in fact be 'only' secretaries (e.g., No. 833: 10, 21.2.86). I was able to find a few black women surveyors by word of mouth. One man told me, "phone her up and tell her you want to talk to her because she's black, she won't mind".

These three categories of individuals often exhibit most strongly the essential attributes required of the ideal woman surveyor. However even in the areas where there are very few women, mechanisms may still be at work to create a gender hierarchy. For example, one woman who is a mining surveyor (of which there are about six women including students, in the whole of Britain) told me that she wanted to be involved directly in mineral extraction, whereas her employer thought she should work on spoil heap reclamation; "landscaping with trees and hedges, he thought that was more ladylike" (v).

Likewise women that appear to be in technological areas may in fact be involved in legal work within them, for example many women in quantity surveying are dealing with building contract law, not construction itself. Therefore, whatever specialism women appear to be in, one has to look very closely at what exactly they are doing in it, and for whom. Many women feel they are seen as 'helpmeets', there for the benefit of the men, and not as people in their own right. Some women are involved in industrial property which superficially may appear more male, but the actual work they are doing may be similar to that related to commercial property e.g. rent reviews, rating and valuation.
work, landlord and tenant matters and general supervision and management of property. There might be an element of glamour in dealing with the new science parks and high tech sunrise industries but I am told for valuation purposes the buildings are not that different from traditional industrial units "four walls and a roof, just a fancy shed".

Some women seem naturally inclined towards technology. One woman confessed that she had liked bricks since she was nine. Another woman explained to me that when she was little, she used to go out with her mother who used to lift her over the site railings to look at the foundations of the new houses, and tell her about construction (when the workmen weren't there of course). I found a number of lone building surveyors and quantity surveyors dotted about often about one or two per practice although when I met them I did not always realise as "they don't look any different from normal women" as one man put it. Others work with large contractors, for example on motorway construction, which involves "dealing with the men" (c). Paradoxically, women who have got into the most male areas and have established a specialism in this area might find that that expertise in itself bars them from further promotion or getting back into the office. Several commented to the effect, "most older men are no longer out on site, they have management jobs in the office, it's only a temporary phase for them".

Conclusion

Two other points were evident in my travels and conversations. Firstly, how many of the most successful women had entered surveying,
"quite by chance" (c). However subsequently some would find that there were surveying connections in their family, almost as if it ran in the blood. One woman had had a major row with her father and went off to London and entered one of the more male dominated areas of surveying, "to show him my independence". Later her mother said, "your grandfather would have been pleased" and she was told that he had been a surveyor. Women who thought they were acting independently even rebelliously, might find that they were unwittingly fulfilling the requirements of the maintenance of the subculture, and thus of patriarchy. Secondly I came across many women who were very much part of surveying dynasties or extended surveying families. For example one very senior woman told me she was the aunt of one of my then first year male students, and she knew about me before I'd even met her, "I like to keep an eye on the young" she said smiling wisely (like a tribal matriarch out of an anthropology book). Even in the case of those women who had 'succeeded', the desire to alter the profession or improve the nature of the built environment was not foremost in their minds, rather they were motivated by a 'naive' desire to achieve, which in itself helped in the maintenance of both capitalism and patriarchy and, by default, their reproduction over space.

Footnote

'It was stated that the government simply couldn't find any suitably qualified women professionals, including planners and surveyors to serve on the London Residuary Bodies. During the discussion Lord Elton was asked the difference between a man and a woman professional and replied, "I would hope the latter would be more attractive" (Hansard, 1986).
CHAPTER XI GETTING BY IN THE WORLD OF SURVEYING

Introduction

This chapter looks at 'all the little things' which women encounter who are striving "to get by in a man's world", (Riley and Bailey, 1983). These incidents are not trivial or personal, but the very building blocks of women's position in surveying, at the micro level on the diagram, reflecting class, gender and subcultural attitudes. Therefore they are the vehicles for the process of the reproduction (transmission) over space of social relations, affecting "what is built". This chapter is intended to give a general impression of the situation, using examples drawn from my dispersed ethnography in particular.

It covers what from my data seem to be the four main problems for women, namely, the atmosphere of the professional office, reconciling work and home commitments, interaction with other people at work, and presenting the right personal image (and displaying the correct accoutrements for the job), all of which may be summed up by the frequently recorded comment, "we feel we're being scrutinised all the time". Also women surveyors are operating within the broader context of the landed professions which remain remarkably 'male'. One example of this is that when it was suggested that a woman's centre in Oxford should be built by women, a cartoon appeared suggesting that monkeys should build a proposed new monkey house in London ("Stackup", e/t, No. 845, 16.5.86, back page).
The Professional Context

The office milieu

Many women have problems with the atmosphere of the professional office. Women felt that the emphasis on sport and socialising which spills over into office conversations, made them feel left out, commenting, "men waste so much time every lunch time and after work, propping up bars and chatting, I can't waste my time like that, but they see me as disloyal if I don't" (p). Some offices have a fixed evening every week when the men will go along to a local 'hostelry' and drink and chat. These are traditionally all male gatherings, and it is very difficult for the women surveyors to know whether to go, and how to behave if they do. The men likewise may be inhibited if women are present both in social meetings and formal committee meetings.

Comparisons and refugees

I found several women who had gone into surveying, particularly within the public sector as a positive escape from greater problems elsewhere. I met two women valuers who had previously done science, and several other 'refugees' from the women engineer syndrome. Such women said they "didn't want to be stuck in the laboratory all day" (p) and disliked the factory floor atmosphere. One such woman had already been subjected to immense sexism at a white heat of technology type university. She explained that one Professor who had been instrumental in making breakthroughs in 'birth control' would pick the few women out in lectures and say, "now girls this is the chemical
used in the production of birth control pills, you will know all about that won't you?" (p). She thought surveying was wonderful in comparison, as "you can do much worse".

Work and Home

Career and children

One of the most frequently mentioned 'professional' problems, by both those with children and those without, was how to reconcile the demands of work and home. It would appear that around half of older women surveyors have children. Amongst the younger age groups there are many that said they were "holding on" (c). Everyone told me, "there is a massacre in the late twenties and early thirties" as women leave the profession. This is partly in order to have children, but many other women were leaving because of a growing disillusionment as they began to 'see' that all was far from fair. Others carry on working, and may "leave it too late" (c), either to have children or to change careers. It is not seen as natural to have children in the world of surveying, and if women do it, it is likely to be seen as a purely personal and avoidable matter that is of no concern to the profession, several men opining, "you don't have to have children, you bring it on yourself". This attitude eats into women's souls, and no doubt weakens any resolve they might have, either to improve their own employment conditions, or to influence "what is built" for the benefit of women in society. One woman student declared, "I suppose it's the fault of biology and not surveying". Her whole manner suggested an inner conflict that was tearing her apart, for which
there was no 'space' for discussion within her college. Many women surveyors speak of, "putting off the evil day" saying they were, "not very keen". This is hardly surprising when throughout their student days, they have been bombarded with the 'implication' that it is selfish to have children as it causes 'overpopulation' and it is distinctly unprofessional if not working class.

**Attitudes towards women**

There still seems to be a resentment in the landed professions against married women having jobs, let alone children as well ("Couples are out of order", Stone, 1983, a classic letter). Sometimes men tease women on this matter almost to annoy them. I remember a very senior surveyor addressing a group of young women surveyors and complimenting them on their achievements, adding, "I expect you will all be leaving us soon" the atmosphere went tense, a pause ... "to go and work for merchant bankers in the City", the atmosphere relaxed.

Although "the men do both" (c), the whole atmosphere was far from 'girl-friendly' (Whyte et al, 1985) for women who tried to do so, indeed there were strong elements of resentment even misogyny beneath the surface. I was told of one woman who got on very well with her male colleagues and then she got pregnant. "It was as if the men felt that she had betrayed them. They were frightened as if it had happened to them. It was as if they thought it would never happen to her, they said, 'we thought you were different' " (p).
The wise woman surveyor who is 'her own woman' will be able to hold two perspectives, will declare "it's all a male game" (c), and will have children and a career. Indeed it would appear that those women who succeed the most in their surveying careers are also those that have been the most successful in producing and "organising children" (c). Such women are often seen as 'superwomen' by other women surveyors, and seem to be blessed with boundless energy and willingness to do whatever is required, "moving heaven and earth if necessary" (p). They never seem to get headaches, or aged relatives falling down stairs, or children getting sick, or if they do, no-one ever hears about it.

One woman surveyor told me how she and her husband moved next door to a school, when their child reached school age, "to make it easier". Indeed contrary to popular opinion many cannot afford nannies, or if they are 'rich' it is only because they have worked hard and now daren't stop, especially if their work has 'caused' their subsequent divorce (a common problem). Even those with supportive husbands had difficulties. One woman building surveyor was doing a fifty mile round trip to site a few weeks after having her first baby; another woman had tried unsuccessfully to take her baby on site with her. Also astonishingly, I came across several women who commuted over 100-200 miles per day by train, leaving their children in the care of nannies, or relatives.
Crossing the divide

Totally paradoxically, as stated earlier regarding education, some older women are seen as less threatening and trustworthy because they have 'accepted their role' and had children, such women commenting, "if you've got over the messy phase of having babies, they know you're not going to leave and let them down". However other women, both with and without children, have noted that a greater factor (than having children) in the differential treatment and perception of the capabilities of men and women surveyors was 'age', as there seems to be a parting of the ways between men and women in their mid thirties, with many women being channelled sideways whilst the men continue to climb. Some 'exceptional' women magically seem to make it safely over this divide and end up with both children and a senior position in surveying, but many underachieve.

Disconnections and costs

Many women nevertheless experience a misfit between the personal and professional sides of their lives (an unreconciled dualism and knot in the model). It is sobering, amongst all the 'glamour' of the image of the successful woman in the professions, that more than one woman told me that all the successful women in surveying had got there through personal misfortune! Levels of divorce are high amongst women surveyors, but even divorce is good as it "fuels the property market" (e/t, 26.6.87:12). (a clash of realms at the meso level on the model).

Also, many women have commented that if they leave surveying, or indeed if they meet male colleagues in another setting out of context,
their office status does not 'keep', as men may ignore them totally in the street, and if challenged may well say, "sorry, I didn't see you". In contrast 'professional gentlemen' seem to retain their status in society, even when they have long since left practice.

Changes

The Institute of Housing has initiated a series of projects on women taking career breaks, returning to work and attempting job-share (Leevers, 1986; Housing, Institute of, 1986; Levison and Atkins, 1987). But this must be set against a background in which women are making little vertical progress, in spite of increased numbers. Likewise in town planning, women are concentrated chiefly in the lower grades, (RTPI, 1984, 1986a, 1986b), but as yet the RICS has not addressed the problem adequately and has only recently considered a working party.

Other People

Introduction

In a surveying office, women surveyors are dealing with a range of people of different social classes each day who may cause more problems than the relatively pleasant male surveyor. But it should be remembered that even 'good' surveyors may be directly responsible for hiring 'bad' people. Over the centuries a whole series of class and gender relationships, collusions and pay-offs have been developed, upon which patriarchy and capitalism are dependent. A surveying practice, like any other organisation will manifest these historical
relationships. Women surveyors are thrown into the pot as a new ingredient that has to be 'dealt with' (echoes of Hearn and Parkin 1987, and Crompton and Mann, 1986).

Typists

Women in offices are traditionally seen as 'helpmeets' and as 'attractive'. Regarding the model it would seem that there is a strong element of 'collusion' and 'colonisation' between high status men and low status women. The whole system is based on the idea that the women are there to give support to the men. Therefore it is hardly surprising that many women surveyors have said that their greatest problems at the beginning come from typists and other women office workers. Not only do they get no 'support', they may get outright opposition. This is operationalised through women's own personal feelings rather than through commands from men. One woman said older women office workers felt threatened even jealous of her, as if she was trying to take their bosses away from them, and therefore they were very unco-operative towards her. I had several examples of women finding that their typing was not being done, or was done more slowly, all of which was an additional burden to impede their progress. Some women find it is the older women who are the worst, whilst others have said it is the younger women secretaries that are the problem. Even strong men have been reduced to tears by, what some call, "stroppy typists" ganging up against them, and they are the first to say, "If they are rude they are likely to be rude to everyone, but that bit more to the women" (p). This is further developed in the typing pool situation in local authorities where staff are shared, and problems may arise when women surveyors are told their work, "will have to
"take its turn, as Mr. Smith's work is very urgent". If one is tough you go down (it's always down) to the typists and have it out with them once and for all. If a woman surveyor is nice to women typists she may be seen as "queer" (sic) in particular if she has her own secretary and "does not treat her like dirt as one should" (p) as several women opined in discussing this not infrequent situation. Needless to say, some men surveyors do treat their women secretaries badly, as evidenced by a letter from a secretary entitled, "Pay for a dogsbody human being", (in e/t, No.789:10, 29.3.85).

One woman said her desk was relocated out in the main clerical section and was instructed, "to keep an eye on the typists and make sure they are working" (p). This put her and them in an impossible situation. Everyone has told me that I must mention the fact that a certain woman surveyor who is generally accepted to have reached the highest level, being a senior partner in a certain prestigious practice, has a male secretary. Some women get on very well with their secretaries and typists. "I'm going on holiday with my boss", boasted one secretary to her friends. Her boss was a lady surveyor and they had both been to university together but one had chosen to become a secretary and the other a surveyor. "IT COULD BE ME SITTING BEHIND THAT TYPEWRITER" stressed the latter (V).

Many women consider it unwise to 'fraternise' with the typists even if they are the only women to talk to, and one should never dress like them. Women have to constantly establish their 'different' status and avoid being 'read' in the wrong way, as in "Hello, you must be the new secretary". The general view was that once they got used to you, and
remembered who you were this sorted itself out, but one would still get the occasional 'stranger' who did not realise.

Keeping up appearances may entitle a junior surveyor to her own secretary in the more classy West End practices. One said, "my secretary was quite resentful of me until we chatted and we worked out she was earning more than me? I think the firm expected me to take any salary just for the privilege of being there" (v).

**Fellow surveyors**

Much of this thesis relates to giving (of necessity) a somewhat generalised impression of surveyors' attitudes toward women. However attitudes do vary to some extent between practices and different specialisms, and between individual men, particularly on the basis of age and background. Whilst many women surveyors work in private sector practices in urban areas (especially London), some of the more startling accounts were given to me by women working in rural (and provincial) practices, and in the public sector.

The situation is more unpredictable in remote rural areas. One woman moved to deepest Wales explained, "they had never seen a woman surveyor before, they didn't know how to treat me". When she realised that the men were "simply embarrassed by me" she took the opportunity to take over, and computerised their valuation department for them. Whether she got the credit for this, or whether this was a re-enactment of the 'helpmeet' role of "there's nothing like a woman's touch to put a house in order" (as various men defined such situations) is another matter. The fact that women are not expected to
be good at computers or at management was no doubt quite secondary for these men who were still coming to terms with the possibility of a woman being a surveyor. In another rural area, one woman told me how a very ancient partner of the firm used to come up to her in the street and kiss her hand, in the most gallante manner. Another woman in a minority specialism in the north, said that at her first professional meeting the men were admonished, "gentlemen there is a lady present" (i.e. no swearing).

Interestingly it was from women who were working in public service, where one would imagine the situation would be more enlightened, that I received the 'worst' accounts. The general opinion was that one would be treated 'better' and that the men would actually be more open to feminist ideas in a traditional paternalistic 'conservative' private practice, than in, what were described as, "socialist equal opportunities type local authorities". There is the whole "local government fraternity" (c) to deal with (Levison and Atkins, 1987).

Paradoxically, women told me how government departments may offer lengthy maternity leave, accept job sharing and flexibility to transfer between full-time and part-time employment; but such glowing reports are usually followed by the statement "nobody has ever done it of course, if you are away for a week you loose ground and it may affect your promotion". It's all for that hypothetical 'abstract' woman again! I had several accounts of major battles going on about girlie calenders and offensive behaviour right in the midst of some of the most well known "equal opportunity" authorities in London. According to my informants, many local authority men simply disliked women. Comments such as "why don't you go back where you came from?", and "why don't you go home and look after your kids", were quite
common. The only account I have of attempted rape relates to a northern 'socialist' local authority, in which a young woman surveyor was set upon by two men surveyors (but miraculously overpowered them). More commonly women reported being "commented on all the time" one significantly adding, "this got to some of the women, one developed a rash and others just felt ill all the time".

Technicians

Technicians frequently try to be clever and test a woman, on some obscure technical trivia, that most men surveyors would not know either, and which only technicians are meant to know in order to do their job. "What! you went to college all that time at the taxpayers' expense and you don't know how to use a planimeter?" one technician said to me when I first joined a planning office, waving a pre-war brass model in the air that was probably last used when working out field areas for the Enclosure Acts. Technicians think that if a woman cannot type or know all the skills of a woman draughtsman, then she knows nothing about Planning or Surveying; no man would be judged in this way. The opposite may happen regards the way 'ordinary' women view you. A neighbour asked if I had a spare sewing machine needle, which I did, "Oh I didn't think someone like you would know about that sort of thing", she replied. There is an assumption that if one is in a male profession one is obviously deficient as a woman and lacking in traditional female skills and not a real woman. Another point many women have mentioned is the problem with security guards and commissionaires, who even if they know them will always stop them, as if to impress on them that they do not have any right to be there.
The men on the building site

The big bugbear is the building site, and the attitudes of the workers "the uncouth uneducated ignorant ones" (p) (their role is complementary to that of the male professionals in maintaining patriarchy, they are not operating in a vacuum). They will try various tests on women, and be awkward/ rude/indecent to make the women feel unwelcome. Women have been tested in a variety of ways, by a range of people; for example by being sent up tall buildings when they are interviewed for the job, to see if they can stand heights; being expected to enter and inspect a building that is clearly unsafe, "with seagulls swooping on me" as one woman graphically described one such an experience; being expected to have very detailed technical knowledge; being expected to catch calves in the cattle market; and generally finding "men really putting you through it" (p). Once they realise they are not going to scare away the woman and realise she knows more than them, then they may with sullen resignation, or even secret admiration accept their "lady gaffer" (parallels with the 'bossy woman' in the student group example). Sometimes workers and technicians take out their resentment towards the firm on what they see as the weaker members of the professional staff i.e. the women. Some may even try to show off to other staff members 'beneath' them, such as cleaners or porters by trying to laud it over these women, preferably when nobody else is present. One woman was spoken to most rudely by a technician when nobody else was around, in front of a new porter, as if to demonstrate that his male ego could not stand a woman being above him. If such matters are reported it is likely that the woman will be told she asked for it and must have done something to upset good old willing (deferential) 'George'.
Clients

There may be confusion in the eyes of the client as to who is the surveyor. Several women have told me how they have taken a male Surveying technician along with them to hold the other end of the tape measure, or to carry the theodolite and everybody talks to the man and not the surveyor herself. Some do talk to the woman... whilst looking at the man. Some technicians will play along with this in full agreement with the woman enabling her to spring the surprise on the client at the end. Several women commented, that the surprise factor works well while there are still relatively few of them, and can be useful in negotiating terms or "helping to control a difficult client" (p).

Some men surveyors will take a woman surveyor along to defuse a situation, telling her, "I knew he wouldn't be rude in front of you". The men are using the woman as a shield to protect them from an ugly situation, by appealing to the need of the client to keep face and not behave in an aggressive manner "in front of a lady" (p) (compare Pahl,1977,b:147). Some clients, most of whom are men and many of whom are of an older generation, have some difficulty accepting a woman as the surveyor, and make comments like, "I don't want to see the secretary I want to see the surveyor". Especially when on the phone, women may have to repeat to the client many times that they are the surveyor and not the receptionist. Some will take advantage of the situation and innocently get information from the other side if the surveyor is representing a rival party, that they would never get in their role as a surveyor (provided they do not go against their professional ethics). One way around the question of establishing
credibility as a surveyor with existing clients is for the man currently dealing with that client to take the woman along with him the first time and say, "Ms Theodolite will be taking over from me on this project and I have briefed her on the matter". This also happens in firms where the woman is the daughter taking over clients from her father. One wonders if this would be necessary with a man taking over.

Sometimes other men make assumed connections between men and women surveyors when there is none, seeing them as wives, daughters, even mistresses, or secretaries. One woman said she entered a clients' meeting at which she was going to be the speaker to present details of a proposed development, and was immediately commanded and bossed around to set up the room for the speaker! It can even happen to a man 'with' a woman. A very young looking 20 year old male student, and a woman mature student went to meet someone in a certain Housing body and before they could explain who they were, they realised they were being "assessed" for possible accommodation and were assumed to be mother and son. All this sort of thing is an additional burden. However once they all get over 'the first time', and the client builds up trust and confidence in the woman surveyor they have got over the main hurdle and word gets around that she's 'O.K.'. But it only takes one woman to do it wrong and she may queer the pitch for all other women in that area. In all this the 'caprice' factor is in evidence, and you never quite know what social construction will be put on you in a particular situation.
Ethnic minority women

The problem is even greater for ethnic minority women. Whilst several have themselves told me that white men 'like' them, especially if they are attractive and not too "dark" (sic), because "we add a bit of colour to the office" (v), the men in charge are not so keen on sending them out to meet clients, who according to many men "expect someone white". Indeed some black women believe they are more 'acceptable' than black men because they are less of a threat, and therefore black men in surveying are more likely to be surveying technicians than professionals. One personnel officer in a local authority estates department told me he had no black surveyors ("of course"), but referring to a district office in an ethnic area he said, "but we do have one black technician (male), as we had to have one there". However I did come across two 'exceptional' ethnic minority women, one in the private sector and one in public service, who have reached very high levels, indeed the latter was one of only four women at this level, with over 70 men under her. The one in the private sector said that there are about 250 people in London that one has to get to know and it would seem once one was 'in' on this system, one was half way there. However, she was obviously from a 'high class' entrepreneurial background to start with, and well connected internationally. I found an article on "Racism within the legal profession" by a black woman solicitor most enlightening regarding the mechanisms maintaining racism within the professions (Amoo-Gottfried, 1988).
Another question of great interest is how women deal with other professionals, both men and women, when doing business with them. Property management and investment can involve a fair amount of negotiating as to rents, prices, agreements and coming to a workable arrangement on a whole range of matters. When men meet (based on what men have told me) they are likely to spend a while discussing the weather, cricket, women, cars etc. and then almost as an afterthought say, "My goodness look at the time let's see what I can do for you". There follows a prolonged period of competitive discussion in which both sides want to keep face and protect their ego. Men tell me, men always like to haggle and there are unwritten rules about offering high unrealistic figures first to protect the pride of each side, whilst women tell me, "men have always got to have the last word and win, or choose to concede". If a woman and a man are negotiating there is still the element of surprise and the likelihood of the man underestimating the woman. Women may be much more direct putting their final price forward first, which may completely throw the man to the woman's advantage. Many women do not choose to go through the preliminaries about the weather etc. and indeed some take a while to realise this is expected. Others read up about the cricket scores beforehand, and play the game according to the male rules.

I asked women surveyors what happens when they meet another woman surveyor, "I haven't had that happen yet" is a common reply as there are few around. Those that have negotiated with a woman say that it is much more straightforward, far less posturing and keeping face and no male egos to protect, as one woman explained, "with a man you must
make him think he has won to protect his pride even when he hasn't, let him think he has outsmarted the woman, or alternatively that he has been gallante to her...it all depends on his disposition...you have got to be a good judge of character...its almost like the old marriage broker, the matchmakers, they were women you know" (p).

When women get together to negotiate, they can settle a matter much more quickly, so much so that they may stay in their meeting longer than necessary to give the impression they are doing their job thoroughly. One woman said she used the time to discuss recipes (but it might not be wise to repeat this observation). Also they tend to have their social chat after and not before the deal is settled. It is not always sweetness and light, as some women find other women very hard in business. When a woman tells me that another is, "a real hard bitch to deal with", when the woman in question has previously told me how supportive she is of other women in surveying, one is in a dilemma as to who to believe. If there are very few other women surveyors around and the few there are, are on opposite sides, this can further fragment women from each other socially. A solution to this is to be like the men and completely divide personal and business roles, but several women have said this is much more difficult for them to do, "it doesn't come naturally, and women are so used to giving way and making do that it is very difficult to stand one's ground with a woman in business...... and then go and play squash with her afterwards, women still take everything much more personally than men " (p).
Marginal women

This illustration leads to another related issue, namely the role of Jewish business woman (which I have been told I must put in by several such women). Their numbers are quite small, but they appear prominent as they are often amongst the most dynamic members of the profession. What are seen as 'marginal women' often act as trail blazers and innovators in opening up new areas for women. Such areas are described at first by 'mainstream women' as too "trade" or "hard" for themselves, but they gradually take them over, re-dubbing them as, "quite acceptable", and the marginal women are pushed out. Marginal women may be judged by a double standard, their business methods being scrutinised twice as much as in the case of mainstream men (or women). Women who are high achievers can suddenly find the ground cut beneath them with statements (from men, and even some women) such as "well they're all like that, the women are the worst, the family came over before the war penniless, the old man was in the rag trade in the East End you know" (p) (parallels with 'she was only a typist' example). The fact the woman in question may come from a long established, non-business family and have fought hard to have a career is irrelevant. (The journal once had to run an apology after stating that one prominent property developer, whose daughter is also a property professional, had 'come over' originally as a penniless shoe-maker [in fact he had a law degree], c/s, Vol.17, No.10:1036, 4.12.86.) One gets wind of similar things being said about Asian men who are going into estate agency in places such as Leicester, but very few as yet have got into Surveying itself. We had one such chap once who unwittingly confirmed all the stereotypes in his fellow students' eyes, by declaring he had to leave the course and go back to the
Midlands and work in his father's business in the market, because of family illness. In an all white upper middle class course culture that was not met with praise or sympathy, as he was too near to 'trade' for their liking. There are definitely different 'status' levels (nested hierarchies?) amongst 'capitalists' themselves, small business people (including 'marginals' and 'minorities') having far less 'class' than big businessmen, but arguably having to work much harder to succeed.

The Presentation of Self

Clothing

What women surveyors look like and how they behave matter as they are judged accordingly, even as to the level of their professional knowledge on the basis of the length of their skirt. Different age groups of women surveyors have been subjected to different and even contradictory expectations as to dress. The contrast between some older women surveyors who 'learnt' to dress asexually and equipped for all weathers in sensible clothes; and the younger bourgeois feminists with their business suits and high heels is startling, but they are all surveyors, and are all trying to 'get by'. The whole area of dress is a minefield with every sartorial manifestation from mini skirts to waxed Barbour jackets, tweedy suits, business suits, pearls and pussy cat bows, through to jeans and men's waterproofs and overalls; all being accepted at some stage as to what a woman should wear; and all giving out different messages related to the surveying subculture and the precise sub-universe and situation in question. Women commented variously, "whatever I wear someone will make some
"I can never the real me" and "I never know what to wear it is impossible". Also, "I wore this very smart blue dress, 'where are you going, anyone we know?' they said. I stick to a business suit now it's like a uniform and saves all the hassle of deciding what to wear. But when I get home I always take it off straight away as it's nothing to do with my real personality". All this can have damaging long term effects, as pointed out in paragraph 3.9 of the RTPI Working Party on Women and Planning (1986a), "Generally women felt they had to underplay their femininity, i.e. to suppress their personality, in order to avoid casual remarks which undermine the ability to act as a professional equal".

Many women said they found it 'difficult' to make the transition in dress and manner from college, where they were meant to be the 'same' if not 'asexual', to the office situation where they were suddenly meant to 'come out' and be attractive, if not sexy for the benefit of the firm, explaining that many men surveyors thought, "attractive women, make unattractive property more attractive" (c). Whilst there is the occasional surveyor who will say "I can see the light between your legs in that skirt" (and much worse) as one young surveyor told me, many men would not say it even if they thought it, although they might to typists, but women surveyors must be given more respect.

The current emphasis on the business woman and suit does not go well with the essential anorak and wellies that many surveyors wear to go out on site over their indoor clothing, women commenting, "it's almost like trying to be two things at once". Do women really have any choice as to what they wear? It is rumoured in some Mayfair firms women get clothing allowances and a certain image is cultivated that goes down
well with international clients, women saying, "they only take some women surveyors on as they are attractive and have the right accent. You can send one of them to a business breakfast with an American client at the best London Hotel and they can carry it off beautifully. Some even speak Italian or French which is ideal for foreign clients". However in fairness one man concerned with graduate training in a large and ancient London practice said they would avoid this and use a man, as it was demeaning to think that women had to have some other redeeming feature such as looks or linguistic ability as well as being a surveyor to be accepted. However in general it still seems to be assumed that women will leave surveying before their beauty fades or when they have children. Otherwise they may find themselves shunted off into a siding and not groomed for partnership which is very unfair as they no doubt have had to work very hard to get thus far, women bemoaning, "Nobody wants a woman over thirty".

In the provinces there are still many 'jumpers and skirts offices', and it has never occurred to the women and indeed some of the men to wear a suit. One woman was quite surprised at the very idea and told me she had been issued with some men's waterproof overalls for site work (which were too big) and said, "I suppose that's my business suit". In Planning offices it is more difficult because of the more socialist emphasis and the dislike of what were variously described as, "stupid middle class women" who may be seen by the men as "thatcher clones" (i.e. bourgeois feminists) if they dress smartly; but will be seen as hippies by the public if they dress 'ecologically'; and as typists by everyone else if they rush out to Marks and Sparks and grab the first jumper and skirt they see.
Self defence

A topic that women often mention, after 'clothes' is that of 'safety', no doubt because if one wears 'the wrong things', one can be seen as, "asking for it" (c). A topic that has arisen many times in conversations is the case of Suzy Lamplugh (as mentioned in chapter VI). Although it has not been established what exactly happened to her, everyone talks about the case in relation to the problems of being attacked. What saddens me is that she is obviously 'highly respectable', but newspapers such as the "People" (No. 5478(P): 19, 1.3.87, "she loved woodland games") have sensationalised the whole business creating a totally false 'sexy image' of her. This sort of reporting suggests to the people that women surveyors and estate agents are of questionable morality and 'exciting' in the worst sense.

I was surprised by the feelings of fear and violence just beneath the surface in the comments people made. There seems to be a range of opinions as to what women should do about all this, after all as the "out and about" profession, one is likely to have to go anywhere, empty buildings, private houses, isolated rural estates etc. One woman told how she went to value a property, an isolated house which contained "two mad brothers with an axe in the garden". Women try to avoid being locked in, "not that it would ever happen but it might", and always check on the exits, before doing valuations or structural surveys. Another said she goes to the door of the premises and if she does not feel at ease she will say "sorry wrong house".

On the question of self-defence some take the view it will only make it worse to defend yourself, or to struggle, "if you are going to be
attacked it will happen, and it could happen anywhere not necessarily on site". A fatalistic attitude prevails that does not tie in with the otherwise modern attitude of taking control of one's destiny and being a successful professional woman. In several areas women and their firms are most careful to make sure that they report back after going on site. In some cases the practice of going in twos has been advocated which is hardly seen as an economical use of 'manpower'. In one provincial town, all the surveying and estate agency firms have co-operated together with the police in running of self defence courses for the women, but the reaction is mixed. If such problems are given too much prominence will it put men off employing women, indeed is it just confirming pre-existing assumptions? If professional women have disassociated themselves from unqualified women estate agents, do they want to mix with them in a self defence course, where everyone is a "just a little defenceless woman all in the same boat" (p)? Some prefer the personal self sufficiency approach and see the pen knives (for checking rotting woodwork) and the measuring rods and rules they carry as having another possible role for self defence, actually subconsciously choosing types that would serve both purposes "not that it would ever really happen of course".

When, and if, the discussion gets on to all this, and women no doubt see it as a separate issue perhaps mentioning 'after the official session' over the refreshments, they may talk about other aspects of men and their strange behaviour in practice and elsewhere; "what do you expect in an office with all those dried up old men eyeing the young women and trying to pinch their bums?" (v) as one young woman said, quite spontaneously and rather out of sequence as if she could blurt it out but not discuss it as part of the ongoing conversation.
If one is "unlucky" (c) there can be as many problems within the 'safety' of the office as there are out on site, or in the street.

Some men's perceptions of women as asking for it, or assuming that a woman on her own is up to no good are quite alarming. Male surveying students are not usually 'bad' in this respect as they 'like women', but just occasionally someone drops a clanger and one wonders how near beneath the surface primitive assumptions lurk. A group was presenting a project related to the redevelopment of an inner urban location which had a bad reputation regards crime, mugging and vandalism. (My comments are in brackets) "if women will walk across open fields they are asking for it (what open fields?) it's like (it's not?) with blacks and gays if they parade themselves in broad day light they can expect to be picked on". To their credit this remark produced boos and hisses from most of the group, but some agreement also. Women do tend to get lumped together with other groups as the cause, rather than as the victims of crime. The exact opposite of Suzy Lamplugh, which also reflects this assumption that women should not be on the streets in some areas, is the amazing case of two women surveyors that were picked up by the police for prostitution, because they were seen to be entering empty buildings with men. The men in question were property professionals meeting the women for a series of site visits in relation to a redevelopment scheme in a rundown area. It is probably better to look sexless and wear an orange anorak to avoid such misconceptions, but the client and the employer may see that as scruffy and expect a woman to dress smartly for the London office. Clearly women cannot occupy and roam through 'space' in the same way as men (Cockburn, 1985, b), even if their professional job is the management of space.
Cars

The development of the motorcar constitutes the ultimate mechanisation of the domination of space (Cockburn, 1985, a). Therefore, the size and make of car have all sorts of symbolic meanings to men. It is an outward and visible sign of their professional status and level of seniority. Many women choose not to go along with this and may actually be reprimanded by their firm. One woman said she liked something small and practical as it's so much easier to park when going out on site. Another said she liked her second hand car and did not want to use the firm's car allowance to buy a new one. Many women have commented that they and their colleagues have small cars, although they did concede that they might be persuaded to go up to a quality medium size foreign car but were not very keen. There is much pressure in the private sector to give a good image by having a posh new car. Although women themselves are not too concerned about cars, they do notice that some men of the same age as themselves suddenly get larger cars and bigger expense allowances, almost as an outward sign to tell the world that they have just been picked out for priming for partnership. Perhaps the fact that a woman does not want a larger car is seen as clear evidence that she does not want partnership and she is not really serious?

In contrast another woman told me that when she worked with the District Valuer they received a memo telling them that if they had two cars in the family to use the older one and "to look poor" when they visited sites or went to value (i.e. tax) buildings, as it was not diplomatic for public sector officials to look too well off (this could be destructive to a woman's self-image and 'authority'). Some
students expect an attitude of "poverty" from lecturers, and make comments like, "lecturers are always moaning about their salaries but they can afford home computers". It is considered good for students to boast of what they will earn in practice but are we selfish if we want to be treated on a par with other comparable professionals particularly if we are women? One could argue to a point it is our efforts that give them their fee earning capacity in the first place? Paradoxically a career in Housing is sold unashamedly as a way of doing good and making money at the same time, "taking one's fair share". In fact many working class people say they deeply resent, "paying taxes to support a load of upper-class yobos" (p).

Wordprocessing and computers

Education seems to be ahead of practice in providing computers for students' use, as I have come across many practices that do not have computers. Some District Valuation offices in the public sector, and some quantity surveying firms in the provinces, are still doing all their work by hand. WP is a double edged sword for women. It is best not to admit that you can type either in a student project group or in a big London firm where reports need producing. However several women I have met who did not study computers as part of their course at college have built up an expertise after they left college and developed computer systems for their offices, writing their own programmes and everything; which would be quite an achievement "even for a man" (c). But women know many men do not appreciate this, commenting, "when I'm sitting at a keyboard working on a programme, if anyone walks past me they naturally assume, I'm a typist".
Conclusion

Many women feel they are carrying an extra burden, compared with the men, because of all the factors illustrated above, "You're not given the benefit of the doubt, you have to prove yourself all the time". Regards my model, all their energies go into surviving, and avoiding the mechanisms of channelling, exclusion and closure, and they have little time left for changing the profession or the built environment.

In conclusion from a woman surveyor: "We have learnt to live in a male world and to adopt male professional work patterns, and to fit in and to learn their rules. The men haven't had to change at all, it's all been one sided". From a man: "It has worked all right all this time, why have people like you got to come along and try and change it? We don't mind letting you in, but not if you want to alter everything. You don't understand it all, that's your problem".
CHAPTER XII - THE INFLUENCE OF THE SUBCULTURE ON WHAT IS BUILT

Introduction

Whilst the attitudes and mechanisms illustrated in the last four chapters "affect what is built" in that they prescribe the position of women in surveying and consequently women's likelihood of influencing urban decision making, and embody assumptions about the place of women in urban society, this chapter specifically considers surveyors' perceptions and values regarding the built environment and the land uses within it vis à vis women. This chapter firstly considers the overwhelmingly commercial emphasis of the surveying profession. This often precludes the consideration of wider social and environmental factors, and is linked to a 'practical' bricks and mortar view of reality. The next section considers 'what' surveyors' attitudes to the different urban land uses are, drawing on observations, quotations and examples from all my research sources, but with particular emphasis on those derived from practice and the professional journals. Then the question of 'how' these attitudes are transmitted onto space through the surveyors' contribution to the development process is discussed. In the concluding section the question of whether women surveyors have different views on land use policy is considered, and their attitudes to property itself are discussed.
The Practical Ethos

The commercial emphasis

The market orientated emphasis present nowadays, throughout the surveying subculture, as evidenced endlessly in the pages of the Chartered Surveyor Weekly, and within the development fraternity as a whole as expressed in the Estates Times, and the Estates Gazette is overwhelming. It would seem to preclude any 'space' for consideration of women's needs, or other social needs for that matter. The presentation of land use and development schemes is 'so matter of fact' as if everyone welcomes and agrees with the proposed developments, that one has to overcome a certain point of inertia not to fall back into feeling that one is just 'being silly' in imagining that there might be another viewpoint.

BUT, surveyors do know there are alternative viewpoints towards property development (and may feel a little 'guilty'). There is a cartoon (c/s, Vol.14, No.4:252, 30.1.86) which has a surveyor saying, "Of course we know about the community, we want to make as much money out of it as possible". One property firm has as its logo, "who cares, wins". Several large firms of surveyors have their own research sections looking at 'social trends', albeit from the viewpoint of market potential rather than social policy. People who spot 'social need' and cash in on it are admired, for example owner occupied sheltered housing for the elderly is a growth industry (c/s, Vol.12, No.4:250, 25.7.85). Women are not generally seen as a viable market in their own right in this pursuit of meeting lucrative social need. However, in the recent past some surveyors and planners do seem to
have been more aware of their duty to understand the needs of others, realising that "nor are most planners educationally equipped for the new tasks ... they are not trained to listen, to put themselves in other people's places" (c/s, Vol. 105, No. 8: 160, October, 1972).

**Helping others**

Even when one looks at the more socially concerned surveyors one finds that many are not in tune with the needs of the people they are meant to be exercising authority on behalf of, and that they simply do not 'see' women. There are still strong echoes of policy making being done 'for' the working class, as "we know best" (c), i.e. a top down colonial approach predominates. Surveyors must not get too involved with the people, for "the surveyor must be a servant of the community and not any part of the community", (c/s, Vol. 108, No. 6: 121, December 1975). If people were trusted to solve their own problems there would be no more jobs for the boys! Women as both 'planners' and 'planned' often feel an uneasiness with the 'separation' between professionals and people (echoing the home/work division within society itself), and say they find this "frankly unproductive and divisive" (p), and therefore get their role 'wrong'.

At the micro level of dealing with needy individuals, some surveyors contribute their professional expertise on a voluntary basis to help tenants, as evidenced by the "Pull out Special" produced for Community Action (a radical housing magazine, Bread 'n Roses, London) by SIFT (Surveying Information for Tenants) (e.g. No. 80, Summer 1988, on heating and condensation). Several women (not from SIFT) told me how they had offered free technical and professional advice to people.
without in any way seeking to 'control' the recipients. Male professionals sought to move in and take over both themselves and the tenants, and re-establish a colonial patriarchal model of professional service delivery. (One woman impressed on me strongly that I must put this in.) Women may find 'their' design problems, 're-presented' by male professionals as highly complex technical issues, and taken out of their hands (Ware, 1987).

'Women's needs' (as against 'design problems') are not seen as a special issue worthy of attention, men commenting, "women that's natural, so it's not a problem". BUT in contrast, I have frequently observed that surveyors will put all their energies into helping non-gendered, non-political 'worthy causes' related to 'feeding the world' or getting more kidney machines etc. usually on the basis of being sponsored to indulge in some of their favourite sporting activities.

Indeed, when surveyors seek to solve social problems, they tend to see the world in terms of land use. When I ask surveyors in the course of conversation, "but what is reality?", the instant answer will be, "bricks and mortar, of course" (c). In a letter sent by an (untypically) politically aware male surveying student, "Town planners may be right", (c/s, Vol. 10, No. 1:3, 3/10.1.85) he pointed out that this spatial world view is a characteristic of right wing thinking, even when it is manifested by the apparently more 'socialist' end of the surveying spectrum, which leaves the status quo unchanged. An article identified 15 design faults as 'the problem' that caused the 'riots' at Broadwater Farm estate (c/s Vol. 13, No. 3:297, 24.10.85; compare, Coleman, 1985).
Land or design - a tension

It was commented following the 'illegal' demolition of the famous Firestone Art-Deco Building, that "the greatest threat to the conservation is the RICS whose members are trained to see their work as development portfolios" (said Leslie Ginsberg the architect), but it is to the surveyors' credit that this statement was published (c/s, Vol. 113, No. 3:148, October, 1980). A major contradictory knot in the model, is that in spite of all this emphasis on 'land' and 'space', both students in college and surveyors in practice, have a dislike of 'design' or architecture for its own sake, which is seen as rather "arty-farty", or "too detailed"; or "social", and therefore not "real" (all common words). Paradoxically, a concern with design related to practicality and building construction (as above) and to the cost factor is seen as quite legitimate within the more technological sub-universes of surveying. However within the more commercial realms of general practice wider design issues may be seen as something "imposed on the market" (c). So again 'land' is venerated as an abstract subcultural concept at the meso level and seen as an 'absolute' at the macro level, but the nitty gritty of land use and development design at the micro level is seen as a 'nuisance' of little real importance. However commercial surveyors put great emphasis on 'the site', which might really mean 'the financial return from the site', rather than its physical design.

Even more paradoxical, in the branches of surveying concerned with housing and town planning, a concern with 'land' and spatial issues may also be despised, although many policy issues have a direct physical element. A woman geographer, who was involved in research
within the world of housing education, told me she was astonished at how dismissive both housing managers and general surveyors were of 'space', which struck her as very odd. Several women have commented that some of the most "humiliating" (sic) and sexist comments aimed at women professionals come when they seek to raise issues of housing design, and/or policy meeting the needs of women, whilst discussions of commercial property seldom provoke sexist comments. The men concerned do consider 'housing' to be important really as a means of controlling women, or they wouldn't react so strongly.

Although "resy" (cliché for housing) is the largest land use, normally comprising 70% of all urban development, it is seen as 'down market' by the private sector, and as trivial and bourgeois by the more 'socialist' sector of surveying. It is difficult to raise specific design issues related to women, especially if they are seen as 'special needs'. For many women the detailed level of immediate physical practicality in housing design is of necessity, the main level of concern.

For many ordinary women 'a home of your own', especially a traditional low rise detached owner-occupied one with a garden, seems the ideal in our society, but many men give the impression that they despise this manifestation of the domestic realm. As a young woman planner declared to me once with alarming simplicity, "if it's what women want, who are the planners to tell them they are wrong?". Some women would see the house not as a building but as an extension of their bodies: a house may have many different cultural and political meanings for women as against men (Chapman,1981:11). Many women professionals seem to start from a completely different vantage point, although they 'learn' the
'right' arguments from the men, they may never completely make them their own, but complain "men simply don't understand what we are talking about".

An apparently anti-spatial world view within certain sub-universes of the surveying subculture is only given 'space' because one can only have one's argument against space taken notice of, and 'valued' in an environment in which one's adversaries are strongly tuned into 'space' as an issue. This is just another 'game' by people that really think alike. It is not surprising that one finds alliances developing between the spatial and aspatial (even anti-spatial) sub-universes within surveying. BUT both these groups are also united by a disregard of women and their needs, who as stated in Part I, are neither space or society. Women lose out of the pro and anti-spatial side of the debate, and the capitalist and socialist sides of the surveying subculture diminish women and enforce patriarchal values.

Attitudes to Different Land Uses

Introduction

I can only illustrate the overall nature of attitudes rather than 'prove' the precise influence of surveyors on a particular development (compare Cooke, 1987) using comments from students, observations from practice, and items from professional journals. I phoned and talked to a range of key men surveyors involved in the planning and development of areas as diverse as out of town shopping centres, science parks, office development, urban renewal, and residential development. When I talked to women surveyors out in practice, I always asked whether
they, or women in general would have an alternative view of the situation (as in Stimpson et al, 1981).

City wide level and fragmentation

Before looking at individual land uses, it is important to look at the whole. The tendency for a surveyor to deal with a particular site in isolation, usually from a purely commercial perspective, can create many problems for women, rendering 'social' non monetary factors invisible. This tunnel vision of not seeing one land use location in relation to another, (or worse still seeing relationships between land uses based on male travel patterns) may create major accessibility and transportation problems for women. As illustrated in chapter XII, this fragmentation and disconnection of inter-related factors in urban development is also endemic to surveying education.

Likewise the tendency of surveyors to specialise within one specific area of practice, or one particular stage of the development process, with little thought of the implications of one action on another, further fragments 'space'. Unlike factory workers, surveyors actually seem happy with their 'alienation' from the end product! However planners can be guilty of this too and it is not necessarily related to having a commercial (or capitalistic) world view. I can never switch off doing ethnography and was alarmed at a 'Women and Planning' conference to find that sub-consciously my mind was telling me that I was observing a similar 'fragmentation' and concentration on detailed isolated issues without reference to the wider spatial context. This may simply be the result of women trying to deal with immediate practical problems in particular locations, which is not
necessarily a bad thing. However I began to feel that the 'macro' city wide level was being lost, and the major urban structural issues were being 'left' unquestioned (as they are by their male counterparts too). In fact such women might well have experienced the 'same' professional socialisation process as the men, in the same colleges and have been 'taught' the same fragmented world view. In one case it was outworking itself in the commercial property world, and in the other within the spatial feminist world.

Surveyors like to believe in the 'goodness' of the status quo, and in natural explanations that justify its existence. Surveyors as students have great enthusiasm for geographical determinism, which again justifies the status quo. I get quite worried when students tell me a brand new housing estate is located in a particular site, because "it has a good water supply being a spring line settlement", when in reality some developer spotted the site was available and cheap. Nowadays with national grids of electricity, gas and water, one can in theory build anything anywhere provided the money is available. It is quite difficult to suggest in this setting that developments and the property market, which the students believe are 'right' because they are legitimated by 'natural physical factors', might be 'wrong' for some people, especially women. But, "interfering" (c) in the 'natural' development process through town planning is seen as far less natural, than actively changing the settlement pattern by the activities of the market. Students have variously commented, "surveyors are more land orientated, planners are more process orientated" (for 'land' read 'nature') and even "green belts are too social" (for 'social' read 'unnatural'). Of course women's place is
'natural' too, and so there is little enthusiasm for the idea that the system (patriarchy) itself might be 'wrong'.

Zoning and planning

Paradoxically surveyors, in the abstract, have been strongly in favour of zoning and a macro level 'controlling view' as it is in their blood from their map making days, but may find that this conflicts with protecting the interests of their client regards a particular site, and free enterprise. They say they are in favour of planning "as long as it prevents someone else from developing and doesn't affect my site". Some surveyors give the impression that they see town planners as "absolute fools" and welcome 'socialist' intervention if it creates a land shortage which enhance the value of their clients land. As can be seen surveyors "use" the planning system as another factor that has to be taken into account and do not necessarily share its aims. Planning is in a sense 'neutral' and one should not assume that those surveyors who are in planning are necessarily motivated by a desire to reshape the built environment in favour of those "less fortunate than ourselves" (c). Even if they say this, many outsiders say, "they don't really care about the working class, it's just an excuse for them to exercise power" (p). As stated those who are genuine may still perceive the working class as 'male' and assume that they want the same things out of life as they themselves want. Within this ethos there is little place for surveyors to entertain an alternative or radical world view, such as feminism might provide.

As was seen in the historical section the layout of our towns and cities was developed to accommodate a 'male' way of life and the
growth of capitalism, in which residential areas were rigidly divided from areas of employment, such as industrial and commercial areas. The latter are nowadays the areas of the highest land values, and the main arena of the work of the modern surveyor. The whole 'objective' reality of the land value system upon which the property world rests, is based on a subjective patriarchal value judgment that certain occupations are so important that a special zone with especially high buildings has to be created for them, namely the central business district. Surveyors' professional activities substantially contribute to maintaining this situation.

BUT, there are trends in the opposite direction away from traditional dispersed land use patterns, which surveyors have helped along (if only by moving house themselves) namely the gentrification of the inner city, and the 'yuppification' of the docklands (Greed, 1988). Although this has undoubtedly improved the situation for professional women and men, it has worked against the class interests of many working women and men who have been heard to comment of them, "whatever they do, they always win". Many 'ordinary' people are resentful that policies originally intended to benefit the deprived areas and people, under the 1979 Inner Areas Act, have in fact displaced indigenous communities, and exacerbated the housing crisis.

Transportation

Women's journeys have been ignored or included in the category of leisure, or social, or non-essential journeys (Stimpson, 1981). As women seek to integrate outside work and domestic responsibilities, the spatial relationships and distances between different land uses,
become primary constraints on a woman's ability to 'cope' and achieve all their tasks (Markusen, 1981). The straightforward 'male journey to work' is not as applicable to women (Pickup, 1984). Women's journeys are broken several times combining several functions e.g. to school > to work > to school > to shops > to child minder > to home etc. Less than 20% of women have the use of a car in the daytime, as the metal beast is usually taken off by the 'breadwinner' and left to graze all day in some distant central area car park where no other member of the family can reach it. Many men, including surveyors, get the benefit of company cars as perks (Potter, 1986) which women pay for, in the final analysis, through their shopping expenditure. Surveyors have tended to hold the same views as planners on transportation, reflecting the principles of patriarchy as embodied in the property development fraternity of which they are all a part.

Not only does this gender blind approach adversely influence policy making in the public sector; but hard headed private sector developers may have lost money because of the implicit sexism of their 'objective, scientific' approach to policy making. Too many estimates of the viability of new shopping centres, especially out of town ones, are based on the projections from non gender specific mathematical models related to 'the household' or more likely 'the head of the household', concerning levels of car ownership, travellable distances, and disposable income in the potential catchment area, e.g. the needs of 'the shopper' with 'his car'. Surveyors are still using such models when others have abandoned them. There have been several examples of developers being quite surprised when their shoppers don't turn up, and the scheme proves a flop. In spite of all their sophisticated computerised calculations, they have overlooked the most
obvious fact that most shoppers are women. An advertisement in the Chartered Surveyor, (Vol. 8, No. 6, 9.8.84, on the back cover) states "1.5 million people are within 30 minutes drive" of Tyneside Metro Centre. Such stupidity only makes sense in a highly patriarchal society in which women are systematically rendered invisible and of no importance. When I have raised this issue with men surveyors, they seem unable to grasp the macro-level implications of this bias, and they come out with statements like, "what do you expect us to do, provide two garages instead of one in every house?". Compare these attitudes with the findings of an ethnographic study of a supermarket car park (in Rochdale) which shows the qualitative realities of 'how' women use such facilities (Stanley, 1987) with difficulty. One senior male surveyor explained to me that when he went to visit one of 'his' schemes on a Saturday, "I was suprised at all these men wandering around looking bored; their wives had dragged them out so they could do their shopping by car".

Do women surveyors have a different view of transportation? Many women surveyors have commented to me, "oh doesn't everyone have a car nowadays?". In particular many believed that most women in London have a car (compare with the true situation stated above, and GLC, 1985), reflecting in their views the class and income differences between women. Modern surveyors express many inbuilt assumptions about the importance of the motor car, which have been current since the transportation euphoria of the Sixties (c/s, Vol. 92, No. 10: 536 and 538, April, 1960, which contains classic comments about pedestrians slowing down the traffic if they are not sent down underpasses to cross the road etc). Nowadays they don't write special articles on it as it's so 'obvious'. A whole subculture of planning for the motorcar exists
which spans across both surveyor and planner, and male and female surveyor. This is partly the result of professional socialisation, and also the effect of the socio-economic groups from which surveyors derive. One woman student wrote that no greater significance should be given to whether a woman had a car or not, than whether she was wearing a red dress or a blue one. Likewise a male student made the not untypical comment, "Public transport, this is a minor issue, not very important". On more than one occasion in a tutorial on transportation planning, the students themselves have decided to count up the numbers of cars owned by their families, which always comes out in the region of three or four per family.

Community uses

A perfect home without the provision of essential infrastructure, community provision and social amenities is only half way there. This is noticeable in much modern development which consists of houses and nothing else. Whilst planners and surveyors are keen to meet the social and community needs of people like themselves that they can understand, they may quickly dismiss the needs of women. By definition 'leisure' is male (Deem, 1987), and women's arguably more passive needs are barely considered. If they are, they are considered of secondary importance: it can take years to get a dance centre or a creche, but squash courts and all weather pitches spring up instantaneously. Vast areas of plans are shaded green to designate 'public' open space, playing fields and sports facilities. Space does 'matter'; for example golf courses take up immense areas and are used by a very small and mainly male middle class minority. If they are asked to describe the land uses of an area, they will inevitably start with open space and
recreational use, as the most obvious and natural priority. Only after
that will they move on to the most profitable uses second. 'Women's'
needs come very far down the list.

Men surveyors can justify this expenditure, even in times of
government cut backs, as sport is seen as a panacea for all (male)
social problems especially those of the inner city and 'youth'. Many
women have been put off sport for life at school and have little idea
of what personal leisure is. However, there may be strong support
for sport as a valid cause of public expenditure, from the women
within the landed professions, for to be the 'right type', to survive
in the sport loving professional subculture, women need to be fond of
sport themselves, or at least willing to cheer and support the men.
These attitudes of sympathy and enthusiasm for sport and sportsmen may
in fact make them out of step from the majority of ordinary women in
the population, and make them the least suitable women to deal with
the needs of other women.

Women working on such recreational schemes may not even think about
the needs of women, or 'trust' that everything is fair, or simply show
a lack of awareness. A woman surveyor involved in a leisure scheme
related to the reclamation of some gravel pits for sailing and water
skiing said it never crossed her mind. Another woman said that such
schemes were based on market research, commenting "they employ women
don't they in those organisations so there must be a woman's point of
view included within it?" Another seemed to vaguely assume it was not
the surveyors or the developers that made the decisions but the
planners. Both men planners and surveyors have let me know, "women
aren't very interested in Sport in any case so there is no point in doing anything special for them" (p). One male surveyor, with a particular interest in recreational land management, said that it spoiled everything if the wife came along when he went sailing. Several concerned 'outsider' women have commented to me that there is a "boat owning fraternity" (c) which is strongly represented by both town planners and surveyors who have been the prime movers in revitalising the docklands and creating marinas everywhere. Only 2% of households own a boat, and potentially waterside areas could be used for the greater benefit of the general public as a whole.

Retail development

Whereas to women, 'going shopping' is a necessity in order to get food and the other requirements of life, to surveyors 'shopping' is transmuted into 'retail development' which is an area of professional practice almost totally dominated by men, where the whole aim is to make money, "to get a reasonable return for the client" (c). They may bring with them into their professional work all sorts of stereotypes and false assumptions at the personal level. Many men see shopping as 'fun' and 'leisure' (because that is how they have experienced it perhaps, mooching around the shops with not a care in the world), and have little idea of the tight time schedule many women operate under, and what a chore it is. Such attitudes are deeply ingrained in the land-use professions. The famous Lewis Mumford (1965) in his epic work on urban development, The City in History, made much of the importance of man the noble hunter and food gatherer at the dawn of history (a book that is still referred to on many planning courses).
Mumford had earlier said, "the daily shopping is all part of the fun" (Mumford, 1930's) when commenting on women undertaking the same process of food hunting and gathering in modern towns. It is now becoming popular to put leisure facilities beside out of town shopping centres such as the Wonderworld proposal at the Merry Hill shopping centre near Dudley (e.t. 1.5.87, No.892:1). However having 'ethnographised' this centre, I must concede that many people come on the mini buses provided in conjunction with the development. But why should people need to travel out of town in the first place to go shopping, it's all money and time? In contrast I came across several women surveyors, who were from a small scale entrepreneurial background, who sympathised strongly with both small shopkeepers and the customers that used their shops, not (yet) being influenced by a superior attitude that saw such shopkeepers as beneath contempt as they are too small and in low value property. It would seem that, relatively speaking, the 'capitalistic' woman surveyor is more likely to be aware of people's needs because as a bourgeois feminist she knows "it pays to care" (c) than the 'good socialist' local authority which may not care at all about women or shopping, both of which it may see as trivial and irrelevant.

One woman surveyor involved in the management of an out of town scheme, explained that she herself would not be seen dead shopping there, but seemed to have faith that there was a demand from women in society for such facilities or they wouldn't build them. She found it quite difficult to know where to shop herself, her office being located away from any food shops, saying, "it doesn't look right to go shopping in my business suit". She seemed to be planning for that 'abstract woman' that the men had convinced her existed. I myself had
gone through a similar phase whilst working in a planning office. I was uneasy about many of the plans proposed, but still believed, "they must be right". I was made to feel ashamed that I was so ignorant of the needs of other women who must obviously be either 'higher', 'lower', or different from the people I knew (when in reality the planners were wrong), men colleagues telling me "but it's not for people like you". This seems to be a common experience that women have, both at college and out in practice, when they cannot 'identify' the client group from their own life experience, they try to 'compensate' in order to believe the men are right.

I was impressed by a photograph which appeared on the front of The Times, (Tuesday, 23.2.88, Part 2:23) which showed six shopping tycoons standing outside their new superstore each holding a metal trolley: the hidden patriarchal and capitalist hands behind the social construction of the housewife. Compare this with the article "Hell in the High Street: Your Views on Britain's Shops", (Options, April,1988:192, Carlton Magazines, London) which demonstrated that although most shoppers are women, their needs are barely taken into account. One senior male retail development surveyor told me, "if you provide seats you will attract tramps. Why should women want to sit down? I'm always too busy myself to sit, they must have time to waste". Of course floorspace is money. Even if men and women do receive the same floorspace for public lavatories, women constitute 80% of shoppers, one young man commenting, "no, we are not in favour of providing public toilets, they always create a queue and that detracts from the quality of the development" (Compare, "Courting future trends", e/t, 19.2.88:13). In reality, such facilities may be more effective in attracting women than the provision of car parking.
However at certain levels of the market, retailers are purposely wooing women with children. Those developers that are currently targeting women shoppers tend to go for the more affluent middle class ones. They will change their tune and alter all the 'reasons' according to the socio-economic group involved. One such man said to me that it is impossible to go shopping with children without a car! Previously another man tried to convince me that working class women could quite easily get to an out of town centre by bus, if they tried. The story varies depending on whom they are trying to convince, but they seldom ask the women themselves. The division between car users and non-car users is relatively speaking as great a division as to how people are perceived and treated as the male/female division (compare, e/t, 22.5.87, No. 895:12-13 "The new baby of the retail world"). Alternatively look at just about any week of the c/s for a range of examples.

'Special' needs

Many of the details of life and land use that women see as essential, until relatively recently, have scarcely figured on the agenda of the landed professions. As stated many women want decent public conveniences, baby changing areas and sitting areas, commenting, "of course men don't use them themselves so they don't realise". In many cases women's needs don't fit into the existing classifications of land-use and development as embodied in Planning Law and in Development plan sections; creches for example, they do not fall into any specific 'Use Class' (GLC, 1986a, b and c: LPAS, 1986a). Some feminist planners see the new 'B1' "Business" Use Class (1987 Use Classes Order) as having potential but so far test cases have met with
little success. A major additional problem is that even if planners are willing to include these uses someone has got to pay for their maintenance and management. Local authorities often cannot afford to pay for these 'special' uses. Some of the so called 'loony left' local authorities in London, where the feminist influence is strongest (particularly since the 'feminist fallout' following the demise of the GLC) have made full use of negotiation, planning gain, Section 52 Agreements (LPAS, 1986b), and integral 'condition of the permission' undertakings (DOE Circular, 1985/1 "The use of conditions in planning permissions") to get women's policies and facilities (such as creches in new shopping developments) implemented as part and parcel of new development scheme. I have heard both sides of the argument, men surveyors cursing 'feminist' planners, and urban feminists enthusing over such schemes, and frankly the world view of the two groups is miles apart.

This raises moral questions as to the means of bringing about feminist ends. The world of property development (as against the academic world of theory and good intentions) is not 'pure' but is all to do with money and greed; and politics and influence; and is full of tough powerful men (plus a few equally tough women property developers too). However when retail developers see that such facilities increase their turnover, when they go on their next development they may actually insist to the planners, that they must have a creche in their proposed scheme. As women explained, once men see there is money to be made from implementing 'feminist' ideas, they see the sense of it all (Fitch, 1985) - 'aware' women surveyors (few though there be) calling this "developers' feminism" and remarking "it's all a matter of training your developers".
Employment

When one looks at land uses related to employment, and at regional economic planning, (and at class theory) one is struck by the invisibility of women (WGS, 1984: chapter IV), and the emphasis on the importance of a somewhat 'mythical' male working class which is inevitably northern and deprived. Surveyors are as guilty of this as town planners. The majority of workers in offices are women (Crompton and Jones, 1984); they form 60% of the workers in any central area, but they and their journeys to work are relatively invisible in many planning reports. Women surveyors commented (more from personal experience than from awareness of this macro level orientation), "men don't see what is all around them". In the realms of public policy making, there are inevitable conflicts in councils between the demands of the traditional Labour movement, and the new left and feminist movements regards the 'purity' of office development which has been associated with wicked property development and capitalism. However, office development is usually welcomed by women as a major source of employment, although many men do not see this as creating 'real jobs' (Breughal, 1983; and GLC, 1984). In the commercial side of the land-use professions, the question of who works in the buildings, whether they are male or female, and what they think of it, are all secondary, "it's all bums on seats" (v) as one very senior woman surveyor put it. Their primary concern is to see office development as 'investment' for the various financial institutions, pension funds and property companies that speculate in offices. Office blocks are often worth more empty than occupied! Commercial development can take on a life of its own, rather like the stock market, and people forget what it is all 'for'.
Many women work in factories, but they have often been excluded from the image of the working class in sociological literature. In comparison, in the private sector, look at any promotional brochures for new industrial or office development and you will see pictures of male young executives and happy male workers with hardly a woman in sight. Again both capitalistic and socialist men seem to be part of the same patriarchal culture.

The post war trend in town planning, towards both rezoning and decentralisation of industry on to green field sites, created major problems for working women. This trend continues today as industry seeks to locate near motorway intersections on the edges of urban areas. Modern high tech science parks are springing up, for example, along the M4 motorway corridor in locations that are quite un-get-at-able without a car. These developments can be quite desolate and inaccessible for many women, and are miles from any shops. However they may be "lucky" and have a new out of town shopping centre in the vicinity as is the case in Bristol, where many of the women workers on the Aztec West 'science park' shop at a nearby hypermarket. This convenient relationship between the two land uses, is the unexpected result of other planning policies rather than any conscious attempt to help women.

The Surveyors' Influence on the Development Process

I will now consider further the surveyor's role in the process whereby development is brought forth (Appendix I, Figure I). Many surveyors see themselves as purely estate managers, rather than policy makers,
although the demands of their commercial world view inevitably affect the built environment. As stated earlier, the gradual removal of town planning into a separate profession has freed surveyors from having to have any concern about 'social issues'. The modern development surveyor is much more concerned with commercial town planning i.e. *"getting the best return from the site"* (c) than with socially motivated town planning, which is left to local authority town planners. However there is an overlap as many local authorities employ private sector planners from the large surveying firms on a consultancy basis, as may be gleaned from their advertisements in the RTPI Journal, *The Planner* (back cover of September, 1988 issue for example) and joint RICS/RTPI get-togethers (*The Planner*, March 1989, Vol.75, No.3: 9-12, 'Institute Anniversary Dinner'). An objective land use planning ethos continues to pervade much of the work of such planners, and human need is marginalised as a 'social' issue. Therefore surveyors do influence what is built in a negative sense (although one has to look for what is not there, and to consider what might be there instead to come to this conclusion).

Whatever part of the RICS spectrum surveyors were located in, or indeed whatever part of the wider 'property fraternity' other landed professionals represented, it did seem that they were not that far apart in their subcultural values, as to what development they saw as being important, although they might differ as to who should own it, or how it should be designed or where it should be located. In particular the love of sport and the prioritisation of leisure and recreational land uses was found throughout the fraternity. On the question of 'how' it happens, and whether surveyors are the instigators or enablers of development can only be answered by
immersing oneself in the property world and watching what is going on. It seems to me that surveyors are part of a larger team (not one opposing team amongst several), all of whom play their part in the property development process, and all of whom are linked in terms of shared interests, social contacts, and shared ambience. Sometimes I felt that the different 'fractions', and professional and ideological interest groups were not 'enemies' but rather I was watching a carefully orchestrated 'game' in which they all played their traditional part (compare Ambrose, 1986; Bassett and Short, 1980). They appeared to quarrel or negotiate, but they all were part of the same process.

Different property interest groups and professions have to have different attributes and viewpoints, in the same way that in rugby you have to have different men with different attributes, such as 'heavy' props, and scrum halves, as well as 'light' fast wings and weavers, on different parts of the field in order to play the game. Men can be different, the surveying subculture allows for both 'rough' and 'smooth' men, but when they 'play' although their differences are an essential to the game, they all 'deal' with each other in the same impersonal professional manner (even if at a personal level they have little in common; and may dislike or like each other - which confuses many women). They had to have play out their disagreements and conflicts as an essential part of the process of 'creating' something from nothing (echoes of Marx and Hegel regards the dialectic of 'the phenomenon of a process taking place', Marx, 1981:254). Somewhere along the line this process takes on a life of its own, and things began to happen, often with little said openly in meetings, but suddenly one finds "they've decided". Regards the model, surveyors
can be producing, reproducing, and/or transmitting patriarchal property 'messages' at the same time in various directions, doing their part towards the development process, all in the same 'match'.

It would seem that the concept of 'market demand' fuses together in the surveyor's mind a mixture of 'what the people need' with 'what the investors want'. Vertically on the model, the surveyor perceives the client as being 'the man in the street' at the micro level, but at the meso level the pension fund, developer, and investor with the money to back the development are the real clients. Although the surveyor might have inculcated the values of the landed interests and classes (from the macro level) he is not dealing directly with them personally in the commercial development process, rather he (and it is usually 'he' at this level) is dealing with 'their money as the client', as represented by other professionals like himself (at the meso level) who also belong to the great fraternity. This further enforces the impersonality of the process, (and the alienation from the end product) precluding the consideration of 'social' issues within this atmosphere of high finance and "serious business" (c).

Many women feel quite intimidated by all this and are happy to keep in the background. Some women are involved, but they seem to be more part of the transmission apparatus (as links) than actual producers and instigators of the process, in their 'helpmeet' role within their 'fraction', as research assistants, negotiators, and 'managers'; and indeed as lecturers (Bernstein, 1975). Also it should be remembered that routine decision making in the areas of practice, that at face value seemed least to do with spatial policy making (such as valuation, property management, and dealing with legal contracts), in
fact were all suffused with an internalised, but unexpressed, set of priorities, which made their respective contributions to the reproduction of social relations over space.

Women and Development

Different policies?

On the question of whether women have different attitudes or would develop different policies, I tend to get negative replies or comments such as "we've never thought of that before". However several women surveyors have said they have been instrumental in getting more "Ladies" public conveniences in shopping centres. More alarmingly and not wishing to sensationalise the issue, a woman surveyor responsible for the management of a large enclosed shopping centre which will remain nameless had been pressing for better lighting, but it was considered an unnecessary extravagance. She was no overt feminist but very aware of the design dangers of the scheme to women shoppers and she had put forward her arguments in the way she believed men understand by stressing the problems of the site layout. She stressed that more women would use the centre and spend more money and therefore there would be more profit if it were safer, but nobody listened. Then a woman shopper was murdered in the underground car park. The developers at last saw she was talking sense and realised that murders are bad for business and affect the financial return on retail investment, and she was given authority to make the improvements she wanted.
However surveyors and developers still tend to look to the town planners and the local authority to impose design conditions through the planning permission to deal with such issues. This is not because surveyors are always unaware of the need, however if the suggestion for better lighting, or ramps or more loos comes from the surveyors, then their clients (usually large financial institutions) may accuse them of being extravagant with their money or veering towards the loony left. The reality is that people will not use their developments if they are too badly designed. Therefore to save face and not to appear uncommercial the surveyors 'need' to have the planners take the role of the socially concerned and to 'force' them to implement such improvements (another part of the development 'game'). I suspect the subtlety of this 'game' may be lost on some women surveyors who do not divide their lives or their professional practice into 'commercial' as against 'social' in compartments but see it all as 'practical' and 'obvious'.

The problem is that many planners are even less aware of women's issues than surveyors and so they are not going to write in social and safety requirements into their planning statements in the design and negotiating stage. Nor are they going to be particularly keen to enforce them if it puts the developers off developing altogether. Also even today many town planners and Chief Planning Officers are surveyors with a commercial or building background rather than a social or modern planning background, and there is much use of surveyors in consultancy roles to meet shortfalls in staffing.
Women and property

Women in property manifested an uneasy relationship with property at a personal level. Many women surveyors have 'learnt' to develop the perfect impersonal professional demeanour, never thinking about themselves or their needs, but acting as the impartial agents of those they serve. Indeed many women have been told all their lives that they must never think about themselves, and that they are 'selfish' if they do so (selfishness is the cardinal sin for women, according to Gilligan, 1982). So it becomes only 'natural' for them to take on board all the values of the surveying subculture for others, even when it is against their better interests. Perhaps this explains in part why many women surveyors were not radicalised by their involvement in the property world. It simply had not occurred to them to see any of what was happening around them, which they were involved in promoting, as being 'for them'. Such are the powers of professional socialisation that they have been blinded from seeing the implications of such polices for their personal lives as consumers of urban goods and services.

I came across several women who were responsible for vast sums of money, and who knew everything there was to know about the property market, but if I asked them about their own property interests they would appear surprisingly gauche and would make the traditional reply that they left that sort of thing to their husband, or they had never really thought about it. There seemed to be an absolute division between their professional and private lives. Some women and men commented this was partly because people wanted to retain a sense of 'romance' within the haven of the home, which would be undermined if
the same approach to legal and financial matters, used in professional practice, were applied to domestic arrangements. However, several older women had subsequently 'got wise' as a result of divorces and personal financial disasters. It would seem many young women surveyors are less embarrassed about talking about, and dealing with their own salary, taxation, investment, and pension arrangements. Those who were concerned about money, including those that had become business women, could not be seen as incipient capitalists by any stretch of the imagination, and did not appear to be motivated by a desire to exert power over others, or to be 'rich'. Rather they saw involvement in the business world as a way of gaining 'freedom', or said they had got into it, "out of force of circumstances" because of the need to support their children or make provision for other "future difficulties", saying they found employment structures offered by existing organisations "too inflexible", or "difficult to manage with all my other commitments" (p) (Hinchcliffe, 1988: Joseph, 1980). Many were paddling their own canoe: for the benefit of others.

Some such women felt doubly 'judged', as they were made to feel they were selfish or disloyal in taking this option, in becoming independent or (temporarily) 'rich', but at the same time they knew they would be condemned for their imprudence if they didn't, saying "they condemn you for making money, but the state doesn't provide any alternative for women, all they want to do is tax your own hard earned money as investment income, you can't win" (p). Whatever women do they are seen as 'wrong', often being attributed with motives and values that would be more appropriate to powerful men. Many women who wanted to set up on their own in property development had immense difficulty getting any credit from banks and other financial institutions; even
the domestic mortgage market is unequal (Nationwide, 1986). In a world where one needs money as well as good ideas to shape the built environment through initiating development, not being 'trusted' by the 'old boy network' forms a major barrier. Such problems affected both women who were seeking to set up 'feminist' housing ventures and women who sought to emulate male developers. You have to have money, and one must inspire confidence, and be seen as 'the right type' in order to get future financial backing, if you want to directly shape 'what is built' through building it yourself. Although women may be influencing policy within local government town planning slightly, they have hardly begun as property initiators within the private sector in their own right.

Many men in the profession appeared to believe that it was not right for women to own anything, particularly at a time of housing crisis, whilst the men generally assume their right to at least one house (and wife to go with it). Women surveyors were frequently 'reminded' by men of their selfishness and blamed for the problems of the world, "you don't need anything, it's not for people like you" or "you should think about the working class". This supposed concern for 'the working class' (albeit expressed as an abstract concept) seemed to be used by some men surveyors, particularly in local government, as a talisman to legitimate their right to professional status (and often to justify their resentment of middle class and professional women). Many of the women considered they did need money.

There is a conflict within 'feminism' itself as to whether women should seek 'equality' through personal advancement on an individual basis within the existing 'system' (and change it in the process), or
through remaining separate from it, and seeking to challenge and change it from without. Whilst some would argue that the former route only serves to enforce class inequalities between women (and men), others would argue that the latter is almost impossible to achieve. Women surveyors had clearly opted in, as one explained at length, "we're all joined to the same water and sewerage system, we are part of it - if we like it or not, and we're not in a powerful enough position to go it alone, you can't be a surveyor in a vacuum without having the business world and male clients" (p).

Conclusion

The values of the surveying subculture do affect what is built as described above, it is not just the men surveyors who subscribe to these values, as many (but not all) of the women held a similar commercial perspective as bourgeois feminists seeking to get the best return for their clients, rather than wanting to change the nature of the built environment.

Regarding the question of the surveyors' influence in the development process, they are part of a team of property professions, including the planners, who all contribute their ostensibly 'different' (but regards women's urban needs often remarkably similar) viewpoints to the process. However within the enterprise culture of the Eighties the values of the surveyors (at the meso level), and the financial institutions and landed interests whom they represent (macro level), do appear to have a major influence on 'what is built' in transmitting both patriarchal and capitalistic values onto space.
CHAPTER XIII CONCLUSION

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to look at the position of women in surveying, and to consider how the attitudes of the surveying subculture towards women affect what is built. Whilst it was important to study the attitudes of the male majority towards women and their spatial needs, it was also vital to look at the motivations and values of the increasing number of women entering the profession and to consider, as a sub-plot, whether 'more' women would mean 'better' (Greed, 1988) either for women in the profession or in society as inhabitants of the built environment.

Firstly, general observations are made about the position of women in surveying and the effect of the attitudes of the subculture on "what is built", followed by more specific concluding observations as to the nature of women surveyors themselves. Inter-relationships between gender and class, and the influence of other factors within and outside the surveying subculture will be highlighted. Following this the implications of the research for theory and methodology are considered. The chapter is concluded by considering the implications of the research findings for the future.
General Observations

The position of women in surveying

Many of the problems that women surveyors encountered were nothing to do with land use and development. Rather they were matters of organisational structure, inter-personal relationships, and ethos which might be experienced in other professions, i.e. aspatial rather than spatial factors related to gender. However the particularly 'spatial' ethos of surveying with its emphasis on 'land' (and its control) combined with a somewhat spurious emphasis on technology, reverberated throughout the subculture and gave an extra 'macho' dimension to many of the issues which women encountered. All the 'little' things, especially those itemised in chapters IX and XI, constituted the very building blocks of the whole subcultural edifice vis-à-vis women, and therefore acted as major constraints upon "what is built". For if women were 'read' and treated in a way that was detrimental to their true personalities and needs; if they were 'not allowed through', or shunted into powerless 'helper' roles (at the micro level); then they would be unable to exert any influence through their professional activities within the subculture (at the meso level) on the nature of the built environment and society (at the macro level).

The effect of the subculture on what is built

Despite the increase in the number of women entering surveying, they still comprise 3.09% of the fully qualified membership, and 5.8% including students and probationers (Appendix I, 1989). Therefore the
influence of the male backcloth is inevitably more significant than the effect of the small yet dynamic number of women in the profession in determining "what is built". It was found that the men in general still 'saw' the world of surveying and the inhabitants of the built environment as male. They assumed a male audience as the subject of their professional activities, as shown by the style and content of articles in the journals, lectures in colleges, and their professional reports and policy making. When they 'remembered' about women and dealt with them as a 'special' topic they seemed as capable as the men in any other profession to make the right noises related to some hypothetical 'abstract woman'. If they were caught off guard, little appeared to have changed. Indeed women were often seen as a 'social' or 'design' issue: whilst pubs and sports facilities would never be seen as 'special'.

Paradoxically the surveyors' emphasis on 'reality' and "the practical demands of the market" (p) reduced the likelihood of them translating their biased gender views into spatial policy, which would be seen as 'interfering', but their role in perpetuating the status quo could be equally detrimental to women's interests, as many of their commercial decisions had social implications for women. Also they were not interested in women's issues as they are perceived 'social' and therefore non-profit making. In contrast within the sub-universes of housing and town planning, the 'socially aware' or even 'socialist' surveyor was potentially much more of a problem for women, as 'he' sought actively to change the status quo and plan for the 'working class' (as perceived through patriarchal eyes). This was often linked with a more condescending attitude towards women at the inter-personal level in these specialisms than was found in either the more
technological or commercial sub-universes of surveying, where the manner is more 'business-like'.

Whilst the surveyors did have a considerable part to play in determining "what is built" they were part of a wider team which carried out the development process, a fraternity of other landed professionals all with their own subcultures (albeit all predominantly male). However surveyors seemed to take a leading role in this process at the present time, their subcultural values being particularly in harmony with (and supported by) the wider political and economic forces of the enterprise culture of the Eighties.

The attitudes of the surveying subculture, although originally created by an all male profession, were not held exclusively by the men. Those women who did reach positions of influence, in many cases, were unlikely to hold an alternative perspective towards professional work or the nature of the built environment, and were remarkably 'straight' and uncomplicated people. They were likely to subscribe to the values of the bourgeois feminist who seeks to succeed in the world of men rather than to change it. Those women who were conscious that all was not fair tended to concentrate on the aspatial issues affecting their own careers rather than spatial issues which affect all women. Whilst one must change the aspatial factors to create the right conditions to enable women to be taken seriously in order to change the spatial situation, to simply change them as an end in itself so that more women might 'succeed' at an individual level achieves little for women in society as a whole. Key themes about the nature and position of women in surveying will be considered in the next section, as only a certain sort of woman is accepted into the surveying subculture who
will not interfere with, but assist, in the reproduction over space of (existing) social relations.

The Nature and Role of Women in Surveying

The surveying tribe

Women surveyors haven't suddenly sprung up from nowhere simply because of the second wave of feminism. Surveying is so much bigger than just a profession, it is truly a tribe and a subculture. Women have always had a role to play in surveying, within families, and surveying dynasties. Many of those entering surveying today are 'safe' women who are not going to question the status quo, as they do not wish to jeopardise the interests of the tribe to which they belong, or their wider class interests. Those women who enter surveying with more 'independent' or radical viewpoints may be outsiders, marginal women or insider women who are going through a rare but temporary phase of rebellion. The surveying subculture can 'use' all these sorts, and may even promote a marginal woman, if it serves the interests of the 'game'. They may believe that she is less of a threat as "there aren't many like her" (p) or that she is not liked by others, so her promotion will only have negative results, and she can easily be discredited and eased out if necessary. However marginal women sometimes 'beat the system' and far from being discredited act as positive role models for mainstream women, opening up new areas for female conquest.
Whilst "breeding" (c) can sometimes explain why some women succeed and others fail, 'class' is not everything. Men can 'sense' when a woman holds an alternative world view. High status women who do hold 'feminist' views may in fact be less acceptable than other lower status but more conformist women. However women surveyors have 'hidden depths'. Some women appear to be 'acceptable' when they are really more radical and enlightened than they look; whereas others simply held two world views at once without realising the inherent contradictions, and as outsider women have observed, "they are lucky to get away with it".

The nature of women's success

Some of the most successful women were seen both by patriarchal men and feminist women as 'weak' as their success rested on obeying 'precisely' the requirements of the surveying subculture, rather than seeking to promote the interests of women as people in their own right with 'different' needs in their professional lives and in the built environment. There is a great difference between these two models of 'success' when considering women's likely effect on "what is built" (Greed, 1988). As stated in the previous chapter many of them seemed to have been so well socialised as women (and dutiful daughters) as to not think about themselves. This attitude provided the ideal climate for them to accept the whole hog of the surveying value system without question and thus they 'succeeded' (whilst remaining obedient). This may explain, in part, how some women can exist in the world of surveying without becoming sensitised to feminism. Thus the status quo of the surveying subculture remained undisturbed, whilst ostensibly
giving the impression that the profession was progressive because it admitted women and enabled them to succeed.

Women's role

In general their role seems to be ancillary rather than central, but they still contribute a great deal to maintaining the surveying subculture (albeit against their better interests). Women (and men) have already undergone substantial 'filtering' at entry and during surveying education, the roots of which go back into the school and family background of the applicant. On entry to the world of professional practice, and subsequent progress within it, 'closure' on the basis of 'class' and being 'the right type' plays a central part in deciding who eventually ends up where. In addition to the mechanisms of closure there is a perpetual atmosphere of exclusion and potential awkwardness. Even women who would not see themselves as feminist were subconsciously treading warily, making allowances and generally over-compensating for men's 'attitudes' by working twice as hard.

In education: After the initial build up (the 'splutter effect') and a certain hostility, men have learnt how to 'deal' with women and use them to their advantage in education. For example, women students may sometimes be admitted to surveying education to help 'protect' male interests by acting as ballast in times of potential 'falling rolls' and cut backs; and at other times on their own merit when they need more 'bright' people.
There was little evidence of outright conflict as described in some literature on class and gender in education, indeed the women were encouraged. Rather there was an overall feeling of "drowning in a blancmange" (c). Education is a 'deviant' activity in the surveying subculture and as stated only around 1% of qualified surveyors are 'teachers'. Doing well in education is not the name of the game.

The nature of the subjects taught, and the way they were taught often created problems for women, but they tended not to dwell on it, but accept whatever was served up to them, and 'learn it' in order to get through the course and 'fit in', however "boring" (c) they find the subject matter. However, for all students the nature of the educational discourse was potentially damaging because of the fragmentation, abstraction, peoplelessness, and excessive commercial emphasis of the subjects taught - although this was seen as an essential part of the professional socialisation process to prepare them for "the real world" (p).

In practice: The predominant theme was that women felt they were constantly being scrutinised, and were expected to work twice as hard as the men to prove themselves. Much of their energies went into 'getting by' and dealing with all the 'little' occurrences of everyday life. Likewise women's needs whether spatial or aspatial were marginalised or made a 'separate' or 'special' issue within the discourse of surveying. Childcare was a particular problem, but women were not necessarily treated differently, or not promoted because they had children. Rather many women found they appeared to be treated the 'same' as the men until their thirties when there was
evidence of a parting of the ways with men continuing upwards, and women being shunted sideways. Those women who cleared this hurdle and continued to be promoted had to be eminently the 'right type'.

A sensitising concept was the fragmentation and isolation of individual women within surveying practice. They might be geographically separated from each other; expected to keep their status distance from other women in the office; ill at ease with 'ordinary' women in the community; and alienated from others of their gender as they sought 'to be the same and fit in' (with the men). Parallel to this, the fragmentation of the surveyors' world view, in dividing up the built environment into separate land uses, reflected in different specialisms or stages of the development process, further made it difficult to grasp and present an alternative 'total' feminist world view related to the whole built environment.

The sheer 'caprice' and unpredictability of the whole situation was most noticeable. You never knew how they would 'treat' a woman in a particular instance. The situation has not yet reached a point of equilibrium following the influx of increased numbers of women, and men surveyors are still trying out different 'solutions'. Part of the 'problem' is that whilst men know that men come in certain standard types and one can always find the right sort of man to fit the-right mold; women are much more of a risk as they don't 'fit' and men are unsure as to what they are likely be capable of, or 'for'. Women surveyors come in a greater range of 'types' than the men, which is not surprising as one has to be a 'one-off' (particularly in the past)
to choose surveying in the first place. Whilst some 'left wing' men are of the opinion that most women surveyors are either "sloanes or thatcher clones" this is far from the truth. Also some women surveyors seem so much more dynamic than many of the men, and even if the women are only trying to be helpful" this can be very threatening.

If a woman is successful one must carefully investigate the effect of her success. Openly feminist women may find that their role is to act as a 'contrast' to be the Aunt Sally, who is set up to be knocked down, thus unwittingly reinforcing the values of the subculture. One must look at the long term effects of their initial success on their future prospects. Women who are successful in male technological areas may find that their very success as a 'specialist' debars them from further progress as they have become 'indispensable'. There are certain technological areas of surveying, where the men are perceived as leaving "for something better" and women believe they are "taking the left overs" (p). Also many women made an initial rapid rise, and then were shunted horizontally into a dead end, or remain stuck vertically for years whilst being overtaken by younger men on the fast lane. It would seem that men think women will be content with only limited success. Of course, neither the promotion of individual women, nor the involvement of women in traditionally 'male' and/or technological areas; nor a concern with 'social' or 'women's issues on the part of the men should be seen per se as likely indicators of progress from a feminist perspective.
Implications for Theory and Methodology

Introduction

Whilst 'gender' seemed a '100% important factor in many women's lives in affecting how they were treated in surveying; one had to admit that many of them would not be in surveying in the first place were it not for their 'class' position. Regards my model, whilst 'macro' level world views based on class and gender as 'first causes' were of great value as organising concepts and as base line explanations, there were many other 'secondary' micro level factors that needed to be taken into account, such as age, personality, and personal life experience; rather like putting tracing paper overlays showing additional detail on top of the initial Ordnance Survey base map when doing a site analysis. Indeed, as several bourgeois feminists characteristically pointed out to me, "women surveyors are all different, we're all individuals, you can't generalise about us" (p). I had to agree that current theoretical viewpoints seemed somewhat impoverished in the light of the tapestry of life which I was unravelling in my research.

The relative importance of class

The advantages of belonging to a privileged 'class', as professionals, and having a higher income than many women could offset the effects of gender so much so that women surveyors did not necessarily share the same life experience or problems of lesser women. Many were not 'conscious' of what all the fuss was about. In many cases they had never encountered radical feminist literature, so if they had
'problems', they were unlikely to frame them in terms of feminist analysis. However some women (and men) surveyors do have an alternative caring world view but this has to be 'suspended' whilst they are operating as surveyors. Some had to fight quite hard to suppress it. As one woman put it, "sometimes I get this burning feeling in the back of my neck; it's my conscience I suppose", but then, "surveyors are not social workers" (p). Even in the more socially orientated areas of surveying, women who raised women's issues were likely to be told that, "you should be concerned with the working class, you're just being selfish". Such attitudes 'fazed' and confused them, diverting them from their original goal.

Even when women achieved a 'class' position comparable to men, it would seem that other social and cultural factors held them back, or alternatively it took time for their own personal attitudes and those of their colleagues, to catch up with their new status (echoes of 'cultural lag'). Some women 'had got their act together' more than others. Regards the question of the relative power of structure and agent in society (i.e. which way the arrows go, on my diagram vertically), it seemed to me that women surveyors were not all 'passive' recipients of deterministic societal forces, but some were better than others at "getting by". Individual personality, levels of support, cultural capital (Delamont, 1989:235-7) and 'forewarning' determined whether or not they 'made it'. Some women seemed totally unprepared and ignorant of what they were to encounter, whereas others seemed to be living, as one woman put it reflectively, "as if they've been through it all once before, and so they always know what to do"; this blessed state apparently being reached because other wiser women shared their life experience with them (especially mothers and
sisters) actively helped them along, and acted as 'role models'. Others simply possessed exceptional amounts of native cunning and \textit{savoir faire}.

The importance of gender

Overall patriarchy seemed to be stronger than 'class' or ideological divisions within the surveying subculture, even though there are some quite major differences between male surveyors both horizontally in terms of different specialisms and vertically in terms of different status groups. Also within the wider world of surveying practice, it seemed that male technicians and other ancillary people worked 'with' the male surveyors in maintaining patriarchy, including 'colonised' office women, who might be used against high status professional women.

Patriarchy also seemed to be stronger than 'professional expertise'. There were several incidents of men who appeared to be under-qualified and inexperienced, being chosen above women who were eminently more suitable. There was at least one case of a woman taking her college to an Industrial Tribunal. Interestingly such problems seemed to be greater at the more 'social' end of surveying, than the technological end of the spectrum (where men might 'welcome' women), no doubt because there is less of a social policy element in the latter, and not enough women to be a threat. The definition of what counted as 'man's work' seemed to change with the changing requirements of patriarchy. As was explained in chapter IX, land surveying and mapping were once seen as exclusively male high status preserves,
whereas nowadays they have become relatively more open to women who are likely to be employed at a quasi-professional or technician grade. With the coming of computers and digital plotters, what were once seen as highly specialised mapping skills are now seen as a spatial version of 'word processing' that can be done even by a woman. However men will still keep certain areas of 'high technology' computer application for themselves (such as their predominance in satellite geodesy) creating a gender hierarchy within a recently evolved professional area (FIG, 1983).

Land and space

At the macro level, it did seem true that 'land' was the centre of the 'world view' of surveyors as found by Joseph, but I found this cultural concept of 'land' had little substance as a concrete spatial reality. As explained in the last chapter surveyors were ill at ease with spatial design issues. I had to go further and unpack the true meaning of 'land' which often seemed to be a euphemism for "how the world ought to be". It was more powerful at the subcultural level as a value, which could mean anything surveyors wanted it to be; to justify the status quo. For example 'land' provides linkages with the surveyors' imagined illustrious past in association with 'landed estates and interests'; it can legitimate the surveyors' professional monopoly in association with 'land surveying'; and it enforces the surveyors' right to rule and exercise control in the sense of 'land management' (and 'estate' management). Throughout this research I was fighting my way through a hall of mirrors, of false images and
'fronts' that needed to be looked behind, in studying the reproduction of cultural 'space' over physical space.

Whilst the current emphasis on 'land' management was likely to be linked to the needs of the commercial market, and in its present incarnation surveying was very capitalistically orientated; surveyors could equally flourish under more socialist situations and still retain control over land. The entrepreneurial # bureaucratic dualism seemed to be, relatively speaking, two sides of the same patriarchal coin, as in the final analysis all surveyors are 'brothers' (Battersby, 1970 and Cockburn, 1985, b). However at present surveyors find entrepreneurial women the most useable and least challenging type to patriarchal power.

It seemed to me that 'feudalism', as an organising concept for society, had room with it for the surveyors' love of 'control' over land; and for the brands of both 'landed capitalism' and 'paternalistic socialism' that surveyors espoused. It was also eminently 'patriarchal' to provide the ideal world view for the average male surveyor (not that they themselves would put it that way). The whole subculture of surveying seemed to be suffused with a touch of 'cultural lag' which put them a little out of step with the rest of the twentieth century, and which gave it a rather interesting bit of quirky unpredictability and gentlemanly chivalry, which was sometimes to the advantage of women.
Reservations

In doing the research, it was difficult to pin down and separate out whether women were experiencing the effects of patriarchy or capitalism in a particular situation at the micro level of the model. Such a question might seem ludicrous in the heat of the moment when one is experiencing 'trouble'. One black woman surveyor explained to me, "when they are rude to you, it's difficult to know if it's because you are black, female, or they have had a bad day" (v). Sexism was not always manifested by nastiness, quite the opposite in fact. Many women pointed out that women could suffer equally when men were pleasant to them, 'paternalistic patronising non-serious niceness' was even more deadly in the end than obviously hostile attitudes, "they can be friendly and still put you down". Men can show great inconsistency between dealing with women en masse and at the individual level. Large numbers of women students can be invited into surveying education at one level (without being seen as a threat), but further along older women in education and practice may find themselves being squashed as they seek advancement, "thus far and no further" (p).

Human beings are amazingly complicated and whilst 'types' are of value, to say that a person is going to always be treated in a particular way in a particular situation because of their class and gender is an oversimplification. Sometimes women behave 'wrongly' out of self interest, and sometimes one finds allies from the 'wrong' gender or class. I had the experience, several years ago, of teaching with a (precocious and competitive) 'feminist' woman for a short period, who subsequently went behind my back to the male head of my
section and told him that she should take over my work. To his credit he told me of this incident and did not act upon her advice. In this situation departmental team loyalties, and plain old fashioned 'decency' counted for more than 'feminist theory' would suggest. Indeed I must admit even at this stage of my research, that I owe a lot to certain men, and I am still 'grateful' (albeit with mixed feelings, or 'false consciousness').

From my studies of macro sociological literature, I knew that women who imagined that they were operating 'independently' "as I thought best" (p) were really constrained in their choices by powerful underlying economic forces within society, of which they might be totally ignorant, but which nevertheless existed. Therefore I would argue that there is a need to develop theory that retains the underlying dimensions of class and gender, but which is capable of seeing how these factors are 'modulated' in an individual's life by other 'personal' factors, so one can explain why an individual is as she is, as well as giving a 'total' explanation of society itself at a macro level. Ethnographic and more open ended approaches to research may be the way to achieve this, in contrast to the more 'closed' approaches of the past, in which, for example, questions about 'class' provided little 'space' for women's experience or for "long winded, complicated, irrelevant explanations" as some saw them (which I welcomed).

Notwithstanding the importance of personal factors, in addition to class and gender, that could modulate a woman's life experience, I was aware from my own life experience and from what other women had told me, that in daily life people were often judged and treated on the
basis of very mono-dimensional stereotypes attributed to them because of their appearance, perceived class, gender, and background, various men surveyors confidently stating "you can tell what a person is like within the first thirty seconds" (p). Many surveyors seemed alarmingly prone to such generalisations. This is the reality of rough and ready 'class analysis' of women on the 'shopfloor' of the surveying subculture, irrespective of how the academic theoreticians defined class.

**Conceptual conclusions and pointers**

A somewhat neo-weberian feminist interpretation equated most closely to what I was observing in the research, and 'believed' personally in respect of the nature of 'class'. I mean neo-weberian in the sense of post-marxist, in that there is now a greater openness to accepting a more composite model of 'class', made up from a range of economic, social and cultural factors. The trend (in some circles at least) is to frame the question of social differentiation in terms of 'status' rather than 'class', investigating the nature of the power structures that determine women's and men's position, and unpacking the cultural beliefs that make those power structures believable and legitimated in the first place. Thus Marilyn French (1985) in her wide ranging book gives a visionary glimpse beyond and behind the present outward manifestation of the structure of society to the underlying forces which make 'gender' such a discriminatory force in the social construction of power and thus class relations, likewise Delphy (1984) alerts us to the dangers of confusing effect with cause.
The importance of women in the 'private' realm - for example in the case of surveying families who literally produce 'the right type' and reproduce the subculture across centuries and within dynasties - must be taken more fully into account in conceptualisations of 'class', rather than 'just' looking at the end product in the 'public' realm of the professional workplace. When women cease to be mere transmitters of the culture (although much work goes into this, as Jane Ribbens demonstrates, 1990) and use this cultural capital for themselves (as Sara Delamont discusses, 1989) all sorts of new 'class' and gender phenomena emerge, not least the bourgeois feminists. However although women can be 'influential', even successful, they are not necessarily 'powerful' in their own right, within what is still a patriarchal society.

The differences between the subcultural groups within the professions, and the related tribes, fractions, and dynasties seemed far stronger as social divisions (sideways), than the divisions (downwards) between classes, and indeed these divisions cut across gender too as has been shown in this study. I never have been convinced that people are radically different from each other socially or intrinsically, just because they have different occupations, and therefore incomes (speaking on the authority of being both 'inner urban' and an 'urban professional' in one lifetime [chapter III]). But I have observed that people seem to come in certain 'types' in terms of personal perspective and values, which often cut right across the 'same' occupational categories. Even in the so-called 'manual' working class occupations, divisions between the self-employed as against the employee, echo the entrepreneurial as against bureaucratic divide in the professional service classes. Increasingly I am moving towards a
reconceptualisation of social division based on focussing on such
differential 'class subcultures' within the broad bands of
conventional class divisions. More broadly, there is a need to do more
research to develop alternative models of society which acknowledge
the importance of work, as one definer of class, but which encompass
the majority of the population's (women's) whole existence and not
just their current position in the occupational structure or that of
their husbands (compare Crompton and Sanderson, 1990), as some women
are more successful than others in the professions, and lead
different lives, although they are from the 'same' male-class of
origin.

Therefore, I felt uneasy throughout this research in using traditional
definitions of 'class' and 'status' (which were invented to explain
the experience of men) for women, but fully acknowledge that there
are 'class' differences between women, albeit based on other criteria.
I have sought to describe and illustrate what is going on in the world
of surveying, rather than to use precise definitions or adopt a final
theoretical position. I have mapped out the parameters as expressed in
my model, and invite the reader to make her own linkages between
elements horizontally and vertically to see 'how it works'. Likewise
I have a certain uneasiness with 'reconstructing' the world of the
woman surveyor, both past and present, on the basis of modern feminist
'orthodoxy' as the motivations and values of my 'subjects' simply do
not fit into theories that evolved from a relatively 'left-wing' and
radical academic heritage. Women surveyors might have appeared to be
doing feminist things, but they were motivated by a very different set
of values ranging from a 'One England' sense of social responsibility
in the past, to a belief in the enterprise culture today.
Hopes for the Future

Introduction

The position of women must be seen against the wider educational and professional context of modern surveying. Larger proportions of young people are going to college, and there is an enthusiasm from both males and females for courses leading to professional qualifications such as law, accountancy and surveying. Whilst in the past, professional education was somewhat restrictive as to entrance, if (in accord with present trends) it becomes 'easier', and more women and other 'outsider' students go on surveying courses (because of falling rolls of 'normal' school leavers), I suspect that not everyone will have the 'same' destination or 'value' as a result of participating in the 'same' educational process.

Expansion and structural change is occurring out in practice. The days of the traditional partnership system may be numbered, and in the future two thirds of surveyors may be working in incorporated organisations rather than in firms based on the partnership system. A change in organisation, or an increase in the representation of women, should not be equated per se with greater 'equality'. Rather it suggests that surveyors are regrouping and creating a different way of expressing the hierarchies and divisions within practice, to accommodate a wider range of levels and types of surveyors. At present 'caprice' reigns but as the surveying tribe gets more adept at directing women into 'appropriate' areas of practice, a more institutionalised and stable gender hierarchy will emerge within the profession. I have my suspicions as to how 'permanent' women's
presence in the profession is likely to be. I tried to imagine what the scenario would be like without a buoyant property market and Conservative government, and without a continuing demand for more 'manpower' in the professions. I suspect that men would continue to be recruited but women would be gradually 'phased out' of practice, but would retain an important tribal role in the home, newcomers bringing it 'new blood'.

Very little has been done, either in education or practice, to accommodate the 'different' needs of women, and it would seem an ideal opportunity to use current changes as an 'excuse' for raising these matters. Several young women (and a few men) surveyors including those involved in the JO, have tried to explore these issues with the RICS. It is in the interests of the older men to take seriously the demands of young women surveyors, particularly if the number of women entrants increases, and to realise, like the Law Society, that "this is not about doing women any favours" (Law Society's Gazette, No. 41:4, 15.11.89) but is a matter of economic necessity for the profession.

Since, relatively speaking, the aim of this thesis was to investigate what 'is' rather than what might be, only outline suggestions are given below in respect of the 'practical' issues of childcare and career development, which are so vital to enable women to reach positions of seniority in the profession and thus to influence its organisation and urban policy making itself. However, I discuss these issues in more detail elsewhere (such as in Greed, 1990, b: chapter 11; and in more 'practical' malestream terms in Greed, 1990, c).
Education

Provision for 'women's needs' in college should not be seen as a 'special extra' but as a necessary and integral part of student and staff back-up, which men might benefit from too, if only to avoid yet more falling rolls. There is a great need for childcare provision and for more flexible approaches to study. Also there is a need for more 'encouraging' employment structures for women lecturers, for whom, unlike the students, 'college' constitutes a permanent workplace and career (Greed, 1990, d).

There is a need to introduce a woman's perspective and dimension on urban issues throughout the syllabi in order, ultimately, to influence 'what is built'. This is difficult because of the factual, technical and peopleless nature of much of the material. The vast majority of lecturers are men, most of whom have little sympathy or understanding of women's issues, and many of the students' groups are still composed predominantly of males. I have found from bitter experience that it is very difficult to teach a predominantly male audience anything verging on urban feminism, unless it is done in a totally unselfconscious, matter of fact way as if it is nothing out of the ordinary. However if the approach is too impersonal, the danger is that students will 'learn' the material and trot out the right sentiments, and then totally forget it without ever having internalised it. Worse still the Aunt Sally booby trap will be triggered, and everything that is said will confirm to them that feminists are mad, thus reinforcing the values of the subculture. Some women lecturers favour using role play, and this does work quite well on housing students, but many male estate management students
I feel very awkward about this, so much so that the actual content of the role is forgotten amidst the embarrassment of adopting it. In the more technological areas of surveying there are no 'social' subjects which would lend themselves to this approach.

I have contemplated a great deal whether, and how far one can go in introducing a feminist perspective to 'other people's lectures' (although I have no power to do so). If men incorporate the question of women into their lectures they may do more harm than good in giving a false impression that all is well because "we've done women" (c), or that women are such helpless creatures that women students will comment that they have been "put off from being a woman for ever after", because "he made us feel like we were spastics, I hate being seen as disabled, with all the boys glaring at us" (v). The RTPI now has a rather "unbelievable" (p) policy that the needs of the disabled, women, ethnic groups and "other minorities" should be taken into account in teaching material; but I have not yet received a satisfactory answer as to how they intend to 'police' this. I am suspicious of some male initiatives in this direction, as it seems to enhance the liberal reputation of the men who take up the cause, whilst totally ignoring the women that have been battling along all these years in the thick of it, some women housing managers commenting, "they did it to the working class and black people, so they could do it to women".

Some would say that all men are irredeemably biased, and are incapable of understanding, let alone teaching feminist issues. Of course if only women teach women's issues, or if it is subsumed under the special category of 'social issues' this may achieve even less. There
is a need to provide compulsory short courses for men lecturers to increase their awareness of women's issues. In non 'social' subjects there is not much scope for feminist material regarding content, but there is much scope regards method of teaching, use of examples and general 'girl friendliness' (Whyte et al, 1985) especially in technological subjects. Many Polytechnics and local authorities now have an Equal Opportunities Policy which is meant to cover 'service delivery' which some women argue includes how and what people teach. However, many men seem unaware of the applicability of this to them. Also the increase of women lecturers which is noticeable at the 'junior' level across a diversity of surveying subject areas is very heartening, and it would seem that surveying is ahead of Geography and many other subjects in this respect.

**Practice**

It would seem that surveyors think in terms of meeting short term need when recruiting women (Brett-Jones, 1978). It may have never even occurred to them that the women may want to be women as well as being surveyors, and have children too (such attitudes can only exist in highly patriarchal societies which fragment work and home). The whole question of provision and financing of facilities for women and childcare needs looking into especially in the private sector, which is where nearly 80% of surveyors are in practice. Proposals produced by women solicitors (Law Society, 1988; Nott, 1989), and more recently from men solicitors (Law Society's Gazette, No.39:19-20, 1.11.89; and New Law Journal, Vol.139:1486-1487, 3.11.89) could provide the basis of excellent practical solutions for surveying firms, such as the
provision of workplace nurseries, voucher schemes, part-time partnerships, career breaks, and flexi-time.

Organisation of work: Whatever their age or family circumstances, many women surveyors want a more flexible approach to work on a day to day basis, so that they were not tied to office hours (as childcare is an ongoing daily commitment, not one that can be blocked off into weekends, or a couple of months every so often). One of marks of the surveying profession has always been (Joseph, 1980) that men are attracted to it because of the opportunities for 'freedom' in organising their work, and "not being stuck in an office all day but getting out and about" (a big call). Many young women would like to apply and extend this ethos to their own particular circumstances, and feel that they could achieve just as much per day, if they were "given the benefit of the doubt, and trusted when out of the office" and were given the freedom to fully combine professional and domestic duties in the way, most convenient to themselves - and still get the work done.

Attitudes: Much emphasis has been put on the need for women to change to be more assertive, etc (Lamplugh, 1988) whilst the men have left the women to get on with it and remained much the same. How we get the men to change their attitudes is quite another matter. Surveyors would benefit much from gaining a wider world view of the 'possibilities' by having more contact with people from other professional groups who are dealing with the same issues, and who contain greater numbers of women, such as lawyers, town planners and housing people (RTPI, 1988 for example). Short courses to 'help' men become more aware of women's needs both as fellow professionals and residents of the built environment should be encouraged, within current CPD programmes.
Also the current moves to 'harmonise' and 'streamline' professional bodies in the light of both EEC and domestic government initiatives may give some 'space' for reshaping the ethos of surveying. In particular surveyors have become much too 'narrow' and 'commercial' in their world view, although paradoxically the scope of their professional practice has widened. Also greater contact with modern management studies both at college and CPD level, might possibly make surveyors aware of the needs of women within organisations, and with alternative approaches to inter-personal relationships in general. Since the effects of the Big Bang, competition from other professional and business organisations within the property world may actually force surveyors to become less amateur and old fashioned, and to re-evaluate the efficient use of their 'man'power resources in order to compete in the modern business world.

There are also conferences and committees run by women in the other landed professions, but it must be said that most of the people that support such ventures are either in the public sector or in academia; and women. There have also been various 'networking' associations set up by women in the private sector, for example WIP (Women in Property). Whilst such organisations are good at putting women in contact with each other and breaking down the fragmentation, and helping with aspatial difficulties, they tend to accept the status quo of the commercial property sector. They enhance women's chances of achieving more of the same as the men, without apparently questioning the biased nature of the built environment itself. There is a need for cross-discipline networking so that women surveyors know what women planners, engineers, geographers, and housing managers are doing, and to open their eyes to alternative ways of planning urban areas to the
greater advantage of women (it is not the intention of this chapter to discuss these policy alternatives per se). Men surveyors love going to conferences. One woman told me that the way to get men to attend 'women's' conferences was to charge more for them, as cost and location reflect importance in a man's world. £300 for a day conference at the Hilton, will have far more drawing power than £2.50 in a spare lecture room in a Polytechnic, even at the cost of excluding women (the highest figure actually charged so far was £70, which attracted a sprinkling of men).

Attitudes also have to change in respect of approaches to policy making. The basic problem is to make surveyors more socially aware, within a fundamentally commercially orientated situation. Out in practice, socially motivated town planning needs to be reintegrated into the pantheon of surveying (as was the case in the post war reconstruction period), provided it could return with the full benefit of the influence of the activities of feminist planning insights. Social issues have been marginalised within the property development process, but a more 'feminist' development control system under the aegis of the local authority planners could compensate for this lack in the private sector. Development control, through planning law can be a very negative business, therefore there is much to be said for getting a feminist perspective built into the thinking of the private sector (although this might be seen as too pragmatic to those that believe feminists, especially socialist feminists should seek to eschew or abolish private property and 'the system'). To do this one has got to convince men that there is money in it, and that market demand exists. As stated some developers are becoming more aware (Fitch, 1985) but they have to be reminded again and again, "it doesn't
come naturally" (p). There is a need for women to get into a position of influence and respect. To do this they may have to project a business image, and be twice as good as the men at 'normal' professional practice. There is already a small minority of women who have achieved seniority and are using their influence to bring about urban change and changes in the position of women in surveying, but I do not intend to "give them away" by saying anymore.

Conclusion

It is a chicken and egg situation as more fundamental aspatial and spatial changes will be difficult to achieve without better facilities and more flexibility for women, but they are unlikely to be provided without a change in priorities on the part of the men. I am very aware in writing this conclusion that it may all be wishful thinking, although some of my wishes might be obtainable. A general feeling of 'hopelessness' surrounds discussions of these issues, expressed in comments such as "you can't win", "if they don't like you, you've had it". But some women are achieving, and some are plodding on regardless, hoping they have not been taken for a ride, and made fools of, in their desire to pursue a career.

There is a need to influence the nature of urban academic theory and professional literature as this influences practice. Perhaps one day gender will be a 'normal' part of urban sociology, fully integrated with space and class; and women's needs will also be seen as a valid aspect of what men call "serious financial decision making" in the world of property development. It is important to continue with research on women in the landed professions if only "to shame them
into doing something" (as several women advised me). Likewise women who have been given the 'woman's role' of being involved in property research in the private sector might use their humble position to include women's issues as one of the integral points of reference (although this might be too much to ask of them if it jeopardises their job). It is also important to continue to convince mainstream feminists that 'space matters' and to raise urban feminist issues in society as a whole. Of course changes within the professional structures of surveying practice and employment are the most important, and in spite of the current apparent enthusiasm to "get more women" because of the 'man'power crisis, possibly the most complex to achieve.

In the long run change may only be transmitted into the surveying subculture and the world of the landed professions when the signal becomes strong enough from society. In the end it comes down to carrying on in lots of little ways, trying to strike up conversations here and there with both men and women within the surveying tribe. Simply 'being there' as an alternative voice is important in itself. Perhaps women have another trump card that men have dismissed, in their 'other' role at home. Some women surveyors have great faith in trying to bring up their sons and daughters in a non-sexist manner so that with time they might influence the surveying tribe, and thus the profession, from within the home, and perhaps ultimately in conjunction with the efforts of other women in other tribes, shape society itself, and thus alter "what is built".
APPENDIX I: RICS MEMBERSHIP FIGURES 1989

Key: LA = Land Agency; BS = Building Surveying; GP = General Practice (Housing is an Option within this division); LS = Land Surveying; MS = Minerals Surveying; PD = Planning and Development; QS = Quantity Surveying. Source: RICS Records Data Base.

TABLE A: Total Membership in Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>LA</th>
<th>BS</th>
<th>GP</th>
<th>LS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>PD</th>
<th>QS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fellow</td>
<td>2146</td>
<td>1408</td>
<td>11498</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>7422</td>
<td>23,582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof Associate</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>3251</td>
<td>14886</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>14553</td>
<td>36,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probationer</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>1131</td>
<td>4114</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>4468</td>
<td>10,921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>3721</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>4285</td>
<td>10,672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4694</td>
<td>7595</td>
<td>34240</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>30738</td>
<td>81,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 33*</td>
<td>819</td>
<td>1350</td>
<td>6215</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>4781</td>
<td>13,508</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE B: Female Membership in Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>LA</th>
<th>BS</th>
<th>GP</th>
<th>LS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>PD</th>
<th>QS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fellow</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof Associate</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1230</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>1,743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probationer</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>873</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>1,370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>1,475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>3026</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>4,703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 33*</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>1,250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE C: Male Membership as Percentages of Totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>LA</th>
<th>BS</th>
<th>GP</th>
<th>LS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>PD</th>
<th>QS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fellow</td>
<td>99.8</td>
<td>99.7</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>98.7</td>
<td>99.8</td>
<td>99.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof Associate</td>
<td>97.2</td>
<td>97.0</td>
<td>91.8</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>99.8</td>
<td>91.8</td>
<td>98.2</td>
<td>95.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probationer</td>
<td>81.0</td>
<td>93.4</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>96.6</td>
<td>84.3</td>
<td>93.7</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>92.6</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>98.3</td>
<td>90.6</td>
<td>86.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>78.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>91.2</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>98.5</td>
<td>92.7</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>94.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 33*</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>94.9</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td>99.0</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>95.8</td>
<td>90.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Total corporate members under 33, i.e. Fellows and Prof Associates
APPENDIX II: FIGURES

FIGURE I follows: ROLE OF THE SURVEYOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS
Figure 1: Role of the Surveyor in the Development Process
APPENDIX II: FIGURES

Figure II follows: CONCEPTUAL MODEL
### The Conceptual Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development Process</th>
<th>Property Invention</th>
<th>Land and Morale</th>
<th>Land</th>
<th>Space</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Factors for Consideration and for Possible Influence at Each Level (with some of the links shown in brackets)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Man-Made Environment</th>
<th>The Physical Environment</th>
<th>The Human Environment</th>
<th>The Social Environment</th>
<th>The Political Environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Man-Made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Man-Made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Man-Made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Man-Made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land and Morale</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Man-Made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Man-Made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Man-Made</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Figure II: The Conceptual Model
APPENDIX II: FIGURES

FIGURE III follows: REALMS OF RELEVANCE
FIGURE III: THE REALMS OF RELEVANCE
Quantitative Contextualisation

I sought male/female figures for surveying education to contextualise the topic. Since 80% of surveying students are in Polytechnics the obvious source was CNAA, but as stated on page 158, 'gender' was not their strong point (CNAA, 1985). PCAS, the body which oversees poly applications and admissions, produces some tables divided by sex (e.g. Table C1: Applications by Subject, PCAS, 1987) but 'surveying' was fragmented illogically between a range of subject groupings (e.g. estate management came under Business and Administration), and the figures do not deal with students' progress in college. I was officially told that internal polytechnic statistics on lecturers and students are not public domain. But, Whittington (1987), a commercial guide to poly courses, actually gave some gender breakdowns. DES official educational statistics marginalised polytechnics, and gave incomplete, imprecise information. Table F4 (DES, 1988) gave the age and sex of poly students but not the subject. Tables 23 and 24 gave figures for students in 'surveying' for both men and women (under 'Engineering') which corresponded broadly to the RICS's own estimates, but suspiciously gave the same figures for "all course enrolments" and "advanced course enrolments", and it was unclear 'which' courses were referred to. (The RICS did not start collecting gender specific student figures from colleges until mid 1990.) So I wrote to individual college departments direct seeking the information. I found that material from different colleges was often incompatible because of course structure, subject mix, and time scale of records, but 'qualitatively' it helped to build up the overall picture.
Question of Questionnaires

At the outset, before I fully realised how threatened some people would be by my research, I produced a questionnaire. I had two slightly different versions, one which I tried out on some of my students, and another for people in practice. I include this (at the end of this appendix) to show the progression in my research. This ended up in the research graveyard for the following reasons. I found that certain men got rather 'awkward' about it, and that created a bad atmosphere in the research setting. Even 'sympathetic' people were either not completing them, or sending me pages of personal explanatory commentary, 'inspired' by the questions. However composing the questionnaire was useful in helping me clarify what I wanted to find out. In fairness it was poorly structured, and it did ask a great deal of respondents in terms of time and effort, to obtain material which could be more easily gleaned by ethnographic methods and unstructured interviews. But even when I moved over to ethnography, I had to be circumspect as there were several occasions when male colleagues made 'jocular' comments to the effect, "don't say anything to her, or it will be taken down and used in evidence against you".

Use of Quotations

Quotations and comments heard during the course of undertaking the research are dispersed throughout the text. They are used because they encapsulate the 'voice' of the subculture, and illustrate the theme under discussion. I have purposely determined not to be too specific as to their source for the following reasons. When dealing with women who may be in a vulnerable and visible position as a minority within
their organisation, but who have shared with me their personal experiences and feelings, it seemed right to respect their confidentiality and give them anonymity. I decided not to give either names, or easily identifiable descriptions of any women, men, colleges or professional practices, but illustrations are actually drawn from all three research situations. In fact observations were suprisingly similar in different locations, as the world of the surveying tribe is very close-knit, and relatively speaking similar wheresoever it is found. So I am 'lifting' a comment I have heard surveyor(s) make (for example in part of a conversation which relates to a particular theme, or in a significant situation, or simply in the course of daily life within the subculture) and placing it (or a paraphrase of several such comments) appositely in the text within the context of a discussion of the same theme. These quotations and comments constitute 'data', and therefore their status must be clarified, and for this it would seem logical to include explanation of how they were 'recorded' within this account. They fall into three main categories.

(a) clichés

These are normally very short unattributed phrases, such as "the right type" which were constantly heard from many surveyors, and may be seen as stereotypical comments. The original context of the comment is secondary as they were heard in virtually every situation and conversation. I would distinguish between 'male' clichés, and specifically female 'clichés, the context indicating which is which, with the latter often having a sense of resignation about them, such as "you can't win".
(b) verbatim statements

There are certain, usually longer, quotations which are exact accounts of actual statements, such as are presented in the surveying education and practice chapters, usually attributable to a particular individual. Often in tutorials I could write down exactly what was said. There were instances when face-to-face interviewees would say, "you must write this down" and wait for me to do so. Also on the telephone it was much easier to keep writing rapidly whilst listening, and several of my more 'solid' quotes come from this, although I concede some are still slightly paraphrased. As with (a) the very fact they are included suggests that they were 'typical' and that statements of this nature occurred frequently (as explained in chapter V) unless it is clear from the text that the statement was significant because of its rarity in going against the mores of the surveying tribe (or they were made of surveyors by outsiders). N.B. The aim of research of this breadth, undertaken individually, was to adopt a broad brush approach and 'paint a cultural picture' of the uncharted territory of the subculture, rather than to discuss the context, setting, details of each interview in detail as is done in more individual case study research.

(c) paraphrases

These are phrases such as "I didn't want to be stuck in an office but get out and about", which were frequently heard from many surveyors (and often attributed generally to a particular group e.g. 'many students'), with minor variations in the words used, although some individuals might have employed the actual words given. Normally the
context is self-evident from the setting, but in some cases more specific sources are given if it is significant.

Some material is purposely paraphrased although I had a verbatim copy. Several women surveyors actually wrote to me, but it would be a betrayal of trust to quote them verbatim. This also applies to various 'bon mots' gleaned from my students' written work. Also there are phrases used in recollections by others, of yet others' accounts (e.g. my boss said); or phrases remembered from my past which are inevitably paraphrases. I would also distinguish between paraphrases derived from observation of 'innocent' comments within the subculture, as against observations made by outsiders or 'aware' insiders. Again the context normally suggests which is which, with the latter being linked more to the analysis and conceptualisation of what I was observing.

Therefore many of the quotations used in the thesis are strictly speaking 'paraphrase' (but definitely 'happened'). In the text, I do not always state whether comments are clichés, paraphrases or verbatim if it is already clear from the context and it would be superfluous, but here and there I insert (c), (p) or (v) respectively for the guidance of the reader, where it is ambiguous, or to stress the status or significance of the quotation.

Collection, Distillation and Presentation

I did not tape-record the data, as I found this intrusive. I sought to make some notes during the proceedings but in that my approach was interactive and open, with my being expected to answer their questions
too, and participate in what was effectively a 'normal' conversation. I was not able to control and record the flow of information as in a structured interview. As soon a visit was over, I immediately sat down (often on a park bench) and with utmost concentration and recall wrote down as much as I could remember of everything, later building the material into thematic categories. Likewise Bogdan and Knopp Bilkin (1982: 131) advise ethnographers not to continually be seen with pad and pencil in hand but to retreat to some private place (like a toilet!) after an observation session, and to write down headings and phrases to help recall.

However as part of my educational ethnography (as stated the methods overlap), I was able to make notes, on the spot, or as soon after as possible, of much of what I was observing, hearing, and realising whilst in college. For example, in my tutorials I observed what is said and who said it. I made more notes than I used to, which made my students assume it was being marked. They would wait with ponderous silence until I had written down what they thought was important. I did not tell the students exactly what I was doing, although they vaguely knew I was doing research on surveying education but they obviously assumed I would 'do' it outside of class contact time (Greed, 1987, e). I concentrated on recording the key issues that 'hit' me as well as building up a picture of the overall situation.

As a second stage, it was helpful to organise my initial notes on an alphabetical basis, combining similar points from all my ethnographic and interviewing sources, and noting those observations, including quotations and situations which occurred the most frequently. Also I found it useful to write up aspects of my observations as a
descriptive comprehensive narrative (sometimes to an 'aware' woman colleague who was interested), themes often becoming clearer as I wrote, weaving in significant comments, sensitising concepts, and retrospective insights into the ongoing account. I started with 'paper' files, but soon found that using my Amstrad gave me greater flexibility and speed to add, edit, 'move blocks', and sort material at will, and 'encouraged' me to keep writing 'up' as I went along. I sought to keep my evolving conceptual model in mind and tried to relate my account to explaining linkages up and down and across the columns and levels. When I came to write it up for the thesis, although my notes had been related to the four categories identified above, general ethnographic observations, and to the questions asked of individual women, I found it more 'digestible' to structure the account in relation to giving a description of the world of surveying education and practice, which, as stated, is relatively uncharted territory.

The choice of illustrations in the text reflects the frequency with which such observations were replicated, consisting of the most representative examples from a whole series of similar incidents or quotations, and are intended to be linked 'back' to the conceptual base of the research. Observations are also included which go against the main trends, in proportion to their occurrence. One cannot cover everything in detail, but one can present an overall picture of the situation, an initial cadastral survey, mapping out the territory, past and present, whilst incorporating illustrations which particularly highlight aspects of the conceptual basis of the study. There is inevitably a tension between trying to write an uninterrupted study of the surveying community, in the genre of traditional urban
subcultural studies (e.g. Stacey, 1960) (whilst trying to show the status/source of the data used) and trying to link this to the conceptual base, which is essential in order to understand 'how' the values of the surveying subculture affect 'what is built'.

Points of Interest in Unstructured Interviews

These were the points I wanted to find out about to help me answer my research question, and which I would turn into actual questions if (on the rare occasions) we didn't cover everything in the course of the conversation. I bore these in mind for both group and individual interviews.

Who they were,
Why they went into surveying,
Where they studied,
What they were doing now 'generally' and 'exactly',
What it was like (no prompting good or bad),
Whether they considered that their/women's attitudes to professional practice, and to land use and development policy, were different from men's,
How they saw themselves in five/ten years time (with no prompting as to whether I was referring to their personal or professional life),
Anything else they thought was important (not necessarily fishing for 'problems').

Archetypal Examples of Unstructured Interviews

Since I determined not to introduce identifiable material, the following 'condensed' examples are based on a composite selection of
'typical' material. However it will be seen that all the 'points of interest' are in fact covered. The first is intended to give the 'flavour' of my unstructured qualitative individual interviews. The second is a descriptive summary which concentrates on some of the more 'ethnographic' observations as to the setting, and dynamics of an unusually 'tense' group discussion such as I might sketch out on my way home on the train afterwards, (on the basis of my immediate recall notes). (Of course, I would normally go 'round the table' and find out about individuals, and write all that down too). I amassed many pages of such (fascinating) reportage, 'behind' what is presented in the thesis.

Telephone interview (my part in italics)

"Hello, is that 'Sloanes', I'd like to speak to Sarah Theodolite...???. she's one of your surveyors".
"Sorry, I was looking for her in our clerical section. Putting you through".
"Hello, my name's Clara Greed, you don't know me, I'm a surveying lecturer. Fiona said you might be interested, I'm doing some research on ... women in surveying"
"Oh yes, she did mention it, you're at Bristol Poly aren't you, didn't I see you at that meeting about retail sites? I was doing site appraisal then, but I'm in investment now, really interesting, I love it, and do you know 'Giles' only a year older than me and he's in charge of me here... ha ha, that's what he thinks."
"You seem to be doing well, er, how did you come to choose surveying?"
"Well, I liked geography at school, but the teachers wanted to push me into teaching. I didn't want that! My father arranged for me to go and
look round my uncle's office (we're all in it in our family, you can't escape it). I was hooked"

"So when you got to college you knew what to expect"

"Oh no it was quite different, some of the boys .... I don't think they'd ever seen a woman before, and I was one of only three girls in my year, it was quite off putting. Some of the lecturers were so patronising, and they were only there because no one would employ them out in practice. I used to go home most weekends, I didn't enjoy college, I was only there to finish the course and get my professional qualifications, most of it was really boring".

"And how is practice in comparison?"

"You get paid! But, it's not as interesting as I thought, but it should get better, but did Fiona tell you three of us applied for that other post, and some idiot got it just because he was in the same rugby club, well that's what Lisa said, sometimes I think I'll go round the world for a couple of years and give it all up"

"Well, looking at the future, do you see yourself marrying and having children?"

"Have you got any yet?"

"Well, it's quite complicated" [thinks: awkward]

"I would hate to be stuck with one man all my life, do you know Samantha got pregnant last year, everyone said she never would?"

"Lots of women surveyors tell me they want to, but not yet"

"I'd like to be a senior partner, specialising in investment, but at the present rate, I'll be 90 before I get there."

"Have you joined that women's group, they're looking at these issues?"

"I wouldn't be seen dead with a load of women!"

"Well let's talk about property. Do you think you have a different perspective because you're a woman?"
"Funny you should say that, my boss says I have. As far as I'm concerned there's no difference in the real world, it's all about getting the best return from the site, and there's no room for sentiment, well... er... back to the grindstone, must finish now someone's walked in, keep in touch, and do talk to Samantha, bye".

Aspects of a group discussion

After several phonings and letters to my contact, I arrived to meet 'her ladies'. This took place in an upmarket practice, and I am ushered into this elegant boardroom, full of fifteen smartly dressed women surveyors. Four turn out to be my ex-students, whom I now see in a different light (I feel like the bag lady in comparison, must wear a suit next time). "What precisely do you want?" asks my contact icily. I stutter out something about women and surveying, to which she gives a most authoritative opinion on hypermarket development, stating that it is, "not a matter of gender, but one of money" but later concedes that developers don't provide enough public conveniences for women shoppers. I mention 'creches' and encounter deadly silence (as in male meetings). Some helpful soul then rescues me and suggests we go around the table and introduce ourselves, and I sense that there are in fact conflicting viewpoints within this group which the leader is seeking to suppress. Some are very proud and articulate about what they are doing, others need some coaxing, and so I ask them the magic question, "why did you go into surveying?" and all is well, until one says she went into it because she wants to make money for her clients because some of it comes to her so she can spend it (are they winding me up?). Talking of clients, I ask if anyone has ever had any female ones, or had to negotiate with other women surveyors, "you had one
Sarah? volunteers Claire, and the conversation picks up. We then talk about animatedly about the attitudes of men senior partners, women typists, clients etc. towards them as women surveyors, and at last I have broken through to the 'real' them. I note various new anecdotes about building site mud and high heels, about whether children should travel through the rush hour to workplace creches in preference to nannies. We then carry on going round the group so everyone can say some more about themselves (this results in several more pages of data not included here).

The discussion goes back onto surveying education, and in respect of examinations, they concur that "men are always given the benefit of the doubt". One of my ex-students then reveals to all that she had to repeat a year owing to the fact that I had failed her on her resit examination several years ago! But she is very charitable about it considering. I remind them that, as they themselves said, they are surveyors first and women second, so what is the problem, fair? We then re-unite (or so they think) in discussing 'useless' women humanities students who go to university not knowing what they are going to do and not intending to work. This is seen as "inconceivable" by the group who all intend to work for 30-40 years and become senior partners. So we close amicably having reinforced the values of the subculture amongst ourselves (...). They have no qualms about getting 'dirty' in the world of money and business, in spite of their 'genteel' origins, one aptly saying, "I should have gone to finishing school but I wanted to do surveying" (must pursue this theme of differences between women of the same 'upper' class further).
QUESTIONNAIRE ON SURVEYING EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE
(For Practitioners)

I. MOTIVATION
1. Why did you go into Surveying? Please specify:
Interest in land and buildings
Desire to be a professional
Interest in finance/business
Other, please state.
*Please explain and elaborate.*

2. Were you encouraged/discouraged in your choice by the following,
Please specify and elaborate:
School
Careers advice
Parents, family connections
Other
*Comments.*

3. Was Surveying your first choice?
If not what was your first preference?
What other profession/s does Surveying have most in common with? Please specify giving reasons.

4. Can you identify any one person who has been a major influence on you or who you would most like to be like i.e. an ideal role model? Describe.

5. What do you see as your ultimate goal?

6a. What do you see as the one most worrying problem in Britain today?

6b. What would you do to solve this problem?

7. What are the three main issues that concern you most as a surveyor?

8. What are the three main land-use and development issues that are the most topical at present?

II SURVEYING EDUCATION

10. With which college/s did you study and when?

11. How many other students were in your year group? male...
female...?
In all how many lecturers taught you?... male... female...?
12. How would you sum up your experience as a student? 

13. How would you describe the atmosphere of your department at college? 

14. What was your overall opinion of the course? Please comment, stating any problems, and any suggested improvements. 

15. What do you consider was the most relevant subject on your course and what was the least useful? Please give reasons for your choice. 

16. Do you consider any subjects should be added or expanded to meet the needs of the modern surveyor? 

17. To what extent were you involved in Student Union activities? Please Specify. 

18. How often per term did you go home? Did you keep up your social contacts at home or immerse yourself in student life? 

19. How many people are you still in contact with from college days? 

20. Do you hold other professional qualifications, degrees? Please state. 

21. Please make any comparisons/contrasts with your Surveying course as to nature of the educational experience undertaken for these qualifications. 

22. What is your view of the present system of Surveying education which is mainly through three year college courses followed by TPC and CPD? Have you any alternative suggestions? 

23. Which of the following did you find the most useful and bearable as a means of learning? Please specify giving reasons for your views?

- lectures
- tutorials
- individual assignments
- seminars
- group work
- private study and library
- site visits, field trips
- time spent in a surveying office in vacations

Comments
III SCHOOLING
24. Which of the following describes your secondary education? Please circle. Mixed, all boys, all girls, rural, urban, abroad, other STATE; grammar, selective, comprehensive, technical, other. NON-STATE; major/minor Public, direct grant, private, day, boarding...

Please add anything you consider of relevance on school background...

IV PERSONAL PROGRESS
25. How would you describe your socio-economic class and background?

In particular are either/both of your parents or other members of the family: [please specify both individual and occupation]
a) in the professions...
b) in business on own account...
c) in a managerial position?
Comments...

26. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

Where are you in the birth order? e.g. the middle of three brothers etc

27. Which of the following describes you. Please circle. Male, female; married, single, other (please indicate), Age band: 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, 60-64, 65 and over...

28. Do you have children?..... How many?..... Male... female....
If you have dependent children who cares for them while you are away at work? What would you like them to be when they grow up?

29. Do you own any of the following? Please circle and specify breed/make and how many of each: Cat, dog, horse, pony, other animal, bird: car/s, boat, motor/bicycle.

30. If married, what is your spouse's occupation?
If unmarried would you marry a surveyor?

31. In what part of the country do you live?

Why?

32. Do you consider yourself urban, sub-urban, or rural in outlook?

33. What are your main interests outside surveying? (hobbies, sports, and organisations)

34. What is your favourite T.V. programme?

35. how do you see yourself in ten years time in terms of professional and personal development
36. Do you foresee any future conflict/problems in your life? e.g. career difficulties, problems between professional and domestic commitments; or even war, recession, unemployment, civil unrest (sorry to be so gloomy).

V PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE
37. What aspect of Surveying do you specialise in within your division?

38. Please describe the size, type, location of your firm/organisation

39. Would you prefer to work in London or the provinces? Where and why?

40. Which do you like to work for most? private practice, government, nationalised industries, private financial institutions, other (specify)

41. Please give your level of seniority

42. Please circle your salary band: - under £5,000; £5-9,999; £10-14,999; £15-19,999; £20-24,999; £25-29,000; £30-39,999; £40-49,000; over £50,000.
Circle allowances: - car, suit, BUPA, pension, other specify. Please explain if you are on a commission, fee sharing, partnership system instead/as well as salary.

43. Please describe what you actually do on an average working day (interpret this as you wish)

44. How do you think the general public view the surveyor i.e. what is his public image?

45. Please add anything else you want about being a surveyor eg concerning your career, education, personal concerns, professional issues.

Thank you for your time
APPENDIX IV: COMPARISONS WITH OTHER PROFESSIONS IN 1989

Non-landed professions: summary

**British Medical Association** - 27% of membership is female = 20,188 out of 76,023 total. Many of these are in the lower levels and general practice, and the 'gynaecological' areas. Very few consultants or senior surgeons. Part-time work is catered for more, but this is a mixed blessing.

**Law Society** - 15% of solicitors are women (there is a very slight proportionate drop in the numbers of men going into law). But only 7 high court judges out of 79 are female. 13% of barristers are in 'gyny' areas such as probate, family, and welfare law, and increasingly conveyancing (Molyneux, 1986). 50% of law graduates and newly qualified solicitors are now women.

**Institute of Chartered Accountants** - Over 8% of accountants are women (out of a total membership of over 80,000 i.e. comparable to the RICS). 10% of all graduates from all disciplines became accountants in 1986! Such intakes must have a knock on effect on women's chances. (See also, Crompton and Sanderson, 1990: 88-108, and chapter 5, all on women accountants).

**Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors**

N.B.: Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors Total Qualified Membership (fellows and professional associates) = 3.08% women, and 97.02 men (1847 women of 59958); and 5.8% of total membership as above.

**Royal Town Planning Institute** - 18% of all members (including students) are women = 2,715 (of whom 1,099 are students) out of total membership of 14,935 (3,181 of whom are students). 15% of fully qualified members are women, but the actual number in full-time employment is nearer 7%. Women now make up 35% of student members of the Institute. (See also, Nadin and Jones, 1990).

**Royal Institute of British Architects** - 8.5%, (nearer 4% in employment) out of a membership around 28,000.

**Incorporated Society of Valuers and Auctioneers** - 6% of members are women = 419 (266 of whom are student members) out of a total membership of 7,096. Many of the older women are also members of RICS.

**National Association of Estate Agents** - 14.62% of membership in 1989 are women = 973 out of 6,653 total. This is not an examining body, but more of a 'trade' association.

**Rating and Valuations Association** - about 8% and growing.

**Institute of Housing** - 39% of the membership in 1989 are women = 3498 (of whom 2,100 are students) out of total membership of 8,960.

**Architects and Surveyors Institute** - 0.7% = 37 out of 5230. The ASI is composed of what were the separate bodies of the Faculty of Architects and Surveyors (FAS) and the Construction Surveyors Institute (CSI) which amalgamated in 1989. Significantly the FAS were the first surveying body to have a woman president (1987-88). (around 1% female
membership is common in the smaller surveying and construction bodies who have memberships of around 4,000 to 6,000 each).

**Chartered Institute of Building** - less than 1% = 273 out of a total of 28,382. (See also, Gale, 1989).

**Institution of Civil Engineers** - around 2% = 1,424, of whom 1,080 are student and graduate (probationer) members, out of a total membership of 70,118.

N.B. Everyone asks me how many black women surveyors there are. Overall I estimate there are about 0.7% in all the landed professions. I have had great difficulty getting any figures on this, 'it's a very sensitive issue so we don't keep records that way'.

With grateful thanks for information from the professional bodies concerned, especially the RICS for the information upon which Tables A, B, and C are based.
APPENDIX V: A SUMMARY OF THE RANGE OF COURSES

There follows a list of the numbers and range of courses within each specialism of surveying. In view of course development, and differences of designation, this list is not precisely accurate, but aims to show the general distribution of full-time degree level courses (and equivalents) between the different surveying specialisms. Indeed diversity, dispersal, modification, and upgrading are characteristics of the structure of surveying education.

Undergraduate courses

Land Surveying: 3 Minerals, 2 hydrographic, and 4 land agency (rural) and 7 land surveying courses (not all RICS exempting), equally spread between universities, polytechnics, and other colleges, including a leading land surveying course in a London Polytechnic.

Land agency might better be included in with estate management for, as one prospectus proudly put it, the college had been, 'teaching the sons, and more recently the daughters, of farmers from all over the world since 1945' and 'much British rural land is controlled by former students'.

Building Surveying: There are around 22 'Building' degrees, and Civil Engineering and Construction science-courses (but only about 3 give substantial RICS exemptions); 8 other colleges, offering between them 4 part-time, 2 full-time, 2 sandwich course degrees, and modularised multi-mode options (and growing); and many other external routes.
Quantity Surveying: 4 university courses (2 full-time, 2 sandwich); and 7 technical colleges and 14 polytechnics, offering 6 full-time, 13 sandwich, and 8 part-time courses at degree level (and growing), and many other qualifying RICS Part I, II, and Finals courses.

General Practice (Estate Management): 6 universities (5 full-time, 1 sandwich), 13 polys and several technical colleges offering between them 12 full-time, 7 part-time, and 5 sandwich courses (and growing). Also 6 specialised Planning and Development option courses, but this is also an integral part of most GP courses too; several other RTPI planning courses which give RICS partial exemption.

Housing: 5 established undergraduate courses, and about 10 postgraduate ones. Housing education is currently a vastly expanding area, with around 100 colleges teaching courses ranging from B.Tech, and 'Professional Qualification' day release routes through to higher degree level courses. There is also a plethora of short specialist certificate courses.

Graduate Courses

There are few postgraduate degrees, except in high-tech land surveying, and also 4 in General Practice, plus significantly 2 MBA type courses with a property option (and others planned). There are a few, and growing, number of post graduate housing degrees. Also there are numerous on-going CPD courses, many with a practical commercial emphasis.
Other Routes

There many other external and part-time courses both in technical colleges or 'piggybacked' on to poly surveying courses, as follows;

**Building Surveying**: 25 colleges including 12 Polys.

**Quantity Surveying**: 40 courses, half of which in technical colleges.

**General Practice**: 29 courses, half of which in technical colleges.

**Housing**: An extensive range of technical colleges and polytechnics provide Institute of Housing part-time day release courses. Also several polytechnics are in the process of offering part-time degrees.

Also the CEM (College of Estate Management), and the 'private' Ellis School of Surveying and Building continue to provide a wide range of correspondence courses.

The RICS is currently phasing out the external examination route, and introducing more college centred, modularised, part-time degrees and diplomas, and distance learning instead (mainly through CEM).

Source; (RICS, July, 1987, a, plus many additional investigations, and college prospectuses).
CUMULATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Details of the month of publication, in addition to the issue and volume number, of some journal articles is included for ease of reference to individual non-bound issues. The name of the publisher of the journals is sometimes included to highlight their source from the various academic and professional realms. The first name of the author is included to indicate gender.


AVIS, Martin and GIBSON, Virginia (1987) The Management of General Practice Surveying Firms, Papers in Land Management and Development,
Department of Land Management and Development, Faculty of Urban and Regional Studies, University of Reading.


Change, Tavistock, London.


BOWLBY, Sophie (1989) "Gender issues and retail geography", in WHATMORE, Sarah, and LITTLE, Jo (Eds) Geography and Gender, Association for Curriculum Development in Geography, London.


BRETT-JONES REPORT (1978) Review of Educational Policy, RICS.


BROADY, Maurice (1968) Planning for People, NCSS, Bedford Square Press, London


CASTLE, Barbara (1967) "The tramcar - urban transport of tomorrow?",


CORBUSIER, Le (1971, was 1929) The City of Tomorrow, Architectural
Press, London.

CORNES, Deirdre and LAMPLUGH, Diana (1987) "Suzy Lamplugh: have the lessons been learnt?", Chartered Surveyor Weekly, Vol. 18, No. 7: 5, 19.2.87.


DAVIES, Gerald (1972) The Education of Urban Estate Surveyors, Bristol Polytechnic.


DELAMONT, Sara (1976) "The girls most likely to: cultural reproduction and Scottish elites", Scottish Journal of Sociology 1, (1) pp 29-43.

DELAMONT, Sara (1984) "Dollies, debs, swots and weeds", in WALFORD, Geoffrey (Ed), British Public Schools: Policy and Practice, Falmer, Lewes.


DTI (Department of Trade and Industry) (1988) Rights of establishment: proposal for a council directive on a general system for the recognition of higher degree diplomas, Information Note No. 5.


ELSTON, Mary Anne (1980) "Medicine" in SILVERSTONE, Rosalie and WARD, Audrey (Ed) (1980) Careers of Professional Women, Croom Helm,


FITZGERBERT, John (1523) Book of Husbandry and Book of Surveying, London.


GALE, Andrew (1989) "Attracting women to construction", Chartered
Builder, September/October, Chartered Institute of Building, London.


GIBBS, Lesley (1987) "Who designs the designers?" WEB: Newsletter of women in the built environment, July, No. 6, WEB, London


GLC (GREATER LONDON COUNCIL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE) (1984) Working out the Future, women and jobs and the GLC, GLC, LONDON.


GLC, WOMEN'S COMMITTEE (1986a) Changing Places Report, GLC, LONDON.

GLC, WOMEN'S COMMITTEE (1986b) Women and Disability, Issue 26, January Bulletin, GLC, LONDON.

GLC, WOMEN'S COMMITTEE (1986c) Women and Housing in London, Report, GLC, LONDON.

GREED, Clara (1984, a) "Whatever Happened to Patriarchal Planning?" Planning, 8.6.84, Ambit Publications, Gloucester.


GREED, Clara (1987, a) "Drains feminism", letter in Town and Country


GREED, Clara (1987, c) "Forewarned is forearmed", Paper given at Conference on Women and their Built Environment, Conference in the Faculty of the Built Environment, South Bank Polytechnic, London.

GREED, Clara (1987, d) "Can the micro be linked to the macro through ethnography?" Paper given at St. Hilda's Conference, on Ethnography and Inequality, Oxford.


GREED, Clara (1989) "'She's a good chap': women in construction", Architects and Surveyors Institute Year Book and List of Members, Highwood Publications, London.


GREED, Clara (1990, c) "Women: has the RICS failed?", Chartered Surveyor Weekly, Vol.30; Nos, 8:108, 9:140, 10:142 (series of three parts).


HILL, William, Thomson (1956) Octavia Hill: Pioneer of the National
Trust and Housing Reformer, Hutchinson, London.


HILLEL, Mira, Bar (1984) "Israeli dealers: marriage brokers or agents?" Chartered Surveyor Weekly, Vol. 6, No. 10: 680 only, 8.3.84.


HOWARD, Ebenezer (1950) Garden Cities of Tomorrow, Faber and Faber, London.


HILLEL, Mira, Bar (1984) "Israeli dealers: marriage brokers or agents?" Chartered Surveyor Weekly, Vol. 6, No. 10: 680 only, 8.3.84.


HOWARD, Ebenezer (1950) Garden Cities of Tomorrow, Faber and Faber, London.


HILLEL, Mira, Bar (1984) "Israeli dealers: marriage brokers or agents?" Chartered Surveyor Weekly, Vol. 6, No. 10: 680 only, 8.3.84.


Special Issue on Women and the City, Vol. 2, No. 3.


LA ROUCHE, Janice and RYAN, Regina (1985) Strategies for Women at Work,
Counterpoint, London.


LUTZ, Frank (1981) "Ethnography: the holistic approach to understanding schooling", in GREEN, Judith and WALLAT, Cynthia, *Education and Language*
in Educational Settings, Ables, New Jersey.

Macey, J (1958) "Slum clearance - guerilla tactics or total war", The Chartered Surveyor, February, Vol. 90, No. 8: 438-441.


Faber, London.


MEAD, Margaret (1968) "Houses are homes", in VERNEY, Stephen, People and Cities, Conference Report, Coventry Cathedral.


MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (1966) A Plan for Polytechnics and other Colleges, White Paper, HMSO.


MORRIS, Eleanor (1986) "An overview of planning for women from 1945-1975", in CHALMERS, Marion (Ed) (1986) New Communities: Did They Get It


MULFORD, Wendy (1986) "In this process, I too am subject", in (Eds) FARRAN, Denise, SCOTT, Sue and STANLEY, Liz, Writing Feminist Biography, Studies in Sexual Politics, University of Manchester.

MUMFORD, Lewis (1930's) The City, American Institute of Planners film, by RKO, commentary written by Mumford, shown 8.8.87, on BBC2.


PAHL, Ray (1977, a) "Managers, technical experts and the state", in


PAYNE, Irene (1983) "A working class girl in a grammar school", in PURVIS, June and HALES, Margaret Achievement and Inequality in Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London in association with the Open University, Milton Keynes.


PURVIS, June (1987) "Understanding personal accounts", in WEINER, Gaby and ARNOT, Madeleine (Eds) Gender under Scrutiny: new enquiries in education, Hutchinson, London in association with the Open University, Milton Keynes.


REX, John and MOORE, Robert (1967) Race Community and Conflict,
Institute of Race Relations, London.

RIBBENS, Jane (1990) "Class and the private household: the social and gendered worlds of childrearing across generations", Draft paper presented at British Sociological Association Annual Conference, University of Surrey.


RICS (1986, b) Professions in Crisis: new opportunities for chartered surveyors, Annual Conference. Cardiff RICS.


RILEY, Mary and BAILEY, Christine (1983) "Learning to get by in a man's world", Planning, 543, 4. 11.83.


ROWE, Michael (1955) "Development plans: objects and objections", discussion on this paper led by Mr. Longstreth Thompson (note), The Journal of the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors, March, Vol XXXIV, Part IX: 759-765.


SCHUSTER COMMITTEE (1950) Report on the Qualifications of Planners, Cmd. 8059, HMSO.


SILVERSTONE, Rosalie and WARD, Audrey (Ed) (1980) Careers of
Professional Women, Croom Helm, London.


SMITH, Mary (1967) "Letters to the editor: ... and even brighter girls", Chartered Surveyor, December, Vol. 100, No. 6: 282


STRETTON, Hugh (1976) Capitalism, Socialism and the Environment,
Cambridge University Press.


WAREING, Nathaniel (1986) Professional Education: An Undergraduate's Viewpoint, Department of Surveying, Bristol Polytechnic.

WATSON (1950) Report on the Educational Policy of the RICS, RICS.


Willis, Arthur (1946) To be a Surveyor, Methuen, London.


