

Master thesis

Title:

Towards a Postsecular perspective within planning theory



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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful.

Towards a Postsecular perspective within planning theory

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the concept of the Postsecular from the perspective of the city. Through the perspectives of the city the relevance of the Postsecular is questioned in relation to the secular oriented perspective in planning theory. This research emphasizes a twofold question, firstly whether there is a Postsecular perspective in planning theory, and secondly it questions the relevance of the Postsecular. So this research neither elaborates on the defining debate, nor does it try to expand the separate body of the Postsecular. Rather it tries to bring the Postsecular in relation to the contemporary secular oriented perspective in planning theory.

The Postsecular is in some aspects a debated concept, and the research has proved that the concept of the Postsecular has a variety of meanings and is looked at in very different ways. The research elucidated the relevant considerations for a Postsecular perspective within planning theory that should co-exist with the secular perspective. Through the secular bounds within planning practice and planning theory, undoubtedly a thriving role for the non-secular has been observed. This role seems to be one that is partly taken into account and adapted by the secular perspective, but in planning theory adjustments are needed before a Postsecular perspective can really become effective.

One of the major issues will involve a Postsecular perspective on rationality, which should be placed besides the secular perspective of rationality. Such a Postsecular perspective on rationality would mean that planning theory could become less scientifically oriented, which proved to be in line with rationality becoming more subjective. Planning theory will accordingly become more balanced and also oriented on a spiritual instead of mere scientific framework. Such an achievement in planning theory would not only help the non-secular oriented, although it has become eminent that it would help relieve secular pressure and inequality for the religious and non-religious. An adaptation of planning theory towards a Postsecular perspective would mean that planning theory would follow the path already taken by secular theorists and planning practice, in which Postsecular considerations and relevance showed to be adapted and acknowledged.

The manner in which this can be accomplished is neither brought in a blueprint, nor in a fundamental new basis for planning theory. Rather the literature showed an objective, which contains interrelatedness and complementariness between the (late) communicative and complexity side of planning theory and Postsecularization. When Postsecular acknowledgement and adaptation are implemented in planning theory, secular pressure will withdraw, equality will be enhanced and most importantly the full potential of Postsecular consideration will be achieved. Moreover, when reciprocity and balance between the perspectives is found, the prominent role of the Postsecular in planning practice and the prominent role of the secular in planning theory will become more balanced. This would be an optimal climate for secular contemplations to reframe and address contemporary planning practice with new competence, and will additionally make it possible for the Postsecular to improve theories on Postsecularization.

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1. Introduction



Figure1: Sacred and Secular perspective in Shanghai
<https://pricetags.wordpress.com/2010/02/28/sacred-and-secular/>

1.1. Motivation & Problem definition

Blue print planning, technical rational and object oriented planning are some of the concepts that have dominated planning (theory) ever since the Second World War. Friedmann takes this further and argues that the Pre-war and the Post-war planning theorists had in common their rational foundation as a basis for planning (theory), trying to achieve the triumph of technical reasoning (1987).

This Pre-war period started from the 18th century when industrialization was knocking on the front door (Friedmann 1987). Similarly, after the Second World War there was a dire need for rebuilding what was lost during the war, and it had to happen in a pace never seen before. For these two major events these technical foundations about planning theory proved their value and provided what was needed.

Allmendinger argues that this form of planning practise was underpinned by a 'unified planning theory'. He continues stating:

"In the past 30 years or so, such confidence and arrogance has been replaced by uncertainty and introspection" (Chadwick 1971, in Allmendinger 2002, p.31.)

This 'replacement' has had two reasons, one of them is found in the perceived failure of the technical approach to address problems, like standardizing, inequality, poverty and the creation of new problems through the functional style of planning (Sandercock 1998, in Allmendinger 2002, p.31). The second reason was found in a broad shift in understanding, which could be termed as post-positivism (Allmendinger, 2002). It became more eminent that planning issues and problems could only be understood through communication and social interaction, but this would need a new or another rational model than the functional model (de Roo, 2001).

A process that therefore seems to be strongly related to the planning theory development is secularization. In light of the state of contemporary planning (theory) Sandercock and Senbel (2011) argue whether secular humanism is enough to inspire us. Thus Sandercock and Senbel directly link the planning theory with the secularization process and the influence secularization has had on planning.

Secularization is considered as a social process committed with modernisation, as described by Wilford (2009). Alternatively, Olson et al. (2012) subscribes secularization theory in its most basic form as the theory that anticipates the declining importance and presence of religion in individual lives, societies and states. Secularization has brought freedom of religion or to be religiously free, but also made planning a quest to become scientific. It thus seems that cities and their dwellers have become secularized through revolutions, whether it be an industrial, World War or freeing of religious tutelage. Planning and the theory of planning have undergone major changes as well as Western society, both due to industrialization, the Second World War and Secularization.

Secular perspective bounds

Fainstein addresses that while the divide between positivists and post-positivists continues, and equally nowadays the discussion between communicative theorists, the body of planning practice has gained dissatisfactory notice from the public and media (2005). Observing this dissatisfaction, it is recognizable that cities in some cases have become representatives of urban sprawl, anonymity, mobility, inequality and poverty.

As mentioned before, concerning the state of contemporary planning Sandercock and Senbel (2011) point out by extension whether secular humanism is enough to inspire us. They emphasize that something beyond the secular way of thinking is essential if one wishes to find answers that address the current social and ecological crises. Sandercock and Senbel do not speak of overcoming an economic crisis, but focus more on the social and ecological dilemmas. They argue that "that something" is spirituality, which involves some sense of the sacred. Sandercock and Senbel (2011) discuss a young planning academic stating;

"Why would we be moved to action, she asks, 'if not from a deep ethical connection, beyond the realm of rational analysis, with others and their suffering' " (Porter, in Sandercock and Senbel 2011, p88).

Sandercock and Senbel address that there has been a separation in (urban) planning to provide planning (theory) with more of a scientific basis to analyze different planning issues. This meant a separation from its creative urban design side, leading to a search for the spirit of a place what they described as the void in planning. The main argument is that what is missing is a more spiritual view to planning, and that mere secular planning is not sufficient.

Berger, Davie and Fokas (in Olson et al. 2012) argue that the process of secularization did not take into account geography i.e. the secularization theory was extrapolated from the European perspective to a worldwide perspective. This was of course an invalid generalization. They furthermore argue that secularization theory failed to address and consider religious continuity (Berger, Davie and Fokas 2008, in Olson et al. 2012). In failing to address religious continuity but acknowledging that secularization was largely extrapolated, it is fair to say that the non-rational interests were more likely to be neglected.

The secular perspective is accordingly associated with different bounds. While Sandercock and Senbel address the missing spirituality within planning as a result of the secularization process, Berger, Davie and Fokas focus on generalizations and religious continuity as secular bounds. Stark and Bainbridge bring another focus on secularization and its bounds. Secularization is seen as a continuing process that lets (religious) economies and organizations repeat their calls for making up for what was lost in becoming more worldly or secularized (Stark & Bainbridge 1985, in Chaves 1994). In this light and reflecting on contemporary non-religious western economies and/ or religious organizations, it is interesting to notice that secularization is neither solely regarded as a modernization process as defined by Wilford (2009), nor only regarded as a decline of importance of religion in the individual, social or public life (Olson et al., 2012). But it is also seen as a limiting process in order to become secularized, which repeats itself (Stark & Bainbridge 1985, in Chaves 1994).

A Postsecular perspective

Sandercock and Senbel emphasized that a secular perspective is enough to inspire us and thus ask the question whether the secular perspective that dominated planning theory is (still) sufficient. Olson et al. argue however that Postsecular approaches, besides the religious oriented explanations, should be seen as critiques on secular ideology, and thus should be identified as a useful approach to reconsider secularization theory (2012).

The secular perspective thus seems to be criticized for its effectiveness at large and for planning theory in specific.

Stevenson et al. start their article on “religious beliefs across ‘Post-secular’ Sydney” with the statement that social, spatial and cultural profiles of Western countries are influenced by the processes of secularization and desecularization (2010). In their opinion the term Postsecularization should be understood as cultural/ social phase in which religion and atheism are moving back and forward, from and through the private sphere (Stevenson et al. 2010, p.324), thus making Postsecularization a term that is strongly dependent upon the processes of secularization and desecularization.

This research asks the question whether there is a Postsecular perspective in planning, what it should comprehend and why a Postsecular perspective should or should not be important for planning. A Postsecular perspective could be emerging within a perspective of planning that is confronted with its secular bounds.

1.2. Research objective and research questions

The objective of this research is to inquire whether there is a Postsecular perspective in planning theory, and why a perspective of the Postsecular is of interest to the contemporary secular perspective within planning theory. This research stresses how our contemporary secular perspective is manifest in planning and cities, and that a Postsecular perspective is (re) emerging within these cities. In addition, this research will deal with whether the secular perspective and a Postsecular perspective within planning (theory) could be combined, and thus create a perspective for planning that benefits from the secular as well as the Postsecular.

Through this thesis a twofold outcome is acquired. Firstly, the obtaining of information about whether there is a Postsecular perspective within planning theory and secondly which relevance a Postsecular perspective could have for the secular perspective in planning theory and planning at large.

According to the objective of this research, the following research question is drawn:

***Besides the eminent Postsecular perspective in cities, is there a Postsecular perspective within planning theory, in addition to the existing prominent secular perspective within planning theory?
And if so, is a Postsecular perspective within planning theory relevant for contemporary secular perspective bounds and/ or the secular perspective within planning theory at large?***

In order to address the research question, sub questions have been derived from the research question. This helps to deconstruct the question and makes the foundation of the research question more specific.

The first part of the research focuses on what the three main topics addressed in this thesis comprehend. These three topics comprise respectively the secular perspective, a Postsecular perspective and the planning theoretical landscape. This gives the following sub questions:

Comprehending the topics

1. *What comprehends a secular perspective in relation to the city/ planning practice?*
2. *What comprehends a Postsecular perspective in relation to the city/ planning practice?*
3. *How is the planning theory landscape built up?*

The second part focuses on the place, presence and eminence of these perspectives within planning theory. Furthermore it addresses the relevance of a Postsecular perspective. Thus relating the city-based perspectives to the contemporary planning theoretical landscape indicates to what extent planning practice and theory are intertwined. The relevance of a Postsecular perspective is addressed by elaborating on the Postsecular perspective in relation to secular bounds and the secular perspective within planning at large. This gives the following sub questions:

The perspectives within planning theory

1. *How does the secular perspective relate to planning theory?*
2. *How does the Postsecular perspective relate to planning theory?*

The relevance of the Postsecular

1. *What secular perspective bounds necessitate a Postsecular perspective within planning theory?*
2. *Why should (or should not) there be a Postsecular perspective within planning theory?*
3. *In which way could a Postsecular perspective be complementary to the secular bounds and the secular perspective within planning theory?*
4. *Could the secular perspective and a Postsecular perspective be combined within a planning theoretical perspective that gives balance between these two, in order to achieve solutions that address contemporary problems?*

1.3. Scope

This research focuses on the question whether there is a Postsecular perspective within planning theory, and how it could be beneficial to contemporary planning theory. In achieving the research objective the research is focused on obtaining a Postsecular perspective of cities and a secular perspective of cities, which are both discussed in reference to the contemporary planning theory landscape.

Literature scope

The Postsecular is burgeoning area of study and yet it remains characterized by a lack of clarity. Baker and Beaumont state that the concept of the Postsecular is still a relatively recent and contested term (2011).

Thus to make a literature review on the Postsecular perspective more supported, a secular perspective is addressed as well, which both strongly influence each other.

To make a comparison between secular and Postsecular perspectives possible, the context of the city is chosen. The choice for the city perspective has been based upon the ongoing changes within the public spaces in cities; these public spaces are continuously shaped by on going dynamics of secularization and secularism (Baker & Beaumont, 2011). In this way the relevance of a Postsecular perspective and a secular perspective through the city lens becomes manifest.

Geographical scope

The scope of this thesis in geographical concerns focuses primarily on the Western perspective of planning and secularization. The foundation for this choice is found through the arising of secularization within the culture of the so-called Christian West, in the history within which the biblical religions have made their most telling impact (Cox 1965, p.17). In the West secularization took place in the strongest way, thus Cox argues (1965). For Chadwick liberalism in Western Europe became the criticism of the medieval world of all embracing religious orthodoxy (1975), thus focusing more on the liberal part of secularization, but also within the Western (Europe) part.

A smaller focus of this thesis is scoped in a more non-Western geographical context; this is only done when it is an interesting addition to the western perspective on secularization and Post secularization. The foundation is found because secularization takes different forms across the world (Stevenson & Dunan, 2010), but also because secularization did not only took place in the Christian West but also within Japan on a same level and because of identical originations as Greve has pointed out (2011). It is also to be addressed that because of global migration a religious pluralism is created throughout Western Europe, which makes clear that the scope for a secular and more important Postsecular perspective needs a slightly wider scope.

This makes eminent that when interesting geographical reflection between the West and non-West are apparent they need to be included, although the geographical context of this thesis lies within the Western perspectives on the secular, the Postsecular and planning theory.

General scope

This thesis is limited and does not form a general defining of the Postsecular, neither does it gives predetermined solutions or outcomes for contemporary problems with and within planning theory and planning practise for cities. This thesis does ask the question if there is a Postsecular perspective within planning theory, and gives great focus on the 'why' of the Postsecular instead of defining and generalizing the concept. Thus this thesis also addresses in which way a Postsecular perspective could be relevant to the contemporary secular perspective within planning theory.

With this scope an attempt is made to bring the Postsecular towards planning theory.

2. Research Methodology

In this chapter the chosen research methodology is justified, the research technique is explained and the literature choice is emphasized. In doing so the reader can transparently determine the relevance of different parts of the research.

Chapter two starts with the explanation for choosing a qualitative research approach instead of a quantitative approach and in the following section the chosen literature and its relevance are addressed.

2.1. Research method

The landscape of social science research is defined by the terms of qualitative and quantitative research (O'Leary, 2013), and between these two ways of doing research there are some central differences. Quantitative research is characterized by its object positivistic search, believes in singular truths, is about hypotheses, variables and statistics, mostly on a large scale and thus has less depth. Qualitative research on the other hand is characterized by its rejecting of positivistic rules, takes multiple truths and mostly preformed through a small number of in depth cases (O'Leary, 2013). O'Leary points out that the critique on the process of the latter is mostly on its value laden subjective character and sometimes ad hoc approach.

In addition to the qualitative tradition, O'Leary sets out that this tradition could be best described as a critique of positivism (O'Leary, 2013). By this she means that the qualitative tradition seeks alternative ways to produce knowledge.

Chosen method

This qualitative characteristic of alternative ways of seeking knowledge justifies choosing for a qualitative research method over a quantitative research method, mainly because of the research objective: to find whether there is a Postsecular perspective within (the secularized) planning theory landscape. Addressing this question asks for rather new and alternative ways of looking at the current landscape and its bounds, within multiple perspectives on the topics. Like Olson et al. described Postsecular (theory) as something that refers to a diversity of empirical interests and approaches (2012), thus making the different perspectives and scopes involved eminent.

A Postsecular perspective should come from a scope that does not exclude the non-rational or subjective. It should also not ignore the superficial, because the Postsecular does address such topics. It is therefore less attractive to apply a quantitative research method with single truths, hypotheses, variables and statistics.

Because of this the quantitative research method is less suitable for its objective positivistic research characteristics. It is accordingly not taken into account within this thesis.

Postsecular theory as a research basis

To research whether there is a Postsecular perspective within planning theory in a qualitative way, a foundation is needed that is researchable. Although some literature has tried to address Postsecular theory, this is rather marginal or does not give enough material for elaborating a perspective.

Postsecular theory is also questioned for its potential as Olson et al. sets out (2012).

Wilford associated Postsecular theory with a normative aim to open public and academic debates to religious reasoning (Wilford 2009, in Olson et al. 2012, p.2.). Kong alternatively asked whether it really offers something new to the study of geographies of religion (Kong 2010, in Olson et al. 2012, p.2).

Instead of going into the debate on religious and normative aims and reasoning, this thesis tries to show the apparentness of a Postsecular perspective within planning theory, and addresses which aspects are beneficial and which are not. Thus the research tries to bypass the reasoning and discussing of the religious and non-religious by emphasizing its presence instead of its admittance in the planning theoretical debate.

So the contemporary literature on Postsecular theory does not encompass sufficient ground for a research basis.

The city perspective as a research basis

A rather solid ground for doing such research is found within the city perspective, that is the Postsecular and secular city perspective. The definition Olson et al. give to Postsecular theory draws the debate towards such a city perspective.

“Postsecular theory is concerned with understanding the coproduction of the religious and the secular in modern societies and the discourses, practices, and moral and political projects associated with this coproduction. Whereas secularization theory asserts clear divisions (spatial, social, and political) between religion and other social functions and structures, Postsecular approaches reflect on the maintenance, contestations and meanings attributed to these divisions” (Olson et al. 2012, p.4).

The secularization theory thus emphasizes division between different levels (spatial, social and political), and making these divisions acquires a rather theoretical or analytical approach, that prescribes these divisions top down. The Postsecularization theory seems to be doing the opposite, because of its concern with the understanding of the coproduction of the religious and secular practices within modern societies, which evidently do not take place on a theoretical level but much more in a society/ city practice perspective. This gives a focus on understanding or describing rather than prescribing.

Another indication for the importance of the perspective of the city in order to understand the Postsecular is found through the writing of Stevenson et al.

“However, as the complexity of secularization becomes better understood it has emerged that, rather than being sites typified by the retreat from religious belief, cities are in fact where the spatial multiplicities of desecularisations are pronounced” (Stevenson et al. 2010, p.324).

Thus desecularization is seen as a process that is to be perceived within cities. In this sense desecularization is seen as an aspect of the Postsecular perspective that addresses the place of the religious instead of assuming its retreat within cities.

It becomes even clearer when Stevenson directly addresses the role of the city in relation to secularization and desecularization.

“Cities are place of considerable cultural and religious diversity and thus they are where the apparent tensions between secularisation and desecularisation, their shape, interplay and consequences are being played out” (Stevenson et al. 2010, p.324).

An additional important justification for choosing the city perspective as a research basis is found through the attention it gained in the past and present, for the secular and the Postsecular. Harvey Cox's book “The Secular City” was a theological justification for the “modern” city as a perspective that reshapes both human and society for the better (Beaumont and Baker 2011). The Book on Postsecular Cities edited by Beaumont and Baker also shows the importance of the city as emerging perspective.

The reasons for choosing the city as a research basis for the perspectives of the secular and Postsecular have become eminent, also the less strong basis of Postsecular theory as a basis for this research is addressed. Thus this research is based and founded within the perspective of the city.

2.2. Literature research

Reviewing literature is an essential part of the research process (O'Leary, 2013); it ensures that the apparent knowledge on the subject is taken into account, which prevents reinventing the wheel. It makes the researcher familiar with the discussions that are ongoing and which information is still to be achieved (missing links). When the literature is reviewed in a competent way, an understanding of the topic is created, which gives the opportunity to take part in the debate and addressing relevant issues.

To place the literature review in the right context, it is important to select the right literature, to address how the literature was selected and maybe even more interesting addressing why this literature was selected.

In this research, 3 topics are reviewed with the goal to competently come towards an understanding of the topics, what they comprehend and to answer the research questions. The three reviewed topics are respectively the secular perspective, the Postsecular perspective (both through a city perspective) and lastly the contemporary planning theory landscape. This landscape is addressed through a rather theoretical and contemporary view of planning theory and does therefore not encompass so much of a

city perspective. This is done in order to discuss planning theory in the light of the findings that are derived from the two preceding sections from a city perspective.

Secular perspective literature

For the secular perspective a great appeal is made to the contribution of Harvey Cox in his book on *The Secular City*. This literature is found in reading about *Postsecular Cities* in which is referred to the book, and its contribution in a perspective from 1965. This slightly older perspective makes it interesting to take into account how the secularization process was perceived throughout the city and how it did influence the city and its dwellers. In advance to the impact the process of secularization had not only on the city as a materialistic contemplation, Owen Chadwick's "The Secularization of the European Mind in the 19th Century" is addressed in order to add a perspective on the social consequences of the secularization process. This literature was found while searching for relevant literature within the secular perspective that is also from a slightly older perspective (1975). Chadwick also provides topic with a classification of secularization that includes the impact from a less theological perspective than Harvey Cox does.

In a comparison other literature is addressed, if relevant. A total overview of the used literature is added at the beginning of the concerned section.

Postsecular city perspective literature

For reviewing a Postsecular perspective to the city, great emphasis is put on the book edited by Beaumont and Baker "Postsecular Cities" (2011), which contains various contributions on varying topics within the perspective of the Postsecular city. In total eight chapters are used from the book of *Postsecular Cities*, all bringing in their own exclusive insights. They have been selected on their relevance in order to elaborate on the diverse and wide scope for a Postsecular perspective, but with reference to similarities and objectives for their relevance within planning theory.

A total overview of the used literature is added at the beginning of the concerned section.

Planning theory literature

It is important to address a (more) rational perspective when defining the contemporary landscape of planning theory that would be done outside the city perspective. This ensures the comparison of the rather empirical or practical perspectives of the secular and Postsecular with the planning theoretical landscape. But it is important to notice that the planning theory body should not per se be a secular or religious body. The perspectives within this body are rather predominantly secular or not, but then again it is arguable that contemporary planning theory has a strong perspective in it with a secular orientation. To address the 'contemporary' landscape of planning theory, the writing of John Friedmann on planning theory (in the public domain) is reviewed. This literature is chosen due to its historical perspective on the origination of planning theory, which for Friedmann starts in the 18th century. This gives the succeeding literature a rather familiar context.

Besides Friedmann, literature from present-day planning theoretical notions is addressed such as the communicative model, collaborative planning and the notions on complexity. A total overview of the used literature is added at the beginning of the concerned section.

3. Comprehending the topics

Literature Research

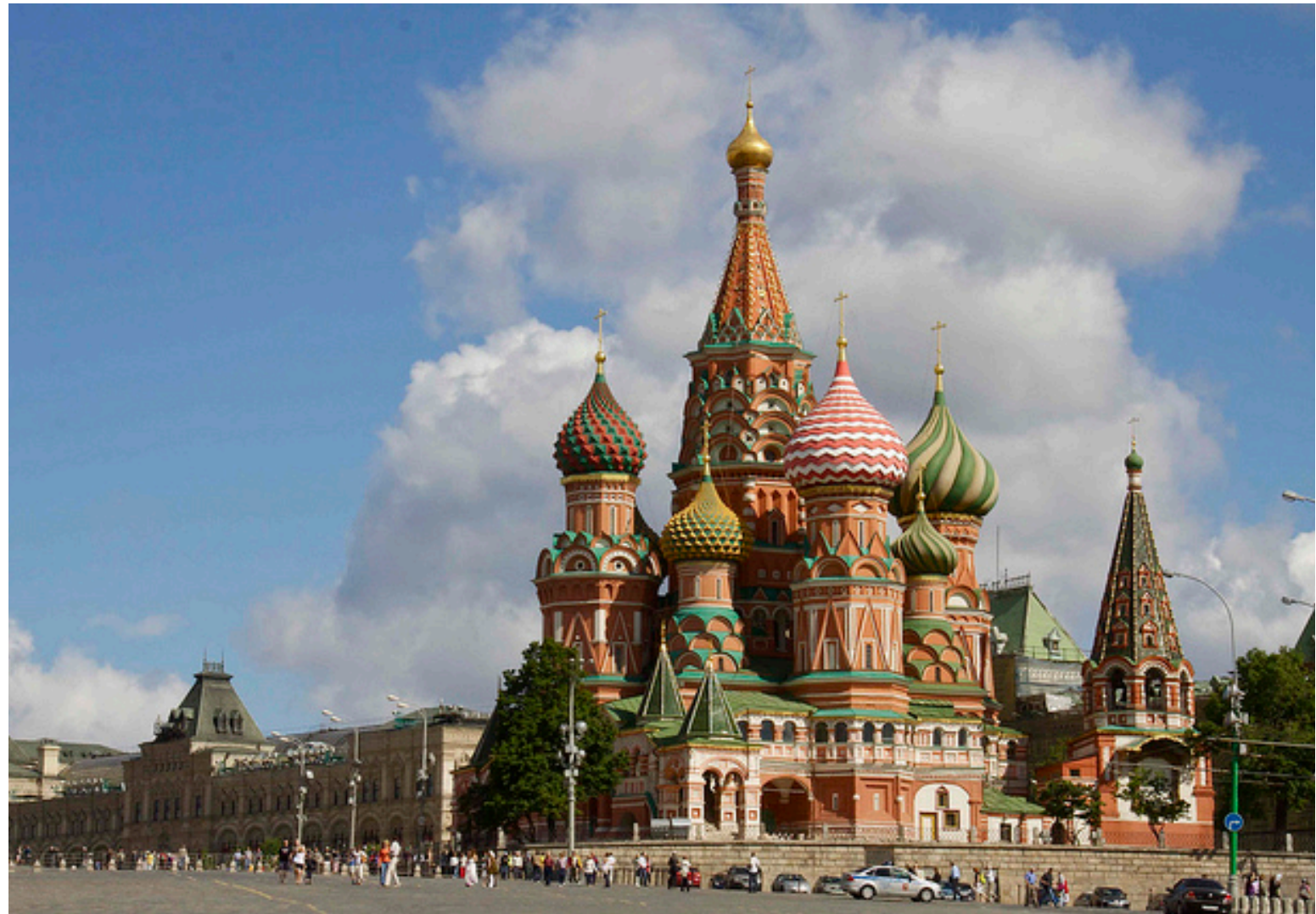


Figure 2: Moscow - The Red Square - St. Basil's Cathedral
https://c1.staticflickr.com/7/6147/6029687453_2c1faf639a_z.jpg

3.1. The Secular perspective

In the chapter on the research methodology for this thesis sub questions were constructed in order to decompose the research question. The first sub question addresses the Secular perspective, to be precise “*What comprehends a secular perspective?*” Through reviewing literature on the Secular city and secularization a perspective is elaborated.

In the table below a summary is given of the literature that is reviewed and the different themes that have been taken into account.

Author:	Literature/ article:	Themes:
Chadwick, O.	The Secularization of the European Mind in the 19 th Century	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The role of religion in society • On secularization
Chaves, M.	Secularization as Declining Religious Authority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secularization as a self-limiting process
Cox, H.	The Secular City	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biblical sources of secularization • The origin of the word secular • Secularization vs. Secularism • The shape of the secular city • Anonymity & Mobility • The style of the secular city
Olson, E. et al.	Rethorizing the Postsecular Present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secularization Theory
Stevenson, D. Et al.	Religious Belief across ‘Post-secular’ Sydney	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The secularization thesis and Western modernity’s

Table 1: summary of literature for the secular perspective.

Summary: what comprehends a secular perspective?

Reading guide: In order to guide the reader in the literature review below, a change to the next issue is marked a bold subject.

Throughout the literature review different terms are examined, among which **the term secularization** takes a substantial role. Cox defined secularization from a religious source perspective as a liberating process which comprises the turning away of attention in order to become emancipated (1965). Chadwick emphasized contrastingly that he believes that secularization was not this change or a narrowed role of Christian doctrine according to him secularization is strongly about liberalism which dominated the 19th century (1975).

It is interesting to address that through the secularization process the religious oriented used liberalism in a negative way: it was seen as something anti-social.

Another remarkable finding was the mentioning of Chadwick that a fully liberal state, when merely secular minded would mean inequality for the non-secular (1975). This points out that a simply secular minded state could thus never be fully liberal to all of its inhabitants, and as so points towards the need of the non-secular minded to balance the liberality of such a state.

Concluding the secularization definition it is interesting to take into consideration the way Chaves linked the terminology of “limiting” with the modernity of the secularization process. Chaves sees secularization as a continuing process of making up of what was lost in becoming worldly/ secular.

Out of the different definitions it becomes manifest that the process of secularization was not a battle of the religious against the non-religious, but of a (religious) ruling class against suppressed other classes. Such a definition emphasizes the liberalization process instead of freeing oneself of religion. This partly differs from the definition of Cox. Also it has to be emphasized that secularization is not only resembled with progression but also with a self-limiting perspective.

The **secularization theory** and **thesis** originally emphasized a divisional and declining perspective when related to religion in public and private spheres. But as time proceeded the secularization theory was found to be generalizing and did not take the geographical context into consideration. But the secularization theory and thesis have been adapted, by philosophers like Habermas (2006, in Stevenson et al. 2010, p.325) who took account of the thriving role of religion within public spaces on a worldly scale. Thus the secularization theory has moved towards a Postsecular practice that seems to be apparent within public and private spheres.

With the reviewing of the secularization process and the secularization theory, it became manifest that the role of the non-secular is present. Although the relation between the secular and the Postsecular is not a clear case.

The term **secularism** brought with it a less positive view and scope to the secular perspective. According to Cox it even seems to be the opposite of secularization, as it threatens the freedom sought by the secularization process (Cox 1965). Secularism seems to be linked with creating a new (believe) system in which a way of thinking is imposed and so -ism's are ideologies that try to enforce.

The literature review also showed that besides different definitions of secularization there are also different ideas with reference to the **sources** of secularization. While Cox emphasized the source coming from biblical faith (Cox 1965), for Chadwick the source had to be sought within the liberalism spirit of the second half of the 19th century (1975), both referring to different aspects with sharing causality for the secularization process.

Cox describes the degrading **origin of the word secular** that makes the people that have to do with it inferior (1965). This is contrary to the meaning of secular, as it is an emancipatory or liberating process. Consequently the term secular implies both a meaning for its present favourers and its past opponents. It is interesting to see that the origin of secular comes from a perspective in favour of a religious oriented view of reality.

The secular city perspective is specifically addressed in Cox description of **the shape of the secular city**. Cox addresses two commonly critiqued characteristics of the shape of the modern/ secular city, which are anonymity and mobility. **Anonymity** is seen as an essential part of human life within modern cities. To Cox people experience it as a liberating feature of urban life (1965). The latter is in line with the definition of the secularization process as a liberating process.

The modern secular city provides immense communication possibilities, which widens individual choice scope, and thus urbanization contributes to freedom of man (Cox 1965). But more freedom and choices asks more discipline of urban man. Immunization is a vital part of modern secular life and man must have more impersonal relationships than his rural counterpart. More impersonal relationships also means more functional relationships, thus urban man guides his private relationships. Cox argues that it is important to look at anonymity in a different way and to achieve this he addresses the importance of a theology of anonymity. Practically he suggests that there should be a third human relationship added to Buber's famous pair of I-It and I-Thou. He presents an alternative in between (I-You) which neither turns the relationship into an object, nor does it make the relationship deeply personal. It makes the relationship an enjoyed public relationship, which is common in urban life, without becoming a private relationship (Cox 1965).

To Cox the theology of anonymity clarifies possibilities in urban life, it exposes pseudo-dangers as well as real dangers (Cox 1965). The latter refers to Cox opinion on the immense critique on anonymity without addressing the positive and necessary sides of it.

It is to be said that liberating features of the secular city perspective and secularization process make I-You relationships challenging. Especially if different social and economic times are taken into account, social responsibility seems to be an important factor to make I-You relationships work.

Mobility is seen as a driving force in the shape of the secular city and was strongly influential in happenings within the secular city like the industrialization. Because of mass mobility and the variety of individual choice mentioned before, it is possible to be more on the road than to really be at a dwelling place (Cox 1965). Thus making these trips have turned into a new way of spending time or to take a break. In conclusion, the secular perspective of the city strongly leans on mobility, which creates time for its dwellers between trips. Mobility and anonymity get a lot of critique as features of modern secular city (Cox 1965), but as Cox did show are essential characteristics of this type of city and life. This in contrast to immobility, inclusiveness and on going longing for community. These latter characteristics seemed to be longed for by some critics without addressing the beneficial and necessary features for modern secular city life.

The style of the secular city is characterized by its pragmatic orientation, and thus secular man is concerned with the question; will this work? Secular man excludes context, isolates problems and thus tries to find a workable solution (Cox 1965). This strongly aligns with the shape of the secular city in which exclusion was set out as an essential part of existence.

Another interesting part of the style of the secular city perspective is found in the functional approach, Cox addresses that the things we do become things to do. We are more busy with getting things done than really doing them (Cox 1965). Thus life of secular man become about problems which have to be defined and or solved and there is accordingly no room for metaphysical ideas because this implies not being modern, pragmatic or secular and thus secondary (Cox 1965).

The solution of secular man to problems that seem non-solvable within his pragmatic scope are to focus on the problems that can be solved. Closely related to this is judgment on usefulness as described by Cox, but he warns that we should be careful with such perspectives within the secular style of the city. The latter in combination with earlier mentioned terms like liberty, choice making, excluding, functionality and pragmatism imply for the downside boundaries of the secular perspective.

Literature review

Reading guide: In order to guide the reader in the literature review below, a change to the next issue is marked by two linefeeds and a bold subject.

Secularization is considered as a social process committed with modernisation for Wilford (2009) and Olson et al. (2012) subscribes secularization theory in its most basic form as the theory that anticipates the declining importance and presence of religion in individual lives, societies, and states.

Out of his introduction Cox defined secularization as: “the liberation of man from religious and metaphysical tutelage, the turning of his attention away from other worlds and toward this one” (Cox 1965, p.17). This aligns with the view of Olson et al. in the sense of liberating and declining importance of religion. He also calls this process of secularization emancipation, which is interesting as it links with the term ‘liberation’. Thus for Cox secularization is associated with the process of liberation from religion by turning away attention in order to achieve an emancipated state in which one can say I’m secularized.

Secularization is consequently primarily about a liberation process and seeing the definition in this way elucidates Cox’s method for explaining the sources of this freeing process. Evidently secularization is secularizing from biblical sources. It is no mere coincidence that secularization arose first within the culture of the so-called Christian West, in the history within which the biblical religions have made their most telling impact (Cox 1965, p.17). For Cox the secularization process represents a consequence of biblical faith (Cox 1965, p.17-18).

Chadwick looks differently on secularization when related to Christian doctrine. He gives some examples in which he argues that secularization is not the perpetual task of adjusting religious understanding of the world to new knowledge about the world. With this statement Chadwick seems to be detaching the idea of secularization as a surpassing topic compared to religious pre-secular. New knowledge is improving religious knowledge, but secularization is not this process, as emphasized by Chadwick. Yet he does acknowledge their interrelatedness:

“Nevertheless, we shall hardly be able then to say that changes in Christian doctrine are wholly separable and distinct from a process of secularization. For this very axiom, miracles do not happen, comes near the heart of that elusive shift in the European mind which we seek” (Chadwick 1975, p.17).

Chadwick makes an interesting comment. If modern-day secular man has the axiom that “miracles do not happen” then this assumption makes up clearly what drives this modern-day secular man. But we should distinguish the process of secularization from the process of change in Christian doctrine, thus Chadwick states.

Chadwick goes on and asks that if secularization is supposed to mean an increase in men’s striving to do without religion, then it is important to know just what he should be doing without (Chadwick 1975). Chadwick discusses “crass errors” that are made if people assume that there were times that people’s minds were not in motion or that people’s thoughts came from the same axioms. Chadwick asks whether statistics show a decline in attendance to churches or in giving money to these churches. But more interestingly he asks if such statistics could mean something momentous about the development of the human mind:

“Whether we could chart an increase in the numbers of people refusing to say I believe in God, and whether (if we could so chart) that would mean something momentous about man’s religious attitudes; whether we could find an increasing number of people who think religion to be unimportant to society; or bad for society; whether we could find a growing body of attitudes which deny a link between religion and moral behaviour; and whether (assuming that we could find some or all of these things), we could judge the nature of the social development which they might record” (Chadwick 1975, p.17-18).

Chadwick asks seemingly impalpable questions that need to be addressed, but tend to get lost in for example decades, trends, movements or processes. Chadwick limits himself, as he calls it, to space and time. In space by emphasizing on modern Europe and in time by evidence from the second half of the nineteenth century. This is again closely linked with the view of Wilford on secularization as a process committed to modernization. To Chadwick’s opinion this second half of the 19th century has the merit of the meaning of the word secularization as we now use it. That is “If we know what we mean when we use it” (Chadwick 1975, p.18).

In Chadwick's opinion the idea of liberalism dominated the nineteenth century. Chadwick stresses the notion whether a liberal state or liberal minded society should necessarily be a secular state of secular minded society. If the state or society should be fully liberal (from its simple meaning of being free) than a merely secular minded state or society would mean inequality for the non-secular. This non-secular inequality is noticed by Durkheim and Weber (Warner 2010).

"However, both Durkheim and Weber recognized that Western modernity appeared increasingly inhospitable to religion" (Warner 2010, p.2).

Chadwick also addresses the importance of the dismantling of a state or society when the right to be irreligious is won. This is to prevent that people are being compelled to become religious through various state or society habits or values, both institutionalized and non-institutionalized ones (1975). Thus a liberal state must be a secular state, Chadwick emphasizes.

Religious oriented minds in the nineteenth century used the notion of liberal and liberalism in a negative way, emphasizing that people with such ideas were antisocial and wanted more freedom from law and customs. Religious society was built on acceptance of conformity; recognition of duties that were sacred. Therefore liberalism and people that were leaning towards it were the very thing they feared that could destroy their believes in a social order.

Paradoxically Chadwick mentions the religious suspicion against any form of non-coherence, which later became a mandatory need to survive;

"In old conditions the state must be intolerant to survive, now it must be tolerant or be destroyed" (Chadwick 1975, p.23).

Liberalism in Western Europe became the criticism of the medieval world of all embracing religious orthodoxy (Chadwick 1975). Dissenters won the right to a free religious opinion, which was not per se a prevailing opinion. This resulted in the right to a non-religious opinion as well as practice and secondly the freedom of opinion. In this way the beneficial side for the non-religious strivers was their secular liberty and for the religious dissenters a liberty of religious opinion through a liberal secular way (Chadwick 1975).

It seems like secularization was not a 'battle' of the religious against the non-religious, but much more of that of a (religious) ruling class against evidently suppressed other classes. Secularization through this lens focuses much more on the liberalization process than on freeing oneself of the religious, which strongly contrasts Cox's opinion.

Another interesting perspective on interpreting secularization is discussed by Chaves (1994) through the defining of the notion by Stark and Bainbridge. To Stark and Bainbridge secularization is driven by inequality that brings different ways to secure rewards rather than to settle for compensators (Stark & Bainbridge 1985, in Chaves 1994, p.757). To their opinion sects and cults organically come to be to take up the religious slack created by the (older) secularized religions. They further state that:

"As these new groups age, however, they also will secularize as their membership, via upward mobility, comes to include greater proportions of the relatively privileged. The cycle begins again. In this way, secularization is "a universal phenomenon always occurring in all religious economies." It is a self-limiting process that generates countervailing responses elsewhere in religious economies." (Stark 1985, p.145, in Chaves 1994, p.758).

With the perspective provided by Stark and Bainbridge, secularization is strongly focused on religious organizations/ economies and their becoming secularized. In light of the time this was written in and reflecting on contemporary non-religious economies and/ or religious organizations, it is interesting to notice that secularization is neither only seen as a modernization process as Wilford (2009) defined it, nor only as a decline of importance of religion in the individual, social or public life (Olson et al., 2012). But it is also seen as a continuing process that lets (religious) economies and organizations repeat their calls for making up for what was lost in becoming more worldly or secularized.

Olson et al. (2012) describe the **secularization theory** in its most basic form as the theory that anticipates the declining importance and presence of religion in individual lives, societies, and states. It also divides religious and non-religious in a clear way.

"Secularization theory asserts clear divisions (spatial, social, and political) between religion and other social functions and structures, Postsecular approaches reflect on the maintenance, contestations and meanings attributed to these divisions" (Olson et al. 2012, p.4).

Warner defines the secularization theory from another perspective:

“Grounded in the deteriorating condition of Christianity in Western Europe and building upon these scholars’ insights, classical secularization theory argued that the demise of religion was sociologically determined and culturally inevitable” (Warner 2010, p.2).

“Secularization was therefore understood to be both a process of social change, closely intertwined with the evolution of the modern world, and also a theory of increasing religious marginalization not only descriptive of present and past transitions but predictive of a future society where religion would have little or no public influence, social utility or plausible claim to a revelatory authority that in any sense transcended reason” (Warner 2010, p2.).

Where Olson et al. discuss the dividing features of the secularization theory Warner discusses a formulation of the secularization theory, which emphasizes on worsening conditions for the religious. As such their main difference in perspective is the secular dividing perspective with a descriptive feature, and the other, which focuses on the causal decline of religious influence in the public and private sphere.

The ‘hardline’ secularization thesis, which is part of the general theory body, holds the assumption that religious influence in public and private spheres would disappear (Stevenson et al. 2010). This formulation was dominant until the late 20th century, but in recent years reframing has taken place. Opinions on the secularization theory and thesis have been transformed.

“Even Habermas (2006), a long-time adherent of the secularization thesis, has revised his views, and makes reference in his recent work to ‘post-secular’ societies” (Stevenson et al. 2010, p.325).

The reasons for revising the secularization thesis are found in recent data, which make eminent that religion is thriving around the world instead of disappearing. A fundamental conclusion for Stevenson et al. is that secularization is neither simply a process that will happen to all western countries, nor a process that will happen in a generalizable way (2010).

As mentioned before, sometimes secularization has different contradicting usages. Cox concludes that the word appears in many shapes, depending on the religious and political history of the area concerned (Cox 1965). Nevertheless he warns that secularization should be carefully distinguished from secularism. In his opinion secularization implies a historical process, almost certainly irreversible, in which society and culture are delivered from religious interference and closed worldviews and therefore it can be seen as a liberating process.

Secularism is to Cox the name of an ideology, a new closed world-view which functions probably like a new religion. For Cox secularization is of importance because it has its roots in biblical faith, and thus is an outcome of this faith. Secularism to Cox is like any other ism, he notes: “it menaces the openness and freedom secularization has produced; it must therefore be watched carefully to prevent it becoming the ideology of a new establishment” (Cox 1965, p.21).

Secularism from this point of view is thus somewhat the opposite of secularization, because it threatens the freedom sought by secularization. As a result it menaces the possibilities of a possible emancipation and also creates a new kind of system or religion in which a way of thinking is imposed. Thus Cox warns that by becoming secular through secularization some form of liberty and freedom is gained through a process, but on the contrary by secularism nothing is gained at all assuming that men is striving to change their pre-secular state.

In the book “The Secular City” Harvey Cox starts in chapter one with what he calls “The Biblical **Sources of Secularization**”. He addresses the importance of uncovering these biblical sources; he does so to strengthen the capacity to deal with secularization today by showing where it came from (Cox, 1965). Thus to Cox it is important to be able to deal with secularization, because to him the phenomena came from cause-and-effect that lies within the western world where Christianity was most dominant, but also where secularization took place in the strongest way (Cox, 1965).

For **the origin of the word secular**, Cox describes it as a parable i.e. it has been misunderstood and misappropriated over the years. He explains this by analysing the etymology of the word secular. The English word secular derives from the Latin word saeculum, meaning “this age” (Cox 1965, p.18). Cox

goes on by explaining that saeculum is basically one of the two Latin words denoting “world”, the other is mundus.

The fact that there are two different Latin words for the word “world” betrays a certain dualism that precedes the bible. Cox shows us that the complex relation between these two words have to do with a theological difference between Hebrews and Greeks. As for saeculum temporal expression used to translate the Greek word aeon, which also emphasizes one age or epoch. Mundus is in a way the opposite and is a space-word used to translate the Greek word cosmos, meaning the universe or the created order (Cox 1965). According to Cox this ambiguity in the Latin meaning reveals the difference between the Greek and Hebrew view. This tension has had its impact on early Christian theology. The Hebrew time oriented view of reality made the world much about history. Cosmos became aeon and mundus became saeculum as Cox describes it.

It's interesting to notice that the meaning of secular as derived from saeculum has a background from a Hebrew view of reality. This did not mean that their time-oriented view to reality was more important than the spatial one of the Greeks. The Hebrews used this denoting to pinpoint matters that were inferior. Secular thus meant something vaguely inferior; it meant “this world” of change as opposed to the eternal “religious world”. This implies that that the true religious world is timeless, changeless, and thus superior to the secular, which is passing, and transient (Cox 1965, p.19).

Going a step further, the first use of the word secularization in large numbers had a small scope and specialized meaning. Cox gives the example of a religious priest that becomes a parish responsibility. He was secularized (Cox 1965). The first spreading of the word secularization came about when the separation between the pope and the emperor became a fact. After that authorities went from religious to political authorities and that was termed secularization. This usage continued throughout the period of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution (Cox 1965). These change processes had foremost to do with political and power oriented structures. Cox explains that more recently secularization has been used to describe the process on the cultural level, which for him is parallel to the political one. Cultural secularization is an inevitable concomitant of a political and social secularization (Cox 1965, p.20). He also notes that sometimes one precedes the other.

The role of religion in society is discussed in Chadwick's “The Secularization of the European Mind”. Chadwick addresses Auguste Comte's axiom; religion is to Comte seen as one of the foundations of social and moral life. He always saw religion in the context of a social pattern of order (Chadwick 1975). The way in which Comte thought about the distinction between sacred and secular was controversial, because he put the meaningfulness of non-rational, sub-conscious and its moral axioms up for discussion. As Chadwick summarizes it:

“But it was an analysis of such power and penetration that it changed men's ideas over the place of religion in society” (Chadwick 1975, p.6).

Comte is seen as one of the founders of sociology living within the late 18th and 19th century. He had an interesting vision on the role of religion within society, which is surprisingly in a time after the French Revolution and the Enlightenment. Chadwick calls the age in which Comte lived the age of secularization. It could be said that the current debate about the Postsecular as an essential appearance for society at large is not only from this age, but was already there at the start of secularization.

To draw an image of **the shape of the secular city** Cox uses the distinction between physical- and social shapes of the city. He additionally differentiates between the shape and the style of a city. He admits that the last differentiation is merely an analytical one, because shape and style merge (Cox 1965). For expression he uses two metaphors, one of a giant switchboard representing the element of communication in a social shaped secular society and the other is a highway cloverleaf that represents simultaneous mobility in different directions. For both of these symbols he also uses two characteristic components: anonymity and mobility. Cox focuses on these issues because they are central within the secular city, but also because these features of the urban social system are most frequently singled out for attack by religious and non-religious critics (Cox 1965, p.38). He points them out to make clear that there are positive sides to these characteristic features of the urban social system.

Anonymity is one of the main characteristics of the shape of the secular city. Cox asks himself the central question from where the fear and negative attention for the anonymity of the secular urban/city originates. He states that life in a modern city would not be human without anonymity and secondly that anonymity represents for an amount of people a liberating phenomenon (Cox 1965). This is in line with his definition of secularization in which he stated that it is about “the liberation of man from religious and metaphysical tutelage, the turning of his attention away from other worlds and toward this one” (Cox 1965, p.17). The definition of the secularization process thus shows resemblances with the social shape of the city, making secularization a possible means for planning aspects that have influence on the shape of the city, social and physical.

The metaphor of the switchboard is addressed by the example of the technopolitan man that sits at a vast and immensely complicated switchboard (Cox 1965). In this sense to Cox urban man is a *symbolicus*, a communicator that has a massive network of communications in his reach. Evidently this widens the scope of individual choice (Cox 1965), thus an urban man could be seen as somebody with more choices and thus more freedom.

“Urbanization thus contributes to the freedom of man” (Cox 1965, p.40).

Besides the positive sides of liberating and expanding choice making, this freedom asks more discipline of urban man. With more possibilities to make within the network of the city, more choices need to be made and with these choices comes exclusion as Cox sets out (1965). When addressing personal relationships to the view of Cox this means selectivity that is more demanding. The urban dweller has more (possible) contacts than a rural dweller. By means of enduring urban man has probably more impersonal relationships than his rural counterpart. As Cox put’s forward:

“Urban man must distinguish carefully between his private life and his public relationships. Since he depends on such a complex net of services to maintain himself in existence in a modern city, the majority of his transactions will have to be public and will be what sociologists call functional or secondary. In most of his relationships he will be dealing with people he cannot afford to be interested in as individuals... this is essential in urban life” (Cox 1965, p.42).

The way in which urban man is “forced” to represent himself within the city is a little contradictory to the claim of liberty that Cox puts forward as a result of secularization. But on the other hand Cox say’s that this “immunization” makes it possible for urban man to maintain his existence. In this way we cannot merely see it as a positive and/ or negative side, but more as an essential that makes life in the urban city for an urban dwellers possible.

Harvey Cox uses the work of German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies to emphasize the contrast between community (*Gemeinschaft*) and society (*Gesellschaft*). Community to Tönnies (1887, in Cox, 1965) represents togetherness; coherence, inclusiveness and people see each other as ends. Society on the other hand is more about the rationality and thus more planned (Tönnies 1887, in Cox, 1965). The distinction Tönnies is making is about “primary” versus “secondary” relationships (Cox 1965).

The view of Tönnies strengthens the assumption of Cox that the so-called anonymity of the urban/modern city is a necessity to maintain oneself in this environment. If urban dwellers would try achieving the aspects of a community within such an environment this evidently would lead to a loss of liberty on a scale unequal when one would achieve this within a rural community. But besides the loss of liberty, perhaps even by extension, applying these community aspects within modern city demands that the dwellers would spend more time within a smaller geographical area than this modern-day city offers by its means of communication and mobility.

Cox also emphasizes the kind of visits made when people are rural or urban dwellers. For example when somebody is going to the grocery store, post office or petroleum station. In the rural context it represents a social visit, but in the urban context it represents a more functional visit. The relationships are maybe more of the functional kind, but these relationships are by no means less human as Cox emphasizes (1965).

Cox addresses that many theologians have spent time on writing about “depersonalization of urban life”. In his view these are often fed by a misunderstanding of Martin Buber’s philosophy of “I and Thou” relationships. He sets out that a lot of these writers claim that all relationships need to be of the deep, interpersonal I-Thou variety, although Buber never claimed this himself.

Relationships don’t have to be I-Thou formed to be socially positive as Cox explains.

The much heard complain about apartment dwellers that live for years next to their neighbours without knowing them, is in Cox interpretation a contrived decision.

“This allows them more time and energy to cultivate the friends they themselves select. This does not mean that apartment dwellers cannot love his next-door neighbour... All this means that urban secular man is summoned to a different kind of neighbourliness than his town-dwelling predecessor practiced... Urban anonymity need not be heartless” (Cox 1965, p.45).

Cox concludes that technopolitan man must cultivate and guard his privacy (1965). Urban man wants to maintain a distinction between private and public, a distinction that is far less apparent to his rural counterpart. On the contrary this village sociability bring with it an unfriendliness that is only possible in such settings. Loneliness of urban dwellers is something worth mentioning to Cox opinion, but it should not be addressed by talking people into social relations that are from an old longing idea of community that doesn't fit (most) people's needs and possibilities within a modern city.

Urban life makes people cultivate public relationships without allowing them to become private (Cox 1965). Cox addresses this flavour of urban neighbourliness from the book of Jane Jacobs *Death and Life of Great American Cities*.

“Cities are full of people with whom, from your viewpoint, or mine, or any other individual's, a certain degree of contact is useful or enjoyable; but you do not want them in your hair.” (Jacobs 1961, in Cox 1965, p.48).

Cox advises theologians that address critique on urban dwelling as mentioned above, to make notion of this characteristically urban “togetherness”. To Cox it is a necessary form of existence in the urban epoch.

To make sure that people look at anonymity in a different way, Cox proposes a necessary “theology of anonymity”, in achieving this he proposes to add another human relationship to Buber's famous pair. Besides the “I-It” and “I-Thou” relationships he proposes the “I-You” relationship. The following table shows the main meaning and difference between these relationships:

Type of relationship:	Description of relationship:
“I-It” relationships:	Other person reduced to an object
“I-Thou” relationships:	Other person is deeply interpersonal
“I-You” relationships:	Other person is an enjoyed public relationship which is common in city live, but which we do not allow to develop into private ones.

Table 2: I-It, I-Thou and I-You relationships, Buber and Cox.

Adding a third relationship type makes sure that not every relationship that is not fully “I-Thou” oriented, gets moved into an “I-It” relationship. In this sense the frame that was used of Jane Jacobs book is suitable; urban life makes some contact useful, but must be kept more at a distance than rural life.

But the question comes to mind why much of the people arguing the aspects of urban life and modern-day city dwellings are born and raised in cities and thus should actually have accepted these phenomena as common. In addition the question what the real dangers to urban anonymity are comes to mind and is also asked by Cox back in 1965. He elaborates that a “theology of anonymity” would clarify human possibilities within urban life; it exposes pseudo-dangers and would help to expose real dangers (Cox 1965).

Another question is how to address the social responsibility as intended by Cox to nurture “I-You” relationships. In times of economic and social welfare there are different needs to an “I-You” relationship then in a time of economic and social decline. The liberating features of the secularization process and the shape in which secular cities are created could be conflicting when possibilities and freedom are common, but responsibility and accountability decline. The secularization process could be an important influence for such a social- responsibility and accountability decline because it carries in itself the contrary features (possibilities and freedom). When a social- or economic crisis occurs this decline is probably more problematic than normally, because the imbalance in equality becomes more profound.

Another major aspect of the shape of modern cities is **mobility** in an accelerated sense (Cox 1965). Cox sets out that mobility is the driving force behind a variety of happenings within the city in the last decades for example industrialization that is strongly dependent on mobility.

“Industrialization not only lures people off the farms and into the cities; it also invades the farms, transforming them into food factories and steadily diminishing the number of hands required to do the work. The modern city is a mass movement” (Cox 1965, p.45).

It appears that the modern city in Cox's view is a conglomeration based on an attracting force for people, which must be mobile in its essence, because otherwise life in a city would be one big jam. Also this modern mobile city changes the shape because of its mobility; look at highways and other means of transportation. Modern cities probably always have large neighbourhoods in which industrialized housing is present.

Because this modern city is about mass mobility and a variety of individual choice, it seems to be possible to be more “on the road” than really be at a dwelling space. Cox gives the example of a writer that described it as a staging area where people pause in their complex movements from one place to another (1965).

To Cox's opinion we do not only migrate between cities because we wish to find improvement, but also to find more like-minded surroundings (1965). Next Cox asks the question: what happens to people during this “going places”?

Cox does not hold the opinion that the “rush-rush of modern living” is responsible for the loss of spiritual values. People view mobility in a negative perspective, but fail to emphasize the positive side of mobility. In Cox's opinion American novels do this much more, and emphasize people on the move (Moby Dick, Huckleberry Finn etc.). To Cox's opinion this has something to do with they're intoxication with going places. He addresses that Americans people always have been mobile people; they had to come to America in the first place (Cox 1965 p.51).

The next step in the analysis of mobility Cox takes by looking at how mobility is a vital shape to modern urban life and thus to secular life. Firstly, there is a distinction to make between geographic- and occupational mobility. Occupational mobility is the mobility due to jobs and homes, which according to Cox is criticized a lot. This desire to combat mobility and encourage residential immobility comes from a romantic distortion that springs from a reactionary mentality (Cox 1965). As such mobility according to Cox is closely linked with social change, and in that sense people of the status quo are against mobility (Cox 1965).

As an example he sets out the emergence of Freedom for people of a dark colour in America. To him the link between mobility and social change becomes evident.

The people that were against this oppression where young and geographically and occupationally mobile and in that respect geographic mobility always points to social or occupational mobility (Cox 1965). He concludes that people that are on the move spatially are usually on the move intellectually, financially, or psychologically. People that are already occupying the positions of power and influence feel of course threatened by this mobility-oriented people. The people that are the lowest within society are those who have everything to gain and not much to lose from a mobile society, these are feared by the current status quo (Cox 1965). To Cox there is a class prejudice behind religious objections to mobility. To his opinion an advanced industrial society strangles if there is no movement. People must be prepared to move, because new working and dwelling possibilities appear in different places (Cox 1965).

In this sense it is more likely that urban modern man becomes a nomad or a traveller that becomes dependent of the accessibility of work and dwelling within his modern city. But if this city fails to provide him, there is only one option and that is to move to another modern place or city. This kind of perspective of the city conforms itself with an industrial vision of a consumption society in which reusing or reclaiming is not familiar to its inhabitants or users.

Although Cox admits that there are some negative sides (for religion) in high mobility, he notices the important connection between urbanization and secularization as mentioned before. This thus brings anonymity and the increase in individual choice making to the stage again in which we could acknowledge again that a certain level of all the preceding aspects are necessary for a liveable life within a modern urban environment. Cox thus concludes that it must be insisted that mobility offers positive possibilities for individuals (1965), and as such mobility is evident to the urban but also appropriate and conforming. We see that mobility and anonymity are aspects of urban life. Although they are aspects that get a lot of critique, Cox's vision they are unmistakably linked to modern-day secular society, which is different to immobility and inclusiveness of on-going longing for community. It has to be said that in what perspective you may write or not, the general perception about modern

cities is individually oriented, positive or not. Cox concludes his chapter on mobility with the nice phrase:

“High mobility is no assurance of salvation, but neither is it an obstacle to faith” (Cox 1965, p.58).

With the phrase “**the style of the city**” Cox refers to the manner in which a society projects its own self-image and how it organizes the values and meanings by which it lives (Cox 1965). Two key characteristics in the style of the secular inhabitants are pragmatism and profanity according to Cox. He talks about these characteristics in a general sense, but he is referring to the secularists when addressing them individually.

By **pragmatism** Cox means it exactly as the dictionary explains it: “judging ideas by the results they will achieve in practice”. Thus Cox says that pragmatism is about secular men’s concern with the question “will it work?” in this sense the world is viewed in a functional fashion, in which project and problems are common (Cox 1965, p.60).

With profanity Cox is aiming at the meaning of secular man as unreligious, not as sacrilegious (Cox 1965). Profane man is preoccupied about this world and does not acknowledge any metaphysical views within his worldview. In this literature review the deeper impact of profanity is not addressed and the focus is laid on Cox’s interpretation of pragmatism. This choice finds its justification in the theological perspective Cox uses, but it is not preferable to address terms like profanity because they contain issues like people’s core beliefs and these do not have priority.

Being pragmatic requires that people can isolate a problem and exclude some points of view in order to study the problem itself and so find a workable solution (O.Morton, in Cox 1965). These solutions are specific and goal oriented, but also partial and temporary according to Morton.

Thus the style of secular man is to exclude context to achieve a maximum solution. This suite well within the shape of the secular city in which exclusion is an essential part of its existence as Cox pointed out. Cox calls this disciplining oneself to give up certain things while achieving others, and being ready to address the problems that evolve out of these new solutions (Cox 1965).

In our current functional era, the things we do become things to do (Cox 1965) so we are busier with getting things done than really doing them.

Thus life for a modern city man is a set of problems, which have to be defined and solved; there is in principle no room for metaphysical thoughts or ideas. Because this would probably mean that he is not a pragmatic modern/secular man, and maybe secondary or non-modern? But there are issues that cannot be solved or addressed in a pragmatic way only. The solution for this modern man is thus to bracket together the things you cannot deal with and focus on those that can be solved (Cox 1965).

Closely related to pragmatism and functionalism is the term of usefulness, which in its own type has a kind of selectivity in it. Selecting a scope or view, or call it excluding the context has the danger in it that people forget to look at the other infinite numbers of ways to look at a problem (Cox 1965).

We see that these styles and ways of looking at things has its effects on society and the style it addresses. Cox gives the example of our society that judges everything in terms of usefulness. To his opinion we should guard ourselves for such aberrations (Cox 1965).

It is interesting to read that Cox describes that people do not ask to people they do not know who he is, but what he does. Then again it is probably to expect that if somebody answers in a fashion that is lower than that of the questioner, the usefulness of his urban counterpart will be questioned. This is not to say that such thoughts are wrong per se, but it again totally leaves out the possibility that this urban counterpart is making himself useful to society or community in a fashion that is out of the scope of the questioner.

Here the terms, including and excluding, scope and perspective, functional and pragmatic come forward out of the secular style and shape of the secular city/man.

3.2. A Postsecular city perspective

In the chapter on the research methodology for this thesis sub questions were constructed in order to decompose the research question. The second sub question addresses the Postsecular perspective, to be precise “*What comprehends a Postsecular perspective?*” Through reviewing literature on Postsecular cities a perspective is elaborated.

In the table below a summary is given of the literature that is reviewed and the different themes that have been taken into account.

Author:	Literature/ article:	Themes:
Beaumont, J. & Baker, C. (Red.)	Postsecular Cities	• Post colonialism and Religion
Fenster, T. (Red.)	Postsecular Cities	• Non Secular Cities
Sandercock, L. & Senbel, M. (Red.)	Postsecular Cities	• Spirituality, Urban Life and Urban Professions
Davey, A. & Graham, E. (Red.)	Postsecular Cities	• Inhabiting the Good City
Greve, A. (Red.)	Postsecular Cities	• Sanctuaries of Urban Virtues
Eade, J. (Red.)	Postsecular Cities	• From Race to Religion
Chapman, R. & Hamalainen, L. (Red.)	Postsecular Cities	• Understanding Faith-Based Engagement and Volunteering in the Postsecular Society
de Witte, N. (Red.)	Postsecular Cities	• Exploring the Postsecular State

Table 3: summary of literature for the Postsecular perspective.

Summary: what comprehends a Postsecular perspective?

Reading guide: In order to guide the reader in the literature review below, a change to the next issue is marked a bold subject.

Through reviewing the chapter on **Post colonialism** (Beaumont and Baker, 2011), it becomes eminent that there is a need of religious expression, which can be found throughout different social and cultural backgrounds. The examples of religious spaces show some kind of (conservative) cherishing of one’s own religious identity. All in different ways and through different modes, yet one can find similitudes in a responsibility awareness to give meaning to and help the (own) community, religious or non-religious.

These groups are mainly driven by their mutual concerns for the common good. They are triggered to be helpful to their community or fellow human from a responsibility perspective that is not awakened through government or governance initiatives, but merely through a sense of feeling aware and belonging to a community. Places like the Hindu temple, the Salvation Army or Islamic study circles are the places that give collective expression to these responsibility feelings and so the importance of these places to a Postsecular perspective becomes manifest.

When looking at the writings of Baker and Beaumont in relation to Habermas we could conclude that a Postsecular perspective on the city would overall mean/ should include an acknowledgment of the growing importance of the place of **religion in the public** sphere. Although there is anxiety about values that seem not to be corresponding towards the secular (dominant) norms and values, Habermas makes mention of secular pressure on religious traditions or obligations (Habermas 2005, in Beaumont and Baker 2011). Habermas calls towards an understanding of the current secular pressure that is on religious traditions, bounding their full potential. The secular sphere has to adopt and understand the reality of religious practice not only in the private sphere, but also in the identical sphere (Habermas 2005, in Beaumont and Baker 2011). Reciprocity seems to be the key word here.

In the chapter on **Non Secular Cities**, Fenster emphatically addresses the negative (and positive) sides to the right to the city (2011). In this example is a religious oriented claim for the right of the city. She shows that through allowing (extreme) religious values within the law there could arise some form of exclusion, inclusion and mobility issues. In her example this mainly had to do with the freedom of modernly dressed woman wanting to pass through neighborhoods inhabited by orthodox Jews. Although Fenster herself understands that her claims are subjective and her critique could for others

be seen as emancipation values, she correctly shows the pitfalls of extreme non-secular values to the right of the city. But such values from a secular perspective – if extreme - are as dangerous as the non-secular ones. The case of Jerusalem is thus not an exclusive space of conflicts, but is as mentioned before certainly an extreme example.

Another issue Fenster addresses is that of loose boundaries between the religious and the secular, between the private and the public (2011). This warns us for the pitfalls of a non-secular perspective to the City.

Sandercock and Senbel have attributed a chapter on **Spirituality, Urban Life and Urban Profession**. They elaborate an interesting pattern through notions that could and should be part of a Postsecular city perspective. At first they have mentioned that planning is something of a work of hope. This makes the importance of (ethical) connection noteworthy and this acknowledges that with planning come limitations that we cannot always tackle and should sometimes be accepted (Sandercock and Senbel, 2011). But where do we get this hope based planning? Why should we be moved? And like Sandercock and Senbel stated is secular humanism enough to inspire us (Sandercock and Senbel, 2011)?

For Sandercock and Senbel part of the answer to come towards a planning of hope lies in the notion of spirituality and sacred places. The first one connects people to the largeness of life, which again has something to do with connecting to other people and reconnect with nature (Sandercock and Senbel, 2011). A Postsecular City perspective towards planning should acknowledge the importance of spirituality and should make us aware that we need to be moved to action. But this being moved to act shall probably need a common goal or common good and thus a (ethical) connection (Sandercock and Senbel, 2011), thus they argue. A Postsecular City perspective therefore not only strives for common goals, but also the common good through an ethical connection.

This somewhat contradicting idea makes eminent that rational-ordering is seen as something that did not totally brought us what we expected when reflecting on the urban and was somewhat destructive on the social fabric (Sandercock and Senbel, 2011). A Postsecular city perspective should acknowledge this without denying the positive sides that the rational perspective brought.

In becoming rational in planning we lost something (2011), Sandercock and Senbel argue and that something lies within place making, which links with the notions of spirituality and the sacred. These places acknowledge the human limitations and address the importance of the inexplicable and uncontrollable and that is what leads these places to have a “spirit”. This is why they are not merely rational and thus not commonly understandable and explainable. People are drawn towards them for their dwelling and to really get a sense of being and belonging.

In the chapter on **Sanctuaries of Urban virtues**, Greve emphasizes that the early modern era is what is missing in Max Weber’s view on historical sociology (2011). Greve sets out an interesting comparison between how modernity became a fact in Europe and Japan. It shows remarkable similarities although Japan and Europe at that time were not linked to or influenced by each other, thus Greve argues (2011). Secularization for Greve is not something of a unique continuum with a definite origination in Europe, neither is it location bounded; it is noticeable through different times and in different spaces (Greve 2011).

Greve focuses mainly on the secularization process and modernity, leaving the Postsecular rudimentarily discussed by means of definitions related to secularization, modernity and belief. It is interesting however to notice that the need to become secularized was not only felt in Europe, but also in Japan. It is arguable that the need of people was not so much to be liberated from Christianity, as Japan did not have Christian rulers. It seems that one wished to be liberated from a specific leadership, which in Japan meant from a divine leadership oriented on emperors and in Europe from the Catholic Church.

The chapter formulated as “**from Race to Religion**” addresses the historical perspective of Postsecularism and Postsecular cities in a way that the mere focus on the post Second World War period is too narrow. It is arguable that this debate goes way back, up until the time migration from colonies (in Britain) began. This makes the Postsecular and Postsecularism a not so new phenomenon and thus something we should be familiar with through a historical perspective. Eade elaborates this through showing a debate in Britain on religion and then on race, which eventually evolved again into religion (2011), because of the growing demands of those new

inhabitants of Britain. In all of these stages opposition is noticeable, whether from locals, (local) government or religious groups (previously) at influence.

A difference between the opposition of the 19th century and nowadays can be found in the globalized perspective it has today (Eade 2011) in combination with negative secular pressure which makes the Postsecular of today a controversial subject. The need to acknowledge and understand the religious group needs, not only in a private sphere but evidently also in an identical public sphere has reached some local governments as Eade has elaborated (2011). This is exactly what Habermas has proclaimed necessary (2005, in Beaumont and Baker 2011). Now the influence of local government is declining in reference to social welfare, housing, education and more. These groups and their initiative needs are seen as potential by these local governments.

The issue addressed by Chapman and Hamalainen is about **understanding Faith-Based Engagement and Volunteering**, and has showed a rather interesting relation between the state in Britain and religious organizations. This relation has been there for a long time with the Church of England as the most prominent example, but in later times the state has shown interest in collaboration with different groups for the sake of creating strong communities that help each other (Chapman and Hamalainen 2011). This is achieved through a collaboration that meets the definition of a Postsecular collaboration in the sense that the secular are inventing working with faith-based organization to obtain (common) policy goals. The state also works together with faith-based organizations to achieve social inclusion and to prevent faith extremism as Chapman and Hamalainen have addressed (2011).

This collaboration between the different organs of state and religious initiatives comes not without necessary tensions. Some make the debate sharper and yet others are constraining to come towards common boundaries, beliefs and identities. This in turn can create relationships with better understanding and effective translation of religious values into common values between faith-based and secular cultures (Chapman and Hamalainen, 2011). This brings up yet again the notions of Habermas on secular pressure. Some non-secular interviewees of Chapman and Hamalainen feel pressured and it is questioned to which extent spiritual capital is considered acceptable (2011). Mostly there is a reciprocity needed from the secular and faith-based organization. On the one hand there needs to be more understanding or translation of religious values and language. On the other hand there is a need to overcome morality questions and questioning intentions of faith-based organizations when it comes to funding's and policy collaboration (Chapman and Hamalainen 2011). These are not helped by a translation of religious values and language towards secularizing of faith-based organizations.

The reasons for participants to elaborate within faith-based initiatives vary, but distinguish themselves by the fact that religious oriented people see their involvement as something they grew up with and as such part of their life (Chapman and Hamalainen, 2011). Other reasons that differ from their secular fellow man are their responsibility and commitment to god, which obligates them to activities that are undertaken within faith-based organizations (Chapman and Hamalainen 2011).

The last chapter that is addressed from the book of Postsecular Cities is of Nynke de Witte on **exploring the Postsecular state**; she addresses the policy of Amsterdam in subsidizing religious and faith-based organizations (de Witte, 2011). She argues that there is now a radical turn for the place of religion in the public sphere. Previously it had a period of absence, but it is now a hypersensitive period (van Bijsterveld 2008, in de Witte 2011).

De Witte discusses two definitions of a Postsecular society. At first, Habermas' definition which focuses on the need of society to adjust itself to the ongoing non-secular existence, and secondly the other definition of Dalferth, which gives a very interesting perspective on the Postsecular. This definition understands a Postsecular society as not so much a society becoming Postsecular, but the state becoming Postsecular.

Dalferth argues by extension that a Postsecular state does neither prescribe or privilege a certain religion or non-religion, but nor does it claim an explicit neutral stance vis-à-vis question of religion or non-religion (de Witte 2011, p. 205). The state in this example does not mind to define its relations to religious or non-religious in a particular way (Dalferth 2009, in de Witte 2011). The downside is found in the uncertainty if Postsecular states allow themselves the freedom to policy specific determine their stance (de Witte, 2011).

Literature review

Reading guide: In order to guide the reader in the literature review below, a change to the next issue is marked by two linefeeds and a bold subject.

One of the chapters in the book *Postsecular Cities*, edited by Justin Beaumont and Christopher Baker, is about **Post colonialism and Religion** in specific. The chapter addresses three contrasting religious spaces (Baker and Beaumont, 2011). One case addresses the functioning of a Hindu temple; another is about a Salvation Army project from a Christian background and the last about Islamic study circles.

The example of the Hindu temple shows a perspective from the cause-and-effect of colonialism. The temple is a proof that the Hindu community has come of age (Baker and Beaumont, 2011). This temple is a highly symbolic space; nevertheless the community has succeeded in making it a place within a large modern complex, which is used by both local Hindu and wider community. In this perspective this religious space meets the criteria of modernity and multi functionality without losing its religious and cultural (conservative) background.

This is shown by the fact that the space is showing pride, self-sufficiency and embedment, but is not unaware of its place within society or the contemporary British setting in which it is located (Baker and Beaumont, 2011).

The Hindu temple evidently provides needs for religious and cultural activities, but there is also space for education, training and social support for its dwellers. The openness of this building, Baker and Beaumont argue, is probably due to the rooted openness of the Hindu community.

The next example is the one of the Salvation Army project with its supervision framework from within Christianity. The most interesting of this example is probably the intermingling effect on the religious and non-religious and attractiveness of this project for these two groups. This was at a deep ethical and pragmatic level (Baker and Beaumont, 2011); these different ethical and pragmatic backgrounds seem to be moderately interchangeable within these settings.

The reasons for this mutual tolerance come about through the activities of the common good and justice; this space works towards an expression of a more just and inclusive society.

Baker and Beaumont (2011) make an interesting notion about “the fact that this is ostensibly a religious space”, and being such it makes it more attractive for dwellers to participate from a religious and fate motivating driver. As such it seems that Baker and Beaumont address the importance of a feeling of belonging for dwellers with a faith or religious background. Whether this is also applicable to the non-religious participants of the project is unclear.

The Islamic study groups are seen as space of solidarity for the individual visitors; the spaces provide safe spaces of engagement in which theology and identity can be dialogued with trends like pluralization and secularization. This “safe space” sounds like something of an inclusive opportunity, but probably bears with it something of exclusiveness. There is a noticeable difference between a specific pro-active care for the Muslim ummah and of a vision of a more generic form of citizenship/ caring for each other. One in which citizenship is about commitment to living a responsible life through and with the guidelines of the Quran. This is partly expressed through being a good neighbor, a good workingman/employee and being a positive role model, Baker and Beaumont argue.

There is an engagement generated through these religious spaces. Some are more open and intermingling, yet others have within them possibilities of inclusiveness or estrangement. The last has an interesting perspective of living a responsible life in which one honestly efforts him or herself as an ambassador of Islam and try to achieve notions we have heard in this paragraph (like; common good, justice, inclusiveness/sense of belonging, pride, embedment, self-sufficiency, solidarity, coming towards dialogue etc.). These are somewhat apparent in all of these cases, but the latter addresses them by these notions out of private responsibility. This is neither done to expect something in return, nor to be part of a (secular) initiative for common welfare, but merely from an awareness responsibility. The pitfalls for this perspective lies in the non-positive image some forms of religious Islamic contemplations have and a non- or low knowledge based elaboration of this responsibility perspective.

By addressing the contemporary and future importance of spaces like the Hindu temple, the Salvation Army project and Islamic study groups to communities, the place of **religion in the public sphere** comes to mind. Because of this Baker and Beaumont have addressed some writings on religion in the public space reflecting on the writings of Habermas on this topic in 2005 & 2006.

Beaumont and Baker try to write down/ frame the narratives of these spaces with the goal of coming towards the future shape or debate on the Postsecular public space (2011).

To them it is clearly stated in the book of Postsecular cities that there has been an increasing interest in the re-emergence of religion in public space. They thus argue that a Postsecular perspective on the city would mean (and include) a growing importance for the place of religion in the public sphere. But there are some issues and anxieties with this re-emerging of religion within the public sphere.

Habermas has addressed the importance for creating and protecting a public democratic space that is free from totalizing instincts. Recently he has related the latter to religion.

Habermas surprisingly argues about the contribution religion could bring to the debate of the public sphere, but also how the rest of the secular sphere has to adapt in order to let religion achieve its full potential.

Habermas does address his concern on how to safeguard equality within increasingly multicultural and plural societies (Baker and Beaumont, 2011), equality specifically for the religious freedom expression within the public sphere. But to Habermas it is clear that some forms of cultural (religious) norms that do not stroke with the secular norms are not acceptable. On the other side Habermas is aware of pressure on religious traditions that are generated by secular power structures (Baker and Beaumont, 2011). This is somewhat paradoxical, because on the one hand the re-emerging interest and role of religion within the public sphere is acknowledged, but on the other side this role should not conflict with the engineered (non-sacred) rules and norms of the secular (majority?). Simultaneously Habermas acknowledges that this demand brings a cognitive dissonance on the religious dwellers, one that is not asked of their secular fellowman. It is probably this pressure that Habermas describes that makes these religious dwellers feel strongly related and responsible towards their community, their fellow man in need etc. In other words it could be that these religious dwellers consider their responsibility of showing functional empathy easier than their secular community member.

Habermas concludes with an emphasis on a less prescriptive tone towards the religious and more focused in outlining the changes that secularism should go through. Not just a passive accommodation of the religious oriented, but an active learning from religion (Baker and Beaumont, 2011). Habermas tries to make us aware of the significance of the lived reality of religious belief and that this cognitive differentiation within societies makes it all more difficult (Baker and Beaumont, 2011).

One of the important acknowledgements within this chapter is the recognition of the fact that a religious belief is a fundamental component of practice and identity of a religious citizen (Baker and Beaumont, 2011) and that the religious belief is not merely something privately practiced.

Another contribution to the compilation of Postsecular Cities is that of Tovi Fenster. In her part she elaborates on the right to the city from the **non-secular city** perspective of Jerusalem. This contribution represents a strong contrasted vision on the Postsecular appearances in cities. This is mainly because of the extreme situation that is going on in Jerusalem between Jewish and Palestinian people and also between the religious and secular Jewish citizens (Fenster, 2011). Already mentioned before the right to the city plays a rather (over) important role in this example, there is a strong feeling of having to fight for this right to the city. This results in tensions between cultural boundaries that can get towards an extreme form of inclusion and exclusion. In the paragraph on religion in the public sphere Habermas was quoted with his warning for "cultural disenfranchisement" which is unacceptable for him. The difference between the case of Habermas and the one elaborated by Fenster lies in the religious values that are enshrined in the Jewish law. Again the writings of Fenster represent an extremely conflict focused example.

Fenster describes different spaces of conflict (2011), mostly linked to sacred places and the sacredness of Jerusalem to a large part of its inhabitants. It is interesting to take notion of these problems; when defining the scope of a Postsecular perspective to the city, one should incorporate the cities background. Although this example is extraordinary, similitudes within western (Post) secular cities are imaginable. In addition we could acknowledge that Fenster tries to address what Habermas calls secular pressure on religious traditions, yet in this case it is the other way around.

The right to the city for Fenster is partly elaborated through Lefebvre's definition of rights based on inhabitation; those who inhabit the city have the right to the city (Fenster, 2011). For understanding the determination of the public spaces in Jerusalem, Fenster distinguishes two main rights: the right to appropriate urban space i.e. the right to use the urban space in their everyday life and the right to participation, which includes the rights to take a central role in decision-making.

One of the examples Fenster gives is the strictly orthodox Jewish neighborhood of Mea Shearim where street signs are placed requesting one who enters the neighborhood to guard the modesty of clothing for women. Fenster elaborates deeply on why this could be seen as minimizing the individual interpretation of such values. She acknowledges the sacredness of the city of Jerusalem, but addresses issues like mobility for a woman wanting to travel through Jerusalem by ways of these "modesty walls" (Fenster, 2011).

She continues that these strivings for the right to the city from a strong religiously oriented perspective, create inclusion and exclusion for its inhabitants and these she calls norms of exclusion. This stands in strong contrast to the way in which religious places in the paragraph of Post colonialism and Religion are valued. The latter show (possibilities) of interconnectedness on practical and ethical level within the public sphere.

Fenster defines a sacred place as follows "A Sacred Place is constructed by appropriation of a property, through the politics of exclusion, by maintaining boundaries, and by distancing the inside from the outside" (Fenster 2011, p76.).

This is a definition that does not directly bring positive contemplations to mind for a sacred or religious place (although these two are not the same), but it does show the possible pitfalls when such places fall into extremes. This is not to judge certain opinions as wrong or right, but much more to acknowledge the possibilities of exclusion boundaries that could be created in a negative way. In this evidently extreme example of Jerusalem Fenster distinguishes something she calls "Sacralization" which bounds individual rights, thus she claims. But the right to the city is never absolute she argues again using of the statements of Lefebvre.

On the other hand we could ask the question about Fenster's elaborating on exclusion because of religious beliefs how this is the case in western societies. Fenster herself gives an example of this, not referring to Habermas's secular pressure on religious traditions. She addresses privatization within western societies which denies people "access" to certain previously public services or spaces. For example the privatization of previously government funded taxi services for special groups that do not have their own means to provide for their mobility. By such privatizations and welfare retreat we witness the western counterpart of (in this mobility) exclusion. This example also brings up the mobility issue of sacred Jerusalem for women.

Leonie Sandercock and Maged Senbel make an interesting contribution to the book, they address **Spirituality, Urban life and Urban Professions**. Sandercock and Senbel start off with their view on planning; almost every form of planning is fundamentally a work of hope, the work of organising hope (Sandercock and Senbel, 2011). Planning for them is about bringing people together and the work usually is done in the face of despair. But at the very beginning they ask the question where this hope should come from, and whether secular humanism is enough to inspire us. They mention this, because there seems to be a void at the heart of planning. In this chapter the argumentation is brought forward that something beyond secular humanism is essential if we are to tackle the current social and ecological crises (Sandercock and Senbel, 2011). For Sandercock and Senbel spirituality and some form of the sacred should be the concepts to (re) inspire us.

The notion of spirituality is about the different ways people answer their hearts longing to be connected with the largeness of life, thus Sandercock and Senbel state by means of the work of Parker Palmer. Spirituality thus is about connecting to other people and reconnecting to the natural world. Here "the paradox at the heart of planning" as they call it becomes apparent, because planning does not ask the question what makes that heart beat (Sandercock and Senbel, 2011).

They address the importance of love as a deep practice of connection; love to them is not a model or a set of rules, but ethics towards others and a daily practice.

To build this claim they make reference to Libby Porter stating:

"Why would we be moved to action, she asks, 'if not from a deep ethical connection, beyond the realm of rational analysis. With others and their suffering' (Porter, *ibid*)" (Sandercock and Senbel 2011, p.88).

The claim of Sandercock and Senbel thus pleads for a more (ethical) connection that is not just something people do because of rules or expectations, but because of a responsibility that is driven by connection. This makes us aware of the earlier paragraph on Post Colonialism in which the notion of ethical differences that did not seem to form boundaries of becoming connected and working towards the common good. In addition, the different examples from this paragraph showed in recapitulation the same responsibility feeling to connect for the common within society.

Our current situation, or our secular humanism view is rooted from a social justice mission of modernist planning (Sandercock and Senbel, 2011), but this view of faith in rational ordering/ decision-making for people's livings in the city have proved not to be what we expected from them, thus they argue. They even call the mechanical design perspective downright destructive, not only for the urban but also for the social fabric of communities and neighbourhoods (Sandercock and Senbel, 2011). To Sandercock and Senbel planning and its drive to emulate the social sciences are of the main issues why there is a void at the heart of planning. This is because planning got disconnected from one of its twin disciplines as Sandercock and Senbel state, that of urban design. To them planning and urban design were one discipline that got estranged from each other because of the search of planning to become more rational oriented, more scientifically based.

The important factor in urban design for Sandercock and Senbel is that of "place making" of which we lost, they claim. To make this "place making" more noteworthy they take on the present long literary search for "the spirit of place" in which the understanding and magic of such spiritually places are debated. Sacred places are those places that acknowledge the inexplicable and uncontrollable, thus Sandercock and Senbel argue. These values seem to be the opposite of the places that the modernistic planning creates. These "secular places" are mostly uniform places without the uncontrollable and permanently do not bring to mind the inexplicable.

Sandercock and Senbel address the issue of "whole life place planning" as a broadening idea about the environment and the ecological, but to them this "whole life place planning" is getting out of its cultural, social and political domain. Because environmental issues are getting more attention, contrasts between human and nature are beginning to decline (Sandercock and Senbel, 2011). Thus they emphasise that our more focused attention towards nature is making us more aware, and maybe even spiritually more connected.

"Whole life place planning" requires a reestablishment with the notions time and place, two notions that for Sandercock and Senbel have been forgotten or neglected by the rise of globalization. This probably makes reference towards a Postsecular perspective in which there should be room for a reconnection with the notions of time and place. This restoring of the concept of time and older conception would include time for people to weigh alternatives, time for renewable resources, time to really learn how land responses to change and time for people to establish relations, build trust and common goals.

This interpretation of time is mainly focused on involvement in collective interests towards spaces, the special place that is their life world, their life space (Sandercock and Senbel, 2011).

Their argument in this chapter and specifically on life place planning is that life place planning brings with it acknowledgement that limitations exist. In addition Sandercock and Senbel probably address limitations in current planning and spaces, but also in future planning and spaces. But then again they argue that with this acknowledgement comes the recognition that less can be more, because to Sandercock and Senbel joy and health come through connectedness and from being embedded. This contrasts with making planning optimal and rational; it is not merely about the rational decision, but also about acknowledging that with these decisions come limitations. Accepting them instead of wanting to tackle them could combat these limitations. Getting along with each other and getting connected should therefore make an interesting addition towards our current planning perspective and especially a Postsecular perspective towards planning.

From the contribution of Andrew Davey and Elaine Graham a few interesting notions are drawn from their writing about **inhabiting the good city**. When look at a Postsecular City Perspective, the mentioning of the voice of the church and other faith groups as contributing to civic live and (more interestingly) urban policy over the past 25 years (Davey and Graham, 2011), should be seen as a mentioning if not reckoning of Postsecular notions in and towards planning. Davey and Graham even state:

“National government, regional development agencies, local authorities and neighborhood renewal programs all regularly engage with religious bodies as part of the planning and delivery of regeneration and services in urban communities” (Davey and Graham 2011, p.120).

The above-mentioned influence or reference of Postsecular concepts is specific for the Church of England. Nevertheless this makes an engagement of planning with Postsecular views on planning issues conspicuous.

Anni Greve has contributed a chapter on **Sanctuaries of Urban Virtues**. She asks the question whether modernity should be really understood as disenchantment and if Europe was the only stage for the rise of this modernity. With these statements Greve denounces part of Max Weber’s assumptions. She does this by making the comparison between early modern Europe and early modern Japan and tries to show a similitude between the West and East.

Greve starts with some definitions of the Postsecular; to Greve the concept of post-secularization suggests a shifting away from secularization with the assumption that modernity has become secularized (Greve, 2011). Thus post-secularization is associated with the re-emergence of belief, faith and sacredness as a collective phenomenon (Greve, 2011). The idea of the Postsecular city is seen as the return of the city as a place in which religious ideas are expressed in intense ways. Greve argues that secularization phenomena are observable in different cultures and throughout different times, going back to the early modern era. Greve sets out a hypothesis in which she defines secularization as a rupture with the middle-age ruling classes, which were mostly authorized by their religious divinity. The second hypothesis is about modernity as a transformation of (religious) identity into new things.

In comparing the historical sociology of Europe and Japan, Greve reemphasizes the historical sociology of Max Weber and his thought about a single historical continuum. She sums this up as a period in which traditional unity between politics and religious morality exists. Then in reaction to the religious civil wars that swept Europe in the centuries after the Reformation, secularization emerged. This understanding of modernity should be comprehended with the context that Weber has given it, which is a rather unique and single experience. Modernity can be traced over different spaces and time as Wagner (2009, in Greve 2011) states and as such Greve advocates for a rethinking of modernity.

With the example of Japan Greve tries to widen this scope of the context of modernity, mainly because Japan was closed during the formative years of colonialism and capitalism. Western ideas about religion, modernity and secularization were only introduced later (Greve, 2011). Besides these contextual differences the Japanese era, Greve emphasizes, witnessed secularization although it did not have Western influence. Japan witnessed secularization in a double sense accordingly: secularization as a rupture of the idea of divine legitimacy of the ruling powers and as the emergence of a unique modern experience.

Before Greve argued that the secularization of Japan was divided into two senses one of these was the unique modern experience in places where people of different status could meet, experience and encounter. Greve addresses the (religious) sanctuaries as places of complete different order than its surrounding places; it has something of a vacuum (2011). The ongoing meetings and exchanges that take place, which are made possible by the specific kind of space that is called a sanctuary, achieve this. Greve concludes that such places have a sense of ambiguity and vagueness. This ambiguity is explained though the segregation that was a fact in Edo, but was somehow overcome because people had to travel out of town to reach the sanctuaries, mostly located outside the city in the rural/ mountain areas. “This meant that individuals moved across, through and over these divisions” (Greve, 2011). By virtue of these different people visiting sanctuaries, those places got different meanings for its visitors from different (social) backgrounds.

John Eade brings a contribution titled “**From Race to Religion**”, which elaborates on the historical perspective of the Postsecular City and Postsecularism. For Eade the terminology of phenomenon is not new (Eade, 2011). For Eade it is clear that in the Postsecular debate the focus is to narrow and

thus too much on the secularization period after the Second World War. This leads to overemphasizing welfare states created after this period (Eade, 2011).

Eade emphasizes that global migration has created a religious pluralism in Western Europe, which of course holds strong influence with multiculturalism. But religious pluralism precedes the global migration of people, thus Eade argues. For Eade it is clear that developments in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century have brought us discourses and institutional practices that are made apparent in Postsecular debates today.

Like Greve, Eade also addresses the importance of looking beyond a narrowed perspective, in this case that of the post Second World War period. According to Greve it was about the narrow perspective of Europe and the overlooking of the early modern area. Both with the goal of enjoining these earlier periods in the Postsecular debate.

It is interesting to see how Eade mentions the Church of England and the changes they had to go through in 19th century when government retreated their role as a defender of the churches privileges. One could mention again about this that secularization in this sense is not so much oriented towards a freeing of religion. Rather it is a freeing power abuse and privileges that did not necessarily seemed to serve the common good. This resembles Greve's writing, but also those of Fenster's on Non Secular cities.

The Church of England became one of the religious parties in England instead of the institutionalized religious party, but this former relation did not totally loose its roots. In applying for religious places or sights, other religious groups did not only find opposition and resistance from their secular fellow man, but also from Anglican Church (Eade, 2011), unconsciously working together to protect own interests or privileges.

Eade elaborates that as post-1945 Britain witnessed the coming of migrants from former colonies, debates of difference, discrimination and inequality moved from a religious orientation towards a race orientation. This was primarily focused on secular issue like how discrimination on a racial based reflected means of housing, jobs, education, health and welfare (Eade, 2011).

Eade shows that there was a debate going on within Britain on religion, which was relieved by the debate of race with the coming of migrants. With this Eade punctuates his argument of the Postsecular as not being a new phenomenon.

It was during this period of racial debate that the issue of religious solidarity was engaged and therefore showing a kind of Postsecularity that resembles nowadays initiatives.

During the first half of the 20th century, local government expanded and thus religious oriented initiatives were not dealt with anymore by the central government. On the other hand local government took up its influence on public services (Eade, 2011).

In the same period an increase in churches and synagogues occurred in Britain, which to Eade can be interpreted as the ability of religious denominations to show their presence (2011). Yet this was not without attracting considerable hostility.

The debate changed again as almost two decades later around the 1970s the needs for mosques and madrassas (Islamic schools) were growing. These religious sites also gained opposition. The advantage of this time was the availability of public sites that were no longer in use for which permission was relatively easy to obtain, Eade (2011) argues. But besides this Eade elaborates extensively on the opposition these initiatives got from surrounding neighbors or stakeholders. Controversies were not only found in building applications for mosques, but also for Christian and Hindu initiatives, Eade argues (2011). Noticeable is the foreign background of all of these initiatives. In the examples Eade gives, the local government surprisingly supported the minority groups in their building of religious sites, mainly because of the contemporary state of local government and their declining ability to provide welfare means. These (minority) religious groups are seen as regenerating and providing resources.

Reflecting on the above in relation to what Habermas has defined as secular pressure, it is arguable that local government is coming to an understanding of what Habermas has elaborated as acknowledging the secular pressure that is brought on these groups and is limiting in their full potential towards their community. Habermas stated that the secular sphere has to adopt and understand the reality of religious practice not only in the private sphere, but also in the identical sphere.

Rachael Chapman and Leila Hamalainen have contributed a chapter on **Understanding of Faith-Based Engagement and Volunteering in the Postsecular Society** with a specific focus on the motivational side. Chapman and Hamalainen argue that little research has been done on determining how this works out in practice.

In Britain, they argue, the relationship between politics and faith is complex (Chapman and Hamalainen, 2011), to them this is mainly because of the important role the Church of England still has. In virtue of this interwoven relationship of faith engagement, its influence is seen in policies of social inclusion, community cohesion, prevention of faith extremism through faith-based- organizations (Chapman and Hamalainen, 2011).

These policy makers and faith group collaboration has also brought some tensions, Chapman and Hamalainen argue. The normative side and making it possible to discuss religious values are seen as difficult. They also point out that religious beliefs are mostly kept in the background in public policy debate, but the beliefs and understanding of these groups are mainly an essential source of their motivation and direction (Chapman and Hamalainen, 2011). Closely linked to this is the chapter of Habermas on religion in the public sphere in which he addressed the importance of the religious identity for people and identity for the private sphere, but also in the public sphere.

Government in Britain works together with faith groups and initiatives for a variety of reasons, as mention above. They do so to achieve strong, active and cohesive communities (Chapman and Hamalainen, 2011), which in turn make these two parties interrelated and dependent on one another.

Helping others comes from motivations from different beliefs, values and identities that could be characterized as spiritual capital (Baker 2009, in Chapman and Hamalainen 2011). Living out values is seen as an important factor to engage in faith-based organization as the research of Chapman and Hamalainen has showed. Equitability and responsibility are seen as values that hold these groups or people motivated to address the importance of giving means to everybody in need and also addressing the non-religious.

Some religious people see their involvement in such groups or work as “something they grew up with” (Chapman and Hamalainen, 2011), and thus a logical part of their life.

Yet others addressed the importance of helping others not only because it is the right thing to do, but also because God commands us to do so, and it enhances the relation with God (Chapman and Hamalainen, 2011), and this obligatory part is what differs the commitment of the secular participants.

Another difference that is mentioned in reference to the secular counterpart is the presence of so called “authoritative exponents of the culture” e.g. priests, teachers and other key figures. It is to these that participants feel related and it is by these that they are represented. It is a strong point that the secular counterparts lack these key figures. For them charismatic founders sometimes fulfill such a role (Chapman and Hamalainen, 2011).

Yet another motivation for participation is a rather instrumental one (Chapman and Hamalainen, 2011) in which gaining group respect and or a sense of belonging. It is also mentioned that people take such initiatives and to try improve their CVs or gain more employment possibilities. Other considerations are personal growth and improvement, feeling valued and strengthening faith.

Chapman and Hamalainen determine that there is no clear distinction to make between ‘faith’ and ‘secular’ culture when looking at motivations for engagement through faith-based organizations.

Although the role of religion is changing within the public space, the extent in which spiritual capital is considered acceptable within policy content stays debatable. Chapman and Hamalainen also argue the explicitness of spiritual capital for and within policy content (2011).

This takes the issue to the point of understanding and wanting to understand the religious counterpart when making policy content. Some people interviewed by Chapman and Hamalainen set out that they feel the need to translate religious reasoning and language into more secular understood reasoning (Chapman and Hamalainen, 2011). They also worry about sounding a bit weird.

But with this “need” to adopt a more secular language comes the issue whether meaning gets lost in translation. Other arguments of interviewees are that even if this “translation” takes place, debates about morality are seen as challenging. Although the religious participants leave their religious values far from prominent, these are still questioned.

It is also argued whether the sincerity remains if these faith-based participants/ groups take up prominent secular values in their reasoning to acquire e.g. funding’s etc. It is additionally arguable that

the secular values and demands for working together could outweigh the incentives of these groups. Chapman and Hamalainen call it that faith-based organizations start to behave in a secular way.

Chapman and Hamalainen argue that it could be interesting to address the potential of an asymmetrical burden on faith groups to translate religious reasoning and language into more secular forms (2011), in the same paragraph they quote a statement of Habermas that is closely linked; "Indeed, a liberal political culture can expect that the secularized citizens play their part in the endeavors to translate relevant contributions from the religious language into a language that is accessible to the public as a whole" (Habermas 2006, in Chapman and Hamalainen 2011, p.187).

Habermas seems to address the secularized citizens to play their part; and on the contrary Chapman and Hamalainen seem to address the religious groups in their burden to converse this religious language. It is thus a reciprocal task in which faith groups have the responsibility to make their religious language more accessible in secular policy forms and the task for the secular policy makers to help interpret and understand such language and initiatives.

Although it seems promising at one hand, it also seems somewhat compromising towards a Postsecular city perspective: by focusing on (secular) pressure, one disadvantages the full potential of religious oriented initiatives or groups.

Chapman and Hamalainen argue for greater policy clarity, guidance and understanding over the role, significance and place of religious beliefs, practices values and language in the public domain. This is to their opinion to overcome some of the frictions. Such ideas are also pronounced by the commission for integration and cohesion (Chapman and Hamalainen, 2011). Another example given is that of a previous Labour government which introduced a program on faith literacy in the public sector (Chapman and Hamalainen, 2011) and this was to achieve a better understanding of religious and faith-based diversity. Referring to another kind of understanding, Chapman and Hamalainen argue that State Faith relations would benefit if faith-based organizations would understand better how the state works, their agenda and their language etc. (2011).

Nynke de Witte has written about a practical example of **exploring the Postsecular state**; she addresses the policy of the city of Amsterdam in the Netherlands. The policies she addresses are those on practices concerning subsidizing religious and faith-based organizations (de Witte, 2011). De Witte starts with claiming that after a period of absence of religion in the public debate/ realm there is now a radical turn and a period of 'hypersensitivity for religion' (van Bijsterveld 2008, in de Witte 2011). In the new constitution of 1983 the Netherlands finalized their separation of state and church (de Witte, 2011) and by this financial support for religious or faith-based initiatives in light of decentralization became a case for local governments. It is in this light she looks at the case of Amsterdam as a Postsecular state.

There are two definitions given of a Postsecular society, one of Habermas stating that a Postsecular society refers to a society that has to adjust itself to the continued existence of religious communities in an increasingly secularized environment (Habermas 2008, in de Witte, 2011). The second definition is of Dalferth (2009), who defines a Postsecular society as not so much a society becoming Postsecular, but the state becoming Postsecular.

De Witte argues that the idea that modern societies should necessarily be secular is often taken for granted (2011). She addresses that secularism emerged as a result of ongoing confessional wars in Europe in the 16th and 17th century, but its continued relevance is being contested she argues (de Witte, 2011). This is seen through the different national contexts some have given to secularism, while others reject secularism at large as a necessary condition for liberal democratic states (de Witte, 2011). One example is given of Bader (2007) who states that the secular character of law only makes sense in a context of old and new religious threats intending to replace the state's autonomy. This indirectly states that this is no longer the case or this should only be the case when such a threat emerges.

Another interesting notion de Witte makes in relation to the definitions of states by Dalferth (2009) is that religious states are those that oblige citizens to practice a religion. Tolerant states are seen as states that tolerate the practicing of any religion but do not necessarily treat their inhabitants equally. Secular states to Dalferth do treat their citizens equally regardless of their convictions and do not support or oppose any particular religion or non-religion (Dalferth 2009, in de Witte 2011).

But a Postsecular state is neither self-declared religious nor secular. It does not prescribe or privilege a certain religion or non-religion, but neither does it claim an explicit neutral stance vis-à-vis question of religion or no-religion (de Witte 2011, p. 205). The state in this example does not mind defining its relations to religious or non-religious in a particular way (Dalferth 2009, in de Witte 2011). Dalferth argues that the question of religion has become irrelevant for states. If there is religion it is a fact of life, he argues (2009, in de Witte 2011).

As mentioned before for de Witte, the Netherlands/ Amsterdam provides an interesting case to study the meaning of a Postsecular state, as it is understood as a neither state that neither is self-declared religious nor secular. The constitution of 1983 does fit with this definition. But there is one difference to mention: the constitution is not to be seen as Postsecular, because it did not emerge out of an self-declared secular state, but came forth out of a system of religious pillarization (de Witte, 2011). At this evolving background of the Netherlands came possibilities for a differentiated state-religion relationship.

De Witte concludes that with the case of Amsterdam it is shown that Postsecular states have in them the unpredictability of state-religion relations. This is because the stance of the Postsecular state is not prefixed or determined. Postsecular states allow themselves the freedom to policy specific determine their stance, making it possible to choose or change at their best interest (de Witte, 2011). She continues that as these interests change over time so does the support or cooperation with these religious or faith-based organization. The main difference thus remains that a Postsecular state thus not necessarily mean it is secular or religious, but it also does not imply a particular neutral position. De Witte ends with arguing that future state-religion relations will be largely dependent on the interpretation of local authorities for the effectiveness and desire of religious and faith-based organizations and initiatives, rather than on predetermined principals of secular separation between the state and religion (de Witte, 2011).

3.3. Planning Theory

In the chapter on the research methodology for this thesis sub questions were constructed in order to decompose the research question. The third sub question addresses the landscape of planning theory, to be precise *“How is the planning theory landscape built up?”*

Through reviewing (contemporary) literature on planning theory the respective landscape is studied. A biased stance is taken for this part of the literature review, as mentioned in chapter two. The body of planning theory is namely not seen as solely secular or non-secular, rather planning theory is seen as a body in which different perspectives are possible and could become eminent. As such planning theory is not dominantly secular, rather the perspective that dominates planning theory is currently secular oriented.

In the table below a summary is given of the literature that is reviewed and the different themes that have been taken into account.

Author:	Literature/ article:	Themes:
Allmendinger, P.	Planning Theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positivism
Fainstein, S.	New directions in Planning Theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contemporary issues • The communicative model • Collaborative planning
Friedmann, J.	Planning in The Public Domain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 18th century in relation to planning theory • Technical rational side of planning theory
de Roo, G.	Planning per se, Planning per saldo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contemporary issues • Complexity

Table 4: summary of literature on the landscape of planning theory.

Summary: How is the planning theory landscape built up?

Reading guide: In order to guide the reader in the literature review below, a change to the next issue is marked a bold subject.

The landscape of planning theory is marked by definitions about theories of planning or planning itself, without clear definitions. Planning is seen as the practice that brings knowledge (or planning theory) into practise within the public realm, as Friedmann emphasizes. Planning theory and planning are thus reciprocal.

A technical scientific version of planning theory originated in the 18th century, according to Friedmann (1987), in which there was an influential role for Saint Simon, addressed as “the father of scientific planning” (Friedmann 1987). To his understanding, planning should be based on science of observation and measurement, and by doing so he makes scientific planning start from a rather positivistic technical perspective. Saint Simon even suggested that there would be no need for politics, because everything could be determined through observation and measurement. Out of this perspective the theory of positivism would emerge (Friedmann 1987). Although there are different periods and modes to distinguish, this perspective could be extended till the seventies and late eighties of the 20th century as the dominant perspective. The theorists of these times had the same technical rational foundation as a basis for planning (Friedmann 1987).

The first disturbance of this positivistic perspective came during the uprisings in Paris, which addressed the radical counterpart of planning theory in the form of anarchism and materialism (Friedmann 1987). It seemed that Saint Simon had addressed the ruling classes and that these new radical planning views addressed the proletariat. A second disturbance was noticeable during the seventies when besides the technical triumphs, criticism was heard about inequity, the generalizing characteristics of technical planning and the impossibility of acquiring complete knowledge over planning issues.

A shift in thinking was about to befall planning theory, but agreement upon a rational basis for decision-making remained, although there was a need for a new rational model. This model had no longer the objective to decompose or observe reality; rather the objective of this rationality model was to agree upon reality through a communicative way. Planners were no longer seen as experts that imposed their views and knowledge and practiced it in an object oriented manner, rather they became mediators who would compose “agreed upon knowledge” with stakeholders instead of for them. Evidently it became more important ‘who’ are involved, and de Roo emphasizes that the decision-making model flows into an institution oriented perspective (2001).

The main discussion points within this communicative or collaborative perspective of planning theory are the main focus on the “planner within planning”, instead of the object of planning. As a result of this, context and outcome become vague (Fainstein 2005). Another evident point is that the subjective interpretation has become dominant. This makes the communicative side (inter) subjective through which the object and outcomes lose importance.

Fainstein emphasizes that open processes that are linked to a post-modernistic view, seem to be leading to unjust outcomes (2005). She also addresses that there is a voidance of dealing with these issues. This shows resemblance to the problems and critiques on the technical rational planning theory.

Out of the contemporary discussion within planning and planning theory, the concept of complexity has emerged. It is human to perceive realities through abstractions and this goes especially for a planning theorist. This primarily by virtue of from acknowledgment that (social) reality is too complex to understand. Because such abstractions are (inter) subjective, they will be dependent on the complexity of the planning issue and as such complexity is linked with the communicative side of planning. Complexity is seen as an indicator for the complexness of issues and decision-making (de Roo 2001), and therefore complexity is also a way of determining the rational decision-making perspective that is most suitable.

Giving the concept of complexity more significance, Allmendinger seems to relate complexity with post-structuralism. These two notions share their refusal of structures that influence society, thoughts and actions, and accepting the flexibility and spontaneous order (2001).

Literature review

Reading guide: In order to guide the reader in the literature review below, a change to the next issue is marked by two linefeeds and a bold subject.

The landscape of planning theory has been a turbulent one, and as a matter of fact in the last decade there has been a reinvigoration of theoretical discussion within the discipline of planning (Fainstein 2005). There is no clear-cut definition or consent about theories of planning or planning itself, but as Friedmann emphasizes, planning is the professional practice that specifically seeks to connect forms of knowledge with forms of action in the public realm. In this way planning and planning theory should be seen as reciprocity. Thus despite the theoretical (and practical) differences of opinion, there is a commonality that can be found in the objective to connect knowledge with forms of actual action.

There have been different modes of planning since its origination, but it is interesting to see how far back one could take this origination. For Friedmann the beginning of (scientific) planning is to be found in the 18th century, in his view Jeremy Bentham and Saint-Simon are important contributors to building methodologies of planning (Friedmann 1987). Friedmann calls Saint-Simon “the father of scientific planning”. He elaborates extensively on the why and how, but probably most important is the mentioning of the era and context in which Saint-Simon was living. The ideas of Saint-Simon were in an era in which the industrialization was probably knocking on the front door, but its success was not yet assured (Friedmann 1987). Nevertheless Saint-Simon understood sooner than most people that this industrial system that was about to conquer the world (Friedmann 1987). Through the analysis of Friedmann we come to see how closely related the Industrialization and the becoming scientific of planning are, and the link with the “technical” side of planning.

In the idea of Saint-Simon planning would be mostly based on a science of observation and measurement (Friedmann 1987). This links closely to the period of functional rationality as called by Faludi or the object-oriented view, technical rational view etc. that was prominent until the seventies and eighties. The view of Saint-Simon and of the Post-war planning theorists had the same rational foundation as a basis for planning (theory), trying to achieve the triumph of technical reasoning (Friedmann 1987).

In this perspective Saint-Simon even thought that planning could be made loose of the passion for politics, because there would be no need for it when everything was based squarely on a science of observation and measurement (Friedmann 1987).

“what he genuinely thought was that he was proposing a neutral, value-free system, one might even say... a system analysis, based on scientific conceptualization and empirical research, an through which he could predict what kind of institutions and processes the emerging industrial society would require” (Lonescu 1976, in Friedmann 1987, p.68).

Spontaneous realities would be studied as if they were natural events, and the knowledge obtained would be used to plan a better world (Friedman 1987). In Friedmann’s opinion this would emerge as the philosophy of positivism, in which a set of general methodological rules or forms are sought which would be the same in all sciences, natural and social (Bohman 1991, in Allmendinger 2002).

In this perspective it becomes clear why Friedmann addresses Saint-Simon as the “father of scientific planning”.

This scientific rational view of planning in which every problem could be solved and ultimate prosperity and control of society were possible, was disturbed for the first time not much after Saint-Simon’s passing away, during the uprising in Paris, planning for the first time met its radical counterpart through doctrines of anarchism and historical materialism (Friedmann 1987). The distinction between the thoughts of Saint-Simon and radical planning is in Saint-Simon addressing the ruling classes while the radical planning views addressed the urban proletariat (Friedman 1987) through which we come to philosophers like Marx and Engels.

Although the blueprint was positioned, for Friedmann the actual realization of scientific planning as a technique for guiding social progress would come a century later. To his view this would emerge in a great variety of planning traditions; some would lean towards a technical side of the equation - technical rational - and others more to the political and institutional side - communicative rational (Friedmann 1987).

In the background of the technical rational accomplishments came firm critiques about the increasing inequity (Friedmann 1987) and the possibilities of requiring complete knowledge to control planning issues. There was a move from an object oriented planning with regard for quality of information and knowledge towards a planning in which the attention was focused on the quality of decision-making (de Roo 2001). This gave more positive thinkers the opportunity to search for new responses. Some could be in dialogue, and yet for others in more social utopias/ transformations (Friedmann 1987). Usually it is arguable if changes are so clear, rapid and distinctive that we can speak of a paradigm ending and the beginning of new one (Ley 2001, in Beaumont and Baker 2011), but under these conditions the paradigm of scientific planning which held ground for 150 years, became sieged by doubts (Friedmann 1987).

In having touched upon the history of (scientific) planning theory, we should emphasize the distinction between modernism and post-modernism.

Both grounded and agreeing upon the elementary part of planning i.e. decision-making based on a rational basis. But it is exactly this rational basis that is the primary point of discussion, as Friedmann stated:

“if there is one theme that runs through all the discussions and debates on planning, it is that of rationality” (Friedmann 1987, p.97).

In completing this overview of a landscape of planning theory it is important to briefly discuss some of the contemporary thoughts within planning, some that could be considered as new thought in and of planning, others probably more as existing ones reframed in the course of time.

Contemporary issues

Within the functional rational approach, planning was mostly considered to achieve outcomes through pre-set method or procedure. In this way there is always a strong need for complete information about the object or problem of study. This view about planning was critiqued, primarily because the impossibility that lays in our power to interpret and address all the relevant information in a rational way. One of the critiques came from Herbert Simon, who addressed exactly this issue through the concept of “bounded rationality”. Others addressed adaptive and manipulative behaviour of the subject, as the comprehensiveness that was proclaimed before was seen as a selective comprehensiveness (de Roo, 2001).

Lindblom addressed that decisions made are mostly reasonably dependent upon status quo, revealing a relation with institutional behaviour (de Roo, 2001). Through this vision we can start linking notions like advocacy and actor consulting planning, in which all the (inter) subjective roles of actors is emphasized in different ways. But in these ideas context stays an underexposed notion (de Roo, 2001).

It became more eminent that planning issues and problems could only be understood through communication and social interaction, but this would need a new or another rational model than the functional one (de Roo, 2001).

“Rationality is a thin concept, similar to the concepts of justice, truth, and goodness [...]. To say that something is rational is just to say that we can give good reason for it; that it has been arrived in an impartial manner; that it is consistent and coheres with other beliefs; that it is sensitive to relevant evidence, within a particular context, and relative to our interests” (Harper en Stein 1995, in de Roo 2001, p.117).

Rationality as a basis for decision-making is from then on no longer a unified truth that can be achieved to support certain decision-making as being correct. But besides this rationality stays the methodological program of the intellectual process, as de Roo puts it, “only its ‘functional’ interpretation is no longer the only perspective on which the scientific discussion is focused (2001).

One of the contemporary discussions (still) involves the usefulness of **the communicative model**/rationality perspective.

“While the divide between positivists and their opponents persist, other issues have come to define the leading edge of planning theory. Contemporary disagreements concern the usefulness of Habermasian communicative rationality...” (Fainstein 2005, p1.).

The *communicative model* responds to the impositions of top-down planning by experts deploying an Enlightenment discourse that posits a unitary public interest to be achieved through application of the rational model (Fainstein 2005). In this perspective the communicative model is seen as an answer to the somewhat bounding approach of the merely functional model. The communicative model to Fainstein is sometimes called the collaborative model, and elaborates planners in the role of mediators among different stakeholders (Fainstein, 2005). Thus there is a framework in which different stakeholders and mediators collaborate to achieve communicatively agreed upon rational decisions. The mediating role is described as a planner listening to people's stories and assisting people in achieving consensus, thus making the role of a planner one of an experiential learner (Fainstein, 2005).

Communicative rationality sharply separates itself from functional rationality in its evidently high degree of uncertainty, which does not match with direct causality claims of functional rationality. In this is the acknowledgement of the impossibility of acquiring full knowledge over ever more complex issues.

Friedmann states that there is a shift in importance of how we support our decisions. The focus has gone from "how to make the decision rational" towards "how to improve the quality of the action" (Friedmann 1973, in de Roo 2001).

In this view we become focused not on what the experts have come up with out of rational (in) discussible (theoretical) knowledge, but as Woltjer states "on the knowledge agreed upon by involved stakeholders" (de Roo 2001).

De Roo puts his view on the rationale of the communicative model in a different perspective, stating that communicative rationality is not so much substantial but has much more functional rational character on an inter-subjective perspective (de Roo 2001, about Mannheim). In this perspective, de Roo argues, we can also consider communicative rationality as a decision-making framework. To Healy (1996, in Fainstein 2005) "a communicative conception of rationality ... replaces[s] that of the self-conscious autonomous subject using principles of logic and scientifically formulated empirical knowledge to guide actions". These two views differ mainly in the fact that de Roo puts them within a functional inter-subjective perspective and Healy places communicative rationality distinct from functional rationality, in stating that it replaces the self-conscious autonomous subject. The latter imposes the importance for a different view to planning (theory), while de Roo is emphasizing the importance of the inter-subjective within an functional character.

Another question that evidently becomes more important within this perspective of rationality is not only that of objects or objectives, but also who are involved and have influence on the decision-making process (de Roo 2001). Within this question lies one of its pitfalls; it is through these involved and influential stakeholders that the decision-making comes to exist. So this does not stress the objective oriented ends, but an optimization of interaction and participation, in which the decision-making perspective flows into an institution oriented perspective (de Roo 2001).

One of the difficulties for the communicative model is its focus on the role of the planner; it is the central element of the discussion. Both the context in which planners work and the outcome of planning fade from view (Fainstein, 2005). She takes this argument further by stating that the functional scientific view to planning had mostly a focus on "the object" of study, but within the communicative planning the object of study is the planner (the subject). Another outcome of this to her opinion is that subjective interpretation has become the main concern, rather than a focus on causes, constraints or substantive outcomes. In this opinion it seems that this description of the communicative model is at the extreme right of the modernism and post-modernism spectrum.

Fainstein also emphasizes "the voidance" of dealing with the issues of open processes that are leading to unjust outcomes (2005). In an approach that relies heavily on the optimization of participation and stakeholders, this seems a rational pitfall.

Another influential perspective within planning is the theory of **collaborative planning**.

"Healy (1997) uses the term collaborative planning to describe the process by which participants arrive at an agreement on action that expresses their mutual interests" (Fainstein 2005, p.6).

An important pillar of the communicative and collaborative approach is the belief that people do not necessarily take points of interests that they will not change through discourse. As the quotation from above shows, it should be seen as a process by which agreement of action is established, based on

mutual interests or considerations. Fainstein addresses this conception to emphasize that the differences of interests will not be resolved by simply exchanging ideas. She argues that ideas alone are not all there is, as ideas exist in different historical contexts (international capitalist oriented example) and different fields of power (Fainstein, 2005). Distorted speech cannot be overcome by merely changing speech alone, because it does not transform structures. An intervening stage of mobilization is required (Fainstein, 2005).

To Fainstein there is more to do than negotiation and consensus building. Ideas can come towards social movements that in turn give new consciousness, which again could change structures. She quotes Marx and Engels (1947) who stated that the world was changed through struggle, not the force of ideas.

The communicative model addresses planning through dialogue, through which the difficulties of implementation and continued dominance of the already powerful are manifest. There is a problem of communicative planning practice: the gap between rhetoric and action (Fainstein, 2005). But also the long time needed for implementation is mentioned as one of the problems of communicative planning practice. Lastly, Fainstein mentions the importance of scale/complexity of issues. In participatory planning it is not easy to achieve dialogue between the right stakeholders within a large area of planning and still opt for equity and diversity, as communicative theorists do (Fainstein, 2005). But on the other hand a representative reflection of participation by stakeholders would be more easily achieved in smaller scale planning issues. But then again the communicative turn in planning was not elaborated to address small-scale issues that are mostly certain in their means and ends.

Fainstein summarizes the issues of the communicative model.

“City building for the benefit of non-elite groups requires empowering those who are excluded not just from discussions but from structural positions that allow them genuine influence. Ability to participate is one resource in the struggle for power, but it must be bolstered by other resources including money, access to expertise, effective organization, and media coverage. Communicative theorists probably would not deny the importance of these resources, but neither do their analyses dwell on them. This omission constitutes the fundamental weakness of the theory” (Fainstein 2005, p.10).

Empowerment, exclusion and structural positions are issues that were mentioned earlier on the ideas of Saint Simon, probably through a much more different perspective (functional/scientific rationality), but sharing issues and critiques. The difference that should be mentioned is that the communicative theorists commit to notions like equity and diversity, but seem to lose them in becoming practical towards issues.

While modernization sought to define planning or spaces in terms of (temporary) ‘stabilizations’, Massey (2005, in Allmendinger 2002) emphasizes that the understanding of space is always ‘becoming’ and therefore always likely to be unfinished. Such an understanding of space is represented in planning theory through a relatively new scientific philosophy of **complexity** (de Roo 2001). For de Roo complexity is an incentive of developments within planning theory discussions. It is important to emphasize that most of the contemporary discussions within planning and planning theory are present in virtue of an ever-growing complexity of society and issues at stake, and by extension an increased understanding of reality and scientific views (de Roo 2001).

The motivation for this complexity concept within planning lies within the human nature to try perceiving reality through abstractions of the same reality (de Roo 2001). But this is mainly so in cases where the social reality is too complex to comprehensively grasp reality.

Berting (1996, in de Roo 2001) makes notion of the fact that the problem does not lie in human’s inability of understanding complex realities, but the problem lies in the acting on the basis of simplified representations of social realities. These abstractions are evidently (inter) subjective, and therefore will be depended on the complexity of the issue involved. This (inter) subjective characteristic of complexity makes it a concept that seems related to the collaborative and communicative approaches. For Allmendinger complexity is also closely related to post-structuralism (2002).

The question for de Roo (2001) arises whether this complexity is merely a metaphor representing the impotence to construct a workable and acceptable view of reality or that “complexity” could be a notion that should be given more significance. He asks the question whether complexity could function as a criterion for planning oriented decision-making. Allmendinger gives this complexity slightly more

significance by relating it to post-structuralism, which are both closely linked according to him (2002). Allmendinger gives the example of complex systems that consist of a large number of elements, and post-structuralism links with this through the notion of multiplicity (Allmendinger 2002). Another example of the link between the two is the following:

“elements in a complex system act dynamically and actors within a post-structuralist understanding consider that the self is comprised by their relations to others” (Allmendinger 2002, p.191).

Allmendinger defines the separate notion of post-structuralism as rejecting the claims of the modernist perspective, which entails the belief in structures that influence society, thoughts and actions (Allmendinger 2002). Instead of being fixed, post-structuralism is seen as adaptable and thus an organic or spontaneous order, instead of the ‘planned’ order, thus Allmendinger (2002) emphasizes. Allmendinger defines complexity as follows:

“Complexity is based on an understanding of places being complex, open systems, which are nested spatially and relationally with other places at different scales, as well as with individuals, households, neighbourhoods etc.” (Allmendinger 2002, p.190).

From this perspective complexity is not so much seen as a process of understanding, but more as a process of assisting change. It becomes clear that post-structuralism and complexity are linked, because of their similar understanding of structures and spaces as being intricate. To Allmendinger his approach to complexity has to be seen as a way of understanding and conceptualizing this complexity in reference to post-structural approaches (2002) and thus it gives more significance in relation to planning.

De Roo suggests that complexity should be seen as a key concept in the indication of issues and the decision-making involved (2001). By suggesting this there is evidently an increase in the importance for interaction. Yet by no means should the importance of goal-oriented decision-making be lost out of sight. Complexity becomes an indicator for planning issues and decision-making considerations (de Roo 2001).

4. The perspectives within planning theory

Reflection



Figure 3: The Ideal City – Fra Carneval
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urban_planning#mediaviewer/File:Fra_Carnevale_-_The_Ideal_City_-_Walters_37677.jpg

4.1. How does the secular perspective relate to planning theory?

In the text below, the literature review on the secular perspective and planning theory landscape are compared and relations are shown. In addition, the presence, prominence and bounds of the secular perspective within planning theory are addressed.

Although variegated perspectives and changes have occurred within the secular view of planning theory, the literature review showed that rationality as a basis for decision-making has remained an important point of reference for different kind of theories and theorists. Thus the secular perspective has a rather common view of the importance and type of rationality on which decision-making should be founded.

Through the literature review on the communicative side of planning theory it became clear that this route in planning has brought with it subjectivity and makes more room for the role of the planner than the issue at stake. With this the mode of rationality also changed into a rather (inter)subjective rationality. Thus rationality stays an important foundation for decision making within planning theories, but as ideas about theories change the rationality that is accepted also changes.

The presence of a secular perspective within planning theory is evident; Sandercock and Senbel (2011) have addressed this link between secularization and planning theory as mentioned in the literature review.

Secularization has sought freedom from various perspectives. One perspective addressed freedom of religious tutelage, while another addressed secularization as freedom from oppressive ruling forces with divinity claims.

Simultaneously secularization also made planning theory a quest of becoming scientific, and thus the basis of planning theory seems to be partly founded within the happenings of the secularization process. It could also be said that the secularization process was the incentive to professionalize planning theory.

The secularization perspective furthermore is resembled with emancipation, modernity and also as limiting. Chaves (1994) has addressed the quite interesting perspective of secularization as a continuing process of groups making up what is lost in other groups becoming secularized, and as such it is seen as a limiting process. Sandercock and Senbel (2011) asked the question whether secular humanism is enough to inspire. Both viewpoints questioning the bounds of the secular perspective, secularization links accordingly directly with planning theory by way of features that bound in a continuous circle of repetition, probably maintained by a rather restriction oriented inspiration basis, that is restriction in the form of spiritual and/ or metaphysical.

As the progress of secularization (inter) relates to planning theory, so thus the secularization theory, which originally predicted a continuing decline in the importance of religion in the public (and private) sphere. The literature review has showed that this original formulation has been adapted to contemporary developments and research on religion. This has resulted in the secularization theory being less generalizing in a geographical sense, and also it implied an acceptance of the continued and contemporary thriving role of religion within the public sphere.

Secularization theory has thus adapted towards Postsecular developments, which makes eminent that the secular perspective within planning theory is changing. It also implies that Postsecular considerations are taken into account within secular- and planning theory.

As a result of the considerations above, it should be argued that there are considerations that do not take into account the thriving role of religion, they see a rather declining role for religion. Cox (1965) has emphasized that secularism should be carefully distinguished from secularization. As the literature review interestingly showed, secularism is more the opposite of secularization in its attempt to impose a rather 'hardcore' secularization theory. This secularism tries to achieve a new belief instead of bringing freedom as was sought by the process of secularization through liberalization (Chadwick 1975) without adapting to developments in the public sphere.

Through the literature review the "theology of anonymity" (Cox 1965) came forward. This theology defends the anonymity feature of the modern secular city. And in doing so it proposes to add a relationship type to Buber's famous pair. Besides "I-It" and "I-Thou" he adds an "I-You" relationship. This type addresses relationships neither as objects, nor as deeply interpersonal, rather this type of relationship resembles an enjoyed public relationship, which is not allowed to become private.

In this perspective the secular has made planning theory to accept the importance of anonymity to make life of modern man human (Cox 1965), but it was also elaborated that this anonymity is related towards exclusion and nurturing individualism. Thus the secular perspective not only brings a theory of anonymity towards planning theory, it also evidently makes planning theory more oriented towards exclusion and individuality.

Another relation between the secular perspective and planning theory is found through the (high) mobility within secular modern cities (Cox 1965). Secularization has influenced the possibilities to do more, travel longer distances etc. With such traveling choices and longer distances, individual choice is enhanced and with this comes evidently more exclusion to make life human as mentioned before. This enormous variety of individual choices, to meet and travel with whom and where one wants, has evolved into a form of complexity of human decision-making in their dwellings. Thus this complexity has evolved into a non-comprehensible understanding of reality, through which the literature showed the link with post-structuralism, which does not believe in structures that influence society, rather it believes in the correlated relations between actors.

In this perspective of secularity, by our actions we seem to be nurturing and maintaining complexity towards theories of planning, planning practice and planning theory at large.

Yet another noteworthy link between the secular perspective and planning theory is the rather pragmatic and functional style of the secular modern city. This translates into a perspective that emphasizes questions like: will it work? By these questions contexts are excluded that could perhaps bring different (spiritual) contexts of which the direct functional benefit is not perceived for modern secular man. This perspective distinguishes itself by a focus on getting this done, instead of actually doing things and consequently leaving not much space for spirituality and/or involving solutions. Thus the secular relates to planning theory by perspectives emphasizing pragmatism, functionalism and (again) exclusion.

In the literature review the secular perspective showed already in its early stages notions of inequality. Chadwick emphasized that a fully liberal state that is purely secular minded would mean inequality. This notion was made in 1975. This pointed towards the need of the non-secular in (influential) public spheres to balance the liberty of such a state. The literature review on the secular perspective and planning theory has addressed several inequity considerations, from the rather technical rational perspective as well as from the communicative perspective. Thus there is sense of a secular perspective bound within planning theory that is concerned with incapability to deal with this inequity. The two rationality perspectives evidently show different forms of inequity.

4.2. How does the Postsecular perspective relate to planning theory?

In the text below, the literature review on the Postsecular perspective and planning theory landscape are compared and relations are shown. In addition, the presence, prominence and bounds of the secular perspective within planning theory are addressed.

The city perspective showed a thriving and evolving place for religion within the public sphere and thus enormous planning practice cases that could serve as (Postsecular) input for theorizing. Through the literature review the reciprocity between planning theory and planning practice has become clear (Friedmann 1987). Because of this, reciprocity planning theory should not only extract from secular planning practice, but also from the Postsecular planning practice. As was elaborated before, Postsecularization is acknowledged and adapted to in the secularization theory, but its eminence within planning theory seems to be falling behind.

Thus the planning theory landscape has showed little non-secular orientation and yet planning practice has shown a need of religious expression (Beaumont and Baker 2011). Because of the interrelatedness between practice and theory, planning theory should again feel obligated to address this need of religious expression through theories in and about planning, as was done by the secularization theory.

The thriving role of Postsecularization primarily includes a combination of re-emergence of religion within the public sphere and a need of religious expression in the identical sphere. If planning theory does not include this Postsecular perspective within its body of theories/ concepts, it is likely that planning theory will eventually be looking into a no longer existing past.

The religious groups that have shown needs of expression in the identical sphere, showed a responsibility awareness to give meaning to and help their (own) communities, which included the religious and non-religious. These initiatives seemed not to be triggered by government or governance initiatives, but merely through feeling aware and belonging to a community. This relates to the argumentations of Sandercock and Senbel (2011) on a sense of belonging, and a sense of spirituality. To help guide such initiatives the common good or a common goal is essential (Sandercock and Senbel 2011). These two can act as ethical connectors for the secular and non-secular. The way in which these groups feel responsible and act in collaboration with their community (secular and non-secular) is an undeniable potential for governments with declining influence and financial possibilities. Planning theory thus should clearly acknowledge the growing importance of religion in the public sphere.

One of the 'bounding' features of the secular perspective on Postsecularization is secular pressure, which is translated in pressure on religious obligations and traditions. This eventually bounds the full potential of such Postsecular initiatives. In respect to this Habermas calls for understanding of current secular pressure that is on religious traditions. The secular sphere has to adapt the reality of religious practice not only in the private sphere, but also in the identical sphere (Habermas 2005, in Beaumont and Baker 2011).

If a Postsecular secular perspective within planning (theory) does not seek to emphasize the deep ethical connection through common goods, it is likely that negative claims to the right of the city, as addressed by Fenster (2011), could become an issue. This could also be seen as a re-emergence of pre-secular conditions. This makes the need for planning theory to emphasize a much-needed balance between secular and non-secular initiatives and presence in public spheres eminent, as elaborated by Chadwick (1975). Important notions to consider from the literature review on Fenster (2011) are exclusion and inclusion, but also mobility or immobility because of non-secular claims.

For the relation between planning theory and a Postsecular perspective, the phrase that "planning is something of a work of hope" is essential. Furthermore, one should admit the part of the Postsecular perspective that acknowledges that planning comes with limitations, which we cannot always tackle and should sometimes accept to be true. The reason why this is essential for planning theory to acknowledge is that it lets planning theory adapt its sense of rationality yet again. Secular humanism is not enough to inspire us (Sandercock and Senbel 2011) and thus we need a deeper ethical connection to inspire us, hope is one of the factors that make this connection. Moreover, this hope and ethical connection will make planning practice and planning theory able to accept its limitations and take on problems in a less pragmatic or problem-solving way. The rationality of the secular planning perspective will need to adapt and acknowledge such a basis for decision-making.

In the literature review the Postsecular state was discussed. The case of Amsterdam was addressed as a local government that has acknowledged and adapted towards the thriving role of religion within the public sphere and their potential roles for in this case communities. The way of adaptation and acceptance has a rather uncertain characteristic, because of freedom to policy specific determination of their stance (de Witte 2011).

This makes eminent that the Postsecular presence in planning practice and with its actors is recognizable. Likewise adaptations within practice, organizations and theory have been observed. The main argument should be that planning theory does not yet seem to fully embrace the changed reality within the public sphere. Whether it be described as a change in the secular perspective or secularization theory, or whether it comes through a Postsecular perspective of theory, a real description or acknowledgement of contemporary planning theory body is yet to be made.

5. The relevance of the Postsecular

Conclusions and combining the perspectives



Figure 4: Al Aqsa mosque - Jerusalem
<http://www.colourbox.dk/billeder/al-aqsa-moskeen-billeder-3675103>

5.1. Answering the sub questions

1. *What secular perspective bounds necessitate a Postsecular perspective within planning theory?*

In the text below the importance of the secular bounds are addressed which are filtered from the literature on the secular perspective, planning theory and (partially) the Postsecular perspective.

Through the literature review on the secular perspective, different secular bounds were distinguished. One of the major bounds of the secular perspective was addressed by Sandercock and Senbel (2011) on the limiting perspective of secular humanism. They argued whether this secular perspective is enough to inspire our contemporary society and the issues at stake.

Some kind of spirituality would be needed in order to overcome this secular bound and get people moved to 'action' by a deep ethical connection (Sandercock and Senbel 2011).

Another secular bound that was elaborated was the mission of planning theory in becoming scientific. This led to the loss of the creative urban design side in planning (Sandercock and Senbel 2011). Consequently, the search for "the spirit of a place" came about and thus this search makes the missing of a rather spiritual factor within planning theory eminent.

The secularization theory in its original form proved to be inadequate. The theory was namely too generalizing in geographical context and it assumed that the importance of religion within the public and private sphere would be an ongoing declining importance. Thus the theory did not take into account the possibility of a continuing role for religion, which has led to some forms of exclusion and what Habermas (2005, in Beaumont and Baker 2011) has described as secular pressure.

Surprisingly the secularization theory has evolved. This became clear in the acknowledgement and adaptation of the thriving role of religion within the public sphere.

Another secular bound which was rather curious, was the limiting feature of secularization, which is normally equated with modernity. Chaves (1995) addressed the secularization process as a continuing process of groups making up what was lost in other groups becoming secularized, and is thus seen as a limiting process.

Through the literature review, the notions of inequality and exclusion were predominantly discussed. This has been done within the secular literature, as well as in the communicative and technical oriented perspectives of planning theory. One of the perspectives discussed is Chadwick's (1975) who argued that a fully liberal state with merely secular minded would mean inequality for the non-secular; he argued that there should be a balance. Anonymity and mobility were elaborated by Cox (1965) in order to show their necessity within modern secular city life, but it was also clear that issues of exclusion and inequality were also common through Cox's perspective.

Another important point, which indicates a rather specific secular bound, is that although different perspectives within planning theory have occurred, there has been agreement on rationality as a basis for decision-making. The specific type of rationality that is agreed upon appeared to be a relatively secular oriented rationality, which confirms the relationship between planning theory and secularization. But it is this view of rationality that seems to be (partly) bounding the perspective, and is thus insufficient for inspiration of contemporary issues. The fact that rationality has evolved into a rather less scientific rationality, a more communicative and complex perspective on rationality, has also been explained.

2. Why should (or should not) there be a Postsecular perspective in planning theory?

In the text below the importance of the Postsecular is addressed as well as its boundaries or pitfalls, both attained from the secular bound and the Postsecular perspective in relation to planning theory.

The reasons for a Postsecular perspective within planning theory have become clear through the secular bounds but also the literature on the Postsecular itself. The latter has showed a renewed role for religion, which could be described as thriving within the public sphere. Also planning practice has showed that religious oriented groups have a need of religious expression in the identical sphere. Although these developments have been acknowledged and adopted by the secularization theorists, it seems that planning theory is falling behind.

Planning theory should adapt and acknowledge a Postsecular perspective, mainly because of the reciprocity between planning practice and planning theory, and also because of its potential for the current (secular) bounds that planning theory faces. As stated before, through the interrelatedness between practice and theory, planning theory should feel obliged to address needs of religious expression through theories in and about planning, as was done by the secularization theory. If planning theory does not include this Postsecular perspective within its body of perspectives, it is likely that planning theory will eventually be overtaken by planning practice.

The importance of a Postsecular perspective within planning theory could be found by the example of religious groups and their awareness to give meaning to their community by forms of help and attendance, which included the religious and non-religious. These groups feel some form of trigger or obligation, which does not come from government of governance, only from the perspective of belonging to (and wanting to help) the community. This belonging was pondered by Sandercock and Senbel (2011).

Yet another reason for a Postsecular perspective within planning theory is elaborated through the issue described by Habermas (2005, in Beaumont and Baker 2011) as secular pressure. This secular pressure is bounding not only on the non-secular, but evidently also on the possibilities of addressing issues within the secular perspective. Habermas has called for an understanding of current secular pressure that is on religious traditions. The secular sphere has to adapt to the reality of religious practice not only in the private sphere, but also in the identical sphere (Habermas 2005, in Beaumont and Baker 2011). Only in this way can the full potential of the Postsecular perspective be obtained.

Besides reasons for a Postsecular perspective within planning theory, there are also bounds to the Postsecular perspective to distinguish.

One of the pitfalls of the Postsecular perspective lies not specifically within the Postsecular, rather it is a common pitfall within planning: the issue of who is involved. The technical and communicative approach both have their evident issues with involvement and in which ways to guide these. The difference with the Postsecular perspective is the historical role religion has had in this landscape. Secularization to some is seen as emancipation towards freedom. Although it is not the only definition, this is a dominant one. Thus Postsecular initiatives need to be framed within a historical context that does not ignore such definitions, but tries to balance such considerations with the definition of secularization as a freeing process from oppressive (religious) forces. In this way the focus is not so much on the historical suppressive role in which religion is often seen, but much more on the complementary role religious involvement could bring. Nevertheless a rather tense and suspicious relationship between secular and non-secular involvement needs to be taken into account.

A Postsecular secular perspective should seek to emphasize a deep ethical connection in favor of the common good, as this common good has been addressed as a binding factor for religious and non-religious. But if such a deep connection is not sought, it is likely that re-emergence of pre-secular conditions become an issue.

Thus this again elucidates the need for planning theory to acknowledge and adapt to the Postsecular in order to generate a balance between secular and non-secular needs within the public spheres. Moreover, the acknowledgement and adaptation by planning theory of the Postsecular perspective is essential for planning theory in making it possible to adapt to its sense of rationality.

3. In which way could a Postsecular perspective be complementary to the secular bounds and the secular perspective within planning theory?

In the text below the Postsecular perspective is combined with the secular perspective in order to address its complementariness in reference to planning theory. The positive and negative sides of the perspectives are discussed and their future relevance is elaborated and some points for future research are mentioned.

Within the secular perspective the importance and presence of the non-secular has been mentioned. In the literature review Cox (1965) and Chadwick (1975) stressed the importance of equality within a secular perspective in order to really fulfill the secularization process. Concerns of exclusion and equality are addressed in the secular and Postsecular literature, and it seems that these are not so much a monopoly for the religious or the (western) non-religious. It is probably much more related to extremes, whether found in a religious contemplation or in a secular capitalist environment, as was shown in the case of Jerusalem by Fenster (2011). This deduction makes elaborations about Postsecularity within planning theory less about suspicion or skepticism, and makes room for a framework of complementariness.

Contemporary writings showed us that the secularization theory and thesis have been modified to match up with the contemporary thriving role of religion within society. This makes the Postsecular not only apparent within the secular perspective from a historical point of view as was elaborated by Chadwick and Cox, but also within the body of the secular perspective through the revision of the secularization theory and thesis.

Post secular perspective features are thus clearly apparent within the secular perspective, and as stated before the secularization is directly linked with planning theory. As such the recognitions of a Postsecular perspective by the secular perspective and planning theory is recognized. Although the presence of the Postsecular within planning theory is mostly due to the secular's seeming dominance within planning theory.

Because the literature on planning theory did not directly make notice to any form of Postsecularity, planning theory seems to be a barrier for really acknowledging the need of a Postsecular perspective. This barrier does not exist within the bodies of planning practice and the secularization theory itself, which have shown clear evidence of increasing attention and importance of Postsecular considerations. The secularization theory even adapted itself, due to necessity and new empirical data, which shows the possibilities of a secular and Postsecular perspective within one planning body or theory.

Although the secular perspective within planning theory seems to be dominant, and planning theory is certainly directly linked with secularization, Sandercock and Senbel (2011) have addressed the question if secular humanism is enough to inspire us spiritually. Thus another (or new) rationality basis for planning theory could be found within the process of Postsecularization. Not to replace the (old) secular rationality basis, but rather in being complementary and following the different developments on Postsecularity within cities and the secularization theory. Such a complementary basis for planning theory would make planning theory competent in addressing contemporary issues of a (post) secular character.

In order to get such a composition of planning theory some adaptations of planning theory are necessary. One of the most important adjustments should be (partly) undoing the separation by which planning became more scientific. The issue addressed here was called by Sandercock and Senbel (2011) the separation of planning from its spirituality side. Undoing this separation would make planning somewhat less scientific, but this seems to be in line with the more collaborative and (inter)subjective communicative theories that have evolved. The technical rationality that helped planning theory in becoming scientific has become less significant in complex issues, yet the technical side should be forgotten. It should be used when the issues at stake give the possibility to be addressed in an object-oriented perspective.

Planning theory should become less scientific and make balanced space for the spiritual and metaphysical. In other words, planning theory should reserve relevant space for a Postsecular perspective besides the dominant secular perspective that seems unable to fully inspire us. Under the banner of the Postsecular notions on spirituality, the metaphysical, faith-based, the subjective, the normative and acceptance that not everything can be solved, have been addressed. Some of these notions lie rather closely towards the collaborative and communicative side of planning theory, yet also align to some extent to the complexity concept within planning theory.

In these interfaces lie the possibilities for planning theory to adopt the Postsecular perspective within the planning theory body. This happens by complementariness instead of total renewal of the fundament.

However, a balance is needed between secular oriented rational decision-making and Postsecular oriented rational decision-making, the latter being based on the notions mentioned before (spirituality, faith-based, normative, subjective etc.). One could question the rationality of such Postsecular oriented decision-making, but it should alternatively be seen from the perspective that combines complexity, the communicative side and Postsecularity, which creates a new frame of reference. Thus a complexity balance should address which issues ask for a relatively secular rationality or a relatively Postsecular rationality. The decision-making should also be taken into careful consideration, because of the contemporary role of planners in a less decision-making role and a more mediating role.

A question of interest for a future Postsecular perspective would be whether a Postsecular perspective has interfaces with the rather technical side of planning theory. The links and relations with the communicative and complexity side of planning theory have been addressed in the literature, but the technical side is not really addressed. Would this inquiry stumble upon a perspective of the Postsecular that is not yet really brought into perspective, which probably combines Postsecular/religious rationality with scientific rationality? This would perhaps involve a balance in trust in a metaphysical approach as well in a scientific approach. Such a question should be addressed in future research on a Postsecular perspective, specifically referring to its rather technical form of rationality.

A Postsecular rationality perspective should not make the mistake made by theorists who composed the original secularization theory. A Postsecularization theory should not contain the generalizing concept that the original secularization theory had. This is not only because of contemporary findings, but also as such characteristics do not match with the related concepts of complexity and communicative rationality.

In overcoming the generalization mistake of the secularization theory, the definition of Olson et al. (2012) on Postsecular theory is useful.

“Postsecular theory is concerned with understanding the coproduction of the religious and the secular in modern societies and the discourses, practices, and moral and political projects associated with this coproduction” (Olson et al. 2012, p.4).

It emphasizes the importance of coproduction, and thus evidently should include a perspective that takes account of a geographical composition of secular and Postsecular division. Also the communicative and collaborative features of the Postsecular become eminent again through this definition.

Such a definition and recognition of Postsecularity will also relieve a problem, which became eminent through the literature review and is described by Habermas (2005) as secular pressure, specifically secular pressure on religious traditions and obligations. Practically a relief on secular pressure would mean the possibility and ability of the non-secular to apply their full potential, which currently is focused on social cohesion and community services, but has the potential of much more.

Acknowledgement and reciprocity are keywords for such an objective, from both the secular and the non-secular.

On a planning theoretical level, relief of secular pressure would be a great stimulant in coming towards a balance in planning theory between secular and Postsecular perspectives, theories and rationalities.

The acknowledgement of Friedmann (1987) that planning and planning theory are interdependent, makes evident that the momentarily ever more Postsecular eminence within cities and planning practice cannot be seen as autonomous events that do not effect or should not be taken into consideration by planning theory. It rather leaves the dominant secular perspective within planning theory with the objective of theoretical adaptation of its presence and prominence to cities and planning practice. Planning theory should interrelate and make reciprocity adaptations, mainly by acceptance/acknowledgment of Postsecular importance and rationality. This eventually will make room for evolving Postsecular theories that will need to be balanced with secular oriented theories and perspectives.

This balance could be found by the adaptation to the complexity of the issue and the composition of the planning environments where secular and Postsecular values could differ, but objectively need to be complementary and thus balanced. Although secular and Postsecular values could differ, a deeper ethical connection should be the objective. As shown in the literature review on Post colonialism and

religion, differences in values and belief do not have to be a frustrating factor. It is important nevertheless that for example the common good is used as a binding factor to establish a deep ethical connection.

The role of planners within a Postsecular perspective for society should not be one of the expert, nor merely of a mediator, but of a balanced professional that defines his mediating or expert relations by means of the secular and non-secular in a way that suits the specific (Postsecular) context. Such a role for planners leaves both the object orientation and the (inter) *subjective* orientation open, as well as the specific role of the planner open to variation, expert, mediator or in between. It acknowledges both sides of the modernism landscape and adds a Postsecular perspective to the entity. The latter makes sure that there is an inclusive instead of rejecting formulation, which makes it possible to adapt to Postsecular contemplations.

In the literature review on the Postsecular state it became clear that a Postsecular states allow themselves to be unpredictable, non-prefixed or determined. They allow themselves the freedom to determine their stance according to specific policies (de Witte, 2011). Thus they make their decisions and choose their stance according to the best interest, which resembles the goal of the secular and Postsecular to connect at the common good. Like the stance of the Postsecular state (de Witte 2011) a planner oriented within a Postsecular perspective should neither necessarily have a secular stance, nor a particular neutral position.

Although the role described above is rather complex, this also aligns with the concept of complexity in which issues are becoming more complex and thus the role of the planner should evolve with this. As mentioned in the literature review, the link between complexity and post-structuralism is an interesting one, mainly in the perspective of giving complexity significance within planning, rather than becoming an excuse for incapability of perceiving the ever more complex reality. The possibilities of post-structuralism within a Postsecular planning perspective should be further researched and could possibly give the Postsecular perspective a more theoretical basis within planning theory.

4. Could the secular perspective and a Postsecular perspective be combined within a planning theoretical perspective that gives balance between these two, in order to achieve solutions that address contemporary problems?

In the text below a combining of the Postsecular perspective and secular perspective within planning theory is further elaborated.

As was mentioned in the answering of sub question three, acknowledgement, adaptation and balance are essential elements if a combination is to be achieved between the Postsecular and secular perspective. This adaptation and acknowledgement are specifically intended for planning theory, as it seems to be the last hurdle for the Postsecular perspective towards reaching planning theory. A combination between the two perspectives is thus mainly dependent on the stance the body of planning theory will take in the coming years.

But there is good hope that this objective will be achieved, and planning for Sandercock and Senbel is essentially a work of hope. As was seen in planning practice and the secularization theory who seem to be fulfilling an example role for planning theory, and because of the links between planning theory, planning practice and the secularization theory.

If the secular and Postsecular perspective would be combined within a planning theoretical perspective, one of its main features would be a complementary basis for rationality within planning theory, which would encompass a Postsecular perspective on rationality.

This perspective would not replace the secular rationality perspective but would serve as an balancing entity that made planning theory not only about the scientific, but also about the spiritual.

Such a complementary perspective on rationality would make planning theory competent in addressing contemporary issues of (post) secular character.

Another feature of a combined secular and Postsecular perspective within planning theory would be the relation between the rather communicative, collaborative and complexity side of secular perspective and the Postsecular perspective at large. This sounds rather vast, but the literature review did show a clear link between these notions, and in these interfaces lie the possibilities for planning theory to adopt the Postsecular perspective, which should be on a basis of complementariness and reframing, and thus not on replacing or paradigm shifting.

It is therefore possible to combine the perspectives within planning theory in order to create a perspective that balances and addresses contemporary issues. This should be done in relative equality for the secular and Postsecular considerations in which the specific context, complexity and geographic orientation of issues are significant. In short the key characteristics of such a combined perspective would include acknowledgement and adaptation by both sides, in which a main step is to be made by the planning theory body. A balance in rationality orientation on the secular of Postsecular has to be implied in order to competently address contemporary issues. Lastly complexity, the communicative and collaborative should be seen as related to the Postsecular perspective.

As was addressed before, a relation between the technical side of the secular perspective and the Postsecular perspective did not really appear in the literature review. For future implementation of such a perspective within planning theory further research on this topic would be beneficial.

5.2. Answering the research question

In recapitulation, each sub question has contributed in answering the research question. In the text below these answers are combined into a comprehensive answering of the research question as was constructed in the beginning of this research.

This research started with a twofold objective, firstly it addressed the question whether there is a Postsecular perspective within planning theory, besides the dominant secular perspective, which seemed to have met some of its boundaries. The incentive for this question was found in such secular boundaries but also in the renewed role of religion within the public sphere, which have proven to be functional as a practical answer to some of the secular bounds. The second objective of this research question tried to appoint the relevance of the Postsecular perspective for the secular perspective within planning theory. Thus the research question has a twofold answering.

Besides the eminent Postsecular perspective in cities, is there a Postsecular perspective within planning theory, in addition to the existing prominent secular perspective within planning theory?

The literature review on the Postsecular did again confirm a thriving role for the Postsecular within cities and planning practice. Surprisingly it was also acknowledged and implemented in the theory of secularization, which showed adaptation to the changing (or continuing) role of the religious within the public and identical sphere. It is thus through this secularization theory that one of the main arguments for a positive confirmation of the first part of the research question come to exist. But it has to be addressed that planning theory itself still has work to do, in order to really acknowledge and adapt to the eminent Postsecular perspective in planning practice and within the secularization theory. The ways to achieve this Postsecular perspective within planning theory have also been addressed and could be enumerated by the recognized links between the Postsecular and the rather late communicative and complex side of planning theory.

It thus seems that there is a Postsecular perspective within planning theory, and the first steps to acknowledgement and adaptation have interestingly been taken by the secularization theorist. It is now up to the planning theorists and thus the total body of planning theory to take this path on in fully establishing a Postsecular perspective within planning theory that seeks to balance with and be complementary to the secular perspective.

And if so, is a Postsecular perspective within planning theory relevant for contemporary secular perspective bounds and/ or the secular perspective within planning theory at large?

Through the literature review a rather wide variety of issues within the city perspective of planning have been addressed. Some have a fairly direct influence and reference for planning theory, while yet others are more abstract and specifically city oriented. But surprisingly the city perspectives on the secular and Postsecular did show interesting points of relevance for planning theory.

It is noteworthy that the literature review showed that secular bounds have (partly) renewed the religious importance within the public sphere and as a result the religious identical side has become more important within this public sphere. Rationality has been an agreed basis within planning theory throughout the different discussions and debates within planning theory. As the literature has shown the secular oriented rationality perspective has become less scientific through the coming of the subjective communicative side. The Postsecular perspective would bring a much-needed balance in this rationality perspective, as such a Postsecular rationality perspective would help to address contemporary (post) secular problems within society. This is already taking place within the practical side of planning. Another relevant consideration of the Postsecular for the secular bounds within planning theory is their interrelatedness. Because planning practice and secularization have adapted and acknowledged the importance of the Postsecular, its relevance seems to be manifest.

The issue of inequality has been largely addressed throughout the literature review, yet the literature review has shown the possibilities of Postsecularization in combining the secular and non-secular consideration within one perspective. To come to this the notion of reciprocity, acknowledgement and adaptation have been much discussed and will continue to be significant in order to come towards a Postsecular perspective within planning theory.

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