**Feminism, Gender, and Planning**

**WOMEN PLAN TORONTO**

Incorporating Gender Issues in Urban Planning

By Barbara Loevinger Rahder

Grassroots women can organize to change the way cities are planned and developed. Women Plan Toronto (WPT) is an example of how they can do it.

WPT is a grassroots women’s organization that uses participatory methods to involve diverse women in changing urban planning processes and outcomes in Toronto. Its purpose is to raise awareness and advocate practical alternatives for addressing women’s planning concerns.

WPT is needed because of the critical urban problems faced by women. In the following, I will give a brief background on the status of women in Canada. I then outline a few of the projects WPT has organized to include women’s concerns in the planning process. I will conclude with a brief analysis of the organization’s main strengths and weaknesses.

**Status of Women in Canada**

Canadian women tend to live longer, earn less, do more unpaid housework and child care, have more difficulty finding affordable housing, and experience more violence than Canadian men.

- In most age groups, women and men are found in equal numbers, but over the age of 65, 62 percent are women, and this proportion increases with increasing age.
- There is a significant wage gap between men and women. In 1993, a woman working full time in Canada earned an average of 72 cents for every dollar earned by a man. The gap is smaller among professionals, but still wide.
- According to a survey for the Canadian Institute of Planners, women planners earn 82 cents for every dollar earned by a male planner.
- Much of women’s work is unpaid. In 1992, Canadian women spent an average of 1,482 hours on unpaid housework, including child care, compared to 831 hours for men.
- Women have more difficulty finding affordable housing. According to the

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DO EQUITY PLANNERS CARE ABOUT HEALTH CARE?

By Patricia A. Nolan

Responses and alternative views are welcome.

I was standing in the lobby of the massive 918-bed Cook County Hospital complex in Chicago when it finally hit me. Here in the heart of one of the country's largest public hospitals I was surrounded by people from communities with poor housing, unemployment, poverty and crime. But lack of adequate health care also threatens these communities, I realized that planners who focus on community development are often concerned about physical and economic conditions, but I rarely hear much from them about the accessibility and quality of health care.

That absence of attention to health care is an example of an important point: planners have the ability to cure the sick and improve people's lives in much the same way that decent and affordable housing, economic development and a cleaner environment improve lives. Elected officials talk about adequate access to health care for all. But as we approach the next century at least 41 million Americans will not even have health insurance. Doctors and health care providers will continue to treat a woman in labor three months early who had no prenatal care, a man in shock from diabetes that could have been easily stabilized, and a child in fever from infectious diseases that were curable decades ago.

There are no signs that Congress will fix the system despite the talk of "health care reform." The uninsured are not the only ones left at risk. The lack of will and leadership in Congress has ramifications for all citizens. The reasons for widespread concern are apparent in the policies crafted most recently by Congress:

- The uninsured are further threatened by a recently passed health insurance portability bill. This bill allows private health insurers to impose preexisting condition exclusions beyond twelve months, and does not guarantee access to the same benefits or limit the premiums that can be charged;
- The new Children's Health Insurance Program will cover less than half of the ten million uninsured children;
- Medicaid recipients will watch states use greater flexibility to get around federal standards designed to ensure that low-income persons have access to comprehensive benefit packages. Now states can force Medicaid recipients into low cost Medicaid-only managed care plans with minimal federal oversight;
- Medicare beneficiaries are at risk because total reimbursements to Medicare providers are capped based on previous utilization levels. This creates incentives for Medicare providers, like home health agencies, to withhold care from persons in greatest need who are least profitable to serve;
- Even people with private insurance are in danger as more employers tell them that they can only choose between two policies, neither of which covers basic needs in times of emergency or illness.

Planners need to deal with the connections between planning, community and individual health if there is ever to be adequate health care for all. Planners have the ability and skills to quickly document and analyze common factors in the health care debate. We will also have to examine the public welfare, psychological, and health implications of our social and physical planning work. Through such a process our voice will become stronger in the debate over the techniques, goals and products of public health policymaking. This will only happen if we are serious about improving the quality of life in our communities and cities. Or shall we wait for Congress?

Patricia Nolan is a co-Chair of Planners Network.

WHETHER PN?

Planners Network started 21 years ago, with discussion and debate about the role of progressive planners. As the political climate changes, we need to constantly re-evaluate who we are and where we stand — individually and as an organization, within our professions and more broadly.

One of the big questions we have always faced is whether we should be more of a communications network. Should we go beyond the newsletter, conferences, local forums and the many informal activities that bring us together? Should we initiate direct action, lobbying, or other campaigns, and on what issues?

Over the years, PN membership has become more diverse. We include people working in community development, housing, environmental justice, health and human services, transportation, urban and rural planning, etc. What critical issues should we focus on?

We invite you to send in your thoughts and ideas. They can be short notes or longer articles up to 1,200 words. Items will be considered for a special PN issue this fall. Submit your work via mail to the PN office (listed on page 15) or via email (pn@planning.org).
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This lack of attention to health care policy and system in this country has the ability to cure the sick and improve people’s lives in much the same way that decent and affordable housing, economic development, and a cleaner environment improve lives. Elected officials talk about adequate access to health care for all. But as we approach the next century at least 41 million Americans will not even have health insurance. Doctors and health care providers will continue to treat a woman in labor three months early who had no pre-natal care, a man in shock from diabetes that could have been easily stabilized, and a child in fever from infectious diseases that were curable decades ago.

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I enjoyed the article in the Planners Network #129 (p. 1), "Sustainability Is Not Enough." As the editor of the publication Sustainable Transport, I feel implicated, and thus have devoted more time than I probably should have in responding.

I feel compelled to point out some areas where I feel Peter's arguments are doing a disservice to progressives within the admittedly heterogeneous environmental movement. I'd like to take issue with the following of Peter's comments: "The costs of moving towards environmental sustainability will not be borne equally by everyone. In conventional economic terms, different people have different discount rates for the same cost or benefit. Meeting higher environmental standards increases costs: some will profit from supplying the wheelwright to meet those standards. Others, not able to pay for them, will have to do without."

While who bears the cost of environmental clean up will ultimately be resolved through a high-conflict political process, and the likelihood that the poor will end up shouldering a majority of the cost is real, it is also true that most of the costs of environmental degradation are (or will be) born by the poor.

Leaving the air as polluted as it currently is in cities like Beijing, Mexico City, Jakarta, and New Delhi is leading to elevated mortality and morbidity rates, particularly among the poor, particularly those concentrated in higher density urban areas adjacent to major highways or industrial areas. Not addressing these problems is costing the poor years of their lives. Contamination of water supplies, improper collection of solid waste, deforestation, all disproportionately affect the health and well being of the poor.

Admittedly, climate change is an environmental issue which is unlikely to be on the top of the list of concerns of low income groups simply because they don't have the luxury to take such a long term view. But if the price of food, fuel, and water increase in the long run due to global warming or unsustainable environmental practices today, the poor will, as usual, suffer disproportionately.

Most of the costs of environmental degradation are born by the poor. The fact that the rich occasionally suffer from these problems creates an opportunity to convince them to do something about the problems that their consumption patterns are creating.

The fact that the rich occasionally suffer from these problems as well at least creates an opportunity to convince elites to do something about the problems that their consumption patterns are creating. Class conflict is as inherent to political battles surrounding the environment as it is on other issues. The term 'sustainability' is an intentionally vague term because it holds together coalitions of forest, animal, and climate folks (what is called the 'green' agenda) and the housing, water, and bicycle folks (we are labeled the 'brown' agenda). It just so happens that American money tends to be 'green', but we are 'browns' we still need 'green' money.

Even inside the 'brown' agenda, as among sustainable transport advocates, the term is intentionally left ambiguous in order to not break up useful coalitions, there are serious class conflicts, but it would be wrong to overemphasize them as pro-environmental regulation folks as being pro-rich. Most of us would support an increase in oil prices, on the grounds that the majority of the cost would be borne by upper income groups who drive, compared to the poor who tend to walk and occasionally take public transportation (I'm talking developing countries here). While fuel taxes, particularly in developing countries, are a comparatively progressive form of taxation, the problem is that it does tend to increase bus fares which does hit the poor. While in places where the public controls the transit system this can be avoided in theory by simply increasing the level of subsidy to the transit system, in the largely private sector dominated transit systems of developing countries such insulation is unlikely.

My point is that the only truly proper policy would be one which increases the costs paid by polluting monorails through greater taxation, and enforcing tighter emissions controls through environmental regulation, while insulating the poor from these increased costs by increasing subsidies to public transit to cover these additional costs. Such policies should be politically possible in some cases, and presenting environmental issues as necessarily anti-poor is only supporting the status quo which is truly disastrous for the poor.

Whether from the point of view of the poor it is better to preserve the disastrous status quo or to pay for the environmental clean up despite the additional cost burden is one best answered by the poor themselves. Often when low income neighbors are offered the option of superior garbage collection, water collection, and sewerage, they are willing to pay for this service, and their willingness or unwillingness tends to be related to their confidence that the services will actually be provided more than any inherent concern or lack of concern for their environment.

Progressive need to think through the relationship between environmental issues and class issues more carefully. Recent efforts by Harvey and others have been disappointments. Environmental justice is not the only class conscious and progressive element of the environmental movement; that would be unfair. The treatment by environmental economists of natural resources as 'capital assets', and the numerous neo-Marxian ideas such as the notion of the earth's 'carrying capacity' should be thoroughly critiqued without jettisoning the legitimacy of environmental concerns about public health and long term costs faced by the poor.

Peter Marcuse responds:

I have no disagreement with Walter Hook's points (except on one minor issue: the role of ambiguity). My critique was aimed at the wide-spread tendency to expand the concept of sustainability from its ecological meaning to apply it to every possible urban issue and then some (making it essentially equivalent to "good," and pretending everyone will agree on its implications if only they understood the issue properly). I was not objecting to its use as one argument among many (environmental justice surely being another) on specifically green or brown issues. Walter agrees with me that the poor will likely pay a disproportionate, or at least unfair, portion of the cost of environmental improvement, and I agree with him that they now bear a disproportionate part of the cost of environmental degradation (and should have said that explicitly).

I don't know how the balance works out (the long-term vs. short-term issue, the discount rate difference, certainly complicates the matter), or if it's very useful to try to figure it out, since the obvious policy response should be to make sure the poor DON'T bear an unfair part of the costs, as Walter points out. I appreciate that Walter acknowledges the ambition of "sustainability," and the occasional usefulness of that ambition in creating coalitions. Everybody doesn't have to agree on everything to work together on some things, true. But I think there may be some doubt as to whether coalitions built on fundamental ambiguities are truly themselves sustainable in the long run.

Peter Marcuse <pm35@columbia.edu>

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Peter Marcuse invites readers to write in response to articles and editorials or to correspond with other PNers on local, regional, and global issues.

Please submit letters typed and double-spaced. Email correspondence is encouraged! Send to: <pm@pratt.edu> or Thomas Angotti, Executive Editor, Planners Network, 379 DeKalb Avenue, Brooklyn, New York 11205.

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PN LETTERS

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Planners Network Sustainer Campaign

Planners Network is growing and diversifying. The newsletter is becoming a strong voice for progressive planning. PN's conferences mix community participation with professional planning. More local groups are forming, and new publications are being developed.

But PN has only one source of income — member contributions. Our average contribution is about $25, which leaves us with an annual deficit of from three to five thousand dollars. This year, there's no PN conference to help make up the difference.

Our Goal is 50 Contributions of at least $100 each.

If you're having a fairly good year, won't you help sustain PN? If it's time for your annual contribution, can you be a little more generous? Your contribution to PN is tax-deductible. Send a check to:

Planners Network
Attn: Daiso Hall
379 DeKalb Avenue
Brooklyn, New York 11205

Please submit letters typed and double-spaced. Email correspondence is encouraged! Send to: <pnn@pratt.edu> or Thomas Angotti, Executive Editor, Planners Network, 379 DeKalb Avenue, Brooklyn, New York 11205.
A conference year off without a conference, plans are now underway for a 1999 conference at the University of Massachusetts in Lowell. Chris Tilley at UMass is the conference coordinator, and he will be working with the PN Steering Committee to develop a program and agenda. The conference will be co-sponsored by the UMass Department of Regional Economic and Social Development, with the support of Nancy Kleinewski, Dean of Humanities and Social Sciences. Tentative themes for the conference are economic development, labor and immigration.

If you have ideas or are interested in working on conference planning, contact Chris Tilley at the Dept. of Regional Economic and Social Development, UMass, Lowell, MA 01854. (978) 934-2796. FAX: (978) 934-4028. EMAIL: <Chris_Tilley@uml.edu>.

MEETING THE URBAN HEALTH CHALLENGE

New York City, September 18 & 19

PNers Tom Angotti and Eva Hanhardt are among key organizers of the “Meeting the Urban Health Challenge” conference, which will explore academic, professional, government and community-development links between the disciplines of public health and urban planning.

Through the disciplines of public health and urban planning emerged the common goal of preventing urban outbreaks of infectious disease, little overlap between the fields exists today. Yet how can the health, environmental and development problems facing urban residents be adequately addressed without approaches that integrate public health and urban planning assessment, regulatory, and intervention strategies? The conference will examine what conflicts and common ground exist between the disciplines.

For further information, write to: Hunter Center for Occupational and Environmental Health, Conference Abstracts, 425 East 26th Street, Box 521, New York, New York 10010. Or, send an email to: <dkass@hunter.cuny.edu>.

STEERING COMMITTEE NEWS

Tom Angotti has stepped down as a Co-Chair to devote more time to editing PN’s expanding bi-monthly publication and developing a book on community-based planning. The co-chairs are Marie Kennedy, Patricia Nolan and Peg Seip.

BRAZIL ’99

PNer Peter Marcuse has been discussing with Brazilian planners the possibility of a conference next year in Brazil to discuss issues related to progressive approaches to community planning. Interested PNers should contact Peter at pmarc35@columbia.edu.

PN WEB UPDATE

At the PN Steering Committee meeting earlier this year it was decided to begin putting each issue of Planners Network on our website. Assistant Editor Nigel Hall is heading up this project, with assistance from 3C member and webmaster Winston Piloot. By the end of the summer, each subsequent issue will be available. From then on, we will be publishing the newsletter simultaneously in print and on the web. Note that our web URL recently changed — surf to: <http://www.plannersnetwork.org>.

Have news to share with other Planners Networkers? Send your news to Planners Network, 379 Dekalb Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11205. Or email <pn@pratt.edu>.

LIFTING WOMEN’S VOICES

The Roofless Women’s Action Research Mobilization and Participatory Action Research

By Marie Kennedy

How can progressive planners work more effectively with low-income women to address urgent issues they face, such as the increasing risk and conditions of homelessness? What alternative models of needs analysis and policy planning lend themselves to increasing the power of those most affected?

The experiences of the Roofless Women’s Action Research Mobilization in Massachusetts (R-WARM) offer lessons to planners, academics and researchers who are looking for some answers. This project is an example of participatory action research, an underutilized approach that responds to the shortcomings of more traditional research and education and does little to change conditions such as homelessness.

Adding Participation and Action to Research

When a group of women planners and service providers in the Boston area wanted to investigate the conditions of homeless women in Massachusetts, they started out to design a standard social science investigation. They had already designed a survey which they intended to administer to a sample of homeless women, when they were challenged to be more participatory by two formerly homeless women in the group. Pointing out the sensitive nature of the desired information, these women soon convinced all involved that the results would be better if the project were undertaken by women who had experienced homelessness themselves.

Action to influence public policy and service delivery as it affected homeless women had always been a goal of the project and as the participatory focus of the project developed it was recognized that the advocacy effort would also be more effective if led by women who had experienced homelessness. Enhancing the leadership capabilities of homeless and formerly homeless women became a major goal of the project.

To enhance the goal of leadership development, formerly homeless women were given the opportunity to earn a bachelor’s degree at the College of Public and Community Service (CPCS), where I teach, at the University of Massachusetts/Boston. In the Fall of 1994, six formerly homeless women, chosen on the basis of an interview process, enrolled in CPCS and became the core researchers of R-WARM. They have earned academic credits for some of the project work. Grant funds have provided each with free tuition and fees, a stipend, and reimbursement for child care and transportation. I have provided coordination, technical advice and teaching, along with Lynn Peterson of the Women’s Institute for Housing and Economic Development and Nancy Bruzel, then with the City of Boston Emergency Shelter Commission. A steering committee was formed to advise the project, comprised half of formerly homeless women and half of representatives of a variety of groups concerned with homelessness, women, poverty, and domestic violence.

The research project has produced comprehensive quantitative and qualitative data about women’s homelessness in Massachusetts. The formerly homeless researchers designed a broad-ranging survey which they administered to 126 currently homeless women. Informational sessions were held in shelters and drop-in centers throughout the state and the formerly homeless R-WARM researchers conducted all of the interviews. Data from the survey was supplemented with information gathered from four focus groups with formerly homeless women. Information was provided to the researchers from urban, suburban, and rural communities in various areas of the state. Included were women of different ages, racial and ethnic backgrounds, and single women as well as women with children.

R-WARM released a report of findings and policy recommendations linked to pending legislation in a well-attended event at the Massachusetts State House a year ago. We are now following up with more individualized lobbying efforts and working with various ongoing advocacy efforts.
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Kennedy

Continued from page 5

groups to incorporate R-WARM findings in their work. The researchers prepared several pamphlets addressing specific areas of concern to the homeless women they interviewed: the civil rights of homeless women; recovering from domestic violence while homeless; parenting issues while homeless; and the particular situation of "single" homeless women, many of whom are trying to regain custody of minor children. Other formerly homeless women have joined Roofless Women (the shortened name by which the transformed advocacy organization is now known) and the group is distributing the pamphlets and doing outreach in shelters and drop-in centers across the state. They are also doing legislative advocacy and work with agencies to improve their service delivery.

All of us involved in R-WARM learned a great deal, not only about the causes and solutions to women's homelessness, but also about the strengths and challenges of participatory action research. It was constantly challenging for professionals involved in the project to make their technical expertise and broader perspective available to the core group while making sure that ultimate power for directing the project rested with the formerly homeless women.

Most affected by the problems being researched in the driver's seat. One group in our society that continues to be marginalized in planning decisions is women, especially low-income women and women of color.

Participatory action research is particularly appropriate for drawing women into effective participation in policy debates and planning decisions that impact their lives and the lives of their families and communities. The way of knowing that women have historically relied on and which was particularly recognized and developed in the support and consciousness-raising groups of the 1960s and 1970s, is essential to participatory research theory. As Peter Park wrote in Voices of Change:

In living with other human beings we come to know them in an interactive sense. This knowledge does not derive from analysis of data about other human beings but from sharing a life-world together — speaking with one another and exchanging accounts against the background of common experience, tradition, history, and culture.

Interactive knowledge makes human community possible. Without a common stock of knowledge of this kind, it is not possible to form social solidarity capable of mutual support and common action.

Participatory research doesn't turn its back on the type of knowledge that many planning projects rely on solely — quantitative data responding to questions generated by "experts". Instead, it insists that the questions be posed by those most affected by the issues being researched and that transformative action result from the research.

Central to participatory research is critical investigation by those most affected into the problems they face and in light of what they wish to achieve.

Participatory action research is concerned with uncovering the structural causes of social conditions and, through rational discussion and reflection, leads to questions of what is right for the common good.

Realization that problems derive from human action lead people to understand that people can also change the way things are. Critique turns into action.

Through struggle, people acquire more knowledge, leading to further action, in the process of what Paulo Freire calls "conscientization."

We can evaluate any planning process by finding out whether it was successful in "lifting all the voices", in bringing pre-eminently marginalized voices into the discussion, in organizing the unorganized to participate. How many people moved from being objects of planning to being subjects in the process? How successful were we as planners in framing a process that is comfortable and encouraging for people to participate, particularly those not used to speaking in public and not facile at articulating their concerns and visions? How culturally sensitive were we to different forms of expression and self-organization? Were we able to successfully confront dynamics of racism, ethnocentrism, sexism, ageism, classism, or other exclusionary patterns of behavior in our society? What practical accommodations did we make to reduce the barriers to participation for groups that have been left out — child care for single mothers, translation for non-English-speaking folks, meeting times that accommodate work schedules, etc.? Overall, how successful were we at nurturing well-informed, genuinely democratic politics and discourse, dialogue about options and the "values" by which those options for policy and design may be evaluated?

Evaluated against these criteria, the Roofless Women's Action Research Mobilization, through its use of participatory action research, would get high marks.

Marie Kennedy is Co-Chair of Planners Network and teaches at the College of Public and Community Service, University of Massachusetts/Boston.

For more information:


Lynn Peterson with Deborah Gray. "Raising the Roof on Research: Case Study of Roofless Women's Action Research Mobilization." A 1998 Richard Schwarzman Paper on Community Development. Available from the Lincoln Filene Center, Tufts University, Medford, MA 02155. $10 (make check payable to the Trustees of Tufts College).

Roofless Women's Action Research Mobilization. Lifting the Voices of Homeless Women. 1997, Roofless Women, c/o Women's Institute for Housing and Economic Development, 14 Beacon Street, 6th Floor, Boston, MA 02108. $3.00 (make check payable to WIEHD).

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KENNEDY

Continued from page 5

groups to incorporate R-WARM findings in their work. The researchers prepared several pamphlets addressing specific areas of concern to the homeless women they interviewed: the civil rights of homeless women; recovering from domestic violence while homeless; parenting issues while homeless; and the particular situation of "single" homeless women, many of whom are trying to regain custody of minor children. Other formerly homeless women have joined Roofless Women (the shortened name by which the transformed advocacy organization is now known) and the group is distributing the pamphlets and doing outreach in shelters and drop-in centers across the state. They are also doing legislative advocacy and work with agencies to improve their service delivery.

All of us involved in R-WARM learned a great deal, not only about the causes and solutions to women's homelessness, but also about the strengths and challenges of participatory action research. It was constantly challenging for professionals involved in the project to make their technical expertise and broader perspective available to the core group while making sure that ultimate power for directing the project rested with the formerly homeless women.

For eliciting unusually forthright responses, and more detailed and possibly more truthful answers to interview questions. And this is one of the outstanding strengths of this approach to needs assessment. Another strength was in the formulation of the survey questions themselves. Critical questions were posed that probably wouldn't have been thought of by an outside professional, and the formerly homeless women also provided a "sensitivity screen" for the wording and ordering of questions.

To date, the most stunning strength of the project has been the growth in self-confidence and skills of the R-WARM researchers themselves. They have become a strong support group. Each of them has become an effective advocate for all homeless women. They have spoken out in many public forums: a legislative breakfast organized around housing issues in Boston, the United Nations Habitat Conference in Istanbul, the National Coalition conference and conferences, the Planners Network conference in Brooklyn, the Highlander Center workshop on participatory research in Tennessee, and national homelessness conferences in Washington, D.C. and Texas. Three of the R-WARM researchers have graduated, each winning one of the highest awards granted by the College of Public and Community Service, and two are continuing in graduate school. The others are still pursuing their degrees. Several of the researchers have gained good jobs and all serve on advisory committees and agency boards as a result of their connection to R-WARM.

Aspects of the R-WARM project have become models for other efforts. Faculty at Arizona State are attempting to replicate the project and the project is being featured in the Grassroots Guide to Participatory Research being prepared by the University of Tennessee. This year, R-WARM won the Taking A Stand award from the Boston Women's Fund and the Opening Door award from the Women's Institute for Housing and Economic Development. With the design help of R-WARM researchers, and modeled on the leadership development goals of R-WARM, Project Hope, the Women's Institute, and the College of Public and Community Service have now established a new program, Women in Community Development, through which another cohort of low-income women are earning college degrees and becoming leading advocates for other low-income women.

Participatory Action Research: A Progressive Approach

Participatory action research is particularly suited to "lifting all the voices." It's a process that supports the local coalitions and conferences, the Planners Network conference in Brooklyn, the Highlander Center workshop on participatory research in Tennessee, and national homelessness conferences in Washington, D.C. and Texas. Three of the R-WARM researchers have graduated, each winning one of the highest awards granted by the College of Public and Community Service, and two are continuing in graduate school. The others are still pursuing their degrees. Several of the researchers have gained good jobs and all serve on advisory committees and agency boards as a result of their connection to R-WARM.

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Participatory action research supports the voices from the margins in speaking, analyzing, building alliances and taking action.

Participatory action research is critical investigation by those most affected into the problems they face and in light of what they wish to achieve. Participatory research is concerned with uncovering the structural causes of social conditions and, through national discussions, reflection, and leadership, to questions of what is right for the common good. Realization that problems derive from human action lead people to understand that people can also change the way things are. Critique turns into action. Through struggle, people acquire more knowledge, leading to further action, in the process of what Paulo Freire calls "conscientization."

We can evaluate any planning process by finding out whether it was successful in "lifting all the voices," in bringing pre-vocally marginalized voices into the discussion, in organizing the unorganized to participate. How many people moved from being objects of planning to being subjects in the process? How successful were we as planners in framing a process that is comfortable and encouraging for people to participate, particularly those not used to speaking in public and not facile at articulating their concerns and visions? How culturally sensitive were we to different forms of expression and self-organization? Were we able to successfully confront dynamics of racism, ethnocen- trism, sexism, ageism, classism, or other exclusionary patterns of behavior in our society? What practical accommodations did we make to reduce the barriers to partici- pation for groups that have been left out — child care for single mothers, transla- tion for non-English-speaking folks, meeting times that accommodate work schedules, etc.? Overall, how successful were we at nurturing well-informed, genu- inely democratic politics and discourse, dialogue about options and the "values" by which those options for policy and design may be evaluated?

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8 JULY/ AUGUST 1998
THE COMPLEXITY OF GENDER
A Caribbean Perspective
By Wanda I. Mills

Community building and development efforts need to take into account differences among groups within communities. I propose a model that looks at class, race, ethnicity, nationality, colonial status, and more. Gender and social position differ among women and men. This model examines gender differences by examining storytelling, life and group histories, and popular art forms to complement more traditional research methods, such as surveying and quantitative techniques.

The rigid indicators used in traditional research and planning often fail to reveal the true quality of life as defined by diverse value systems and intangible ways of being. Even many feminist discussions about lower income minority women and women from the South have characterized such women as being uniformly poor, powerless, and vulnerable, quite often oppressed because of their gender. However, women from the South, and Caribbean women in particular, have diverse experiences and understandings of gender. The strong desire by women to assert productive, consistent and reasonable lifestyles, often in the most adverse of circumstances, is often downplayed in such analyses.

The Diverse and Multiple Identities of the Caribbean
The Caribbean, with its diverse and complex socio-cultural conditions, is a laboratory for challenging the dualistic ways in which gender differences are commonly understood. Cultural traditions and gendered histories of transplanted global cultures, including the American, African, European, and Asian, converge in ways that are unique to each island and place.

Barbadean scholar Eudine Bartheaux describes this condition as a complex, shifting interaction between gendered relations, race, class, and sexual identity. Multiple identities overlap and interact, changing at different times, based on variations in social circumstances and conditions. Power relations among men and women in the Caribbean are part of a double paradox in which patriarchal and matrarchial structures exist simultaneously. Feminist geographer Janet Monnens proposes that, "within the Caribbean region, differences in class, race, and religion, there is an ideological unity of patriarchy, of female subordination and dependence. Yet, there is also a vibrant living tradition of female economic autonomy, of female headed households, and family structures in which women, if often marginalized."

To further illustrate this complexity, I will introduce two Antillean metaphors: "kalalo" and "et moyogoe." "Kalalo" is a regional dish (similar to Cajun "gumbo") including assorted greens, meat, seafood, and savory seasonings. The origins of the dish are uncertain. It has been traced by different people to Africa, Europe, and the Pre-Colombian Carib peoples. Although the variations and differences are many, most Caribbean peoples identify the dish as kalalo (there are variations in spelling). Just as there are "place specific" variations in what constitutes kalalo, there are variations in the local, historical influences under which Caribbean "female" and "male" identities are constructed.

The other term, "et moyogoe" is suggestive of African origins, and often appears in Spanish Caribbean discourse. Simply put, the term suggests chaotic complexity, or random disorder. A deeper interpretation of the term implies an entangled, intertwined state of being. Gendered complexity can be defined in a similar manner. Instead of perceiving relations as orderly, which encourages stereotyping, it could be more advantageous to consider the complexity and unpredictability of gendered relations. This approach requires entering from a perspective of "not knowing," and then working through the entangled strands that make up "et moyogoe," or gendered differences.

A Postmodern Model
In contrast, Eudine Bartheaux proposes a postmodern feminist model that distinguishes itself from the universalizing tendencies of other theories on women and development. Both women and men are considered as equally gendered. What is understood as "female" and "male" are equally gendered behaviors. Therefore, both women and men are equally embedded in gender constructions. Women, as well as men, can resist male dominated relations by refusing to accept stereotypes on women's roles. Bartheaux argues that, for the most part, previous literature has defined women as both non-male, and as a subset of man. She instead proposes a framework where women are defined by a social construction of gender, which is not associated with being non-male, but based on the various ways in which society interacts with women. Women's agency, therefore, is viewed as the vehicle to social advancement.

This model has three important components: recognizing difference; organizing political action based on differences and commonalties; and acknowledging the gendered nature of all social relations. It distinguishes differences among women of the same race with differing historical experiences; division along ethnic lines; and distinctions among women of similar racial, historical and cultural experiences but with different class backgrounds. Interactive issues such as racism, colonialism, and perceptions of inferiority also figure prominently.

San Antón and Piñones, Puerto Rico
My experiences with gender relations in the communities of San Antón and Piñones, Puerto Rico show the relevance of this approach. San Antón and Piñones are approximately 70 miles apart. The populations are predominately black (by United States and Puerto Rico standards). Socio-economic characteristics are statistically similar, and the communities share patterns of cultural, economic, political, and spatial marginality.

In San Antón, community leadership and spatial practices center around women. After the abolition of slavery in 1873, freed women and men migrated from surrounding areas and settled in the San Antón barrio. Eventually, San Antón contained the largest concentration of freed blacks in southern Puerto Rico. In many cases, the first generation of female headed households, and established their economic independence by working as seamstresses, embroiderers, market women, laundries, and maids. The women exhibited sexual and economic autonomy by pooling their resources with other women. The transfer of property often passed through female lineages. Often, husbands and male partners from outside the community were expected to move into the spouse's property in San Antón.

By contrast, the origins of Piñones are traced to its transition from an Arawak to an Afro-Puerto Rican settlement during the 18th century. In subsequent centuries, the community's isolation allowed its residents to live autonomously under male-centered leadership. Piñones residents actively resisted slavery and sharecropping during the 19th century, and developers and the state apparatus during the 20th century. Male domination and leadership remains, for the most part, unquestioned. Most women accept male authority along with their male dependent roles.

Historically, the female role of housewife amas de casa is considered an ideal. At the risk of oversimplification, the contrast in gender roles, along with the historical factors that influenced those differences, is readily apparent. The communities' relative proximity to each other, the similarities in economic, household, and racial characteristics, and their common national identity, contrast with the unmissable disparities in the gendered relationships among both communities.

History and Memory
Scholars are increasingly examining how historical processes affect the lives of women, and how memory can serve as an essential medium for defining the past. Oral sources and methods are particularly instrumental in providing substantive insights on inferred meanings and values. Through this communicative process, individuals create the space, the ideas about the present and the future.

There are several caveats, however, according to historian Mary Chamberlain. Female life histories present dilemmas in terms of collection, content, style and the interpretation of data, often times due to the strongly male bias of social science methods. In addition, social scientists trained in the Western tradition find it difficult to describe women as autonomous personalities and as selves in their own right.

There needs to be more research on how community building and development can use new methods to examine issues of meaning. Oral histories can be a prime or supportive source for understanding the histories of social groups who, by reason of gender, class, race, education, or culture are denied other conventional sources.

Suggested reading:
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Community building and development efforts need to take into account differences among groups within communi-
ties. I propose a model that looks at how class, race, ethnicity, nationality, colonial status, sexuality and gender produce diverse relationships among women and men. This model examines gender differences by using storytelling, life and group histories, and popular art forms to complement more traditional research meth-
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The rigid indicators used in traditional research and planning often fail to reveal the true quality of life as defined by diverse value systems and intangible ways of being. Even many feminist discussions about lower income minority women and women from the South have characterized such women as being uniformly poor, powerless and vulnerable, quite often oppressed because of their gender. However, women from the South, and Caribbean women in particular, have diverse experiences and understandings of gender. The strong wished desire by women to assert productive, consistent and reasonable lifestyles, often in the most adverse of circumstances, is often downplayed in such analyses.

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Power relations among men and women in the Caribbean are part of a dou-

ble paradox in which patriarchal and matriarchal structures exist simultane-
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To further illustrate this complexity, I will introduce two Antillean metaphors: "kalaloo" and "el mogoye." Kalaloo is a regional dish (similar to Cajun "gumbo") including assorted greens, meats, seafood, and savory seasonings. The origins of the dish are uncertain. It has been traced by different people to Africa, Europe and the Pre-Colombian Carib peoples. Although the variations and differences are many, most Caribbean peoples identify the dish as kalaloo (there are variations in spelling). Just as there are "place specific" variations in what constitutes kalaloo, there are variations in the local, historical influences under which Caribbean "female" and "male" identities are constructed.

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1. Patterns of single motherhood are doc-
umented by the Municipality of Ponce's slave registry (1873), where enslaved mothers are classified as single. Ponce's plantation econ-
omy emerged during the 17th century when the majority of enslaved African laborer came from the African Congo region. Patterns defining the transfer of property through female lineages are also found in this area.

Wanda I. Mills is a doctoral candidate at Rutgers University's Department of Urban Planning and Policy Development in New Brunswick, NJ, and a 1997-98 graduate fellow at the Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis, "Black Atlantic Project." She is particularly interested in investigating issues of identity politics, spatial practices and hybrid conditions within development practice.

Suggested reading:


ENGENDERING NEOLIBERAL REFORM

By Amy Lind

Over 300 of the local municipalities in Bolivia that have acquired this new responsibility were created for the first time with the new legislation. Before this, local decisionmaking structures were defined by indigenous communities; these local and historically resilient structures are now being replaced by the new municipalities, based on one universal model.

This new law may integrate historically unrepresented communities into the official political system. If this occurs, indigenous women’s, and other community organizations will acquire new political and advocacy roles in local planning. However, much of this depends upon the decisions that are made at the local level, which is dominated by indigenous male leaders concerned primarily with preserving indigenous communities’ viability and the modern state.

Development Planning Theory

The literature on development planning and urban social movements tends to overlook the important questions of how gender inequalities are reproduced in community structures, why more men are in community leadership roles than women, and how these conceptual policy agendas in general and women’s participation in particular. Urban planners may applaud increases in local power — such as in the role of local governments, officially designated community representatives, and social movements — without considering how local power is structured along gender lines, and the differential effects of the restructuring of community levels?

1) There should be a gender analysis of neoliberal policies and their impacts upon local communities — on production structures, local governance and private development organizations, community organizations, and on households.

2) Urban policies need to account for “feminine” bias in their framings by examining the social and economic relationships between the informal and formal sectors of society and the gender dimensions of these processes. Women’s active participation in decisionmaking should be promoted and, given the fact that many women enter decisionmaking arenas through their participation in informal community organizations and networks, these organizations and networks should be incorporated more fully into planning initiatives from the start.

3) More support could be given to local women’s organizations and horizontal networks among them, and with other urban social movements. A broader understanding of local development and citizen participation could be fostered, in part by bringing public awareness to seemingly “private” issues such as women’s roles in social reproduction, and by increasing awareness of women’s activism in national, regional and global contexts. The ability to foster social change in restructuring processes.

4) More generally, national governments and international organizations could promote the engagement of all social and economic groups in designing specific frameworks for addressing “women’s issues.” Initial efforts to do so at an international level include the United Nations Development Program’s 1995 Human Development Report, along with other UN proposals to engage international development initiatives, and academic initiatives such as those proposed by the International Association for Feminist Economics (IAFFE).

Important conceptual work has been done to engage macroeconomic models as well as development and economic theory.

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women. However, the topic of masculinities is being increasingly raised by those working on issues such as gay and lesbian concerns, and ethnic and cultural differences.

The six articles on feminism, gender, and planning in this month’s Planners Network demonstrate a range of approaches to the topic. The cases of Women Plan Toronto and Roofless Women, by Barbara Rahder and Marie Kennedy, vividly describe planning interventions that have made a difference in women’s lives in Toronto and Boston, ones that have also inspired projects elsewhere. Claudia Isaac and Amy Lind present an innovative approach to planning called Gender and Development, or GAD. Isaac, reflecting on her work in Mexico, argues that insights from GAD can transform community development planning in the US. Lind, drawing from the case of Bolivia, calls for an understanding of gender to be incorporated into more general processes of social and economic planning. Wanda

Mills demonstrates the importance of a close analysis of the context of the concept of gender itself through a case study of two very different approaches to gender relations in demographically similar Puerto Rican villages. Stacey Harwood takes the issue into cyberspace, exploring a set of key internet resources for those wanting to find out more about gender and planning.

The articles together show a continuing balance between work concerned specifically with women, and work integrating gender and feminist concerns into mainstream planning and development practice. Although the trend in planning has been toward integration of feminist and gender analyses, there will continue to be an important place for projects focused on women, as Roofless Women and Women Plan Toronto. Although gender relations are changing and mean different things in different societies, in many areas gender remains an important organizing principle in terms of both opportunities, responsibilities, and resources, and so will remain relevant for planners interested in social equity for some time to come.

see 7TH GENERATION page 15 ▶
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This new law may integrate historically unrepresented communities into the official political system. If this occurs, indigenous, women’s, and other community organizations will acquire new political and advocacy roles in local planning. However, much of this depends upon the decisions that are made at the local level, which is dominated by indigenous male leaders concerned primarily with preserving indigenous communities’ visibility.

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The literature on development planning and urban social movements tends to overlook the important questions of how gender inequalities are reproduced in community structures, why more men are in community leadership roles than women, and how this determines policy agendas in general and women’s participation in particular. Urban planners may applaud increases in local power — such as in the role of local governments, officially designated community representatives, and social movements — without considering how local power is structured along gender lines, and the differential effects of the restructuring of communities for women and men. In other words, an increase in local power may not automatically translate into power for women.

What policymakers may regard as a more productive local economy may instead be a shifting of costs from the paid to the unpaid economy, much of which falls upon women. In terms of local power and community action, it is important to engender analyses of local power structures as well as broaden the scope of the question: for men and women’s organizations, empowerment begins by addressing inequalities within their families as well as in society at large.

The new decentralization laws in Bolivia demonstrate the tensions that local communities face when they must develop a cohesive strategy versus the national-level strategy and address unequal power relations within the communities themselves. One way to understand the gender aspects of this process is to broaden working definitions of community development and planning to encompass both formal and informal, or both institutionalized and grassroots, planning practices.

Bolivian feminist policymakers and activists have been at the forefront of pushing for this type of definition in the new laws and planning practices in the country; the gender effects of these laws will depend largely upon the ways in which communities negotiate and implement this process, and upon the extent to which women integrate themselves into decision-making positions and influence local leadership.

More Equitable Strategies

While feminist planners and social scientists have contributed significantly to these debates on neoliberal reform, much has yet to be done to incorporate these insights into broader policy discussions. What kind of strategies can be supported and developed to foster a more equitable distribution of resources and political power among men and women at local levels?

1) There should be a gender analysis of neoliberal policies and their impacts upon local communities — on production structures, local governance and private development organizations, community organizations, and on households.

2) Urban policies need to account for "male biases" in their frameworks by examining more systematically the relationship between formal and informal community development and the gender dimensions of these processes. Women’s active participation in decisionmaking should be promoted and, given the fact that many women enter decisionmaking arenas through their participation in informal community organizations and networks, these organizations and networks should be incorporated more fully into planning initiatives from the start.

3) More support could be given to local women’s organizations and horizontal networks among them, and with other urban social movements. A broader understanding of community development and citizen participation could be fostered, in part by bringing public awareness to seemingly “private” issues such as women’s roles in social reproduction, and by increasing awareness of communities’ locations in national, regional and global contexts, and their ability to foster social change in restructuring processes.

4) More generally, national governments and international organizations could promote the engendering of all social and economic policy rather than designing specific frameworks for addressing “women’s issues”. Initial efforts to do so at an international level include the United Nations Development Program’s 1995 Human Development Report, along with other UN proposals to engender international development initiatives, and academic initiatives such as those proposed by the International Association for Feminist Economics (IAFEE).

Important conceptual work has been done to engage macroeconomic models as well as development and economic theories. Still, planners could do more to draw connections between this literature and studies of planning practice. In this regard, studies of gender have yet to be fully incorporated into economic policy and planning agendas. Several countries have established ministries or bureaus of women’s affairs, although much needs to be done to engender all state activities, rather than separating “women’s issues” from general economic and political issues. In general, more could be done to examine empirically the hidden dimensions of neoliberal policies, and to translate these ideas into practice, particularly in regard to local development and urban policy.

Amy Lind is Assistant Professor in the Women’s Studies Program at Arizona State University.

This article draws largely from a previ- ously published article, "Gender, Development and Urban Social Change: Women’s Community in Global Cities,” World Development 25 (8), 1997, pp. 1205-1223.

7TH GENERATION

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women. However, the topic of masculini- ties is being increasingly raised by those working on issues such as gay and lesbian concerns, and ethnic and cultural differences.

The six articles on feminism, gender, and planning in this month’s Planners Network demonstrate a range of approaches to the topic. The cases of Women Plan in Toronto and Roofless Women, by Barbara Rahder and Marie Kennedy, vividly describe planning interventions that have made a difference in women’s lives in Toronto and Boston, ones that have also inspired projects elsewhere. Claudia Isaac and Amy Lind review the approaches to planning called Gender and Development, or GAD. Isaac, reflecting on her work in Mexico, argues that insights from GAD can transform community development planning in the US. Lind, drawing from the case of Bolivia, calls for an understanding of gender to be incorporated into more general processes of social and economic planning. Wanda

THE SEVENTH GENERATION

Mills demonstrates the importance of a close analysis of the concept of gender itself through a case study of two very different approaches to gender relations- ships in demographically similar Puerto Rican villages. Stacey Harwood takes the issue into cyberspace, advocating a set of key internet resources for those wanting to find out more about gender and plan- ning.

The articles together show a continu- ing balance between work concerned specifically with women, and work inte- grating gender and feminist concerns into "mainstream" planning and development practice. Although the trend in planning has been toward integration of feminist and gender analyses, there will continue to be an important place for projects focused on women, as Roofless Women and Women Plan Toronto. Although gen- der relations are changing and mean dif- ferent things in different societies, in many arenas gender remains an important organizing principle in terms of the distri- bution of opportunities, responsibilities, and resources, and so will remain relevant for planners concerned with social equity for some time to come.

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PLANNERS NETWORK #130 13
CROSS-OVER DREAMS

Gender, Development, and Community Development

By Claudia B. Isaac

For some time, I have been thinking about the crossovers in my own practice and scholarship, where the distinct practices of "Gender and Development" and "Community Development" intersect. "Gender and Development" joins gender and economic development issues, and "Community Development" deals with place-based issues. Though the links between the two fields have developed organically in my own practice, both practices also interlink theoretically. There are obvious points of common ground between the two fields. Both are explicitly progressive, dedicated to undermining inequitable social structures and promoting grassroots activism. Both fields involve the facilitation of a nested set of social practices: community building, organization building, and capacity building.

Gender and Development vs. Community Development

Yet the two practices are historically distinct. "Gender and Development" (GAD) has been largely applied in developing countries and has roots in the 1970s efforts to challenge modernization theory's understandings of underdevelopment, with specific (and largely exclusive) attention to the impoverishing effects of development policy on poor women. "Community Development" (CD) harkens to cycles of increased urban activism in progressive planning from the turn of the century, reemerging in the advocacy movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and currently expressed in community-based efforts in urban and rural revitalization and community preservation. The central distinction is that CD planning rarely focuses on gender oppression as a central problematic. GAD practitioners have always targeted poor women and economic revitalization, and CD practitioners have long acknowledged that women often constitute the majority of grass roots activists. Significant branches of both fields have evolved out of a critique of global capitalism. Thus, Gender and Development theory intersects productively with CD practice. The insertion of GAD planning within CD brings with it a potential danger of erasing gender as a central political category (and women as a central planning constituency); on the other hand, the engendering of previously generic practices can contribute to the true transformation of patriarchy.

There are clear dilemmas as well as opportunities in the crossover practice of GAD and CD. There are three areas where gender theory productively informs both GAD and CD practice, and where contributions of gender theory can inform CD planning without being co-opted or erased: 1) the position of the expert vs. the community; 2) the relationship between public and private life; and 3) organizing around practical and strategic needs. These are discussed below.

Community-based Planning and the Cult of Expertise

Much of "Gender and Development" practice focuses on the provision of technical assistance to village or barrio women aimed at increasing their development capacity. Technical assistance can be either empowering or oppressive, depending largely on how the expertise is offered to communities. As I discovered in research on women's cooperatives in Mexico, many such efforts reinforce what I have come to call the "Cult of Expertise," which is entered into by technical assistants and development planners and reinforces the agendas of "outsiders" such as governments, businesses, NGOs, and capital. The counter-practice is technical assistance intent on facilitating women's own attempts to build on their existing (usually domestic) knowledge to develop projects and programs that are eventually fully owned and managed by them.

Gender and Development theory validates the kinds of administrative and negotiation skills women learn in their households as opposed to the hierarchical strategies learned outside of the household.

Gender and Development theory attempts to surface the "domestic knowledge" of poor and working class women and validates the kinds of administrative and negotiation skills women learn in their households as opposed to the hierarchical strategies learned outside of the household. CD planners are similarly concerned with valorizing "local knowledge" — the usually qualitative understanding often ignored by data-driven planning processes. Moreover, both GAD and CD planners seek to facilitate collective problem solving and strategic action at the base.

In particular, Gender and Development planners contribute important insights on power relations and the social production of meaning to the practice of empowering technical assistance. Good examples of these contributions can be found in Power, Process and Participation, edited by Rachel Slocom, which this anthology elaborates concrete methods of analyzing gender roles and increasing women's voice in development. The principles and exercises enumerated there can be generalized to "non-gendered" CD projects, and the exercises show the centrality of gender domination in any collective analysis of political power, and economic access.

Public and Private Life

All gender theorists consider the relationship between public and private life. Gender and Development theorists approach this relationship through the discussion of household vs. market production (the relationship between production and reproduction, and wage labor and domestic labor). They query the nature of the work, and the hegemony of the market. They help locate the true costs of privatization, whereby structural adjustment policies shift the costs of production from public firms to private households. GAD theory contributes a framework for creating alternative economic models, based on understanding the logic of household production and the domestic subsidy of capitalist development.

These theories point out the ways that poor women struggle against the implicit gender oppression in structural adjustment policies. Their task is consonant with CD planners who work with poor households to meet their basic community needs in ways that help to transform and ameliorate the negative effects of economic globalization. GAD theory resonates with the concerns of CD planners about how structural conditions are conditioned by class, race, and gender position, and how important it is for grassroots practice to be true to the social context and concrete with respect to place.

Practical and Strategic Needs

One of the greatest potential contributions Gender and Development planning can make to the practice of Community Development is in theorizing the relationship between practical and strategic needs. This distinction informs program development in GAD planning, and helps us understand which forms of organizational development are most effective in transforming inequitable social structures. Planning to meet the basic material needs of women can lead to making practical strategies to transform the structural conditions that create those basic needs. As noted by Maxine Molyneaux, Kate Young, Caroline Moser and Diane Elson, practical needs generate survival strategies and problem solving in response to subsistence crisis. But an understanding of the structural underpinnings of practical crises can turn practical solutions into strategic responses to structural adjustment.

This question addresses how relations of gender domination create poverty among women, and helps to explain the extraordinary prevalence of poverty among women. The link to CD planning is also evident. CD efforts almost always have dual and related goals — to alleviate the immediate material conditions in poor communities, and to mobilize community responses to the causes of their poverty. In my experience many of the most successful community-based initiatives arise out of a shared community crisis such as the need to overcome disinvestment, impoverishment, and loss of community resources. People mobilize around practical needs. Successful practices always link practical community revitalization needs to strategic organizing and coalition-building, to bring about broad-based policy transformations. The practice of CD (particularly strategic planning within community-based organizations) entails organized local responses to global political and economic forces in order to generate positive change in the material quality of life. The use of strategic practices in CD attests to this practical/strategic relationship. Strategic plans are often used to generate practical projects, and campaigns to improve services often extend into policy activism.

Each of these cross-over practices can intersect gender concerns into larger policy debates, and bring techniques and strategies designed for planning with women into wider, non-gendered use.

Claudia B. Isaac is Director of the Community and Regional Planning Program, University of New Mexico.

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<<Continued from page 13

Finally, I would like to mention the death of Marsha Ritzdorf, an important contributor to the analysis of feminism, gender, and planning. Well known for her scholarly work on such issues as zoning and family definitions, and zoning and child care, Marsha also played an important informal role as mentor for the next "generation" of women and feminist planning academics. I certainly relied on her for advice about the life of an academic — from publishing tips to department politics — and knew many other women for whom Marsha played a similar role. This kind of holistic mentoring is crucial in creating a scholarly community. Marsha was such a mentor and did it with humor, flair, and a unique voice that will be greatly missed.

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GAD practitioners have always targeted poor women and economic revitalization, and CD practitioners have long acknowledged that women often constitute the majority of grass roots activists. Significant branchings of both fields have evolved out of a critique of global capital.

Thus, Gender and Development theory intersects productively with CD practice. The insertion of GAD planning within CD brings with it a potential danger of erasing gender as a central political category (and women as a central planning constituency); on the other hand, the engendering of previously generic practices can contribute to the true transformation of patriarchy.

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Ann Forsyth is a past Co-Chair of Planners Network.

14 JULY/AUGUST 1998
SUBSCRIBING TO GENDER

Internet Resources for Planners

By Stacy Harwood

Over a year ago, I began surfing the web for anything related to the intersection of women, gender or feminist theory and urban planning, loosely defined. Although it was a frustrating and time consuming process, I managed to uncover a few gems.

In general, the materials available fall into four categories: electronic discussion groups; reference materials; research projects; and community development organizations. Below I give a few examples. Also, my web site has links to the complete list.

* www.rcf.ucsd.edu/~harwood/femplan.html

If I've missed any, please send me an email at <harwood@rcf.ucsd.edu>.

I recommend you participate in at least one of several discussion groups.

ECOFEM, Studies in Women and Environment, is an international discussion group to encourage exchange from a diversity of viewpoints concerning women and the environment. To subscribe send an e-mail message to dlistserv@esf.colorado.edu. In the body of the message type only "SUBSCRIBE ECOFEM femname lastname" (and don't include the quotes).

Another discussion group is GEOGFM, Discussion List for Feminism in Geography. This list is open to the discussion of all topics related to gender issues in geography. To subscribe:

Note that all web URLs named in this article must be preceded by "http://" in order to be accessed.

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16 JULY/AUGUST 1998

METRAC is a community organization and resource center that promotes the rights of women and children to live free from violence and threats of violence, and is supported by Metro Toronto Council. Urban design and planning do not create violence against women, but they do create an environment that offers greater or lesser opportunities for assault. Making public spaces safer is one way to reduce the opportunity for sexual and other assaults. The site offers general information on their Safety Audit Kit:

* www.interlog.com/~metrac/safety.htm

As well as other resources on how to create safer environments.

Another interesting site is the Best Practice Database:

* www.1001.together.com

Compiled by the Together Foundation and the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, the database contains descriptions of projects and programs designed to address common urban problems facing the world's cities today. For some folks, the postings on these listserves may initially seem irrelevant to planning or too theoretical. Don't unsubscribe until you post a message to the list. Your message can be simply a self-introduction, a brief comment about your interests or even a few questions about the field. You'll find that at least one person has similar interests and generally has useful information. If you would like to participate in more lists, go to the Women and Gender Related Electronics Forums Web Page: research.ucr.edu/~koneman/smed/forums.html. It's an outstanding annotated listing of publicly accessible electronic lists related to women and gender issues.

As the internet has become a more popular medium of communication, the number of web sites for organizations involved in planning and gender issues has increased. One of the most interesting sites is the Metro Action Committee on Public Violence (METRAC):

* www.interlog.com/~metrac/home.html

For those unfamiliar with this academic field, the list will overwhelm you with over a thousand citations.

I also recommend WE International, a Canadian-based magazine which provides a unique international forum for academics, professionals and activists. Each issue examines women's multiple relations to their many environments — natural, physical, built, and social — from a feminist perspective:

* www.welap.org/~welap/ww/

Past issues include articles on women and planning, safe cities, gender and homelessness, feminism and community development, and environmental activism.

Some people question whether the use of technological developments like the internet undermines feminist agendas. However, I believe the internet is an important educational tool in the field of planning, which has a long history of resistance to alternative discourses.

Feminism, regardless of which of the many kinds one subscribes to, provides an alternative lens which forces us to rethink the assumptions behind planning theories and practices. Unfortunately, the value of such debates is often misunderstood and simplified as being solely for and about women. I believe we should take an analytical stance about how many people in our society are marginalized by conventional models of what constitutes "normal" and typical gender-based behavior.

Feminist thought shows how gender impacts interpersonal relations between men and women, and also argues that institutions like planning are deeply intertwined with a gender system that establishes expectations for individuals and society. So I hope more people tap into the internet and explore new ways to conceptualize planning.

Stacy Harwood is a Doctoral Candidate at the School of Urban Planning and Development, University of Southern California.

Women'sBills/geography-gender.html

RAHDER

Continued from page 1

Canadian government, affordable housing is defined as housing costing less than thirty percent of total household income. Among homeowners, affordability is a problem for twenty percent of women, compared with twelve percent of men. It is significantly worse for renters, where forty percent of women, compared with twenty percent of men, have problems affording shelter.

Women experience more violence, particularly in the home. In one four women in Canada have been abused or assaulted at some time in their lives, many as children, and one in eight have been abused by a male partner or spouse. An estimated thirty to forty women are murdered by their male partners each year in Ontario, accounting for seventy percent of the women murdered in the province. This rate is similar for Canada as a whole, but more than double the rate in Switzerland or Great Britain.

Racial and ethnic minorities, and women with a disability face more barriers to needed services than white women in Canada.

Women Plan Toronto

What do these facts have to do with urban planning?

Women Plan Toronto began to explore the implications of women's needs and experiences in relation to urban planning in 1985. WPT began by holding a series of informal discussions with women to find out about their experiences and ideas relating to Toronto's urban environment. These groups included employed women, full-time homemakers, homeless women, and immigrant women, Anishinaabe women, high school and university students, elderly women, women with disabilities, and single mothers. Most groups identified problems related to child care, public trans- sit, and personal safety. All of the groups explored ideas about what the city might be like if it were more woman friendly. Suggestions ranged from calls for "equal pay for work of equal value" to a wish for more public washrooms for women.

Over the past thirteen years, WPT has took up various issues and started various projects. Some of the most notable projects are:

Safety Issues. The WISE report — "Women in Safe Environments" — was a groundbreaking 1989 project that documented women's concerns about safety in relation to urban planning and design practices in Toronto. Done in cooperation with the Metro Action Committee on Public Violence Against Women and Children (METRAC), the WISE report spawned safety audits of the public transit system, public parks, and underground parking garages. By 1990, the City of Toronto had established a Safe City Committee under the auspices of the Department of Planning and Development, and has subsequently developed stringent regulations for the design and lighting of public spaces.

Municipal Elections. In 1991 and in 1994, WPT conducted workshops with women's groups and produced a booklet on women's election issues. The booklet included a newspaper, the record of various candidates on women's issues, and provided examples of questions women might want to ask candidates at public meetings. This was a tremendously successful campaign. The women's report card was reprinted in Canada's largest daily newspaper, the Toronto Star.

Housing. WPT was an active advocate for social housing and housing densification, but it has also been involved in creating housing for women. The group worked with Sistering, a women's drop-in centre, and with the Older Women's Network, a senior's advocacy group, to build social housing for older low-income see RAHDER page 18
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RAHDER
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www.1001.together.com

Compiled by the Together Foundation and the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, the database contains descriptions of projects and programs designed to address common urban problems facing the world's cities today. In particular, take a look at the 30 entries grouped under the title Gender Equity and Equality:

www.1001.together.com/cgi-bin/search.pl?H=Gender+Equity+and+Equality

The database covers a vast terrain, including housing, sustainable development, city planning, community participation, service provision, and so on. Unfortunately, to obtain detailed coverage of each of the entries, you must sign up for an account which costs $99.00 — clearly a limitation of doing research on the internet.

I found numerous links on the internet to bibliographies, special collections, course syllabi, biographies and journals. Topics include: architecture, urban planning, international development, ecofeminism, geography, education, law and philosophy. I'll recommend two for starters. The Geography and Gender bibliography is compiled by members of the discussion list GEOGFM:

WWW-Geography.Berkeley.EDU/
RAHDER

Continued from page 18

women.

Resisting Mega-Projects. When Toronto was competing to host the 1996 Olympic Games, WPT produced an interfering report entitled “How Women Lose at the Games.” The report is currently being re-circulated as Toronto is bidding again for the Games in 2008. The report documents the social and economic costs and risks to local women, as well as the lack of benefits for them, associated with hosting the Olympic Games.

Another group, Bread Not Circuses, spearheads the opposition to the Games in Toronto, and produced a similar intercessor report documenting the social and economic costs for poor people in general. The International Olympic Committee decided to hold the Games in Atlanta in 1996, but we don’t yet know about the Games for 2008.

Restricting the Majority. Another recent project focused on the municipal elections for the new megacity of Toronto, which is an amalgamation of the six former cities of Toronto, York, East York, North York, Scarborough, and Etobicoke. WPT worked with other groups, first to resist amalgamation, and then to develop a pamphlet highlighting gender-related issues such as why women must vote and how to ask questions about issues that affect you. The pamphlet highlights proposed changes in areas such as income support, social and community services, housing, safety, transportation, health, education, and human rights. It provides basic information about the implications of amalgamation under each category, and then lists practical questions women can ask their local candidates, such as what will you do to protect vulnerable people, particularly women, children and persons with disabilities?

The WPT Organization

A gendered perspective on urban issues is central to the group’s work, and a key characteristic of WPT’s organizational structure, which is composed of voluntary committees called “circles.” The term circle suggests that there is no hierarchy among participants — everyone who attends a meeting is allowed to participate in decision-making — though the more one participates, the more comfortable, knowledgeable, and potentially influential she might be in the group.

The structure of the organization, then, fluctuates with its membership, depending on who is involved, what their interests are, and what issues are on the public agenda (or put on the public agenda by WPT). There is one part-time staff member, and a core of about seven or eight volunteers who are usually very active in the circles and on various projects. Another fifty women or so are less active members, and up to another 300 individuals and organizations are part of a broader network which is kept informed, and sometimes mobilized, around important issues and events.

The main strengths of WPT are also its main weaknesses. The informality and lack of hierarchy gives volunteers a great deal of freedom to work on the issues that are of most concern to them, but also can be confusing to new members who don’t necessarily know where or how to fit in. Similarly, the small core of active volunteers who do the bulk of the work provides continuity and an organizational memory, but without turnover in the core, this group can burn out. WPT appears to shrink and expand, then, according to the energies of those in the core. Some members of WPT also worry that they have become too successful as the voice of women that they are now the token women’s group that gets consulted by planners who are more interested in appearing to be politically correct, than in actually addressing women’s concerns.

Women Plan Toronto has had a palpable impact on urban planning in Toronto. For more than a decade the organization has worked hard to focus attention on women’s needs in the city, to critique the inequities of mainstream planning, and to develop alternative visions of what planning and urban life might be like if our diverse needs were taken into account. The women whose efforts sustain the organization pay a price for their involvement. Their work is unpaid and its value is often unrecognized. But their hard work has begun to change the way planners and decision makers address issues critical to women.

Barbara Rahder is a member of the Planners Network Steering Committee, teaches in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University (Toronto), and has been a member of WPT since 1986.

This is a revised version of an earlier paper, “Women Plan Toronto: Grassroots Participation in Re-Shaping the City,” presented and published as part of the International Network for Urban Research and Action (INURA) conference, Possible Urban Worlds, in Zurich, Switzerland, June 1997.

CALL FOR PAPERS

THE ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGIATE SCHOOLS OF PLANNING (ACSP) ANNOUNCES THE MARSHA RITZDORF AWARD FOR THE BEST STUDENT PAPER, REPORT, GROUP PROJECT, OR PRESENTATION

DUE: OCTOBER 1, 1998

To remember and honor Marsha Ritzdorf’s contributions to diversity, social justice, and the role of women in planning, and to recognize her devotion to students and teaching, ACSP announces an annual award for the best student paper, report, presentation, or project which addresses these concerns in a positive and proactive way. ACSP will award $500 to the student or students who submit a paper or project which best exemplifies Dr. Ritzdorf’s concern with making communities better for women, people of color, and the disadvantaged. It is not necessary that one paper/project deal with all three topics. The winner(s) will be asked to present the work at the November 1998 ACSP Conference (if not already formally accepted for ACSP presentation).

Both graduate and undergraduate students may be nominated for the Marsha Ritzdorf award; individual and group projects and reports are eligible. All nominees must have been enrolled students during the 1997-98 academic or 1998 calendar year but need not be from an ACSP member school. All candidates must be nominated by a faculty member.

The Ritzdorf Award Committee will select the paper/project which best demonstrates or puts into practice the kind of commitment to social justice, diversity, and women’s issues for which Dr. Ritzdorf was known.

All nominees must submit THREE copies of the following materials:
1) a cover sheet, neatly typed, which includes:
   a) the student(s)’ name, address, email, phone, fax, and student status — if there are multiple students indicate the ONE student with whom the Committee should correspond
   b) the student(s)’ program and University
   c) the faculty nominee’s name, address, e-mail, phone, and fax
   d) the student(s)’ signature(s)
2) a nomination letter from a faculty member, indicating how the paper/project/report deals proactively with diversity, social policy, or women’s issues and why this approach/outcome is important and worthy of the award
3) The actual paper, project or report, or a summary/excerpt from that report, NOT exceeding 35 double-spaced typed/printed pages, in 12 point or larger print, with at least one-inch margins. Longer documents will NOT be reviewed; submissions not meeting these standards will be returned unread.

All accompanying materials (photographs, boards, maps, etc.) must be INCLUDED in the 35 page limit and must be submitted in a format no larger than 8.5” x 14.” Larger materials will not be reviewed.

Materials will be returned after the award competition if:
   a) the author(s) request their return IN WRITING; and
   b) all materials are clearly labeled with a name and address.

ACSP recognizes that preparing three copies of some materials may be a financial burden; we encourage students to seek photocopying, etc. support from their department chair or faculty member. If the department is unable to help, and students would otherwise be prevented from applying, please contact the Chair of the Award Committee.

Student work may have been simultaneously nominated for the McClure Award and the Don Schon Award but the cover sheet for each Ritzdorf nomination must indicate this.

Complete nominations must be received by the Award Committee, Chair, Professor Corky Foster by OCTOBER 1, 1998:

Professor Charles "Corky" Foster
The Drachman Institute
The University of Arizona
819 E. First Street
Tucson, AZ 85721
(520) 623-1223.

Other members of the 1998 Marsha Ritzdorf Award Committee are: Professor Patricia Pollak, Professor Marsha Gree, and Professor June Thomas (invited.)
RAHDER
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women.

Resisting Mega-Projects. When
Toronto was competing to host the 1996
Olympic Games, WPT produced an inter-
viewer report entitled "How Women Lose
at the Games." The report is currently
being re-circulated as Toronto is bidding
again for the Games in 2008.

The report documents the
social and economic costs and risks to local women, as
well as the lack of benefits for them, associated with
hosting the Olympic Games. Another group, Bread Not
 Circuses, spearheads the
opposition to the Games in Toronto, and produced a sim-
ilar interviewer report docu-
menting the social and eco-
nomic costs for poor people in general.

The International Olympic Committee
decided to hold the Games in Atlanta in 1996, but we don't yet know about the
Games for 2008.

Restricting the Majority. Another
recent project focused on the municipal
elections for the new maycity of Toronto,
which is an amalgamation of the six for-
ermer cities of Toronto, York, East York,
North York, Scarborough, and Etobicoke.
WPT worked with other groups, first to
realize amalgamation, and then to develop
a pamphlet highlighting gender-related
issues such as why women must vote and
how to ask questions about issues that
afflict you. The pamphlet highlighted pro-
posed changes in areas such as income
support, social and community services,
housing, safety, transportation, health,
education, and human rights. It provides
basic information about the implications
of amalgamation under each category, and
then lists practical questions women can
ask their local candidates, such as what
will you do to protect vulnerable people,
particularly women, children and persons with
disabilities?

The WPT Organization

A gendered perspective on urban
issues is central to the group's work, and a
key characteristic of WPT's organizational
structure, which is composed of volun-
teeer committees called "circles." The term
circle suggests that there is no hierarchy
among participants — everyone who
attends a meeting is allowed to participate
in decisionmaking — though the more
one participates, the more comfortable, knowledgable, and potentially influential
she might be in the group.

The structure of the organization, then,
fluctuates with its membership, depending
on who is involved, what their interests
are, and what issues are on the public
agenda (or put on the public agenda by
WPT). There is one part-time staff mem-
ber, and a core of about seven or eight
volunteers who are usually very active
in the circles and on various projects.

Another fifty women or so are less active
members, and up to another 300 individu-
als and organizations are part of a broader
network which is kept informed, and
sometimes mobilized, around important
issues and events.

The main strengths of WPT are also its
main weaknesses. The informality and
lack of hierarchy gives volunteers a great
deal of freedom to work on the issues that
are of most concern to them, but can also
be confusing to new members who don't
necessarily know where or how to fit in.

Similarly, the small core of active volun-
teers who do the bulk of the work pro-
vides continuity and an organizational
memory, but without turnover in the core,
this group can burn out. WPT appears to
shrink and expand, then, according to the
energies of those in the core. Some mem-
bers of WPT also worry that they have
become so successful as the voice of women that they are the now the token women's
group that gets consulted by planners who are more interested in appearing to be
politically correct, than in actually addressing
women's concerns.

Women Plan Toronto has had a palpable impact
on urban planning in
Toronto. For more than a
decade the organization has worked hard to
focus attention on women's needs in the
city, to critique the inequities of main-
stream planning, and to develop alterna-
tive visions of what planning and urban
life might be like if our diverse needs
were taken into account. The women
whose efforts sustain the organization pay
a price for their involvement. Their work
is unpaid and its value is often recog-
nized. But their hard work has begun to
change the way planners and decision
makers address issues critical to women.

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   address, e-mail, phone, and fax
   d) the student(s) signature(s)
   e) the faculty nominee's signature
   f) any other ACSP student awards
      applied for
2) a nomination letter from a faculty
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John McCrory has left the position of editor, but continues to provide design and layout services for each issue. John has begun his graduate thesis at Pratt Institute, and is also researching the social, economic, and cultural history of the South Brooklyn/Gowanus neighborhood in a related project.

James Miraglia has left the Brooklyn Botanic Garden for the New York City Department of City Planning’s transportation division. James will no longer be able to serve as Resources Editor, but we hope he will continue to contribute the occasional article!

Thanks to the hard work of guest editors like Richard Milgrom (issue #129) and Ana Forsyth (this issue), PN is thriving. Indeed, when individual members contribute their time and energy, it makes Planners Network a more valuable resource for all our members — and the communities in which they live and work.

For more than twenty years, Planners Network has been a voice for progressive professionals and activists concerned with urban planning and social justice. PN’s 4,000 members receive this bimonthly magazine, network online with PN-NET, and take part in the annual conference. PN also gives progressive ideas a voice in the mainstream planning profession by organizing sessions at annual conferences of the American Planning Association and the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning.

Since 1994, the annual PN Conference has combined speakers and workshops with exchanges involving local communities. PN conferences engage in discussions that help inform political strategies at the local, national, and international levels. Next year’s conference will be held June 17-20 in Lowell, MA. Recent conferences have been held in Washington, D.C., East St. Louis, IL, Brooklyn, NY, and Pomona, CA.

Whether face to face, in print, or over the internet, PNers are part of a network that shares progressive ideas and experiences. Join Planners Network and make a difference while sharing your ideas and enthusiasm with others.

Annual financial contributions are voluntary, but we need funds for operating expenses. The Steering Committee recommends the following amounts as minimums for Network members:

- $15 for those with incomes under $25,000, students and unemployed
- $25 for those earning between $25,000 and $50,000
- $45 for those earning over $50,000
- $30 for organizations and libraries

Your Participation Wanted!

September, Number 131 — Whiter PN? See information on page 3.
Other future issues will cover energy politics, planning and class, planning and race, and other topics.

Please submit articles, notes, updates, and resources typed and double-spaced. Feature articles of 500 to 1,500 words are always welcome. Submissions on disk or by e-mail are greatly appreciated. All electronic submissions should be sent as ASCII text. Submit your submissions, resources, and job listings to the editors at <pnet@pratt.edu> or the address given here. Member updates should be directed to Dallal Hall, <dhall@pratt.edu>.

Your Last Issue?

The date on your mailing label indicates when your current membership expires — make sure to renew if this date is coming up soon! If it is already expired, we need to hear from you before May 1st or you won’t receive PN anymore. See the inside back page for contribution suggestions. Thanks for your continued support!

Moving?

Please make sure to let PN know if your address changes. It saves us money and helps ensure you don’t miss an issue.

Mail This Form To:

PLANNERS NETWORK
321 DeKalb Avenue
Brooklyn, NY 11205

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