GENDER IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

by

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

A.N.C.	African National Conference
A.P.A.	American Planning Association
D.A.W.N.	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
D.B.S.A.	Development Bank of Southern Africa
R.D.P.	Reconstruction and Development Programme
W.D.A.	Winterveld Development Association
W.D.T.	Winterveld Development Trust
W.I.P.	Work in Progress
W.N.C.	Women's National Coalition
Z.A.R.D.	Zambia's Association for Research and Development Workshop

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. GENERAL STATEMENT

Women and gender have not been adequately considered in development[1] planning and practise.

> Current development policy, because of incorrect assumptions, often...discriminates against or 'misses' women, while even correctly formulated policy too often fails to get translated into practise (Moser 1993:vi).

While conventional development approaches have failed to consider gender, attempts to integrate women into development have frequently been misguided (Baylies and Bujra 1993:4). These have included the Welfare, Equity, Anti-poverty and Efficiency approaches (Moser 1993). These approaches 'miss' or discriminate against women for a number of reasons, including a limited view of women, failing to take into account the triple role of women, failure to consider the structure and dynamics of households and the difference between strategic and practical gender needs.

In most cases development has increased rather than lessened the burden borne by women.

> The process of development in the Third World has, by and large, marginalised women and deprived them of their control over resources and

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[1] For the purposes of this discourse, 'development' is defined as 'improving the quality of life of the individual'. Development is based on three core values:
    a) life sustenance - the ability to provide basic necessities;
    b) self-esteem;
    c) freedom from servitude - to be able to choose (Todara 1977:96).

authority within the household, without lightening the heavy burden of their 'traditional duties' (Afshar 1991:1).

Ostergaard goes even further. She maintains that development has:

- deprived poorer women of revenue based on subsistence production;
- resulted in a loss of customary rights often in regard to land;
- lead to loss of autonomy;
- resulted in the appropriation of women's labour and the profits and the appropriation of their children's labour;
- resulted in male orientated development projects and employment opportunities (1991:3,163).

The reality of development projects is that 'the advantages of development go to the men in the form of increased earnings or labour-saving techniques and the disadvantages go to the women in the form of an increased and unremunerated workload' (Ostergaard 1992:2). Elson prefers to describe the disadvantages women face as 'male bias'. Not only do women suffer because of it, but it is also detrimental to society as a whole because of the work women do (Elson 1991:6).

Women in developing countries play a crucial role in almost every economic and social sphere of life. Their contributions are vital for the well being of their families, communities and nations, as they tend to spend a greater proportion of their resources on children than men do. In this way women contribute to improving the quality of life of future generations (Ostergaard 1992:139; Elson 1991:11).

All these contributions which women make are seldom recognised, however, even though they are often made under very trying circumstances.

As a group women have access to much fewer resources than men. They

put in two thirds of the total number of working hours, they are registered as constituting one third of the total labour force and receive one tenth of the total remuneration. They own only one percent of the world's material goods and their rights to ownership is often far less than those of men (Ostergaard 1992:4).

The lack of gender-aware information and planning is the central reason why women have so often been disadvantaged by development (Oestergaard 1992:xiii). For development to positively effect the lives of Third World women it is essential that gender is taken into account in the planning process.

If planning is to succeed it has to be gender-aware. It has to develop the capacity to differentiate...on the basis of gender (Moser 1989:1802).

2. OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

The primary objective of this discourse is to consider how gender can be incorporated into the planning process. In an attempt to examine this I aim to:

i) show that development planning has failed to take cognisance of gender;

ii) argue that the participation of women in development decision-making is essential;

iii) review community participation and the consideration given to gender;

iv) link theory to practise through an examination of community participation and the participation of women in the decision-making processes in Winterveld;

v) develop a gendered participatory planning process.

The methods used to achieve these objectives include:

    i) a review of some of the available literature relating to gender, development and planning, and the theory behind these;

    ii) a case study, including interviews with planners and residents of Winterveld, in an attempt to consider theory compared to practise;

    iii) the development of a gendered participatory planning process.

CHAPTER 2

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD

1. INTRODUCTION

Development planning has, on the whole, failed to incorporate gender into the planning process. This has disadvantaged women. For development initiatives to have a positive effect it is essential that gender be considered in the planning process. This chapter will examine a number of the debates and issues about gender. The following will be considered: the difference between the terms 'women' and 'gender'; some misconceptions and assumptions about the household and the roles of men and women; and the distinction between practical gender needs and strategic gender needs.

2. WOMEN OR GENDER

The difference between the term 'women' and 'gender' is the difference between biological traits and social traits. The term 'women' refers to those attributes which women have in common because of their biological make up ie. their sex. 'Gender' however, refers to the socially constructed differences between men and women (Beneria & Roldan 1987:11).

The concept 'women in development' has had positive and negative results. A positive result has been the acknowledgement that women's experience of development differ from

men's experience of development. In a sense, women have been made more visible. Focusing on women in isolation has, however, had a number of negative results. The notion that the addition of 'women' as a category to policy and analysis will automatically 'change development outcomes so as to improve woman's position' is clearly mistaken (Elson 1991:1). Furthermore, it has led some to believe that 'women's issues' are not related to women's relations to men. Women, rather than the disadvantages which women face, are seen to be the problem. It has been suggested that women are 'unreasonably asking for special treatment rather than redress for injustices and removal of distortions which limit their capacities' (Elson 1991:1). A further limitation is that all women are grouped together and treated as a homogenous group with similar interests and ideas (Elson 1991:1).

Elson maintains that there is a need to move on from 'women in development' to approaches which emphasise gender relations. To do this, we need to be clear about a number of features of gender:

i) Notions of gender are socially constructed. Gender beliefs, personality traits, feelings, attitudes, and behaviours are consequences of specific social histories (Beneria & Roldan 1987:11). These gendered ideas vary from society to society and also between different classes (Moser 1989:1800). The different gendered ideas are apparent in the clear division of labour between the sexes, where what is seen to be 'male tasks' and 'female tasks' differ according to society (Ostergaard 1992:xii).

ii) These concepts of gender are constructed within different macro and micro spheres - such as religion, the state, the labour market, the media, the law, the family-household, and interpersonal relations (Beneria & Roldan 1987:11).

iii) Concepts of gender are not static, but are part of a process of continual negotiation and articulation (Baylies & Bujra 1993:3).

iv) The gendered traits and activities associated with men are often considered to be of greater value than those associated with women (Beneria & Roldan 1987:11).

Momsen adds the following:

Since gender is created by society its meaning will vary from society to society and will change over time. Yet, for all societies, the common denominator of gender is female subordination...(Momsen 1991:4).

Gender-aware approaches focus on the way in which relationships between men and women are socially constructed (Moser 1989:1800). A significant component of this relationship is the difference of power between men and women, with women usually being 'less powerful than men of similar economic and social positions' (Elson 1991:2).[1] The difference of power between men and women, is evident within the household.

3. THE HOUSEHOLD

Moser maintains that three assumptions about low-income households inform current planning. These are:

i) the structure of the household;

ii) the division of power within the household;

iii) the division of labour within the household (1993:15).

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[1] While gender subordination has some universal elements, there are also wide variation in the experiences of women and hence a diversity of needs and concerns (Sen & Grown 1988:18-19).

Let us now deal with each of these in turn.

The stereotyped view of the low-income household is that it consists of a nuclear family unit – a father, a mother, and two children (Moser 1993:15). The male is seen as the 'primary income-earner and decision-maker'. The reality, however, is that there are a diversity of household structures, including women-headed households, polygamous households, extended families, single-parent families and nuclear families (Cohen 1993:17).

There are many households headed by women in Southern Africa.

> The assumption that women have men to run affairs for them is not always the case in the domestic domain. Southern African women are increasingly fending for themselves in female-headed household in both town and countryside (Afshar 1991:147).

The well-being of these households is dependent on the female-heads, their age, number of dependent children, stage in their life-cycle, access to means of production, external linkages and support networks as well as other personal factors (Afshar 1991:148). Generally, however, women-headed households are often poor in terms of income, material and human resources and also jural rights. In addition, these women often have 'limited or non-existent involvement in developmental efforts' (Afshar 1991:148). Thus gender-blind policies and planning, which assume that households are headed by men, often negatively affect women-headed households (Brydon & Chant 1988:213).

Gender-blind policies can also negatively affect women in households where male members are present, and where women are de facto heads. Brydon and Chant highlight examples where the benefits of urban development projects have not reached such women because of assumptions about the household head being male (1988:213).

A definition of the household which, attempts to incorporate the diversity of household structures, is the following:

> a residential unit whose members share 'domestic' functions and activities –
> a group of people who eat out of the same pot (Brydon and Chant 1988:9).

This definition has merit, as it encompasses the different types of household structures. It, however, fails to acknowledge the conflict within households.(1988:9).

Let us now examine Moser's second assumption, namely the division of power within the household, or how resources are divided within the low-income household.

Ostergaard suggests that the lack of understanding about the 'dynamics of household resource management' has resulted in the failure of 'household-focused policies to deliver the intended benefits to all household members' and especially to women and children (Ostergaard 1992:135). There is an assumption that

> ...the household functions as a socio-economic unit within which there is
> equal control over resources and power of decision-making between all
> adult members in matters influencing the household's livelihood (Moser
> 1993:15).

The reason for such an assumption is related in part to the confusion between the family, relationships based on kinship, and the household, a residential unit (Ostergaard 1992:136). Assumptions about marriage relationships, such as partners having joint control with regard to the management of resources and parents having joint responsibility for children, are imposed on the household (Ostergaard 1992:136).

This assumption, about the equality of members of a household, is not apparent in reality. Brydon and Chant note that

...there are considerable disparities in terms of the inputs, benefits and
activates of various household members, with age and sex often being
critical variables in the equation (1988:9).

The inequality in household decision making is often seen in laws and traditional customs.
The rights of women to make decisions within the household, even where women are de
facto heads, is often limited. Afshar notes a number of examples where decision making
is unequal:

a woman may need her husband's approval before she can make decisions
about buying items such as equipment, goods or land..., dispose of her
own money or property, undertake paid work or make gifts or loans to her
own kin (Afshar 1991:148).

Assumption about equality suggests that the household functions as a economic unit and
that the well-being of the unit is related to the amount of income generated by the unit.
Because of this, policies to increase household income have been introduced, but have
almost always favoured the man as 'the household head' (Ostergaard 1992:137).
Increasing the wages of men will obviously not reach female households who are in need
and will not automatically increase the well-being of other households. It has been noted
that men tend to spend less of their resources on children, whereas 'a cental impetus to
women's earning is attaining a better life for their children' (Ostergaard 1992:139; Bruce
1989:985). A study in India found that a child's nutritional level corresponded with the
size of the mother's resources, but 'did not increase in direct proportion to increases in
paternal income' (Bruce 1989:985). Although it is accepted that the distribution of income
within a household is dependent on the context, Bruce suggests that

it is quite commonly found that gender ideologies support the notion that
men have a right to personal spending money, which they are perceived to
need or deserve, and that women's income is used for collective purposes

(Bruce 1989:986).

In reality the household is not a socio-economic unit in which there is equal control over resources and in which decision-making is shared between all its adult members. Sen describes an alternative model of the household. He describes the relationships within the household in terms of 'co-operative conflict' where 'household budgets are managed and distributed…with varying amounts of conflict and co-operation' (Moser 1993:25). This model recognises the special features of this conflict relationships. It is one where men and women often 'live together under the same roof - sharing concerns and experiences and acting jointly' and in addition it is affected by the 'nature of gender divisions inside and outside the family' (Moser 1993:25).

Sen notes two biases of perception, which affect the distribution of power within the household. The first is a perception of one's value. He suggests that in order to gain from the collective situation it is essential to have a perception of one's needs and value and that

> if a women undervalues herself, her bargaining position will be weaker and

> she will be likely to accept inferior conditions (Moser 1993:25).

The second is a perceptions about contributions to the household. The 'collective solution' is biased towards the person who is perceived to be contributing the most (Moser 1993:25). The contributions which are usually recognised in this regard, is money earned, rather than contributions in time and effort. Clearly both of these perceptions suggest that the outcome of these 'co-operative conflict' is likely to be less favourable to women (Moser 1993:26).

A definition which takes into account the division of power within the household is 'a system of resource allocation between individuals, in which members share some goals,

benefits and resources, are independent on some, and in conflict on others' (Moser 1993:26).

We now deal with Moser's third assumption about low-income households, namely the division of labour. Moser maintains

> that within the household there is a clear division of labour based on gender. The man of the family, as the 'breadwinner', is primarily involved in productive work outside the home, while the women as the housewife and 'homemaker' takes overall res   ibility for the reproductive and domestic work involved in the organization of the household (Moser 1993:15-16).

This assumption fails to recognise the 'triple role' of women. This will be discussed in detail in the following section.

4. THE TRIPLE ROLE OF WOMEN

The gender division of labour is the basis for determining the different work that men and women are required to do. It also determines the value which is placed on different work and is linked to the subordination of women (Moser 1993:29). Momsen has the following to say about the workload of women:

> Women in the Third World now carry a double or even triple burden of work as they cope with housework, childcare and subsistence food production, in addition to an expanding involvement in paid employment. Everywhere women work longer hours than men. How women cope with declining status, heavier work burdens and growing impoverishment is crucial to the success of development policies in the Third World (Momsen

1991:1).

Moser agrees with Momsen's assessment and identifies three types of work that women are required to do: reproductive work, productive work and community managing (Moser 1993:29-36). Each of these will now be considered.

4.1 REPRODUCTIVE WORK

The bearing and nursing of children is the obvious reproductive role that women fulfil. This role is biologically determined. The role of physical reproduction (such as housekeeping and domestic activates), however, is certainly not biologically determined (Ostergaard 1992:5). Yet this work to 'reproduce' daily life is primarily done by women (Ostergaard 1992:5).

> In both capitalist and socialist societies, men do not have clearly defined reproductive roles. In contrast, women's allocation of domestic work, particularly child care, remains extraordinarily rigid and persistent at a global level (Moser 1993:30).

Furthermore, physical reproduction or domestic work is often not considered to be 'real work'. As it has limited visibility and is unpaid it is considered to have less value.[2]

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[2] An example of this misconception is seen in the following exchange:
"Have you many children?" the doctor asked. "God has not been good to me. Of sixteen born, only nine live," he answered. "Does your wife work?" "No she stays at home." "I see. How does she spend her day?" "Well she gets up at four in the morning and fetches water and wood, makes the fire and cooks breakfast. Then she goes to the river and washes clothes. After that she goes to town to get corn ground and buys what we need in the market. Then she cooks the midday meal." "You come home at midday?" "No, no. She brings the meal to me in the fields - about three kilometres from home." "And after that?" "Well she takes care of the hen and pigs. And, of course, she looks after the children all day. Then she prepares supper so that it is ready when I come home." "Does she go to bed after

Elson maintains that as long as domestic work is undervalued, it will continue to be primarily the domain of women, will hide the burdens women bear and will constrain women from responding to opportunities for paid work (Elson 1991:10).

In addition to the biological and physical reproduction mentioned above, Brydon and Chant suggest a third element, namely, social reproduction. Social reproduction is described as 'an all-embracing category *referring to* the maintenance of ideological conditions which reproduce class relations and uphold the social and economic status quo' (Brydon & Chant 1988:10).

4.2 COMMUNITY MANAGEMENT

This role is not clearly defined, often being discussed under the reproductive role of women. Moser and Momsen, however, clearly outline this role. Moser defines this role in the following way:

> Community managing is...the work undertaken at the community level, around the allocation, provisioning and managing of items for collective consumption (1993:34).

This includes the management of items such as water, health care and education for the community's benefit. Women are often landed with these needs because they have to deal with problems of housing and access to services (Momsen 1991:99). These issues relate to the social sphere and so like the reproductive role, the role of community management is also seen as naturally women's work (Moser 1993:34).

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supper?" "No, I do. She has things to do around the house until nine o clock." " But you say your wife doesn't work?" "No. I told you. She stays at home." (Budlender 1993:31).

Moser suggests that the difference between community managing and community politics, which is often undertaken by men, is that the former is not paid and is voluntary. Formal community politics, on the other hand, is usually compensated either through wages or through increases in status and power (Moser 1991:34).

Women's organisations are often involved in community managing work. While, it would appear that these organisations do not challenge their gender subordination:

> Development agencies often advocate the spread of these grassroots
> separate women's organisation because they feel that they avoid
> confrontation (Momsen 1991:99).

These groups can, however, 'provide a focus for the politicization of women's lives around issues of prime importance', thus empowering women for household welfare and 'consequent political action' (Momsen 1991:99).

4.3 PRODUCTIVE WORK

It is difficult to define what is meant by productive work. Brydon and Chant define production as 'all activates which directly generate incomes' (1988:11). This is a useful definition in that it emphasizes the many forms of work women do (Moser 1993:32), but it has some shortcomings. One of these is the difficulty of defining production in rural areas, where productive work such as subsistence agriculture might not 'directly generate income'. A second difficulty is that it discounts domestic-based activities which do contribute to the household income, such as in the way of saving, budgeting and providing unpaid services (Brydon & Chant 1988:11).

A feature of productive work is that it is usually considered to be the role of 'the male breadwinner', and is thus accorded greater value than work in the reproductive sphere. The reality in the Third World is that women play an important productive role, even if they do so unequally (Moser 1993:31). While the gender division of labour differs in different societies in most societies, women do the work that men won't do and women 'predominate at the lower end of the labour market' (Moser 1993:31).

For development to be successful, it is essential that consideration be given to these different roles of women. Failure to take cognisance of the triple role of women leads to development planning that misses women:

> When planners are 'blind to the triple role of women, and to the fact that women's needs are not always the same as men's they fail to recognise the necessity of relating planning policy to women's specific requirements' (Moser 1989:1802).

5. STRATEGIC GENDER NEEDS AND PRACTICAL GENDER NEEDS

As a consequence of the different roles of women and men and the difference of power between women and men, women and men have different needs and priorities. It is thus important that planning for Third World women is based on their interests and needs. Moser differentiates between women's interests and gender interests, as well as between practical gender needs and strategic gender needs.[3]

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[3]   The following descriptions of women's needs, practical gender needs and strategic gender needs are taken from Moser 1993:37-54 and Moser 1989:1802-1806.

5.1 WOMEN'S INTERESTS AND GENDER INTERESTS

The term 'women's interests' tends to lump all women together and suggest that women have common interests because of their common biological nature. This has limited value, as interests are largely determined by class, ethnicity, religious beliefs, structure of the society, gender as well as biological determinants. It is therefore more appropriate to talk about gender interests.

> Gender interests are those that women (or men for that matter) may develop by virtue of their social positioning through gender attributes (Moser 1993:38).

5.2 PRACTICAL AND STRATEGIC GENDER NEEDS

Moser defines an interest as a 'prioritized concern'. A need is the 'means by which concerns are satisfied' (1993:37). Moser thus highlights the importance of needs for planning, emphasising the importance of distinguishing between strategic gender needs and practical gender needs.

Strategic gender needs are described as

> ...the needs women identify because of their subordinated position to men in their society. Strategic gender needs vary according to particular contexts...Meeting strategic gender needs helps women to achieve greater equality. It also changes existing roles and therefore challenges women's subordinate position (Moser 1993:39).

The agenda of strategic gender needs is political in that it seeks the emancipation of women and their release from subordination.

Practical gender needs, on the other hand, have a practical agenda and are often limited in terms of political content.

> Practical gender needs are the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in society. Practical gender needs do not challenge the gender division of labour or women's subordinate position in society, although rising out of them. Practical gender needs are a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified with a specific context. They are practical in nature and often are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care and employment (Moser 1993:40).

Practical gender needs arise out of women's life in a specific context. These needs are often related to the gender division of labour where women are active in a reproductive role, community managing role and productive role. The focus for planning in this regard is thus likely to be on the 'domestic arena, on income-earning activities, and also on community-level requirements of housing and basic services' (Moser 1993:40).

6. CONCLUSION

Having considered some of the issues and debates around gender, it is clear that gender relations need to be taken into account when development programmes and projects are planned and administered.

> Understanding the different needs and priorities of men and women in the Third World countries will enable policy-makers, planners and administrators to improve the impact of their programmes and projects (Ostergaard 1992:ix).

CHAPTER 3

GENDER, DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES AND PLANNING

1. INTRODUCTION

Conventional development approaches are briefly outlined in this chapter. These conventional approaches fail to take cognisance of gender. Policy approaches which do recognise the role of women in development will be discussed. These policy approaches are differentiated according to the gender roles which they recognise, the gender needs which they meet and the extent to which they involve participatory planning. This chapter also reviews the role of institutions, the planner at planning processes in fostering gender-aware planning. The importance of the participation of women in development decision-making is highlighted.

2. DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES AND GENDER

Brydon and Chant suggest that approaches to development can broadly be divided into two categories: conservative 'modernization' approaches and radical 'dependency/underdevelopment' approaches (1988:6). Modernization theories assumed that the goal of development was a 'western lifestyle' - development was a process of 'copying and catching up the West' (Corbridge 1991:16-17). The 1960's were to be the development decade - with increased industrialisation, education and a labour supply, the Third World would 'take off' (Brydon & Chant 1988:6). It was thought that this growth

would begin in the urban areas and then trickle down into rural areas. Modernisation theories have been heavily criticised for their basic assumption that 'development in the periphery, *Third World countries*, would be fostered by greater economic and social linkages with the core, *the West*' (Corbridge 1991:16-17).

The 'dependency/underdevelopment' approach suggests that the 'development of the core was only made possible by the underdevelopment of the periphery' (Corbridge 1991:16-17). Developing countries had to break the 'chains of bondage and dependency' and

> ...de-link from the global economy; they had to pursue their own national strategies of import-substitution and to meet local needs from local resources (Corbridge 1991:16-17).

Both of these approaches consider development in a 'top down' way and neither consider the position of women. 'Women are either assumed to be attached to men, or are ignored altogether' (Brydon & Chant 1989:7). Brydon and Chant refer to a more recent approach to development, a 'bottom up' approach called the 'basic needs approach' (1989:7). Even this approach, however, does not consider gender relations and the needs of Third World women. Brydon and Chant thus conclude that conventional development theories are not adequate in that they do not provide 'a ¹ ·ic framework within which to explore issues affecting Third World women' (1989:7

Policy approaches to Third World women have, to an extent, been linked to the broad development approaches described above. Moser outlines five policy approaches, these are the:

> a) welfare approach;
>
> b) equity approach;
>
> c) anti-poverty approach;

d) efficiency approach;

e) empowerment approach.[1]

These approaches, especially the 'equity', 'anti-poverty' and the 'efficiency' approaches, aimed to 'find women a place in development planning' (Brydon & Chant 1989:217). These different approaches have concentrated on different needs and roles of women.

We will now briefly examine each of these approaches. Consideration will be given to the roles which they recognise, the gender needs which they meet and the extent to which they involve participatory planning.[2]

3. WELFARE APPROACH

The welfare approach concentrates on women in their reproductive roles, their roles as wives and mothers. It is based on a number of assumptions:

> that women are passive recipients of development, that their role as mothers is their most important role and child-rearing is the most effective contribution women can make to economic development (Ostergaard 1992:173).

Development based on the welfare approach thus concentrates on projects such as maternal and child-health, nutrition, hygiene, education and food-distribution schemes' (Brydon & Chant 1989:218).

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[1] These approaches are clearly outlined in Moser 1993:55-79 and Moser 1989:1806-1817.

[2] This following discussion is based on Moser 1993:55-79, she examines each of the policy approaches in terms of the roles recognised, practical or strategic gender needs met and the extent to which participatory planning procedures are included.

Such projects would undoubtedly meet some practical gender needs, but they do not meet strategic gender needs. Rather than challenge the traditional role of women, they tend to reinforce it (Brydon & Chant 1989:218). Moser notes that these projects are often implemented in a 'top-down' method - people receive handouts of goods and services. Women or gender-aware local organizations are not included in the participatory planning processes (Moser 1993:60). This type of implementation generally means that such projects create dependency rather than empower women. Projects using the welfare approach are popular because they are politically safe and do not challenge the traditional role of women (Moser 1993:61).

The severe critique of the welfare approach in the 1970's has necessitated the development of a number of other approaches, which have tended to be categorized under the term 'women in development' (WID) (Moser 1993:62).

4. EQUITY APPROACH

The equity approach is concerned with meeting strategic gender needs and bringing about greater equal'ty between men and women. It recognises that women are involved in the development process through their productive and reproductive roles (Ostergaard 1992:173). The aim of the equity approach is the 'equal sharing of resources between men and women and the eradication of sexual inequality both at home and in the workplace' (Brydon & Chant 1989:219).

The type of projects which arise from the equity approach include the following:

awareness or consciousness-raising groups to help women understand the nature of their subordination, sex education, women-only information

classes and women-only credit programmes (Brydon & Chant 1989:219).

It was hoped that these types of projects would lead to questioning the nature of gender relationships. While the assumption was that implementation would involve gendered and participatory planning measures, the emphasises was on 'top down' legislative measures to ensure equality (Moser 1993:64).

There have been a number of difficulties with projects based on the equity approach. Governments and aid agencies have difficulty with these projects because they challenge very sensitive issues, such as the cultural, political and social status quo's. In addition, they require a long term commitment of funds. Third world feminists also had difficulties with this approach. The equity approach is considered to be a 'first world' approach and as such not appropriate for developing countries, where to take 'feminism to a woman who has no water, no food and no home is to talk nonsense' (Moser 1989:1811).

5. ANTI-POVERTY APPROACH

This approach emerged partly as a result of the failure of accelerated growth strategies to redistribute resources. The fact that development planning had been ignoring women. It was regarded as one of the reasons why the 'trickle-down' effect had failed (Ostergaard 1992:174). It was believed that poverty could be alleviated and balanced growth promoted through increasing the productivity of women. The anti-poverty approach thus aimed to improve the material conditions of women through programmes to increase women's incomes and employment opportunities (Brydon & Chant 1989:218).

The anti-poverty approach has stressed the productive role of women but has neglected the reproductive role of women and how they interrelate. The lack of child-care, for

example, could result in women being unable to participate in a employment training scheme (Brydon & Chant 1989:218). While the anti-poverty approach has the potential to challenge gender stereotypes (and so meet strategic gender needs), it has tended to emphasize meeting practical gender needs. An example of this is that projects have developed existing skills such as cooking and crafts for income generation. The tendency to emphasize the practical needs of women in anti-poverty programmes reinforces women's attachment to their traditional roles, thus making it difficult for them to discover and formulate their strategic gender needs (Brydon & Chant 1989:219).

6. EFFICIENCY APPROACH

The efficiency approach became popular in the 1980's and is still the most popular approach. It is known as the efficiency approach because its 'purpose is to ensure that development is more efficient and effective through women's economic contributions' (Moser 1993:69). It assumes that the increased economic participation of women will lead to greater equity. While the efficiency approach is concerned with women's involvement in development, it has been suggested that the 'emphasis has shifted away from women and towards development' (Wallace 1991:166).

The deterioration in the world economy, increasing debt for third world countries and the ensuing policies of structural adjustment and stabilisation are all factors which contributed to the birth of this approach. Moser notes that policies based on the efficiency approach have been implemented in a top down way, 'without gendered participatory planning' (1993:70). These policies rely heavily on the contribution of women to development. This contribution is usually very demanding and is often unpaid. Rising prices, removal of subsidies and the higher costs of basic services further increase the burden on women.

As women are relied on for their reproductive and community managing roles to compensate for these deficiencies. It is assumed that women have the spare time and energy to cope with these added burdens.

> Among the urban poor both men and women pay the price of structural adjustment, but for women, who must both ensure the running of the household and attempt to gain income outside of it, the burden is particularly great (Baylies & Bujra 1993:6).

The assumption that increased economic participation leads to greater equity for women has been discredited. All this does is to add to burdens already expected of women.

> While the so-called development industry has realised that women are essential to the success of the total development effort, it does not necessarily follow that development improves conditions for women (Wallace 1991:166).

Although the efficiency approach addresses women's practical gender needs, it does so by relying on the 'elasticity of women's time' (Moser 1993:73). This ignores the practical needs of women as it relies on their unpaid labour to replace reduced resource allocation. In so doing the efficiency approach also fails to meet women's strategic gender needs.

7. EMPOWERMENT

The empowerment approach is the most recent approach. It has arisen out of the failure of the equity approach and out of the experiences of grass roots third world women. The focus of the empowerment approach is on 'increasing women's control over the choices in their lives' (Ostergaard 1992:174). It seeks to give women the capacity to

'increase their own self-reliance and internal strength'. The empowerment approach thus aims to allow women

> to determine [their] choices in life and to influence the direction change, through the ability to gain control over crucial material and non-material resources (Moser 1993:74).

As the empowerment approach does not seek for women the power to dominate others, it places less emphasis on 'increasing women's status relative to men' than the equity approach (Moser 1993:75). It is acknowledged that although there are inequalities between men and women, the form of these inequalities are determined by race, class, colonial history and the prevailing economic order (Wallace 1991:169). The empowerment approach questions two assumptions made by the equity approach:

> i) that development necessarily helps all men;

> ii) that women want to be integrated into the mainstream of western-designed development (Wallace 1991:169).

The Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) is one of the best known proponents of the empowerment approach. The goals of this group include strategic gender needs such as changes in the law, civil codes, systems of property rights, control over women's bodies, labour codes and the social and legal institutions that maintain male control and privilege (Wallace 1991:169). While the strategic gender needs of the empowerment approach are similar to those outlined in the equity approach, the means of attaining them are different.

Ostergaard says that it is through a 'bottom-up' approach that the empowerment approach raises women's consciousness, so that women can challenge their status in society. 'It works on practical gender needs to build a support base in order to address strategic gender needs' (1992:175). The emphasis on 'bottom-up' changes rather than on 'top-

down' legislative changes suggests a greater involvement of grassroots women's organisations and other similar organisations. In this sense it is similar to the welfare approach. It differs from the welfare approach, however, in that it recognises all three roles of women, whereas the welfare approach is concerned with the reproductive role of women.

Even though the empowerment approach concentrates on practical gender needs and so might seem to be less conflictual, conflicts do occur when 'empowered women's organisations succeed in challenging their subordination' (Moser 1993:78). Moser suggests that it is precisely because the empowerment approach challenges the status quo that it has received so little support from either national governments or bilateral aid agencies (1993:79).

8. GENDER AND PLANNING

The policy approaches outlined above describe gender in planning at a macro level. In this section consideration will be given to gender in planning at a micro level. The way in which the planner and analysis can foster gender-aware planning will be reviewed.

8.1 GENDER, PLANNING AND PLANNERS

Many Third World governments and development agencies are attempting to formulate and implement policies that are gender-aware. Such policies will only succeed, however, if the staff or planners are gender-aware (Longwe 1991:149).

The general lack of attention to women's needs within the development process stems from a general lack of gender awareness amongst those who plan and implement development projects (Longwe 1991:149).

Such staff or planners need to be able to 'relate and talk to women, to learn from them and find ways to support them' (Wallace 1991:136). Ostergaard emphasises that an appropriate staff for gender-aware planning should have a balance of men and women and have technical, administrative, social, and psychological skills (1992:8).

8.2 GENDER, PLANNING AND ANALYSIS

A number of different methods for finding out women's situations and how best to address them have been proposed (Wallace 1991:138). Some of these will now be considered.

Longwe defines 'gender-awareness' in development in the Third World as 'an ability to recognise women's issues at every stage of the development project cycle' (Wallace 1991:149). She differentiates between 'women's issues', which she describes as those issues related to women's equality with men, and 'women's concerns', which are regarded as matters relating to woman's sex roles (Wallace 1991:152). Longwe suggests that a policy on 'women's development' would be aided by 'referring to a standard checklist of questions to be asked at every stage of the project cycle' (Wallace 1991:150). These questions would assess women's needs and determine women's equality with men.

Munro stresses the importance of focusing on the process of planning rather than just the 'output of the plan'. Improving awareness of gender relations, improving ways of consulting women and improving the quality of information for planning would assist projects to address the real needs of the community (Wallace 1991:174-176).

ZARD (Zambia's Association for Research and Development Workshop) lists a number of indicators for determining the progress of development projects in improving the 'status of women'. These indicators highlight the following issues: the basic needs of men and women, the ratio of women to men in leadership positions, the awareness amongst women of women's needs and women's issues, the sexual division of labour, the involvement of women in planning and the level of women's control over different resources (Wallace 1991:179-180).

Gender planning has been most clearly articulated by Moser. She describes an 'emerging tradition of gender planning'. The goal of such a planning tradition is to 'emancipate women from their subordination and to embrace equality, equity and empowerment'. It also strives to 'achieve both practical and strategic gender needs'. Moser describes six tools which are linked to six gender planning principles and describes the procedures, techniques and purposes of each of these tools. The six tools and techniques are 'essentially performance indicators' and are 'designed to measure changing processes rather than technical interventions' (1993:89-107).[3]

The above-mentioned authors describe different ways of identifying gender relations and how to deal with them. They all agree, however, on the importance of listening to women, of responding to their articulated needs, and involving them in planning and evaluation (Moser 1993:138).

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[3] These tools are gender roles identification, gender needs assessment, disaggregated data at the household level, inter-sectorally linked planning, the WID/GAD policy matrix and gendered consultation and participation.

8.3 GENDER, PLANNING AND PARTICIPATION

The participation of women in development decision-making is essential if gender is to be incorporated into planning. Their participation creates an opportunity for women to articulate their needs and is potentially empowering (Ostergaard 1992:8). Women need to be allowed to

> determine choices in life and to influence the direction of change *and to gain control over...resources'* (Moser 1993:74).

9. CONCLUSION

The need for the active participation of Third World women in decision making is recognised by many development players. It is also expressed in the actions of many Third World women, who are 'finding ways to work to improve their circumstances and to challenge their position' (Wallace 1991:137). Given this need, the chapter that follows will review community participation.

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

1. INTRODUCTION

Participation is based on the democratic principle that communities (consisting of both men and women) who are affected by development should participate in development decision-making. Direct participation of communities in the planning process is vital. There are a number of planning processes which allow for direct participation. These were first developed in the 1960's as a response to the 'rational decision model', which had failed to take into account 'the diversity of interests and values' of the public and communities (Healey 1993:6). Turner's 'conservative anarchist model' of planning is especially sensitive to the interests and values of communities in the Third World. It aims to empower the disadvantaged.

This chapter will attempt to elaborate on the above points. Questions such as 'why participation', 'how participation' and 'whose participation' will be considered in the discussion.

2. PHILOSOPHICAL BASE

Participation is based on democratic principles. Muller maintains that 'citizen involvement in decision-making processes...are tied to the...ideal of democracy' (1993:2).

It is the prerogative of any community to participate in decision-making processes which affect the lives of its members (Muller 1993:1).

This principle is particularly vital in South Africa, where disadvantaged communities have systematically been deprived of involvement.

This understanding of democracy is a derivative of 'classical democracy', which has its roots in the period of the sixth to the fourth century BC (Fagence 1977:23). It was the Greek historian, Herodotus, who introduced the term 'democracy' (from the Greek terms for 'the people' and 'to rule'). Features of this democracy included equality before the law, popular consensus, public accountability of officials and equality of speech (Fagence 1977:23). These features were embodied in the 'Athenian experiment', where the central principle was 'the equal right of every citizen to participate in the processes of government' (Fagence 1977:23). Fagence notes that such 'direct democracy' was only possible because of the small number of citizenry and the absence of formal political parties. The above points and the isolation and short duration of the Athenian experiment suggest that 'direct democracy' is 'inappropriate for adoption in the present complex and societal context without suitable translation and manipulation' (Fagence 1977:24-25).

The terms 'democracy' and 'participation' do not have a single meaning. Fagence identifies a number of interpretations of 'democracy' and 'participation' which have been debated through the centuries (1977:20-47). In the present period there are two competing interpretations of democracy: the 'western concept of liberal democracy' and 'east European democracies, *known as* one party democracy, people's democracy, *or* total

democracy' (Van Zyl Slabbert 1993:13). While such interpretations add to the debate and broaden understanding about these terms, the focus of this study limits further consideration of these interpretations. The interpretation of Galsworthy, however, is relevant. He 'saw the yardstick of democracy as the measure of freedom of its humblest citizens' (Muller 1993:2).

Let us now consider the relationship of 'formal and representative democracy' and 'substantive and participatory democracy'. Representative democracy is based on the idea that ordinary men and women 'give up claims to individual political involvement to the elected representative' who in turn look after their interests (Atkinson 1992:3). Van Zyl Slabbert describes 'representative and formal democracy' in terms of two 'fundamental operating values', which he calls 'contingent consent and bounded uncertainty' (1993:14). A simple explar   of 'contingent consent' is

> that the party or parties that win an election do not deny the losers the
> opportunity of winning next time around, and that the party or parties that
> lose the elections accept the right of those who have won to take binding
> decision over them for the time being (Van Zyl Slabbert 1993:14).

Contingent consent 'thrives on democratic pluralism and competition' (Van Zyl Slabbert 1993:15).

By 'bounded uncertainty' Van Zyl Slabbert refers to the fact that 'there are certain critical issues that, by common consent, are removed from political contestation' - such as the issues in the bill of rights (1993:15). These values 'imply certain democratic procedures' such as the right to vote, the right to stand for office, freedom of association, freedom of organisation, freedom of movement and freedom of access to competitive information (Van Zyl Slabbert 1993:15).

Van Zyl Slabbert sees no discrepancy between 'participatory' and 'representative' democracy. He describes participatory democracy as 'the way in which people...exercise their formal rights under representative democracy' (1993:16). Mass mobilisation, protest, demands for regular report-backs, demands for transparency and accountability and local or general referendums are suggested as examples of participatory democracy. While the means of participatory democracy sustain and give content to representative democracy, these means cannot be at the 'expense of representative democracy' (Van Zyl Slabbert 1993:16).

The benefits of representative democracy for decision making in community development are limited. Given the diversity and complexity of communities, politicians have a limited ability to evaluate the variety of attitudes and interests (Atkinson 1992:4). Furthermore, top-down decision making by politicians negate the democratic principle that it is 'the prerogative of any community to participate in decision-making processes which affect the lives of its members' (Muller 1993:1). Participatory democracy would thus appear to be a far more appropriate form of participation for community development. Muller highlights the importance of 'direct access', especially for the disadvantaged.

> It is a sine qua non of community development that the disadvantaged sector have direct access to the negotiating forum' (1994:4).

Consideration will be now be given to the participation of disadvantaged communities in development. The first area for consideration is the participation of disadvantaged communities in the planning process.

3. PLANNING PROCESSES

Fagence outlines a number of processes, networks and frameworks 'that structure and give rational form to plan-making' (1977:101). He emphasises processes that allow opportunities for 'citizen participation' (1977:101). We will now consider some of these.

The first model Fagence discusses is the Geddesian model. This model, the 'survey-analysis-plan', provides the foundation on which many other more complex processes of planning are built. While the centrality of this model in the history of planning is evident, the emphasis that is placed on participation is also of note. This emphasis is tied to Geddes' concern for the practical. Muller notes that Geddes was 'pre-occupied with the establishment of a viable procedure for the preparation of a plan appropriate to a particular civic context' (1992:128).

Geddes highlighted three areas of public participation:

> Involvement by education through public exhibitions, active participation
> in the collection of information, and involvement by offering alternative
> planning solutions and proposals to those of the planning authority
> (Fagence 1977:102).

By giving expression to 'community matters' and by revealing 'the context of constraints and opportunities' which give shape to planning proposals, Geddes maintained that a 'sympathetic public attitude' could be engendered (Fagence 1977:102).

The influence of Geddes spread and provided the impetus for a number of planning processes in America and Great Britain. The Radburn process (Figure 1) was one such development in America, and is described as representing 'a substantial advance on the two stage Geddesian approach'. The Radburn process consisted of the following stages:

goal formulation, data collection and analysis, plan development and selection, implementation and evaluation (Muller 1992:129). These procedures, like those of Adams and Abercrombie in Great Britain, were 'grounded in the practise of planning' (Muller 1990:511).

Although these procedures were to some extent linked to planning practise, the approach to planning was generally a 'blueprint approach'. Healey maintains that the 'blueprint approach dominated planning work in Britain until the late 1960's' (Healey 1989:3). The 'blueprint approach' assumed consensus on values and policy. This was known as the 'public interest'. The task of the 'professional experts' was to take 'charge of the realisation of this public interest' (Healey 1989:3). The major criticism levelled against the 'blueprint approach' was that it was 'politically authoritarian and epistemologically naive', because it assumed

> officials acting for the State would be in charge of the development
> process, from the plan to realisation, and that it was possible to translate
> knowledge…into plans, programmes and projects, without making complex
> value choices (Healey 1989:5).

The 'blueprint approach' was superseded in the 1960's by the 'rational decision model' (Healey 1989:5). This approach had its origins in American management science and the postwar Chicago school of planning (Healey 1989:5). Meyerson and Banfield's new procedural approach in planning (Figure 2) during the 1950's contributed to the development of the rational decision model (Muller 1992:134). This was the first time that the notion of rationality was linked to the planning process. Meyerson and Banfield regarded 'good planning' as 'rational decision-making' (Muller 1992:134). They outline three steps of a rational decision:

> i) the decision-maker considers all of the alternatives (courses of action)

open to him;

ii) he identifies and evaluates all of the consequences which would follow from the adoption of each alternative;

iii) he selects that alternative the probable consequences of which would be preferable in terms of his most valued ends (Meyerson and Banfield 1955:314).

In this decade various models of planning based on rationality were developed. While the interpretation of rationality differed, 'rationality and comprehensiveness in planning methodology *were taken* to a zenith' in the synoptic approach (Muller 1990:513). In this approach rationality was seen as the 'basis of positive knowledge, which was taken to be objective and universal' (Muller 1990:513). Healey notes that the major task of the 'rational decision model' was to

bring knowledge to bear on public action through the organised interaction of political goals and values with technical analysis and evaluation (1989:5).

In essence this approach assumed that representative democracy, through the formal political systems, would ensure democratic results in planning.

Politicians would be judged on the effectiveness of the realisation of goals into programmes of action, while professional accountability would be assured by directing their work to the achievement of explicitly stated political values (Healey 1989:5).

Since the late 1970's the 'rational decision model' has been severely criticized for its political and epistemological assumptions. Politically, it assumed consensus of all those involved and the limited consultation that did exist was used to acquire knowledge within the political framework (Healey 1989:6). In practise, rational planning was thus a 'topdown' process which 'failed to address the diversity of interests and values' (Healey

1993:6). It failed to take into account the 'socio-political reality' (Muller 1992:150).

Two epistemological assumptions were made by this approach:

    i) that the only valid knowledge and reasoning arose from rational-technical

    forms of reasoning;

    ii) professionally it was believed that planning work was a neutral technical

    process (Healey 1989:6).

In making these assumptions this approach failed to take into account 'the limitations of man's technical problem-solving ability' (Muller 1992:150). It also failed to highlight the moral aspect of planning work.

Muller notes that the 'theoretical refinement of the rational planning model that occurred in the 1960's was accompanied by the emergence of a practical concern with citizen involvement in planning processes' (1992:143). This concern for citizen participation was linked to the 'civil conflagration in the United States and social commitment in Great Britain' (Muller 1992:143). Fagence has outlined some of the processes which have included opportunities for participation (1977:106-112). Let us now briefly consider some of the m.

Kozlowski suggests public participation at four critical points (Figure 3): 'the stage of goal formulation, the verification of the goal statements and the selection of options, the choice of the preferred option, and the ultimate sanction of the plan' (Fagence 1977:107). Fagence notes that public participation at these four points is the minimum that could enable meaningful participation. Roberts' model enables public participation 'in five stages between goal establishment and monitoring' (Muller 1994:9). In addition, Roberts suggests that communication between all groups should be an ongoing process rather than just at set points (Figure 4). McConnell highlights the need for public participation at the

stage of goal formulation (Figure 5). The process put forward by McDonald (Figure 6) differs from the above-mentioned processes as it enables the participation of a particular interest group (Fagence 1977:10). Muller also describes the participatory process of Louew (Figure 7), who includes participation 'at the stages of goal definition, objective generation and alternative choice' (1994:9). These models, like the rational models previously described, 'use the elemental structure of the rational process' and then append public involvement onto this (Muller 1993:5).

A procedure which is more applicable to the conditions in the Third World is Turner's 'conservative anarchist model' (Figure 8). This model takes into account the position of the vulnerable or powerless communities. Its aim is the empowerment of the disadvantaged (Muller 1993:5). Turner distinguishes between different players in the planning process. He differentiates between steps taken by the dominant class, the planner and the powerless class or the community.

Turner emphasises the importance of planning which takes into account the variability of human needs. In a discussion about the housing problems in India and America he wrote the following:

> Leaders of both nations believe these problems can be solved through
> modern technology and organization if sufficient resources are available.
> A fundamental consequence of this optimistic view is an underestimation
> of the variability and complexity of human needs (Turner 1972:96).

The way in which the planning process takes into account the 'variability and complexity of human needs' is through the involvement of the powerless class at all stages. The community is the only participant involved at every stage of the planning processes and they are the sole participants at the stage of 'choice of alternatives'. This gives the community the 'power to decide' which, according to van der Linden, is the central issue

of community participation (Turner 1972:126).

Turner suggests that the planner should be biased towards the disadvantaged. He notes that planners should 'support those who are fighting to regain the authority our executive institutions and corporations have usurped' (1972:175). The planner needs to be humble, aware of his or her limited knowledge and aware of the moral consequences of planning.

> The certified professional makes a fool of himself, and often does a great
> deal of harm to other people, by admitting that he knows more than the
> "uneducated"...All that does for him is to reduce his ability to listen and
> learn about situations significantly different from his own social and
> economic experience - with consequences which can be tragic when he has
> the power to impose his solutions on those who are not strong enough to
> resist (1972:146).

The planner is involved throughout the planning process except at points of decision making, such as the choice of alternatives and the decision to implement. The planner is not involved in the monitoring and review of benefits.

While the dominant class has no involvement in a number of stages including the generation of alternatives and the choice of alternatives, their acceptance of the chosen alternative at the stage of decision to implement is crucial. The dominant class, often in the form of the government, dispenses the resources and therefore the ultimate decision making lies with them. Bearing this in mind, Turner creates a stage in the planning process where the planner and the community need to 'sell' the chosen alternative to the dominant class.

We now turn our attention to a number of issues with regard to community participation. These include the following questions about participation which have been identified by Moser:

    i) why participation;

    ii) how participation;

    iii) whose participation.
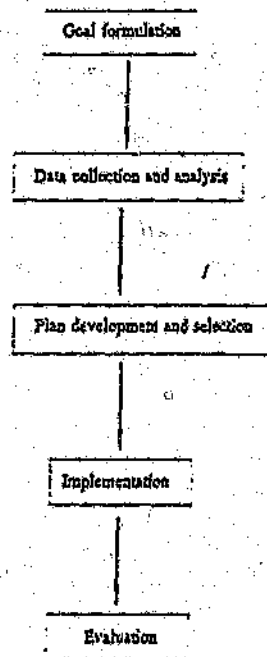
Figure 1: Radburn Process (Muller 1993)
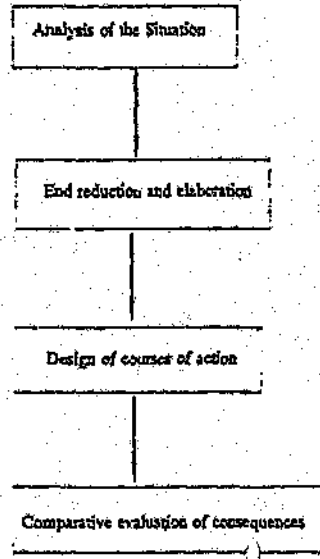
Figure 2: Meyerson and Banfield's Rational model (Muller 1993)

Public interest and mutual interaction 'envelope'

Opportunities for citizen participation

Figure 3: The Kozlowski model (Fagence 1977:108)

Figure 4: The Roberts model (Fagence 1977:108)
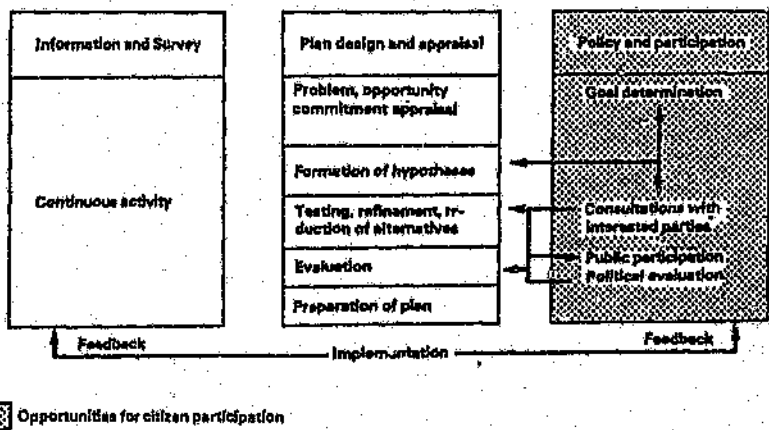
Figure 5: The McConnell model (Fagence 1977:108)
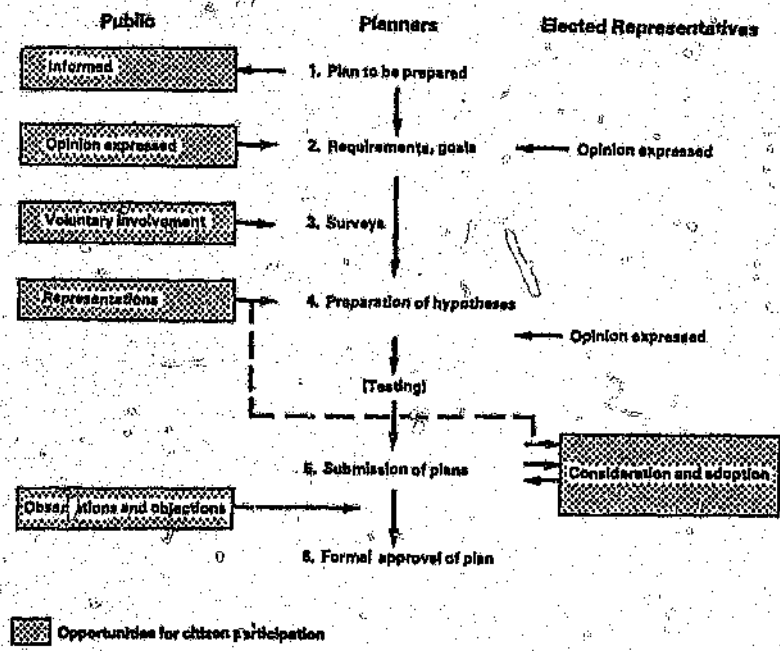
Figure 6: The McDonald model (Fagence 1977:110)
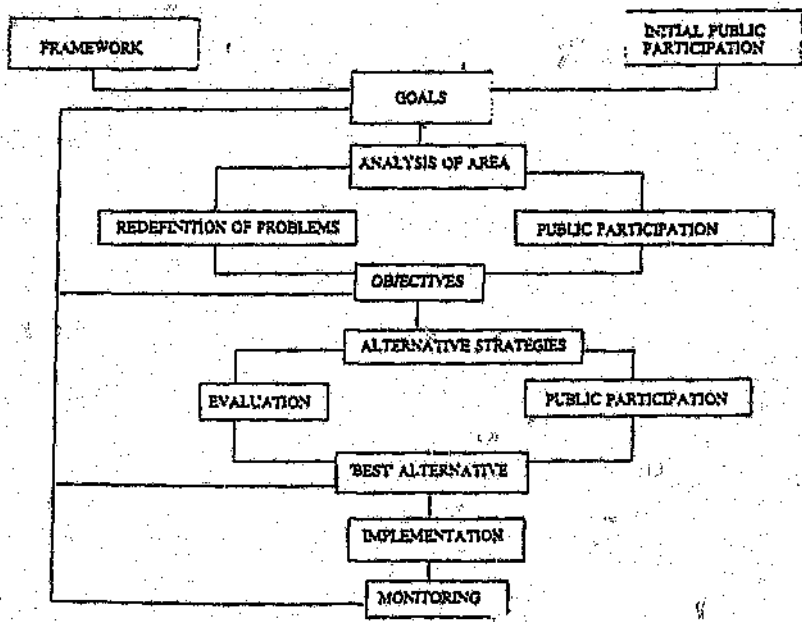
Figure 7: Louew's Participatory Process (Muller 1993)

DCP

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      ┌──────────┐          ┌──────────┐      ┌──────────┐    ┌──────────┐
 DC   │ Problem  │   PC     │          │  PC  │ Problem  │ PC │Generation│ C
─────►│ Identifi-│  ──────► │ Analysis │ ────►│ Articul- │───►│of Altern-│───
      │ _ation   │          │          │      │ ation    │    │ atives   │
      └──────────┘          └──────────┘      └──────────┘    └──────────┘
```

C

Choice of Alternative

Monitoring and Review of Benefits

Implementation ◄─PCD─ Decision to Implement ◄─DC─ 'Selling' of Alternative to Dominant Class ◄─PC─

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  : Step taken by
D : Dominant Class
P : Planner
C : Powerless class/community
    being planned for
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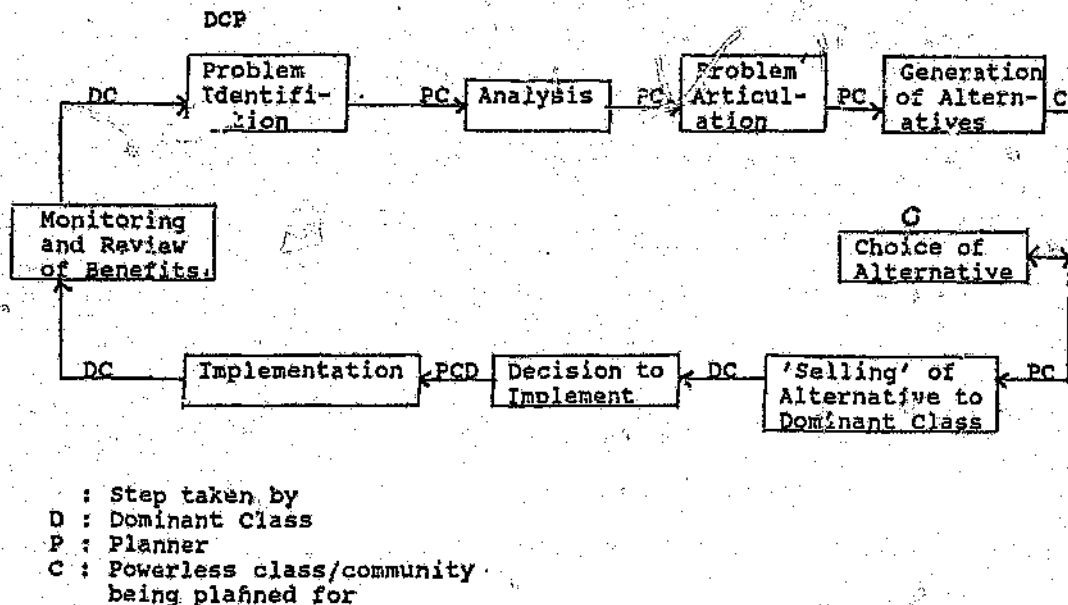
Figure 8: Turner's Participatory model (Muller 1993)

4. WHY PARTICIPATION

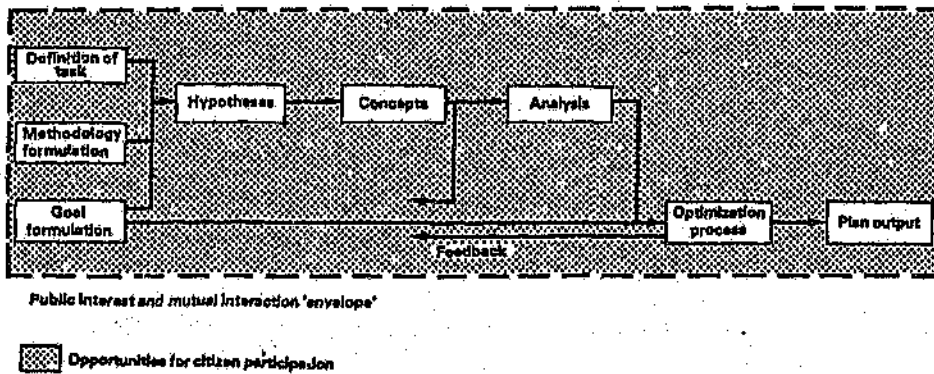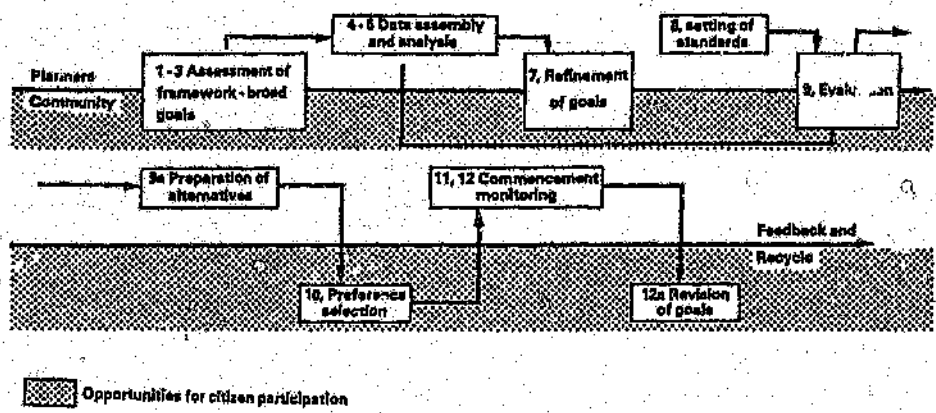The stages at which participation takes place in the participatory planning process are often a consequence of the goals of that participation, or the 'why of participation'. If, for example, the goal of community participation is empowerment, then community participation occurs from the outset and throughout the decision-making process. If, however, community participation is seen as a 'means to achieve development objectives' (such as to ensure payment and upkeep of services), then participation is often only included in the implementation and maintenance phase (Moser 1989:85).

In discussing the question of 'why participation', Moser refers to the reasons for and causes of participation. She maintains that there has been a shift in attitude about the

'why' participation. At the United Nations meeting in 1955 the first notion of participation was identified. Community development and community participation where seen to be one and the same thing (Moser 1989:89). By 1976, with the rise of the 'basic needs' strategy, community participation was seen as a necessary part of this approach used to increase efficiency and to increase self-reliance. By 1979 it was held that the 'real objective of participation' involved an 'inevitable sharing and then transfer of power as social groups deliberately attempt to control their own lives and improve their living conditions' (Moser 1989:82).

Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (Figure 9) also highlights power as the central issue of participation, and is one of the earliest and most well-known typologies. It was designed to encourage debate on the theory, purpose and practise of citizen participation. In looking at 'what' participation is, she suggested that it has to do with 'citizen power'. Participation involves 'the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future' (Arnstein 1969:216).

Arnstein highlights eight levels of participation which are described in a ladder form and concur with different levels of citizen power. At the bottom rung of the ladder is 'n nipulation', which she regards as the use of participation in name only. She suggests that 'people are placed on rubber stamp advisory committees or advisory boards for the express purpose of "educating" them or engineering their support' (Arnstein 1969:218). This rung of participation is in fact 'non-participation'. Arnstein calls the second level of participation 'therapy'. This, too, is 'non-participation'. She suggests that this form of 'participation' is both dishonest and arrogant. Citizens are considered to have 'pathologies' and therefore 'group therapy' is used to enable them to 'adjust their values and attitudes to those of the larger society' (1969:219). Steps three, four and five on this

ladder of participation, 'informing', 'consultation', and 'placation', are described as 'degrees of tokenism', as they confer no real 'citizen power'. In all of these steps the transfer of power is limited and the process remains under the control of the powerholders. The last three rungs are called 'degrees of citizen power'. Step six is called 'partnership'. It is here that power begins to be redistributed 'through negotiation between citizens and powerholders' (1969:221). On this rung of the ladder planning and decision-making responsibility are shared through joint structures. Step seven is called 'delegated power'. In this situation citizens have greater power - they are the dominant decision-makers for a specific plan or programme. The eighth rung on the ladder of citizen participation is called 'citizen control'. Here there is a demand for a degree of power which

> guarantees that participants or residents can govern a program or an
>
> institution, be in full charge of policy and managerial aspects, and be able
>
> to negotiate the conditions under which "outsiders" may change them
>
> (1969:223).

The value of Arnstein's model is that it distinguishes between the power which is in the hands of the powerful and the power which is in the hands of citizens. This distinction needs to be made, especially where the goal of community participation is empowerment.

	Citizen control		
8	Delegated power		Degrees of citizen power
7	Partnership		
6	Placation		
5	Consultation		Degrees of tokenism
4	Informing		
3	Therapy		Nonparticipation
2	Manipulation		
1			
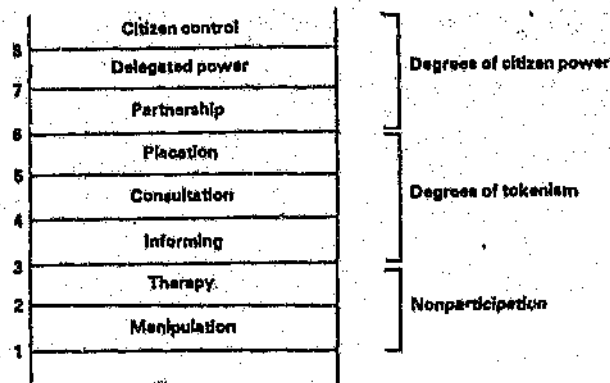
Figure 9: Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein 1969:217)

5. HOW PARTICIPATION

'How participation' refers to the means of participation ie. the strategies to undertake participation. Burke identified five strategies of community participation: the education-therapy strategy, behavioural change strategy, staff supplement strategy, and co-option (1968:287-294). The names of these strategies also indicate the goals of each.

The 'how' of participation would include such things as the type and size of meetings, the time of day at which meetings occur, the way in which information is distributed and the ways of recruiting beneficiaries. Fagence outlines a number of strategies of participation. These include conventional means - such as exhibitions, public meetings and hearings,

information publications, questionnaires and surveys, and the media (1977:275-290). These strategies contribute to keeping citizens informed, but generally have a low level of impact on decisions taken (Atkinson 1992:18). Fagence also highlights a number of innovative means of participation. These include the Delphi Method, the Nominal Group Method and the Charrette (Fagence 1977:272-326). These methods require a high level of linguistic skill. They are therefore not considered suitable for use in disadvantaged communities, where their use would effectively eliminate the participation of the illiterate and semi-literate.

The 'how' of community participation is important as it impacts on who participates. Different sizes of meetings, such as large scale meetings, small-group gatherings or house to house consultations, for example, would have different participants for each. It is thus important, especially when working with disadvantaged communities, to carefully evaluate whether the means of participation accesses the target group.

6. WHOSE PARTICIPATION

Moser highlights the importance of who participates.

> Whatever the objective of participation, whether it be to achieve project effectiveness or empowerment, and whatever the particular phase at which it is introduced, ultimately it is the question of who is participating, and the accessibility of a project to the target population, which determines the extent to which 'participation' really is community participation (1989:86).

While there is a tendency to think of the community as a homogenous group and to assume that everyone is empowered to participate, this is not so. Friedman notes that the

'community' is a 'wide range of people with differing interests and values' (1993:1). The statement that 'development is being negotiated with the community' thus cannot be taken at face-value (Friedman 1993:2). It probably only means that development is being discussed with a group or with 'individuals or organisations who purport to speak for communities', but who in reality represent a minority of the 'community'. Friedman suggests that in the end 'development requires choices about whose needs are to enjoy priority'. Given the above, the process of working 'with communities' is a complex process where 'success is rarely achieved quickly' (Friedman 1993:2).

One of the problems highlighted about the concept of the 'community' is that while distinctions are often 'made between local leaders, neighbourhood organizations and political parties as the three community level groups, further disaggregation is less common' (Moser 1989:86). Moser highlights the need for the disaggregation according to gender. Such a differentiation would recognise the different roles that men and women play in society and therefore their different roles in community participation. She notes that this lack of awareness has 'serious implications'. Moser cites a number of reasons for gender disaggregation. One of these is that women's positions in many different societies often limits their capacity to participate. Such disaggregation would thus ensure their inclusion. Among her other reasons are three points made by UNCHS with regard to urban projects (Moser 1989:86):

First, 'women's participation is an end in itself'. Women have a right and duty to participate in projects which will effect their lives. Because of the triple role of women, especially their reproductive and community managing roles, they are most affected by housing and settlement projects and they should therefore be involved throughout the planning process and be part of the decision-making.

Secondly, women's participation is seen as a 'means to improve project results', since women have a particular responsibility for the welfare of the household, they are the primary users of housing. They, therefore, are better aware than men of the most urgent needs for infrastructure and services and are also more committed to the success of a project which improves living conditions in the settlement (Moser 19889:87).

As such their exclusion from the planning process will have negative consequences for the project and their inclusion can improve the outcome. The involvement of women throughout the planning process would ensure that the project is more responsive to their perceived needs and priorities.

The third point made by UNCHS is that 'participation in housing activities stimulates women's participation in other spheres of life'. It is suggested that such participation can increase women's confidence and raise awareness about the important role that women can play in solving problems in the community. Moser warns that while the involvement of women in urban projects is often imperative for the success of projects, lack of awareness of the triple role of women can also lead to project failure.

7. CONCLUSION

A number of issues regarding community participation have been reviewed in this chapter. Consideration of the question 'who participates' revealed that disaggregation according to gender rarely occurs. Such gender disaggregation is essential in community participation, however, as it enables the different roles and needs of men and women to be incorporated into the development decision-making process.

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDY: COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN WINTERVELD

1. INTRODUCTION

The intention of this chapter is to consider the theory outlined in the preceding chapters, in relation to the practise of development planning in an informal settlement in South Africa. The objective of this case study is to consider comr~ ~y participation in Winterveld and to examine the extent of women's participation ' process.

Winterveld has been chosen for a case study as it is fairly typical of informal settlements in South Africa. It is typical in regard to the poor living conditions and the way in which the participation of residents in development decision-making has, until recently, been severely limited. It is for these reasons that this case study is considered to wider relevance to the South African situation.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1 LOCATION, SIZE AND LAYOUT OF WINTERVELD

Winterveld is an informal settlement located about thirty kilometres north of Pretoria, in the North-West region. Its present population is estimated to be about 230 000, with the south being more densely populated and the densities decreasing towards the north (Taylor

1994:12).

The beginnings of Winterveld can be traced back to between 1938 and 1945, when the farms Winterveld and Klippan were divided into 1 658 agricultural holdings. These were known as the Winterveld Agricultural Holdings and were owned by a group of Pretoria businessmen, who sold freehold rights to black people. By 1970 the population of Winterveld had significantly increased (Horn 1994:115). Despite this increase in population, ownership of land did not increase. People were accommodated through a system of 'shack farming' whereby plot owners rented out pieces of land to tenants, who erected their own dwellings. This divide between plot owner and tenant remains a prominent division in Winterveld.

Geographically, Winterveld can also be divided into three regions. The first is the township of Winterveld. It is in the south-western corner of Winterveld, adjacent to Mabopane. The township of Winterveld consists of a formal suburb of flats and detached houses with services and has been named 'Beirut' and 'Lebanon' by residents (Taylor 1994:12). The second region is Klippan, which can be further sub-divided into Southern Klippan and Northern Klippan. Southern Klippan is situated close to Mabopane. Its proximity to urban facilities and access to the transportation network is probably the reason why it is the most densely populated area. There are about 142 000 residents in Southern Klippan (Taylor 1994:15). Klippan North is less densely settled. Both Klippan and the township of Winterveld were declared urban areas in 1986. The third area, Winterveld farm, is still considered rural and is made up of areas known as '10 morgan' and '5 morgan'. It has low population densities and is an agricultural area (Van Zyl 1989:2).
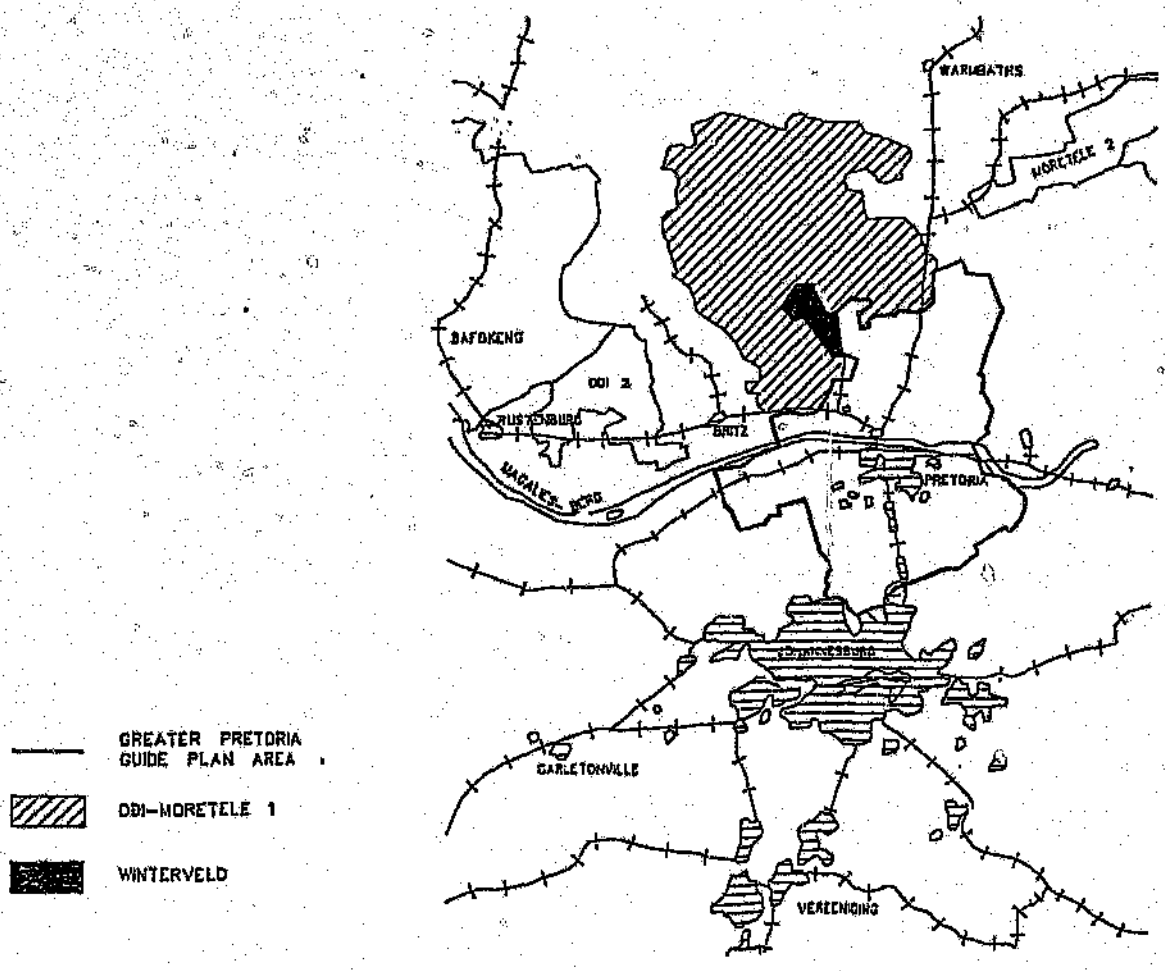
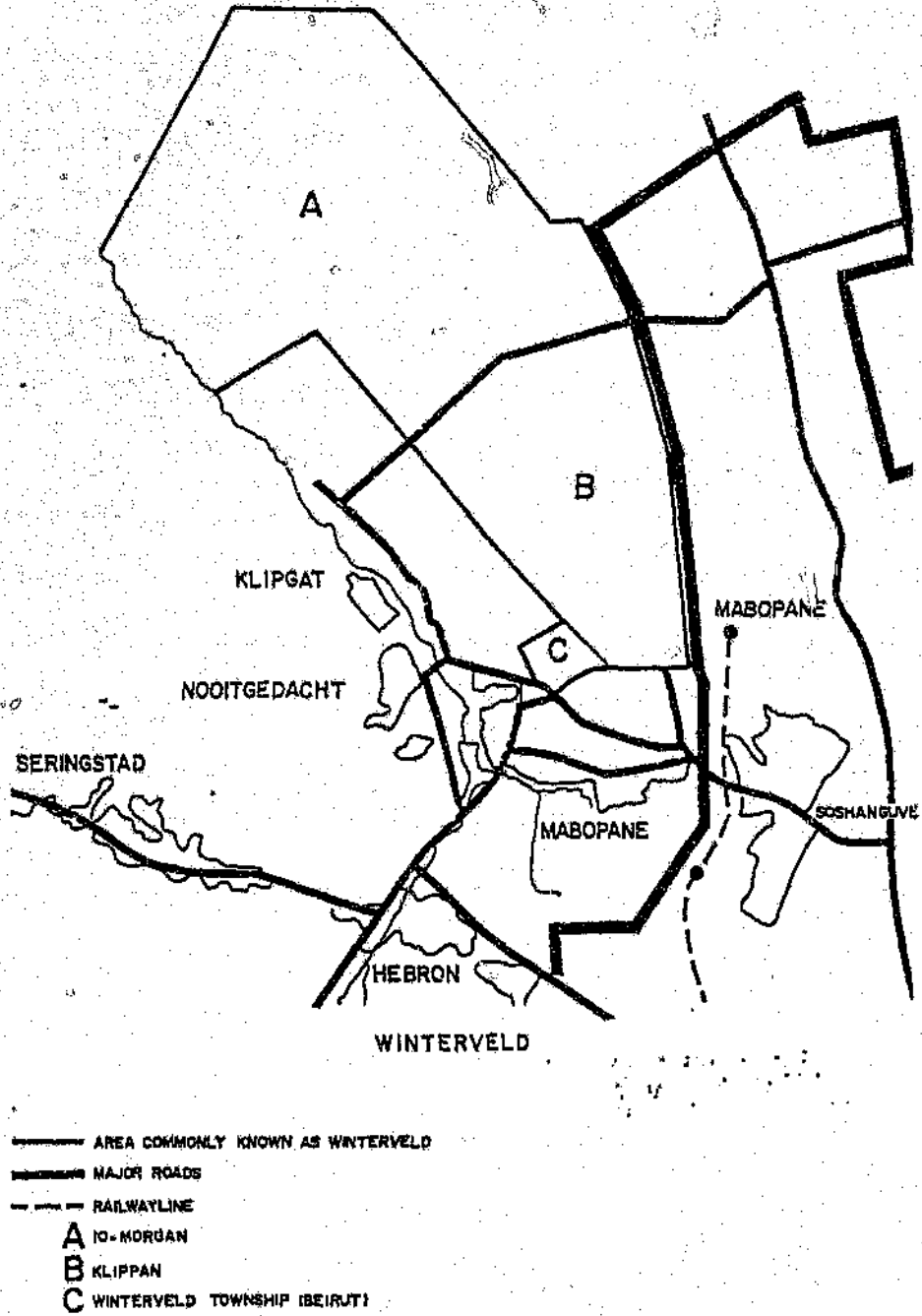Figure 10: Map of Winterveld in Regional Setting (Taylor 1994:43)

Figure 11: Map of Winterveld (Van Zyl 1989:4)

2.2 ROLE AND FUTURE ROLE OF WINTERVELD

The changing political situation has led to speculation about the continued growth of Winterveld. A number of factors would seem to suggest that Winterveld will continue to remain an important urban environment. These factors include the interfacial role of Winterveld in the metropolitan context, the fairly inexpensive houses within reach of work opportunities and the present investment of residents resources in Winterveld (Horn 1992:122; Taylor 1994:7). Horn stresses the role of Winterveld as an intermediary between rural and urban settings. He notes that Winterveld, like many other informal settlements in South Africa, 'offers a foothold for those who are in the process of urbanising' (Horn 1992:120). It is with this role in mind that Horn suggests that 'overdevelopment and the associated responsibility and liability will inhibit the initiative of the newcomer in obtaining an urban foothold' (1994:122). It is in this regard that he highlights the possibility for conflict of priorities between the 'urban newcomers' and the urban regulators' within Winterveld. While Horn cautions against 'overdevelopment', he does emphasise the need for the 'improvement of living condition' (1994:122).

2.3 LIFE IN WINTERVELD

The following description of life in Winterveld pertains on the whole to Klippan and rural Winterveld. The township of Winterveld, 'Beirut' and 'Lebanon', differ from these areas in that they have access to full services.

Ninety percent of all households in Winterveld are tenants or subtenants, paying rent to plot owners. This relationship often causes conflict. The tension was evident in the hesitancy of tenants to speak about their participation in plot meetings (Interviews 8/9/94).

In a recent community meeting to discuss the 'Winterveld structure plan', the conflict between some of the plot owners and the tenants came to the fore (11/6/94). The dissatisfaction of tenants with conditions such as their lack of secure tenure was raised. A plot owner argued that some tenants were not paying their rents. She claimed tha' tenants on her plot who were at fault.

As noted above, the tenants presently rent sites and are then responsible for the construction of their houses. This has resulted in the irregular layout of houses on plots. Most houses are built with sun backed bricks, which are made on site from cement and mud. The incremental nature of housing is evident in the number of houses with rooms half finished and building material around. Only about eight percent of the houses have foundations (Horn 1994:118). Roofs are made from recycled corrugated iron and there are usually no ceilings. Doors and windows are made of wood. Once the owner has sufficient funds, the wooden windows are replaced with second-hand steel frames and glass. The average house has five rooms, two of which are bedrooms, and houses on average six people (Horn 1994:118). Most houses do not have access to electricity. Burnt-out power boxes are the remains of attempts to bring some electricity into Winterveld. Most houses have coal stoves but gas stoves are also used.

While a major issue in Winterveld is the ownership and affordability of housing, possibly the greatest concern is the need for clean water (Taylor 1994:25). The Urban-Econ survey notes that fifty-eight percent of those interviewed suggested that the poor availability of water was the reason why they disliked Winterveld (Van Zyl 1989:20). Horn describes the lack of water and water-borne sewerage as one of the 'most vexing problems in the Winterveld' (1992:118). The majority of tenants purchase water from plot owners, who obtain water from wells or boreholes. This water is most often contaminated. Pit latrines are used by almost all households and with the water table

being close to the surface, this leads to contamination of water supplies. There is a water reticulation system in southern Klippan, but this has not been used. The reason for this is that plot owners would have to apply and pay for the connection to reticulated water, and would also lose out on the profits made from selling water. Seven public water kiosks have been erected, but because of questions of management they are presently not being used.

Waste and refuse further pollutes water and the environment (Taylor 1994:120). This is a consequence of the lack of a formal strategy to deal with disposable waste. Even though residents usually try to clean up around their houses, the limited alternatives for disposal means that refuse is often dumped in the streets. Some plot owners charge a fee for the removal of rubbish, while others try to burn the rubbish (Horn 1992:119).

The quality of roads, streets, transport and access was rated third highest in the survey on reasons for disliking Winterveld. Roads and pathways between houses and plots are all dirt. Only the main entrances to Winterveld are tarred. While there are buses and taxi's operating in Winterveld, these are more limited as one moves further north.

Taylor notes that Winterveld 'is plagued by diseases that emanate from poor water quality and sanitation' (1994:70). Diseases such as cholera, kwashiorkor, scabies, tuberculosis and gastroenteritis are common in Winterveld (Horn 1992:119). The residents of Winterveld have limited health facilities to deal with these problems. Facilities include a hospital at Ga-Rankuwa (which is about ten kilometres away), five clinics and two mobile clinics (Taylor 1994:73). The standard of these facilities vary and are affected by the available resources for staffing.

Half the population of Winterveld is below the age of nineteen (Van Zyl 1989:12). Only about sixty percent of children in this age group attend school. There are a number of reasons for this. The first is that existing private and public schools are filled to capacity. A second is that many children leave school early in order to earn an income. Thirdly, the political situation has dictated that government schools teach in Tswana only, while the majority of residents are not Tswana (Horn 1989:119).

The vast majority of residents of Winterveld have limited resources. Like many informal settlements in South Africa, unemployment and low wages are features of the population profile. This is apparent in that half the households in Winterveld earned less than the household subsistence level for Pretoria in 1989 (Taylor 1994:15). Income is mainly generated in the Pretoria area. Of those who are employed, the majority are unskilled workers; twenty-five percent are semi-skilled and about twenty percent are skilled (Horn 1994:118).

The above description indicates the poor living conditions in Winterveld. These conditions are like many other informal settlements and townships where the majority of Black people have been forced to live. A description of Soweto about a decade ago highlighted a number of areas of need: these were 'housing provision, employment opportunities, social facilities, transportation systems, retail outlets, public utility services and the like' (Muller 1982:22). This list could be transposed unchanged onto Winterveld. In addition, the 'fundamental and all-inclusive issue' which Muller stressed for Soweto was the non-participation of residents in the decision making processes which affect their lives (1982:22). This, too, has been pervasive and destructive in Winterveld.

3. A HISTORY OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN WINTERVELD

Community participation in Winterveld has been severely restricted. It is only with recent reform measures and organised community pressure that community participation in Winterveld has begun to evolve. While there is a movement towards greater community participation, consideration has not been given to the need for gendered participation.

A history of community participation in Winterveld can be divided into four era's:

- a 'dumping ground';
- severe oppression under the Bophuthatswana government;
- 'top-down' planning;
- evolving community participation (Interview, March 1994).

These four era's will now be briefly considered.

3.1 A 'DUMPING GROUND'

In 1950 Winterveld consisted of only 464 dwellings but by 1970 the population had significantly increased (Horn 1994:116). This growth was because of government apartheid policies, which structured and regulated urbanization (Horn 1992:113). The restrictions which these policies placed on Black people meant that in order to access towns and cities, to 'fulfil a dream of better living', they had to settle in peripheral places like the Winterveld (Horn 1992:113). The Winterveld thus became a home for those people who could not be accommodated anywhere else (Horn 1992:116). Winterveld has been described as the final 'dumping ground'.

3.2 SEVERE OPPRESSION UNDER THE BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT

Settlers in the Winterveld area came from all over Southern Africa, with only about ten percent of the residents being Tswana speaking (Horn 1992:121). This created enormous difficulties for the South African government. As part of the apartheid scheme they wanted to create an independent homeland for the Tswana, which included Winterveld. Their first response was to take a part of the township of Mabopane and rename it Shoshanguve. Shoshanguve was divided according to ethnicity and incorporated into South Africa as a place for the non-Tswana (Horn 1992:121). This had a limited impact on the population in Winterveld and so a second option, a compromise between the Bophuthatswana government and the South African government, was developed. The agreement reached in 1977 resulted in the Bophuthatswana government accepting the incorporation of Winterveld into the homeland on condition that the South African government took responsibility for the upgrading and the development of the area (Horn 1992:121).

This decision was taken without the participation of the Winterveld residents and was opposed by most of the tenants and plot owners. The response of the Bophuthatswana government was one of severe oppression. Police executed numerous raids into Winterveld on the basis that 'agricultural land was being used for urban practices', but the real intention was to discourage the non-Tswana people from living there (Horn 1992:121). This oppression included refusal for any kind of community organisation or of any meetings. It also included restrictions on the language used at schools - government schools could only teach in Tswana. Furthermore, all non-Tswana's were refused pensions (Wilson 1989:164). Any opposition by residents of Winterveld was met with force. While this oppression is described as a stage in the history of Winterveld, it has been a constant factor. An example of fear engendered by the authorities is apparent

in the organisation for the Winterveld Development Association (WDA) elections in 1993. Residents of Winterveld were afraid to attending meetings. In a bid to allay these fears the police were contacted in order to obtain permission for meetings and a written statement that no one would be killed, but this could not be obtained (Interview, March 1994). The overthrow of the Bophuthatswana government early in 1994 and the recent elections have brought this oppression by the authorities to an end.

3.3 'TOP-DOWN' PLANNING

The official response to Winterveld ranged from being ignored, evictions to attempts at development (Horn 1992:121). Attempts at development were first described in a report on the proposed upgrading strategy in 1981, as part of the joint South African and Bophuthatswana venture. Development projects included the Mabopane extension (a local housing scheme which has been nicknamed 'Beirut'), a police station, high mast lighting and local authority offices (which were razed to the ground in the recent uprisings).

These proposals for development and their following implementation did not include community participation. While there was talk of community involvement, this was only included to 'rubber stamp' pre-planned government initiatives. It was 'top down' planning in that the government decided how to redevelop Winterveld. It has been suggested that not only did these government initiatives not benefit residents of Winterveld, but that they were 'extremely efficient mechanisms' to reinforce oppression (Interview, August 1994).

Horn described these development efforts as 'ad hoc, experimental and superficial' (1992:121). The need for a co-ordinating body was recognised and it was in this capacity that the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) became involved in Winterveld

in 1984. The directive for the DBSA's project team was to 'provide co-ordination and a management framework together with representatives of the two governments' (Taylor 1994:5). Like previous initiatives, this mandate assumes a 'top down' approach to planning with limited participation by the Winterveld community in the decision making process. In 1987 the DBSA proposed breaking development in Winterveld into ten sub-programmes:

  i)   Urban Planning

  ii)   Local Government and Institutional Development

  iii)   Housing Development

  iv)   Small Business Development

  v)   Financial Support Systems

  vi)   Physical Infrastructure

  vii)   Educational Programme

  viii)   Health Care

  ix)   Social and Institutional

  x)   Rural Development (Taylor 1994:5-6).

3.4 EVOLVING COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Organised community pressure has increased and been brought to bear on the development process in Winterveld over the last few years. Winterveld residents are insisting that they be properly informed and properly involved in any development decision making processes (Interview, August 1994). They have insisted that unless the community participates in the development process, projects would be destroyed (Interview, August 1994). During the insurrection and the overthrow of the Bophuthatswana government a number of government projects, such as the local authority offices and other government

buildings, were burned. The BMW community centre, a project in which community representatives had participated, was not touched.

In 1991 the Winterveld Development Association (WDA) was formed. It was a culmination of a number of meetings. The first WDA was comprised of representatives from different organisations and interest groups in the Winterveld. The WDA committee was elected at a meeting where there was over a thousand people, and they represented about a hundred organisations and interest groups. This committee was made up of twenty-five people, representing a cross section of people, including the young and the old and plot owners and tenants. The WDA committee was meant to operate for a year and then seek re-election for a new mandate. For a variety of reasons this WDA committee did not accomplish much in that year. The difficulties facing it were enormous. They included a history of not being able to talk to one anther, a history of mistrust and rumours, the difficulty of trying to meet the criteria set by three institutions (the Bophuthatswana government, the South African government and the DBSA), and continual sabotage from the Bophuthatswana government. Given the limited progress of the WDA, the committee was hesitant to go back to the Winterveld residents for re-elections. This procrastination resulted in conflict with the ANC youth and eventually the disbandonment of the WDA. This in turn led to the formation of an interim group made up of both ANC and the former WDA. The task of the interim WDA was to organise the next election.

Whereas the first WDA had representatives from different interest groups, the second WDA sought to include representatives from the whole Winterveld region. The interim committee tried to organise representatives from cells (which comprised a number of plots) to participate in these elections. The present members of the WDA executive were elected at this meeting in October 1993. The structures of this body are outlined in the constitution of the WDA. The governing body consists of the WDA executive and the

Winterveld Development Trust (WDT). Members of the WDA executive chair one of the ten sub programmes. Each of these sub programmes has a community committee and a community working group. Each sub programme thus has a programme leader from the WDA, the DBSA and a government official.

Community participation in the development decision making processes is thus evolving in Winterveld. The past sabotage and suppression of community participation by the authorities has undermined but not destroyed this process. The recent political changes and the emphasis on the RDP open the way for a new era of community participation in Winterveld.

> The central objective of our RDP is to improve the quality of life of all
> South Africans, and in particular the most poor and marginalised sections
> of our communities. This objective should be realised through a process
> of empowerment which gives the poor control over their lives...the RDP
> reflects a commitment to grassroots, bottom-up development which is
> owned and driven by communities and their representative organisations
> (1994:15).

While there is reason for optimism, the process of community participation remains complex. As has been stated, the Winterveld community is not a homogenous group but consists of a 'wide range of people with differing interests and values' (Friedman 1993:1). All their interests cannot possibly be represented by the eleven members of the Winterveld Development Association Executive. Even though such a democratically elected body is essential and can make an invaluable contribution to ensuring community participation, the direct participation of as many Winterveld residents as possible at every level of development planning is imperative. In this regard questions of 'how participation occurs' and 'who participates' needs to be continually re-assessed. This will ensure that

community participation remains based on the democratic principle that people participate in decision-making processes that affect their lives.

When we look at the representation of the WDA, it would appear that the participation of women is limited. Of the eleven members, only three are women. The non-participation of women was recently highlighted in meeting in a rural area of Winterveld called 10 morgan. At this meeting it was claimed that the WDA did not represent the 10 morgan people. A committee of men was elected to represent the 10 morgan people. At the end of the meeting a woman made an objection against the composition of this all-male committee. She maintained that women should be on this committee as women were more in touch with the situation and suffer directly because of things like the lack of water (Interview, September 1994).

Such factors indicate a need for consideration to be given to the participation of women in decision making processes in Winterveld. With this in mind, a number of interviews with women living in Winterveld were undertaken.

4. COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND WOMEN

4.1 METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the interviews was to consider aspects of life for women in Winterveld and to focus on their attitudes and thoughts with regard to their participation.

Interviews were chosen as the method of research as it is a 'tool to find out about people' and 'a means of collecting information about people's knowledge, beliefs and attitudes'

(Powney 1987:5,13). The type of interview used could be described as 'less formal' or 'unstructured' (Cohen and Manion 1985:291,293). In such interviews, although there are guideline questions, the interviewer is 'free to modify the sequence of questions, changing wording, explain them or add to them' (Cohen and Manion 1985:291). The 'less formal' conversational nature of the interview and the fact that participants of the study were interviewed individually, allowed for spontaneity and for more detailed discussions of points and attitudes concerning the topic. The questions asked were open-ended and allowed the interviewees to raise or comment on other topics that they considered relevant. The topics discussed included background information, roles, participation and issues of importance to women.

Interviews were conducted on a plot in southern Klippan, close to the main entrance of Winterveld. This plot was chosen as it reflects the conditions in urban Winterveld, as have been described above. It was hoped that because of the plots accessibility and proximity to the BMW community centre, women living on this plot might have heard of or participated in development projects.

The interviews were arranged by a woman living on the plot, introduced to me by a DBSA planner. She also interpreted the interviews. In order to organise the interviews, permission had to be obtained from the plot owner. Permission was given once the plot owner was satisfied that the interviews were not of a political nature. Women from different households were asked wether they would be willing to be interviewed and explanations about the content of the interviews were also discussed. While a few women were willing to be interviewed, they were apprehensive because of the tension between plot owners and tenants and the recent political turmoil. Because of this, women interviewed were assured anonymity. As only eight interviews were conducted, they are by no means representative of all women in Winterveld. Interviews lasted for about a half

an hour and during the interview notes were written. The limited length of the interviews meant that many issues could not be covered, but shorter interviews were considered appropriate as the women interviewed were busy with household tasks. Shorter interviews also focused the questions on the central issue - of women's participation.

This method of interviewing has limitations. Skills for interviewing are not 'innate but need to be acquired, explored and practised' (Powney 1987:9). This interviewer was not experienced and this might have restricted the interviews. The analysis and interpretation of the interviews are also affected by the interviewer - 'the method of interviewing is prone to 'subjectivity and bias' (Cohen and Manion 1985:292). While every attempt was made to ensure objectivity, the unconscious bias of both the interviewer and the interpreter will have impacted on the study. In spite of these shortcomings in the methodology, the interviews were nonetheless considered worthwhile and the information obtained informative. Interviews certainly revealed a great deal of about aspects of life for some women in Winterveld and their attitudes and thoughts about participation.

The interviews will now be discussed in greater detail. Where possible mention will be made of Black South African women, in disadvantaged areas, so as to broaden the frame of reference of this study.

4.2 BACKGROUND

The eight women who were interviewed have all lived in Winterveld for a number of years. Two of the women have lived in Winterveld for more than twenty years. The ages of the women ranged from twenty-two to forty-one, with most being closer to thirty. As far as schooling is concerned, three of the women had attended school until a standard

seven level, one had reached standard eight, two had reached primary school and two had not attended school at all. All of the women interviewed had children. Half of the women had four or more than four children.

Table 1: Background information

INTERVIEWEE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
age	28	22	29	34	41	27	38	30
years in WV	9	22	17	11	23	13	23	4
education	std 8	std 7	std 7	std 4	none	none	std 7	std 3
number of children	3	1	2	4	7	1	5	4

4.3 HOUSEHOLD

In these interviews, a household was considered to be those who were living in the same house. Questions about the household were limited to the number of people in the house and the relationship of these people to each other. In addition, questions about marriage and the presence or absence of husbands were asked. Some of this information is summarised in table two.

Table 2: Household composition

INTERVIEWEE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
total number of people	6	13	4	7	9	10	7	6
number of children	2	5	2	4	5	1	5	4
adult women	3	4	1	1	2	4	2	1
adult men	1	3	1	2	2	5	0	1
husband	none	none	present	present	present	absent	none	present

A variety of structures were evident in the eight households represented. Five of the women were married and four of these women lived with their husbands. Of the eight women interviewed, two (I3, I8) were part of what is known as a traditional or nuclear family ie. with a father, mother and children. The rest of the women stayed in households which consisted of extended families. In all of these households one or both of the women's parents or grandparents were present. All of the people staying in a household seemed to be related. While no questions were asked about who headed the household, only one women stayed in a household where there were no adult males.

The different types of households are typical of the 'diversity of family forms in South Africa' (Cock 1991:29). In the research done by the Women's National Coalition (WNC), many of the women called for the law to recognise 'all kinds of families' (1994:7). Burman highlights the changes in family forms.

> The family is in a state of change in South Africa, particularly in the urban
> areas. In all sections of the population, women are providing for the

upbringing of children to a far greater extent than ever before (Burman 1991:103).

While only one of the women interviewed lived in a women-headed household, the number of such households in South Africa is great. Research in Cape Town notes that while it was impossible to quantify the number of children being brought up in female-headed household, there was a high probability 'that the vast majority of children will spend at least part of their growing years in one' (Burman 1991:104). It is thus cause for concern when such households are not considered in planning.

Households headed by women are seldom recognised, although they are the hardest hit by poverty and most in need of development (Schreiner 1993:26).

Where both women and men are part of a household there is still a danger that limited consideration will be given to women, as it is often assumed that the that household head is male. Such an assumption could have dire consequences for women in Winterveld, where options relating to tenure are presently being considered. If the title for land is given to the men as 'head of the household', women would be severely prejudiced. In the case of separation and conflict, they would lose access to shelter, security, the investment in the house and would not have collateral to gain access to credit (Balan 1994:4).

The four women who were interviewed all had husbands who were economically employed. No questions were asked about the intra-household management of resources or about who made decisions on different issues. Standard planning often assumes, however, that income is shared equally within the household and that women will thus benefit from projects that give men an income. In reality, 'household budgets are managed and distributed...with varying amounts of conflict and co-operation' (Moser

1993:25). The WNC research highlights the anger that South African women feel at 'being prevented from controlling the household's money, even when they are the sole breadwinners' (Randall 1994:19). The Coalition also notes that South African women value partnership and joint-decision making and are 'frustrated that they have no rights in the home and in making decisions regarding their children' (Randall 1994:19).

4.4 WOMEN'S ROLES

All of the women interviewed were responsible for the reproductive work of the household. This included washing, cleaning, cooking, child minding, and one of the women also made bricks. Two of the women were helped by other adult women in the house. Interviewee 2 said that an aunt helped with washing the clothes and Interviewee 6 said that her sister helped her with household work. While three of the women shared the chore of fetching water with their children, four of the women had no help. Only in one household was water collected by everyone in the house (I6).

By and large, all reproductive work is carried out by the women in Winterveld and settlements like it. Women are thus the one's who suffer when services are lacking. In the findings of the WNC Black women state that 'their lives were negatively affected by the lack of social services and infrastructure' and in rural areas, to which Winterveld can be likened because of its limited facilities, Black women complained about the lack of 'adequate health-care, water and sanitation' (1994:7). In addition to often having sole responsibility for reproductive work, this role of women is often not valued. Not only is this type of work not valued, but it is often not taken into account in 'standard planning' (Schreiner 1993:26). The WNC claims that women need 'recognition and respect for the work they do both in the home and in the community' - recognition which takes the form

of 'shared responsibility' and shared 'decision-making' (1994:4). It is thus essential that women are involved in forums and project planning, as it is here that decisions are made about services and standards of services which will intimately affect their lives.

> The exclusion of women from project planning and negotiation forums is particularly crucial because of gender differentiated roles (Balan 1994:3).

Some of the women interviewed are involved in work that can be described as 'community managing'. One of the women (I7) organised other households and ensured that water was brought to those on the plot who had recently had a funeral. Some of the other women are involved in burial societies, and as members of these societies they came to the aid of members who had to cope with a funeral. Involvement in community managing work, however, is not as easily described as reproductive work. It is therefore probable that the women interviewed are involved in community managing work, as they are the one's who 'have to deal with the problems of housing and access to services' (Momsen 1991:99). The reproductive and community managing role of women indicate the need for women to participate in decision-making about local issues and to be involved in local government.

> Women, through their nurturing role are very sensitive to the needs and problems of the community and family. They are well aware of the development needs of the community, and already have supportive networks and groups established in many communities. Women are also more vulnerable to many community problems...All of these make them
> lect candidates for local government work (Schreiner 1994:4).

None of the women interviewed were involved in productive work at the time of the interviews. This is probably because of the time the interviews were conducted (a weekday morning), rather than an indicator of the number of women who directly

generate incomes in Winterveld. The 1989 survey of Winterveld maintains that a substantial number of the employed population are women. While this report does not break down the employment figures according to gender, it does note that the increase in the number of people employed between 1983 and 1989 is largely due to 'the greater participation of women in economic activi es' (Van Zyl 1989:31). Furthermore, the second highest employment sector is domestic work and it is women who are mainly employed in this sector (Van Zyl 1989:33).

Even though many households are dependent on the productive work of women, women face many difficulties in this arena. Women form 39.4 percent of the paid and registered work force in south Africa, but are the 'least skilled and the lowest paid within any sector' (Schreiner 1994:2). As in the Winterveld, many women are employed as domestic workers and as such have low wages and limited benefits. In addition, many women are unemployed and so must struggle to make a living in the informal sector. This is evident in Winterveld where most of the sellers at the informal produce market were women.

The triple role of women - reproductive work, community managing and productive work - has to be considered if development is to be successful. Planning, however, seldom takes into account the fact that most women have several jobs (Schreiner 1994:26).

4.5 IMPORTANT ISSUES

The interviewees were asked which issues were most important to them and if they would like to participate in decision-making on these issues. A variety of issues were raised. All of the women mentioned issues that related to their reproductive work. Water and housing issues were central. The issue most mentioned about housing was the ownership

of their stands. Seven of the women highlighted the need for more schools which taught in different languages (other than Tswana). One believed that if there were more schools, children would attend rather than going to shabeens and gambling. Three of the women highlighted the need for creche's. Five of the women mentioned the need for electricity, while two wanted a place to dump rubbish. Two of the women hoped that roads would be tarred as they were tired of dust. The need for a clinic was not noted, probably because the plot on which the women live is near a clinic. One woman mentioned her concern about the violence in Winterveld. She heard gunshots most nights and said that someone was killed every weekend.

Such issues reveal that the goal for many women in South Africa is physical survival (Cock 1991:28). Women are the one's who bear the brunt when adequate services and houses are not provided (Schreiner 1994:4). Although writing about rural women, Kompe is applicable to women in Winterveld and other informal settlements when she notes that 'women's lives are affected for the worse by the absence of resources necessary to maintain the household and the family' (1994:15). Research done by the WNC reiterates this point.

> The lack of adequate health care, water, sanitation, recreational facilities,
> electricity and transport services restricts women's lives in innumerable
> ways (Randall 1994:19).

4.6 PRESENT PARTICIPATION

All of the women interviewed attended at least one type of meeting. Table 3 summarises their attendance at meetings.

Table 3: Meetings attended

INTERVIEWEE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
women's group	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
plot	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
church	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
other	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	no
WDA	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no

Five of the women belonged to a women's group. All of these were types of stokvels/burial societies which met about once a month. Most of the women contributed about R20 per month to these societies, while one woman contributed R120 per month (I7). These groups all meet on a monthly basis. One of the women described her society as a 'helping club'. If one of the members has a death, money from the society is used for chairs, tents, a coffin, and the women help with the cooking for the funeral. All of the women seemed to be fairly actively involved in these groups. One of the women was a committee member of her society (I3).

Six of the women attend church, with some attending more regularly than others. Two women sing in the church choir (I2, I6). Two of the women had also attended school meetings. One school meeting was about whether food should be cooked for the children at school (I4) and the other meeting was about school funds (I7).

The involvement of these Winterveld women in stokvels and church organisations reflects a general trend of women in South Africa. Cullinan maintains that over seventy percent of organised women belong to church organisations and that most stokvels are run by women (1993:23).

Five of the women attended plot meetings, but these were infrequent. Meetings last attended ranged from one, in 1990 (I5), January 1993 (I4, I7) and August 1994 (I6). All of the women were hesitant to speak about their involvement in plot meetings. As plot meetings are only attended by   ints, this reluctance is possibly a consequence of conflict between tenants and plot owners. Three of the women did not attend plot meetings as other members of the household, including parents, a grandfather and a husband attended. Most of the women who had attended plot meetings said that they did not speak at these meetings but only listened.

The interviewees thus seem to have limited participation in plot meetings. As such they are effectively excluded from development decision making at the most direct level - it is here that plot issues such as water and tenure are discussed. So, too, none of the women interviewed had attended WDA meetings, even although their plot was in close proximity to the BMW community centre. This highlights the present lack of women's participation in decision making about development issues.

Despite their lack of participation in decision making, women are actively involved in community concerns through their community managing role. Gouws notes that

women's activities focus on issues of local or community concern - like housing campaigns, child-care projects and the improvement of infrastructure (1994:21).

A DBSA planner confirmed this. She noted that women in Winterveld are involved in

interest groups, while men seem to dominate the so-called 'democratic' processes of elections and meetings (Interview, August 1994). Many women are involved in political organizations, 'spearheading campaigns and sustaining activities', but they tend to remain in subservient roles, with men defining the issues and setting the agenda (Van Zyl 1993:23). The WNC offers a stinging criticism of this trend.

> The subjugation of women is systematic and confines women to the domestic arena whilst men are left to wield political power and authority. Women tend to be resolutely barred from the decision-making processes, both in the private and public realm (Randall 1994:18).

The WNC also notes that 'women are prevented from participating in planning and implementing development programmes' (Randall 1994:18). The urgent participation of women in decision making for development is thus vital, not least because of the issues which are important to them.

4.7 PRESENT CONSTRAINTS TO PARTICIPATION

Half of the interviewees suggested that household tasks stopped them from attending meetings. Two of the women said it would be especially difficult for them to attend meetings on a Sunday as they attended church and also had to cook. Many women are thus prevented from attending meetings because they lack the free time to participate in them (Balan 1994:5). An awareness of the 'triple role' of women and more convenient timing of meetings could increase the participation of women (Balan 1994:5). Another factor which limits the participation of women at meetings is the lack of notification. Notification usually takes place through house to house visits or through the distribution of pamphlets. Most of the women said they would attend if they knew when the meetings

were.

When asked about whether men approved of their attendance at meetings, the majority of women said that their husbands were happy for them to attend meetings. One woman said that her husband did not like her to attend if there were men at a meeting. In the WNC report, many of the women complained of their husbands preventing them from attending meetings and of being accused of infidelity if they persisted in attending (Randall 1994:18).

Some of the interviewees mentioned that as a man from their households attended plot meetings, they did not attend. This highlights the tradition of male dominance. The domination of men at plot meetings is evident in that only one of the women who attended these meetings spoke. The rest only listened. Balan maintains that

> even when women do participate in structures and attend meetings, these
> are often dominated by the more articulate and powerful, most of whom
> are men (1994:5).

He notes that 'our models of empowerment frequently enable the participation of the more powerful' (Balan 1994:5). The limited participation of women also indicates the low status of women in general in South African society. According to the WNC, 'Black women, especially, experience intense discrimination - at home, work and society in general' (Randall 1994:18).

Because of the patriarchal system women have very often not had the 'opportunity to gain the skills, training and information necessary for participation' (Balan 1994:3). They have been denied experiences of talking publicly and forming structures (Kompe 1994:15). Furthermore, the way in which many organisations are structured has meant 'engagement and information transfer takes place mainly between men' (Balan 1994:5). This impacts

on the ability of women to become organised. Kompe notes that the process of organising usually takes quite some time. It starts on a small scale, often 'disguised' as a burial society or the like (Kompe 1994:15).

Madlala highlights other issues which limit women's participation. Many women in South Africa cannot read and write. She highlights the need to be sensitive to the 'years of subjugation endured by women'. This entails 'allowing women to speak in a language they feel comfortable in' and 'holding meetings at times and venues that suit the majority of women' (Madlala 1994:7).

4.8 POTENTIAL FOR PARTICIPATION

All of the women interviewed said that they would like to participate and attend meetings. All were in favour of having women's organisations as one avenue for such participation. A variety of reasons were suggested for such participation. One reason given was so that they could learn things and would know what is happening. Many of the women said that as they had to suffer with fetching water and household work, they know what is needed and should be part of the decision making (I1, I3, I5). One of the women described it this way: 'the women are always at home and see problems, especially the hotter issues'(I4). Interviewee 2 said that women should be involved in all decision and another women said that she did not want men alone to make decisions (I3). Two of the women wanted to participate so that they could voice their needs and their grievances.

5. CONCLUSION

If community participation is to be based on principles of democracy, it is imperative that women actively participate at every level of development. Women are not a minority. They comprise more than half the population of Winterveld and South Africa as a whole. As such they have a right and a duty to participate in projects which will affect their lives. Furthermore, Black women in South Africa and Winterveld have been the most disadvantaged. Zama suggests that black women face triple oppression in that they are 'discriminated against in society, at work and at home where they are traditionally regarded as inferior because they are women' (1991:56). If the yardstick of democracy is, as Galsworthy has noted, the 'measure of freedom of its humblest citizens', then there can surely be no democracy without the full participation of women (Muller 1993:2).

The first democratic elections, the change of government and the ensuing emphasis on reconstruction and development, which is based on principles of 'active involvement' and 'empowerment', all combine to create an ideal opportunity to consider and ensure gendered participation in the development process.

Figure 12: Houses in Winterveld

Figure 13: Child-minding: a part of daily work

Figure 14: a woman involved in reproductive work

Figure 15: a woman involved in reproductive work

Figure 16: Brick making is women's work too

Figure 17: Women and children collect water in Winterveld

Figure 18: Women selling at the informal market

Figure 19: At work in the women's sewing group

CHAPTER 6

A GENDERED PARTICIPATORY PLANNING PROCESS

1. INTRODUCTION

Present conditions in South Africa open the way for a new era of community participation. The focus of the new government is on the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Its top priority is to improve the quality of life of the disadvantaged. This is to be achieved through a process of participation and empowerment.

> The central objective of our RDP is to improve the quality of life of all South Africans, and in particular the most poor and marginalised sections of our communities. This objective should be realised through a process of empowerment which gives the poor control over their lives and increases their ability to mobilise sufficient development resources, including from the democratic government where necessary. The RDP reflects a commitment to grassroots, bottom-up development which is owned and driven by communities and their representative organisations (ANC 1994:15).

The new government clearly supports 'bottom-up development'. It also supports the empowerment of women. A key focus of the RDP 'is on ensuring a full and equal role for women' and it 'envisages special attention being paid to the empowerment of women' (ANC 1994:9). It is in this context that a gendered participatory planning process is being proposed.

Four questions will form a framework for the discussion of the proposed gendered participatory planning process. They are:

- why gendered participation;

- how to do gendered participation;

- whose gendered participation;

- when to do gendered participation (Moser 1993:100-104).

2. WHY GENDERED PARTICIPATION

A number of planning assumptions which disadvantage women have been highlighted in the preceding chapters. Some of these include:

- all households are headed by men;

- resources are distributed equally within the household;

- men are the bread-winners;

- men represent the views of all the households members;

- development projects will benefit men and women equally;

- the triple role of women is overlooked.

Such assumptions have resulted in gender relations being ignored in planning. This has led to planning which is male biased and is evident in the lack of participation by women in development decision-making. The case studies provide clear evidence of this. It is with this in mind that a gendered participatory planning process is proposed.

A gendered participatory planning process aims to take cognisance of gender relations. It takes into account the fact that men and women have different roles in society, different needs and will thus be differently affect and be affected by development. A gendered participatory planning process also takes into account the inequality of power between men

and women and aims to empower women. There are three primary reasons why women need to participate in the development decision making process in housing and settlement projects. Although they have been discussed in a previous chapter, they will briefly be noted.

In the first place, women's participation is a means to improve project results - to 'achieve efficiency, effectiveness and cost recovery' (Moser 1993:101). Because of their 'triple role', women have 'particular responsibility for the household'. They are or

more aware than men of the needs for infrastructure and services a/

also more committed to the success of a project that improves living conditions (Moser 1993:101).

The second reason is to empower women. As such, 'women's participation is an end in itself'.

Women as much as men have the right and duty to participate in the execution of projects which profoundly affect their lives (Moser 1993:101).

Women are more directly affected by development through their reproductive and community managing roles. It is thus imperative that women should actively participate in decision-making.

The third reason why women need to participate is to build capacity. This is linked to empowerment. Moser notes that the participation of women in development activities stimulates women's participation in other areas of life (1993:102). It can also 'raise awareness that women can play an important role in solving problems in the community' (Moser 1993:102).

3. HOW TO DO GENDERED PARTICIPATION

Here we refer to the means or 'mechanisms by which gendered participation is accomplished' (Moser 1993:103). This is central to the success of the gender participatory planning process as it determines who is reached. Moser notes that 'the contradictions between intentions on paper (often lip-service) and the real agenda (often hidden in the planning stage) can become apparent in the practise of gendered participation' in the 'how' of participation (1993:103).

In the case study a number of constraints to the participation of women were noted. These included lack of time because of household tasks, lack of information, male dominance and discrimination, limited experience in forming structures, limited experience in talking in public and illiteracy. Moser highlights some of these constraints.

> When authorities assume that everyone reads newspapers or public notices, with information distributed in written form, they often miss women...In addition, women are less likely to be exposed to information because of their daily mobility. Even where planners use more direct methods of advertising, such as meeting where eligible applicants are likely to live, domestic responsibilities often prevent women from attending. If they attend mixed meeting they generally stand at the back, on the assumption that they will not talk (Moser 1993:103-104).

If gendered participation is to become a reality, these constraints need to be overcome and changes need to occur in the way in which participatory planning is undertaken. Consideration needs to be given to factors such as the hours at which meetings occur, the days on which meetings are held, and the ways in which notification about meetings is communicated. In addition, consideration needs to be given to who is represented on

development committees.

The number of women on community development committees is to a large extent dependent on whether members represent geographical areas or interest groups. An example of this is the Winter eld Development Association (WDA). A DBSA planner noted that the first WDA had a greater number of women on the committee because these representatives were elected from different interest groups. The present WDA committee consists mainly of men. They were elected as representatives of geographical areas and were elected at large-scale meetings.

One of the changes which needs to occur to facilitate the participation of women in the decision-making process is a movement away from large-scale meetings. The failure of large-scale meetings to 'reach' women was clearly seen in the recent election campaigns. The ANC's 'people's forums - aimed at stimulating grassroots participation - did not reach women who are traditionally left at home' (Wixley 1994:12). Even when women where in the majority, such as at voter education workshops, men tended to dominate. This tendency is linked to perceptions about the roles of men and women.

> It is difficult to break down the barrier between men who see they have the
>
> right to ask the questions and women who feel they have to take a backseat
>
> (Wixley 1994:12).

This point is reiterated by Balan.

> Even when women do participate in structures and attend meetings. These
>
> are often dominated by the more articulate and powerful, most of whom
>
> are men. Our models of empowerment frequently enable the participation
>
> of the more powerful (1994:5).

These constraints highlight the need for changes to the way in which participatory planning is undertaken. Changes which could facilitate the participation of women in decision-making include house-to-house consultation and small-group all-women gatherings instead of large-scale meetings (Moser 1993:104).

Balan notes three ways in which the participation of women in development decision-making can be increased (1994:5). The first is to 'decentralise the focus of participation' and thus to ensure that those with direct interests in the development project, the end-user participates in decision-making. The second way is the 'focus group approach'. This has been used in Phola Park where 'women, men, church and youth groups come together separately to articulate their own interests and then together to reconcile differences and find common ground'. Finally, Balan suggests that women articulate their needs and interests separately, through something like a women's forum. Such forums have been successfully used in Wattville (Balan 1994:5).

4. WHOSE GENDERED PARTICIPATION

The context and issues of development planning will determine who is affected and who should participate. Women are involved in reproductive and community managing work and have particular responsibility for the household. They are most directly affected by the settlement environment. Development planning that is concerned with issues of settlement and housing should take greater cognisance of women's needs. In fact, women should be primary participators. This does not mean that women should participate in some development decisions and not in others, but merely indicates the importance of their direct participation in this context.

There are wider community issues, such as which region Winterveld should be incorporated into for example, where the views of men and women should carry equal weight. In a society where men dominate careful consideration should always be given to gender, because neglect of gender usually leads to male bias in planning. The lack of participation of Winterveld women in development decision-making is a clear example of this. This situation highlights the need for affirmative action. Cock claims that 'all South Africans should enjoy equality of opportunity' and that 'equality of opportunity can only have meaning if those who begin with unequal chances are given unequal support' (1991:27-28).

Gendered participation is being proposed within the context of settlement and housing projects. The case study is an example of this type of context. For the reasons outlined above, priority is given to women at different points in the planning process.

5. WHEN TO DO GENDERED PARTICIPATION

We refer here to the different stages and phases of the planning process. A gender participatory planning process, based on Turner's participatory model of planning, will now be outlined. Turner's model was chosen as it aims to empower the disadvantaged. This corresponds with the 'empowerment approach', which seeks to increase 'women's control over the choices in their lives' (Ostergaard 1992:174).
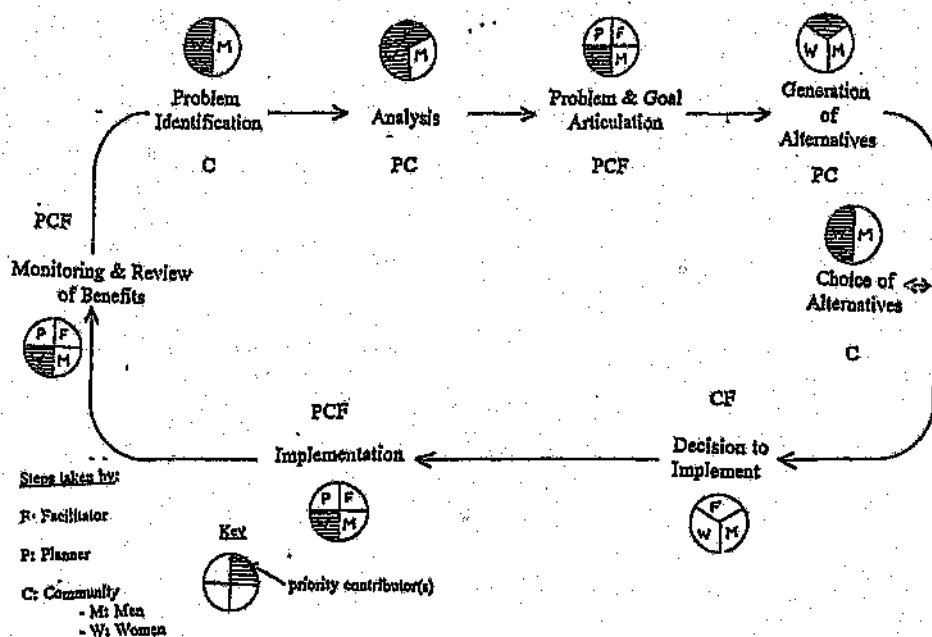
5.1 A GENDERED PARTICIPATORY PLANNING PROCESS

There are eight stages in this gendered participatory planning process (see diagram).

These are:

    - Problem Identification;

    - Analysis;

    - Problem and Goal Articulation;

    - Generation of Alternatives;

    - Choice of Alternatives;

    - Decision to Implement;

    - Implementation;

    - Monitoring and Review of Benefits.

The players who participate at each of the stages of the planning process are represented by a letter in a circle in the diagram of the planning process. At certain stages of the planning process the contribution of particular participants are considered to be of primary importance. This is portrayed by shading the portion of the circle which indicates the participants.

A Gendered Participatory Planning Approach

5.1.1 Modifications to Turner's Participatory Planning Process

Turner differentiates between steps taken by different participants in the planning process:
the dominant class, the planner and the community. In the gender participatory planning
process the different participants include the planner (P), facilitators (F) and the
community (C), which is differentiated according to gender - women (W) and men (M).
The division of the community according to gender is the essential component of this
participatory planning process and distinguishes it from the Turner model. This division
is important as the gendered participatory planning process aims to take cognisance of
gender relations.

Turner refers to the dispenser of resources as the dominant class, but in the proposed
model the dispenser of resources is called the facilitator (F). The reason for this change
is the context within which this planning process is proposed. It is a context where the
government has goals of 'empowerment which gives the poor control over their lives' and
is committed to 'grassroots, bottom-up development which is owned and driven by
communities' (ANC 1994:15). The role of the facilitator, which might be local
government or a para-statal, is thus to disburse state resources ie. to transfer state
resources to the disadvantaged. In order to release these resources the facilitator should
be convinced that the planning process has been participatory and that gendered
participation has in fact taken place. Given this role of the facilitator, there is no longer
any need for the chosen alternative to be 'sold' to the dominant class. This stage in
Turner's model has thus been discarded.

The stage called 'problem articulation' in Turner's planning process has been changed to
'problem and goal articulation'. The goals are included at the stage of problem
articulation because they related directly to the way in which the problem has been

defined. Goals need to be articulated as they give direction to planning. Alexander notes that the 'correct identification and clear articulation of goals and objectives are an important - perhaps a critical - part of the planning process' (Alexander 1986:46). In articulating goals the focus changes from problems to potentials.

5.1.2 Community: women and men

The community as a whole, both men and women, are involved at every stage of the planning process. This is essential in a planning process that aims to empower. Men and women are involved as both will be affected by development. There are two stages in the planning process where the community is the sole participant: the community initiates the planning process through 'Problem Identification' and is also the sole participant at the stage of 'Choice of Alternatives'. Their participation throughout ensures that the community controls the planning process.

The contribution of women is prioritised at almost all the stages in the planning process, including the two stages mentioned above. Women are the primary participators at the stages of 'Problem identification', 'Analysis', 'Problem and Goal articulation', 'Choice of Alternatives', 'Implementation' and 'Monitoring and Review'. Their reproductive and community managing roles make them most aware of needs and conditions within the settlement and most affected by planning. It is thus important that their articulated needs are prioritised. The identification of women as primary participators can also serve to empower women and build their capacity.

The two stages where men participate equally with women are the stages of 'Generation of Alternatives' and the 'Decision to Implement'. The participation of men and women

at the stage of 'Generation of Alternatives' increases the potential for finding creative alternatives to meet the articulated goals. At the stage of 'Decision to Implement' it is imperative that all those who will be affected participate. Lack of support from any of the stakeholders can lead to the failure of the project. While the participation of women is essential as they will be most affected by the outcome and will primarily be responsible for implementation and maintenance, the lack of support by men, especially in a society that is male dominated, can result in failure.

5.1.3 Planner

The planner (P) is involved throughout the planning process except at points of decision making, namely 'Choice of Alternatives' and 'Decision to Implement'. This is congruent with 'promotive planning' as outlined by Muller, where the planner remains 'distant from actual decision-making involvement' and neither represents the affected community nor advocates on its behalf (Muller 1982:255). The planner must be prepared to accept the decisions made by the community and offer guidance to execute the decisions (Muller 1982:255). The possible results of this approach are outlined by Muller.

> Clearly, this approach will mean that mistakes will be made and opportunities lost, but the gain will be in the progressive growth of self-reliance and self-esteem (Muller 1982:255).

The involvement of the planner at the stage of 'Analysis' and 'Generation of Alternatives' is essential, as the skills of planner can best be used here. Alexander maintains that 'the capability of designing alternative solutions ought to be one of the planners unique skills' (1986:49). This is not to say that the planner is the 'expert'. Through continuous dialogue and learning the planner is

equipped to offer planning guidance both comprehensible and acceptable to the people;...capable of exposing the range of choices available to them, and the ways in which the alternative choices accommodate their priorities (Muller 1982:255).

In contrast to Turner's model, the planner is involved in the monitoring and review of benefits. Through monitoring and review the planner would gain valuable insights which could inform future planning. By reviewing the results of the planning process for women and men, who participates, and his or her actions throughout the planning process, the planner can become more 'gender-aware'. The success of the gender participatory planning process is to a large extent dependent on gender-aware planners.

5.1.4 Facilitator

The facilitator is involved at four stages of the gender participatory planning process. The stages are: 'Problem and Goal Articulation', 'Decision to Implement', 'Implementation' and 'Monitoring and Review of Benefits'. Involvement at these stages is related to the facilitator's role of transferring state resources to the disadvantaged. The transfer of resources means that they need to be accountable for these resources and this necessitates their participation in these four stages. The goal of the facilitator is to support community initiatives. In order not to dis-empower the community, facilitators are not involved in stages such as the 'Generation of Alternatives' and 'Choice of Alternatives'. This goal also impacts on the criteria for releasing resources. One of the most important criteria is whether those affected by development have participated in the decision-making.

5.1.5 Conclusion

The gender participatory planning process, as described above, takes gender into account. This is done through the disaggregation of the community according to gender and participation according to gender needs and roles. The roles and needs of women necessitate their prioritised participation at certain stages in the planning process. This can meet the practical and strategic gender needs of women.

6. CONCLUSION

This discourse has attempted to show that, on the whole, development planning has failed to incorporate gender into the planning process. Failure to consider gender has resulted in male-dominance in the planning process and the non-participation of women. The case study, a review of community participation and gender in the Winterveld, confirmed this. The case study also strengthened the argument that the participation of women in settlement and housing projects is of particular importance, because of their reproductive and community managing roles. In addition, the subordination of women in Winterveld highlighted the need for a planning process which aims to empower and build capacity.

It was in response to the problems identified above and the particular context within South Africa that the gendered participatory planning process was proposed. This planning process takes gender into account. Because women have prioritised participation at certain stages in this planning process, it allows the practical gender needs of women to be met. Furthermore, it has the potential to meet strategic gender needs and empower women. The ability of the planning process to achieve these goals, however, is largely dependent on the planner and whether the planner is gender-sensitive.

Although the gendered participatory planning process was developed in a response to the problems identified in Winterveld, the writer believes that it has a wider applicability to the South African situation because the subjugation of women is not limited to the Winterveld.

> We should mobilise our energies as women to transform our society. By overcoming the passivity rooted in our sense of ourselves as powerless vi tims; by drawing on the caring and nurturing qualities that many ordinary women display every day of their lives; by refusing to imitate male styles of competition, and adopting male models of 'success' and 'achievement', we can contribute towards achieving social justice in South Africa (Cock 1991:59).

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW FOR WINTERVELD 8 SEPTEMBER 1994

1. BACKGROUND

* Age?

* How long have you lived in Winterveld?

* Have you been to school, for how many years (literacy)?

* Are you employed, what do you do?

* Number of children?

* Husband/partner: none/present/absent/migrant?

* Other people in the household (no, relations/tenants/friends, male/female)?

2. WORK AROUND THE HOUSE

* Who performs household tasks (time taken, difficulties)?

3. PARTICIPATION

* What organisations are you involved in?

* How are you involved?

* How do you hear about meetings/groups?

* What makes it difficult for you to attend meetings or to be part of groups?

* Do you want to participate in meetings/organisations?

* What are the most important issues for you in the Winterveld?

* Would you like to be part of the decision making on these issues?

* Are men happy for women to be involved in meetings, groups and development?

4. ANY OTHER COMMENT

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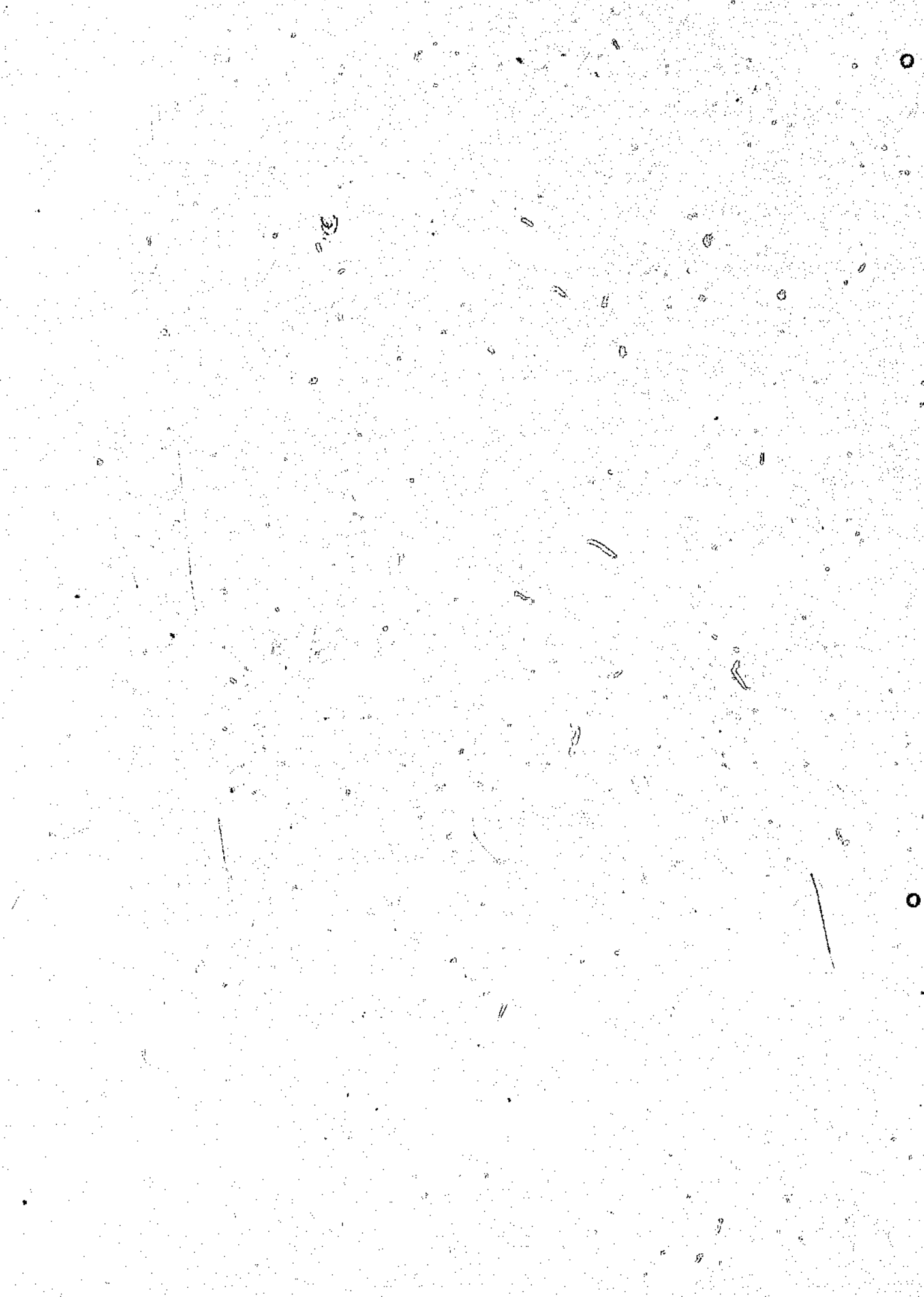
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