SEEING THE INVISIBLE: WOMEN, GENDER AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

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Major Report 30

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Paper prepared for the project "Urban Research in the Developing World," coordinated by the C.U.C.S. and supported by The Ford Foundation

Centre for Urban and Community Studies
University of Toronto
September 1994

ISSN: 0316-0068
ISBN 0-7727-1374-X

$8.00

ABSTRACT

The paper reviews research on Third World women, gender and urban development since the 1960s, examining the extent to which and the reasons why these issues form a separate agenda or are incorporated into mainstream research. It presents explanations for the marginalization of urban gender issues, and why their integration into research agendas is of critical importance. The paper examines four distinct periods of urban development, each dominated by a particular theoretical and policy development model. These in turn have resulted in different research approaches to women and gender issues, and have set important parameters for the organizational and institutional issues involved in research. The review concludes by identifying a gendered urban research agenda for the 1990s. It is accompanied by an extensive bibliography.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Centre for Urban and Community Studies provided logistical support in the writing of this review. Sylvia Chant, Elsa Chaney, Tovi Fenster, Nafsiah Mboi, Ann Schlyter and Sally Yudelman all took the time to provide detailed comments on the first draft. Finally, Richard Stren provided the sort of meticulous comments appreciated by all authors. Thanks and acknowledgements are due for all this support.

Caroline Moser

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I INTRODUCTION

Do Third World urban women and the gendered aspects of urban development form a separate urban research agenda, or are such issues already adequately integrated into existing research agendas? This review of the research on women, gender and urban development over the past three decades, examines the extent to which they have formed a separate agenda rather than a part of mainstream research issues; in so doing, the review clarifies why urban gender issues have remained a marginal concern up to now. Finally, it identifies the critical importance of integrating these issues into urban research agendas in the 1990s, so that "women's voices . . . enter the definition of development and the making of policy choices" (Sen and Grown 1987, 82).

The definition of any research agenda is a complex process. Over time, as new and different research paradigms increase or decline in importance, a number of concurrent, interrelated changes also occur. These concern the importance of diverse academic disciplines and varying research methodologies, as well as policy prescriptions and their associated differing political agendas. Consequently, changes in the definition of urban research agendas over the past decades have had important implications for gender issues.

At the outset of such a review, a useful distinction can be made between gender-blind research, Women in Development (WID) research, and Gender and Development (GAD) research. These three different approaches to women in the developing world have had a critical influence on the research agenda on women, gender and urban development. Since they raise a number of critical issues that run through the review, it is useful to discuss them in slightly more detail.

Gender-blind research is based on the assumption that "male is the norm." This commonly results in a failure to recognize the gendered construction of knowledge and its implications for defining research issues, identifying problems and proposing appropriate policy responses. This way of viewing the world that assumes as "natural" what in reality is the outcome of unequal distribution of power between social groups, has important research implications. Although "women's issues" have been on the agenda of many international agencies, national governments and grass roots groups for nearly two decades, the tendency apart from the work of a small number of groups of committed practitioners, feminist academics and Third World women themselves, has been either to ignore or to trivialize such issues through gender-blind research. This review, therefore, examines the extent to which this has also been the case in urban research.

It was the politicization of women's issues in the Third World, particularly during the United Nations Development Decade for Women (1975-85), that resulted in the development of first WID and then GAD as new research and policy approaches.[1] The term "WID" was first coined in the early 1970s in the USA by a group of mainly female professionals and researchers, concerned about the increasing evidence that Third World development projects were negatively affecting women. It recognizes that women are active participants in the development process, who through both their productive and reproductive roles provide a critical, and often unacknowledged, contribution to economic growth. This approach argues, therefore, that as an untapped resource, women must be "brought into" the development process.

More recently, recognition of the limitations of focusing on women in isolation has drawn attention to the need to look at GAD. Underlying this fundamental shift from "women" to "gender" is the concern to look less at women's problems as perceived in terms of their sex, their biological differences from men, and more in terms of their gender, the social relations between men and women, in which women have been systematically subordinated (Moser 1993, 4).[2]

WID research tends to focus on women as a separate category in their own right, to identify the issues important to women, and to provide solutions that will assist them to participate more effectively in development processes. In contrast, the emphasis of GAD research is on the gender relations between men and women, the specific manner in which these are temporally and spatially constructed, and the ways in which women are subordinate to men within such asymmetrical relationships, with less access to or control over resources. Solutions are less focused on women in isolation as on the means by which the balance in such asymmetrical relations can be shifted or changed. Consequently the differences in focus between gender-blind, WID and GAD research have implications in terms of the contrasting policy prescriptions associated with them.

This review introduces three distinctions developed in policy-related research on gender planning which are useful in analysis: gender roles identification, which recognizes that within most Third World low-income households women have a triple role as reproducers, producers and community managers;[3] gender needs differentiation, which distinguishes between practical and strategic gender needs;[4] and theWID/GAD policy matrix which classifies policy approaches to WID, identifying them as welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment.[5]

Despite the conceptual distinctions between the WID and GAD research approaches, both have been largely identified as specialist concerns. Therefore, they share a number of common characteristics that we will examine. It is women themselves who conduct the vast majority of such research. At the same time, their identification with other women and their common experiences often lead to a conflation of personal and professional arenas (Staudt 1990). Not only do few men treat gender seriously in research, but so do few women. Indeed, many women ensure that they do not focus on women's issues, in order to be taken seriously as professionals (Himmelstrand 1990).

In urban planning this situation has been exacerbated by the fact that the "urban" realm has predominantly been defined in physical and spatial terms, linked to men's work, and dealing with such issues as transport, housing, land and infrastructure. These issues are associated with "hard-edged" academic disciplines such as economics, planning, engineering, architecture, public administration and political science, all of which are dominated by male academics. In contrast, the "soft" social sector issues in urban planning, such as health, education and social welfare, are more commonly dealt with as national-level sectoral concerns, rather than sub-national, urban-specific concerns. It is here in the associated "soft" social disciplines such as sociology, health, nutrition and education that female researchers (but not issues of concern to women) tend to predominate.[6]

Finally, it is important to distinguish between urban-specific research and research that includes women living in urban areas. While there is a body of work that addresses the intersection of women/gender and the urban, there are far more studies that do so incidentally. This is because the object of concern, either theoretical (e.g., the division of labour) or empirical (e.g., factory or office block), happens to be "located" in an urban place. In countries where the bulk of the population lives in urban areas, gender issues, by default, become urban issues. However, the fact that social, economic and environmental processes take place in urban areas does not automatically transform them into issues of the urban. Neither are urban arenas merely a backcloth against which processes unfold: the form and structure of the city has an impact on ongoing processes.

Research on women, gender and urban development has not occurred in isolation. A clear relationship exists between macro-economic development models and theoretical development paradigms, approaches to women and development, and urban research on women. The next section, the major part of the review, is divided into four parts. These coincide with four

distinct "periods" dominated by a particular theoretical and policy development model. This differentiation between gender-blind, WID- and GAD-focused research provides a useful methodological framework for reviewing the research during each period.

It is important, however, to recognize that theoretical models and policy approaches do not always coincide. One of the biggest tensions identified is the manner in which conflicts between them result in very different research agendas. The issue of who, ultimately, sets the research agenda is addressed in the section "The Organization of Research on Women, Gender and Urban Development: 1960s-1990s" which focuses on the institutional, organizational, and financial aspects of research on gender, women and urban development. The last section identifies challenges for the 1990s.

II CHANGING THEMES IN RESEARCH ON WOMEN, GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT: 1960s-1990s

This section examines four clearly identified periods of Third World urban development, each dominated by a particular theoretical and policy development model. In each period, particular issues have predominated, and in some cases they have continued to be important research issues in subsequent periods. The identification of such specific periods as a *post-hoc* exercise means that this review is written from the position of an outsider. Its purpose, nevertheless, is to provide a systematic analytical framework within which to identify shifts and changes in research agendas.

A schematic presentation such as this, however, necessitates a level of generalization that does not always do justice to developments in specific countries, or to particular topics of analysis. For example, not all countries have exhibited all four stages in succession, and there has been very uneven geographical coverage of issues. Therefore, although issues are discussed in the period in which they first came to light, some have continued to be of interest in subsequent periods — although often with a different emphasis or in conjunction with other topics. These links will be emphasized throughout the discussion.

One of the problems already recognized in this "Urban Research in the Developing World" project has been the limited distribution of research results outside the country of origin (Centre for Urban and Community Studies 1992). Although this is a global review, it has been necessary to rely on the sources available. A subsequent bias in terms of both the areas of research specialization, and towards sources published internationally in English, is acknowledged as a severe limitation. The intention here, therefore, is no more than to provide a starting point for national researchers on gender and urban development issues to contribute their own perspectives on these issues, and thereby participate fully in the development of future research agendas at the local level.

The fact that the gender literature has formed a separate urban research agenda might have meant that it developed outside, and regardless of, the different periods of urban research. The following review shows this has not been the case; on the contrary it has closely followed the dominant discourse, sometimes even influencing its direction, but nevertheless primarily as a specialist concern.

Modernization and the Growth of Cities: 1950s-1960s

The conceptualization of development as a process of modernization arose in the 1950s and 1960s. The "accelerated growth model" which dominated development planning for the first two decades after World War II aimed to increase overall national economic growth through a policy of urban-based industrialization. Redistribution of resources throughout society was designed to be effected through the "filter down" effect. In this sense the economy was conceived as a duality of "traditional" and "modern" sectors. As the name "modernization" suggests, one of its dominant concerns was to replace traditional with modern values, with the associated assumption that the rural area or village was the place of tradition whereas the town or city was the place of modernity. Inherent in the modernization approach was the assumption that becoming "modern" meant adopting many of the presumed behavioural attributes of Western society. Since cities were seen as the basis of growth in the West, it was presumed that concentrated attributes of modernization would be most easily found in cities. It also implied that larger cities would have more of these attributes than smaller towns.

Migrant "Assimilation"

Social aspects of rapid urbanization, including such problems as squatter settlements, poverty and unemployment, were seen as temporary pressures which would pass with time. In the process of "modernization," migrant workers from rural areas would gradually become absorbed into the city. With increased participation in the urban structure and increased assimilation of urban norms, they would shift from their marginal position towards integration, moving from peripheral occupations in the "exaggerated" tertiary sector to industrial sector waged employment (Moser 1978, 1042-43).

The processes of modernization that received attention at the level of urban research, therefore, were patterns and processes of urban growth: the debates over optimal city size and the role of primate cities (Richardson 1977); demographic issues related to urbanization, rural-urban migration and inequalities; and the issue of marginality. Research in this period was largely conducted by geographers, economists, anthropologists and demographers.

Most research on the issues identified above was not "peopled" at all, but concerned with the broad measurement of spatial and demographic trends. An important exception to this was the intense research on the issue of rural-urban migration and the problems of urban "integration" and "assimilation," undertaken mainly by anthropologists. Globally, rural gender divisions of labour determined the gendering of migration patterns. In African and Asian cities where such patterns were predominantly male, women were rarely included in the analysis; references were made either generally to "people" or specifically to men. Where women were the subject of analysis, generally they were incorporated as static variables and, if identified at all, it was in their reproductive role.

There is an ominous silence on women, for instance, in the early definitive work of anthropologists of the Manchester School of Urban Anthropology such as Max Gluckman (1945), Bill Epstein (1958), and Clyde Mitchell (1958) undertaken in urban sub-Saharan Africa.[7] Thus in the debate about social change, Gluckman's (1961, 69) famous comment "an African townsman is a townsman, an African miner is a miner" referred specifically to men who migrated to the Copperbelt urban mining communities. Similarly, in his study of the differing experiences of "urbanization" between school and "red" Xhosa in East London, South Africa, entitled *Townsmen or Tribesmen*, Philip Mayer (1963) referred throughout to the migrant as "he."

At the end of this study of "men of two worlds" (Mayer 1963, 1), however, were two chapters on "Girls and Women in Town" in which it was confusingly revealed that in reality, "the flow of country-born women into East London exceeds (if anything) that of men" (Mayer 1963, 233). Fascinating details emerge in these chapters concerning the migration motives for girls, unmarried women, and widows who used East London as a "semi-permanent escape," a place "to be independent" or "free" from the "subjection" experienced in the "rural social system" (Mayer 1963, 234). For Mayer the important point was that the majority were "unattached women." Since relatively few male migrants could or did bring their wives with them to town, his primary focus was on the sexual services provided by such women. Although the economic independence of such women was acknowledged, the main preoccupation was with the issue of "immorality in towns" — the fact that the breakdown of rural concepts of community and family in the urban context also resulted in a breakdown in control over female sexuality (Mayer 1963, 252).[8]

The Culture of Poverty

A similar romanticism about rural communities and the so-called "folk-urban continuum," and a preoccupation with the breakdown of social order and the family in towns, and its implications for female promiscuity, was reflected in the formative work of Oscar Lewis (1959,

1961, 1966). Anthropological work on poor families in Mexico City and San Juan, Puerto Rico, led him to hypothesize that it was the separate "subculture" of the poor which, with its self-perpetuating mechanisms for transmission to succeeding generations, made them unable to escape their poverty. By the late 1960s Lewis's work on urban marginality and his concept of the "culture of poverty" was set to influence decades of anti-poverty policymakers in the USA and UK as much as in Latin America. Although his fieldwork provided important insights into the lives of poor urban women, his obsessive moralism could best be described as voyeurism rather than objective analysis, particularly in his study of women prostitutes in *La Vida* (Lewis 1967).

In his analytical conceptualization of 70 "traits" of the culture of poverty, the social and psychological characteristics relevant to women related primarily to their reproductive role, and to their sexuality and passivity. These included:

> wife beating, early initiation into sex, free unions or consensual marriages, a relatively high incidence of the abandonment of mothers and children, a trend towards mother-centered families . . . [and above all] . . . a belief in male superiority which reaches its crystallization in *machismo* or the cult of masculinity, a corresponding martyr complex among women, and finally, high tolerance for psychological pathology of all sorts (Lewis 1961, xxvii).

It is interesting to note that in the West African context where colonial officialdom contributed to the stereotypic image of female migrants as actual or potential prostitutes, Kenneth Little's influential writings on women and urbanization processes also replicated this view (Little 1965, 1973). This has been empirically disputed by, for instance, Niara Sudarkasa (1970) and Roger Sanjek (1976).

Women in "Male" Towns

It was Ester Boserup's rural research, showing that women were often the predominant "invisible" contributors to the basic agricultural productivity of their communities, that first created a broad awareness of the role of women in Third World development among academics and policymakers — with a critical impact on the development of WID policy.[9] Her urban work is far less known and had far less policy impact, despite the fact that two-thirds of her seminal book *Women's Role in Economic Development* (Boserup 1970) focused on urban areas, defined by Boserup as "women in a men's world." She identified "male towns" in Africa and Asia as those where colonial labour recruitment practices meant that men outnumbered women. Even where numbers were equal, towns were still "male" if, as in "Arab countries, India, and Pakistan, . . . the economic life of the town and all outdoor activities are taken care of by men, while women live in seclusion within the family dwelling" (Boserup 1970, 86).

Boserup distinguished between these "Muslim towns," and a third type of town that was common in West Africa, defined as "semi-male," where "streets and market places are dominated by women, since most of the retail trade is in female hands" (Boserup 1970, 87). Boserup concluded that the increasing preference for male workers occurring with accelerated industrialization meant that women were increasingly being "left behind" in traditional activities during urbanization processes. As in rural areas, her particular contribution was to highlight women's productive income-earning work and labour participation rates, detailing the distinct and differing gender divisions of labour in different regions of the world. However, in so doing she failed to recognize women's reproductive work as work; this allowed her to conclude, for instance, that in most Arab countries no more than some 5% of women carry on any economic activity. "The remaining 95 percent of adult women do little more than cooking the daily meals and taking care of children" (Boserup 1970, 187).

Women "Who Wait" and Women Who Migrate

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the regional differences in migration patterns between men and women resulted in very different research foci. In Southern Africa, rural "Women Who Wait" (Wellesley Editorial Committee 1977) was the issue (see, for instance, Mueller 1977; Sibisi 1977; Gordon 1981); in West Africa the perceived "power and independence" of the market woman trader and her "ability" to "hold her own" was highlighted (see, for instance, Little 1965; Lloyd 1967; Pons 1969; Sudarkasa 1970); while in Latin America the cityward migration of female domestic servants and their "adaptation" to urban life was perceived to be a channel of upward mobility (see Smith 1973, Rubo 1975, Jelin 1977). As Dandekar (1986) and Kolenda's (1990) historical account of *Men to Bombay, Women at Home* between 1942 and 1982 illustrated, these are long-term historical processes; indeed Gugler's (1989) much later West African study of *Women Stay on the Farm No More* showed the way in which migration patterns have changed in many regions of the world since the 1970s.

It is also important to note that the gender-specific aspects of "adaptation" to urban life have remained a serious research preoccupation, illustrated by studies in contexts as diverse as Taiwan (Hsieh 1982), Malaysia (Armstrong 1987), and the Cameroons (Keirn 1975). In the Asian context, for instance, a recent collection of articles edited by Fawcett, Khoo and Smith (1984) recognized that "until recently women were virtually invisible in migration processes, because of the assumption that most were merely passive movers who followed the household head" (Fawcett, Khoo and Smith 1984, 4). The focus on female migration and "adaptation" was justified in terms of its importance in detecting changes in the family as an institution, as well as "sex-specific" cultural constraints on migration. For instance, a number of studies in Middle Eastern countries such Saudi Arabia (Altorki 1977), Morocco (Maher 1974) and Iran (Rudolph-Touba 1973) examined the way in which urbanization changes women's status within the family. A recent very different study from Indonesia found that the motivation for female migration of "joining the family" was only half the story. Equally important was autonomy and independence, with women increasingly having "sufficient social and psychological independence to migrate on their own" (Anaf 1986, 78).

Policy Implications of Modernization Urban Research

Modernization economic development policy with its focus on accelerated growth did not directly address the needs of people, on the assumption that through the "trickle down" effect social needs should be satisfied by means of individual effort in the market place. Research on the urban poor was, therefore, closely associated with the residual welfare model. This assumed that only when the normal structures of supply, the family and the market had broken down, should social welfare institutions come into play with measures designed to assist "deviants" (including prostitutes) and "vulnerable groups" (including mothers) (MacPherson and Midgley 1987). Here, women were identified in their reproductive role as beneficiaries of development with top-down policies designed to meet practical gender needs relating to food aid, family planning and measures against malnutrition (Maguire 1984; UNICEF 1985).

Redistribution With Growth in Cities — Basic Needs: 1970s-Early 1980s

By the late 1960s the limitations of a modernization model of development had been recognized. Accelerated growth strategies based on maximizing GNP were not leading to the expected levels of development nor of income redistribution, while at the same time problems of poverty and unemployment were increasing. At the political level, particularly in Latin America, the paradigm of modernization was replaced by a more radical theorization of development processes, that of dependency theory. In this the "underdevelopment" of Third World societies was a necessary requisite for development in the West (see, for instance, Frank 1966; Laclau 1971; Cardoso 1972).[10]

Marginalization, Shantytowns and Squatter Settlements

In the urban context, the failure of "trickle down" resulted in an increasing preoccupation with poverty and unemployment, and the clarification that economic growth *per se* would not lead to any fundamental redistribution of resources. The social, economic, spatial and political "marginalization" of low-income populations in urban areas was a consequence of exclusion, lack of access and exploitation, rather than a lack of "integration." The problem of poverty was not a question of individual "cultural" traits, of "marginality," but the consequence of structural economic transformations, determined both by national and international factors, linked to issues of class and political institutions (Quijano 1974; Moser 1977; Moser and Satterthwaite 1985). Consequently, urban issues were no longer simply social problems but also political concerns.

If the predominant unit of urban research in the 1960s was the individual (for the measurement of rural-urban demographic trends) or the family (linked to policy preoccupations with its moral decline in urban areas), in the 1970s this was augmented by the household (which often contained an extended family) and a preoccupation with its economic viability. Here the "slum" and "shanty studies" of anthropologists and sociologists were important in identifying the role of social, economic and political networks of reciprocal exchange as critical mechanisms for survival. Most of this research was gender-blind, or at best gender-neutral, linked to the consensus view of marriage as comprising equal but different partners.

An interesting indicator of the focus on women in their own right is the number of references to "women" in the subject index. For instance, in a number of "classic" Latin American slum studies of this period, such as David Collier (1976) on Lima, Wayne Cornelius (1975) and Susan Eckstein (1977) on Mexico City, and Lisa Peattie (1968) on Ciudad Guyana, there are no references at all to women. It is important to mention that not all these researchers were necessarily men, and that some of the women, such as Peattie, have since written on gender issues (Peattie 1968).[11]

In contrast, it is important to recognize the work of other women anthropologists who, during the same period, attempted to understand the situation of urban women. These included Unni Wikan (1976) in Cairo, Helen Safa (1986) in San Juan, Ilsa Schuster (1979) in Lusaka, Janet Bujra (1975) in Nairobi, Margaret Strobel (1979) in Mombasa, Fatima Mernissi (1975) in Morocco, and Kristina Bohman (1984) in Cali, to mention just a few.[12] Larissa Lomnitz (1977) in her study of *Networks and Marginality* in a Mexico City "shantytown," shows some of the inherent contradictions in discussing the role of slum women. Writing about "husbands" and "wives," she describes a situation of culturally prescribed "sex roles" in which there is:

> A strict partition of marital roles . . . (with a) relatively low-emotional content of husband-wife relations . . . as for the female role its traditional hallmark is a capacity for suffering . . . shantytown women tend to develop strong, resilient personalities that eventually make then pillars of strength within their social groups. Men, on the other hand, are seen as emotionally immature, overgrown children. . . . (Lomnitz 1975, 94).

Politicization of urban problems by the mid-1970s also resulted in an increasing focus on the role of the local state in the process of urbanization, not only as the provider of infrastructure for industrial development but also for the generation of employment and supply of items of "collective consumption," i.e., goods and services necessary for the reproduction of the labour force. In this focus on strategies to eradicate poverty through the satisfaction of basic needs, two multilateral agencies in particular, the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the World Bank, played a critical role in determining the emerging urban policy research agenda.

The Informal Sector and Basic Needs

The ILO's Employment Policy Convention (No. 122) committed governments to adopt "active full-employment policies" with the World Employment Programme in 1969 launching more than a decade of policy-oriented research on the informal sector — research that has continued to the present day. The focus on the informal sector developed as studies by the ILO or associated consultants shifted from a preoccupation with unemployment to an emphasis on employment, with the "working poor" defined as the most important target group — the majority of whom were identified as finding work or remuneration in small-scale activities or enterprises in the so-called informal sector — the term itself deriving originally from the work of an urban anthropologist, Keith Hart (1973) in Accra. The focus of informal sector studies was urban, with the scale quickly moving from country to city, and finally to income-generating sectors within cities.[13] An early publication, *Casual Work and Poverty in Third World Cities*, edited by Ray Bromley and Chris Gerry (1979), included studies of enterprises as diverse as garbage recyclers, bottle buyers, petty trading, begging and small-scale manufacturing in cities such as Nairobi, Chandigarh, Dakar, Manila, Cali and San Cristobal las Casas.

Throughout the 1970s most informal sector research was at worst gender-blind, and at best under-enumerated women.[14] Indeed, as late as 1981 Sethuraman, head of the informal sector research programme at the ILO, felt confident enough to conclude that in a study of nine African, Asian and Latin American cities:

> Female participation in the informal sector *seems* surprisingly low. . . . Though in some cases female participation seems to be underestimated owing to sample design, dominance of males in the informal sector is in general noticeable in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Sethuraman 1981, 190: emphasis added).

The fact that ILO surveys were enterprise-based, and biased towards larger scale enterprises in the productive sector, meant that they "missed" the majority of women who clustered in outwork, subcontracting, and disguised wage work, such as the unrecognized work of wives in household enterprises. Equally they ignored the smaller one-person "enterprises" in the service and distributive sectors that in many cases are dominated by women (Moser 1984).

Complementing the ILO's research on urban poverty reduction, was the development "Redistribution with Growth" and then the "Basic Needs" concept, defined as an approach "which gives priority to meeting the basic needs of all people" (Stewart 1985, 1). Developed initially as a holistic anti-poverty programme, its focus was cross-sectoral to include not only such "social" infrastructure as schools, medical centres and housing, but also "economic" infrastructure such as roads, sanitation and water.

Basic Needs was essentially the invention of the "international development community." Prominent in its early endorsement was Robert McNamara who, in 1972, announced the official shift of the World Bank from a preoccupation with economic growth to a broader concern with eradicating absolute poverty and the promotion of "Redistribution with Growth" (Streeten et al. 1981). As a project-level strategy for poverty alienation, widespread World Bank intervention occurred particularly in the housing and infrastructure sectors, through "sites and services" and squatter "upgrading" projects. Basic Needs projects focused on the household as the unit both of analysis and for intervention, and as such did not desegregate within it. While women were clearly seen as beneficiaries of such infrastructure as water and sanitation, they were identified most commonly in their reproductive role, with needs identified entirely at the household level.

Like the informal sector, Basic Needs generated an important urban research agenda. This related not only to Basic Needs as a concept,[15] but also to its sectoral implications. In cities, by far the most extensive sectoral research was undertaken on land and housing. This evolved out

of John Turner's (1970, 1976) seminal work on self-help housing, and the ensuing debates between, above all, Turner and Rod Burgess (1978, 1987, 1992). It resulted in such Basic Needs self-help housing solutions as sites and services, and squatter upgrading.[16]

Housing studies have proliferated in most important cities of the world. Amongst other things, they have highlighted household-level housing needs in cities such as Ankara (Payne 1982), Bogota (Gilbert 1981) and Mexico City (Connolly 1982). They have critically evaluated the failure or success of World Bank housing solutions such as FUNDASAL in El Salvador (Harth Deneke and Silva 1982; Bamberger and Deneke 1984), the Kampong Improvement Programme in Jakarta and Surabaya (Silas 1984), and the Chawama upgrading project in Lusaka (Sanyal, Valverde and Bamberger 1981). And they have identified the importance of community participation in self-help solutions in projects such as the Orangi Pilot Project and Baldia Soak Pit, Karachi (Bakhtiari 1984; Hasan 1985, 1986); Villa el Salvador, Lima (Skinner 1983a, 1983b); Hyderabad (Cousins and Goyder 1986); and Lusaka (Rakodi 1983).

Research on low-income urban housing issues was undertaken mainly by architects and geographers, most of whom were men. The household or family was the unit of analysis. Thus research into eligibility criteria for housing projects occurred at the family level, with reference to income groups based on the income of the male breadwinner. In assuming the male-headed nuclear family to be the "normal" household structure, it obviously excluded female-headed households. While research on community participation made the distinction between local leaders, neighbourhood organizations and political parties as the three community level groups involved in community participation, further analytical disaggregation was less common.

Research on housing projects nevertheless also showed that "without the women the project would never have worked." In the Baldia Soak Pit Project in Karachi, for instance, a low-income community based project for soak pits and double pit latrines was based on community acceptance and participation in the construction of the soak pits. Documenting its success, Chauhen (1983) described how:

> The community organizer was keen to organize the community through the women, but points out that initially the project staff were liaising only with the male heads of each household. When men went out to work they would leave their wives instructions regarding the construction of pits. As the work progressed the women got more involved. This happened naturally because it was the women who had to arrange for the digging, buy the necessary equipment and supervise the construction. . . . The men did not feel that the women's work on the latrines was affecting their status. The community organizer feels that this has in fact made the women more liberated than before (Chauhen 1983, 42).

However, despite such empirical research results, gender was not introduced as an analytical category, and the significant role of women in community participation was rarely mentioned in policy-level research.[17]

Urban Research and the United Nations Decade for Women

By the 1970s, the influence of both the second wave feminism of the late 1960s and the establishment of the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-85) resulted in parallel research agendas. Undertaken predominantly by women, they were concerned with WID and GAD which were seen as separate areas of analysis and virtually never incorporated into other studies of power relations in the development process. For the last 20 years, therefore, there have essentially been three separate urban research agendas: gender-blind, WID-focused, and GAD-focused. In the rest of this review, greater emphasis is given to the latter two agendas.

Women, the Informal Sector and Petty Commodity Production

It was to their role as producers, rather than their reproductive role within the family, that women researchers in the 1970s turned, in disciplines that included anthropology, geography, sociology, and economics. In the urban context, the objective of this research, first and foremost, was to "disprove" the ILO thesis that there were few women in the informal sector, and to recommend that future work on the sector should desegregate data to include age, gender and skill. A proliferation of studies soon proved women were there, showing globally the critical importance of the informal sector as a source of income for women, not only in female-headed households but as secondary income earners. Within a WID framework, definitive studies such as Nirmala Banerjee (1981) on Calcutta, Mira Savara (1981) on Madras, Lourdes Arizpe (1977) on Mexico City, Marianne Schmink (1982) and Tom Merrick (1976) on Belo Horizonte, Nici Nelson (1979) and Janet Bujra (1986) on Nairobi, Karen Tranberg Hansen (1980) on Lusaka, Eleanor Wachtel (1975) on Nakuru, and Lea Jellinek (1978) on Jakarta, to mention just a few, documented and measured the high level of female informal sector participation and described the income generating activities in which women were involved.

Once women researchers had "proved" the presence of women in the informal sector, the focus turned to the analysis of gender relations within the sector itself, in other words a shift towards a GAD framework, and this research continued for the next decade. One of the earliest such analyses of the informal sector, undertaken in Lima by Alison MacEwen Scott, concluded:

> Insofar as there is segmentation in the manual labour market, the most significant dichotomy is not between small- and large-scale enterprises, but between men and women's jobs. Within both sectors men tend to have greater access to skill and capital and hence to better income levels and mobility chances than women. The stereotyped image of employment in the informal sector is actually a more accurate description of women's jobs (Scott 1991, pp. 105-132).[18]

Research on small-scale "petty commodity production" within the informal sector showed it to be both dependent and involutionary in nature, with its relationship to large-scale, formal sector production being exploited through access to credit, markets and raw materials (Moser 1978, 1984; Schmitz 1979, 1982). However, for women working in this sector, exploitation by the formal sector was not the only constraint. Research showed not only that women clustered in the smallest-scale, least profitable areas of the formal sector, but also that where there was intense competition within the sector, gender was frequently used as an essential element in the division of labour, forcing women into less lucrative areas. Competition among sellers of cooked food in Guayaquil, for instance, showed that: "What emerges is the use of space defined in gender terms, and particularly obvious in the case of mobile selling where men, assisted by an ideology of male dominance, try to exclude women from the most profitable areas of selling by associating 'going in the street' with prostitution"(Moser 1981, 28). In this example of the process of masculization of traditional women's work, selling of cooked food, men were in fact totally reliant on the household enterprise in order to cook the goods they sold in the market. The same theme was explored later in two edited volumes on women in home-based production in India. Their titles, *Invisible Hands* (Menefee Singh and Kelles-Viitanen 1987) and *Tyranny of the Household* (Jain and Banerjee 1985), both conveyed the authors' assessment of gender relations in household enterprises where men recruited their wives to unpaid work in tasks such as sewing, weaving or cooking.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s a number of studies identified other gender-related constraints in the informal sector — in other words constraints encountered by women in their gendered role. For instance, when women themselves controlled enterprises, unequal access to credit because of lack of collateral meant they were often unable to expand their enterprises unless non-traditional forms of credit were available to them (Bruce 1980; International Women's Tribune Centre [IWTC] 1985). Lack of control over savings, highlighted in the

important work of SEWA (the Self-Employed Women's Association) in Ahmedabad, also prevented enterprise expansion (Sebsted 1982; Karl 1983). Lack of mobility due to child care responsibilities was another constraint encountered by women in cities such as Querétaro (Chant 1987), while in societies where women were secluded, such as Kano in Nigeria, women traders used children as intermediaries (Afonja 1981).

Implications of Informal Sector Research for Policy

Once research had proved women's presence in the informal sector, it set out to identify gender-related constraints, as illustrated in the previous paragraph. However, the policy implications of this research were obviously highly controversial. For instance, questions about women's unpaid labour in household enterprises or their unequal access to credit could only be solved if women acquired greater control over resources and division of labour within the household was modified.

To avoid addressing such strategic gender needs, policymakers adopted an anti-poverty approach, tending to revert to WID-focused research. This allowed them to address poor women as a separate category and to develop measures to increase their employment and income-generating options in the gender-specific occupations in which women were concentrated, or targeted at specific categories of poor women such as those who headed households. Donor-funded, action-oriented prescriptive research focused on the identification of constraints and opportunities for income-generating projects for women. Generally small in scale, developed by NGOs, and most frequently all-women in composition, they aimed to increase productivity in activities traditionally undertaken by women rather than to introduce women to new areas of work. Buvinic (1986), for instance, has highlighted the problems experienced by anti-poverty projects in the implementation process. In fact, by the late 1980s the focus had shifted from income-generating projects to micro-enterprises, with research and policy focused especially on training and women's access to credit (see Berger and Buvinic 1989; Leonard 1989; World Development 1989).

Finally, it is important to mention the reappraisal from a feminist perspective of prostitution and its hypothesized contribution to "immorality in towns" which occurred during the 1970s, particularly in African cities. Researchers such as Janet Bujra (1975), Laketch Dirasse (1978), and Nici Nelson (1978) argued that given the numerical dominance of men in towns and the scarcity of legal work, prostitution, along with beer brewing, represented a rational economic choice. Prostitutes frequently supported segments of their rural kin, while sending their children home to be raised there (White 1983); they formed professional associations, and warned each other of police raids (Nelson 1978). In fact "work paid off for prostitutes and brewers: in the rigidly segregated townships of colonized East and South Africa, between 20 and 50 percent of African property owners were single adult women" (White 1984, 65). The extent to which findings such as these were acceptable to policymakers varied widely, with the tendency to continue to identify the issue as one of "deviancy" or "immorality."

The Management of Cities: Early and Mid-1980s

The 1980s were dominated by the global debt crisis and recession, and the political resurgence of the new right in many parts of the world. These had important implications for urbanization processes, as well as for urban research. While the decade divides, roughly, into two periods, it is recognized that the cut-off point is somewhat arbitrary.

The early and mid-1980s were dominated by a shift in multilateral and government urban development policy, away from "top down" state provision of basic needs to the improved management of cities, and the development of "enabling strategies" to assist wherever possible the "bottom up" provision of such services. Consequently donor- and state-commissioned

research focused at the urban level on such issues as the role of local and municipal government and urban public finance; this was undertaken mainly by economists, public administration specialists, statisticians and geographers.

Castells and Urban Social Movements

In contrast to commissioned research, it was the "crisis of collective consumption" and the development of urban social movements that was a primary concern for many academic researchers, particularly in Latin America. Manuel Castells, a principal protagonist in this debate, argued that this development was "inherent in the disjunction between profit and need, exchange value and use value, production and consumption in the urban system" (Castells 1977). Here, the question was whether popular struggles over inadequate state provision of basic needs provided the basis for the development of urban social movements in which broad class alliances were linked together in political struggle not at the point of production as was traditionally the case, but at the point of residence. The fact that residential-level struggles were seen as inherently weaker than those formed around production issues was said to relate to the fact that issues of collective consumption did not necessarily coincide with class interests or antagonisms (see Castells 1978, 1982, 1983; Borja 1981; Saunders 1984; Slater 1985; Fals Borda 1986).

The literature on urban social movements mentioned women descriptively in passing. Castells (1983) in his extensive historical review, *The City and the Grass Roots*, recognized the critical role of women in urban struggles, mobilizing on behalf of the needs of their "families" in the context of urban-based class and power struggles. He provided detailed examples from a diversity of historical contexts such as the 1871 Paris Commune, the 1915 Glasgow Rent Strike and the 1922 *Movimiento Inquilinario* in Veracruz, Mexico, as well as contemporary examples such as popular organization in the Santiago squatter *campamentos* during the Allende government.[19] On the assumption that through consumption-based struggles women should develop an awareness of the nature of their gender-based subordination, Castells analyzed their participation in terms of feminist consciousness, and the emergence of the women's feminist movement which "aims at overcoming the structural domination of one gender by the other" (Castells 1983, 309). The relationship between the women's movement and urban social movements, however, was not hypothesized.

While governments were concerned with the better management of cities, researchers (mainly men) documented the complexities of mobilization at the point of residence, sometimes mentioning women but without reference to the gendered nature of such struggles, in cities as distinct as Buenos Aires (Ziccardi 1977; Silva and Schuurman 1989); Rio de Janiero (Valladares 1978); Vitorio in Brazil (Banck and Doimo 1989); Madras (de Wit 1989); Karachi (van der Linden 1989); Crossroads, Cape Town (Cole 1987; Isaacs 1989);[20] and Tondo, Manila (Ruland 1984; Honculada 1985). In such studies, the use of gender-neutral terms such as "leaders" and "organizers" without gender specification implicitly reinforced the dominant notions that men played these roles, while women were their supporters; terms such as "he," "him" and "men" reinforced the impression that it was men and not women who were the main activists.[21]

Women's Urban Struggle and Community Managing

Complementing this research was a very different literature concerned to reconstruct and document the same urban protest but from a feminist perspective, once again designed to prove women were there. It explicitly identified and analyzed women's actions, needs, and subjective meanings as an integral part of protest — on the basis that "the actions and attitudes of men cannot be generalized to cover the entire population" (West and Blumberg 1990, 8). One important contribution to this was the component on women and social movements within the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) Participation Research

Project, a research project in both Asia and Latin America. The project's objective was to examine the organized efforts made by excluded social groups to increase their control over resources, decision-making processes and the regulative institutions of society at large. The results of the Latin American studies on women in social movements, edited by Elizabeth Jelin (1990) in *Women and Social Change in Latin America*, contained urban case studies from Lima (Blondet) and Buenos Aires (Feijoó), while other studies from such cities as Guadalajara (Pardinas and Dieste 1988) and Lima (Andreas 1985) provided additional examples from Latin America.

Feminist researchers were concerned to document the role of women, not only as participants in the struggle over items of collective consumption, but also, and as an extension of this, the manner in which they were managing in cities. Acceptance of gender divisions of labour meant that women were managing the allocation, provisioning and maintenance of items fulfilling both household and community-level consumption needs —the latter identified as a "natural" extension of their domestic work (Moser 1989; 1993).[22] In fact, in an earlier work Castells (1978) had noted the state's reliance on women's unpaid reproductive and community managing work in cities, when he stated:

> It is the subordinate role of women which enables the minimum "maintenance" of its housing, transport and public facilities . . . because women guarantee unpaid transportation (movement of people and merchandise), because they repair their homes, because they make the meals when there are no canteens, . . . because they look after others' children when there are no nurseries. . . . [I]f women who "do nothing" ever stopped to do "only that," the whole urban structure as we know it would become completely incapable of maintaining its functions (Castells 1978, 177-78).

Women, Basic Services and Housing

The reality of urban, low-income women's lives and their organization around different "bread and butter" issues were documented in different contexts. As with the informal sector research, this research went through a number of stages. First, WID-focused research set about proving the importance of women's participation in community-based service delivery. Amongst a diversity of examples these included health issues in São Paulo (International Women's Information and Communication Service [ISIS] 1985), childcare in Lima (Allyon Viana 1982), water in Guayaquil (Moser 1987b) and Tegucigalpa (Resources for Action 1982b), waste recycling in Mexico (Schmink 1984b, 1989), and finally an extensive literature on the critical role played by women in collective construction of self-help housing in cities such as Guadelajara (Díaz 1988), Panama (Girling, Lycette and Youssef 1983), Kingston, Jamaica (McLeod 1989) and Buenos Aires (Feijoó, n.d.). In the case of one such project in Managua, Irene Vance (1987) provided a fascinating case study of the conflicts that occurred between men and women because of different perceptions of work. This was most extreme when men failed to take account of womens' triple role, particularly in relation to reproduction, and the inevitable absence of women from building teams during late pregnancy (Vance 1987, 163). One research initiative in particular deserves mention. This was the Population Council's "Women, Low-Income Households and Urban Services" project with research groups established in Jamaica, Mexico City and Peru (see Schmink 1984a; Schmink, Bruce and Kohn 1986). In the case of Lima, it resulted in a working paper publication series that has continued into the 1990s, covering such basic services as water, childcare and transportation (see, for example, Barrig and Fort 1987). Although most widely documented in Latin America, women's community-level organization was also highlighted in cities in other areas of the world. Examples included the maintenance of community facilities in Colombo (Fernando 1987), village bus services in Kenya (Kneerim 1989), and self-help housing in Lusaka (Rakodi 1983; Schlyter 1988) and Nairobi (Nimpuno-Parente 1987).

The second stage in research was GAD-focused, and identified the gendered nature of constraints in a number of urban sectors, as well as the particular problems experienced by women due to gender-blind urban planning (see Moser 1987a). A number of studies in the public transport sector illustrated these problems. For instance, in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, assignment of routes meant women living in peripheral settlements had longer trips and changed transport more often than men (Schmink 1982); in Lima a lack of safeguards against physical attack or sexual harassment on public vehicles restricted women's use of all types of transport (Anderson and Panzio 1986); in the village of Mraru in Kenya, women found that the infrequency and resultant overcrowding of buses to the nearest market town severely limited their ability to take their goods to the market (Kneerim 1989).[23]

In the urban context, it was the gendered nature of constraints in the housing sector that received most attention. This was not surprising, given that women are the primary users of housing in all of their three roles. Extensive GAD-focused research revealed a wide diversity of constraints affecting women in terms of both their access to housing and the suitability of living conditions.[24] Access issues included eligibility criteria. In a housing programme in Brazil, for instance, these criteria excluded women who headed households from access to housing projects by determining that "the candidate should be the father of at least two children" (Machado 1987, 62). In a sites and services project in Quito, Ecuador, although women who headed households made up 30% of the applicants, 46% of these did not qualify for access because their incomes were too low (Lycette and Jaramillo 1984). In Tunis, isolation from public life for cultural reasons meant few women in a squatter settlement or core housing project had heard about shelter programmes in their city (Sorock et al. 1984). Relocation affected access to employment; in a relocation settlement, Dashinpuri on the outskirts of Delhi, it was found that women were far more affected by the move. Increased distance from work resulted in a 27% decline in women's employment, as against a 5% fall for men (Singh 1980).

Design constraints influenced both living and working conditions. In Lusaka, new layouts in settlement planning of the George upgrading project meant women were forced to work in more isolated conditions and were no longer able to leave children playing under the watchful eye of neighbours (Schlyter 1984). In the Nairobi Dandora sites and services project, zoning legislation preventing the development of income-earning activities in residential areas particularly affected those women whose child care responsibilities meant they could not leave their homes (Nimpuno-Parente 1987). Failure to consult women about their housing needs resulted in insensitive house design in Tunis where Western designs provided insufficient inner courtyard space (Resources for Action 1982a). Constraints such as these meant studies began to focus on women's housing needs in cities such as Tunis (Waltz 1985) and Lahore (Shah 1986), as well as on the relationship between female headship and housing strategies (for instance, in Harare [Schlyter 1989] and Gabarone [Larsson 1989]).

Housing Policy and Women's Needs

Despite the proliferation of research on the gendered nature of the housing sector, it was not widely accepted by policymakers, many of whom remained gender blind. For example, to coincide with the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) sponsored a reassessment of critical shelter and human settlement problems. The volume was edited by Lloyd Rodwin (1987) with a foreword by Dr. Arcot Ramachandran. It failed to include a chapter on the particular gender needs of women and its contents were gender blind. Others concerned to translate research recommendations into policy were more comfortable in reverting to the identification of "women and housing" as a "separate" WID-focused issue with women-specific "anti-poverty" housing projects, particularly focused on women heading households, as a separate category. The most sensitive policy-related research was concerned with the issue of land tenure and property rights — for women a strategic gender need that ensured protection for them and their children in unstable or

violent domestic situations, as well as often providing collateral to gain access to credit. Research into the complexity and importance of the gendered nature of property rights certainly highlighted the political nature of the issue even if it did not result in widespread changes in tenure practice and the empowerment of women.

Household Headship and Intra-household Resource Allocation

During this period a number of other important research areas developed that were not urban-specific, but were predominantly identified as urban phenomena. Researchers were not only geographers, anthropologists and sociologists but also economists and psychologists. First, the issue of male headship of households was challenged by Barbara Rogers (1980) as "a figment of the statistican's (*sic*) imagination," and there was a growing recognition that the planning stereotype of nuclear families with male breadwinners and women homemakers no longer represented the reality for many low-income women in cities. This resulted in research on the household and the particular forms it took in the urban context. The most important research was on households headed by women, both to measure their frequency of occurrence and to identify the particular constraints experienced by such households. The most common type found was *de facto* female-headed households, in which the male partner was absent either temporarily (for instance, due to migration or refugee status) or permanently (due to separation or death). In urban areas, especially in Latin America, the figure was calculated to be 50% or more (Buvinic and Youssef with Von Elm 1978).

While country-level definitions varied, making comparative studies less than useful, research showed this was more likely to be an urban than a rural phenomenon in, for instance, Jamaica (Bolles 1986), Morocco (Joekes 1985), Kenya (Nelson 1978), Brazil (Merrick and Schmink 1983), and Nicaragua (Vance 1987). The most important policy-related debate concerned the extent to which such households were the "poorest of the poor" — an important issue for targeted assistance. It became clear that this was not necessarily the case. Susan Joekes (1985) concluded in the case of Morocco that they were not an undifferentiated group, while in many West African towns such as Abidjan, women positively resisted living with their partners for fear of being economically constrained (Etienne 1983). Again in Querétaro, Mexico, Sylvia Chant (1985) found that women in male-headed households were often worse off than their counterparts in female-headed households.[25]

Other more recent Latin American research in both Santiago (Buvinic et al 1992) and Guayaquil (Moser, forthcoming) has shown an increasing number of single mothers, financially unable to live on their own, and "hidden" in extended families. In fact, in many urban contexts research during the 1980s showed that the extended family did not disappear with urbanization, as had previously been postulated. For instance, the extended family has always been important in Hindu communities in India for reasons of economic, social and psychological support (Caplan 1985; Sharma 1986). In other contexts, such as in West Africa, it has been identified as a consequence of economic pressures. In Bo, one of the largest towns in Sierra Leone, the life cycle was found to be a critical variable, with extended households more common when the household head was middle-aged or elderly (Peil and Sada 1984).

A second, complex, research area that began to appear on the agenda during this period was the issue of intra-household resource allocation. Early work was rural-focused and highly theoretical, challenging the model of rural households as a joint utility function (Evans 1989; Sen 1990). However, it soon turned to the urban context (Dwyer and Bruce 1988). Research in urban Zambia, for instance, focused on income allocation and marriage options (Munachonga 1988); in Cairo it examined household budgeting and financial management (Hoodfar 1988); and in Mexico City it examined intra-household patterns of money allocation and the "renegotiation of the marital contract" (Roldan 1988).

Studies on household headship and intra-household resource allocation obviously had great significance for policymakers, particularly the studies on targeted intervention for poverty alleviation. Research on female-headed households challenged the conventional view of women who headed households as deviants, a product of male absence, and whose very household composition trapped them in poverty. While for some this was the case, for many others it was a deliberate strategy by women who did not wish to be forced to support an economically marginalized man. From a policy perspective such households could no longer be viewed homogeneously. Similarly, intra-household resource allocation research had implications for the household as the target unit of interventions intended to aid the most malnourished people.

Women in Urban Wage Employment

If the research on women's productive work focused primarily on the informal sector in the 1970s, in the 1980s many researchers prioritized formal-sector labour market participation and the implications of changing global industrial processes for the restructuring of women's work. In such an extensive research field it is only possible to highlight a few issues here. Once again the priority was to prove women were there, in this case confronting the underestimation of women's activities. Economists such as Lourdes Beneria (1981) argued for more accurate measurement of female participation rates, and identification of its characteristics. While some studies focused on the country level (Standing 1976; Hopkins 1983; Anker and Hein 1986; Joekes 1987), others identified female participation rates at the urban level in, for instance, Nigeria (Lacey 1986; Fadayomi 1991), Tanzania (Shields 1980), Malaysia (Eden 1991) and Puerto Rico (Saffa 1986).

Following from this was research on the gendered nature of productive work, and the theoretical debate concerning women's unequal place in the labour market — gender segregation and stratification theory, and the "female" marginalization thesis (Scott 1986a, 1986b). Detailed case studies examined gender, pay and skills differentials (for instance, in the automobile industry in Brazil particularly during periods of job loss [Humphrey 1985; Hirata and Humphrey 1991]), and the gendered effects of technological change in Brazilian firms (Saffioti 1986). The relationship between education levels and gender inequality was another research topic in, for instance, China (Bauer 1992) and Bangalore, India (Shantha Mohan 1989). Domestic service, the first entry job for recent female migrants, was an important global research subject with edited studies in Latin America and the Caribbean (Bunster and Chaney 1985; Chaney and Castro 1989) as well as Asia and Africa.

A particular concern was the "intersection of labour demand and household strategies" with studies in, for instance, Cairo (Ibrahim 1982), Qwaqwa (Niehaus 1988) and urban India. Here, Ursula Sharma's (1986) study of Shimla examined the interrelationship between women's waged work and their contribution to the maintenance and management of household resources in different social classes; a similar theme was explored for Calcutta (Standing 1991), urban Kenya (Stichter 1985) and India (Ramu 1989).

Related research on the gendered nature of the internationalization of capital and the implications for women's waged work of restructuring industrial production, highlighted two processes in particular. First, the feminization or "female-led industrialization" of the industrial labour force in export zones, where production was relocated to avoid trade union or other regulations in Free Trade or Border Zones. Diane Elson and Ruth Pearson (1981a, 1981b) identified how most frequently young, single women were recruited because of their so-called "nimble fingers," when in reality they form the cheapest, most docile labour force best suited for tedious, repetitive and monotonous work. A study of the clothing industry in Morocco (Joekes 1982) showed how factory owners took advantage of lower female employment costs with matching, or even higher, levels of productivity, justified on the basis that women were "working for lipstick" (Joekes 1985). A similar justification was used in Hong Kong electronics

factories, where the lower wages of young, single women were attributed to their secondary status in the labour market, itself identified because of their capacity to bear children (Lim 1981, 1990). Other important studies included those on the Bangladesh garment industry (Kabeer 1991), the relocation of international production in Singapore (Heyzer 1988), and women workers in the Mexican border industry (Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Pearson 1988).

Complementary to this concern was the process of fractionalizing labour processes through subcontracting and outwork, again to increase profits through lower factory costs and outwork wages. Nirmala Banerjee's (1985) important study, *Women Workers in the Unorganized Sector*, described the employment patterns, wage levels, working conditions and social background of 400 women workers in the unorganized sector of Calcutta, many of whom were employed as piece-rate workers at home. In the case of Mexico City, Lourdes Beneria and Martha Roldan's (1987) study of women subcontractors and contractual outworkers focused, in addition, on the "analytical dualism" between gender and class.

Women's Productive Work and Employment Policy

One of the most important consequences of the research on female participation rates was the introduction of gender-disaggregated employment statistics. Just one example of this comes from Indonesia where "at the urging and with the advice of a small group of senior women scholars concerned with gender issues, the National Institute of Statistics [BPS] developed and in 1989 began regular publication of Social Indicators on Women" (Mboi 1993, 30). It is also important to mention that research on the informal sector did not disappear during the 1980s, but also contributed to the policy agenda. In the Indian context, for instance, two very different studies were undertaken. The National Institute of Urban Affairs' five-year study of women in the informal sector provided important findings on the magnitude of female participation (nearly 50% as against census figures of 8%), with the highest concentration in various types of trade and production, followed by piece-rate work and casual wage labour in construction (National Institute of Urban Affairs [NIUA] 1991). Complementary to this research was *Shramshakti*, a national-level policy report of the National Commission on Self-Employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector (1988), that was chaired by Ela Bhatt, the founder of SEWA. This provided important findings for the Indian Government.

Responses to Cities in Crisis: Late 1980s-1990s

Research on urban development since the mid-1980s has been increasingly dominated by the global economic crisis and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank macro-economic reform packages of structural adjustment, designed to assist bankrupt economies onto the road of economic recovery. The most visible manifestation of cities in crisis has been the inability of the state and local government apparatus to effectively manage and regulate urban life; the breakdown of formal instruments of control (such as the planning and legal system); and the decline in the delivery, maintenance and quality of essential urban services such as water, electricity, transportation, health and education.

The "top down" response to cities in crisis is probably best epitomized by the World Bank's (1991) *Urban Policy and Economic Development* paper which outlines a new agenda for the 1990s based on greater "efficiency" and the interrelated priorities of productivity, poverty reduction and environment. It identifies the key constraints as infrastructure deficiencies, the regulatory framework governing urban markets for land and housing, and weak municipal institutions and inadequate financial services; the related research agenda concerns issues of policy reform, the management of urban infrastructure and financial services, and the improvement of regulatory frameworks and the financial and technical capacities of municipal institutions. To alleviate urban poverty resulting from both the shorter-term impacts of macro-economic adjustment and the longer-term structural problems of demographic growth, low productivity and constrained

access to urban services, the paper recommends a number of measures to manage both the economic and social aspects of poverty. It is essentially a technical research agenda related to such issues as regulatory mechanisms, privatization and "governance," and is not directly concerned with the needs of people — or their gender disaggregation.

Coping in Cities in Crisis

As the economic crisis deepened, feminist research priorities also shifted from managing to coping. Survival strategies of urban low-income households were reappraised, and research focused on the urban consequences of "male bias" in structural adjustment policies, and urban crisis survival strategies and their policy implications. These are discussed below.

The Urban Consequences of "Male Bias" in Structural Adjustment Policies

Within the broader research agenda concerned with the so-called "social costs" of recession, stabilization and structural adjustment policies (SAPs), research has focused on highlighting the particular implications and consequences of male bias implicit in such policies, i.e., the gendered nature of such adjustment processes and its adverse effects on women. Such research has been particularly challenging to undertake, given the problematic theoretical and methodological issues of causality, and the thorny issue of the counter-factual (see Moser 1992, 91; Stewart 1992). In introducing "male bias" as the preferred term (rather than the more academic term "gender subordination") Elson stated: "By male bias I mean a bias that operates in favour of men as a gender, and against women as a gender, not that all men are biased against women. . . . What is bias? It is asymmetry that is ill-founded or unjustified"(Elson 1991, 3). She identified such biases as operating in everyday life, attitudes and activities, in theoretical reasoning and in public policy.

Three "kinds of male bias" have had specific "urban" implications (Elson 1991, 6; Moser 1992). The first concerns unpaid domestic work necessary for reproducing and maintaining human resources, and the extent to which SAPs implicitly assumed that processes carried out by women in such unpaid activities as caring for children, gathering fuel, processing food, preparing meals and nursing the sick, will continue regardless of the way in which resources are reallocated (Elson 1991). Studies in, for instance, Buenos Aires (Feijoó and Jelin 1989) and Manila (Commonwealth Secretariat 1989) have examined the relationship between reproductive and productive work, and questioned whether SAPs have been successful at the cost of longer and harder working days for women, who are forced to increase their labour both within the market and the household. One can question whether women's labour is infinitely elastic, or whether there is a breaking point at which their capacity to reproduce and maintain human resources collapses (Cornia et al. 1987).

The problem is not simply the elasticity of time but also the use of time. Evidence from a longitudinal study of a low-income community in Guayaquil, Ecuador, for instance, shows that the real problem is not the length of time that women work, but the way they are changing the balance between activities undertaken in their triple role. Forced to allocate increasing time to productive and community-managing work, reproductive work has become a secondary priority for many women, delegated wherever possible to daughters or other female household members — with important implications for children, women themselves and the unity of the household (Moser 1992). Other studies have highlighted the increase in child labour, not only in Latin American cities but also in cities in countries such as Ghana (UNICEF 1988) and Tanzania (Tibaijuka 1988).

The second male bias concerns gender divisions of labour that ignore barriers to labour reallocation in policies designed to switch from non-tradeables to tradeables, by offering incentives to encourage labour-intensive manufacturing. In the urban sector, gender barriers to

the reallocation of labour mean greater unemployment for men displaced from non-tradeables, while for any women drawn into export-oriented manufacturing, they have meant extra work as factory employment is added to the unpaid domestic work that unemployed men remain reluctant to undertake (Elson 1991). In Brazil, for instance, while the very poor may move from one activity to another according to circumstances and need, men accustomed to a stable job and waged employment have fewer options and experience relatively long periods of unemployment (Hirata and Humphrey 1991). Studies in Guadalajara (Gonzalez de la Rocha 1988), Guayaquil (Moser 1992), Querétaro (Chant 1987; 1991, Chapter 6), and Mexico City (Beneria 1992) have all shown increases in the number of economically active people (particularly women) in households and changes in household composition — both a response to declining household income.

The third male bias concerns the household as the social institution that supplies labour. It relates to the assumption of equal intra-household distribution of resources, such that changes in income, food prices and public expenditure which accompany stabilization and SAPs, affect all members of the household in the same way. The gender-differentiated impact of intra-household resource distribution could result in particularly detrimental effects on the lives of children and women. Urban studies from Jamaica (Davies and Anderson 1989), Mexico (Beneria 1992) and Peru (Cornia, Jolly and Stewart 1987) have shown that austerity measures alter the budgets of practically all households, with poor families often eliminating meat, milk and other essential items from their diet. Research from Chile shows women in poor households experience more than commensurate declines in food intake during periods of declining food availability (Raczynski and Serrano 1985).

Research in Brazil (Barroso and Amado 1989) alleges that the capacity of the household to shoulder the burden of adjustment has had detrimental effects on human relationships, expressed in increased domestic violence, mental health disorders and increasing numbers of female-headed households due to the breakdown of nuclear family structures. However, in contrast to this, Mercedes Gonzalez de la Rocha (1988) has found in Guadalajara that the crisis forced men to surrender a larger portion of their wages to the "gasto" (household budget).

Urban Crisis Survival Strategies and Their Policy Implications

Recognition of the very limited potential to challenge "male bias" in SAPs resulted in a second WID research agenda with a clear focus on policy. Its aim was to identify the constraints experienced by women in their triple role due to lack of basic services, in order to make recommendations on efficiency and empowering policy. Studies of the daily lives of low-income women in Latin American cities such as Lima (Barrig and Fort 1987), Quito (Rodríguez 1990), Querétaro (Chant 1991), São Paulo (Volbeda 1989) and Oaxaca (Selby 1991), in African cities such as Nairobi (Mitullah 1991), Bamako (Vaal, Findley and Diallo 1989) and urban Tanzania (Tripp 1989), and in Asian cities such as Madras (Noponen 1991) and Jellinek (1991), all described the complex strategies adopted by women in low-income urban households to cope with the combined effects of declining income, increased food prices and a reduction in the level and composition of public expenditure on social sectors such as health and education. The strategies identified included protest and resistance by women (Hardy 1988; Daines and Seddon 1991). Issues relating to food and hunger became an important research concern (Pryer and Crook 1988). A new focus on distributional activities within the informal sector resulted in studies of, for instance, hawking in Nairobi (Mitullah 1991) and street-food vendors (Cohen 1986; Tinker 1987), with case studies in cities such as in Ile-Ife (Pearce, Kujore and Agboh-Bankole 1988).

Innovative "survival strategies" with the potential for alternative solutions for women were identified from this prescriptive research. In Latin America these strategies included a re-examination of the role of community or communal kitchens in providing cheaper food while

releasing women from domestic labour. Studies from Lima, building on the earlier work of Sara-Lafosse (1984) in particular, considered collective food provisioning entailing the joint purchase and cooking of food on specially equipped premises. In Africa the potential contribution that informal urban agriculture and women's food plots might make to household nutrition and food supply was examined in cities such as Lusaka (Rakodi 1988), peri-urban Gambia (Barrett and Browne 1988) and Nairobi (Freeman 1991). This strategy of growing food was seen as a way of substituting specific purchased food items with home-grown produce, particularly among the chronically poor.

Conclusions from the Research Review

From this review of research on women, gender and urban development during each of the four identified "periods" of Third World urban development, it is clear that each research agenda contains a number of important, clearly defined, sequential stages — stages that are repeated in each of the four "periods" of urban development.

The first stage can be identified as gender-blind research. Although in the 1960s and 1970s this was more marked than it is today, nevertheless gender-blindness still prevents many researchers and policymakers from appreciating the pivotal nature of gender relations in determining women's participation in urban life, their roles in resolving urban problems and in planning for urban futures. This means that although the numbers and daily problems of low-income women are escalating in cities in many areas of the Third World, too little is still known of their experiences and perspectives.

The second stage is concerned with "proving" that women are important — making them visible — in the urban development agenda; a stage which, in this review, is most graphically described in the case of the informal sector where, until quite recently, prominent international institutions (such as the International Labour Organization [ILO], had simply deemed women to be invisible. Most of the work of "counting women in" has been undertaken within a WID framework. This "women and . . . housing/health/water/etc." research descriptively documents the participation of women in different urban sectors, but tends to focus on women as a separate category in themselves.

In the third stage, research shifts from women *per se* to gender. It is concerned with identifying the manner and extent to which urban life is gendered, and how the social construction of gender relations differentially constrains men and women's access to, and participation in, urban life. This research is undertaken in a GAD framework, and is concerned with differences between women as well as between men and women. In the review, the description of the extensive gendered research on the housing sector provides an example of this approach.

The fourth stage is concerned with policy research and recommendations. Given the political difficulties and "cultural" sensitivities of prescriptions that address gender inequalities, or what has been identified as strategic gender needs, most policy-focused research has been undertaken within a WID framework (Moser 1989, 1993). Thus research on such areas as income-generating activities and credit and skill training for women is most frequently undertaken from an anti-poverty or efficiency policy perspective and is intended to address practical gender needs.

In each of the four identified "periods" of Third World urban development these four clearly differentiated stages occur within different research agendas. They do not always occur sequentially, and policy-oriented research may occur at any stage in the process. The implications of these conclusions for research in the 1990s will be addressed in the last section of this review.

III THE ORGANIZATION OF RESEARCH ON WOMEN, GENDER AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT: 1960s-1990s

The review in the previous section highlights a number of issues that set important parameters for the discussion of organizational and institutional issues. The fact that research on gender issues essentially remains a specialist concern, undertaken mainly by women academics and policy practitioners, means that most of the research has been marginalized, under-resourced and not taken seriously by most mainstream institutions or researchers.

It is important to highlight a number of significant shifts and changes in the institutions involved in research on women, gender and urbanization within this overall picture, in the sources and scale of financial support, and in the research topics undertaken. Again, the four "periods" identified in the previous section provide a useful framework for such a review, with the addition of the 1975-85 UN Decade for Women as an extra critical landmark.

During the first "period" of modernization, urban research was almost entirely gender-blind. The modest research agenda on women was undertaken by a scattering of women academics, generally graduate students or junior staff members, doing personal research projects from within mainstream social science discipline departments such as anthropology, sociology or geography.

Despite the proliferation of urban sociological and anthropological research during the 1970s, research on women continued to be undertaken primarily by individual women academics who included economists; education, health and physical planners; and psychologists. As in the 1960s, studies on women were not taken seriously, and were often viewed as not being in the interests of career advancement. The ILO urban informal sector programme, for instance, although it commissioned a wide diversity of studies at country, city and sector level, did not allocate any resources to the study of women in the informal sector. In contrast to this, the UNRISD Participation Programme in the 1980s contained a component on women in social movements, although the rest of the programme remained essentially gender blind. It was the second-wave feminist movement of the late 1960s and the 1975-85 UN Decade for Women that fundamentally changed the situation in a number of ways.

Institutional Legitimacy

First and foremost, the UN Decade provided the beginnings of a tentative basis of legitimacy for WID, GAD and Women's Studies as intellectual disciplines in their own right, particularly in the numerous development and area studies established by institutions at that time. The struggles experienced by women academics in setting up departments, units or courses, and being taken seriously by their male colleagues, are legend; the critical point is that since the 1970s intellectual and academic interest has grown continuously, and continues to do so today, above all in separate institutional structures (such as departments or units) with separate courses (such as Women's Studies or Women and Development courses).

In the climate of cutbacks and recession in many academic departments, student demand makes WID/GAD research one of the few expansion areas, as witnessed by the enormous growth in number of books published in this area, and the development of gender-specific publishers and publisher lists. In reality, the fact that it remains lucrative in terms of student numbers has probably done more to convince male colleagues of its legitimacy, than has a genuine change in conviction about the discipline itself. Other than in a few more liberal institutions, the majority of staff remain female, and at lower levels in the institution.

Resource Allocations for WID/GAD Research

Since 1975 resources allocated to WID/GAD research have increased in both absolute and relative terms, although they remain very small. At the same time, particularly in Asia and Africa, women in urban areas and gendered urban research have not been identified as priorities within the topic. The critical role played by women in agricultural production and food security, and its links to economic development, have ensured the targeting of resources to these issues by bilaterals and NGOs alike. The latter, in particular, have in many cases retained a pro-rural bias, because it is in rural areas that the absolute poor are concentrated in largest numbers. It is important to stress that this has mirrored anti-urban bias across the social science disciplines and is not unique to research on WID/GAD.

Research support for urban work has come primarily from a limited number of more imaginative independent foundations. A good example of this, the Population Council (itself funded by such institutions as the Ford Foundation) has provided resources for innovative programmes such as that of Gender Training, and the Women, Low-Income Households and Basic Urban Services Project. The Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries (SAREC) has supported a programme on women and human settlements in Africa, while the Ford Foundation has been responsible for a wide range of research projects in urban areas, many of which have a gender-specific focus.

From "Pure" to Action-Oriented Research

Donors have influenced the research foci. Issues relating to women in their reproductive role, such as children's nutrition, family planning, and now women and the environment, have been popular from the outset and are still prioritized. They have also influenced the type of research undertaken and been instrumental in the shift from pure analytical research to more applied approaches.

Research agendas reflect the political and ideological agendas of the donors. Thus donors such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) have played an important role in determining a WID focus for policy-related research on women and small scale enterprises, credit, and other income-generating activities. In contrast, Nordic donors, for instance, have provided resources for more sensitive areas of GAD research relating to such issues as women's legal rights, domestic violence, and women's reproductive rights. Both are open to criticism for setting "top down" agendas, reflecting the interests of particular groups within the countries concerned.

During the Decade for Women one of the most important Third World research coalitions, Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) (see DAWN 1985) played a critical role in shifting research agendas to reflect the "bottom up" interests and needs of Third World women. This coalition, and others developing among and between women in the South, has been critical in shifting research agendas. In the Philippines, for instance, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) now allocates resources to the "Group of 10" (a group of 10 women's NGOs) who then make decisions themselves about resource allocations for different action-oriented research priorities.

Women's NGOs and research groups have relied heavily on external donor support for the development of their institutional capacity. Given the preference of donors during the 1980s to fund women's NGOs rather than university-based academic research groups, in many contexts the former have developed greater empirical research capacity. However, because their research is action-oriented and short-term in focus, their analytical capacity for in-depth analysis has not been as strong as might be desirable to confront mainstream institutions. Such groups are either independent or form a women's research unit in a larger organization — but running their

own independent women's research programme. In neither case is their work generally taken seriously by others working on urban development issues. There are some important exceptions to this in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Here, women's research programmes in such institutions as IBAM (Brazil), SUR (Chile), SUMBI, CENTRO and Peru Mujer (Peru) are particularly well known.

One of the most important consequences of the funding of women's NGOs has been the very significant increase in women from the South undertaking research in their own cities. Since the 1960s the predominance of Northern over Southern academic researchers has been changing, and it seems that donor funding has assisted in accelerating this process. This has resulted in a number of feminist journals and magazines, although none of them is urban-specific. In Brazil, a newly founded Journal, *Estudios Feministas*, is supported by the Ford Foundation, while in India *Manushi* is a widely read women's publication.

IV CITIES AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: CHALLENGES FOR RESEARCH AGENDAS IN THE 1990s

This section highlights conclusions from the research review, and in so doing identifies some of the many research challenges for the 1990s. This is by no means a comprehensive checklist, but rather a choice of topics arising from literature surveys and discussions with both Third and First World women.

The Translation of Existing Research Results into Mainstream Policy

The review of research agendas and of the associated institutional structures highlights three important issues with significant implications for future research. First, over the past three decades a remarkable body of both WID research (that identifies the importance of women) and GAD research (that clarifies the nature of gender relationships in urban life) has developed. However, most of this research has had little influence on mainstream urban researchers. Other than some of the recent research on employment and urban labour markets, mainstream urban development research remains essentially gender blind. This point is illustrated by the fact that few of the papers produced for the Ford Foundation-sponsored project on Urban Research in the Developing World (of which this study is a part) are gendered, as against mentioning women or WID.

Second, the majority of this research is still a specialist concern, undertaken by women based in separate departments or work areas. On the one hand, this has effectively marginalized much of their work; on the other hand, it has affected the career choices of both women and men researchers.

Third, when such research has been taken seriously by policymakers, they have generally felt more comfortable with WID-focused research, choosing to address interventions that assist women within their existing roles in society rather than those that challenge gender divisions of labour or the nature of gender subordination. Therefore, as long as research on women remains an "add on," the results remain outside of mainstream urban policy and fail to influence important agenda priorities. For many researchers, therefore, the first priority for the 1990s obviously must be the mainstreaming of what is still a separate specialist concern, and its translation into policy and practice. One of the most important options is to clarify why the body of research remains unintegrated. Are the constraints technical or political in nature (see Moser 1993)? Is the problem that "policy" is essentially "policing," and that in their recommendations the purpose of policymakers is to control rather than empower local women (Gordon 1991)?[26] Researchers need to address these types of questions if they are to identify the entry points to effective operationalization and institutionalization of their results into mainstream urban research and policy.

There are a number of other research challenges for the 1990s. A definitive list of such issues would require a paper to itself. Therefore this final section does no more than identify a number of potential research agendas, without disaggregating issues at regional or city level.

Differences Between Women in the Urban Context: Listening to Women and Hearing What They Say

A major priority for gendered urban research in the 1990s is to find a meeting point between approaches that emphasize commonalities as against differences between women. These include First World versus Third World representations of women; representations that focus on seeing women at the expense of hearing their voices; and research that is top-down and centralized in its policy approach as against that which has its origins with women themselves, and is disseminated through grassroots networks.

An increasing recognition of differences in women's experiences of oppression, as emphasized by both Kumari Jayawardena (1986) and DAWN (1985), has highlighted not only their cultural specificity, but also the need to deconstruct an understanding of the term "women." Women's experiences of urban life differ not only from place to place, but also within places depending on a network of inter-related social constructions such as "race," ethnicity, class, religion and age (see Katz and Monk 1993). There is no "recipe" or one-off solution. Other factors affecting women's experiences include their marital status, their household type, their housing status, whether they are employed or not, whether they are responsible for children, and whether they are being physically or emotionally abused. Therefore the situation of women must be contextualized if the conclusions drawn are to have validity either in research or as a basis for action. As Hali Afshar (1991) notes,

> We are weary of the tendency to generalize about women; although in their biological and reproductive roles women experience a communality of functions and responsibilities, they are less cohesive in their experiences of domesticity and the extent to which the double burden of nurturing and productivity come into daily conflict (Afshar 1991, 3).

A research agenda that focuses on difference will mean that the rationale for prioritizing any one social relation or circumstance in relation to women's oppression will no longer exist, and there will be less of a tendency to create a hierarchy of oppressed women. In this respect comparative research, whether it relates to such subjects as gender divisions of labour (Stichter and Parpart 1990) or migration (Chant 1992), assists in highlighting differences. In addition, such an agenda will open up the political and analytical space for a consideration of the specific problems faced by different groups of women who have previously received little attention such as elderly, homeless, refugee, immigrant, abused and lesbian women.

New Methodologies for Gendered Research

This research also requires more participatory methodologies that allow women themselves to identify their similarities and differences. The fact that women in many societies are socialized not to speak out on many issues means that it is particularly difficult for their voices to be heard. Different, more appropriate and more effective research methodologies are necessary.

An example is women's testimonies, which are by no means new and have long been an important component of action-research. The diaries of a poor São Paulo woman, Caroline Maria de Jesus (de Jesus 1962), and the testimony of Domitila (Barrios de Chungara 1978) wife of a Bolivian miners' trade-union leader, provide just two powerful examples. In the 1980s the testimonies of women in, for instance, Santiago (Raczynski and Serano 1985), became an important voice of the disempowered, unable to prove the causality of SAPs but suffering from the consequences of the "crisis." To date, however, the tendency has been for mainstream researchers to dismiss such testimonies as anecdotal — "apt illustration." Rapid rural appraisal and other participatory techniques provide useful methodologies, as do the different approaches developed bottom-up by women's organizations.

Women, Citizenship, Democratization and Decentralization

The collapse of the old political divisions between East and West, and of the traditional relationship between North and South, has resulted in both ideological and political upheavals and economic crises. One manifestation has been a return to democracy, resulting in calls for increased decentralization and a redefinition of citizenship. Increasingly citizens recognize that they have the right to participate in the political decision-making that affects their lives. Research into the gendered aspects of these new and different political processes, especially relating to the increasing role of Third World women in setting agendas, is another new and very important priority.

Hearing the voices of the oppressed and listening to different discourses of resistance must be a part of this agenda. To date, the role of women in local municipal government is one of the few areas addressed, with important work from Chile (Raczynski and Serrano 1992) and Brazil (Blay 1990; IBAM/UNICEF 1991) providing examples of ongoing research in Latin America. However, much research remains to be done on such issues as civic education, and the role of women in legislative commissions and other related areas.

Within the urban arena social and political developments have also manifested themselves in the reorganization of urban space. Again, Latin American research in, for instance, Quito (Leon 1991) and Rio de Janiero (Lavinas and Ribiero 1992) has begun to address the issue of the gendered nature of urban space.

Women, Social Unrest and Violence

In addition, as old urban spatial patterns fragment there is a redefinition of the spatial bases of power in the city. The cultural dimensions of these processes of dissolution and reconstitution have manifested themselves in increasing social anarchy, and exacerbated levels of social unrest and violence. The increasing fragmentation of urban life, resulting in a rise in the levels of absolute and relative poverty, has become a source of insecurity, altering the use of both public and private urban space. Violence and criminality are affecting the coping strategies of households.

At the same time, urban populations that were marginalized under existing regimes are in the process of devising new urban cultures and new expressions of citizenship such as street gangs of homeless children, women's organizations against male violence, and other social movements (Blondet 1991). Violence and reproductive rights issues are not new to feminist research and action agendas. These have long been identified as women's problems. However, as urban violence in general becomes an issue of concern, it is important that this is seen as a continuum that begins within the household and then reaches far beyond as it becomes a community- and city-level problem. In some contexts, recent macro-level social and economic changes have had the effect of causing men in low-income households to lose their position as sole or principal breadwinners. Women in these households have been responsible for organizing household and communal strategies to combat increasing levels of poverty. Researchers in Latin America have argued that men have not only had their authority weakened but also their identities. An Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC 1991) study from Santiago entitled *¿Por que los hombres son tan irresponsables? (Why are Men so Irresponsible?)* claims that men associate women's economic dependency with fidelity and their own superiority. Hence, in attempts to reassert their authority they resort to violence. In India, researchers have identified violence against women not only in terms of domestic violence, female infanticide, and "sati" (Sood 1990), but also in dowry deaths (the burning of brides who have not paid a full dowry to their husbands' families), identified particularly as an urban phenomenon (Kumari 1989).

A recent review of policy responses to violence against women in Latin America and the Caribbean (ISIS 1990) noted a diversity of successful initiatives, giving some indication of the scale of the problem. These initiatives include battered women's centres, started by women's groups and then taken over by the government; self-help or support groups, usually set up by NGOs (such as Woman Space in Buenos Aires); safe houses or shelters (such as the Julia Burgos Safe House in Puerto Rico); legal offices and assistance bureaus to inform women of their legal rights, and training programmes for legal outreach workers; women's police stations staffed by a women's officer, most developed in Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela and Brazil; and telephone services such as in the Municipality of Buenos Aires, which started operating on a 24 hour basis in February 1990, and by December 1991 had taken 12,000 calls. Finally, in Nicaragua the work of the *Comision de la Mujer, Juventud y Familia* of the National

Assembly is an example of a policy response to research on violence; it is revising the penal code to include issues of violence against women.

The importance of domestic violence is not simply its effect on women. ECLAC, for instance, argues that violence itself is an obstacle to development: "Abuse and aggression directed against women in the home by their partners is part of a larger picture of social and political violence, discrimination and the marginalization of broad sectors of society in Latin America"(ECLAC 1991, 14). While research on domestic violence is not new, its implications for urban development processes raise new issues for the research agenda.

Gender and the Urban Environment

Current preoccupations with the environment, on the part of both researchers and policymakers, have increased the profile of this research topic enormously in the past few years. Therefore this is not a new research area but one in which considerable problems exist, requiring more analytical work. First, it is clear that to date most research has been concerned with "proving" that women are important in environmental issues as producers, collectors, carriers, producers, consumers and so on. Second, the focus has been far more on rural issues of natural resource sustainability than on urban resource issues. Third, research has primarily been descriptive and concerned with the "women and . . . ," be it water, housing, or land — issues previously researched as individual sectoral preoccupations, and now loosely joined together under the overall term "environment" (see, for instance, Dankelman and Davidson 1988; Sontheimer 1991).

In a recent literature review, Judith Kjellberg Bell (1991) identified two types of perspective. One relates to the way in which women in urban areas operate within their environment, and includes issues such as women's requirements for land and housing, the structure of households and families, women's responses to urbanization, their ways of earning income, and their access to services. The other relates to the impact on urban women of environmental degradation. She argues that: "Women are in direct and daily contact with the environment through their use of resources (food, fuel and water) and through their efforts to maintain secure and healthy environments for their families"(Kjellberg Bell 1991, 92). If sustainable development is to be achieved, Kjellberg Bell argues that women's roles in these two perspectives must be central, both within their households and within their communities.

However, there is still no comprehensive analytical framework that shifts the discourse from women to gender, and allows for the identification of the manner and extent to which the urban environment is gendered. To date, the most profound work has been by the Indian feminist physicist, Vandana Shiva (1988). As she herself admits, her work on ecological sustainability and diversity has focused on the position of women in relation to nature — the forests, food chain and water supplies — all of paramount concern in the green environmental agenda for rural contexts. Its implications for the "brown" environmental agenda, the priorities of cities and towns, have yet to be developed.

V CONCLUDING COMMENT

The vast majority of urban development research and policies still do not mention women. Research that does still tends to be conducted by women, and to be dominated by a WID "women and the city" approach rather than by gendered analyses of urban development processes. Nevertheless, the changes in the last three decades have been remarkable, as highlighted in this review. No longer do researchers refer to "male towns" or men in cities. However, there are still considerable challenges ahead, not the least of which is to listen to women themselves.

NOTES

[1] For a detailed discussion of the historical development of WID and GAD and the important distinctions between them see Moser (1993, Chapter 1).

[2] This focus on "gender" rather than "women" has been influenced by such writers as Oakley (1972), Rubin (1975), and Whitehead (1979).

[3] Reproductive work includes both child bearing and rearing activities required to guarantee the reproduction and maintenance of the labour force; productive work comprises work for payment in both cash or kind; community managing work comprises activities undertaken by women, particularly in the urban context around the provision of items of collective consumption (see Moser 1989, 1993).

[4] Because women and men have different roles and responsibilities within the household and different control over resources, they also often have different needs. Academics and planners find it useful to distinguish between practical and strategic gender needs. Practical gender needs are the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in society. They do not challenge the gender divisions of labour or women's position in society, although they arise from them. They are a response to immediate perceived practical necessity, identified within a specific context. **Strategic** gender needs are the needs women identify because of their position in society. Meeting these needs helps women to achieve greater equality. They vary according to particular contexts but relate to gender divisions of labour, power, and control over resources. In changing existing roles, they challenge women's subordinate position in society (see Moser 1993, Chapter 3).

[5] For a detailed definition of each of the policy approaches to women in development, see Moser (1989, 1993). Shifts in policy approaches to women have mirrored general shifts in Third World development policy from modernization policies of accelerated growth, through Basic Needs strategies associated with redistribution, to the more compensatory measures associated with structural adjustment (Moser 1989).

[6] For an influential feminist critique of social anthropology, see Moore (1988) whose text begins with the following quote from Bronislaw Malinowski: "Anthropology is the study of man embracing woman."

[7] Anecdotal evidence suggested that the origins of the Manchester School of Urban Anthropology may have been a consequence of the fact that when the British-based male anthropologists first went to do fieldwork, because there were no "people" (i.e., men) in the rural areas, they rapidly changed their fieldwork location to urban areas. The lack of a comparable number of rural studies focusing on the women left behind tends to support this hypothesis.

[8] Interestingly, Mayer was assisted in this study by his wife, Iona Mayer. Although her contribution was formally acknowledged in the title page of Mayer's book, *Townsmen or Tribesmen*, she did not appear as joint author.

[9] The research by Boserup and other anthropologists led the SID/WID group in Washington, DC to work to influence USAID policy. Lobbying of Congress and participation in Congressional hearings resulted in the 1973 Percy Amendment to the US Foreign Assistance Act which mandated that US assistance help "move women into their national economies" in order to improve women's status and assist in the development process (Tinker 1982; Maguire 1984).

[10] Kay (1989) provides a useful historical review of Latin American theories of dependency.

[11] The adequacy of such an indicator is well illustrated by Alan Gilbert and Joseph Gugler's re-published book, *Cities, Poverty and Development: Urbanization in the Third World.* While the 1981 edition had three references, the revised edition 10 years later had 22.

[12] In terms of the insiders/outsiders discourse it is important to note that not all studies undertaken by outsiders have been well received by local women. Wikan's account of the lives of low-income women in Cairo, for instance, has been severely criticized by Egyptian women anthropologists on the grounds that her lack of sensitivity to local issues results in an exaggerated, distorted account of the brutality and despair of women's lives. Certainly her "fieldwork notes" suggest a difficulty "integrating" into the local scene. For instance, in describing her daily travel to the local community she comments:

> I had to travel on overfull buses where most of the passengers were men, and most of them tried to fondle me. But once I arrived at the bus stop by the poor neighbourhood, the worst trial awaited me: I had to run the gauntlet of the market street which was very crowded and included a large number of men who were a constant annoyance. I developed a defence technique, hitting my handbag against any man who came near me, and also acquired the greatest repertoire of invectives in the area (Wikan 1976, 11).

[13] See Moser (1978) for a detail description of this research, which includes an extensive bibliography of ILO country, city, and sector studies.

[14] For a general review, both urban and rural, of the underestimation of women's economic activities, see Beneria (1981).

[15] Analysts of the basic needs concept concluded that as an approach to poverty alleviation it essentially had two variations: conservative/radical (Sandbrook 1982) and shallow/deep (Galtung 1980) or weak/strong (Wisner 1988). Wisner further distinguished between Basic Needs as an end or as a means. Advocates of the weak Basic Needs argued that needs could be met through existing structures of society (delivery systems, markets); in contrast, proponents of strong Basic Needs believe that this goal can only be attained if the means of meeting Basic Needs empower poor people so that they become agents in creating a more just society (Wisner 1988, 30). Linked to this is the issue of popular participation and, in Basic Needs projects, the extent to which it was identified either as a critical integral component for the entire project planning process or a narrow, cheap-labour add-on for project implementation — a theme which by the 1980s had reached the urban research agenda.

[16] Books edited by Ward (1982), Payne (1984) and Mathey (1992) have all provided useful contributions to the self-help housing debate.

[17] Moser (1989) reviews community participation in urban projects, evaluating self-help housing projects undertaken by multilaterals, national governments, and NGOs from a gender perspective.

[18] See A. M. Scott (1991) for a later more developed description of the thesis.

[19] The Chilean case study provided a tragic example of the gender conflicts that emerged when women moved into the public arena, in this case the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (MIR), a left wing political party. As Castells described it:

> The MIR organized a women's militia that took case of a variety of tasks, particularly to do with health but also in matters of self-defence. But this was not supported by a change of attitude of men towards "their women," who were still unable to participate in collective activities. So it further isolated the few political women and exposed them to the criticism and distrust of the housewives . . . illustrated by the general blame put by almost the entire *campamento* on a woman whose unguarded child drowned while she was working at the health centre (Castells 1983, 206).

[20] For an interesting discussion of the limitations and potential of women in the South African urban residential struggle, see Gwagwa (1990).

[21] See West and Blumberg (1990) for a useful review of the reconstruction of social protest from a feminist perspective, but which focuses almost entirely on advanced economies.

[22] In undertaking this review it has been necessary to recognize that the boundaries between protest and "community managing" are often difficult to identify. Consequently, in this section, these are discussed together.

[23] For a later review of these issues that includes comparative U.K. experience, see Levy (1992).

[24] See Moser and Chant (1986) and Moser (1987) for extensive reviews of this issue.

[25] See Brydon and Chant (1989) for a useful detailed discussion of this issue, including other examples.

[26] Foucault highlighted the relationship between policy and policing in one of his unpublished lectures, recorded by his students. I am grateful to Robin Murray for raising this issue (at an Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Seminar on the first draft of this paper) and for providing me with the reference.

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