



**Exploring Gender Sensitive Planning in the A Rea Yeng Transit System of the City
of Tshwane.**

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7 February 2019

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**A research report proposal submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built
Environment, University of the Witwatersrand in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Development Planning.**

Abbreviations

BRT - Bus Rapid Transit

CAP – Commonwealth Association of Planners

CEDAW - Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women

CoMM - City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality

GAP - Gender Advocacy Programme

HR – Human Resource

IDP – Integrated Development Planning

NDT – National Department of Transport

PMP – Post Modern Planning

TOD – Transit-oriented development

WID – Women in Development

WIT- Women in Transport

Abstract

While planners such as Sandercock and Forsyth argue that development theory and practice should plan “for multiple publics” by means of the “acknowledgement and celebration of difference,” the recognition that men and women have different experiences of the city and that travel patterns differ greatly between the genders has not been translated into the planning practice (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992, p.45; Burgess, 2008; Moser, 1989). The acknowledgement of gender-specific needs has also been largely absent in the planning and designing of public transport.

A number of cities worldwide have begun to incorporate gender-sensitive planning in the way in which they approach the planning of public transportation systems and the urban environment. This research investigates how transport planning has incorporated gender sensitivity in the city of Tshwane. In an attempt to pursue this study, this research investigates how gender-sensitive planning was translated into the planning and the designing of the BRT system in the city. The research unpacks how gender-sensitive planning is defined and what it comprises of. The study then uses this information to assess the extent to which the BRT system in the city of Tshwane is gender sensitive. This is explored through interviews with city officials who planned and designed the BRT system in the case study area, as well as through a physical analysis of the transport system.

The research evaluates the extent of gender sensitivity in the city of Tshwane is informed by gender-sensitive planning in as far as the transport planning policy, institutional arrangements, physical and social processes and implementation of the BRT transit system is concerned. The case study of Nana Sita station in the City of Tshwane BRT system used to assess the extent of gender-sensitive planning. This case indicates some of the accomplishments of gender sensitivity in the design of the BRT system, however the study’s overwhelming finding is that gender sensitive planning has not been intentionally incorporated in the design of the BRT system. This suggests that while there is recognition for the need to incorporate gender sensitivity in national policy, gender

sensitive policy has failed to translate to local policy and to reach execution. South Africa’s planning practice therefore remains lacking in gender sensitivity.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

In a report given by the Council of Europe 1998, gender mainstreaming is defined as a strategy used to achieve equally satisfying lives for both men and women (Council of Europe, 1998; Reeves, 2012). It is a process used for “assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area and at all levels” (International Labour Organization, 2016, p.5). Gender mainstreaming creates a platform for a number of dimensions to be considered in planning as they apply to gender and development (Droste, 2011). This is through the recognition that men and women have needs and priorities that differ and as a result experience different restraints in the city (City of Vienna, 2013). The importance of gender mainstreaming therefore, is in its ability to be used as a tool for equality in policy (Council of Europe, 1998).

A paper written by Murison (2004) has identified that gender mainstreaming is closely linked to women’s equality and to women’s empowerment. A direct link can be seen in the emergence of gender sensitive planning to a history of women’s empowerment. Notably, Commonwealth Association of Planners (CAP) has played an essential role in the advocacy for transforming planning (Farmer et al., 2006). The CAP advocates that the planning process should be inclusive of all people in order to achieve equality (Farmer et al., 2006). Equity between genders has been recognised as one of the main topics essential to achieving equality.

Historically, women have lacked equal services, resources, and facilities in comparison to men for many centuries. The American feminist Bell Hooks indicates that this was an issue that was recognised and discussed many years prior to the issue of race (Hooks, 2000). However, Oláh *et al.* (2014) observe that it was not until the beginning of 1945 that a women’s space was defined as being the private space and a man’s space as the public realm. With the transformation of parental models and households, along with the new opportunities in the labour market, women’s participation began to increase in the

labour market. This resulted in an increased variety of mobility patterns in the city and a wider user group of public transport in urban areas (Oláh et al., 2014).

Women were first recognised in development in the late 20th century as objects of welfare policies such as birth control and pregnancy (Moser and Linda, 1995). A study carried out by a Danish Economist Ester Boserup in 1970 marked significant moments in emerging liberal patterns of the role of women in development (Boserup, 1970). Thereafter, feminist scholars from all disciplines have attempted to show the essential role that women play in the social, economic, and cultural development of their societies and how gender sensitivity is an essential part of sustainable development (Brenner, 2009). Academic literature from scholars such as Rubin (1975) and Oakley (1972) was the propelling forces of the gender and development approach. This brought attention to the social relationship that exists between men and women and noted that these relationships often subordinate women. Thus, the gender and development approach which was introduced by the First World Conference on Women in 1975, initiated a transition in thinking and stressed the importance of understanding how men and women are socially constructed (Razavi and Miller, 1995).

Although women in the developing third world had been acknowledged for the essential roles that they played in their societies, urban social anthropologist Caroline Moser recognized in 1989 that the conceptual awareness of the issues of gender and development had not been translated into the planning practice. Berstain (1990) adds that during these times, African women were mostly invisible to researchers except in the context of socio-economic discrimination. This might have been as a result of an observation made by Fenster (2005) that, the public realm has historically been understood as pertaining to men and the “woman’s space” being primarily in the home (Fenster, 2005, p.246). This led to cultural citizenship values that often excluded women (ibid). Some scholars observed in the 1990s that conflict arose between men and women as men felt that women had gained too many benefits as a result of independence (Chinemana, 1991; Berstain, 1990). In particular, modernist planners were known for not considering the distinctions between genders and other differences between groups of

people (Fainstein and Servon, 2005). Instead, they took a universal stance to the planning practice.

By 1995, gender mainstreaming was established internationally as a strategy that would be used by development organisations and governments as a means of promoting gender equality (Moser and Moser, 2005). The Beijing Platform for action in 1995 announced that “The advancement of women and the achievement of equality between women and men are a matter of human rights and a condition to social justice... they are the only way to build a sustainable, just and developed society” (World Conference on Women and United Nations, 1995, p.16). This was done in response to women’s needs lacking representation in development (Moser and Moser, 2005). Synder (1995) observed that in 1995, the planning practice had begun to make certain transitions away from the universal approaches that were frequently dominated and influenced by male-perceptions. The transition moved towards planning that was more inclusive of social perceptions such as equity and equality (Synder, 1995).

Although much of planning theory in the 21st century has now identified that men and women experience the city differently, urban planning practice and urban development processes have rarely put this into practice (Burgess, 2008). More often than not, planners are still making the assumption that men and women experience the city in a homogeneous manner (Vanita, 2012; Malaza et al., 2009). However, because current cities have a wider variety of mobility patterns and a wider user group of public transport than previously recorded, this calls for transport policy that will successfully combine sustainable transport planning and gender-specific mobility needs. Droste (2011) identifies that gender-sensitive planning successfully has the ability to achieve equitable planning as it takes into account differences such as interests and living arrangements of genders at different levels of society.

1.2 Problem Statement

Kornegay (2000) observes that gender equality has been one of the core values of the struggle towards a democratic South Africa. This value was instantly identified by the

countries' government processes during the formation of the new dispensation in 1994 and has been incorporated in 1996 Constitution of the country. It is believed by Kornegay that "It is the strong political commitment to this value that has moved the South African government to craft gender sensitive national priorities" (Kornegay, 2000, p.2).

Though "significant progress has been made, South African women continue to face serious inequalities and disadvantages in a wide range of spheres" (Kornegay, 2000, p. 3). Todes *et al.* (2010) observe that the consideration of gender has not been made a primary priority in some of South Africa's municipalities. Gender is often viewed as being a lesser concern in relation to other issues faced by municipalities. This is primarily true for smaller municipalities that are still struggling with issues as basic as municipal management. According to this research, South African municipalities such as eThekweni, Hibiscus Coast and Msinga municipalities, only consider gender equality in terms of promoting equal employment opportunities and assigning women to senior management levels. While some of the municipalities had gender structures in the form of small projects for women, there is an evident lack of gender consideration in policy and in practice. Generally, municipal structures were male-dominated and were stereotypical in the way they considered gender (Todes et al., 2010, p.73).

The observations made by Todes *et al.* (2007) speak closely to the writings of a Middle East author, Tovi Fenster, who demonstrates the lack of attention to gender-sensitive planning given by municipalities in Jerusalem. Fenster (2005) expresses lament at how the lack of attention to gender-sensitive planning in this context has inhibited women from participating fully in the urban environment and has compromised their sense of belonging in the city (Fenster, 2005). The French scholar Michel De Certeau (1984) also painted the idea of belonging in the city as a position that develops and is wrought by activities in everyday life. He argued that planning that lacks consideration of the variety of users in the city is a form of territorialisation through spatial strategy.

The lack of consideration of various users in the city, particularly in terms of gender is especially problematic in transport planning as women are generally more dependent on public transport than men (Peters, 2001). A report by UCLA urban planning professor

Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris states, “Woman overall are more dependent on transit than men, for low-income households in particular” and this has the ability to significantly limit women from accessing basic rights and services in the city (Friedman, 2014, p.5; Barter and Tamim, 2000). Women are also more likely to experience transport deprivation when compared to men because of lower incomes (Barter and Tamim, 2000). Indeed, a census conducted by the City of Tshwane in 2008 indicates that 72.7% of the citizen’s incomes fall below minimum wage and that nearly 40% of households are female-headed (City of Tshwane, 2008). Therefore, based on the conclusions made by Barter and Tamim (2000), it is possible that women in Tshwane experience limitations in their ability to access basic rights and services as a result of transport deprivation (Little, 1994).

Often, the research concerning public transport and gender sensitivity is focused primarily on the transport system itself. Less focus has been given to the urban environment adjacent to public transport stops. Smith (2008) brings to light the importance of considering the different stages of a passenger’s trip. This is because the gendered needs that take place in one's transit journey are unique and differ at various points. The way in which women understand and experience the physical environment has great importance in determining their movement and travel patterns (Lynch and Atkins, 1988; Dame and Grant, 2001). The built environment can either allow women to move through space easily, comfortably, and with convenience, or it could arouse fear and present a number of obstacles and limitations in the way women make use of the city (Lynch and Atkins, 1988).

An example of this is made by Dame and Grant (2001), who express that public spaces that are dark, abandoned, unmaintained, unclean or lack specific elements such as emergency phones, decrease safety for all citizens, but especially for women and girls (Dame and Grant, 2001). Trips undertaken by women that require having to wait or walk through unsafe areas to reach public transport can result in women feeling the necessity to strategize their routes in order to minimize risks and secure their safety (Peters, 2001). Levy (2003) contributes to this argument by stating that treating individual’s travel

choices in a “social vacuum” inescapably results in viewing transport as being devoid of politics (Levy 2003, p.3) and can result in urban spaces that are designed so that they become ‘a planned trap’ for women (Fenster 2005, p.224).

Evidently, if gender-sensitive needs are not corrected in planning, particularly in transport planning, women will forever be deprived of equal opportunities in comparison to their male counterparts. Oláh et al. (2014) express that meeting the desired goal for sustainability in terms of urban mobility also requires that the needs of different users are met. Therefore, one of the factors that determine the success of sustainability in public transport is the extent to which gender-sensitive planning is included.

1.3 Research Question

The central question to ask therefore regarding the city of Tshwane is: To what extent has the city of Tshwane incorporated gender-sensitive planning in the design of the BRT systems?

1.4 Main Purpose

The purpose of the research is to assess how transport planning in the city of Tshwane has incorporated gender sensitivity. This is with a particular focus on the planning and designing of the city’s BRT system. This is intended to examine how planners have incorporated gender-sensitive guidelines in the strategies and concepts of designing, implementing and managing the BRT system. The research will use gender-sensitive planning guidelines provided in the literature as a measuring tool. These examine the extent to which the surveying, participation, security, diversity and flexibility of space and its users are considered in transport planning. These are used to analyse the extent to which the city’s current transit system development approaches and design are gender sensitive in the specific case of Nana Sita. Lastly, the research is also concerned with identifying policy changes that can to be made by the city in order to strengthen gender-sensitive planning as it relates to the BRT system.

1.5 Sub-Questions

The sub questions that are raised to further explore the subject are;

- a) What is gender sensitive planning?
- b) How does gender sensitive planning effect development planning, particularly in regards to public transport systems?
- c) What are the existing gender sensitive legislative guidelines and strategies used for the planning and designing of public transport systems in the City of Tshwane?
- d) How effectively have gender sensitive guidelines and strategies been translated into the planning and design of the BRT system in the city?
- e) What planning interventions can be made by the City of Tshwane to ensure that gender sensitive planning is strengthened in the BRT system?

1.6 Rationale of the Study

Understanding citizenship homogenously and in a traditional sense has prevented women from engaging in the urban environment by compromising their feelings of belonging and has thus deprived women of fulfilling their right to the city (Fenster, 2005 Lynch and Atkins, 1988). The existing literature and conceptual frameworks dealing with gender sensitivity and development, such as that of Koskela Hille (1999), Caroline Moser (1989) and Mary Gail Synder (1995), are primarily concerned with highlighting that the public realm is a space formed considerably by historical patriarchal power relations. However, due to the different nature of the roles that women can assume in society, a greater diversity exists between the travel patterns of women and men (Lynch and Atkins, 1988). While a considerable amount of literature can be found on gender-sensitive transport planning, it is less common to find literature dealing with gender-sensitive transport planning in the African context. This developed the interest to investigate the degree to which gender sensitive transport planning has been incorporated in a South African context.

While greater recognition has been given to gender sensitivity in planning (Kang, 2006) due to studies by authors such as Caroline Moser (1989) and Lynch and Atkins (1988) dealing with issues of gender and development and the factors that influence women's travel patterns, these studies are in relation to European experiences and are not a reflection of the African context. Much like other countries in the world, gender equality is forming greater recognition in Anglophone African countries as a key element of cultural politics and sustainable development (Awumbila, 2007). However, research conducted by Todes et al. (2010) concludes that in South Africa, there is a great lack of a strong women's movement and therefore a lack of influence on the municipal agenda to act in the interest of women. The value of considering the city of Tshwane municipality as a case study is that it will contribute to the existing literature dealing with gender sensitivity in South African municipalities. This case study will be a comparative case with future research on gender and transport in the city of Tshwane and in South Africa in general.

With more than a decade of democracy, South Africa has seen a crucial transition in the governance, human rights and economic development. In addition to this, the National Implementation Strategy and Action Plan of 2006-2010 adds that the legislative frameworks and the constitution have provided an institutional environment that is in support of gender equality and women's empowerment (Department of Water and Sanitation, n,d). However, one of the main challenges of gender equality and women's empowerment is the effectiveness of translating theory into policy and into practice (Huning et al., 2014). This has presented a hindrance in the progress of policy deliverance, especially with regards to the reinforcement of economic empowerment mechanisms and women's rights that will certify gender equality (Awumbila, 2007; Huning et al., 2014).

While South Africa is no different to many Western and African countries in the promoting of the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) systems, the extent to which gender sensitivity has been considered in the implementation of the transit system is questionable. The BRT transit system is being used as a way to address the public transport services and spatial

fragmentation of South African cities. However, there is a considerable potential for emphasizing the existing social inequalities (Policy Link, 2015), particularly in relation to gender if not considered in a holistic manner. In order to achieve sustainable transport in South Africa, urban mobility needs to consider the needs of its different user groups in addition to class struggles (Vaz and Venture, 2011). In so doing, South African public transport systems will be able to offer equal levels of accessibility to all its citizens.

This study seeks to contribute to current research on gender-sensitive transport planning in South Africa by exploring how existing gender-sensitive strategies are executed in our cities' transport planning. This research utilises existing theory (granted drawn from European gender researchers) to analyse how gender sensitivity is put into practice at a local level. In addition to this, South Africa's public transport systems are still undergoing developing and improvement (Ndebele, 2012) and gender has begun to grow in legitimacy in South African transport planning (Njenga, 2006). This research will contribute to the existing literature that stresses the importance of fully embracing gender-sensitive planning while our transport systems are still in the developing stages. It will also begin to gauge the pulse on the change of attitudes towards embracing gender sensitivity in the country.

Unlike other studies conducted on BRT systems in South Africa which look solely to assess the public transport system, this study does not focus exclusively on the transit system itself but also considers the urban environment in which the BRT stations are located. This is because of the importance of considering the different stages of a passenger's journey as the gendered needs that take place are unique at various points of ones transit trip (Smith, 2008).

1.7 Research Methods

The following section covers the methodology of the research. These are divided into sections that focus on addressing how the research was carried out. It provides the steps which were undertaken in order to accomplish the aim of the research. The section

presents how the data for the research was obtained and considers the basis on which the findings were analysed.

1.7.1 Type of Research

The research utilized a qualitative approach as it seeks to utilize description to understand the underlying motives and reasons of the findings (May, 2001; Neuman, 2003). This approach will provide the required tools to appropriately study contexts with multi-layered phenomena, as it allows for the development of interventions and the evaluation of the theory.

1.7.2 Desktop Research

A number of planning theoretical literature in the form of an elaborate synopsis has been made. The theoretical framework examined documents, journals, books and other such materials relating to the research topic and highlighted in the research report. The theoretical framework is recognized as an explicative and normative research approach. As Allmendinger's (2002) mentions that the planning profession composes of a wide-ranging number of theories and practices that are shaped and originate from diverse disciplines, which are at times in the shape of the social sciences. This is supported by Dandekar (1986:1) observation that planning has "shifted from physical/technical plan making of its earlier master plan making tradition to policy analysis and a primary concern with human/social systems." Accordingly, the theoretical framework aims to evaluate gender sensitivity in development planning.

The literature will also include material on the evolution of gender mainstreaming, conceptualising gender and feminism, the benefits of incorporating gender sensitivity in public transport planning, exploring the comparability of gender sensitivity as practised internationally in relation to the case study. The use of themes by subheadings was utilised in order to manage relevant literature.

1.7.3 Case Study

The Nana Sita station which falls within the city centre of the city of Tshwane was chosen as a case study. It is one of the primary transit routes in the city region. Firstly, the reason behind choosing this area of study is because it is a very active primary feeder route in the city centre and has a diverse user group due to the centrality of its location. Secondly, as one of the primary stations of the city, much can be learnt by other stations. Its experience can inform the future of the recently approved and implemented A Re Yeng system in the city as part of fulfilling its 2055 vision for providing Transit-oriented development (TOD). Thus, the case study stands to be a major reference and comparative case to other stations and cases for BRT development in the city and other cities in relation to gender-sensitive planning.

Figure 1: Nana Sita Case



- Nana Sita St
- Nana Sita BRT Station

Source: Conco, 2017

Thirdly, the city of Tshwane was recognised as an emblem of democracy in South Africa due to the various important trials and many iconic landmarks located in the city (Tinashe, 2011). As such, in 2013, Freedom Park was selected as the location for ‘Young

Women in Dialogue’, an event dealing with gender sensitivity and social cohesion in the country (Foundation, 2016). Studying the transit system in this area will be a pertinent indication as to whether gender sensitivity has truly been embraced in our cities, particularly in the city of Tshwane and as it applies to transport planning. This case makes a good area of study for gender-sensitive planning based on the combination of these factors.

1.7.4 Interviews

The research method is informed by a combination of data as it is drawn from interviews as well as from the use of grey literature – which are sets of documents from public sources. The interviews were conducted with the Department of City Planning and Development in the City of Tshwane as well as with female users of the BRT system at the Nana Sita Station.

The research was undertaken by conducting in-depth, face-to-face, open-ended interviews with four planning officials to gather information about how gender-sensitive planning is integrated into the planning of the BRT system and at which stages of the project. Additionally, ten interviews were conducted with female commuters to acquire women’s personal observation of their experience of the BRT system. The type of data that was acquired from the female participants was concerned with their observations and understandings of the urban environment surrounding the bus station as well as insight into gender sensitive needs.

Within the CoT, the interviews were conducted with the executive project manager in the Department of Roads and Transport in the City of Tshwane. The interviews were led either in a group setting or on an individual basis and this was determined by the availability of the individuals identified within the organisation. Buckle (1995, p.102) states that group interviews may be advantageous in that they generate “a lot of information over a relative short period of time,” because of the discussions that are easily stimulated. According to Raja *et al.* (2003), open-ended questionnaires are beneficial as they allow the respondents to clarify and qualify answers to more complex

issues. In addition to this, it gives greater insight into the respondent's frame of reference and logic. An interview was the best form of data collection to consider in alignment with the desktop study. This is because they provided the researcher with the ability to compare the sets of information and to have more practice-related information to draw from in attempts to answer the research question.

Although interviews were conducted through the form of questionnaires, the research also engaged in a direct examination of the policies and practices of the municipality in order to assess their effectiveness to stress gender sensitivity in planning. This was assessed in line with the interviews because there is often a mismatch between “what people say they do or will do and what they actually do” (Dandekar, 1986, p.2).

1.7.5 Data Analysis Strategies

A thematic method was used in the analysis of data collection, which is a data analysis tool often used for interpreting qualitative research (Aronson, 1994). This focused on patterns and themes that arise during the transcript of the interviews and the interpretation of raw data. The conclusions and recommendations of the study were drawn from the analysis of the data in contrast to the theory. There is a direct correlation between the findings, the research analysis and the conclusions and recommendations.

1.7.5.1 Coding the Data

A coding structure was created as a way in which to distinguish citations to particular policy in conversations dealing with the practices of the organisation. This began with identifying policies and guidelines that deal with gender practice. The information that was coded was then arranged into themes regarding the various practices of the organisation as mentioned in the interviews. This was aimed to analysis which aspects of gender sensitive planning that the CoT has incorporated into the various stages of the planning and design of the BRT system, as well as to analyse how gender is being incorporated within the operational processes.

1.7.5.2 Photography

Some photographs were used in order to present evidence of information relevant to the study. The photographs were aimed at correlating the written claims as well as to record and relay important information and observations made on site. Nordeman (2007) argues that one of the fundamental problems about written documentation is that it is conveyed to the reader through the authors understanding. As a result, the subjectivity of what is presented to the reader cannot be fully known. Photography, on the other hand, is a form of research method that presents findings that are more objective. Therefore, photography was also used as a means to document the findings in the study area in an impartial manner.

The photographs used in the research made sure to consider the privacy and confidentiality of all of the individuals used to relay important information and observations. This was achieved by blurring the faces of individuals used as subject matter to protect their identities. Other photographs used were sourced online, however the selection processes of appropriate material still ensured to prioritize the privacy and confidentiality of the individuals. This was accomplished through using photographs that were not captured during private moments.

1.7.6 Ethical Consideration

Ethical considerations are important to fulfil in order to secure that the result is focused on producing fair and unbiased results. As the research will be following a qualitative approach for the research method, the researcher is therefore set in a position in which to interpret and draw out the main arguments from the interviews and data collected. This will be done in a manner that is impartial.

Planning professionals who may feel as though they are putting themselves at risk. In order to honour their professional positions, the interviews were conducted in a manner that is ethically appropriate. One of the ways this was ensured is through maintaining an objective stance. This was practised in the way that the researcher recorded and relayed

the opinions and information that the professionals provided. The responses of the interviewees were represented and recorded as they were (Creswell, 2009). It was also important not to ask leading questions as this would have hampered the findings of the research and would result in inaccurate conclusions.

Consent forms and participation information sheets were provided to each interviewee. This means that the researcher ensured that the consent of each participant was gained prior to conducting interviews. The participant information sheet indicates that the objectives of the study are to gain insight on the extent to which gender-sensitive planning was incorporated in the planning of the BRT system in the city of Tshwane. This document ensured that transparency was upheld by addressing the purpose of the study, the study procedure, as well as why the interviewee was selected for the study. The consent form provided the opportunity for a written consent to be made in order to indicate that the participant is in agreement with partaking in the study. This was also to formally acknowledge and permit that the information the interviewees provided could have been used in the development of the study.

1.7.7 Limitation of the Study

It is important to make note of the limitations of the study. As previously discussed, the case study is located in the city of Tshwane, South Africa. As a result, the findings of the study are limited as they are not representative of other cities or provinces within South Africa due to the limited scope of the study. Furthermore, the planning interventions made by the city of Tshwane and the appointed urban design consultants in relation to the BRT are only applicable to the municipality of the CoT. This is because municipal planning functions are allocated to district municipality as indicated in Section 85 of Municipal Structures Act (Act 117 of 1998). Therefore, some of the challenges the municipality faces in relation to gender may be irrelevant to other municipalities or provinces.

In addition to this, the research dealt with gender sensitivity in a Sub-African context; however, due to a limited amount of literature dealing with gender sensitivity in this

context, the research consisted of reading material based primarily in Western societies. Using Western material to analyse gender sensitivity in an Africa context creates room to question the accuracy of the findings due to generalizing gender issues in development. This is because gender is understood differently in each society and can also change over time. Therefore, every area requires its own diagnostic study and analytical tools to measure gender sensitivity.

Although literature can be found that discusses gender equality on a macro-level, literature dealing with gender at a local level is limited. While there has been some recognition of gender in South African planning such as the Warwick Avenue Triangle project in Durban which worked closely with international organisation 'Self Employed Women's Union (Badsha, 2003), the implementation of a gender and planning discipline has not been developed in the country. As a result of this, the literature and research observed in regards to gender mainstreaming is borrowed primarily from cities internationally.

Reflecting on the effectiveness of gender-sensitive approaches in planning is reliant on the availability of basic demographics of social data. There is currently a limitation in the availability of gender-disaggregated data beyond the provision of basic demographics. This is suggestive of a lack of appreciation of the value of collecting, analysing, and reflecting on the gender-specific measures in development. Consequently, this has resulted in limited gender-inclusive strategies.

1.7.8 Structure of the Discourse

The research consists of six chapters. The first chapter of the research provides an introduction to the study and presents a background on the research topic. It presents the research topic as well as a summary of the study. The research problem statement follows this. Lastly, this chapter will give the research question and sub-questions, as well as the aim and objective of the research.

Chapter two deals with the theory of gender-sensitive planning. This chapter will be provided through a theoretical background of the concepts, arguments, and themes relating to gender and genders sensitive planning. Additionally, this chapter provides a summary of the principal arguments and concepts as indicated in the literature review in the form of a conceptual diagram.

Chapter three explores the history of gender sensitive development as well gender and development as it relates to the African content. The chapter goes on to explore the need for gender sensitive planning, especially as it relates to the built environment.

The fourth chapter gives an overview of the case study. A brief history and background is given for the area of study. The chapter also presents an analysis of the study area and the BRT system.

Chapter five presents the findings and analysis of the study. These were extracted in the form of questionnaires and a site analysis of the study area. The data collected on site is also recorded in the form of photography.

Chapter six discusses the conclusions and recommendations of the study. These include the initiatives and responses that may be used as a mechanism to improve on the extent to which gender sensitivity is incorporated in the planning of public transport in the context of the City of Tshwane. The recommendations will be drawn from the theoretical framework as well as the interviews and site analysis.

1.8 Conclusion

The introductory chapter has offered the main concepts of the research. It has delineated the context of the research and identified a current gap in planning knowledge. The main research questions have been determined and as well as the general design of the research. As mentioned above, the following chapter, Chapter Two, deals with the gender concept.

Chapter Two: Setting the Scene for Gender Analysis

Global Affairs Canada identifies gender analysis as the different methods used to appreciate the relationship between “men and women, their access to resources, their activities, and the constraints they face relative to each other” (Global Affairs Canada, 2016; p.4). It provides an understanding on the relationship that gender holds with race, culture, age, class, ethnicity, and/or other status, as well as the relationship between different patterns of involvement, activities, and behaviours that men and women have in the social, economic and legal structures.

In order to set the stage for gender analysis one first needs to better understand the gender concepts. This chapter deals with gender concepts. It discusses the terms ‘masculinity’, ‘femininity’, ‘woman’, ‘man’ and how these connect to identifying as ‘female’ and ‘male’. It explores some of the main compositions of the concept of ‘femininity’ and ‘masculinity’, ‘femaleness’ and ‘maleness’, sex and gender identity. It proceeds to examine the setbacks of current planning literature in dealing with how individual identities relate to development planning and more specifically transport planning.

2.1 Differentiating Sex and Gender

When dealing with gender-sensitive planning, it is crucial to first distinguish between ‘gender’ and ‘sex’. While ‘sex’ is the biological difference between men and women, ‘gender’ refers to the behavioural norms of males and females (Derbyshire, 2002). Sex can be summarised as referring to one’s genetic make-up of the x or y chromosome, hormonal secretions and the physical developments of the body that develop as a result of this (Talbot, 2010). Gender, on the other hand, is used in reference to stereotypes, social patterns and associations. These are learnt and differ in each society and are based on both perceived and actual differences between the sexes (Derbyshire, 2002; Fainstein and Servon, 2005). Therefore, contrary to sex, gender is not something people are born with, but rather something that we do (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990). French feminist Simone De Beauvoir (1949; p.283) embodies this definition in the famous quote,

“One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman”. This is also true for men (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003).

There has often been a relationship between how gender and sex are understood because gender adds to biological differences, however it magnifies the biological differences and often applies them where they have no relevance (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003). Many of these differences have originated from the idea that male and female are determined by biological differences resulting from the different dispositions and capabilities of the sexes (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003).

2.2 Who are 'Women'?

According to Connell (2005), all societies have an account for gender. However, not all have the concept of masculinity and femininity. In the modern-day context, masculinity refers to the assumption of one's behaviour due to the type of person one is. This means that masculinity/femininity and male/female reactions are not a product of one's genetic coding but rather a practice by which men and women engage in their gender relations (Whitehead and Barrett, 2001). Femininity is defined as the practices and behaviours that are primarily based on an association with female behaviours that are not culturally defined as being male. As such, the concept is primarily relational, as femininity cannot exist except where masculinity does not contrast it.

It is now widely understood that masculinity and femininity are not innate but are a result of the social and cultural condition one is under. This notion is discussed by Anthropologist Margaret Mead (1969) in her study of the temperaments of males and females in 'Sex and temperament in primitive societies'. Her study concluded that there are no necessary distinctions in traits or temperaments between men and women. The differences that she recognised between each sex were not as a result of biological differences but rather a result of the cultural expectations and socialisation maintained for each sex. This conclusion is derived from an observation Mead made of three societies in Papua New Guinea that showed patterns of traits that were very different from that of her own. In the Arapesh society, both females and males displayed traits that would be

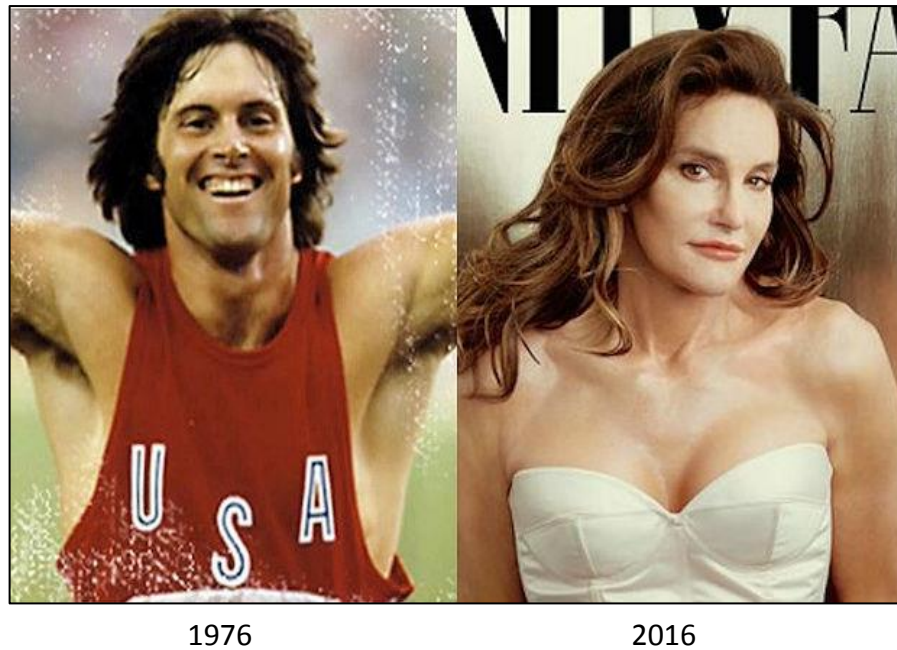
considered "feminine" traits "(passive, cooperative, and expressive)" in western societies (Stets and Burke, 2000, p.3). In the Mundugumor society, Mead found that both females and males demonstrated traits that would be traditionally viewed as "masculine" temperaments "(active, competitive and instrumental)" in western societies (Stets and Burke, 2000, p.3). Her study began challenging the description of how masculinity and femininity are understood by indicating that temperaments, identities, gender-related traits and roles could no longer be inseparably linked to biological sex.

According to Rubin (2003), the emergence of transgender has reinforced the argument that embodiment should be focused on to a greater extent in the reconceptualization of gender. The American Psychological Association (APA) (2009) describes transgender as an umbrella term to describe individuals whose gender identity differs from that which is usually associated with their birth sex. The APA elaborates that, "...anyone whose identity, appearance, or behaviour falls outside of conventional gender norms can be described as transgender" (American Psychological Association, 2009, p.95). A Policy Panel Revision (no date, p.1) on Transgender and Gender Identity issues elaborates that "Transgender may include those who identified as being transsexual, crossdressers, androgynous, bi-gender, no-gender or multi-gender, gender-queer, and a growing number of people who do not identify as belonging to any gender category at all".

One of the most famous individuals representing the transgender community is Caitlyn Marie Jenner. Caitlyn Marie Jenner is formerly known as Bruce Jenner, a retired Olympic gold medal-winning decathlete (Lowder, 2015). While Jenner had been publicly identified as male, he came out as a trans woman in April 2015 stating, "My brain is much more female than it is male" (Bio, 2016, p.2) (See image 2). She announced the change of her name from Bruce to Caitlyn in a cover story by Vanity Fair in July 2015. In an American newsmagazine, '20/20', Jenner shared how she had been dealing with gender dysphoria since a very young age (ABC News, 2015). Although she has undergone cosmetic surgery during her transition, she has not undergone sex reassignment surgery (Dawson et al., 2015). Jenner believes that life as a woman is predominantly a concern of one's mental state and lifestyle (ABC News, 2015). While

Jenner identifies as a woman, she also explains that she has never been sexually attracted to men rather she has always been sexually attracted to women (Dawson et al., 2015). She points out the difficulty that individuals have in separating the difference between sexual orientation and gender identity (Yahr, 2015).

Figure 2: Bruce Jenner's Gender Transition



Source: Fan Fuego, 2016

The Feminist and Women's Studies (2005, p.7), define sexual orientation as referring to "how one thinks of oneself in terms of whom one is sexually and romantically attracted to, specifically whether one is attracted to members of the same gender as one's own or the other gender than one's own". Gender identity, on the other hand, is defined as "One's innermost concept of self as male, female, a blend of both or neither – how individuals perceive themselves and what they call themselves. One's gender identity can be the same or different from their sex assigned at birth" (Human Rights Campaign, 2016, p.2). According to the intersection's perspective, "self is defined through intersections with others" (Stets and Burke, 2000, p.13). Therefore, one's gender identity is ultimately determined by the extent to which a person views themselves as being either feminine or

masculine given what is understood as either being a woman or man in the society one is in (Spence, 1985).

The Feminist and Women's Studies website continues to explain that while sexual orientation and gender identity are comparable in some ways, they are also very different in others. They are similar in that they both make reference to how one identifies individuals; however, they also refer to the various aspects of individuals. Thus, "one may be any combination of sex (male/female), gender (masculine/feminine), and sexual identity (straight, bisexual, lesbian/gay)" (Brooke, 2005, p.8). Medinger (2016) voices that, "effeminacy in men and masculinity in women are without a doubt associated with homosexuality. Certainly, not all homosexual people give evidence of these characteristics, and many effeminate men and masculine women are not homosexual." (Medinger, 2016, p.4). Murray (2013, p.2) affirms that "the idea that male homosexuality is directly linked with femininity is erroneous. While there are of course some gay men who express themselves (via speech, dress and behavior) in ways which are traditionally 'feminine,' there are many other who do not".

Thorne (1993) notes that there is a "Big Man bias", meaning that we attribute to 'masculinity' ways of behaving that are present in the dominant male groups in certain social contexts. Connell (2005) argues that this understanding of masculinity is exclusive and rejects other forms of masculinity. As a result, many theorists have now identified masculinity as varying between 'hegemonic', 'dominant' or 'subordinated' masculinity. Connell (1995) defines hegemonic masculinity as those gender practices that symbolise the widely accepted answer to the issue of legitimation of patriarchy, which promotes the subordinate position of women and the dominant position of men. It is the "cultural dominance in the society as a whole" (Connell, 2005, p.257). Connell notes that the number of men who are practising hegemonic masculinity is small and therefore excludes other groups within the patriarchal divide. Therefore, hegemonic masculinity not only has a significant amount of power over women but also on men who are not hegemonically masculine. This is especially reflected in the subordinate masculine groups, which are stereotypically associated with homosexual men. Subordinate masculine groups are

viewed as symbolically blurred with femininity due to a similarity in interests that are traditionally associated with femininity. These include "items ranging from fastidious taste in home decoration to receptive anal pleasure. Hence, from the point of view of hegemonic masculinity, gayness is easily assimilated to femininity" (Connell, 2005; p.294).

Connell (2005) recognizes this idea of masculinity as being problematic as it does not allow for women to be referred to as 'masculine' and men to be referred to as 'feminine'. Masculinity has therefore been reduced down to the male body whereas Halberstam (1998, p.2) argues that it "must not, cannot, and should not be reduced down to the male body". Ballou (2015) argues that the instantaneous categorising of people as either male or female due to their outward appearances or sexual preference is problematic in that it assumes individuals' gender. Alternatively, Halberstam (1998) calls for an understanding of gender as the relationship of how an individual recognises him or herself, as well as how others identify him or her. An example is given of the hundreds of women who are regarded as imposters in women's public lavatories because they are not perceived as female. She, therefore, poses the question, what gender are they? Because thousands of women fail this women's room test and the binary gender system, Paechter (2006) calls for a broader understanding and naming of the genders that are widely present in this day and age. A broader understanding of genders will discourage discrimination and/or gender assuming based on an individual's external features and actions.

Gender assuming has become extremely sensitive in the 21st century as individuals, particularly those of the transgender community, become increasingly vocal on the pronouns they wish to be assigned (Kaufman and Powel, 2014; Knowyourmeme, 2017). This has been strongly expressed by the online community through various media content (See Figure 3) (Knowyourmeme, 2017). Dieker (2017, p.5) asserts,

“...Gender-neutral pronouns are great because they allow you to speak *to* and *about* individuals without making what might be incorrect assumptions about their gender. Just because someone appears feminine or

masculine doesn't mean they are a man or a woman, after all—they could be agender or nonbinary, or simply differ from your expectations of what a man or a woman looks like.”

Figure 3: Gender assuming



Source: (me.me, 2016)

Similarly, Ballou (2015, p.44) adds,

“Some non-binary people use pronouns like he/him/his and she/her/hers. It doesn't mean that they suddenly are in the gender binary. Some people use no pronouns at all, or use a variety of pronouns, or other pronouns, for any number of reasons.”

Stoller (1968), who is recognised as one of the earliest writers dealing with issues of gender and identity, recognises the individual as being male or female with varying degrees of femininity and masculinity. Consequently, other writers in the mid-1990s commonly shared the idea that a man could be predominantly feminine, predominantly masculine, or have a seemingly equal mix of the two. For this reason, when speaking of a

feminine man or a masculine woman, the main term would be considered 'man' or 'women' and the degrees of femininity and masculinity as being variable (Paechter, 2006). Skelton and Francis (2002) argue however that there are undoubtedly ways of doing boy that are feminine and yet are not considered a form of femininity. This is because femininity is seen as a way of 'doing woman or girl' and can, therefore, be determined through empirical observation in all social groups. Femininities are not constructed in the same way as masculinities as they are not awarded with social power, neither are they able to assure patriarchy.

However, despite the difficulties in gender attribution, gender is something that is very consistent over time (Paechter, 2006). The extent to which one expresses their masculinity and femininity can "change according to time, place and circumstance..." (Paechter, 2006, p15). According to Booker (2016), gender fluidity is not the same as transgenderism. For instance, San Francisco native Theresa Do, who identifies as a woman, expresses that in situations where she feels challenged, she begins to feel more masculine. "The tone of my voice does change. It comes a little bit more forward. My voice drops a bit." She describes. " I have been told that I walk really masculine, and I puff my chest out when I'm walking." Do adds that when she feels she is in a safer place, she expresses more of feminine side; " My voice gets a little higher. I drop my shoulders. I allow people to just get closer to me emotionally and in a physical way," (Booker, 2016, p.2).

Similarly, Somizi Mhlongo, a well-known South African radio personality and choreographer, is a local example of an individual who seemingly expresses gender fluidity (LIVE, 2016). Somizi's gender and claim as a homosexual male may be in question, particularly after he fathered a daughter with South African actress Palesa Madisakwane (TshisaLIVE, 2012). While Somizi is often seen demonstrating traditionally effeminate traits through his speech, dress and behaviour (see Figure 4), Somizi self-identifies as a man. After the Ghana-born Bishop, Dag Heward-Mills gave a homophobic sermon at Grace Bible Church, Somizi proclaimed on Twitter, "I am a gay man. Get it straight into your skulls" (Singh, 2011). While Somizi identifies as a man,

there are clear displays of extreme gender fluidity in the physical and behavioural portrayals of himself. Ballou (2015, p.22) “The shoes, shirts, pants, skirts, scarves, necklaces, makeup, hats, and so on that you put on, the way that you talk, the way that you walk – none of these things determine a/gender identity.” This understanding is also in agreement with Murray’s (2003) argument that sexual orientation and gender identity are separate concepts and that the display of effeminacy in an individual does not necessarily mean that an individual identifies as a woman.

Figure 4: Displays of Gender fluidity in Somizi Mhlongo



Source: Hazel, 2011; Inkanyiso, 2014.

2.3 Understanding Gender in the African Context

Oyewumi (2002) argues, that any scholar attempting to discuss gender in the African context needs to question the leading theories and concepts in this area of study. This is because much of the research conducted in relation to gender has been constructed solely in relation to American and European experiences even though the explanatory models have been used to justify women’s oppression and subordination worldwide. Western planning practice and theory often makes two assumptions. The first is that a household is made of a nuclear family in which there is a husband, wife and two children (Moser, 1989). The second is that in the household there is a clear division of labour between the

sexes, in which the woman is the 'housewife', and the man is responsible for being the 'breadwinner' usually in the public realm (Moser, 1989).

Oyewumi (2002) disputes this homogenous understanding of gender however by stressing that gender is a socio-cultural construct and therefore the social category of 'women' cannot be understood the same universally. While American and European concepts of gender and feminism are often rooted in the nuclear family, the same is not true in some African context (Amadiume, 1987). Because the American and European families often consist of a conjugal unit, gender is, therefore, an unavoidable category, as no crosscutting categories exist. In this structure, women are first and foremost identified as the wife, and other relationships come secondary to this title. As a result, 'women' becomes a synonym for 'wife'.

Oyewumi (2002) indicates however that the conceptualization of a male being the presumed superior is a foreign one in African cultures. Author Ifi Amadiume, who deals with how gender is conceptualized in the African context in comparison to European and American societies, makes an example of this. In her book 'Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in African Society' Amadiume (1987) indicates that there has been a transformation of women's access to status and power over the course of the pre-colonial to post-independence periods. Certain patriarchal systems have been enforced in the African context as a result of colonialism. She gives the examples of the Nnobi society in eastern Nigeria, where gender was not determined by one's biological sex. Instead, she discusses the dual sex principle that was regulated by a very fluid gender system because of the traditional language and culture. She makes the example of how the eldest daughter could often hold the position of the eldest son and therefore be in the position to inherit land, livestock and property. As a 'male daughter', she was also in the position to marry wives as a strategy to expand her wealth. The wives in the patrilineage were often involved in trade and very industrious careers. Thus, one's social position is what determines seniority as opposed to gender.

This demonstrates the adjustability of the gender construct of the Igbo people. This challenges conventional understanding of matriarchy and patriarchy and is contradicting to Western societies where wives are generally homebound and very domesticated. Therefore, understanding gender in the African context needs to be considered as crossing multiple lines of division and power rather than simply considering gender. According to Amadiume (1987), women in Nnobi societies were ensured great power and this was taken away from them during the colonial and post-independence period with the introduction of Christianity.

Therefore, in answering the question “who are women?” the literature has brought forward a few understandings of the gender concept. While the term ‘women’ is often understood in a biological sense as meaning an adult female, authors such as De Beauvoir, (1949), Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) believe there is no such thing as man or woman, rather a social construct of gender identity. Authors such as Skelton and Francis (2000) discuss how the construct of gender, and particularly that of the female, is a subject of oppression and no more than an articulation of power. The discussion around gender definition began in an attempt to observe that men and women vary anatomically as well as socially. However, this has resulted in a number of differences in the understanding of the term ‘gender’. For the purpose of this research however, the term ‘woman’ will be used in reference to cisgender adult females.

2.4 Theoretical Framework of the Study

Research that deals with the issues of gender and development require a detailed understanding of feminist theoretical frameworks along with development planning. The importance of a theoretical framework is based on the ability to structure the research approaches and is therefore essential when dealing with feminist research (Parpart et al., 2000). The terminology used in this research therefore draws a lot from feminist literature. In many ways, feminist research theory presents the basket in which gender mainstreaming and gender sensitivity reside. While the research draws on feminist theory in an attempt to better understand the origin of specific gendered needs and to successfully achieve the empowerment of women, the research does not deal with

feminist theory with an angle to argue the gender division of labour as much as it is to promote the mobilization of women in accordance with the needs that women identify as being necessary within their given context.

Feminism can be understood as a “highly complex, multi-layered set of policy practices and ethics,” (Wieringa, 1998, p.3). It is a movement to allow women to gain equal rights and “end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression” (Hooks, 2000, p.8). Moser (1993) indicates that feminist theory may sometimes be in contrast with one another and cut across other transformative processes including race and class. The consideration of feminist theory and concepts creates a vantage point by which to consider the political ideologies in planning and how to avoid reproducing and perpetuating existing power structures between men and women. Because of the openness of complex and diverse social relations, there is an advantage to the consideration of feminist theory in development planning.

With this understanding, the following section covers four feminist concepts dealt with in the study in order to understand the conceptualization of gender inequalities and the gender division of labour. The section is informed by the debate regarding strategic gender needs and practical gender needs to analyse and understand the impact and responsibility of development planning on women. These concepts and theories are important to define and to consider in order to effectively critique development planning in relation to social context. While much of the following theories are rooted in a Western context, there is value in attaining a fundamental theoretical knowledge prior to engaging in a process of critiquing and debating these concepts.

2.4.1 Radical Feminism

Radical feminists are regarded as the foundation for many other feminist theories and ideas. This was the predominant form of feminism from 1967 to 1975 (Crow, 2000). Sample (2003) expounds that radical feminism is based on supporting views to those of reactionary socio-biologists, who are of the belief that social inequalities are as a result of our genetic make-up. Radical feminist such as Anita Rapone (1973) and Shulamith

Firestone (2003) argue that the subordination of women is not socio-historical in origin, but rather it is biological. According to radical feminists, sexism originating from patriarchy and is the foundation for all social division, social control, and human domination that exists in humanity (Willis, 1969; Sample, 2003). Sexism is also believed to be the oldest form of oppression (Jóhannsdóttir, 2009; Willis, 1984).

Radical feminist question the need for men and women to adopt particular roles due to their biology (Sample, 2003). Because of this, radical feminists feel the need to distinguish between culturally determined behaviour and biologically determined behaviour in an attempt to liberate men and women from their previously restricting gendered roles (Lorber, 1997). Sample (2003) indicates that radical feminists believe that the sex-class structure is one which runs so deep that it's often invisible, and even when it is identified, it is often as an inequality that is superficial and therefore superficially solved by means of reforms such as the integration of women into inherently male structures. Thus, radical feminists are of the belief that changing such structures is close to impossible because it is an attempt to change something that is fundamentally biological.

2.4.2 Marxism and Socialist Feminism

According to Garner (2016), Marxism is best described as a form of socio-economic analysis that questions societal conflict in relation to class relations. The social, political and economic theory of Karl Marx believes that class structures play a major function in society. Clarke (1990) explains that the philosophy bases its ideas of social change in relation to economic factors. In the Marxist school of thought, the social relations that exist within society are the product of the economic base of society and these bases are the determinants of the superstructures (Clarke, 1990). However, Marxist thinkers have been criticised for investing most of their energies in fighting capitalism rather than patriarchy, which they believe is the result of the capitalist system (Parpart et al., 2000).

A number of scholars found answers for women's development issues in Marxism, which grow to become one of the leading critiques of the theory of liberal modernisation (Parpart et al., 2000). According to MacKinnon (1982), sexuality is to feminism what

work is to Marxism. Much like Marxist thinkers, Marxist feminists deal with the unequal distribution of power and recognise class and economic relations as the main structures of oppression. Many Marxist feminists have widely endorsed Friedrich Engels (1884) argument that points women's subordination to the development of private property and capitalism (Khosravi_Shakib, 2010). Capitalism is seen as the main culprit because of women's double oppression in reproductive and productive work, as well as the sexual division of labour wherein women are not permitted to work away from home or are assigned poorly compensated tasks and positions in the public sphere (Barrett, 1980). Parpart et al. (2000) observe that the theory of Marxist feminism is aligned closely to that of radical-feminist thinking in western cultures: both sprung out of a period of intense challenging to existing power structure, and both endorsed a level of separation from the causes of domination and power.

Therefore, this school of thought recognises class- structure as the primary source of women's subordination and gender difference the secondary source of differentiating men and women (Clarke1990). As a result, socialist Marxists emerged as an attempt to deal with what Hartmann (1979) labels the "unhappy marriage" of Marxism and feminism. This is through an attempt to unmask persistence and pervasiveness of patriarchy throughout classes and societies in all countries, including socialist ones (Sargent, 1981; Maguire, 1984; Moser, 1989).

2.4.3 Liberal Feminism

Liberalism is based on the idea of positivist epistemology and that social, political and economic relation are best expressed through free choices of rational actors in an attempt to advance their own interests (Jessop, 2014). In relation to the social sphere, liberalism defends the idea that individuals should be of an "open, non-coercive society in which the people, the living, free, distinct people, may voluntarily associate and disassociate and as they see fit, participate in the decisions affecting their lives" (Carson, 2011, p.3).

Sample (2003) explains that Liberal feminism, therefore, is founded in 16th and 17th-century liberal philosophy. It makes an emphasis on making equal liberties and rights for

men and women and underplays sexual differences. The central concept of liberal feminism is to champion the equal rationality of the sexes as well as to highlight the importance of forming familial, social, and sexual roles in a manner that will promote women's autonomous self-fulfilment (Wollstonecraft, 1792). While it underlines the similarities between men and women instead of the differences, it also notes that many of the character differences between men and women are as a result of the social construct of gender, which therefore creates a set of androgynous virtues for men and women (Jaggar, 1983).

The main feature of this perspective is that it embodies a broad range of views that are related but distinct. According to Tong (2009) these views fall comfortably into the framework of political liberalism. The aim is to expand the full range of freedoms to women in a society that is liberal and democratic and criticizes practices that decline women the equal protection under the law or in relation to law.

In relation to sexuality, liberal feminism asserts the tradition of liberalism. This means that it values the personal autonomy and privacy in ways that may sometimes appear, to some, as contradicting with the goal of eliminating sexist norms (Pateman, 1980). Liberal feminists are critiqued for arguing that men and women should have equality of rights; however, they stop just shy of defending complete sexual equality as they do not argue the social roles of men and women (Sample, 2003)

2.4.4 Postcolonial Feminism

According to Tyagi (2014), postcolonialism refers to the resistance of "colonial" power that has had a large part to play in attempting to shape a number of existing cultures. As a result, postcolonial theory challenges the misrepresentation of women in colonial and postcolonial literature. McEwan (2001) indicates that postcolonial feminist theory is a comparatively new stream of thought that has had large consequences on the way development is conceptualized in the early 21 century. Postcolonial feminism stems out of postcolonial thought and is mainly concerned with developing a response to feminist theory that dealt only with the experiences of females in western cultures (Said, 1993). In

instances where Western Feminists write about Third World Women, they are often represented as suffers from traditional culture and masculine control without any mention of the cultural difference and historical context of the Third World (Weedon, 2002). The critique was aimed at the disposition to generalize feminist ideas worldwide and to argue that this was a misrepresentation of non-western countries (Mills, 1998).

Thus, postcolonial feminism deals with a representation of women who are in countries that are previously colonised and record the way in which the effects of colonialism affect issues such as racism, cultural and economic affect postcolonial countries (McEwan, 2001). (Amos and Parmar, 1980, p.218) asserts that “Before the 1980s, it was possible for even some of the most accomplished feminist historians in the West to express surprise that there were women’s movements and feminist cultures outside Europe and North America before the 1960s.”. Postcolonial feminists also believe by use of the word “women” as a universal group, women are then defined only in terms of their gender and not in terms of their race, social class and other distinguishing factors (Narayan, 2000). Therefore, the postcolonial feminist movement argues for the mainstreaming of third world feminism into the feminist movement. It is also recognised as being closely linked to the black feminist movement because of the argument that mainstream western feminism has been ineffectual in recognising racial and ethnic difference (Weedon, 2002).

2.5 Gender Mainstreaming

Gender equality is seen as the equality of rights, obligations, and opportunities for males and females (International Labor Organization, 2000, p.34). This defines the ability for both sexes to have the freedom to benefit, participate and influence development processes (Kabeer, 2004). As such, the strategy of mainstreaming aims to ensure that gender equality has been considered in all policies, institutional structures, decision-making processes, and resource allocation (Ryan, 2007). This approach also ensures that attention is given to the different situations and conditions to the different groups affected by development strategies, policies and intervention (Moser and Moser, 2005). Mainstreaming is a concept also used in the interpretation and analysis of documents and

interviews (Droste, 2011). Therefore, gender mainstreaming is defined by Carolyn Hannan (2000) as an integration strategy that seeks to involve women in the representation and participation of development agenda decisions. The main concept behind gender mainstreaming is the recognition that experiences, perceptions, and interest of men and women are more important in the consideration of development than the recognition of numbers.

According to Thomas and Chevalier (n.d), some of the critiques of gender mainstreaming are the misunderstanding and reduction of the approach to simply mean an integration of gender into existing agendas. This is also accompanied by the lack of political will to incorporate gender equality. A number of relevant tools and frameworks that have been developed and are simply not used (Kabeer, 2004). This interpretation of gender mainstreaming will be referenced to in the discussion of the findings and results of the research.

2.6 Gender-Sensitive Planning

Reeves and Baden (2000, p.16) define gender-sensitive planning as a “technical and political process and procedures necessary to implement gender-sensitive policy and practice”. The purpose of gender-sensitive planning is to guarantee the outcomes of gender-sensitive policy through a process that is inclusive and systematic. If the goals for gender policy are transformative, then the process of gender-sensitive planning will be a political one, including participation and consultation with different stakeholders.

Bridge (n.d), a gender and development research service, relates that there are numerous gender-planning frameworks that are based on different approaches to gender analysis. Each has its own planning tools and approaches. An example can be made by the work of Caroline Moser (1993) who constructed a gender-planning framework that included gender-planning procedures, gender planning tools, and the elements of gender planning tools. The gender planning tools included gender needs assessment, gender roles identification, and the accumulation of disaggregated data at the household level. The procedures for gender planning included the diagnosis of gender problem, the creation of

gender objectives, methods for monitoring and evaluation, the classification of an entry strategy, and gender-based participation and consultation. Reeves and Baden (2000) state that this is necessary because “building capacity among planners is necessary to ensure policy is transformed into practice with the minimum of dilution” (Reeves and Baden, 2000, p.18).

2.7 Strategic Gender Interests and Practical Gender Needs.

Moser’s work has also been one of the primary references in regards to the distinction between practical gender needs and strategic gender needs. The concept was originally initiated by Molyneux (1985) as strategic gender interests and practical gender interests. These came about in response to the criticism targeted at the performance of Nicaraguan Revolution. She initiated this concept by distinguishing the difference between “women’s interests”, for which women could be mobilized as women, and “women’s gender interest”, which referred to interests deriving from social relations of gender” (Molyneux, 1985, p.230). Moser (1989) adopts this concept but changes the use of gender interest to gender needs and creates a usage of these terms to a broader range of development practices. Moser defines the difference between these concepts as follows; “strategic gender needs...are formulated from the analysis of women’s subordination to men” whereas “practical gender needs...are formulated from the concrete conditions women experience in their engendered position within the sexual division of labour” (Moser, 1989; p.1803). Wieringa (1998, p.13) argues that because both of these originated from women’s engendered position in society, the difference appears to be founded in the idea that we can only speak of strategic needs if it “has been analysed, while practical needs arise where such analysis is not available”. Therefore, Moser’s definition is dependent on representation and accountability, which Wieringa (1998) believes to present a less complex analysis of women’s shifting contextualised conditions, while Molyneux (1985) presents a more complex interpretation of the relationship between identity formulation, subjective agency, and mobilization.

Molyneux (1998) concept of gender interest can be applied to the study as the research focuses on highlighting the different needs that women in society as a result of the gender

division of labour as well as what Molyneux refers to as those things which allow women to be mobilized as women.

Moser (1989) explains that the distinction of gendered needs to be something that allows practitioners to understand better that planning for the needs of low-income women is not necessarily “feminist” in content. Indeed, the vast majority of interventions worldwide are concerned with these concepts within the existing gender division of labour, as wives and mothers. These are intended to meet their practical gender needs. While such interventions are important, they will only become “feminist” in content, if, and when, they are transformed into strategic gender needs. Gender needs differentiation therefore, can provide a useful tool for planners. Not only does it help in diffusing the criticisms of those who find “feminism” unacceptable by showing them that working with women is often not “feminist”, in addition, it is helpful for policy-makers and planners responsible for meeting the practical gender needs of women, in assisting their adoption of more “challenging” solutions” (Moser, 1989, p.1804).

2.8 Gender Division of Labour

Although the gender division of labour is often seen as being natural and unchangeable, Baden and Reeves (2000, p.8) believe that “these ideas and practices are socially constructed.” This has often resulted in context-based models of who is responsible for what according to their gender (Baunach, 2002). Wood (1994) highlights that the roles typically assigned as female are almost always less esteemed and appreciated as those appointed to males. It is commonly anticipated that woman will fulfil the reproductive role of bearing and raising children, managing the household, nurturing other family members, and be home based. Men, on the other hand, are associated with productive roles (Wood, 1994; Baden and Reeves, 2000). This usually includes paid work and market production (Eagly, 2013).

While the rate of women’s participation in the labour market has increased, women are still faced with confinement in their range of occupations and usually earn less than men (Bianchi et al., 2000). Reproductive roles have been historically undervalued, especially

in the informal sector and more especially in developing countries (Sethi, 2011). Baden and Reeves (2000, p.8), observes that due to women's labour being cheapened, it is frequently assumed by mainstream development policies to be "infinitely elastic". An example of this can be seen when policymakers presume that woman will assume the roles previously occupied by public services, such as caring for the elderly and the sick, when a reduction is made. Consequently, "The sexual division of labour reappears in the labour market, where woman work at woman's jobs, often the very jobs they used to do only at home..." (Hartmann, 1979, p.25; Cohen, 2004).

Baden and Reeves (2000, p.8) believe that "the formal documentation and recognition of woman's roles and the related time burden is crucial for gender-sensitive development intervention". Gender and development policies have the ability to challenge and change socially appointed roles for women. However, it is important that programs that seek to increase women's participation beyond the household should secure appropriate remuneration. These also need to look into how public provision and men can cut down woman's responsibilities in the home.

International organisations have recently initiated different forms to measure economic activity by gender. International interpretations of economic activity have been expanded to include food processing, subsistence farming and homeworking.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a detailed analysis of the gender concept and has explored the relationship between the gender concept and gender in areas of practice. As informed by the literature above, government programmes and policies need to be influenced by a study of women's intersectionality of reproductive, productive, and community responsibilities, as well as their division of labour and how these influence women's ability to access resources. Although there is a need to develop objectives to achieve real equality, strategies and policies ought not focus on addressing women's practical or immediate needs alone; it needs to address women's strategic need as well.

Chapter Three: The Theory of Gender Sensitive Planning

This chapter will present a summary of the history of gender sensitive development planning. A brief review of gender and development as it relates to the African context will be discussed. The chapter will then put forward the need for gender sensitive planning, especially as in relation to the built environment.

3.1 History of Gender Sensitive Development

According to Derbyshire (2002), in the early 1970s development policy began to put forward the need to focus on poor women in relation to their roles in the home as mothers and wives. Today this is understood as the welfare approach. The assumption was that the benefits of macroeconomic strategies would make its way down to the poor by means of the trickle effect. The understanding was that this would indirectly benefit women as their husbands benefited from this effect (Derbyshire, 2002). Economist Esther Boserup challenged this in the 1970s by indicating that women were increasingly losing status as their husband's situations were improving (Esther, 1970). The development of the women's movement in 1975 Europe and the USA was declared the UN International Year for Women. Derbyshire (2002) elaborates that this brought a tremendous amount of attention to women and helped the establishment of what was known as the Women In Development (WID) donor agencies and governmental policies. The WID responded to the fact that women had not been included in development plans.

This later led to the gender approach in the early 1980s that was inspired by a Marxist stance and feminist activism. This critiqued that WID was not a suitable solution to the challenges faced by women. This was mostly because it failed to recognise women's disadvantages and had made no attempts to mainstream this development approach. In addition, Parpart et al. (2000) indicate that the approach was considered to be restricted in its transformative capacity due to its heavy dependence on the theory of modernization. This meant that many assumptions were made that the answers for development could be found in Western institutions and therefore did not consider the contribution of indigenous knowledge (Parpart et al, 2000).

By the mid-1980s Gender analysis in development was demanding a commitment to the changes of structures of national and international development agencies. In the 1990s mainstream development organisations used gender analysis in attempts to put forward the concerns of gender differences in mainstream development. This argued for the structural adjustment of policy and debated that the incorporation of gender analysis in forms of planning would also bring about economic benefits. This approach gave women the room to determine their needs although this was often seen as an end instead of a means. The term ‘gender mainstreaming’ was adopted at the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 at the UN International Conference on Women (Moser and Moser, 2005; Ryan, 2007). This was to secure both women and men’s concerns in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of every piece of legislation, programmes and policies so that men and women can have equal benefits in the development process.

3.2 Gender and Development in Africa

An article in MsAfropolitan (2013) indicated that African feminism could be identified as early as the early twentieth century with feminist figures such Sierra Leonian women’s activist, Adelaide Casely-Hayford, who is recognised largely for pan-African and feminist goals. In addition to this is Charlotte Maxeke who was responsible for founding the Bantu Women’s League in South Africa in 1918. The African feminist movement stemmed mainly from the liberation struggle particularly in Guinea, Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, and Kenya. Women fighters were reportedly fighting alongside their male counterparts for women’s rights and state autonomy. Modern African feminism was fixed during the UN Decade for women 1975 – 1985 This resulted in feminist scholarship and activism spreading across the continent. This has since been elaborated into policy, further scholarship, legislation, as well as into some African cultures.

According to Msafropolitan (2013), African feminism is concerned with grass root activism, ‘bread and butter’ issues such as prevention against violence, reproductive rights, poverty reduction, as well as popular culture. In summary, African feminism is about confronting patriarchy mythmaking, as well as racial stereotypes. According to

Awumbila (2007) in South Africa, gender research resulted from post-apartheid reconstructions. These ideas began their formation through the eyes of geographers who had the opportunity to experience radical approaches to a study they were conducting overseas. This resulted in publishing's that made a call for research that would be more politically engaged and would require greater inclusivity. These concerns were primarily targeted at race despite the fact that they were multifaceted. Gender had not been recognised as an issue at his point. By the early 1990s, the process of change was gaining momentum and the cry for the recognition of gender began to elevate (Leander, 2014). One of the earliest pieces of research in regards to gender in South Africa was a doctorate dissertation by Joan Fairhurst (1992). This dealt primarily with observing the daily lives of women of different races in the urban setting in relation to their economic activity as single mothers.

According to Todes et al. (2010), the literature on Gender sensitive planning in the South African context has mainly focused on the incorporation of gender mainstreaming within the Integrated Development Planning processes (IDP). This is predominantly in the analysis and participatory phases of the process and regardless of these attempts; there has largely been an inadequate inclusion of women's interests in participatory processes of policy formulation and municipal practices. This is supported by a study conducted by Mathye's (2002) of nine municipalities and their IDP processes which indicated that women and their organisational groups were often underrepresented in the participation process and that gender recognition would only go as far as a demographic description. Women's needs and interests had not played a part in informing the plans. Todes et al. (2010) conclude that that inclusion of gender is generally very uneven between different municipalities and that a linear correspondence of voice, policy and implementation is non-existent. Where women have been represented in municipalities it is largely in relation to their incorporation as officials and councillors.

Beall (2005) indicates how this reality is a blatant contrast to what the vision for local municipalities had been as early as 1997 due to the Gender Advocacy Programme (GAP) commentary in relation to the White Paper on Local Government:

“Local Government is the level of government closest to the people. It has particular importance for women, because of its responsibility for the delivery of goods and services that impact directly on the necessities of social reproduction, a sphere in which women have disproportionate responsibility. Its direct interface with the community puts Local Government in a unique position to understand the contextual dynamics that shape and regulate women’s lives. Through its location, Local Government has the potential to contribute to greater gender equity” (GAP, 1997, p.109).

3.3 Gender Mainstreaming and Social Inclusion

The Council of Europe (1998) explains that gender mainstreaming is a planning tool that is used to create equitable policy. Droste (2011) describes gender mainstreaming as a means to an end because its purpose is to focus attention on the requirements of equitable policy. The following chapter builds on the concept of gender mainstreaming and focuses on unpacking the need for gender mainstreaming in order to achieve social inclusion in development. This chapter will assist in answering the research questions regarding how gender-sensitive planning effect development planning with a particular focus regarding public transportation.

One of the main tasks of implementing gender mainstreaming is creating appropriate strategies for equality policy as they relate to their operating areas (Ryan, 2007). Planning objectives and their application are then measured and tested against particular criteria. These are also incorporated in mediating and participatory processes of planning (ibid.). Gender mainstreaming considers the varying ways that space is used and also considers its users (Council of Europe, 1998; City of Vienna, 2013). It attempts to identify individuals within these environments instead of homogenising different user groups (Council of Europe, 1998). Brenner (2009) notes that gender mainstreaming differs from women-orientated policies in that it does not focus exclusively on women as a target group. Rather, gender mainstreaming focuses on the relationship between the genders and the recognition of men and women’s needs. Therefore, this form of planning does not

look at gender in an isolated manner but considers gender in relation to cultural, social, and demographic features (Brenner, 2009; European Commission, 2008).

Moser and Moser (2005) indicate that a gendered perspective gives room for the awareness of the socio-cultural differences that exist between men and women by means of the functions they take part in the societies they are a part of. It helps us to be aware of the functions and therefore, the different needs of both male and female. This recognises that the social functions between men and women are not equally distributed, regardless of the society they take place in. A handbook on gender mainstreaming written by Droste (2011) notes that gender mainstreaming and a gendered perspective cannot be achieved through a checklist of uniform specifications. Instead, questions need to be asked in every new planning measure as to whether this may cause gender-specific problems and how these would affect the usage of the space and the planning process.

3.4 Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Sensitive Planning in Urban and Regional Planning

In urban and regional planning, gender mainstreaming brings attention to the different types of interests and situations that city users are a part of and makes provision for these to be acknowledged and respected throughout the planning process (Ryan, 2007). Being sensitive to these varying needs means providing a place for different users and their needs in the city (Sivan and Fenster, 2006; City of Vienna, 2013). Droste (2011) points out that this needs to be implemented in all stages of planning and in areas of policy. Therefore, every planning process, from the development of an idea to its execution, needs to be developed and critiqued from a gendered perspective.

Kruger (1992) explains that in the Post-Modern Planning context, genders sensitive planning takes place within the project and policy level. Project level gender-sensitive development is targeted mainly at organisational and technical spheres. These spheres are targeted in order to make manifest the awareness of gender sensitivity into practice. Creating gender sensitivity in practice is achieved through the formation of organisations that address women's gender needs. Pezzullo (1982) adds that the process of being

gender sensitive allows planners to transcribe a gendered perspective into practice. This ensures that the result of the projects and programmes have objectives that are considered from a gendered perspective. This is also to ensure that the needs of the users, as well as the funders of the project, are considered throughout. The needs of the users are weighed in relation to the available resources and a schedule that is created for addressing gender needs. The needs of the users and the availability of resources are compiled as a result of a communicative process between the funders and the users. The planner's duty is to facilitate this. Practical gender needs are an aspect of this schedule and these are usually under the short-term goals (Kruger, 1992). These are primarily targeted at the economic uplifting of both men and women as an essential part of empowerment and for achieving strategic gender needs (Reeves et al., 2012).

Hartmann (1979) explains that this planning approach can be appropriately understood as radical pragmatism. Radical pragmatism looks at bringing about transformations in the system. It usually has influences from the Marxist analysis of power relations that take place between economic classes. However, in the context of the post-modern radicalism, this takes the form of the power relations that exist between genders (Hartman, 1979; Hoch, 1984). As a result, radical pragmatism requires that planners always consider the historic power relations that played a role in the shaping of specific circumstances.

3.5 Why focus on gender sensitive planning?

Pragmatism is a philosophical tradition that originated in the United States during the 1870s (Hookway, 2013). According to Goldkuhl (2004) pragmatism dismisses the idea that the purpose of thought is to reflect reality. Rather, thought is considered by pragmatists to be a tool that is used for problem-solving. It is considered a “philosophy of action rather than of knowing or being” (Hoch, 1984; p.335).

An example of the concept of pragmatism can be seen in the Black Lives Matter Movement. According to Olasov (2016) part of the issue with the disagreement behind the two slogans of ‘black lives matter’ and ‘All lives matter’, is due to the pragmatic interpretation. This is a result of how language is used. Olasov (2016) notes that because

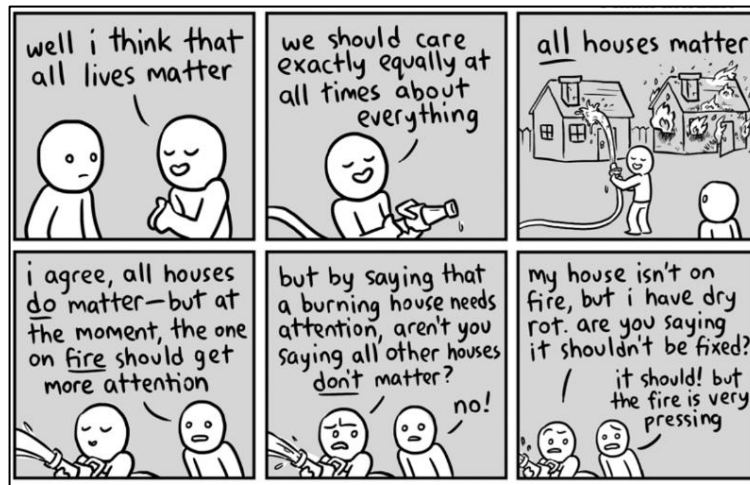
of a quantity implication, certain individuals have come to understand black lives matter as being “inherently racist.” Olasov (2016) explains this by making an illustration

“If a friend and I are trying to figure out how much cash we have on us, and I say that I have \$10, my friend will assume that that’s all I have. I’m not saying outright that I have no more than \$10, though; I’m implicating or suggesting it... If the goal is to figure out how much money we have, and I have more than \$10, it would be uncooperative to withhold information about that additional money. Assuming I’m being cooperative, then, if I say I have \$10, I must mean that I have no more than \$10” (Olasov, 2016, p.5).

However, philosopher Paul Grice expounds that in cooperative conversations, only as much information is given as is necessary to meet the objectives of that conversation. Therefore, certain individuals may conclude that by saying black lives matter, it is suggestive that non-black lives don’t matter. However, the importance of the slogan is to point out a social problem that has not received adequate attention without rejecting the existence of other social issues (Olasov, 2016). An illustration of this argument is depicted in the cartoon below.

Likewise, in the discussions regarding gender, women’s issues often take precedent. In a TED Talk given by Michael Kimmel (2015) titled ‘Gender Equality Is Good for Everyone’, Kimmel discusses that the concept of gender equality and even the word ‘gender’ is commonly understood as being synonymous with women, and that the benefits of gender equality are assumed to work only in the interest of women. As such, the strategies of gender equality are often perceived by some individuals as being inherently exclusive and discriminating towards men.

Figure 5: Pragmatic verse Idealistic Philosophy



Source: (chainsawsuit.com,2016)

However, as mentioned previously, in cooperative conversations, only as much information is given as is necessary to meet the objectives of that conversation (Grice,1975). Therefore, while certain individuals may conclude that a focus on women in gender equality suggests that other genders are not important, the importance for focusing on women’s empowerment is a pragmatic one. The purpose behind focusing on women’s issues and empowerment is to point out a social problem that has not received adequate attention, without rejecting the existence of other social issues (Olasov, 2016).

Kimmel believes that this perception of male discrimination in gender equality comes from a position of entitlement and privilege. He proceeds to debate that the issue of entitlement and privilege as well as the idea that gender equality can be achieved through policies that are gender neutral is what, for him, is the main obstacles to incorporating gender equality into the work place.

Similarly, European Institute for Gender Equality (2016) also remarks that it is typically assumed that gender equality can be achieved through policies that are “gender neutral”. However, gender neutral policies could possibly “maintain existing gender inequalities or even result in having a differential impact on women and men, in particular women and

men from disadvantaged groups” (Eige, 2017, p1). Gender neutral policies fail to promote substantive gender equality “and are also referred to as being gender blind” (Eige, 2017, p1). Stewart (2016) argues that “Government policies are less effective, or may not succeed at all, if the different impact on women and men is not taken into account” (Stewart, 2016, P3). She acknowledges that, “The need to understand the impact of public policy on women and men is reasonably well understood for some issues- think of health or family violence. It’s less obvious- but no less important-in other areas of government” (Stewart, 2016, P7).

In relation to the European Institute for Gender Equality (2016) argument regarding the possible preserving of existing gender inequalities or resulting differential impact on women and men that gender-neutral policies may have, Friedman (2014) brings forward a similar argument in relation to transport planning. He argues that the lack of consideration of the differential impacts of transport planning on gender has the ability to significantly limit women from accessing basic rights and services in the city (Friedman, 2014; Barter and Tamim, 2000) and thus may propel existing gender inequalities.

Levy (2013, p.10) argues while mainstream transport planning does not distinguish the social position of transport customers, “it is not ideologically neutral either”. Levy argues that transport planning and policy is anticipated by a collection of inferred assumptions that sway the outcomes. One of these many assumptions is the gender relations, the understanding of household structures, the control of resources in decision-making in households, and the division of labor in households, that are advised essentially by “Western” and middle-class values (Levy, 2013; Moser, 1989). Moreover, these biases are based on the “(male) journey to work and on motorized transport, particularly the private car, which is largely unaffordable to most poor urban women and men” (levy, 2013, p.10). This results in transport systems that do not mirror the needs of bulk urban dwellers, providing transport options that are only user-friendly to a few and therefore do not supply the foundation for making the most advantages travel choices.

Therefore, according to arguments portrayed by authors such as Peters (2001), Barter and Tamim (2000), Levy (2003) and Fenster (2005), transport planning would benefit

significantly from a pragmatic approach such as distinguishing the influence of gender on mobility patterns, accessibility and purpose of trips. This may allow for the planning field to correct a long-standing inequality of creating urban spaces that are ‘a planned trap’ for women (Fenster 2005, p.224) and that treat individual’s travel choices as being in a “social vacuum” (Levy 2003, p.3).

The City of Vienna (2013) highly promotes gender mainstreaming by highlighting its numerous benefits. Gender mainstreaming has the ability to reveal the need for changes in certain goals and strategies. This ensures that both men and women are able to and benefit and participate equally in development processes. While, gender-sensitive planning is very important for ensuring social justice and human rights for both men and women, it also beneficial for achieving noteworthy benefits in social and economic goals.

The United Nations (2002) instructs that achieving gender equality requires amendments at all levels, including legal frameworks and political decision-making processes. In policy analysis, gender sensitivity brings attention to how policy affects people in differing ways and looks into how these may differ between men and women given the existing inequalities. This provides more knowledgeable perspectives of the impact of policy and this allows more options to be explored. Gender mainstreaming secures that the consideration of gender is always embraced when making policy analysis and the socio- economic dimensions (City of Vienna (2013; Moser and Moser, 2005). It also provides insights as to who needs to be consulted with and from which approach in determining to understand how particular projects should be formulated (City of Vienna, 2013; United Nations, 2002). This will undoubtedly shape what takes place at the implementation stage of planning projects (United Nations,2002).

However, despite this, there are still a number of constraints in adopting this method of planning. These mostly include an uncertainty as to how gender perspectives are to be identified and addressed (United Nations, 2002).

3.6 Why Is a Gender Perspective Needed in Transport Planning?

Gender has been recognised to be a significant factor in determining individual's travel and mobility patterns. This is primarily as a result of societal roles of men and women at home and in the labour market (Kang, 2006). For a number of years, a woman's space was seen as the private space while a men's space was often associated as being within the public realm (National Democratic Institute, n.d.; Hayden, 1980; Razavi and Miller, 1995). However, women's journeys have been recorded to reflect more complexity than that of men. Research conducted by SEPTA in Philadelphia indicated that 64% of the passengers in city's public transport systems were women (PlanPhilly, 2015). A similar study was undertaken in Chicago indicated that 62% of the public transport users were women (Goodyear, 2015). An analysis that was conducted in the United Kingdom also found that women travel more by foot than do men (Whitzman, 2013). One of the main reasons for this was the evident inequality within the home and the labour market where women generally earned less than men and where therefore less likely to own a private vehicle (Aljounaidi, 2010).

Consequently, women have a greater possibility of being dependent on public transport than men. However, the Urban News Digest (2013) notes that women's priorities are often neglected because of a focus on mobility as opposed to accessibility. This is accompanied by a fixation of the journeys and schedules of worker's in the formal sector when it comes to how public transport is designed. Women's travel needs often require different destinations from those of men and require transport at hours outside of peak hours. Furthermore, the Urban News Digest (2013) recognises that off-peak services are significantly reduced due to cost cutting as a result of economic evaluations made by planners. This is through a process of cost/benefit measures that do not take into account the trips that women make as part of their reproductive role. According to the National Alliance for Caregiving and AARP (2015) women are estimated to be 66% most likely to be in a position of looking after elderly, sick children, young children, and visiting clinics and schools. Therefore, as caretakers and mothers, women have to accompany others. In countries where patriarchy is prevailing, women regularly have to balance paid work with

the responsibilities in the household. It is women who are often in the position of adopting domestic and community management responsibilities and who are dominant in the informal economy. According to Traffic Infra Tech Magazine (2015) women who fall in the low to middle income communities have a greater chance of being dependent of public transport.

Therefore, because women are more likely to be dependent on public transport than men, along with the fact that women are more likely to be responsible for caretaking and household responsibilities, women often have greater exposure to public spaces and are more vulnerable in public transport environments. Harassment against women on public transport also hinders women's productivity as it results in psychological impacts. A study conducted by the Associated Chamber of Commerce and Industry in India (Frontline) in 2013 identified that roadsides and public transport were areas that women faced the most levels of sexual harassment.

While both men and women are influenced and susceptible to criminal activity in the city, women are highly prone to sexual harassment and attack. Women are regarded as the more vulnerable gender because they are generally the weaker of the two sexes and are commonly less able to defend themselves against an attack. As a result, women are more susceptible to physical assault and other criminal activity in public spaces. This is particularly the case for women in the South African context where a report conducted by the United Nations indicated that South Africa was ranked as first for rapes per capita (Nation Master, 2016). In 2003 the South African police service estimated that a woman was raped every 36 seconds in the country and that 50% of all court cases dealt with rape (Intano, 2003). While reasons as to why South Africa's rape cases are as high as they are not yet fully understood (Intano, 2003), it has been evident that women's knowledge of their vulnerability has significantly affected their travel patterns.

The fact that services impact women and men differently in the way they are developed and delivered indicates that services cannot be designed in a gender-neutral way. This is no different for transportation services however transport services have failed to identify

that there are particular needs and interests that pertain to male and female commuters. According to Kunieda and Gauthier (2007) and Jones and Bose (2004), one of the failures of transport planning has been the inability to tend to the needs of a diverse social user group, particularly because there is a significant lack of data. The presence of data in this area would have offered deeper understanding for the accessibility, frequency, mobility, and the purpose of individuals' trips (Kunieda and Gauthier, 2007).

Since urban Planning is defined as “a conscious effort to direct social processes to attain goals” (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1994, 265-66), it is often recognised as a social project that is typically characterized by planners as working for the public good. However, Frisch identifies that scholarly work shows that planning may be used in a number of ways. Some of these include Flyvbjerg's (1998) writings that present planning as being a rationalization which produces an exercise of power. In this context, planning practice reflects existing power relations more than positive social actions (Frisch, 2002). In *'Planning the capitalist city'* by Foglesong (1986), the author demonstrates how planning is used to facilitate capital accumulation in the city and often at the expense of the working class. Yiftachel (1998) builds on this idea by expressing how planning is a method of social control and contends that planning possess is, what he refers to as the “dark side of oppression”. He argues that this is demonstrated in people by the numerous dissimilarities they possess including race, gender, class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. Feminist writers such as Hayden (1981) and Ritzdorf (1986) have investigated this perspective of planning in terms of zoning and urban design, and the lack of planning theory overall in dealing with gender (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992).

As a result, authors such as Mc Dowell (1999) have argued that planning literature and practice have promoted masculinity and the male perspective at the expense of female urban dwellers. Urban planning has created structures and designs that enforce and reinforce gender discrimination. Fenster (2005) undoubtedly views planning as an instrument of social regulations of gender roles and a means to discriminate against women. This is seen in the justification of spatial developments that often indirectly favour the white-middle class working man. These methods and regulations have continued to be in practice even today in most liberal societies that denounce gender

discrimination. However, it is crucial that the profession addresses the dual role of women both in production and reproduction. The lack of consideration of gendered needs in the city has created hazards that affect women's accessibility and mobility within the city. The city is responsible for composing perceptions, arranging social relations among people, and shaping the classifications we end up divided amongst (Grosz, 1998).

3.7 Gender Sensitive Planning

Although urban planners have identified that a safe city is a just city, planning cities that are equally as safe for women as they are for men has frequently been a challenge. The procedure behind designing and planning of spaces has a great amount of significance in achieving cities that are safer and more inclusive to women. It is believed by Dame and Grant (2001) that planning requires a continual evaluation of the design and physical aspects of space as the outcomes of the planning process could result either in emphasizing gender inequalities or progressing them (Dame and Grant, 2001).

O'Leary (2011) provides guiding principles for the design of safer cities in which the author stresses the importance of including women in the decision-making processes that influence their mobility. These include acquiring knowledge of the intersection of women's identities, recognizing perceived safety and actual safety equitably, considering the wealth of the knowledge women have accumulated from their lived experiences, and finally, involving community members, stakeholders, and all those who utilize the space in the planning process (O'Leary, 2011).

It is reported by Karssenber *et al.* (2016) that in order to successfully create public spaces that are gender inclusive, the urban environment needs to pay greater attention to the planning at the level of the streetscape, or what they refer to as a "plinth" (Karssenber *et al.*, 2016: 6). This is in the light of the fact that when citizens navigate through space, they observe the surroundings at an eye-level both subconsciously and consciously. This is also important to incorporate around transit stations as the design of the environment around transit stops can reduce women's perceptions of their personal safety and affect their willingness to use public transport (Frontline, 2013). In order for spatial designs to be useful, planners need to give more consideration to the manner in

which people relate with the spaces around them and the way they express themselves within a particular environment (Dame and Grant, 2001). If the impressions associated with being on the street are favourable ones, there is a greater chance that citizens will feel untroubled in the space and returning to the location (Karssenber *et al.*, 2016). Accomplishing this may include attention to land use, the design of a street, and function type (Karssenber *et al.*, 2016).

An article on gender mainstreaming in transport released by the World Bank in 2006 indicates that gender-based public transportation includes Bus routes that accommodate women's schedules and places of travel:

- a) Programmes to “request stop”, that permits women to request the bus to stop closer to their destinations for early morning and late nigh journey's;
- b) Station features that emphasize the prevention of violence and take into consideration those who have had violent experiences;
- c) Women-only buses in cities where there is a correspondence between overcrowding and sexual, verbal, and physical harassment and abuse of women.
- d) Affordable public transportation
- e) Plainly visible, Well-lit, emergency services –equipped sidewalks in order to allow women to walk to and from public transport, and to and from their destinations (Mundail, 2006).

This is harmonious with a study carried out by Dame and Grant (2001) that indicated that bus stops and streets that have been designed with specific safety needs of women depict the succeeding characteristics:

- a) Effortless accessibility to and from a site
- b) Effortless movement through a location
- c) Great lighting so that users will see and be seen
- d) Easy-to-read signage that will aid users in finding their way
- e) Well managed paths that will permit users to see each other clearly
- f) Excellent visibility within a space, without areas where criminals can hide (or

linger without being seen

- g) Mixed land uses to accommodate a diverse user group at different times of the day
- h) Takes into account seasonal changes
- i) Takes into account the elderly and young children, as women are oftentimes (caretakers. This may comprise of wide streets with ramps to move easily with walkers, strollers ,(wheelchairs and in areas that has slow-moving traffic

However, it is believed by Bachelet (2013) that each city requires a local response to gender sensitive planning as each area is distinctive. Therefore, it is necessary for each city to determine its own diagnostic study that assembles both evidence and data and creates opportunities for participation with community members (Bachelet, 2013).

Moreover, a document released by the World Bank titled ‘Guideline for Incorporating Gender into ITS Planning, Design and Operation’ discusses the Intelligent Transport System (ITS) (2016) that has been practiced in Chinese cities for the past two decades. Wuhan and Urumqi were used as two case studies in 2015 in which the gender impacts of public transport were evaluated. Technical guidelines were developed by the project team

Figure 6: Gender Specific Factors of Concern on Public Transport

Female		Male
(+) -Importance (high)	Order	(+) - Importance (high)
Personal security (theft, harassment)	1	Speed (get to destination fast)
Road safety (accident)	2	Road Safety (accident)
Ticket price	3	Travel choices (shuttle bus, routes and shops)
Comfort	4	Ticket price
Courteous treatment	5	Personal security (theft)
Hygiene	6	Courteous treatment
Travel Choices (shuttle bus, route and pit shop)	7	Hygiene
- Importance (low) 1. (-)		-Importance (low) (-)

Source: (Guideline for Incorporating Gender into ITS Planning, Design and Operation, 2016)

according to the findings and recommendations of the study. These findings and recommendations dealt primarily with the planning, designing, operation, monitoring and feedback of the transport systems in the case study areas. The first priority of the project was to understand women's travel behaviours and travel needs. The document indicates that the understanding of travel behaviours by gender may be acquired through public transport user satisfaction, household travel survey and participatory processes for gender monitoring. The study informed that males and females have differing priorities when

evaluating transport attributes. Women's concern for personal safety is the greatest factor of concern when traveling, while the greatest factor of concern for men is the speed and efficiency of the transport mode. Figure 6 summarizes the order of concerns as recorded for each gender.

Asian cities, such as New Delhi, have begun introducing initiatives for gender sensitive transport planning design due to the level of harassment women experience in the city (Thynell, 2015). In early 2013, the Minister of Urban Development in India issued in all states to introduce new preventative security guidelines on all modes of public transport for safe travel of women and children. The Secretary of the Ministry of Urban Development, Dr Sudhir, stated that the urban bus provisions determined by the minister requested all states to guarantee the presence of LED sign boards, cameras on buses, audio-visual passenger information systems, and for all public transport systems to be brought under the GPS/GPRS network. In addition to these initiatives, the minister ordered for public transport to be modified to women's specific needs in regards to the routes they're travelling, the locations where they wait for public transport, the time of day they rely on public transport, and the areas where they get dropped off (Gender Sensitive Cities, 2013).

A similar strategy was implemented by the Women and Urban Safety Action Committee (CAFSU) in Montréal Canada. The committee comprises of a partnership with municipal authorities, women's groups, city planners, public transit officials, city planners, health officials, and the police. CAFSU launched La Société de Transport de la Communauté Urbaine de Montréal, which operates a public transit system on the island of Montréal

that is responsible for introducing a bus service system targeted at addressing challenges on women's safety in public transit at night. The service was designed to allow women to exit the bus between regular stops in order to minimize the walking distance to their journey's end. The service was only for women and girls and was implemented permanently in December of 1996 after the evaluation of the project in 1994. In addition to the "Between Two Stops" pilot, new Metro introduced stations that are covered by glass so as to allow women to "see and be seen" (Drusine, 2002, p1). Emergency telephones were also installed within reach of public areas. According to Drusine (2002), these measures were designed to improve mobility, decrease acts of aggression and better urban safety overall for women. If the feelings that are connected with being in a public space are positive ones, there is an increased chance of users experiencing comfort in the space and returning to the space (Glaser *et al.*, 2012).

3.8 Psychogeography and Gender Sensitive Planning

The Situationist International define psychogeography as the "specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organized or not, on the emotions and behaviour of individuals" (Debord, 1955:7). This concept recognizes that the geographic environment often effects and shapes our identities. The term originated from academic, French artists, and Marxist theorist, Guy Debord in 1955, in order to explore the idea that different places make us behave and feel differently. Debord defines psychogeography as "the study of the precise laws and specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organised or not, on the emotions and behaviours of individuals". According to Mirvish (2017) the idea of psychogeography was inspired by a French poem written in the ninetieth century by Charles Baudelaire on the concept of the flâneur- an urban wanderer- in which he proposes inventive and playful ways in which to navigate the urban environment in an attempt to promote the examination of spaces and architecture. The intent was to create an awareness of the extent to which our surroundings, particularly in the city, condition how we think and act. Broadly speaking, psychogeography describes an intersection between geography and psychology, and attempts to explore the psychological and behaviour effects of the built environment (Mirvish, 2017).

3.9 Psychogeography in Spatial Planning

In an article titled ‘why cities should embrace psychogeography’, a cognitive neuroscientist by the name of Colin Ellard, based in Toronto, shares his studies on how the human mind and body responds to different environments. He claims that the biggest tool at his disposal is his Urban Realities Laboratory, in which he uses virtual reality to create places and track how humans respond to these environments in the way they think and feel. Ellard explains that his Urban Realities Laboratory allows him to build anything from building interiors to streetscapes. Through introducing any variations to the environment, he is able to formulate a measure and an understanding of how people may respond to these variations in the design. One of the measures that are taken routinely is the skin conductance, in which the state of the sweat glands is measured. This gives an insight into certain parts of an individual’s nervous system that deal with stress and arousal. The simulator also measures the gaze patterns of individuals, which tracks the number of times an individual’s hands or eyes move in an environment. This provides an understanding of what is capturing the attention of the individual.

Ellards (2015, p.21) argues that virtual reality has proven to be a great tool to test architectural and planning designs and urges for architects and planners to “make considerations for the psychological well-being of urban residents”. Mirvish (2015) indicates that the recent revitalization of psychogeography indicates that a new urbanism is grabbing hold of cities worldwide in which citizens desire to engage with their environments. This has brought greater consideration to transportation and other types of infrastructure (Planetize, 2015). However, these considerations have not been placed in the forefront of planning until very recently (Planetize, 2015).

3.10 Psychogeography: A Gendered Perspective

Some feminists have seen geography as assuming a white male voice and as being planned through the eyes of a “white upper-middle class heterosexual male” (Fenster, 2005, p.246). Feminist geographer, Gillian Rose (1993), uses this definition of psychogeography through a feminist lens as a way in which to understand how the effects

of geography are gendered and create genders. Rose argues that geography is an area of study that is neither for women or by women. She elaborates this argument by examining how geography assumes a “masculine” voice in the way it is written, which is therefore constructed in opposition to the female voice. Because geography assumes a white-male voice, it limits knowledge of the physical environment by assuming an “all knowing” tone that excludes multiple voices and identities. According to Fenster (2006), the lack of the female voice and perspective has also been lacking in the planning field and as a result spaces are not planned with the consideration of women’s differing needs.

3.11 Psychographic factors affecting women’s mobility experience

While authors such as Badger (2014) and Mosher (2008) are in agreement that safety and security are factors that affects women’s travel behaviours and psychology, it is important to define these concepts before discussing they’re effects on people as they differ between various situations and authors. According to Thygerson (1990), safety is a concept that is complex to define because it transforms from day to day, indicating that individuals experience altering levels of safety from one day to another. In agreement with Thygerson (1990), Burns *et al* (1992) assert that while the words ‘safety’ and ‘security’ are usually seen as holding very distinct properties, there is a large amount of ambiguity in these words. Albrechsten (2003) believes that security implies defence against criminal activity and is a position void of threat or danger. While many criminal acts are deliberate, some, such as unconsciously driving moderately over a speed limit, are not. Therefore, it is mistaken to limit security to the protection against deliberate acts. Therefore, Albrechsten concludes that while security is primarily targeted at defence against crime, safety deals predominantly with the security of human lives, nevertheless criminal activity can also fall under this category (Albrechsten, 2003).

It is believed by Badger (2014) that the fear women have of violence is as extreme as violence itself considering it shapes the manner in which women live their lives in numerous little ways (Badger, 2014). Mosher (2008) remarks that women’s fear for personal safety affects them greatly because the insecurity women feel develops into an obstacle to their absolute participation in the city.

Although the fear felt in urban spaces is commonly recognized as a social issue, Fenster (2005) identifies it also as a spatial issue. She notes that women's experiences are frequently restricted due to the design of urban spaces. Spaces are occasionally designed as a "planned trap" for women (Fenster, 2005: 224). As a result, women commonly avoid certain spaces. Dame and Grant (2001) articulate that the design of spaces that are safe and generate a sense of comfort in their users include more than the physical aspects of space, however the interventions may begin at a physical level to promote these desired environments.

The awareness that there is a likelihood of violence is significant in determining the problem areas. Dame and Grant (2001) communicate that in the event that public spaces are dark, abandoned, unmaintained, unclean, or lack particular elements including benches, and emergency phones, safety is reduced especially for women and girls. Areas that are enclosed also generated a sense of discomfort in women as they create the feeling of being trapped. It was also noted that a number of the design characteristics identified as creating a sense of threat and discomfort in women during the day, made women feel twice as insecure to access after dark. While women have reported feeling more relaxed when uniformed people are guarding public spaces and, the presence of police makes women perceive spaces as being unsafe. This indicates that the physical location of public transport stops can directly affect women's use of public transport as it affects their perceptions of risk and fear.

3.12 Conclusion

Gender sensitivity in transport planning is still lacking to this day. However, although many planners have described the difficulty of including gender sensitivity in transport planning and have often questioned what gender sensitivity may look like when translated in the planning field and particularly into transport planning, authors such as Beall (2005) and Dame and Grant (2001) detail some of the opportunities in their written material. The author brings to light some of the physical characteristics of public spaces that are in contrast to women's travel and safety needs. Dame and Grant (2001) calls for

changes in the physical design of transit systems such as easy movement to and from a site, considers account seasonal changes, and lastly takes into account the elderly and young children; to name a few.

The city is a symbol of the growing social change in a number of societies but has come to be associated with many problems in development practice and discourse. The stretch between social equity, economic growth and political legitimacy take place in cities all around the world. According to Beall (1996) if the urban environment should not only be sustainable but humane, then this stretch ought to find a resolution. Development planning, with its highlights on participation and civil involvement, requires an examination of the on-going composition of gender in order to be understood. In a call for a deeper knowledge of the way in which urban governance can become more gender sensitive, the literature suggests creating deeper consideration between citizens and planners, and of women and men. Understanding the gender concept aids in shedding light on the social and work roles of women and men. For many women the interplay of these roles is a burden of multiples responsibilities from economic production and social reproduction, a number of which are uncompensated and are therefore not recognised by national accounts and other data that is collected and utilized by planning purposes. In spite of this, women usually play an essential role in urban development. As such gender-sensitive planning needs to be the responsibility of all professionals who deal with the urban environment.

The city planning process has a great influence on the creation of services and spaces that are inclusive of women's requirements. Dame and Grant (2001) acknowledge that a continuous evaluation of the effects of planning are necessary as the planning process has the capacity to either advance gender inequalities or discontinue them. The authors also mention that planning for cities to achieve a sense of comfort for its users has often required more than the physical composition of space, however interventions that are translated physical may encourage the creation of gender sensitive environments.

Chapter Four: Gender Sensitive Planning in the A Re Yeng BRT System

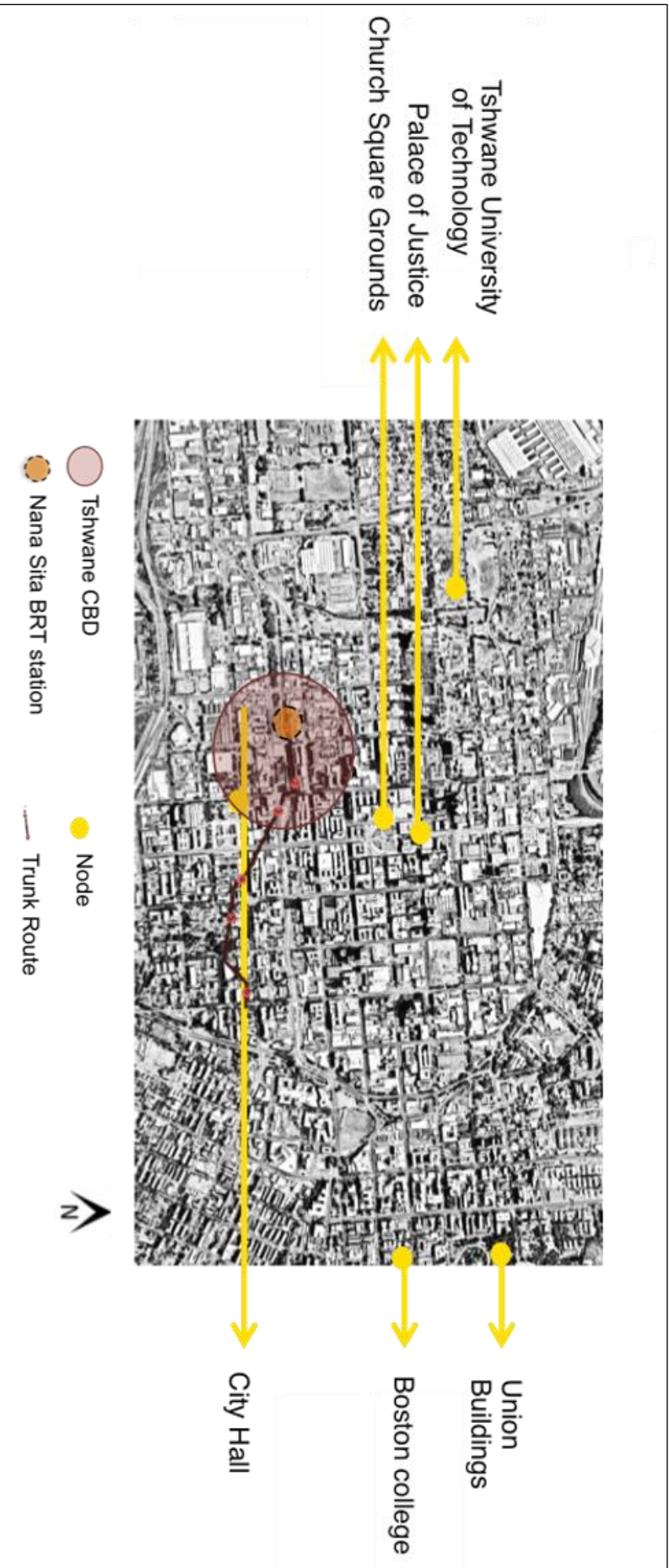
4.1 Case Study Overview and Site Analysis

This chapter deals with an overview of the case study. A brief history and background are given of the site location. The chapter also presents an analysis of the study area and the BRT system on Nana Sita Street in Tshwane. Lastly, this chapter presents the interview findings of the study and discusses some of the challenges of gender sensitive transport planning in the City of Tshwane. The section will document the responses and findings of the data gathered from the questionnaires that were given to each participant. In total the interviews were conducted with four professionals at the City of Tshwane. This included, Respondent A, a land use planner who has been working for the department for three years; Respondent B who works in marketing and communications; Respondent C, A deputy director of operations; and Respondent D, Acting executive manager.

Nana Sita Street is located within the inner city of Tshwane, Gauteng. The street is a particularly active, primary feeder route in the city centre running in an east-west direction. It has a diversified user group due to the centrality of its location. Although there is a limited amount of information offered on Nana Sita Street, information on the inner city of Tshwane is provided by the regional Integrated Development Plan (IDP) of the City of Tshwane, where Nana Sita Street is located.

Nana Sita Street is located in Region 3 of seven regions in the city of Tshwane, under ward 81. According to the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) (2015) and Stats SA Census (2011), ward 81 has a population density of 12339, a density per Ha of 118.64, and 9009 dwelling units. This ward is recorded as having the lowest population density in the region and one of the highest densities per Ha and dwelling units as a result of it being a business district. Region 3 is the second largest financial zone in Tshwane and contains two out of three Tshwane Gautrain stations.

Figure 7: Site location



4.1.2 Study Area

The majority of the population consists of individuals with the ages of 20 to 34. This age group falls within the economically active age in South Africa who is more likely to use the BRT system. This is because public transport in South Africa is primarily targeted at creating work access as opposed to other livelihood activities and is therefore used mainly for this purpose (Vaz and Venter, 2012). Additionally, the IDP (2015) indicates that the dominance of individuals between the ages of 20 to 34 in the region may be an indication that young people favour to live in the CBD to be in close proximity to employment and to tertiary institutions.

According to Le Roux (2012) the inner city of Tshwane has a large amount of rural-based, migrant youth who are searching for personal development and are seeking an opportunity to experience city life. The Region 3: Regional Integrated Development plan of 2014-2015 informs that because the population is highest in ages 20 to 34 and is relatively few in citizens below the age group of 16, this may be an indication that there are a low number of families that reside within the area.

A breakdown of the population reveals that roughly 50% of the individuals in the region are female. According to City of Tshwane's household survey of 2008, nearly 40% of the households in region 3 are female headed, as Tshwane is still predominantly a patriarchal society. According to Kabeer (2015) female-headed households are viewed as an indication of poverty. A report conducted by the UN Women (2012) indicated that in all of the 25 Countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, excluding three, the proportion of women to men within the working age in the poorest households differed from 110 to 130 to every 100 men. Women have a lower chance of having paid work in comparison to men. When women do receive paid work, they have a likely to receive less earnings than men. As a result, households that depend largely on a female income rather than male income, are more likely to be poorer on average. Gernetzky (2016, p.4) indicates that in 2013 in South Africa, "35.7% of male-headed households had access to a private car and 17.6% of female-headed households". However, women have a greater probability of depending on public transport than men, including those households that have access to private motor vehicles.

In 2016, a study was released by the Department of transport titled “Gauteng Province Household Travel Survey of 2014, one of the observations of the study was the spatial distribution of car ownership per household within Tshwane’s CBD. The study found that within the 2239 households that participated in the study, 0% had car owners. The study also found that 0.5 of these households had access to cars but not ownership. The study reported that the majority of citizens in the Gauteng province are more likely to walk or rely on public transport to navigate their cities. Gernetzky (2016, p.6) informs “Across all income brackets, women are more likely to rely on public transport for travel and also more likely to use more than one mode of travel to get to work”.

Close to 19% of the economically active population are unemployed, and 2% discouraged work-seekers. This correlates to a reported 12% of informal dwelling units found in the area. Informal dwelling unit total 24222 in the CBD which places them as the third highest dwelling type out of 12 dwelling types found in the CBD area. While Gernetzky (2016) informs that women across all income brackets are more likely to use public transport than men, Friedman (2014) informs that this is particularly true for women who are in the low-income bracket.

According to the Regional Integrated Development plan of 2014-2015, the main characteristic of Region 3 is the fact that it is host to National Government offices and forms the administrative core of government and therefore has the status of capital city. Additionally, the region contains two first order nodes i.e. Brooklyn and Hatfield. According to a household statistics survey undertaken by the City of Tshwane in 2015, nearly five in every ten households feel unsafe at night in the CBD while 27,1% feel unsafe during the day as a result of the alleged crime in the area. The survey also revealed that only 6.3 % of the citizens feel unsafe on public transport such as the Metro Bus and the. A ranking of service satisfaction revealed that region 3 rated A Re Yeng BRT system a 6.55 out of 10. Improving safety conditions in the inner city is one of the highlights in the focus improvement strategies of the city in order to improve the citizen’s level of satisfaction (City of Tshwane Municipality Household Survey, 2008). Harmoniously, Mosher (2008) indicates that women’s fear for their personal safety becomes an

impediment to their ability to participate fully in the city. Moreover, Badger (2014) adds that the fear that women experience regarding violence is as server as violence itself as thus shapes the way that women live their lives in many small ways (Badger, 2014).

4.1.3 Modes of Public Transport in the City of Tshwane

The City of Tshwane offers a number of public transport modes such as the Metro rail, Gautrain light rail system, taxies, and a number of bus systems (smartertravel.com, 2016). While a majority of the residents in Gauteng (Department of Road and Transport, 2016) use minibus taxis due the affordability of their fair prices and accessibility to a number of locations in the city unlike most public transports, minibus taxis are notorious for the poor quality of service and security, which can greatly limit women's travel decisions and therefore their participation in the city (Mosher, 2008; Smith, 2008) According an article released by mail and guardian (2017), in the space of two weeks, nine women came forward reporting that they had been raped in taxis in Soweto alone. As a result, "for many women, the daily taxi commute is a dehumanising and potentially dangerous event" (Akoob, 2017). One female taxi user reported "...taxi drivers are the worst. The way they speak to you, they don't respect women at all. When I get into the taxi I pray. This is the first and foremost thing" (Akoob, 2017; P22). Moreover, taxis are notorious for not being roadworthy and having high risks of road accidents (Arrive Alive, 2017).

While the metro rail and bus system are also present in the inner city of Pretoria, the metro rail has been reported for its inefficiency due to the train not keeping to its schedule and not announcing delays. According to a local website titled Thought Leader (2017), this is a result of a number of issues including reported train malfunctions en route and doors not opening at the train stops, causing delays and an overall inconvenience to passengers (Thoughtleader.co.za, 2017). Koketso Moeti wrote a letter of complaint to the metro rail expressing her dissatisfaction regarding the train service treating their customers like cattle. After she reached out to customer care and not receiving any assistance, she posted the letter to their website. This addressed how trains would get stuck en route and passengers would be stranded and forced to make their own

solutions to get to their destinations. On one occasion, she described an incident in which passengers opted to catch a separate carriage when a train had broken down on the track. While the passengers were boarding the train, it began moving and some passengers narrowly escaped injury with the help of passengers who were already on board acting fast to grab hold of their arms to assist them on board as well. She describes a woman “whose skirt made it impossible to jump had tucked it into her panty to make the jump, something which greatly disturbed me. The lady was also quite clearly embarrassed, embarrassed for something not of her making. But that’s what you do Prasa — force us to give up our dignity just to get where we are going”. (Thoughtleader, 2017, P4).

According to the 2014/2015 Annual Report of the City of Tshwane, the official initiation of the A Re Yeng Bus Rapid system was in November 2014 as a way to relieve the severe strain and influx of individuals seeking economic opportunity in the city of Tshwane and a resolution to numerous public transport issues in the city. The A Re Yeng Bus Rapid Transit system was introduced as a way in which to introduce safe, affordable, convenient, and reliable public transport system. Tshwane’s bus rapid transit system (TRT) aimed to maximize facilities for non-motorised transport (i.e. walking and cycling)

According to ShowMe™ (2017), Tshwane’s BRT system consists of a total of 80 kilometres of bus lanes which incorporates a total of 62 stations throughout the city that run from Mabopane through Pretoria CBD, past Menlyn and onwards to Mamelodi, allowing citizens to have access to the major nodes of the city (ShowMe, 2017). The system owns an estimated 340 buses. The buses run from 06:00 in the morning up to 20:00 on week nights and 23:30 on Saturday evenings. The buses provide a two to four-minute interval for passenger boarding during peak periods and seven to ten minutes during off-peak periods.

The A Re Yeng system has two kinds of services, trunk and feeder services. Trunk services are buses that run on designated lanes, with stations positioned in the centre of the road from the CBD to Hatfield. Feeder services, on the other hand, are mixed-traffic carry passengers from mixed-traffic lanes bringing passengers to trunk route. The study

area is located along a trunk server on Nana Sita street in the CBD of Tshwane (See Figure 4).

4.2 Findings and Analysis

This section presents the interview findings of the study and discusses some of the challenges of gender sensitive transport planning in the City of Tshwane. The section will document the responses and findings of the data gathered from the questionnaires that were given to each participant. In total the interviews were conducted with four professionals at the City of Tshwane. This included, Respondent A, a land use planner who has been working for the department for three years; Respondent B who works in marketing and communications; Respondent C, A deputy director of operations; and Respondent D, Acting executive manager.

4.2.1 Policies and Guidelines

Whitworth (1994) argues that when looking into gender issues in policy statements, it is as essential to look for an absence or silences on gender statements, as it is to look for very definite statements considering gender. “The construction of assumptions around gender is produced as much by what is not said as what is said” (Whitworth, 1994, P75) She mentions that the silence on gender can be an intentional or unintentional, however, whether intentional or unintentional, the silence creates gender relations that are unequal (Whitworth, 1994). In the case of the BRT project in the City of Tshwane, the silence on gender was found in the lack of gender policy and guidelines in the project planning.

According to Mannell (2011), gender mainstreaming has generally been dismissed as a policy measure by organizations in South Africa. In the interviews conducted with the City of Tshwane, it was evident that gender-sensitive planning had not been considered. None of the respondents were able to draw on any gender policy or guidelines that influenced the planning of the BRT system. The respondents repeatedly stated that gender was not considered in the planning of the BRT project. This was particularly stressed by the Acting executive project manager, Respondent D, who informed that the

CoT has no gender-sensitive policy and that if there are any policies that she is unaware of, these are not enforced.

According to the respondents, the policies that had the largest influence on gender equality in the planning and design of the BRT was Broad-Based Black economic empowerment (BBBEE), the National Land and Transport Act 2009, Tshwane vision 2055, as well as the policy pertaining to Universal Accessibility that deals with disabled individuals. Respondent A made it clear that this policy includes the importance of achieving equality in the city as well as increased accessibility “for various people. So that basically covers that it [the BRT project] must look at females and males” (Respondent A, 2017).

One of the most noteworthy findings was that none of these documents made mention of the gender concept, however reference of gender is made in respect to equality. Gender equality is mentioned in these policy guidelines without distinguishing between gender equality and a gender perspective and appears to use these terms interchangeably. An example of this can be seen in ‘Tshwane Vision 2055’ which states that “Importantly, the City’s commitment to human rights, social mobility and environmental justice, gender equality, poverty reduction, participatory democracy and an engaged citizenry underpin Tshwane Vision 2055’s vision statement” (Tshwane Vision 2055, 2013, P108).

Three out of four of the respondents were under the impression that the guidelines Of Universal Accessibility (UA) also accommodated gender-sensitive needs. According to the respondents, this is because the goals of the policy are designed to create accessibility to all transport users “meaning old men, people who are disabled, pregnant women, and children” (Respondent D, 2017). However, the policy of Universal Access does not make mention of gender or gender-specific planning. The Universal Access guideline deals exclusively with individuals with disabilities. While it is true that the criteria to include ramps for disabled individuals in transport facilities has indirectly met one of the criteria for gender-specific needs, these ramps were not implemented with the intention to fulfil gender-sensitive planning. The remaining policies and policy guidelines mentioned by the respondents in the planning of the BRT project also made no mention of gender but

made mention of women's empowerment.

Whereas the respondents were under the impression that there are no National, Provincial or Local gender specific policies and guidelines that influence the planning and design of the BRT, the acceptance of the Beijing Platform for Action by the South African Government indicates its approval of gender mainstreaming into the sum of its institutions. The Beijing Platform for Action was approved in 1995 at the United Nations Fourth World Conference and provides guidelines on how gender mainstreaming can be accomplished. The guideline stipulates that, "It is essential to design, implement and monitor, with the full participation of women, effective, efficient and mutually reinforcing gender-sensitive policies and programmes, including development policies and programmes, at all levels that will foster the empowerment and advancement of women..." (Dep. Of Welfare, 1995, P19). The Platform of Action provides guidelines on how to attain gender mainstreaming as well as institutional structuring in order to achieve gender mainstreaming. Furthermore, it calls for the integration of a gender perspective in all programmes and policies, and strategic objectives that can be used by Governments.

In addition, the National Gender Policy Framework on Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality presents guidelines to spheres of government concerning the composition of gender policies. According to the 'South Africa's National policy framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality' the execution of gender equality is first of all the duty of all government institutions. In order to attain gender equality, the government must commence a rigorous gender mainstreaming strategy. In order to achieve this, most of the responsibility of implementing and planning strong and ground-breaking strategies will fall equally amongst national, provincial and local government.

It is also stated that Local government is accountable for the delivery of basic needs such as planning, transport, and local economic development; to name a few. "The inadequate provision of these basic needs will obviously impact negatively on women. Gender sensitive policies, procedures, and practices will therefore be crucial" (Moodley, 2017, p.33). The Policy framework goes on to state that generally speaking, there are three

main areas of intervention that government organizations can make when it comes to gender mainstreaming. These deal with internal and external gender transformation and include: raising public awareness on gender when dealing with stakeholders and clients in both community and private sectors. This will merge external and internal transformation; encouraging women's empowerment and gender equality in their internal employment practices and policies; advancing women's empowerment and gender equality in their service provision. This leads to external transformation.

The research findings demonstrated that the CoT Transport Department has not raised public awareness on gender when dealing with stakeholders and clients. Respondent A shared that the planning procedure requires that the project manager meet with the project stakeholders and gets their inputs on government policy and the plans that are being implemented. Respondent C made it known however, that while there are a number of committees that the project managers are involved in, "...the gender one I don't want to talk to it really because I don't remember anything on that" (Respondents C, 2017). In agreement with Respondents C's response, Respondent B added "Gender is not something that we have looked into. It is working progress, but there are other committees" (Respondent B, 2017). In an effort to exonerate the department, Respondent C clarified that the City of Tshwane are the planners behind the BRT system, however the function of operations is outsourced by the Tshwane Rapid Transit (TRT) bus operating company. He explained that the city "provides the service plan of what we want to see happening" (Respondents C, 2017) as well as the transformation processes to formalise the city's plans. This suggests however that there was a necessity for a stronger liaison between the CoT, the TRT, and other comparable departments that have a vital role in shaping the BRT system for the advantage of women and men.

As suggested by Greed (2005) consideration should also be given to vertical liaison to assure that those departments and authorities accountable for in-depth implementation of strategic policy affairs are completely mindful of gender issues and devoted to the operation. When the respondents were asked what gender-awareness programmes and individuals have been involved in the process of the project, after a few moments of reflecting, Respondent A answered, "There hasn't been a gender awareness program here

because there has not been a platform to execute it properly.” She went on to explain that a program that has shown some recognition of gender awareness is a program that dealt with disabilities. The program was facilitated by an individual from the National Department of Transport (NDT). During this programme, there was a platform in which parents of disabled children were given an opportunity to give commentary and feedback on the design of the BRT rapid transit system. According to Respondent A, most of the parents who attended this meeting were mothers as they were the primary caretakers of their children.

The feedback given by the parents is that the BRT stations and buses are wheelchair friendly. The only concern put forward by the parents were concerning the connectivity of the BRT to minibus taxis, as the parents had poor experiences with taxi drivers in the past. “The women said that even if the taxis allow their children to get in with their wheelchairs, the taxi drivers are very rude and very hasty and rush them to finish quickly.” Respondent A expressed that there was a form of gender awareness in the project. Respondent C instantly responded that he was not aware of any gender-awareness programmes that were involved in the BRT project and during his three years employment with the CoT. Respondent D on the other hand, responded by shaking her head and saying, “No. Gender is not looked at.”

The respondents also shared that a gender perspective has not been incorporated into the different policies of the project. While respondent A was unable to mention how a gender perspective had been incorporated into the different policies of the project, Respondent D simply answered, “Transport-related, no” (Respondent D, 2017). Respondent C and Respondent B also informed that gender had not been looked at exclusively but is covered under Universal Access.

4.2.2 Gender Proofing

The National Policy framework suggests the review of current institutional policies with the principles of gender equality and the removal or alteration of policies that are not in

line with the Gender Policy Document. The policy provides short-term performance indicators that assess the progress of policy implementation, transformation, and the extent of success or failure of setting up effective mechanisms and structures for institutionalising gender equality and women's empowerment. One of the focal points of short-term indicators is data collection and utilisation. According to the gender framework, the indicators of effective data collection and utilization are listed as the following; “

- a) effective process of production and utilisation of gender disaggregated data and statistics;
- b) gender disaggregated data collection that reflects the relevant situation, problem and concerns of women and men;
- c) gender disaggregated data and statistics reviewed and updated regularly for use in programme development, planning and implementation
- d) adequate capacity (human and financial) for the collection, analysis and dissemination of gender-related statistics (particularly by Statistics SA)” (National Gender Framework, 2000, p.51).

It was discovered that the CoT does not systematically collect and analyze gender disaggregated statistics or other forms of information. Respondent D informed that “during household surveys, there is no gender captured... Sometimes, if you ask gender sensitive questions, they [people] feel as though you are discriminating them... So no.” (Respondent D, 2017). The remaining participants were unsure of this information and upon further investigation from other colleagues, they discovered that the data captured was not sex-disaggregated.

Reeves (2002) points out that mainstreaming requires taking into consideration the needs of women and men in existing policy. It identifies that women's equality can be attained by addressing “the relationship between, and the situation of, women and men.” (Reeves, 2002, P 200). When the respondents were asked to share if the project included an examination of gender relations and prevailing gender discrimination of woman in the city of Tshwane, Respondent D laughed uncomfortably while shaking her head and

answered, “Not at all. That is something that should be looked at, but it’s not there.” Respondent A however, gave an example of how the project took into account female vendors who work in the market in the CBD in the CoT.

“Prior to the installation of the BRT, these commuters used mini bus taxis. However, due to their bulky luggage that contains their stock, they were charged twice by taxi drivers for occupying the place of two passengers. The BRT buses offered enough storage space for the vendors to place their bags without having to pay twice the travel fair. But one thing we did not cater was the times” (Respondent A, 2017).

Respondent A recounted that the vendors had to leave at 4 am to reach the CBD in time to start working, whereas the first BRT buses only started running much later. “So, we had to change our timetable to cater to them. So, I think that was a kind of an examination for women at work as we had to cater to their routes. It was a timetable shift that we needed to do, and it was successful” (Respondent A, 2017).

However, Respondent A related that no research was done on gender gaps or gender relationships between men and women in the CoT. She informed that in the case where the BRT system had taken into account the female vendors schedule, this information was brought forward to the department by the taxi industry, which “is a very important stakeholder”.

The taxis “were the existing public transport that was used by these ladies. They [the taxi industry] are the ones that told us that we have to reschedule our timetable in order to cater for them because they are the ones who transported these ladies early in the morning and they saw that our buses come in later than that. So, it wasn't researched, it was actually one of those stakeholder meetings in the taxi industry giving us a recommendation on what to do.”

While respondents C and B were under the impression that the collection of data on gender gaps and relationships had been done during the planning stage of the project, Respondent D answered the question with a resolute, “No.”

While the respondents informed that no gender disaggregated data had been collected, Respondent A was able to identify a few practical and strategic gender needs of women in the city of Tshwane. Respondent A expressed that within the CoT, “women are hard workers and women want employment and accessibility. They want to go to work with ease”. Respondent A also went on to describe how women in Tshwane who had families wanted easy access to fetch their children from school. “And I think they want an efficient public transport” (Respondent A, 2017). Respondent A further pointed out that in the work environment, women are interested in career orientated growth. “In senior to upper level, they [women] are interested in careers that are gender sensitive and can also accommodate their family life and personal life... Women want to go to work easily and fetch their children, and they enjoy our buses because there is a lot of space for their luggage” (Respondent A, 2017).

On the other hand, Respondents C and B were unable to identify any gender sensitive needs of women in the CoT. Respondent C laughed ill at ease at the question stating that according to his knowledge, this had not been studied. Respondent D also chuckled and responded, “I don’t think gender is taken seriously. The only time we speak of gender is on women’s month or when someone is pregnant... So, we [women] get into the workplace, and we forget that we are women and we just become accustomed to the man's world. So basically, no gender sensitivity. It is not there.”

When the respondents were questioned on how the productive and reproductive roles influence the mobility patterns of women and men in the CoT, Respondent C and D articulated that gender sensitivity had not been taken into consideration during the project and that it is a work in progress. However, no timeframe was given as to when this could be redressed. According to Greed (2005) if gender is to be mainstreamed into plan-making, statistics on women’s work travel patterns, and other land-use related activities should be emphasised in all plan making performances to give a correct representation of women within the population. Women’s work patterns, journey’s and caretaking duties would significantly shape the location and distribution of the various land uses, development types and transport routes. This idea was reiterated by Respondent D, who was not able to answer the question, however, she chose to speak from her perspective as

a woman in the city of Tshwane. Respondent D disclosed that she is a working mother and has the responsibility of transporting her children to school, extramural activities, as well as taking care of her own needs. “So, you make a plan, and you find friends if you can’t fetch them... So public transport must be available. It's just that public transport in South Africa was never taken seriously” (Respondent D, 2017). She expressed that public transport has only been looked into recently in South Africa with projects such as the BRT. Respondent D also articulated that the BRT project loses focus very quickly because the BRT is a relatively new project. She argued that one cannot judge the BRT “plans in a short space of time. We short live our plans” (Respondent D, 2017).

Respondent A responded with slight hesitation and seemingly uncertain, however she opined that the travel patterns in the city used to consist of men going to work while women stayed at home. In the present day, travel patterns of citizens comprised of women also working outside of the home. In addition to this, “they drop [off] their children and pick them up. So, this influences their mobility patterns to a large extent” (Respondent A, 2017).

The findings indicate that CoT transport department does not use gender-disaggregated information to define or influence the BRT policies. Respondent D explained however that within the department, gender equality is considered in employment and this requires gender-disaggregated information. “It looks at how many females we have, how many blacks or Indians etc...” (Respondent D, 2017). As such, the local planning authorities of the CoT have more chance of using gender disaggregated information for reflecting employment equality legislation within the department and distinguishing population groups by sex, than for transport policies.

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The findings of the research also indicate that the CoT transport department does not have any written policies to ensure gender proofing. Respondent A disclosed that there are no gender proofing measures that are incorporated in the project. She added, “I’m not aware of any, there might be” (Respondent A, 2017). Respondent B simply vocalised that HR ensures that none of the projects are discriminating. Respondent C nodded in agreement with Respondent B’s response. Respondent D referred to the use of the Universal Accessibility (UA) when answering what methods were used for gender proofing in the project. She mentioned that UA is used so as to avoid being discriminating by being all-inclusive as opposed to gender specific.

It is stated by European Institute for Gender Equality (2016) however, that gender neutral policies could possibly maintain existing gender inequalities “or even result in having a differential impact on women and men, in particular women and men from disadvantaged groups” (Eige, 2017, p1). The literature also suggests that, gender neutral policies fail to promote substantive gender equality and are gender blind (Eige, 2017). As indicated by Stewart (2016), Government policies have a tendency of being less effective, or not successful at all, if the different impact on women and men is not taken into account” (Stewart, 2016, P3). Therefore, the use of gender-neutral policy guidelines in the BRT project has a great ability to limit women from accessing basic services. This speaks to Friedman’s (2014) argument that the lack of regard of the differential impact of transport planning on gender has the potential to significantly limit women from accessing basic rights and services in the city (Friedman, 2014; Barter and Tamim 2000) and therefore to propel existing gender inequalities. Furthermore, Levy (2013, p.10) points out that although mainstream transport makes no recognition of the social position of transport users, “it is not ideologically neutral either”. She argues that the outcomes of transport policy and planning are shaped by presumptions that influence the outcomes. These assumptions often include the understanding of household structures, gender relations,

the division of labor in households and many other gender structures that are influenced by middle-class and “western” values.

Therefore, while the CoT has not considered gender in the planning of the BRT project so as to avoid discrimination, it can also be assumed that the planning is not ideologically neutral either. Brenner (2009) describes that gender mainstreaming varies from women-orientated policies in that it is not centred completely on women as the primary audience. Alternatively, gender mainstreaming is centralized on the relationship between the genders and the knowledge of women and men’s needs. Therefore, this style of planning does not consider gender in a detached manner, as has been understood by Respondent D, but observes gender in relation to social, cultural, and demographic features (Brenner, 2009; European Commission, 2008).

4.2.4 Monitoring and Evaluation of BRT Planning

Monitoring and evaluation are strongly connected to execution as they trace the gender sensitive planning process. In the planning of the BRT project, the monitoring and evaluating of the extent to which the goals and policies of gender equality and equity are translated and accomplished, has been absent. Respondent A and D informed that there are no tools used to monitor and measure gender equity and equality in the planning policies. Respondent D elaborated, “We look at universal accessibility. Done. Tick the box” (Respondent D, 2017). Respondent A expounded; “I think the organisation is more reliant on responses from the communities; queries, questions, and complaints. That’s when they react. Honestly speaking, they are reactive” (Respondent A, 2017). Respondent C and B also expressed that they too were unaware of any such monitoring and evaluation tools. Consequently, the CoT’s gender related decision-making is founded on what Greed (2005) refers to as short-term ‘fire-fight’ problem solving method, as opposed to long-term strategies. The current monitoring processes do not evaluate the CoT performance in gender sensitive planning or determine whether potential gender discrimination is avoided.

The respondents gave mixed feedback as to whether the individuals accountable for monitoring the project have satisfactory gender knowledge and competence. Respondent C communicated that the quality control assurance inspectors ensure that all employees are trained “in all these issues of gender sensitivity” (Respondent C, 2017). Respondent B merely agreed with Respondent C’s statement. While Respondent A seemed unsure of whether the individuals accountable for monitoring the project had received adequate gender knowledge. She responded; “Our monitors are national Department of Transport, so they make sure that we comply with Universal Access” (Respondent A, 2017). Respondent A continued, “I’m sure they do a reporting at cabinet where there is the Department of Women, Gender and Disability. I’m sure they have knowledge that they have to do that” (Respondent A, 2017). Contrastingly, Respondent D, the acting executive head of department, expressed again that gender has not been considered in the project, instead Universal Accessibility was the key focus. She added that there is “some level” of training. However, it does not focus on gender; “...It's looking at everyone as being equal, and you want to make sure that people are not discriminated based on their gender” (Respondent D, 2017).

The findings of research indicate that the CoT Transport Department has expected gender sensitive planning outcome without tools for gender sensitive monitoring and evaluation. This has meant that the impacts of the BRT goals and policies on gender equality and equity are not easily discernible. However, it is stated by Grosz (1998) that one form of monitoring and evaluation is through participatory methods. The participation of citizens is essential if policies are to reflect their needs and aspirations (Reeves, 2002). The results of the findings show that participatory processes are an essential part of municipality planning in the Department of Transport. Respondents A notified that it is mandatory that an opportunity is given for comments to be provided by stakeholder groups on project plans. These meetings are described by the respondents as an opportunity in which to bring forward gender-related concerns. Respondent D informed, “Remember, government stakeholder engagement process says we must get input from communities. So, what you’re implementing is not what you want but what the people need” (Respondent D, 2017).

Respondent A and Respondent D related that the results and proposals of the participatory process are shared with the target groups of the plan. Respondent A informed that minutes are emailed along with the resolutions. Respondent B shared that the department always makes an effort to communicate with the affected parties. Similarly, Respondent C elaborated that the feedback from the participatory processes are brought back to the city “because it is part of public participation processes guided by policies” (Respondent C, 2017). The inputs from the participatory processes are put into a report, which is then sent to council for consideration. Respondent C explained, “because one day if the communities are in dispute with you, they will refer you back to those comments. And we have to keep a clean record of attendance register and everything to prove that we followed the process” (Respondent C, 2017).

When the respondents were asked if there was a commitment to include women’s participation in decision-making structures, Respondent A communicated that she was unable to provide information for this question. Respondent D made it known that there is no commitment to incorporating women’s participation in decision-making structures. She informed that while there is a Women in Transport (WIT) focus groups who are attempting to mainstream themselves, they are limited by the lack of policy on gender mainstreaming. Respondent B, on the other hand, answered assuredly that women’s participation had been included in decision-making structures. She explained that “In everything we do we consult. We go to various communities, and we invite them and the ward councillors of that community” (Respondent B, 2017). Respondent B then added that it is necessary to carryout participation in the affected communities “otherwise they will sue municipality” (Respondent B, 2017). Therefore, while it is mandatory that the municipality carryout participatory processes with residents, there appears to be an assumption that by including women in the participatory meetings, the participatory meetings will become a platform to raise gender issues. In addition, the responsibility to initiate any gender issues and gender strategic interests are left to the community members.

The respondents were then asked how the project secured that the judgement of actors can be assured from the perspective of the interests and needs of women and men, Respondent D shared that this was ensured through “stakeholder engagements” (Respondent D, 2017). She explained that in government it is essential to get the perspectives of the public. She adds that while sometimes people are opposed to the government's plans “sometimes as government you have to enforce because you are looking at the bigger picture. If people give suggestions that can work, in most cases, we do consider” (Respondent D, 2017). Respondent D made an example of how the BRT project was opposed by individuals who were private car owners. She adds “Most people that have, don’t care about the needy. They just want comfort for themselves” (Respondent D, 2017). As such, the government has to enforce their plans despite the opposition from some individuals as they have a higher interest in mind. Similarly, Respondent C referred to the public participation process, which creates a platform for the interests of men and women to be heard and that policy requires that public actors address the interests. Respondent A enlightened that there is a code of conduct that all employees have to sign when they are employed. She discloses that this code of conduct addresses the importance of public service. In addition to this, all CoT employees have the Batho Pele principles. Respondent A explained that this policy “basically says that the people come first. The way we cater to their needs, the way we give them customer care” (Respondent A, 2017).

Dame and Grant (2001) put forward the importance of taking gender into the participatory process as there a number of factors that create a challenge for women to participate in meetings relating to planning and public design. One of these factors is the time in which the meetings are held which either pose a safety threat or because of gender specific responsibilities (such as childcare), which make it difficult to leave the house during certain hours. When the respondents were questioned whether the time frame of the participatory meetings were designed to suit both women and men, Respondent A articulated that the only public participation process that she attended were during the afternoon as it was with students of the University of Pretoria; however, a time frame of the meetings was not discussed with the participants. Respondent A shares; “they didn’t

ask them [the participants] when they are available, they just gave a time during the day” (Respondent A, 2017). In contrast to Respondent A, Respondent C added, “We usually work closely with the councillor, and they will relay what time is the best time for everyone” (Respondent C, 2017). Respondent B gave more detail regarding the time of the meeting by articulating that they usually take place in the evenings around 6 pm and end at 8 pm or 9 pm. “This is because during the day people are at work. People have commitments and are not available” (Respondent B, 2017). Respondent D disclosed that participatory processes and focus groups usually take place during the weekends or the evenings “so that we get everybody after work” (Respondent D, 2017). She explained that focus groups usually consist of institutions and professional associations who come together to engage on different topics.

According to United Nations Development Programme (2006), essential aspects of gender mainstreaming include studying gender roles, distinguishing gender-desegregated impacts. Therefore, considering the fact that the CoT did not incorporate these aspects into the planning of the BRT, the respondents were asked how the department ensures that gender equality is one of the measures by which decision-making and performance is evaluated. Respondent D laughed while shaking her head “We must just encompass it with Universal Accessibility. So, it’s not necessarily about gender” (Respondent D, 2017). Respondent A also voiced that; “the project generally looks at equality at large. So not specifically gender sensitive. Equality at large is determined more by looking at the elderly, children, and students” (Respondent A, 2017). Respondent C expressed that gender equality had been achieved through public participation. He describes, “we engage the communities, and we take feedback from our own reports” (Respondent C, 2017). He adds that before the plans are rolled out there needs to be approval from council on the plans. Once the approval is received, it is necessary to meet again with the community “to say now we are at this level. And then if we agree, we start building” (Respondent C, 2017). Respondent C informed that if there are issues that arise within the forum, they need to be implemented in the project. Respondent B, on the other hand, responded, “I don’t want to lie. To be honest with you, these gender issues we do not touch them in this project” (Respondent B, 2017).

Therefore, the responses of the interviewees again stated explicitly that gender was not considered during the planning of the BRT system and participatory meetings. In some instances, the respondents silence on gender during the responses suggests also reinforced this findings. Moreover, the findings of the research indicated that the monitoring and evaluation of the BRT project overall has lacked a gender sensitive perspective. It is reported in Tshwane's IDP that safety is a major issue in the city. 5 in every 10 households feeling unsafe in the CBD at night (City of Tshwane Municipality Survey, 2008). As such, it is imperative that gender sensitivity be incorporated in the allocation of participatory times. This will ensure that issues such as safety do not inhabit the ability for women and men to attend meetings, as well as other gender related issues. Safety is particularly an issue for women as women are recognised as the primary target to victimization in the South African context (Nation Master, 2016). The quotation given by *'South African Local Government, Gender and Development - A Handbook for Councillors and Official'* best describes the importance of gender sensitive monitoring and evaluation in local municipalities,

“Local Government is the sphere of government closest to the people, and the one that impacts most on women's lives. It is best placed to analyse and respond to the needs of different women. To date, local government has lacked a coherent approach and the necessary tools to advance gender equality and not much attention has been given to this issue in discussions on national machinery” (Kornegay, 2000, P.33).

It would appear that since 2000, the publishing of this paper little to no improvements have been made in the incorporating necessary tools to progress gender equality.

4.2.5 Capacity Building and Competence Development

According to Strasbourg (1998) the actors who are involved in the policy processes needs to have the ability to detect gender issues and how to create policy processes that take gender into account. Moreover, every individual involved in gender mainstreaming will

need to receive education on gender mainstreaming and equality. One of the biggest ways in which the CoT has failed in incorporating gender sensitive planning has been in the limited effort of building understanding through training and sensitizing their staff on the gender concept and gender sensitive planning. When the respondents were asked to share their understanding of the gender concept the study discovered that the understanding of gender given by the respondents varied considerably, indicating a lack of gender training. Respondent D shared that for her, gender refers to gender relations in the workplace. Respondent A, on the other hand, giggled nervously and responded “Gender is a term used to describe different people of biological definition. So basically, male and female” (Respondent A, 2017). Respondent C expressed that for him gender refers to the oppression of women and women’s empowerment. He spoke of women’s exclusion during the apartheid era and added, “But since we are in the new demographic system, we begin to have women in transport” (Respondent C, 2017).

Little (1994) argued that the function of planning in dealing with inequalities would fail to be assessed or understood without identifying the wider organisational environment wherein it operates. Therefore, the planners’ limited understanding of gender is a component to the barrier of the implementation of gender sensitive policies in the CoT. When asked if there was a commitment to sensitizing the staff on gender concerns and how to translate these concerns into the project, Respondent D answered firmly “No. Nothing that I know off.” On the other hand, Respondent C answered assuredly, “There is that commitment. We also have equity meetings that we normally have per quarter to address issues of gender and the likes.” Respondent A informed that Human Resource (HR) had created an opportunity for staff to be sensitized on gender issues in all the departments of the CoT, “However, in terms of execution, it did not go far because we never met. I think it didn’t pull through because we don’t have a gender champion within the department” (Respondent A, 2017). Therefore, while there is intention of sensitizing the municipal staff on gender issues and gender concerns, the implementation has not carried out.

Similarly, it was discovered that gender training and sensitizing had not been offered for the project partners. While Respondent C was under the impression that the training and

sensitizing of project partners on gender equality and sensitivity in public transport had been done in the course of the project, Respondent B corrected him in saying that this had not been. In answer to the question, Respondent A chuckled and answered, “The largest stakeholder is the taxi industry, and I don’t think so. Actually, this question, I don’t know.” Respondent D on the other hand answered seemingly unsure, “I guess so” (Respondent D, 2017). She then made an example of how the CoT insists on having a certain percentage of female bus drivers, “because remember the drivers are from the taxi industry as well, so we need to source women so that we cover the equity part” (Respondent D, 2017). For this reason, Respondent D assumed that the project partners had received some form of gender sensitising.

While cities such as India have felt the need to provide female only buses and bus drivers in an attempt to make women feel safer on buses (Sanghani, 2015), this has not been the case with Tshwane’s BRT system. The CoT BRT system has not shown discrimination towards having female bus drivers and security guards in the bus station as well as on board the bus. While hiring female bus drivers was not done deliberately to make women feel safer in the BRT system of the CoT, the presence of other women in public spaces has proven to make women feel more at ease in the built environment (O’Leary, 2011). O’Leary reports that women are sceptical to use male dominated spaces and sometimes go as far as evading them (O’Leary, 2011). On the other hand, spaces that are occupied by women, have proven to be occupied by an increased number of people overall than those that are not (Dame and Grant, 2001).

These findings indicate that the CoT employees and project partners of the CoT have not received adequate gender training. The form of gender training mentioned by respondents D only made mention of women’s empowerment in the work place however did not make mention of having a gender perspective within the planning of the BRT project. As indicated by United Nations Development Programme (2006) a common complaint of gender training programmes in the South African context is that these are often too broad and do not teach to distinguish gender mainstreaming in different areas of practice. The findings of the research demonstrate an agreement with this statement.

4.2.6 Crisis Prevention and Recovery

According to a study carried out by the Associated Chamber of Commerce and Industry in India (Frontline) in 2013 public transport is one of the areas in which women experience the highest levels of sexual harassment. Concerning gender mediation, the answers given by Respondents A B and C communicate that the presence of security guards (See Image 8) at the BRT stations ensures that all passengers are safe from victimisation. Respondent D informed that there are help boxes inside the bus station where passengers can report any offensive activity.

The respondents were asked whether there are help desks or contact points provided for users to report concerns relating to the BRT and how these assist the authorized officers in fulfilling their duties more efficiently. Respondent D answered assuredly that there is a contact point in which passengers can report their experiences and concerns relating to the BRT. She specified “there are also boxes inside the station where they can report” (Respondent D, 2017). Respondent B also answered with assurance to the question informing that her job description in customer information services means that she is part and parcel of the individuals who deal with customer complaints. “We have a call centre here and at the stations as well. We have customer care and agents that assist people and work with queries” (Respondent B, 2017). Lastly, Respondent B added that there is also a walk-in centre where customers can go to report any concerns.

Figure 8: BRT Security Guard



Similarly, Respondent A made it known that there are means for customers to report any problems they might have. “We have the customer care unit in this building, and they would get a call” (Respondent A, 2017). She went on to explain that there is a call centre and information control centre (ICC) that deal with operational issues. “So, the ICC talks to the customer care people because they have monitors” (Respondent A, 2017) and are therefore able to see problems on the ground within the bus routes. Respondent A also mentioned that some of the customer complaints have been about a BRT intermodal facility at Wonderboom regarding the lack of lighting. “So, commuters are hesitant to use the transport at night” (Respondent A, 2017). According to O’Leary (2011) an element of actual or perceived safety is important in restraining or improving women’s travel patterns. The presence of adequate lighting is needed in and around transit stops as this

has a direct correlation to the frequency of women's mobility patterns and the frequency of public transport use during the later hours of the day amongst women (O'Leary, 2011). Lighting is highlighted as one of the main elements that has a great ability to discourage women from using public transport after sunset and from even engaging with public spaces after dark (Painter, 1992; Dame and Grant, 2001).

According to Respondent A, there are many gender-specific disputes reported concerning the BRT project in the CoT. Respondent A communicated that these gender-specific conflicts related to the lack of connectivity of the BRT system to the passenger's points of origin and destination during the first phase of the project. "So, people used to complain about where they were going to park. We do not have a park and ride facility, it's in the plan, but it is not implemented" (Respondent A, 2017). Respondent A goes on to explain that within those complaints, "comes the whole gender sensitive issue where parents can't just use our system because it is not a complete system" (Respondent A, 2017). Respondent B however, was unable to recall any customer complaints that were gender specific. Instead, she shared that "Mostly the complaints are about the staff being rude or not having information about it [the BRT]. But nothing relating to gender" (Respondent B 2017). Similarly, Respondent D was unable to share any BRT disputes that were gender specific. In response to the question, Respondent D answered "Gender? No, not that I can remember" (Respondent D, 2017). She mentioned however that in the work environment, there is a level of difficulty in raising gender issues. "We work in a political space, with politicians and sometimes you just sit back and keep quiet and not raise issues because you don't want to be victimised, so it's a catch 22" (Respondent D, 2017). She spoke about the difficulty to challenge why all top managerial positions are occupied by men. Lastly, Respondent D added, "Maybe there are policies on equity, but no one is enforcing" (Respondent D, 2017).

When asked how gender-specific disputes would be dealt with by the department, Respondent A explained that these issues would be handled in the same way that all complaints are dealt. This would begin with customer services contacting the customer after a complaint is launched "and then they speak about the matter and see how they can

resolve it” (Respondent B, 2017). A meeting is then set with the customer, if necessary, however, the issue can be resolved through an email or telephone call, then a meeting will not be set up. Respondent A assumed that the resolution approach for customer complaints would depend on the nature of the complaint and what the complaint involves. She supposed however that, “with any issue, whether it is gender sensitive or not, project planning and implementation unit would resolve these issues” (Respondent A, 2017). According to Guidance on gender and inclusive mediation strategies (2017, p.15), “Gender- sensitive conflict analysis is a first and essential step towards a gender-sensitive mediation process.” Therefore, a gender perspective needs to be incorporated throughout the process of conflict analysis whereas the findings of the research indicate that the CoT has not incorporated a gender perspective in its mediation processes.

4.2.7 Gender Sensitive Institutional Transformation

One of the gender initiatives that are evident in the department is the initiative to empower women due to the influence of Broad-Based Economic Empowerment. Regarding the use of gender quotas in the BRT project, Respondent D informed that employment equity requires that HR consider the number of female posts that need to be filled in the department. “But no one is enforcing it, I guess. The policies are there, but enforcement is another thing” (Respondent A, 2017). Respondent D went on to explain that for this reason, it becomes easier if the advertisement for job positions in the department specifies that they are seeking females only. She expounded that this closes the opportunity for men to be preferred candidates for job openings during interview processes. “I don’t think employment equity is taken as seriously as it should be. It was there previously, but now I don’t see it happening” (Respondent D, 2017). Similarly, Respondent A also enlightened that employment equity ensures that gender quotas are enforced by HR, although she was not confident that gender quotas were being applied as actively as they should be. Respondent B notified that the BRT project was previously headed by women. The respondent added; “The two previous acting head executing managers were women and 90% of us in the project are also women but men are usually in higher positions like your deputy directors” (Respondent B, 2017).

While it is evident from literature presented in the preceding chapters, women in all parts of the world only consist of a small percentage of those who are employed in the major transport occupations (Peters, 2013). The findings of the interview contradict this statement. Although respondent A was unable to answer how many positions are assigned to men and women in the in the project, she recounted an email she received from the department that was advertised for Director of Infrastructure, which specifically stipulated the need for a man in the position. Respondent A mentioned that this was interesting to her because “it’s currently a female who is acting the position” (Respondent A, 2017). Upon investigation, she was surprised to learn that “our units are not employment equity compliant” (Respondent A, 2017) because the majority of the current employees in the department are females. “So, they had to bring more men on board” (Respondent A, 2017). Therefore, while there is a strong attempt to empower women in the municipality, the fact that the higher positions in the department belong to men indicates that gender institutional transformation has been limited in the CoT.

Respondent D informed that no organisational development on gender issues had been encouraged by the BRT. Respondent D answered seemingly uncomfortably “Maybe you should have spoken to a man because I will be bias. Because it's not there. It’s not there. It’s definitely not there” (Respondent D, 2017). Respondent D conveyed that she works mostly with men because she studied engineering. She expresses how the senior male employees have higher expectations for women because they are usually more willing to problem solve. However, because women also have reproductive roles to fulfil outside of their work environments, work calls after hours become burdensome to women who are expected to fulfil reproductive role in the home. “I normally say I’m leaving now. Your wife has fetched your kids, I still have to fetch mine” (Respondent D, 2017). According to Respondent D, organizations are still led by men. She concluded by saying that the world still belongs to men and that “Maybe there are policies somewhere in the shelves, but no one is enforcing them” (Respondent D, 2017). Respondent A believed that organisational development on gender issues had been encouraged by the BRT project. She referred to the problem-solving capacities the project demonstrated in resolving gender-related issues such as that of the female vendors in the CBD of Tshwane. She

believes that this represented how the department has begun to look at gender-related concerns. This further reiterates the finding that the CoT has only focused gender equality in terms of employment opportunities and that even in this area there has been a lack of full institutional transformation.

This may also be the reason as to why 3 out of 4 of the participants felt as though the BRT project had not motivated any personal development on gender issues. After a moment of contemplation, Respondent D articulated that the project had not motivated personal development on gender issues, but she has experienced personal growth in the form of exposure and challenging herself to “step up” (Respondent D, 2017). She added, “You just have to think and apply yourself. It’s a man's world” (Respondent D, 2017). Respondent B also informed that the project had not motivated any personal development on gender issues. She expounded that the project has only aided in building her interest in transport. Before her employment with the department, she was unaware of how the transport operations functioned. She recounts, “Before; I always had the perception that it's just a male space and it’s done by men. But it’s something that I can also do” (respondent D, 2017). Respondent A expressed that the CoT is a specialised institution. She continued fervently, “And surprisingly they [individuals with specialities] are male! So, there is still a lot of male domination within this built environment” (Respondent A, 2017). Respondent A added that because of this, the project has allowed her to see that there is a need for more gender-sensitive planning within the built environment as the built environment is where implementation is predominantly practised. “Especially bulk infrastructure. Infrastructure implementation that changes and affects people’s mobility and accessibility and so forth” (Respondent A, 2017).

When the respondents were asked to share their personal opinion on whether the project has promoted gender awareness, respondent C felt that the project had promoted gender equality because of the 40 female bus drivers that were employed as a means of women’s empowerment. He also added that the fact that three-quarters of the professional engineers on the team are women is fascinating to him as the field had previously been male-dominated. Respondent B agreed strongly with Respondent C’s response and added

that because the project was formerly led by women, this is also an indication of gender awareness. Respondent A answered, “I would say 50/50” (Respondent A, 2017). She then expressed that in her opinion the project had promoted gender awareness to the individuals who have had the opportunity to be involved in “certain platforms to see if there is a gender-sensitive issue. So, I would say that in the case of the officials, yes” (Respondent A, 2017). Respondent A also communicated that the initiative to hire 40 female drivers “made an awareness at a city-wide scale that we are not gender discriminatory and we are trying as much as possible to balance the inequalities” (Respondent A, 2017). Respondent D simply answered “No.”

While the implementation of women’s empowerment shows an attempt from the CoT to transform the department and fulfil gender quality in the work place, it is evident that the transport department is still a male dominated space as males occupy the highest job positions. The attempt to empower women has been centred narrowly on improving the number of women employed by the department and has not translated into an organisational transformation and in the planning processes of the municipality. The CoT’s approach to institutional transformation harkens more to the Women in Development (WID) approach as opposed to gender mainstreaming, which was in response to the lack of women’s inclusion in development plans. However, much like the Marxist and feminist activist critique of the gender approach that the WID does not recognise women’s disadvantages, the approach taken by the CoT has failed to recognise women’s disadvantages and has not made an attempt to mainstream gender equality. This has resulted in a very superficial incorporation of gender equality by the CoT.

When the respondents were asked to share their opinion on how gender sensitive the BRT system is, Respondent D referred to the priority seating on the bus and said that this could suggest a level of sensitivity, even though it is not exclusive to women. Respondent B answered hesitantly in saying that the BRT is still in the process of being gender sensitive, however, “It’s not yet there” (Respondent B, 2017). Respondent C simply agreed with Respondent B’s response. Again, Respondent A answered that she felt the BRT is 50/50 on gender sensitivity. She believed that there had been initiatives taken into

consideration to cater to women. These include infrastructure implementation within the buses and rescheduling the schedule to accommodate working women. She then added, “The other 50 is that there is no gender awareness of gender-sensitive theory or policy in place that I am aware of that is sort of a guideline. And it's not just supposed to be just the CoT. I think it must start at national department” (Respondent A, 2017).

As a follow up question, the respondents were asked how gender sensitivity can be promoted in projects such as the BRT. Respondent B felt that gender sensitivity could be promoted by giving women more exposure to the BRT operations and in so doing increase their knowledge of the BRT project. She defended this point by making an example of her friends who are unaware of what the BRT system is. “They just know that there is transport and there are buses. They don't see any difference between A Re Yeng and the normal metro buses” (Respondent B, 2017). She also expressed that there are instances where her knowledge of the BRT project is limited, and she has to reach out to Respondent C for assistance; however, she would like to have more exposure and have more knowledge of the project overall. Respondent C felt that gender awareness could be promoted by the CoT creating stronger relationships with tertiary institutions “and get the students to create awareness” (Respondent C, 2017). He believes that many students are interest in the transport but are unaware of the BRT system, and a working closer with students would be beneficial to creating gender awareness. Respondent D believes that introducing policies that are gender specific can create gender awareness. She explained that if a policy is not specific “then you're not getting to what your target market is. So, it's about the policy and enforcing” (Respondent D, 2017).

Enthusiastically, Respondent A shared that gender sensitivity can be promoted by having guideline policy which looks at operations, infrastructure implementation and planning. She believes that stakeholders should be stipulated in these guiding policies. Respondent A discussed that there is also a need for a platform specifically for gender issues “whether it's from commuters, whether it is from officials, where they come and bring gender issues that can be catered to. Another one is to have a gender champion within the project that can look at all these issues. And a gender champion and their team to go into

all the stakeholder platforms and ensure that they address gender sensitive issues. I think once those are in place, they will be able to cater to many things” (Respondent A, 2017).

4.2.8 Gender Budgeting

The affordability of public transport is an important factor to consider in public transport as it determines whether the citizens will be able to access the public transport mode. Durand *et al.* (2016) indicates that women are more willing to walk long distances to reach their destination, than pay for public transport that they find unaffordable. Moreover, if women find public transport to be very expensive, women will resort to forgoing the opportunity to find employment. According to Peters (2001) economically-oriented approaches are inclined to emphasize women's restrictions to affording better transport. As such, this is one of the primary reasons for gendered travel patterns. The BRT system in the CoT works on a point-based system in which the amount of money a passenger loads onto their card. The more money loaded by the passenger, the more value loaded onto the user’s card. This means that in a trip of the same distance and time, commuters are charged different amounts according to how much they loaded onto their cards. The individual who loaded more money will be charged less than the individual who loaded a smaller amount for the same trip.

Commuters earn points according to the distance travelled. The table below is taken from the A Re Yeng website and provides information on how travel points are calculated.

Figure 9: BRT Point System

Straight line distance travelled	A Re Yeng fare
0-3 km	8 points
3-8 km	10 points
8-14 km	12 points

Source: CoT, 2017

While the Tshwane BRT system offers a number of concessionary fares, these are only targeted at teenage students, children below the age of 5, and pensioners. Respondent B

shared that there are indeed off-peak cost reductions that apply from 8:30 am – 3:00 pm, however, she explained that the concession fees that are only available for students and pensions. She was unable to affirm that this was done with the intention to prevent disadvantages and discrimination towards women. Respondent A, on the other hand, was able to verify that the reduced off-peak fares were not set intentionally to avoid bias to women, “but not to discriminate the commenters at large” (Respondent A, 2017). She also denied that bus fees are reduced during off-peak hours and added that the prices are distance based and that the only price reductions that are available to customers are the concession fees as they have been previously mentioned. In concurrence with Respondent B, Respondent D and C explained that price concessions are only provided for individuals who are older than 60 and pensioners.

The Connector card for the bus cost R25 and is only paid cash. The fact that the BRT system chooses to charge its customers per 3 kilometres travelled, may discourage some passengers from using the BRT system. This is because the exact cost of a trip may be challenging to calculate unless the user knows the exact distance of the destination of their trip. Although no information was uncovered as to why the BRT system operates in this way, the inability for passengers to not be able to calculate the price of their journey or budget effectively may discourage commuters from using the BRT system as opposed to other modes of transport where the price is fixed.

A study conducted by Vaz and venter in Johannesburg (2012) accounted that the cost of the BRT system did not work in favour of individuals who are in low-income groups. In the case of the CoT however, female users considered the price of traveling on the BRT system to be affordable. During a set of questionnaires conducted with 11 female BRT users, all of the respondents considered the BRT to be a very affordable transport system. One of the commuters explained that her journey cost R7 when using the BRT while taxis charge R15. Three of the eleven women felt that the BRT was affordable because the system allows users to load any amount on their cards. While the income bracket of these users was not determined, it appears that the BRT transport fares have not result in the exclusion of women. Collins (1999) points out that women are faced with dual

discrimination due to their gender and other intersecting personalities such as low-income and ethnicity. This results in women experiencing greater levels of marginalisation and exclusion in the city. It is for this reason that Javanovikj *et al.* (2010) believes that budgets should not take a gender-neutral stance as the budget affects men and women in different ways. However, despite the fact that price fixing of the BRT fares only considered concession for the pensioners and scholars, the female BRT users in the CoT consider the system to be affordable.

When asked whether the expenditures of the BRT were assigned specifically to achieve gender equality. Respondent A articulated that the A Re Yeng buses had been configured and customised “to make sure that they put enough luggage space and passenger seating and such” (Respondent A, 2017). She also mentioned the change in the timetable for the female vendors in the CBD. She elaborates, “We had to pay a service provider to do the rescheduling. Because our schedulers are not in-house, so an expenditure came into that one” (Respondent A, 2017). Respondent D simply answered “No gender but universal accessibility yes. It comes at a cost. But no gender” (Respondent D, 2017). Respondent B and C were unable to recall any expenditure that was explicitly assigned to achieve gender equality. As noted by the Urban News Digest (2013) women’s priorities in transport are often neglected and this is seen in transport schedules that favour the formal sector and that off-peak bus fares are often reduced as a result of cost cutting processes that do not take into account the trips that women make as part of their reproductive roles. Parallels can be drawn in the CoT BRT to the argument put forward by Urban News Digest (2013) in that the fixation of bus schedules were in favour of the formal sector until this was brought to the attention of the municipality by women who work in the informal sector who called for a change in the bus schedules to accommodate their journey’s. In addition to this, bus fares have been reduced during certain hours, but this did not take into consideration the trips that women make as part of their reproductive roles.

As mentioned by Javanovikj *et al.* (2010), gender mainstreaming and gender equality is not only an issue of social justice, instead it is an issue that carries a significant amount of

weight in dealing with unemployment, poverty, equality, and opportunities. The findings of the research were able to confirm that gender budgeting had not been incorporated in the planning of the BRT system. Respondent A mentioned that the timetable shift of the BRT system to accommodate women working in the CBD demonstrated an expenditure that had been assigned specifically to achieving gender equality. While this may be the case, the feedback from the respondents indicated that this was an isolated and reactive form of planning and that a gender budget is not in existence. Moreover, when the respondents were asked how the project has incorporated a gender perspective throughout the budgetary process, and in the structuring of revenues and expenditures in order to promote gender equality, Both Respondent B and C looked at each other and laughed awkwardly and answered, “No.” Respondent D covered her face with her hands while shaking her head and answered “No gender but universal access. Although if you really want to zoom in, you can see that it also advantages women by not having to step high onto the bus and for prams” (Respondent D, 2017). Respondent A responded that she was unsure as to whether this had been done.

Likewise, the price fixing of the bus fares did not consider the reproductive roles of women. When asked whether the economic evaluation leading to the price fixing of bus fare take into account women’s productive roles, Respondent A shared that the project did not look at women exclusively but took into account the elderly and scholars. Respondent D mentioned that women’s productive roles had not been considered during the price fixing of the bus fares. However, the project ensured that the prices are not high by getting assistance from the government in subsidies. She shares that for her, “public transport should also be a social service” (Respondent D, 2017) as most of the disposable income of the individuals in South Africa is spent on transport costs. Respondent C, on the other hand, informed that studies that cover “issues of productivity and gender” (Respondent C, 2017) are looked into during such projects. Respondent B did not agree or disagree with Respondent C’s statement and chose not to answer.

Gender-neutral policies have the potential to reinforce social and economic inequalities as well as the unequal distribution of power. Therefore, the budget is one of the most

important instruments in government's disposal and thus has the most power to bring about a transformation by addressing the various needs of beneficiary groups. This indicates further the blindness from the CoT as to how gender equality goes beyond social issues. Incorporating a gender perspective in the budgetary processes and policies of local government will aid in creating gender responses that aid in the distribution of resources and responsibility of the government's budget in relation to gender equality (Javanovikj et al., 2010). When considering the statement made by Javanovikj *et al.* (2010) that the economic mechanisms reflect the governments priorities, the lack of a gender budget in the planning of the BRT system affirms the findings that gender sensitive planning has not been a priority of for the municipality and the CoT's gender blindness.

4.2.9 Gender Mainstreaming in Areas of Practice

According to the Eige (2017), "planning from a gender perspective requires the recognition of gender gaps and structural gender inequalities in context" (Eige, 2017, p.2). When the respondents where ask how the gender planning had been customized for the city of Tshwane. Again, Respondent C and B communicated that gender sensitivity had not been considered by the CoT. However, Respondent C voiced that the BRT system in the CoT operates differently to those found in international countries and this is what influences the difference in planning, particularly in issues of safety. Respondent C informed that the BRT system in the CoT only operates until 9 PM and the buses only run through the CBD. "These are some of the reasons we have not looked into aspects of safety of when people leave the station at 12 o'clock or 11 o'clock. No, we haven't reached that stage. We are very small" (Respondent C, 2017).

After some thought and in accordance with respondent C, respondent A informed that the city of Tshwane had customised gender planning through safety and accessibility. “Within safety, we get development designs aspects that make sure that there is lighting and wide streets” (Respondent A, 2017).

Figure 10: BRT station glass façade



During the site analysis it was evident that the bus station was well lit and the light from the station illuminated around the station because of the glass façade (See Image 10). The lighting directly adjacent to the BRT station was not considered to be effective as the level of visibility is very low. This is due to the fact that the lighting on the pavements is mainly designed to illuminate the road surface for vehicles and not for improve visibility for pedestrians.

It was also observed by the researcher that the station on Nana Sita Street is designed with glass as the main material. This successfully fulfilled the importance of having a bus station that is able to adapt and create shelter from the elements, as well as provide a sense of security because of the visual permeability of the material. According to Drusine

(2002) visibility is important to have in ensuring a sense of security in women due to the feeling of seeing and being seen.

According to Dame and Grant (2001) bus stops that are designed specifically for safety needs of women consider seasonal changes. Because the BRT bus station in the CoT is a glass-covered shelter, this aids in regulating the stations temperature during seasonal changes. According to Connick (2017), sunlight that enters clear glass surfaces converts into heat when it reaches the solid surface. As the light reaches the surface of the glass, the energy is absorbed and converts it into infrared energy. Because infrared energy has a different form than that of light energy, the light heat takes longer to escape than light. This means that the heat energy will warm up the station during days with a lot of sunshine. On days with less sunlight, the transparency of the glass allows for the station to receive the maximum amount of sunlight. However, glass is a poor insulator (Connick, 2017) meaning that the heat energy will quickly depart from the station leaving that space at the low temperatures of the atmosphere around it. This will be felt particularly at the end of the day or on days with little to no sunlight.

Respondent A also made reference to accessibility in which she referred back to the case of the female vendors who work in the CBD of Tshwane who requested a change in the bus schedule times to accommodate their travel patterns. In addition to accessibility, it was observed that the A Re Yeng BRT station on Nana Sita Street had easy to read bus route maps. In addition to this, there are two of digital screens located overhead at the BRT station. The screens project the bus schedules, which guide the passengers should wait at in order to board the correct bus for specific bus stations. There are no directional maps however in and outside of the station making the area difficult to navigate once dispatched from the BRT station.

Respondent D informed that there is an office in the city that deals with customising gender planning in the context of the CoT that reports to the executive mayor of the city. Respondent D explained that the office deals with gender, youth and individuals with disabilities, however, nothing is gender mainstreamed. Respondent C added, “I have

never seen anything that says that this is what we have to do in order to be gender sensitive... We are not really gender sensitive when we are doing things” (Respondent D, 2017). Respondent D notified that planning is guided by policy and the CoT merely implements what planning policy stipulates.

Figure 11: Ramp on the BRT platform



In addition to her statement concerning how public transport was never taken seriously in South Africa, Respondent D expounds that working women in South Africa wear heels to work while other women in the world wear flats. She believes that this is because women in other parts of the world use public transport to navigate the urban environment, whereas many workingwomen in South Africa are car owners and use private transportation to mobilise the city because of the inefficacy of public transport in the county.

The respondents were also questioned on the infrastructure that has been implemented specifically with the intention to prevent disadvantages and discrimination towards women. These will be discussed as they were asked to the respondents;

a) Low Height of Entry Step Onto the Bus

Respondent A enlightened that low height of the BRT entry step onto the bus was not designed due to a gender sensitive perspective. Instead the “low height is actually for Universal Access. So that sleeve at the bus stops is for wheelchairs. But I guess it can also assist with females not having to step high onto the bus” (Responded A, 2017). Respondent C and B also informed that while the height of the entry step was taken into consideration, this was as a result of taking into consideration old people and wheelchair users. Similarly, Respondent D’s response affirmed that the low height of entry step onto the bus was designed so that “women, and old women, a person on crutches can be able to access” (Responded D, 2017).

b) Installation of Ramps

All of the participants answered with a direct “Yes.” regarding the installation of ramps in the design of the BRT buses (see Figure 11). However, Respondent A added that again, this was a result of the policy regarding Universal Access that is targeted at individuals with disabilities. The installation of ramps was not in an attempt to prevent disadvantages and discrimination towards women.

c) Strategically Located Bus Routes

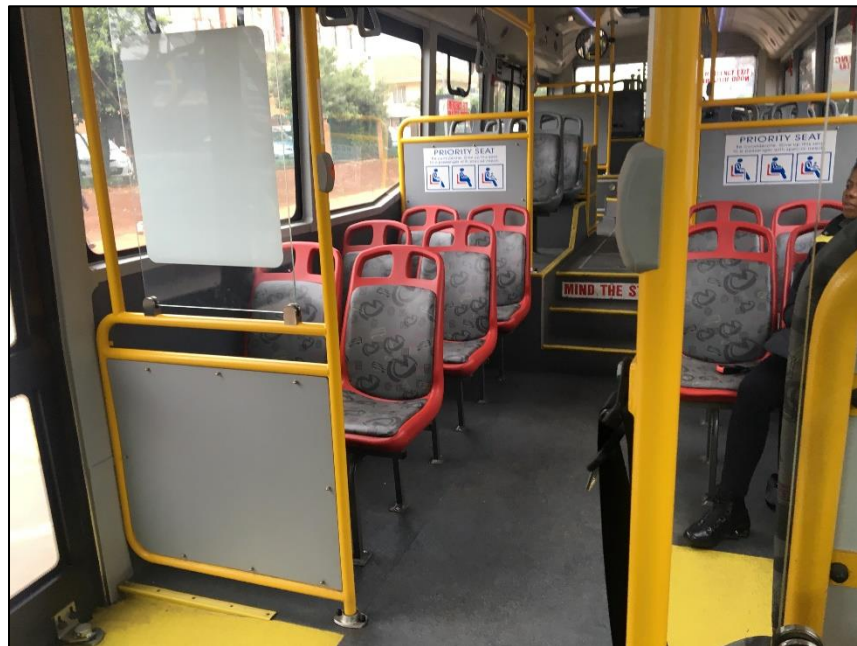
After a few moments of consideration, Respondent A enlightened that the location of the bus routes was not chosen to avoid causing discrimination towards women. However, upon further contemplation Respondent A had a change of mind and replied: “I would say yes actually because it is looking at places of destination that cater for females and males” (Respondent A, 2017). Respondent C and B also felt that the BRT bus locations aimed to prevent disadvantages and discrimination towards women because the bus stations are located near schools and places of interest, which is determined by tourism. Lastly, Respondent D added that when the BRT routes are planned, “we look at the population and the densities along the route. Our cities are spatially incorrect because of the apartheid spatial planning. But you wouldn’t find that we do a route on the outskirts” (Respondent D, 2017). Respondent D went on to explain that the BRT aims to integrate

communities “so that people don’t have to travel, they can just walk to stations” (Respondent D, 2017).

d) Priority Seating for Parents of Young Children, Pregnant Woman, the Elderly, People with Disabilities, or Baby Carriages

In reference to priority seating, all of the respondents affirmed that this was a feature included intentionally to avoid discriminating against women (see Figure 12). The presence of priority seating indicates that BRT planners believes in the culture of offering seats to the needy. However, it was observed by the researcher that while the station seems to take priority seating into consideration inside the bus, the researcher observed that there was a lack of adequate seating in the station and the available seating was not designated as priority seating meaning that it works on a first come first serve bases.

Figure 12: Priority seating for pregnant women, elderly, and individuals traveling with children



e) “Request stop”, that Permits Women to Request the Bus to Stop Closer to their Destinations for Early Morning and Late Night Journey’s

The site analysis revealed that the BRT has not embraced the ‘Between Two Stops’ initiative in which women are able to exit the bus between regular stops so as to minimize their walking distance to their journey’s end, particularly for journeys made at night. Respondent D replied, “The press stop is there but normally how the BRT works is that it will stop at a specific stop, so it will not just stop anywhere. There are designated stops along feeder routes” (Respondent D, 2017). In agreement with Respondent D, Respondent B and C verified that there is indeed a stop request. However, this is only at the bus stop feeder and complementary routes. According to Respondent C, request stops need to accommodate individuals with disabilities, and a request stop would not be able to cater to individuals with disabilities. Respondent C queried, “How do they then charge the request stop and how do they comply with universal access? There has to be a ramp for the wheelchair person to ramp off. But it’s a good one. I like it” (Respondent C, 2017). Respondent A explained that while there is no ‘request stops’ for early morning and late-night journey’s, BRT users have the option of notifying the CoT as to where bus stops are needed.

f) Availability of Storage Spaces for Baby Carriages and Heavy Packages

Respondent B and C informed that there are no storage spaces for passengers, however, “we do have spaces for people to put their prams” (Respondent B, 2017). Respondent C explained that the BRT is “modern. Imagine if we make storage in the BRT, it won’t work. The vendors don’t use the bus because it’s not convenient because they see it won’t be convenient because there are house rules” (Respondent C, 2017). Respondent C explained that in cities such as Cape Town, passengers are charged for luggage and “there is a certain size of luggage that is acceptable and unacceptable because it’s a rapid transit system” (Respondent C, 2017).

Respondent D also communicated that there are no storage spaces for baby carriages and heavy packages because the bus is meant for commuting. She conveyed that there are small amounts of space in the front of the buses where passengers can put their bags, “but

it was not put there for storage, it was put there because seats could not fit. It's about putting people on the bus not necessarily about what they carry” (Respondents D, 2017). Respondent A, on the other hand, informed that there are storage spaces on the busses and spaces for baby carriages.

g) Ensuring that the Placement of Overhead Storage Compartments Accommodates the Height of the Average South African Woman

Respondent A related that there are no overhead storage spaces, however; the existing storage spaces are located at the front of the bus “just behind the driver” (Respondent A, 2017). The remaining respondents also affirmed that overhead storage compartments were not considered.

As mentioned in the literature, Bachelet (2013) believes that each city needs a local response to gender sensitive planning due to the fact that each city is distinctive. As a result, it is important that each city determine its own diagnostic study that provides both evidence and data. The City of Tshwane has not customized gender planning in the context of the city. While the respondents were able to identify a few gender specific needs, these were not determined by gender sensitive data collection that had been incorporated in the planning of the BRT, instead these were the personal observations of the interviewees.

According to Eige (2017) planning from a gender perspective requires the recognition of gender gaps and structural gender inequalities in context (Eige, 2017), which the CoT has not demonstrated. This was reiterated when the respondents were asked to share the ways in which the project has aided in integrating gender equality into the regular rules, operations, and procedures of the institution, Respondent B and C were unable to answer the question, informing again of the lack of gender perspective during the project. Respondent A notified that the BRT is a new public transport system that has “a unique service unlike other public transport services” (Respondent A, 2017) because it caters to individuals with disabilities. “So, I think looking into that it is also able to cater to gender

issues. It's starting to. It's not completely there but its starting bits and pieces to actually understand the female's roles and the female's mobility within public transport" (Respondent A, 2017). Respondent D laughed disconcertedly; "No. So there is no gender sensitivity basically is what I'm saying."

4.3 The User Experience

While it is important to analysis how gender sensitive the planning process of the BRT system is, it is equality important to consider the experience of female commuters considering the current planning processes. This section will record the findings of the data gathered from questionnaires that were conducted with female commuters of the BRT system in the City of Tshwane. The findings of the section were obtained from sample size of 10 female users who are between the ages of 28 to 43. The interviews were conducted on a Thursday and Saturday from 13:00-14:00, 16:00-17:00.

4.3.1 Reasons for Travel

As discussed by Barrett (1980) women often have to assume both reproductive and productive roles as a result of the sexual division of labour. This may be particularly true in the context of the CoT in which women nearly 40% of the households in the inner-city region are female headed. Most of the respondents who were interviewed reported to being in the area for reasons regarding both their productive and reproductive roles. Five respondents reported to being in the area regarding work, while three of the respondents where in the area to do shopping. The remaining respondent that was interviewed resided in the inner city and was using the BRT to get back home.

4.3.2 Time

According to Seiji *et al.* (2011) time is considered one of the main factors that affect women's travel patterns as it affects the level of fear that female commuters experience. A study conducted by Lynch and Atkins (1988) in Southampton concluded that women avoid placing themselves in situations that caused them to be vulnerable and as a result would avoid traveling all together. Interestingly, three of the respondents felt as though the BRT station is safe during all hours of the day, whereas four of the respondents felt as though the station is only safe from 8am to 12pm. Lastly, the remaining respondents

reported to feeling safe in the BRT station from 8 am to sunset as this is when the area becomes less active.

The research identified that the commuters who felt safe in the BRT station are also those respondents who reported to being in the area and using the BRT system on a frequent or everyday basis. Eight of the commuters who felt safe using the BRT system reported to being in the area frequently. On the other hand, the commuter who felt unsafe on the BRT system is also the commuter who used the system infrequently. This indicates that there is a direct correlation between the commuter's exposure to the site and their feelings of safety and security.

4.3.3 Feeling of Security

The study found that nine of the ten respondents felt safe inside the BRT station. The respondents expressed that their feelings of safety inside the BRT station was owed to the presence of security guards and security cameras inside the station. In contrast however, one of the respondents felt as though the presence of a security guard in the BRT station only provided a perception of security as opposed to actual security. The respondent expressed that "The security just walks around" but does not to give the impression of being able to defend the commuters against any kind of threats.

It is to no surprise therefore that seven of the ten women who were interviewed did not have any accounts of negative experiences while using the BRT system. The remaining women however, reported to being touched inappropriately by a male commuter as well as being pickpocketed but did nothing to report these incidences because of an assumption that they would be trivialized and unresolved. One of the respondents defeated remarked, "This is South Africa".

4.3.4 Affordability

As indicated by Friedman (2014), women are overall more dependent on public transport than men and this is particularly true for women in low-income households. Therefore, the affordability of public transport is a key aspect to consider in gender sensitive

transport planning. All of the respondents responded extremely positively when questioned on the affordability of the BRT system and informed that it is for this reason that they favour to use the BRT system. One of the respondents informed that their trip only costs R7 with the A Re Yeng whereas a taxi would cost R15. Another respondent informed that the BRT system is “good because you can load any amount you want.”.

When the respondents were asked what measures can be incorporated to redress any negative experiences they have had while using the A Re Yeng BRT system, seven of the respondents had nothing to remark. However, two of the respondents felt as though an improvement can be made to the presence of security personnel on site, while one of the respondents felt as though the bus routes needed to be expanded to areas towards the outskirts of the city. Interestingly, while it is evident that the planning process of the BRT system is not gender sensitive, the female commuters appear to be pleased with the design of BRT system although this was not mainly as a result of gender sensitive needs being met but of efficiency and affordability.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the research has investigated the connection between gender-sensitive planning theory and practice in the CoT. The findings of the study highlighted that gender policy has been absent in the municipality as demonstrated by gender-neutral policies. Gender mainstreaming is recognised as a way in which to improve how planning policy can meet the requirements of women and men more efficiently. Gender-sensitive planning appears to have low regard at the municipal level of government in the context of the CoT. The research found that only one of the interviewed employees of the CoT were aware of the lack of gender-sensitive planning in the department. Moreover, none of the interviewees was informed of any National and Provincial government policies that hold local government accountable for developing plans that are gender sensitive. The research argued that the lack of local government gender-sensitive policy creates a challenge to the planning and design of the BRT system in the CoT.

Gender-sensitive planning has not in any way been incorporated into the organisation and procedures of municipal planning and to an extent continues to be an issue that is

somewhat insignificant. Indeed, most of the data indicated how the municipality demonstrated a general unfamiliarity and underestimation of the importance of gender-sensitive planning within the organisation. The fact that the majority of the staff in the department are reported to be women has not guaranteed an increased awareness of gender issues concerning transport. There is a necessity for national and provincial policy to specify the social and spatial implications of gender mainstreaming and to consider these in a material consideration in the planning process. There is also a necessity to acknowledge minority classifications relative to gender and not to limit women's empowerment to senior positions within the organisation.

The policy agendas of the CoT require an inclusive and comprehensive focus on specific gender issues. A more deliberate approach to policy and plan-making is necessary that will assist the CoT to reach the needs of women, as well as other minorities in society as this is recognised as one of the responsibilities that planning should serve (Greed, 2003). The case study demonstrated that gender-sensitive planning could not be achieved through planning through policies that are gender neutral. While it was evident that two of the gender-sensitive transport planning design strategies were unintentional accomplished through gender-neutral policies, as well as a reported general satisfaction by female commuters, the majority of gender-sensitive strategies were unaddressed by gender-sensitive policies and thus sets a limitation of the extent to which equity can be reached in the design of the public transport system. If the CoT continues to use policies of Universal Accessibility in the hopes to empower and redress gender equity in public transport, the municipality will not attain gender sensitive transport planning.

The presence of gender-neutral policies in the CoT proves to be a contradiction to National and Provincial policies which stipulates the importance of developing policies, laws, procedures, and practices that intend to create equal rights for both women and men in all spheres and structures of government (Kornegay, 2000). The findings of the research indicate that the bureaucrats have failed to capture the aspirations of society in policymaking. A more deliberate approach to policy and plan-making is necessary that will assist the CoT to reach the needs of women, as well as other minorities in society as this is one of the responsibilities that planning should serve (Greed, 2003).

Chapter Five: Towards Gender Sensitivity in Development Planning

5.1 Emerging Issues

The following section concludes the study and establishes the all-encompassing answer to the research of “Exploring gender sensitive planning in the A Rea Yeng transit system of the city of Tshwane”. More especially the research questions such as; ‘*What are the existing gender sensitive legislative guidelines and strategies used for planning and designing public transport systems in the City of Tshwane?*’ and ‘*How effectively have gender sensitive guidelines and strategies been translated into the planning and design of the BRT system in the city?*’ which was demonstrated in the introduction will be answered together with the findings. The purpose of the research was to evaluate by what means transport planning in the city of Tshwane has integrated gender sensitivity. This is with specific concentration on the planning and implementation of the city’s BRT system. Documents pertaining to the topic of gender and mobility were chosen for analysis and supported by interviews that were carried out with employees of the Department of transport in the City of Tshwane as well as female commuters of the BRT system of the City of Tshwane.

The thesis concludes that the understanding of gender in the CoT has been a simplification of the concept that has resulted in a narrow and confined knowledge that has informed policy and mobility planning decisions. As a result, the process of decision-making is shaped by a limited understanding of gender and gender needs. Ascribing characteristics of gender that are not challenged may result in stereotypical understanding of what is ‘male and ‘female’. Stereotypes pose complications as they oversimplify the realities that people experience and disregard the idea that the social composition of identities has greater complexities (Talbot, 2010). The research has identified that gender and the incorporation of women into the planning process has been irregular and fragmented due to disunion between policy, voice, and execution. The planning of the BRT system seems to have been influenced by a stereotypical conceptions of gender dynamics, social relations, and political dynamics due to the lack of gender disaggregated data as well as monitoring and evaluation. The findings of the research have revealed the

result of unintended outcomes as well as gaps in fulfilling of gender equity and sensitivity in the planning of the City of Tshwane.

In answering the question ‘*What are the existing gender sensitive legislative guidelines and strategies used for planning and designing public transport systems in the City of Tshwane?*’ the research findings indicated that no gender policies had been used. The main policy documents used by the CoT to plan the BRT system were reported to be Broad based economic empowerment, City of Tshwane 2055, Land and Transport Act, and Universal Accessibility policy. Two main problems that were identified by the research was that the policy and policy guideline used to design and plan the BRT were assumed to deal with issues of gender sensitivity and to be gender sensitive. However, none of the policies used by the CoT made mention of gender sensitive planning but made broad mention of gender equality. As stated by Little (1994, P78) “having an equalities strategy gives no guarantee that women’s issues within planning are given a high profile,”. The findings have proved this statement to be true in that gender equality is one of the main priorities of the CoT, however, the lack of gender specific policies and guidelines has significantly inhibited the CoT’s ability to aim and achieve gender sensitive planning. Women have been under represented and gender only appears to be recognised as far as demographic description in the CoT. Furthermore, it was of the impression of Respondent D, the Acting Executive Director that a gender-neutral policy approach to transport planning would result in planning that is none discriminating.

Gender neutral policies have the potential of reinforcing current gender inequalities “or even result in having a differential impact on women and men, in particular women and men from disadvantaged groups” (Eige, 2017, p1). In fact, gender neutral policies are regarded as failing to promote substantive gender equality and are often gender blind (Eige, 2017). As such, the use of policies that are gender neutral in the BRT project may significantly restrict women from having access to basic services and further ingrain existing inequalities. The CoT has failed to recognise that even in cases where public transport does not make recognition of gender, it still may fail to be ideologically neutral as transport policies are shaped by presumptions (levy, 2013) and this influences the

planning outcomes. According to Levy (2013), these assumptions often carry assumptions regarding the household structure, the division of labour, gender relations, and other gender structures that are influenced by western middle-class values.

As such, in answering the question '*How effectively have gender sensitive guidelines and strategies been translated into the planning and design of the BRT system in the city?*', the research concludes that no gender sensitive strategies and guidelines were translated into the planning of the BRT system in the city. Interestingly however, while the guidelines for Universal Access are targeted specifically at persons with disabilities, some of the criteria for universal Access unintentionally met the criteria for gender sensitive needs in transport planning. The ramps that have been included in the transport facility are purposed to serve wheelchair users but have unintentionally also serviced parents with prams and individuals who are traveling with the elderly. In addition, some of the features of the transport system including: priority seating for young children, pregnant woman, the elderly, people with disabilities, or baby carriages, well-lit station, a station that is covered by a glass façade to allow women to see and be seen, clean buses, wide streets leading up to the station were found to be present during the site analysis despite the fact that the CoT had not implemented these specifically as a result of gender sensitive transport planning.

Interestingly, it was also discovered that there is a Women in Transport focus group that has arisen in the City of Tshwane that is represented during participatory meetings in order to persuade municipal agendas. However, due to a lack of gender policy to assist the mainstreaming of this agenda, the focus group has been somewhat ineffectual. Therefore, a number of gender mainstreaming elements already exist and can be a foundation for the Tshwane Department of Transport. While women's voices were present in the BRT due to participatory processes and stakeholder meetings, the policy and policy guidelines used for the planning of the BRT were mostly silent on gender. Only a few of the issues that have been raised by the Taxi Industry on the behalf of female commuters have been considered by the CoT. This communicates that the poor translation of gender sensitive guidelines and strategies into the planning and design of

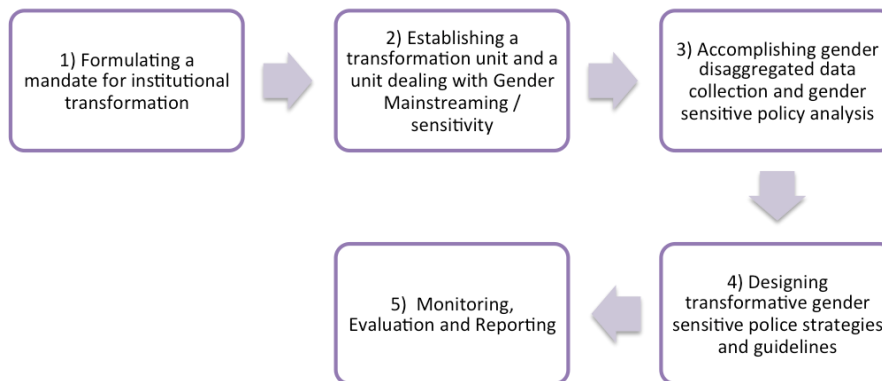
the BRT system in the CoT is also owed to the lack of strong gender disaggregated data analysis, sectorial policies and strategic decisions that represent a gender perspective. While responsibility to incorporate gender sensitivity into planning can be found in policy guidelines such as the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action as well as in the National Gender Policy Framework on Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality, the lack of translating gender approaches into the CoT planning largely pointed to the lack of a gender champion in the department.

As indicated in the literature, the planning and creation of policy that has a gendered perspective is challenging to professionals and does not come without a conscious effort in some cases. While the idea of gender sensitive policies and guidelines in the South African context sounds pleasing, preliminary research indicates that this is still a challenge to implement. The following section will make recommendations that serve to connect this gap.

5.2 Recommendations

The section proposes the responses and initiatives that can be utilized to improve on the incorporation of gender sensitivity in policy and spatial planning. The recommendations will be drawn from the information gathered from the interviews conducted with employees of the Department of Roads and Transport in the City of Tshwane as well as from a site analysis conducted at the Nana Sita BRT station. Lastly, this section will be shaped by the findings provided in the literature review.

Figure 13: Gender sensitive planning transformative
Conceptual framework



5.2.1 Expand the Knowledge and Skill Set of the CoT Employees and Politicians within the City of Tshwane Municipality to Certify their Capacity to Transform Planning and Practices of the Department

- a) Advance the understanding of perception of gender and the gender issues which confront women and men
- b) Develop the skills of the BRT stakeholders and line departments on gender sensitivity in order to embrace a integrated and comprehensive, Multi-sectorial approach planning and implementation approach to the projects and programs
- c) Facilitate that the BRT officials are equip with the ability and competency to plan and develop strategies, budgets, and services that are gender sensitive and interventional that are particularly aimed as demolishing discrimination towards women.
- d) Expand the capability of the BRT officials with the ability to effectively monitor, review and analyse the effect of the policies, decision making, and service delivery of the BRT project from a gender perspective

5.2.2 Ensure the Development of an Empowering Setting within the City of Tshwane Municipality and of Services that are Gender Sensitive and Meet the Gender Specific Needs of Men and Women

- a) Develop of policies, services and programs to achieve the above mentioned
- b) Creating objectives and indicators in the service delivery plan that will work specifically to ensure that the projects, programs, and budgets are specifically addressing the strategic and practical needs of women and men
- c) Ensure the use of gender indicators to regulate and trace the execution and progression of administrative by the BRT officials
- d) Ensure that the opportunities for empowerment and development are awarded to female applicants particularly in senior positions.
- e) Develop a tool to secure the examination and continuous monitoring and evaluation of programs, policies, and procedure to verify gender appropriateness

5.2.3 Formulate Partnerships that are External and Internal to the City of Tshwane

- a) Develop stronger connections with other spheres of government and non-governmental organizations
- b) Actively source from partners, both financial and non-financial resources, to assist the programs of that are centred on the development of women and gender sensitive planning

5.2.4 Ensure that Capacity Building; Training Programmes and Awareness are Carried out within the Public

- a) Arrange training programs that are purposed to alter perceptions, behaviours and attitudes so that gender sensitive planning can be promoted. This could encompass issues that directly affect women's mobility and quality of life an should also be discussed during participatory sessions
- b) Create platforms that will expand the conversation and profile on gender issues in such a way as to develop practical solutions that will direct the planning and execution of programmes and plans.

5.2.5 Develop Strategies to Influence Human Resources Policies in the Department to Ensure the Implementation of Gender Sensitive Policies and Promotion of Women to Senior Positions

- a) Ensuring the development of a gender mainstreaming agenda and the selection of a monitoring tools and institutional arraignments that will assist in facilitating this prospect
- b) Review and asses existing HR policies, practices and procedures to secure the these are gender sensitive
- c) Improve the policies in Human Resources and methods that will expedite the reform of the organisation to including gender sensitivity in planning
- d) Design and implement purposed programmes or interventions that are targeted at upgrading the existing and future status of female employees

5.2.6 Ensure that the City of Tshwane Makes use of Gender Disaggregated Research to Advise the Delivery of Gender Sensitive Strategies and Services for the BRT Project

- a) Evolve the infrastructure and capacity so that the organisation may continually be acquainted with up-to-date and important gender data to secure responsiveness and relevance of existing and future operations
- b) Lead research and social impact assessments to secure that strategies, policies and statistics stay applicable and up-to-date
- c) Aid and enter into partnership with appropriate research and learning institutions to take on research that advance the objectives and aims of gender sensitive policy
- d) Promote that the recommendations and findings acquired from the research projects are assessed and applied within the City

5.2.7 Structure, Function and Duties

In upholding the guidelines given by the National Gender Policy Framework, it is suggested that the city must distinguish the operational and strategic functions of gender mainstreaming and by so doing, develop an institutional structure that will support the structure.

- a) Organize gender sensitive training programmes targeted at all levels of staff in the department
- b) Clear policy stating the departments commitment to gender equality encouraged by a hand-on management and stipulated in written policy, objectives, mission statement, and values.

5.2.8 Monitoring, Evaluation and Reporting

The National Gender Policy for monitoring and evaluation provide key approaches to the monitoring and evaluation. These indicators function as major performance indicators that assist in achieving gender equality (Kornegay, 2000).

Some of these indicators include;

- a) Women's improved access to resources for their economic development
- b) Minimize the women's susceptibility to social injustices such as violence and poverty
- c) The degree to which women are active in participatory political decision-making spaces
- d) An alternation of the attitude toward women and improve the acknowledgement of the value that women add to society
- e) Direct gender research that will direct service delivery
- f) Clear gender sensitive indicators that are stipulated in the Integrated development plan
- g) To use gender sensitive indicators in all performance management system of in all senior managerial positions and stakeholders
- h) Conduct a baseline study that will distinguish the extent to which service delivery factors directly or indirectly affect women and men in the city
- i) To develop reporting tools that will assist in the tracking and delivery progress and influence of services to both women and men

5.2.9 Key Indicators for the City of Tshwane Must Involve;

- a) Dedicate expenditure that is explicitly targeted to encouraging gender sensitive planning
- b) Include a number of gender indicators in the planning policy and guidelines
- c) Alter the time of participatory meetings to ensure that it is suitable to both women and men

The Department of transport must develop a customized set of key indicators that will inform the foundation of all monitoring and evaluation. Monitoring and evaluation and reporting of gender sensitive planning need to take place on a frequent basis. Monitoring and evaluation should occur with the usual corporate methods and standards.

5.2.10 Distribution of Resources

In order to facilitate the achievement of the strategic objectives of the of gender sensitive policy in the department, sufficient resources are needed for gender sensitive planning and a gender mainstreaming strategy. Resources are recommended to be dedicated to the succeeding objectives;

- a) Capacity building, communication, coordination and collaboration that will work towards the implementation of gender policy. This may require the hiring of specialists from various sectors to direct training on gender mainstreaming and particularly in the transport department
- b) Sufficient staffing, evaluation and monitoring, institutional infrastructure
- c) Frequent specialized consultative services should be available to the individuals who are responsible for the implementation of policy
- d) Provide training programmes that will create awareness on capacity building both internally and externally to achieve the empowerment and promoting gender equality
- e) The department should ensure the allocation of gender-sensitive budgeting that will include the interests of both women and men. Gender budgeting will assure

the appointment of resources to grow the information on gender issues and apply policies comprising a gender perspective

5.3 Concluding Thoughts

Considerably more needs to be done in order for the city of Tshwane to incorporate gender sensitivity into the planning and design of the BRT system. In order to address this challenge, it is import that there be a harmonious and sustained attempt to drive gender sensitive planning by national, provincial, and local spheres of government. This best stated by South African Women on the Road to Development, Equality and Peace Report (1995, p.35)

“South Africa is in the process of setting up mechanisms to promote women’s advancement. World experience shows that national machineries for the advancement of women are often marginalised in national government structures. These machineries are often hampered by unclear mandates, lack of staff and training data, and insufficient resources and support from national leadership. We can learn from this experience.”

With South Africa having “the most admirable Constitution in the history of the world” (Mafika, 2014, p.1) that champions gender equality as well as the Beijing Platform for Action of 1995, South African Development planning has great potential to look into a future in which women’s issues are no longer regarded as those of a small interest group but as majority interests which require to be mainstreamed into every aspect of life. There is great potential to further explore how the factors inhibiting gender mainstreaming can be overcome in the South African context.

APPENDIX A QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondent information

- Date _____
- Name _____
- Gender _____
- Position _____
- Organisation _____

1. How long have you been involved with the organisation?
2. Briefly, share what motivated the initiation of the BRT in the city of Tshwane.
3. Kindly share your understanding of gender¹?

Gender mainstreaming²

4. What gender policy guidelines influenced the design of the BRT project

	Gender Policy
National	
Provincial	
Municipal	

5. How were the gender policies mentioned above incorporated in the design of the BRT?
6. What strategies are in place in order to translate the objectives of gender equality in development into the BRT project?

¹ Gender refers to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being female and male and to the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as to the relations between women and those between men.

²is the (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated into all policies at all levels and all stages, by the actors normally involved in policymaking.

7. Is there a commitment to sensitizing your staff on gender concerns and how to translate these concerns into the project?
8. What gender-awareness programmes and individuals have been involved in the process of the project?

Planning, Monitoring, Budgeting BRT system in Tshwane

Gender Proofing 3

9. In what ways does this project include an examination of gender relations and prevailing gender discrimination of woman in the city of Tshwane?
10. During the course of the project, was data collected on the gender gaps, as well as qualitative information on the gender relationships between men and women?
11. If so, at what stage/s of the project was this completed and how was this achieved?
12. Please may you identify a few of the practical⁴ and strategic⁵ gender needs of women in the CoT?
13. Is the captured data sex-disaggregated as much as possible in the project?
14. Have sex-desegregated results been clearly and methodically included into the routine monitoring process and result based management format?
15. What infrastructure and initiatives have been implemented specifically with the intention to prevent disadvantages and discrimination towards women? e.g.,

Lower height of entry steps onto the bus
Installation of ramps
Strategically located bus routes
Reduced cost of fares during off-peak hours

³ A check carried out on any policy proposal to ensure that any potential gender discriminatory effects arising from that policy have been avoided and that gender equality is promoted.

1. ⁴ **Practical Gender Needs (PGNs):** are the needs identified by women within their socially defined roles as a response to an immediate perceived necessity. They do not challenge the subordinate position of women or the division of labour power. (eg employment, food, shelter)
2. ⁵ **Strategic Gender Needs (SGNs):** represent what women or men require in order to improve their position or status in regard to each other. They are long-term (i.e. they aim to improve equality between men and women such equal distribution of power, equal wages, legal rights etc.).

Priority seating for parents of young children, pregnant woman, the elderly, people with disabilities, or baby carriages
Female bus drivers
“request stop”, that permits women to request the bus to stop closer to their destinations for early morning and late night journey’s
Availability of storage spaces for baby carriages and heavy packages
Ensuring that the placement of overhead storage compartments accommodates the height of the average South African woman

16. Have the project partners been trained or sensitized on the issue of gender equality and sensitivity in public transport? If so, how has this been done?

Gender-sensitive mediation⁶

17. Is there a help desk or contact point provided for users to report concerns relating to the BRT and to assist the authorized officers in fulfilling their duties more efficiently?
18. Has the organisation been faced with gender specific disputes relating to the planning and design of the BRT system?
19. How has/would the organisation resolve these?
20. How has the project managed to ensure gender sensitive mediation?

Gender-sensitive institutional transformation⁷

⁶ refers to methods of resolving disputes through a means other than judicial decisions, which may better serve women seeking justice, in particular by providing more flexibility, decreasing costs and delays, and ensuring that victims are not subjected to secondary victimisation.

21. Does the organization/project manager serve on any committees or stakeholder consultations in order to share and obtain tools and materials for gender equality capacity building and training activities?
22. How has the project made use of gender quotas⁸?
23. What was the defined number of positions that needed to be assigned to women and/or men?

Portfolio	Numbers	Comments

24. If possible, please can you specify how the productive and reproductive roles of women and men influence their mobility patterns in the CoT?
25. How was gender planning customized for the context of the CoT?
26. How has the project aided in integrating gender equality into the regular rules, operations, and procedures of the institution?
27. How has the project encouraged organisational development on the gender issue?
28. How has the project motivated personal development on the gender issues?
29. Was there any commitment to include women’s participation in decision-making structures?
 - a) Where the time frame of the meetings designed to suit all the participants, both women and men? How was this achieved?
 - b) Did the participatory process address gender strategic interests?
 - c) Were the results and proposals of the participatory processes shared with the target groups of the plan?

⁷ a process that aims to integrate gender equality into the regular rules, procedures and practices of an institution

⁸ Gender quotas are used to create equal representation among genders within legislation contribute to the promotion of gender equality, and ease the access of women into positions of government.

30. How has the project ensured that gender equality is one of the measures by which decision-making and performance is evaluated?
31. Does the organisation have a tool to monitor and measure the extent to which the goal/policy of gender equity and equality is translated and achieved in the project so as to eliminate the potential of gender discrimination?
32. In what ways has a gender perspective been incorporated into different policies of the project?
33. What expenditures have been assigned specifically to achieving gender equity?
34. Do the individuals accountable for monitoring the project have satisfactory gender knowledge and competence?

Gender-sensitive Accountability⁸

35. How has the project secured that the judgements of public actors can be assessed from the perspective of the interests and needs of women and men?
36. Did the economic evaluations lead to fixing the price of the bus fair take into account woman's productive roles?
37. How has the project incorporated a gender perspective throughout the budgetary process, and in the structuring of revenues and expenditures in order to promote gender equality?
38. What methods has the project used in order to ensure that gender proofing⁹ is incorporated in the project?
39. In your opinion has the project promoted gender awareness?
40. How gender sensitive is the BRT system?
41. In your opinion is the Tshwane BRT system gender sensitive?
42. Why do you say so?
43. How can gender sensitivity be promoted in projects such as the BRT?

⁸ refers to the obligation and responsibility on the part of state structures and public officials to implement gender mainstreaming and achieve gender equality policy objectives, to report on progress achieved, and to be answerable in the event of a failure to meet stated gender equality objectives.

⁹ A check carried out on any policy proposal to ensure that any potential gender discriminatory effects arising from that policy have been avoided and that gender equality is promoted.

APPENDIX B PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher: Zola Conco

You are kindly requested to partake in the research report that seeks to explore Gender Sensitive Planning in the A Re Yeng Transit System of the City of Tshwane. The research is being conducted by Zola Conco, a student at the University of the Witwatersrand in pursuit of her Master's degree in development planning.

What is the purpose of the study?

Men and women typically experience the city differently, however this is rarely accounted for in the planning of the urban environment. Therefore, this research seeks to understand the extent to which gender sensitive planning is incorporated in the design of the BRT system in the city of Tshwane. The research will be undertaken solely for the purpose of academic research.

This study will be carried out over the duration of the next 5 months with the interviews and site visit carrying out from the month of May to July.

Why have you been selected?

The research seeks to interview planning officials who have been directly involved in the planning and design of the BRT system on Nana Sita Street. Therefore, interviewees have been chosen based on the fact that they were involved in the planning and design of the BRT system on Nana Sita Street.

Study Procedure:

You will be asked a set of questions about your involvement of the Planning of the BRT system Nana Sita Street and the degree to which gender sensitive planning was incorporated in this planning procedure.

Participants' rights:

The interview may be terminated at any time you request. You are at liberty to refuse to answer any questions that you are not willing to respond to. You have the right to ask the researcher any questions in regards to the study, the interviewing procedure, and the information sheet, and to ensure that your questions have been answered to your satisfaction before commencing the interview.

Benefits and Risks:

There are no risks to this study.

APPENDIX C CONSENT FORM

I have fully understood the participant information sheet regarding this project and understand what it concerns. All my question relating to the interview and research have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am at liberty to ask any further questions or to terminate the interview at any point.

I am aware that:

1. My participation in this research is completely voluntary
2. I am free to end the interview at any point
3. The data recorded on audio-tape will be destroyed at the end of this study
4. The interview involves a set of 6 questions, however, the interviewer is allowed to ask additional questions of clarification to my responses
5. I have the ability to decline answering any specific question(s).
6. The result of the research will be published and made available in the school library of the University of the Witwatersrand.

I agree to take part in this project

(Signature of participant)

Date _____

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