A STUDY OF THE ROLES OF WOMEN AS CLIENTS OF PLANNING

by

LaDonna Jo Van Meter

B.S., Kansas State University, 1973

A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF REGIONAL AND COMMUNITY PLANNING

Department of Regional and Community Planning

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1976

APPROVED BY:

Major Professor

LD
2668
T4
1976
V35
c.2
Document

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the members of my thesis committee, Naomi B. Lynn, Claude A. Keithley, and Ray B. Weisenburger for their help and advise in the preparation of this manuscript. Special thanks are due as well to Donna and Stan Schmidt for their generous help in typing and checking of copy. But most of all, I would like to thank my husband, Lane, without whose support, patience, and understanding this manuscript would have never been completed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES v

Chapter

1. INTRODUCTION 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM 2

STUDY HYPOTHESIS 5

2. IDENTIFYING THE CLIENT 8

TRENDS IN THE LIVES OF WOMEN 13

The Female Labor Force 14

Demographic Trends 16

IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNERS 19

3. PLANNING FOR THE NEEDS OF WOMEN 22

INCOME 23

CITY DESIGN 25

Single Women 26

Middle-Aged Women 27

Women Over Sixty-Five 28

Planning Proposals 29

HOUSING. 36

Service and Supports in Housing 38

Discrimination in Housing 39

TRANSPORTATION 40

CHILD CARE 44

Chapter Page

SUPPORTIVE SERVICES 49

Counseling Services 50

Health Services 50

Continuing Education 51

4. CLIENT PARTICIPATION. 55

THE STEREOTYPE. 55

THE INVESTIGATION 59

METHODOLOGY 62

PRESENTATION OF DATA. 64

Characteristics of the Sample 64

Contention 1. 67

Contention 2. 70

Contention 3. 76

Contention 4. 77

Contention 5. 86

Contention 6. 90

Contention 7. 96

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION. 101

5. RECOMMENDATIONS 111

IDENTIFYING THE CLIENT AND HER NEEDS. 111

CLIENT PARTICIPATION. 113

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH. 116

BIBLIOGRAPHY. 120

APPENDIX. 124

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN TOPEKA DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES	69
2.	REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN ON PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES	71
3.	REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES	71
4.	REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES	72

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Recent attention in the field of planning in regard to the status of women has centered on two areas: women in planning and planning for women. To date, concern has been primarily directed toward the former issue in regard to the status of women in the profession. In 1971 a publication of the Planning Advisory Service purported evidence that female planners were paid less and had far less supervisory responsibility than men.[1] In 1972 the policy position statement for the American Institute of Planners entitled "Equal Treatment of Women Planners", set forth policy proposals for planning agencies designed to increase the number of women in planning and their status within planning agencies.[2] A final occurence in the movement to improve the status of women planners was the successful resolution of a discriminatory complaint filed in 1971 by several women planners against the Boston Redevelopment Authority.[3]

However, it was not until December of 1973 that attention focused on the latter area. A workshop conducted by the American Society of Planning Officials and sponsored by the Department of Housing and Urban Development on "Planning for the Changing Needs of Women", marked the first substantial effort in the other area, planning for women. For the first time, consideration was given to the implications of the changing roles of women for the practice of

planning.[4]

As a result of this workshop and subsequent publications, the problems of women in urban and suburban settings have gained some recognition. The purposes of a new approach for planning for women was explained by one of the workshop participants.

> ... first, to explore the problems we face as women -- those deriving not so much from our sex as from culturally defined roles and problems, which today's city design intensifies and which alternate urban patterns of design and life might ameliorate; and second, to put our male colleagues on notice that just as planning preferrentially for middle and upper class persons has radically oppressed the largest mass of urban dwellers, so preferential planning for men and the 'male role' radically oppresses the more than half our citizens who are female.[5]

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The advocates of a new planning approach for women contend that the changing needs of women have not been recognized in development decisions , nor reflected in city design.[6] It is also contended by this study that this situation is a result of the neglect of two basic propositions for good planning: first, the client (women) and the clients needs have not been identified by planners and those involved in development decisions and second, the client has not participated significantly in the review and development of plans.

An important part of the planning process is the identification of the client and the clients needs. If the practice of planning is to be effective, it must recognize and respond to the changes in the lives and needs of its clients. Planners are often in the position to make decisions and recommendations which have profound social

implications. Thus it is quite important that in determining priorities, formulating policies, allocating budgets, and administering land use regulations that planners are aware of how those decisions affect women.[7]

Since the turn of the century, profound changes have occurred in the life of the American woman. However, this study contends that planners have failed to recognize these changes. Women have been viewed as clients of planning only in regard to their family functions of mother and housewife. This conception of women's lives is based upon traditional social patterns which no longer exist. The woman of the seventies possesses many roles outside of home and family.[8]

Nevertheless, institutions are quite slow to change, and planners and others involved in community development decisions have perpetuated traditional social patterns despite their divergence with the facts. Thus it is contended that traditional approaches to city design and community development have intensified the problems of women rather than assisting them in their expanding roles.

Places of home, school and work are still stringently separated in contemporary cities. Such a defined physical environment makes growth and change virtually impossible.[9] This situation is described by Janet Abu-Lughod, professor of sociology, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

> It is time for planners once and for all to divest themselves of the glossy magazine image, a stereotype for which they have so blithely been planning. That image is dead if indeed it ever lived and it is likely to become even deader... The goal of planners should be to work toward a city which facilitates rather than hinders the type of joint work-home-children family which already has made an appearance in American life.[10]

Equal in importance to the identification of the client in the planning process, is the participation of the client in the development and review of plans. The realization of needed changes will to a great extent depend upon the efforts of women themselves. Marilyn M. Pray, chief of general plans, Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, expounds on this view in her paper "Planning and Women in the Suburban Setting".

> "The pace of change, however, will depend upon the degree to which women themselves recognize that improvement is possible, articulate their needs and monitor support to the planning activities undertaken in their behalf." [11]

Planners must make it clear to women how planning affects their lives and their communities. Women of all ages, incomes and lifestyles should participate in the development and review of plans.[12]

It is the contention of this study that women have not significantly participated in the planning process. Women are typically under-represented on policymaking, advisory, and citizen committees. Furthermore, women are stereotyped and placed on boards and committees dealing primarily with the social or cultural issues of community development. Rarely are women represented in the more technical areas of physical and economic development, such as transportation, zoning, public works, etc. However, women have equally valuable contributions

to make in these areas.[13]

Just as women should be represented in all areas of development, the interests of all types of women should also have representation. "Working women as well as homemakers; single women as well as married, minority women as well as nonminority -- all should be fairly represented."[14] However, it is the contention of this study that certain groups of women are overlooked in almost every facet of development activities. The stereotype defines the role of woman as wife, mother, and housewife, and society tends to overlook the number of women who do not fit into this category. Nevertheless, such women wish to be considered as fullfledged permanent residents and serious participants in community life.

STUDY HYPOTHESIS

In summary, it is hypothesized that the changing needs of women have not been recognized in development decisions nor reflected in city design. The hypothesis is based upon two major contentions: first, that those involved in planning and decision-making have not identified women as one of the clients and her needs; second, that women as a client have not participated significantly in the development and review of the plans which affect their lives.

In regard to the first contention concerning client identification, the following assertions shall be investigated: first, that women have been viewed as clients of planning only in regard to their family functions of mother and housewife; second, that women today have many roles in addition to those in the home and family; and third,

that traditional approaches to planning have intensified the problems of women rather than assisting them in their expanding roles.

Concerning the second contention in regard to client participation, the following statements shall be the subject of investigation: first, women are not equally represented on city-appointed boards which deal with development decisions; second, women are stereotyped and placed on committees dealing with social areas of development; third, single women, young women, and minority women tend to be under represented among women serving on development boards; fourth, women on development boards do not always have effective roles; fifth, the female appointees on development boards have not realized how planning decisions affect the lives of women; sixth, women question the contributions they can make in areas of development other than their traditional role in social development; and seventh, the activities of women through voluntary association also tend to be limited to the social area of development.

The investigation of the first contention shall be conducted through the research and review of recent planning documents and literature. The second contention shall be investigated through a case study of the women in one metropolitan area.

---

[1]"Women in Planning: A Report on Their Status in Public Planning Agencies," Planning Advisory Service, (Planning Advisory Service is hereinafter referred to as PAS), No. 273 (1971).

[2]"Equal Treatment of Women Planners," A policy statement presented at the 1972 conference of the American Institute of Planners.

[3]Jerome L. Kaufman, "An Approach to Planning for Women," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 73.

[4]Karen Hapgood and Judith Getzels, "Report on the Changing Roles of Women and the Practice of Planning," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 1.

[5]Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "Designing a City for All," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 37.

[6]Hapgood and Getzels, p. 2.

[7]Hapgood and Getzels, pp. 1, 2.

[8]Karen Hapgood and Judith Getzels, "Historical Perspectives: Trends in the Lives of Women," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 13.

[9]Hapgood and Getzels, "Report on the Changing Roles of Women," p. 2.

[10]Abu-Lughod, p. 41.

[11]Marilyn M. Pray, "Planning and Women in the Suburban Setting," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 56.

[12]Karen Hapgood and Judith Getzels, "What Can Planners Do?" PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 22.

[13]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Can Planners Do?" pp. 22, 23.

Chapter 2

IDENTIFYING THE CLIENT

Women have been viewed as clients of planning only in regard to their family functions of mother and housewife. The term "housewife" conveys the image of what has been considered the proper relationship between woman's role and woman's place. A woman has traditionally been considered only in a relational contest: her primary function, in the family; her place, in the home.[1]

In many planning endeavors, the emphasis has been on families. Pray commented on this situation in her article, "Planning and Women in the Suburban Setting".

> ...It is time for planners to divest themselves of the glossy magazine-ad family image, a stereotype for which they have blithely been planning.[2]

In such situations, when women were considered in planning decisions, it was generally thought that women would remain at home with their children. If a community was a good place for children, then it was assumed that a community would be a good place for women too.[3]

Herbert Gans' study of Levittown provides an excellent example of this point of view. During the planning process of a new town, Columbia, Maryland, Gans was asked to predict what life would be like and what problems might be encountered. In regard to women, Gans wrote:

> For the wife, welfare and happiness of husband and especially children are most important, with opportunity for easily accessible contact with other and compatible women next. Her interest is in the house less than in ownership. The house is hers; it is a stage on which she presents herself and expresses herself and her sense of aesthetics and efficiency. She must like the house; it must be easy to take care of.[4]

This view of women and their roles can be traced even to the classical urban utopias of Paul and Percival Goodman's great Communitas.[5] The urban alternative which they clearly favored was Utopia II, the city which integrated work and life into a coherent whole. This utopia does have some similarity to one favored by women's advocates, "....a city which treats women as full members of the human race and which integrates them into the full range of pleasures and pains of fruitful life."[6]

However, women are not considered in any of the Goodmans' utopias, except in terms of their roles as mothers and wives. The text is satiated with statements such as:

> What hour each man's work began...
> A man's wife and children.....visit him at work.
> A well-rounded schedule for each man...
> Such a man.....finds himself going back to his meaningful job...
> But we would hope that where every man has such work, where society is organized only to guarantee that he has...

It is obvious that the meaning of man in each of these phrases does not refer to man in the generic sense of all human beings. The Goodmans really do mean "man".

This view of a woman's place is still visible in more recent visions of planning utopias. Janet L. Abu-Lughod, a professor of

sociology at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, writes of a conference she attended in 1973. This conference brought together some of the country's most well known and respected city planners and the world's most renowned urban archaeologists and historians. The subject of discussion was the relevance of earlier urban models to the city of the future. Attention centered on the four day work week and anticipated changes in the physical arrangement of the metropolis. The alternative favored by the predominantly male group was one which called for an even more complete separation of work from residence in the urban area. Enthusiasm was generated for an arrangement in which, "....a man could go into the city to work, spend three nights there and then return to his family out in the country for the other four nights."[7] Appalled by this vision of an upper-class male utopia, Abu-Lughod writes:

> The vision of the future city they were so enthusiastic about was one which maximized the interests of a very small class, the ruling class of society.... It was designed for upper-middle and upper-class, since it presumed ability to maintain two dwellings.... It was designed for men only. Married females were to remain on rural 'breeding farms'. The status of single women was indeterminate: perhaps they were to be kept in the city for those other three nights? Sex roles were to be totally differentiated for obviously both men and women could hardly expect to desert their children in the exurbs for four days and three nights, even given the existence of TV dinners![8]

Their conception of women's roles is obvious -- her function, the family; her place, the home.

It is evident that the needs of women, apart from those of their husbands and children, have not been the subject of much planning concern. Planning agencies have planned primarily to meet

the needs of the ideal but elusive "average" person, family, or group.

Jerome L. Kaufman describes this situation in his paper. "An Approach to Planning for Women".[9] He contends that few planning agencies view women as a group deserving special consideration. Even the most sophisticated agencies are prevented from doing this by their very organization and the way the structure their activities. Planning agencies are usually organized along functional lines. Functional divisions include transportation, housing, and community facilities and sometimes, health, social services, etc. Planning schools facilitate this functional orientation by training students as specialists in fields such as housing, transportation, land use, etc.

Rarely do planning agencies recognize a subpart of the general public as a focus for their activity. If they do so, this favored group is usually the elderly. Most often, the functional orientation of the planning agency leads to planning for the "average" middle-class family with children. Populations with special needs, such as women, youth, blacks, low-income, etc., usually get the "short shuft" in the analysis.[10]

It is only recently that planners have questioned this faith in a unitary public good or interest and recognized that various groups may have different and even conflicting priorities.[11] It was thought that "good" planning for one sex is automatically "good" planning for the other. Most planners simply assumed that planning was blind to the sex of those that it affects.

In 1970, William L. C. Wheaton and Margaret F. Wheaton asserted that no "general public interest" exists, making it imperative

that the planner identify various constituent groups and analyze their goals to determine the consequences which the priorities of one group will have for another.[12] In 1967, John Dyckman wrote that the concept of client analysis suggests that needs and interests vary from individual to individual, group to group, and are likely to change over time. Goals which are shared by all are the exception and generally are expressed in terms which are too general to evaluate or implement.[13]

The identification of the needs and interests of the client is fundamental to the planning process. It is no longer acceptable for planners to identify the needs and interests of women in terms of their husbands and families. Although marriage and family may still be the rule rather than the exception for the majority of women, the wife and mother of the seventies wants additional roles outside her family. As Charolette Temple, a new town developer in Rochester, New York, points out, "It may be safe to say that the American mother-at-home as we know her faces extinction."[14]

Thus in planning for women, it can not be assumed that all women have the same needs and interests. Age, income, education, presence of children, marital status, employment status, and ethnic background -- all have an influence upon the type of services a woman needs, the kind of neighborhood she wants to live in, the type of housing she desires, and so forth.[15]

Trends in the Lives of Women

The changing role of the American woman can be documented in the statistics of the twentieth century. The most profound change in the lives of women is their increasing participation in the labor force.

> Before the war it had been almost unheard of for a middle-class wife or mother to work. Thirty years later, the labor force contained 60 percent of all wives from homes with an annual income of more than $10,000 and more than half of the mothers of children from six to seventeen years of age. If the nation including women had been asked in 1939 whether it would tolerate such a far reaching change, the answer would undoubtedly have been an overwhelming no. But events by-passed public opinon and made the change an accomplished fact. As a result work for the middle-class married woman has become the rule rather than the exception, and the content of the woman's sphere has been permanently altered.[16]

The question of who is the "breadwinner" has been the basis of the distinction between masculine and feminine roles. Thus a change in the economic role of women has the potential for altering most of our institutions. Concurrent trends are already evident: women are increasingly living alone or with unrelated individuals; women are having fewer children, and family size is decreasing.[17]

It is imperative that planners recognize the significance of these trends.

> A recognition of the magnitude of these trends and the complicated balance of societal changes which have brought them into being requires a rethinking of many planning concepts. The entry of women into the labor force is not a recent occurrence limited to a highly trained elite or a small segment of the poor who have no other options. Women's working represents a growing response over a long period of time to a confluence of forces in an industrializing society.[18]

The female labor force. The number of women in the labor force steadily increased from 1900 to 1940. The pattern of their participation, however, remained unchanged. This situation is described by economist Valerie Oppenheimen. "If a woman worked, it was usually before marriage; if she worked after marriage it was usually before the advent of children."[19]

However, all was changed by World War II. Women in the work force became a national priority and women of all ages entered in. When the war ended, women's working did not cease and a new pattern of labor participation emerged. Women no longer remained in the home after marriage and the rearing of children.[20]

Today the characteristics of female workers are quite similar to those of the female population in general. The average woman worker is about forty years old. The greatest increase in women workers in the past fifty years has been in the age group from thirty-five to fifty-five. It appears that the barriers of prejudice against middle-age women workers are falling.

Married women are also increasingly in the labor force. While 60 percent of the female workers in 1970 were married, only 30 percent were married in 1940. During the past 30 years the number of married women in the labor force has increased by 320 percent, rising from 4.2 million in 1940 to over 18 million in 1970.[21]

Yet the belief persists that women are still at home. "Laws, public practices, and business practices of the nation are still based in a large measure on the assumption that only a minority of women work outside the home." (especially married women)[22]

Not only have married women increasingly entered the work force, but so have women with children. One-half of the women with children between the ages of six and seventeen are working. In fact, the presence of children seems to be related to a woman's seeking work. At all levels of income, the number of working mothers is higher than in families without children.

The most dramatic change in labor force participation, is the increase in working mothers with children under the age of six. Since 1970, their numbers have increased by 60 percent compared to 28 percent for other mothers. [23]

Despite the persistent belief that women work only for "pin money", two-thirds of women work to provide necessary income, either they have no husband or his income is less than $7000. (Bureau of Labor ceiling for low standard of living for urban family of four.) These women earn money which is the sole family income or a major part of it.

Working wives have also contributed to the rising affluence of the middle-class. In 50 percent of the families with an income of over $15,000, both parents work. In the past twenty years, the greatest proportionate increase in working wives has been in those families in the over $15,000 income category.[24]

However, financial security is not the only reason women work. The more educated a woman is, the more likely she is to work. E. J. Kahn commented on this situation in an article of the 1970 census:

> ...The essential point is that more and more women want to work quite apart from those who because of the cost of living or because of male unemployment, simply have to work to supplement -- or indeed provide -- the family income.[25]

Blue collar and upper middle-classwomen are working in order to use their education and training, to provide extra amenities for the family and because they enjoy the stimulation provided by adults outside of their homes.[25]

Despite the facts about women, the belief still prevails that a woman's whole sense of identity and major source of satisfaction depends solely on her husband's job, her home, and her children. For some women, the poor, this stereotype has never had much meaning. As quoted from Smuts history of working women, "A family had to have the means to support its women in sheltered idleness before it could come to believe that this was their natural state."[27]

Demographic trends

Although the increasing economic role of women is the most significant change in the lives of women, there are also certain demographic changes which have implications for planners.

Women are increasingly heading families. One way in which this trend is manifested is in their growing proportion of the nation's poor families. In the past decade the number of poverty families headed by women has increased by 33 percent, compared to a 13 percent increase in two parent families. Poverty is the most salient characteristic of families headed by women. The income of female headed families is at most one-half of those headed by men. This fact

demonstrates the low socio-economic status of these women. Of the families headed by women, 40 percent live below the poverty threshold; white only 7 percent of the families headed by men live in poverty.[28]

Divorce and separation account for a large number of households headed by women than does husband's death. Despite popular myths, divorce is higher among the poor and least educated. Poverty itself can create the marital tensions leading to the break-up.

The increase in divorce is of particular significance for women because of the living arrangement which result. While 49 percent of divorced women head households with children or other relatives, only 9 percent of divorced men do so. While 14 percent of minor children live with only their mother, only 1 percent live only with their father.[29]

The proportion of children raised in a single parent family is increasing. This, of course, has the greatest impact on women. In fact, the presence of a child appears to be the determining factor in the poverty status of a female headed household. Of low income female family heads, 45 percent report that they do not work because of the presence of children, while a trivial number of men do not work for this reason.[30]

Labor force participation has increased more for divorced women than women in any other marital category. While 64 percent of female family heads work, only 42 percent of women with husbands work.[31]

Women are increasingly living alone or with unrelated individuals. In the past fifteen years, households of primary individuals have grown four times greater in number than other households. In 1940,

primary households comprised 10 percent of the total number of households; in 1970, their numbers increased to 20 percent of the total. Of the women who fit into this category, 53 percent are over the age of sixty-five; 34 percent are young, single and between the ages of fourteen to thirty-four.

The number of women under the age of thirty-five who live apart from relatives increased by 25 percent in the fifties, doubled in the sixties, and increased an additional 40 percent since 1970. There are more single women under thirty-five than over thirty-five. This is reflected by the median age of marriage which rose from 20.3 in 1960 to 21 in 1973, to reverse the prevalent downward trend of the past seventy years.

An increased life span accounts for the large number of elderly women living alone. While a woman born in 1900 could expect to live forty-eight years, a woman born in 1972 could expect to live to the age of seventy-five. This is some eight years longer than the life expectancy of her male spouse. In 1973, there were one-third as many women over sixty-five who were household heads than men over sixty-five who headed households.

A final trend significant to the lives of women is the decreasing birthrate. Women are having fewer children and family size has been steadily decreasing for the past fifteen years. In December of 1972 the birthrate fell below the 2.11 replacement level, the level at which a zero population growth could be maintained. The number of births per 1000 women has decreased from 118 in 1960 to 69.3 in 1973. The trend for smaller families does not appear to be tapering off.[32]

The decrease in family size reflects not only the falling birthrate but the increasing tendency of family members to establish separate households. Though women marry later, they leave their parents home to seek employment or education at an earlier age. Young people as well as old wish to maintain their own household. The number of three generation families has declined by 10 percent since 1960.

Implications for Planners

It appears that the beliefs of planners about women's lives have been based upon traditional attitudes which are no longer relevant. This lack of knowledge in regard to women indicates that planning has had its base, not in methodically correct projections about specific groups of women, but in personal assumptions and biases of those who make day-to-day planning decisions.

It is imperative that planners ask themselves, "for whom are we planning?" The definition of the needs of the client group can only be understood by studying the characteristics of a specific group of women at which the planning is directed. The all encompassing category of "mother-at-home", obviously does not aply to all women.

Women as clients of planning constitute a very complex group. Planners must recognize this and respond to the rapid changes which are occurring in their lives. By studying the trends in women's lives -- increased labor force participation; growing numbers of women living alone or with unrelated individuals, heading households, and having fewer children -- the extent to which community design fails to respond to women's needs, begins to be understood.

[1]Elizabeth Janeway, Man's Work, Woman's Place (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Delta edition, 1970), p.11.

[2]Marilyn M. Pray, "Planning and Women in the Suburban Setting," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 56.

[3]Mary Stuart, "Planning for Women -- Lessons From Columbia," A paper presented at the 1974 conference of the American Institute of Planners, p. 1.

[4]Herbert J. Gans, The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community (New York: Pantheon, 1967), p. 188.

[5]Paul Goodman and Percival Goodman, Communitas.

[6]Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "Designing a City for All," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 42.

[7]Abu-Lughod, p. 37.

[8]Abu-Lughod, p. 38.

[9]Jerome L. Kaufman, "An Approach to Planning for Women," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), pp. 73-76.

[10]Kaufman, p. 74.

[11]Stuart, p. 1.

[12]W.L.C. Wheaton and Margaret F. Wheaton, "Identifying the Public Interest: Values and Goals, "Urban Planning in Transition, ed. Ernest Erber (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1970), pp. 152-164.

[13]John Dycman, "Societal Goals and Planned Societies," Taming the Megalopolis, Vol. I (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1967).

[14]Charolette Temple, "Planning and the Married Women with Children -- A New Town Perspective," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p.45.

[15]Stuart, p.2.

[16]William M. Chafe, The American Woman Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Role, 1920-1970 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 3.

[17]Karen Hapgood and Judith Getzels, "Historical Perspectives: Trends in the Lives of Women," PAS, No. 301 April, 1974), p. 3.

[18]Hapgood and Getzels, "Historical Perspectives: Trends in the Lives of Women," p. 3.

[19]Valerie Kincade Oppenheimen, The Female Labor Force in the United States, Population Monograph Series No. 5 (Berkley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1970), p.10.

[20]Oppenheimen, p. 15.

[21]Hapgood and Getzels, "Historical Perspectives: Trends in the Lives of Women," p. 4.

[22]Eilien Shanahan, "Women and Money, All the Pigs Are More Equal," New York Times, July 8, 1973.

[23]Hapgood and Getzels, "Historical Perspectives: Trends in the Lives of Women," pp. 4, 5.

[24]Hapgood and Getzels, "Historical Perspectives: Trends in the Lives of Women," p. 6.

[25]E. J. Kahn, Jr., "Who, What, Where, How Many?" New Yorker, October 15, 1973, p. 157.

[26]Hapgood and Getzels, "Historical Perspectives: Trends in the Lives of Women," p. 6.

[27]Robert W. Smuts, Women and Work in America (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 137.

[28]Hapgood and Getzels, "Historical Perspectives: Trends in the Lives of Women," p. 10.

[29]Hapgood and Getzels, "Historical Perspectives: Trends in the Lives of Women," pp. 10-13.

[30]Hapgood and Getzels, "Historical Perspectives: Trends in the Lives of Women," pp. 11-13.

[31]Hapgood and Getzels, "Historical Perspectives: Trends in the Lives of Women," p. 13.

[32]Hapgood and Getzels, "Historical Perspectives: Trends in the Lives of Women," p. 10.

Chapter 3

PLANNING FOR THE NEEDS OF WOMEN

Despite the relaxation of masculine and feminine roles, institutions have been much slower to change. Planners and others involved in community development decisions have tended to perpetuate traditional social patterns despite their obvious variance from the facts. It appears that traditional approaches to city development have intensified the problems of women rather than assisting them in their expanding roles.

The issue of women's needs in regard to planning decisions was the subject of discussion at the American Society of Planning Officials' Women's Workshop, held in December of 1973. The following chapter is a review of the findings of this workshop and of subsequent planning publications concerning the planning needs of women. In review of these reports, the planning concern for the status of women was shown to exist in six major areas: income, community design, housing, transportation, child care, and supportive services. Lack of sufficient income, separation of work and home in community design, the lack of diversity in housing, insufficient and inadequate child care, inaccessibility of transportation, and dispersion of supportive services, all will be reviewed in term's of women's lives.

INCOME

Insufficient income has had the most overriding effect upon the lives of many women. The vast majority of low-income women are concentrated in the central city. The majority of these central city women are black or Latin. Many of these women are desperately poor subsisting on welfare payments or through unstable employment in domestic services or other similar low-paying jobs. Those who do have employment or whose husbands work, tend to be the worst off of the working class. Those who do become better off soon migrate to the suburbs.[1]

Such women do not suffer from ridgity of environment imposed by the planned and protected bedroom suburbs. They reside in neighborhoods which have had no planning and no new construction, at least not for low-income persons. For them, planning is a menace, which is initiated only to prepare for new construction which will in turn force them from their homes.[2]

Frances Fox Piven, professor of political science at Boston University, describes the plight of lower-class women in her article, "Planning for Women In the Central City".[3] She writes that these women do not suffer from the sterility of environment or isolation associated with suburban tract development or single-use zoning. On the contrary, there is plenty of "action" on the streets; although it is often destructive or even "pathological."[4] She notes that such women are not interested in novel housing arrangements which produce a sense of community. "They still haven't gotten the not-so-novel but decent housing promised the people of the United States decades ago."[5]

Thus the needs of these women should not be grouped with their sisters in the suburbs. Compared to the limitations on life imposed by poverty, the sterility and loneliness of the suburban environment seems quite trivial.

To address the needs of these women, the main issue is obviously income. Piven writes: "Lack of income is still the most fundamental sort of oppression of women who work, as well as women who can't work or can't find work." The major sources of income for these women are jobs and public assistance. Any improvements which planners can influence in the availability of the income sources would further the basic needs of low-income women. Therefore, Piven suggests that the goal should be to increase the number of available jobs in the central city for those women who work or desire to work and to upgrade their pay scale. She further suggests that development proposals be reviewed with special attention to the impact upon jobs. Not only should the question of increase or decrease of jobs be considered, but also the question of whose jobs will be created or eliminated in terms of class, race, and sex. She feels that a proposed development should be reviewed in terms of its effect upon the lives of poor and working class women.

Piven further writes that lower-class women have needs other than money; they need decent housing, clean and safe streets, parks, schools, and shopping facilities. She explains that planners also have influence over who receives these types of amenities. They recommend where housing will be destroyed, where malls or parks will be built, and consequently who will benefit from them. She concludes

her argument by emphasizing that all planning decisions have group and class interests at stake, and thus she recommends that planners, "...consider which groups will lose and which will benefit and endorse the proposal that make life easier for those who have the least."[8]

CITY DESIGN

The significance of physical design to the lives of women is explained by Janet L. Abu-Lughod, in her paper entitled, "Designing a City for All".

> ...City design cannot solve the 'woman' problem just as it cannot solve most social problems. But city design and the life design it adjusts to and indeed intensifies, can often be quite effective in preventing solutions.[9]

Despite the expansion of women's roles and the relaxation of traditional sex role barriers, traditional design patterns have remained unquestioned. Rather than assisting women in their expanding roles, the physical environment has intensified the problems of women. Places of home, school, and work are still stringently separated. Such a defined environment can only make growth and change quite difficult. Karen Hapgod and Judith Getzels comment on this situation in a special report of the American Society of Planning Officials, "Planning, Women and Change" . "A physical environment which tightly structures behavior according to role, class, sex, and age, is antiethical to good planning."[10]

The central women's issue in community design is their need

to have greater choice in their environment. Men and women, alike, desire the same options in the environment -- to get to their job easily, to be involved in community affairs, to shop conveniently, to further their education, to find recreation and entertainment, and to meet with their friends. Women need varied social and economic opportunities in their communities and an environment which fosters mobility for them and their children. Community design which provides for diversity of opportunities requires that residences, jobs, services and recreational facilities be locationally integrated.[11]

Despite evidence to the contrary, current planning practices have viewed the family-centered residential neighborhood as the chief focus of women's lives. The result has been homogeneous communities with large tracts of uniform residences in the protected and sterile environment of the bedroom suburbs.[12] These single-use communities have severly limited the options open to the modern woman who at all ages and income levels works outside her home, attends school, and participates in community affairs, while still bearing the major responsibility for family and home maintenance.[13]

Single Women

Young women are probably less concerned than any other age group over the impact of city design. Generally, they do not object to living in neighborhoods predominantly of their own age group. However, they do desire a wider housing choice. They have primarily been considered only in the rental market, although the 1970 census shows that single homeowners have increased by two million to a total of five million in the past decade.[14]

Jobs, shopping centers, recreational facilities, all have migrated to the suburbs. A whole generation has grown up in the suburbs. Single women who traditionally have moved into the city now want the option of living in the suburbs close to family, friends, and jobs.[15]

Women With Children

Community design affects mothers in all income groups. Low-income female household heads, most of whom are black, are desperately in need of decent housing, good schools, and satisfying jobs. Health services have become inaccessible to them through the centralization of hospitals at some distance. Urban renewal projects have driven jobs out of the city and reduced the supply of low and moderate income housing.[16]

Although jobs have migrated to the suburbs, low-income housing has not followed. Single parent families also wish to locate near schools and the other amenities offered by the suburbs. However, suitable apartments are scarce. Housing and services in the suburbs assume that two adults with children maintain every household. Suburbia is definitely the domain of the couple.[17]

Young mothers in concentrated single-family housing areas speak of the isolation and loneliness they experience in suburbia. With the extended family now almost obsolete, these young mothers are virtually on their onw, as the only adult at home during most of the day. They must assume new roles, in new places of residence without the help of family members.[18]

> ...Family life which use to extend outward to mothers, sisters, and close friends down the block turns inward and becomes constricted to home and children. Emotional support is no longer as close as a trip next door.[19]

In her article, "Planning and the Married Woman With Children -- A New Town Perspective," Charlotte Temple asserts that new middle income neighborhood planning has concentrated on the needs of children and seldom on the complex needs of their increasingly well-educated mothers.

> The chief weakness of the neighborhood concept as it relates to women, is its view of the women who were to use it. The stereotype of the woman at home denies her sophistication and her need to continue her personal growth. What new town developers fail to see is the relationship of urban style of living to sophisticated women within her housewife's role.[20]

The assumption has prevailed in design decisions that the woman who does not work has only limited interests outside her home.

Middle-Aged Women

Improved health, mobility, and the increased demand for workers, have opened many new opportunities for a number of married women whose children are grown or in school. At this stage in life, homemakers begin to find time on their hands.[21] William Chaffee writes, "In a world where housework was given little prestige, the mother whose off-spring no longer needed constant care felt partly functionless ... out of a job."[22] Women who are divorced or widowed also find it necessary to earn additional income.

Middle-aged women have responded in part to their new circumstance through assumption of new activities, such as jobs and educational programs. However, most communities have been concerned only

for the provisions of facilities for families with children. Such a community provides limited opportunities for the middle-aged woman. As the population grows older, communities with an unbalance investment for a young population, find themselves with empty classrooms and many large houses. Although the middle-aged woman may want to stay in her old community, she finds that her housing, employment, and recreational needs cannot be met there.[23]

Women Over Sixty-Five

The elderly population, which increasingly is becoming female, requires new living arrangements apart from former spouse and family. Few elderly people live comfortably in the same households with their children. Both generations value independence; however, the elderly still wish to retain contact with family, friends, and communities.[24]

The most recent innovation for confronting the social isolation of the aged, is development of housing complexes where older people constitute the majority of the inhabitants. However, a number of housing choices ranging from living alone to living in an institutional setting, should be provided. Such options should respect the heterogenity of the aging and recognize various levels of dependency.[25]

Planning Proposals

In the past decade, the largest population gains have occurred in the suburban ring around central cities. The implications of the isolated suburban envornment are only now becoming apparent. Suburban women relating their changing needs talk of:

> ...houses too far apart for casual neighborliness, no movie theatres or nightime recreation, no parks or places where women can gather during the day to see other adults, no child care facilities ... mother a taxi driver most of the time ..., trains which make the town long run only once every two hours after the morning rush.[26]

Marilyn Pray describes the suburban dilemma in her article, "Planning and Women in the Suburban Setting".

> It appears that the only women who may not be unduly inconvenienced by the dispersal of specialized services in low density areas would be the nonemployed, childless, woman who has access to her own auto. The low density population which is an essential characteristic of the suburban area is by definition a dispersed population. It follows that specialized services which require a large population to support them cannot be conveniently close to the bulk of suburban residents. The economics of low-density living are such that the local planner probably cannot respond adequately to the problem.[27]

Pray also writes of the loneliness experienced by suburban women. Little thought has been given to the design of public spaces and facilities for lonely women, unless she wants to attend structured classes. Recreational plans concentrate on parks, open spaces, ball diamonds, tot lots, skating rinks and other areas for active recreation. Little thought is given to the provision of spaces for unstructured and casual social contacts.[28]

Developments which are subject to specific design review are usually scrutinized for such things as the location or driveways in relation to street traffic, drainage, landscape buffers, etc. Indeed, it is much easier to establish criteria for physical arrangements than to satisfy the demands of social change. Pray suggests that the world of lonely women could be greatly changed if planners

would include casual contact space among their criteria and standards for review of development proposals.[29]

Pray proposes that all possible areas of social contact be exploited in shopping as well as residential areas -- in malls, tot lots, hallways, and at mailboxes. Using her criteria, social spaces should be small enough to put people in proximity for greeting and pleasant enough to encourage them to linger and talk. She suggests that such areas be integrated into routine activities -- on the way to the trash or garbage, and laundry. She explains her proposals saying,

> These may seem like little things, trivial to the point of being frivlous. But when I think of the daytime TV fare that many women use as a surrogate for human contact, I'm convinced that no effort is too trivial to attempt, if there is any change to encourage real, human, social contact.[30]

It seems apparent that the low density, homogenous development which has been occurring in recent years has not provided for the needs of women. Zoning and subdivision regulations have produced the uniformity in housing types and residential densities. Although planned unit developments and new towns have offered greater flexibility in design, they too have failed to achieve any real goals in designing hetrogeneous communities.[31]

Some planners feel that the segregation of primary uses and the separation of work, school, and home, have resulted in a more fundamental oppression of women than simply the sterile and lonely environment of the bedroom suburbs. Janet Abu-Lughod writes that women have increased their participation in the labor force despite the conflicts which city design has imposed upon them, but consequently they

have been penalized because part-time or low paying jobs are often all they can manage. She states,

> ...They are punished for their failure to overcome hurdles which society has set up to make work difficult. They are victims of an urban design which has helped to reduce them to a marginal role in the labor force -- a noncompetitive, cheap, and underutilized pool for local and part-time jobs.[32]

Abu-Lughod contends that the only solution to the woman problem is a total revamping of the work organization and the city design which supports it. She writes,

> ...The woman problem cannot be solved within the framework now offered by our social and work organizations. Given this, city planners and urban designers cannot do more than tinker and temporize. Since the basic assumptions are male determined, their tinkering can only intensify our problems. Only with the reorganization of the nature of work and leisure to conform to a pattern of sexual equalitarianism, can we create the demand for a city designed for women, and men of the future.[33]

She insists that any social reorganization is significantly linked to the reorganization of the city. Thus the two are not independent and one cannot occur without the other. In the past, planners have simply adjusted to social arrangements rather than designing them. She contends that this type of planning cannot create livable cities, least of all solve the problems of women.

Abu-Lughod views the issue of the work week as being tightly linked to urban design decisions. A change to a four day work week could result in changes in cities which would leave women in an even more precarious position. However, she envisages a solution to urban design which requires a different physical design, but which would make, "it easier for women to become full participants in

society." She presents two alternative solutions, both social and physical, either of which could accommodate the increased leisure time and reduced labor demands of the future.[34]

Solution I, is a society which adjusts to increased leisure by an even more rigid division of labor -- an even smaller proportion of the population is in the money economy, enabling society to support a large class specializing in nonenumerative, leisurely, but not less necessary activities. Abu-Lughod describes the life in this society saying,

> Worker ants are highly differentiated in their activities from breeders, nurses, resters and keepers of the 'consumption nest', which is designed to maintain and enhance the environment which worker ants spend what small leisure is granted to them. Whole classes based on sex (females) or upon age (abnormally prolonged youth and sharply delineated and prematurely defined oldsters), constitue, if not leisure classes at least classes considered supernumerary by the economic system.[35]

In this rigidly divided society, much is to be gained by separating places of work from places of leisure and nestkeeping. The cost of the separation comes in daily commuting time. Since the period of commuting is relatively fixed by the distance and the means of transportation, in large cities the time may be up to two hours daily. Abu-Lughod explains that since commuting time would be a clear waste of efficiency, that it would then become advantageous to reduce the number of times a week that it would be required. This could be accomplished by increasing the number of hours worked per day. Efficiency would be further increased if the worker slept near or at his place of work for three nights and worked four con-

secutive days. Of course, human costs would result in the form or an absentee father and husband and in monetary costs for the maintaining of two residences.[36]

She contends that this is the solution toward which society has been moving. The distance between place of home and work has been increasing and likewise the time required to move between them. The labor force is concentrated within a narrow age band, as young people delay entrance into the market and are increasingly left unemployed, and as pressures mount for early retirement. She explains that women, however, have refused expulsion from the work force and their numbers have grown increasingly. But most often women comprise a labor pool which draws the lowest paying jobs with the least security. They are marginal workers who lack bargaining power. Their lack of power, she concludes, results from their lack of mobility, full workdays, commuting, etc. [37]

Abu-Lughod reasons that such a society would be inauspicious for women. This solution leaves women more marginal and weaker in power. "It will exact higher cost due to the inherent conflict between traditional housewife roles and roles required of workers."[38]

She then proposes her own utopian alternative, which she calls solution II. With this alternative society adjusts to increased leisure time by dividing jobs. The majority of the population participates equally in the burdens and rewards of a wage-for-labor economy. Likewise, all participate in the nonenumerative but necessary tasks of nuturing and nesting. Rigid division of labor is replaced by shorter average work days and work weeks through higher rates of labor

participation. Teenagers would enter the market for short, untaxing hours and older workers would taper off gradually.

> Traditional division of labor along sex lines is reduced due to smaller family size and more equalitarian training. Expectations of males and females are no longer counteracted by job discrimination or confused by socially generated home-job role conflicts.[39]

Abu-Lughod emphasizes that this social reorganization would demand certain changes in the urban development. Increased labor participation would allow the reduction of the workday to a norm of six hours. However, women's problems would not be solved if everyone worked the same six hour shift. Consumption tasks which are now the housewife's would conflict with business hours. The conflict of business hours and working hours would still persist, unless workday and business hours were changed to perhaps three shifts of six hours.

She also points out that if travel time remained the same, it would grow to an outrageous proportion of the workday. This solution is only feasible if travel time were reduced and synchronized economically so shorter hours did not make work and life mutually exclusive.

She concludes that with the alternative of a higher rate of labor participation and low differentation social roles, a separation of work and home is no longer required. A smaller grained land use mix would be more efficient than the one under the old system, which separated the money economy (for males) from the household economy (for females).[40]

Abu-Lughod describes her utopia as a city -- which integrates work and life into a coherent whole, "...a city which treats women as full members of the human race and which integrates them into the full

range of pleasures and pains of a fruitful life".

> The city we seek as women is a human city in which all will share in the pleasures and pains, where women will be neither dolls nor drudges and where the role of specializations so idealized in the past -- females nurturing and males laboring -- will give way to whole and cooperating humans.[41]

HOUSING

Central to the understanding of women's housing needs is the income restraint which affects large numbers of women. Housing programs which begin to respond to the special needs of women must provide more low income housing or financial support systems, integrated services within housing complexes and alternate forms of housing which relieve the maintenance demands of individual units.[42]

The shortage of low income housing particularly affects women, because of the disportionate number of women who are poor. Francis Fox Piven relates this situation in her paper, "Planning for Women in the Central City".

> Lower class women and working women in the central city are not ordinarily much inclined to think about thier need for novel housing arrangements which foster community... They still haven't gotten the not-so-novel but decent housing promised the people of the United States decades ago.[43]

Diversity of housing types is needed at all income levels. Uniformity of housing in large areas binds housing location to housing style. Large apartments, small apartments, row houses, garden apartments, as well as single family detached units should all be available in city and suburb.

Particularly lacking in the suburbs are large rental apart-

ments for the low and moderate income families headed by females. There is also evidence that a large number of women who are not married or rearing children -- young, single women and elderly women -- also desire the life of the suburbs. To accomodate these women, a diversity of housing types is required.[44]

Recent residential concepts in American Public Health Association publication, Planning the Neighborhood, include the idea of life-cycle housing. This concept suggests that a family should be able to progress through the cycles of young married couple, childrearing family, and retirement with their housing needs satisfied within the same community.

> It is essential in development of a well balanced neighborhood that too great uniformity of building types be avoided. Predominant single-family housing developments have a place in outlying parts of metropolitan areas in suburban sections and in small towns, but most urban neighborhoods should contain, in addition to freestanding single family houses, row or group houses and multiple dwellings of various types.[45]

Thus the suburban neighborhood is cast in the image of a single-family sanctuary. It is protected by planning concepts, and mortgage and insurance policies of the Federal Housing Administration from the intrusion of commerce and industry, different income groups, and non-child centered life styles.

Marilyn M. Pray wrote about this situation in her paper, "Planning and Women in the Suburban Setting". She writes that the neighborhood concept, single family or life cycle, which is manifested in the community's comprehensive plan, is central to the issue of housing choice for suburban women. She contends that provisions for

a variety of housing types would maximize housing choices for women. When housing types are segregated, it is probable that multi-family unity are restricted to the least desireable locations or used as buffers to single-family enclaves from noise, traffic, or commercial uses. The rationale offered for this is that multi-family users have no investment to protect and nuisances are not annoying to them. Pray concludes that in such a situation, multi-family dwellers, which include many females, are considered to be second-class citizens.[46]

The comprehensive plan is the housing policy document which guides decisions and determines the range of housing and locational choices available in the suburbs. Housing policy becomes law through the zoning ordinance. If single-family zoning is predominant, housing choices available to women will be at a minimum. Zoning inherently breeds uniformity and segregation of uses. Planned unit developments permit the integration of variety of uses and housing types in one zone, subject to design compatibility. Thus participants at the Women's Workshop concluded that the planned unit development (PUD) is preferrable for land use regulation in the suburbs if one is concerned about providing the housing types and locations necessary to respond to the changing roles of women.[47]

Service and Supports in Housing

Participants at the Women's Workshop pointed out that few residential developments provide even minimal services. They felt, however, that support was growing for residential models which provide

services which would benefit many groups of women. Reflecting this opinion John R. Platt in the April, 1969, Urban Review asked the question,

> Can we devise some new self-maintaining, social institution especially for child care that would help out families with working mothers or overburdened mothers by performing many of the needed child care and domestic services that are performed by a homemaking mother in the conventional family or a paid housekeeper in a well-to-do professional family? If facilities for these could be built into new residential or urban renewal development or into large new apartment buildings, it might take only a relatively small organizational effort to make child care communities based on such services. These would meet the needs of a special housing and rental market. With group economics, they might cost little more than is already spent by the families and by society on care and preschool arrangements.[48]

Discrimination in Housing

Workshop participants also pointed out that the definition of family in most zoning ordinances prevents any form of communal housing. This definition is restrictive against unrelated individuals who wish to maintain a household. They explained that this situation particularly affects elderly women, who may wish to live together for reasons of economy and social support, as well as divorced or single women who desire the amenities of the suburbs but who can't afford to singly maintain a single family residence.

They also pointed to discrimination in lending policies. It is quite hard for single, widowed, and divorced women to establish credit, particularly home mortgages. Furthermore, a wife's earnings are often not counted in total family income, although in 45 percent of families both spouses contribute to total income. In minority

families, the wife provides a substantial portion of the family income, thus sex becomes twice as prejudicial.

In a recent Federal Housing Loan and Bank Board survey, 80 percent of savings and loan associations said marital status was a significant factor reviewed for mortgages. Five and one-half million men are divorced, separated or widowed, while 15.5 million women fall into this group. Since the courts most often award children to the mother, mortgage practices particularly affect women.

Workshop participants also accused landlords of contributing to housing discrimination against women. Landlords discriminate against single women in favor of married couples. Women who head large families have an especially difficult time finding rental housing.[49]

TRANSPORTATION

A number of metropolitan transportation studies have pointed out the inadequacy of public transportation in meeting the needs of certain segments of the population. These groups whose needs are unmet, consistently include the poor, the young, and the aged. Obvious in its absence from these studies was any mention of the special needs of women in regard to transportation. However, present transportation systems inadequately serve the needs of women. Authorities are only now realizing the extent to which inadequate access to transportation proportionately affects women. Public transit systems are solely designed to move large numbers of workers at peak hours. Many more options are needed to serve the increasingly

diverse needs of women.

The increasing location of industries in suburban areas which are inaccessible to public transportation has had especially adverse effects for low-income female house hold heads who remain concentrated in the central city, and to suburban women who are without access to cars. Women workers in the twelve largest metropolitan areas have been shown to be twice as dependent upon public transportation as men workers. The effects of this situation are documented by Phyllis Kaniss and Barbara Robins in their paper, "The Transportation Needs of Women."

Kaniss and Robins contended that women as a group tend to have poorer access to automobiles than men, and consequently women are much more reliant on public transportation to get to work than are men. They further contended that because of their reliance on public transit, the increasing number of job opportunities locating in the suburbs are inaccessible to women. Thus inaccessibility to transportation not only keeps women out of the labor force, but restricts them to the low-paying or part-time jobs which are accessible to public transportation.

Their findings suggested that job opportunities for women are increasingly locating in the suburbs. They established this by showing that women have a stronger tendency than do men to work near their place of residence. Since women are twice as dependent upon public transit, the lack of city to suburb transportation disproportionately affects women. They conclude that employment opportunities and job search activities have been much more geographi-

cally confined for women than for men, and in general women are far less mobile than men.[50]

In a 1973 issue of the American Society of Planning Official's, Planning Magazine, Kevin Lynch, professor of city planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, wrote on male-female differences in their perception of the city based on access to automobiles. He writes,

> You will often find that the man has a much wider perception of the city than the women. The answer is obvious that he travels and has the car, controls the car, and goes to work. She is much more home-bound by children, lack of car, etc.[51]

Kaniss and Robins wrote that this lack of transportation and lack of familiarity with the city severly limits job search activities.

Because of this lack of mobility and inability to travel to higher paying employment, Kaniss and Robin concluded that women are forced to accept lower-paying jobs.

> ...Women, as we have seen, are forced to search for work near their homes either because the transportation system limits their access to distant job opportunities or because domestic responsibilities require that they be near their home.[52]

Lack of transportation affects other aspects of women's lives in addition to their labor participation. In a study of automobile usage in Pittsburg, Lester Hoel found that the first family car is most often used by the male member of the household for his journey to work, 75 percent of the time. In two-car-households, the second car is usually used by the female member of the family for domestic chores.[53] The lack of a second car or any car imposes great difficulties on the low-income woman. Donald Foley wrote of these diffi-

culties in his paper, "Accessibility for Residents in Metropolitan Environment". The low-income woman must either use the inadequate public transportation system, rely on a friend's automobile, or shop at the small stores near her home which usually have higher prices.[54]

Kaniss further concluded that the facilities for cross-commuting were lacking in the suburbs. The fact that facilities for cross-commuting are lacking reflects not only on the unavailability of such transportation, but also the higher income of suburban residents who can afford to own and operate two cars. The movement for increasing low-income housing in the suburbs is severely hindered by this situation. The suburban transportation system precludes the location of those who can not afford to own and operate an automobile. A move to the suburbs would greatly hinder even those low-income families with one car, by placing obstacles to the wife's ability to find employment and in her performance of domestic chores.[55]

Even suburban women with access to cars are not without transportation problems. Public transportation is designed to move workers at peak hours; it is not designed to serve the young and the aged. Kaniss and Robins stated,

> ....Women in the suburbs have been forced to bear the burden of inadequate public transportation systems by having to accept the responsibility of chauffering others whose mobility is severly constrained by limited access to public transit.[56]

Where transit facilities do exist, they are noisy, crowded, lacking in clear route information, and safety provisions. Traveling with

young children or as an elderly person can be an ordeal.

Participants of the American Socity of Planning Official's Women's Workshop, recommended that a regional transportation system be established to meet the needs of women. Such a system would provide for city-to-suburb and cross-suburban commuting, as well as suburb-to-city. Small-scale demand responsive transportation was also suggested as a possible solution for dependent users. Their final suggestion was that transit facilities be designed with provisions for safety, comfort, and clear route information.[57]

CHILD CARE

For women who work outside their home by choice or necessity, quality day care is their most critical need. Statistics show that there is a higher incidence of working women in families where an older child is available for child care. It appears that lack of child care is a major deterrent to female participation in the labor force.[58]

Some children of working women are cared for institutionally by day care centers. Others are cared for in ad hoc arrangements by neighbors, babysitters, housekeepers, etc. Still others receive no care at all. Participants of the Women's Wrokshop recognized this situation and criticized the lack of any present programs or commitments of public funds to meet these needs.[59]

For low income women and female household heads who must work, child care is essential.

> ...For low-income working women, quality day care is seen as supportive to their family situation a means of keeping the family intact and functioning, while the mother becomes either a primary or an absolutely necessary secondary, breadwinner.[60]

Workshop participants noted that too often child care had been used as a tool of welfare. Public assistance has been tied to a mother's working outside of the home. In such aid programs the child care which is offered is somewhat less than adequate. In such programs, ad hoc custodial arrangements or no care at all, are the situation most likely to result.

James O'Toole, chairman of the Special Health, Education, and Welfare Task Force on Work in America wrote of the inconsistencies in tying child care to welfare assistance.

> It is clearly an inconsistency to say that a woman who cares for her children is not working, but if she takes care of another woman's children, she is working. Welfare mothers are working. They are taking care of their children.[61]

Child care is closely related to the welfare problem. Indeed welfare mothers are in need of child care facilities on a massive scale. However, child care can not be the answer to the welfare problem. Francis Fox Piven explained this situation in her article, "Planning for Women in the Central City".

> It is simply inconceivable that adequate day care facilities will be provided for welfare mothers for their earning would never justify the expense. A decent day care program costs at least $2500 per child. It is far cheaper to support the mother of two children on welfare, than to provide her with adequate day care.[62]

Workshop participants agreed that child care could not solve

the welfare problem. They further stated that it should not be a means for forcing women to leave their children if they do not desire to. Child care could be an important support for mothers who want to work. It could also provide relief to those children whose homelife is inadequate or disruptive, but it should have the option of choice.

They further emphasized that day care is not the cause but the result of the changing structure of the family in society. It should be more than a service offered only to working parents. It is a service which should be offered without need of justification; a service which is as normal as police or fire protection. Nonworking as well as working parents are in need of community resources to which they can turn for child care assistance.[63]

Margaret Steinfels commented on the need for normalization of child care in her book, Who's Minding the Children?.

> It should be available to working class mothers and middle class mothers-- day care should be made available to families in general, whose decision to use day care would be seen as simply another one of those choices we all make about where to live and not as an implication of any problem status. ...Problems of disparity in quality day care ghettos or purely custodial institutions will be minimized if day care in the eyes of planners, staffs, evaluators and users is perceived as a normal part of the social scene, and not as a benevolent service oriented toward categories of families seen as especially in need of help.[64]

Zoning ordinances generally treat child care centers as special exceptions. Zoning applications are reviewed on the basis of two criteria: first, the safety of the child; and second, the protection of neighborhood property from nuisance factors which are associated with their operation. Perhaps these are valid

criteria, but one important factor has been excluded. That is the need of the working mother for such facilities. Marilyn Pray wrote of this situation in her article on the needs of women in surburbia. She asks the question, "Have we, in an overriding concern for children and neighbors, forgotten the mother of the child, whose concerns may include economic necessity and locational convenience?"[65]

Pray explained that some zoning ordinances also provide for child care centers as special exceptions in commercial or industrial zones. However, their reasons, she explained, for doing so are not to foster the convenience of mothers who work nearby. Rather their inclusion is linked to the fact that such enterprises are generally commercial and operated for profit. Therefore they appropriately fit the definition of commercial districts. In regard to their inclusion in industrial zones, such zones are often a catchall zone where any use is permitted. The rationale here is that nothing precedes industry in offensive characteristics; therefore, all is compatible with industry.

Pray believes that the location of child care centers in such areas is advantageous for working mothers, although it has been done for the wrong reasons. She explained that if the convenience of working mothers is taken under consideration, child care facilities should be located near places of concentrated employment, rather than widely dispersed in low-density residential areas involving extra travel time for pick up and delivery of children.

Pray suggests that if the concentration of working mothers

in an area is large enough, child care should be provided on the basis of need and locational convenience. Ordinances should include such provisions regardless of the type of zone. Pray concluded her statements on child care noting,

> ...The present criteria for physical standards of centers which relate to protection of neighbors and children's safety should be expanded to embrace and balance need and locational convenience as well, so that the physical environment may respond to activities of this large segment of the suburban population.[66]

Workshop participants concluded their discussion of child care by recommending that planners acquire a new perspective concerning child care. They recommended that such services be considered as normal and necessary. Comprehensive plans should provide for day care centers wherever the need is determined, regardless of zone. Such centers should be open to children from all families who choose to utilize this service. They further emphasized that day care plans should not be limited to traditional institutional settings. Experiments should be made with family day care arrangements and other arrangements which would support informal and private services.[67]

Perhaps the most important of their recommendations was that planners refrain from attempts to tailor day care arrangements to the present economic systems. Steinfel wrote that comprehensive child care programs,

> ...should be accompanied by pressure for more flexibility in the economic system, so that child rearing can be shared between mother and fathers, so that careers can be paced according to stages in family life, and so that children and families become major concerns of the world beyond the household.[68]

SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

Communities have been increasingly required to take over services which were once part of the family function, such as care of the young and the aged, and support of the poor and sick. The provision of social services is part of the broad responsibility of the planning function. Planners influence the range of services available for women by "allocating adequate space for community social services and by planning for the coordination of the programs."[69]

The remoteness and dispersal of specialized services is an inconvenience for most women due to the hours such services are available and the distance which must be traveled to reach them. In the suburbs mothers become chauffeurs spending hours transporting their offspring to their activities. Women who can't drive have a particularly hard time "in getting to and from the doctor, welfare center, bridge club, etc." Marilyn Pray writes of this situation in suburbia,

> ...The only woman not unduly inconvenienced by the dispersal of specialized services in low density areas would be a nonemployed, childless woman who has access to her own automobile.[70]

Workshop participants agreed that supportive services should be integrated into each neighborhood and located near public transportation. Such services should also be made available during the hours which would be convenient for working women.

The character of the low-density suburbs requires a dispersed population. Thus specialized services, which require a

large population to support them cannot be located near the bulk of the residents. The vary nature of the suburbs makes response to problems of dispersed services quite difficult. Pray recommended that a partial solution might be the encouragement of a concentration of such services in one location, near to public transportation. In this way one trip might satisfy several needs. She also suggested improvements in transportation. Because of the widely dispersed population, the standard bus cannot pay its own way. She proposed a dial-a-bus which combines the demand responsive features of the taxi with the common carrier features of the bus, as the most probable solution. However, the institution of such a system would require heavy capital and subsidy.[71]

Counseling Services

Workshop participants pointed out that young, single women and middle-aged women were those most in need of counseling services. It is at these stages in life that the women are most apt to begin a new job, career, or activity. Information is a significant part of the counseling service. Women need information that will help them to make intelligent career and location choices. This type of information is essential for low-income female household heads. Carl Rowan writes that many people suffer because, "they don't know that help is available or how to get it. They don't know how to cope with a faceless bureaucracy."[72]

Health Services

Workshop participants also agreed that health was an important service need of women. They noted that adequate provision of

health services is essential for all persons, but the health problems of women are in need of special attention. There is a demand for decentralized services and convenient scheduling of health services, but females also need options for health practices, particularly concerning pregnancy and childbirth. Elderly women are particularly restricted because of a lack of health services located near their housing. Health facilities should be made available in concentrations of public housing to care for the special needs of the elderly.

Continuing Education

Women are now seeking educational training at all stages of their life. They are asking for a choice in the form of their education, this includes self-mastery courses, flexible time schedules, and on the job and in the field training. Workshop participants pointed out that planners can influence provisions for continuing education through the scheduling and location of branch programs and by encouraging the provision of such services as a necessary part of community services.[73]

---

[1]Frances Fox Piven, "Planning for Women in the Central City," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974) p. 57.

[2]Piven, p. 60. [3]Piven, pp. 57-61.

[4]Piven, p. 60 [5]Piven, p. 60.

[6]Piven, pp. 57, 58. [7]Piven, p. 60.

[8]Piven, p. 60.

[9]Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "Designing a City for All," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 37.

[10]Karen Hapgood and Judity Getzels, "Report on the Changing Roles of Women and the Practice of Planning," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 2.

[11]Karen Hapgood and Judith Getzels, "What Are the Issues," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p.15.

[12]Marilyn M. Pray, "Planning and Women in the Suburban Setting," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 53.

[13]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 15.

[14]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" pp.15,16.

[15]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 16.

[16]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 16.

[17]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 16.

[18]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 16.

[19]Nancy Seifer, Absent From the Majority, Working Class Women, National Project on Ethnic America, American Jewish Committee (New York), p. 48.

[20]Charolette Temple, "Planning and the Married Woman With Children, -- A New Town Perspective," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 44.

[21]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 16.

[22]William M. Chafe, The American Woman Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Role, 1920-1970, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 221.

[23]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 16.

[24]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 17.

[25]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 16.

[26]Temple, pp. 44-46.

[27]Pray, pp. 55-56.

[28]Pray, pp. 54-55.

[29]Pray, p. 54.

[30]Pray, p. 55.

[31]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 17.

[32]Abu-Lughod, p. 20. [33]Abu-Lughod, p. 40.

[34]Abu-Lughod, pp. 37,38. [35]Abu-Lughod, p. 38.

[36]Abu-Lughod, p. 38. [37]Abu-Lughod, p. 40.

[38]Abu-Lughod, p. 38. [39]Abu-Lughod, p. 40.

[40]Abu-Lughod, pp. 38-41. [41]Abu-Lughod, p. 42.

[42]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 19.

[43]Piven, p. 60. [44]Pray, p. 53.

[45]"Planning the Neighborhood," American Public Health Association Committee on the Hygiene of Housing (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1948), p. 28.

[46]Pray, p. 51.

[47]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 19.

[48]John R. Platt, "Child Care Communities Units for Better Urban Living," Urban Review, April, 1969.

[49]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 19.

[50]Phyllis Kaniss and Barbara Robins, "Transportation Needs of Women," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), pp. 63-69.

[51]Kevin Lynch, "Perception of the City," Planning Magazine, September, 1973.

[52]Kaniss and Robins, p. 66.

[53]Lester Hoel, et al., The Latent Demand for Urban Transportation (Pittsburgh: Carnegie-Mellon University, 1969), Appendicies 4, 8.

[54]Donald L. Foley, Accesibility for Residents in the Metropolitan Environment (Washington, D. C.: National Research Council, 1972, Working Paper No. 200).

[55]Kaniss and Robins, p. 68.

[56]Kaniss and Robins, pp. 68, 69.

[57]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 18.

[58]Pray, p. 53.

[59]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 18.

[60]Piven, p. 62.

[61]James O'Toole, prepared statement at hearings before the Subcommittee on Children and Youth of the U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and PUblic Welfare, September 24-26, 1973, pp. 98, 106.

[62]Piven, p. 62.

[63]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" p. 18.

[64]Margaret O'Brien Steinfels, Who's Minding the Children? The History and Politics of Day Care (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1973), p. 247.

[65]Pray, p. 53. [66]Pray, p. 54.

[67]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" pp. 18, 19.

[68]Steinfels, p. 249.

[69]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" pp. 17, 18.

[70]Pray, p. 56.

[71]Pray, pp. 55, 56.

[72]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" pp. 17,18.

[73]Carl T. Rowan, "Young Black in HEW Helps America's Vulnerable," Chicago Daily News, March 12, 1974, p. 8.

Chapter 4

CLIENT PARTICIPATION

It was hypothesized that the needs of women have not been recognized in development decisions nor reflected in city design. The study has further contended that this situation has resulted from the neglect of two basic propositions of good planning: first, the client (women) and the client's needs have not been identified by planners and others involved in development decisions; second, the client has not participated significantly in the development and review of plans.

The first half of this paper was concerned with the proposition that planners have not recognized the needs of women as clients of planning. The remainder of the paper will examine the second proposition, that the client has not significantly participated in the development and review of plans.

THE STEREOTYPE

An essential part of the arguments raised in this study is the belief that women have been relegated to minor roles in development activities, just as they have been relegated to minor roles in every strata of society into which they have attempted to enter. This argument is quite similar to those proposed by women's groups in regard to volunteerism. Gloria Steinim expresses the basic

feelings of women opposed to volunteerism.

> "...when men do it they can be dollar-a-year men in Washington, with power and prestige increased by financial independence. When females do it, they are often powerless and disdained."[1]

Essentially, women's rightists are objecting to certain types of volunteer activities which they feel have contributed to the subordinate status of women.

In 1971, the National Organization of Women (NOW) passed a resolution to warn women against two types of volunteerism. They distinguish between traditional, service-oriented voluntary activities and political or change-oriented volunteerism which is believed to have the potential for social change which would be beneficial to women.

Traditional or service-oriented volunteering is defined as unpaid labor of women primarily in the area of providing social services. "It is the work which would not otherwise get done."[2] This type of volunteering is usually person or situation directed and does not focus on reforming the larger political or economic system. "It is performing change directed activities which lead to more direct participation in the decision-making process."[3]

Parallels with the controversy over volunteerism may be drawn with the contentions of this study. Client participation in the development and review of plans is itself a form of volunteerism. This study suggests that women have been relegated to minor roles in development decisions. It is asserted that women are rarely represented in the areas of physical and economic development, activities which

would most certainly fall under the heading of change-oriented volunteerism. It was further asserted that women have been stereotyped and placed primarily on boards dealing with social, cultural, or educational development. These types of activities parallel the activities of service-oriented development.

The relegation of women to service oriented activities is part of a deeply rooted American tradition which considers community service as the most appropriate activity for women outside of the home. This tradition of service-oriented activities for women is established by examining history.

During the Progressive Era, Jane Addams, and fellow suffregists argued with male legislators that women should have the right to vote. Rather than arguing for women's rights as a matter of equal justice, they linked the issue of women's rights to the need for social reform. Giving women the vote, they argued, would result in more accomplishments for social reforms and charitable enterprises.

> The Expediency Argument insisted that as government increasingly was becoming housekeeping on a large scale, society needed the expertise of the nation's housekeepers to ensure the health, welfare, and sound living conditions of the millions of people crowding into the rapidly expending immigrant ghettos.[4]

At the roots of this argument was the belief that women are basically different from men. The National Organization for Women explains this argument and its consequences in their booklet, "Volunteerism, What It's All About".

> It was seen as the duty of women with their finer instincts, higher morality and aptitude for service to concern themselves with the tedious tasks of curing society's ills. As women's rights thus became secondary to the reforms which they sought to promote, the boundaries of women's participation in the larger society were staked out. They were secluded in an auxillary world where their education talents and intelligence could find some expression, but where they were barred from competition with men in the 'real' world, and where their activities would not threaten to upset the prevailing sexual order.[5]

The image of women as society's housekeepers whose superior morality makes them responsible for caring for society's ills, easily linked itself to the belief in women's instinctual needs for mothering. Thus this concept of a woman's innate mother instinct was expanded to include all of society. This image has become not only the yardstick by which society determines what pursuits are acceptable for women, but also the measure which women use to determine what they themselves are capable of. Activities similar to women's work in the home became acceptable pursuits for women outside of the home. Service-oriented activities related to social, cultural, or educational well-being of society became the most acceptable activities for women outside of the home. The acceptability of these pursuits were based on the belief in women's "superior morality" and "finer instincts".

Thus it is the contention of this study that this image of women has been carried over into the realm of community development. It is believed that women have been relegated to minor roles in development and that their activities are primarily limited to the areas of social, cultural and educational development.

These are the areas which are most acceptable to the image of women as society's housekeepers.

THE INVESTIGATION

For the purposes of this investigation, the participation of the client in development activities was considered as occurring through voluntary associations, as well as city-appointive advisory boards. Furthermore, a relationship seems to exist between involvement in such associations and eventual appointment to such boards.

Therefore, to investigate the contention that women as clients of planning, have not significantly participated in the development and review of plans, two separate questionnaires were developed to sample women. The first set of questions was administered in the form of a mailed questionnaire to a sample of women selected from the general population. The second set of questions were administered in the form of a personal interview to a selective group of women who serve on city-appointed development committees.

In this way the development activities of women could be evaluated through their participation in voluntary associations (by the general sample of women), as well as through their participation on the city-appointed boards and committees (by the selective sample of women). The latter area, however, is the area in which the client is given the major opportunity to participate in the planning and development process. Therefore, the major emphasis of this study is directed to women who serve in appointive positions and

thus to the results of personal interviews conducted with the selective sample of women.

For the purposes of this study, the concept of community development was divided into three major areas: physical development, economic development, and social development. Physical development refers to the concrete or material growth and needs of the community. It includes such types of activities as planning and zoning, transportation, utilities, housing, and community services. Economic development includes all activities related to the maintenance of a stable local economy, such as efforts to attract new business or industry, encouragement of expansion of existing industries, consideration of future community needs and demands for employment. Social development refers to a rather broad area of community needs which includes social services, cultural enrichment, and education.

Based upon these conceptions the following assertions were developed to investigate the contention that women have not significantly participated in the development and review of plans:

1. Women are not equally represented on city-appointed committees which deal with development issues. The inquiry into this assumption sought to determine the number of such committees and the proportion of their membership which was female.

2. Women are stereotyped and placed upon city boards which deal primarily with the area of social, cultural, and educational development. To investigate this assumption, city boards were classified according to their functions into the three areas of development

and the number of women in each area was examined. The selective sample of women was also questioned as to the functions of their board and in regard to any insight they might have into the representation of women on the board.

3. Single women, young women, and minority women tend to be under-represented. This assertion was examined by comparison of the characteristics of the sample of women on development boards and the general sample of women.

4. Women who do serve on development boards do not always play an effective role. This statement was investigated through the responses of the selective sample in answer to questions concerning their participation, duties, and personal feelings about their role on the committee.

5. Women have not realized the extent to which development decisions affect their lives. In regard to this contention, the sample of appointees was questioned about committee deliberations and the role of women's needs in the outcome of such deliberations.

6. Women question the contributions they can make in other areas of development, outside of their traditional involvement in social development. In regard to this statement, both samples were questioned about the role they felt women should play in development.

7. Organizations which women tend to hold membership in, limit their involvement to the social area of development and to activities related to social services, cultural enrichment, and education. This was investigated through responses of both the general sample and the selective sample in regard to the types of

organizations and the activities in which they participate in within these organizations.

METHODOLOGY

A metropolitan area rather than a small city was selected as the most appropriate study area for the focus of the study. Metropolitan areas often have a more developed planning organization. The planning function is intended to operate under the direction of city staff members, as well as decision-makers and citizen advisory committees. Since the client's participation in the planning function was the focus of the study, an area with a well developed and on-going planning function was deemed the most appropriate area of study. For these reasons, the city of Topeka, Kansas, was selected as a suitable metropolitan area with the preceding qualifications.

A sample of 580 women was selected from the Topeka City Directory, using a systematic sampling method. This sample was selected as representative of the women of the general population of Topeka. A questionnaire and explanatory letter were mailed to the 580 women. (Questionnaire and letter are found in the appendix.)

Of the 580 mailed questionnaires 35 were returned unopened. In these cases the addressee had moved since the time of the directory's census and had not left a forwarding address. Of the 545 questionnaires which reached the addressee, only 135 were answered and returned. Returns amounted to approximately 25 percent of the sample, a figure which is somewhat low.

A second group of women was selected from women who serve on

city-appointed development committees. A list of approximately twenty-one women appointed to city boards was obtained from the office of the mayor. A minimum of five efforts by telephone were made to contact each woman at various hours of the day. Fourteen were actually reached and all agreed to an interview appointment. One woman, however, was later unable to keep the appointment.

Thirteen personal interviews were conducted. Interviewees included at least one woman from each committee which had female committee members. Interviewees were asked a total of eighty-five questions and the length of interviews averaged around forty to sixty minutes. Their responses were recorded both on tape and upon the questionnaire sheet. All interviewees were quite cooperative and showed interest in the study.

The results of the mailed questionnaire were coded for computer programming and a program for analysis was prepared using SPSS, Statistical Package for Social Sciences. Because of the nature of the questions asked the mayor's appointees was predominantly open answer, interviewees were encouraged to explain all their answers. The interview was intended to be a discussion rather than strictly questions and answers. Therefore, the personal interviews were not appropriate for computer programming and analysis. The organization and analysis of the interviews was prepared by the researcher through use of tapes and questionnaire sheets.

PRESENTATION OF DATA

Characteristics of the Sample

The general sample was asked a total of seven demographic type questions concerning themselves and their background. The ages of the respondents were categorized into four age groups. It was found that 29 percent of the sample was between the ages of eighteen and twenty-nine; 22.4 percent between thirty and forty-four; 35.1 percent between forty-five and sixty-four and 13.4 percent of the sample was sixty-five years of age or above.

Comparing the ages of the mayor's appointees and the sample of the general population, it was found that the selected sample was much less representative of the four age categories. The ages of city appointees ranged from thirty-two to sixty-four with all ages falling into the two middle age categories. Five of the women, 38 percent, were between the ages of thirty and forty-four; and the remaining eight women, 62 percent, were between the ages of forty-five and sixty-four. Thus the appointees tended to be middle-aged. Their sample was totally lacking in young women and elderly women. The representation of the two middle age categories in the appointees sample is almost double their representation in the general sample. The category of women over sixty-five is the smallest in the general sample and perhaps their absence is explainable. However, young women between the ages of eighteen and twenty-nine compose the second largest group in the sample of the general population and the general population and their absence from the sample of

appointees is quite conspicuous.

All of the appointees interviewed were caucasian; however, several interviewees did mention that other races were represented on their committees. Results showed that 93 percent of the general sample was caucasian, 5.9 percent black, and .7 percent Spanish-American. Minority women were not among the sample of appointees.

Both samples of women were asked about their marital status. Results showed that 66.9 percent of the general sample were married; 15 percent were single, 7.5 percent were widowed and 10.5 percent were divorced. Thus 33 percent of the women were not presently married. Unmarried women were slightly less represented among the sample of appointees. Ten of the appointees, 77 percent, replied that they were married. Again conspicuous in their absence from the sample of appointees is the second largest marital group, single and predominantly young women.

Similar to the question concerning marital status was a question concerning the household head. 31.6 Percent of the general sample reported that they headed their household in economic terms, while only two of the appointees, 15.4 percent, could be described as household heads.

Both samples of women were asked if they were employed. The large majority of the general sample of women indicated that they were employed with only 30.6 percent answering that they were not. This situation was somewhat reversed in the sample of appointees; only six of the thirteen women were employed.

In addition, the appointees were asked specifically about

their occupations and also their husband's. Occupations of the women were quite varied. Two were directors of social service organizations, one was a city employee, one a secretary, and another a stockbroker. Their husband's occupations were primarily among those of business and professions. They consisted of two doctors, a lawyer-judge, a minister, a commodity broker, advertiser, a railroad worker, and a truck driver.

The sample of appointees tended to have higher family incomes than those of the general sample. The appointees tended to have family incomes ranking in those of the middle and upper-middle class. Eight of the thirteen, 61.5 percent, reported family incomes of $25,000.00 and over. Five of these eight had incomes over $35,000.00. This compares to only 7.9 percent of the general sample who reported incomes over $25,000.00. Of the remaining appointees, one indicated an income between $15,000.00 and $24,9999.00; two had incomes between $7,000.00 and $14,999.00;and one in the $4,500.00-$6,999.00. Of the general sample, 34.1 percent had incomes in the $15,000.00 - $24,999.00 category; 43.7 percent in the $7,000.00 - $14,999.00 category; 7.91 percent in the $4,500.00 to $6,999.00, and 6.3 percent had incomes under $4,500.00.

The sample of appointees also tended to be better educated than the general sample. Seven of the appointees (53.8 percent) had college degrees and four of these had master's degrees. This compares to only 34.1 percent of the general sample who had college degrees. Three other appointees indicated that they had some college years;

two said they had high school diplomas; and one had an eigth grade education. In the general sample, 34.8 percent reported that they had some college; 30.3 percent had a high school education; and .8 percent had an eigth grade education or less.

Both samples of women were asked about the presence of children. Of the general sample, 40.3 percent responded that they had children at home and 29.6 percent of these had children under the school age of six. A larger proportion of the appointees had children at home. Six of the thirteen, 46.2 percent, had children at home, two of these had children under six. Only three of the appointees reported that there were no older children available for child care.

As a final question both groups of women were asked how long they had resided in Topeka. Both groups tended to have resided in Topeka for a substantial amount of time. Of the general sample, 49.2 percent were residents for over 20 years; 17.7 percent for 10-19 years; 11.5 percent for 5-9 years, and 21.5 percent under 5 years. Of the appointees, seven had lived in Topeka for over 20 years, three for 10-19 years and three for 5-9 years. It should be noted, however, that all appointees had lived in Topeka for over five years; while 21.5 percent of the general sample, the second largest group, had resided in Topeka less than five years.

Contention 1: Women are not equally represented on city appointed committees which deal with development decisions.

To investigate the representation of women on Topeka development committees, a list of the committees and appointees was obtained

from the office of the mayor. In those cases in which the committee was comprised of both city and county appointees, only city appointees were included in the study. In this way, the investigation was limited to the appointees of the mayor and the city of Topeka. It should also be noted that in certain instances the city records of committee membership differed from those of the committee itself. In these instances, the committee's record was used as the most up-to-date.

Table 1 lists the development committees and their membership which were considered in this study.

Table 1

Representation of Women on Topeka Development Committees

Committee	Number of City Appointees	Number of Women
Topeka-Shawnee County Planning Commission	7	1
Board of Zoning Appeals	5	0
Topeka Transit Authority	5	0
Urban Renewal	5	0
Civic Center Feasibility	7	2
Airport Authority	5	0
Accident Review Board	3	0
Parking Board	3	1
Economic Development Commission	17	3
Public Library Board	8	0
Topeka Housing Authority	5	4
Student Advisory Board	4	0
Bicentennial Commission	12	4
School Safety Board	9	4
Human Relations	7	2
Total	97	21

A total of fifteen city committees fell under the study focus of development committees open to client participation in development decisions. Certain boards such as the Plumbing Examiners, Electrical Examiners, Board of Examiners and Appeals, etc., were not included. Due to their strictly licensing functions,

such boards are limited to members of certain professions. These professions are predominantly male and the committees were totally male. However, the investigator did not feel that the functions of such committees provided the opportunity for client participation in the development and review of plans, and thus they were deemed inappropriate for inclusion in the study.

Upon the fifteen committees there was a total of ninety-seven possible positions; twenty-one of these positions were held by women. Thus, women occupy approximately 22 percent of the positions upon Topeka development committees. The table shows women to be in the minority on all development committees with the exception of the Topeka Housing Authority. These figures quite obviously point to the conclusion that women are not equally represented on Topeka development boards. While females compose approximately 52 percent of the population of Topeka, according to the 1970 census, they occupy only 22 percent of the appointments to development boards.

Contention 2: Women are stereotyped and placed on city boards which primarily deal with the social, cultural, and educational area of development.

The second contention seeks to investigate not only the representation of women on city boards, but also the types of boards that they are represented upon. To examine this the Topeka development boards were categorized into the three defined areas of development, according to their purposes and function.

Table 2

Representation of Women on Physical Development Committees

Committee	Number of City Appointees	Number of Women
Topeka Shawnee County Planning Commission	7	1
Board of Zoning Appeals	5	0
Topeka Transit Authority	5	0
Airport Authority	5	0
Urban Renewal Agency	5	0
Parking Board	3	1
Civic Center Feasibility	7	2
Accident Review	3	0
Total	40	4

Table 3

Representation of Women on Economic Development Committees

Committee	Number of City Appointees	Number of Women
Economic Development Commission	17	3
Total	17	3

Table 4

Representation of Women on Social Development Committees

Committee	Number of City Appointees	Number of Women
Student Advisory Board	4	0
School Safety	9	4
Human Relations	7	2
Bicentennial Commission	12	4
Public Library Board	8	0
Housing Authority	5	4
Total	45	14

Table two, three, and four show that fourteen of the twenty-one women appointees or 67 percent served upon committees dealing with cultural, social service, or educational related issues of development. Only seven women or 33 percent served in the combined area of physical and economic development. These figures become more meaningful by examining the possible board positions in each area of development. Women occupied four or forty or 10 percent of the positions in the area of physical development and three of seventeen or 18 percent of the positions in the area of development. By combining these two areas, women are shown to occupy 12 percent of the positions on physical and economic development boards. The proportion of females on social development boards is significantly larger with women occupying 31 percent of the appointments.

Although these figures show women to have minority repre-

sentation in every area of development, the proportion of women represented in the area of social development is twice the proportional representation of females in physical and economic development. Thus, twice as many women city appointtes served on social development committees than serve on committees in the combined area of physical and economic development.

In addition, appointees were asked if they had served on any other city, county, or state appointive committees. Only four of the thirteen women reported that they had done so. One was currently serving as the county representative on the Civic Center Feasibility Committee; a second woman had served on the board of the County Detention Home; the third woman worked on a feasibility study for a recycling plant; and a fourth woman had served on the county Solid Waste Board, as well as two state boards, the Solid Waste Planning Board and the Advisory Commission on Environment.

Appointees themselves were questioned about the representation of women upon the boards upon which they served or had served in the past. With the exception of the appointees on the Topeka Housing Authority, all responded that women tended to be in the minority on their board and other boards to which they had been appointed. To further investigate the representation of females, the sample was asked why they felt women were not equally represented. The women from committees in social development felt that the fact that women were in the minority on their committee was only a chance happening. Their only explanation was that persons had been chosen to represent various parts of the city or various groups, and by chance the majori-

ty of these representatives were male.

Those women who were appointees on physical and economic development committees offered a somewhat different explanation for the lack of women on their committees. They explained that boards in these areas were traditionally male dominated. In the cases of the Planning Commission and Economic Development Commission, women appointees were serving for the first time. Interviewees explained that a city ordinance had required that members of both boards be chosen from certain professions or fields. For example, the ordinance required that the Economic Development Commission be composed of representatives of realtors, chamber of commerce, certified public accountants, the city commission, the county commission, the city planning staff, the city engineer, etc. In the cases of the planning commission, appointees were required to be from various development related professions, such as, architecture, engineering, planning, etc. These requirements limited the choice of appointees to professions and staff positions which are predominantly composed of males. Therefore, in most cases these requirements precluded the selection of females. Respondents related that only recently had citizens-at-large been allowed on these two bodies, an event which subsequently led to the appointment of women.

The women of the housing board had a quite different situation to explain; their's was the only committee with a majority of women. Respondents described the Topeka Housing Authority as a primarily social service oriented committee. Their concern was the functioning of several low-income housing projects in Topeka. They explained

that the projects were predominantly occupied by elderly females and female headed low-income families. They reasoned that since the majority of project residents were female, the majority of board members were also female.

To conclude the questions regarding the first contention, appointees were asked if they felt the functions of their committee explained the representation of women on the committee. The purpose of this question was to detect any consciousness of the stereotyping of women. The only women who did recognize the stereotyping were those on physical and economic boards. They explained that since men were more "involved in the business world," that they were considered to have more "expertise" in these areas. One woman said females were, "seen as not having much information." "They think that because many women are homemakers that they live in a vacuum." This was generally the feeling of other respondents. They described their committees as being traditional male areas, dominated by business and professional interests. Another woman stated, "Since few women are heads of firms, banks, or corporations, few have been appointed."

To summarize the evidence presented substantiates the fact that females are not equally represented on development boards, and furthermore, that the female representation present, is concentrated on social development boards. However, based upon the responses of women appointees, it does not appear that women are conscious of this stereotyping. One-third of the women thought the fact that women were not equally represented was a chance occurance. Only the four women serving on physical and economic development boards acknowledged

the belief that men had more expertise in these areas. The remaining women on social boards were not conscious of the fact that women appointees served primarily on boards similar to their's.

Contention 3: Single Women, young women, and minority women tend to be under-represented on development boards.

The data in regard to this contention was presented in the description of the characteristics of the two samples of women. This data showed that the appointees tended to be middle-aged, with all of their ages falling into the two middle categories of thirty to forty-four and forty-five to sixty-four. The sample totally lacked young women in the eighteen to twenty-nine age category and elderly women in sixty-five and over age category.

All of the appointees interviewed were caucasian; however, several interviewees did mention that other races were represented on their committees. Minority women were not among the sample of appointees; however, one black woman did serve on a development board. Thus minority women represented 4.8 percent of all women city appointees; this is below their proportion of the general population.

The characteristics of the sample also showed that unmarried women were slightly less well represented among the sample of appointees. The appointees consisted of three divorced women and ten married women. Completely lacking among the appointees were young, and single women.

In summary, young, single women seem to be quite conspicuous

in their absence among city appointees. The young age category was the second largest reported by the general sample; likewise, the single marital status category was also the second largest reported by the general sample of women. Yet, young and single women were not represented on the study development boards. It does appear that minority women are represented among appointees. The presence of only one woman still leaves minority women under-represented, in comparison to their proportion of the general sample of women.

Contention 4: Women who do serve upon development committees do not always play an effective role.

The next group of questions asked appointees was designed to determine the woman's own feelings about her effectiveness upon the committee, as well as providing an independent measure of her effectiveness. To begin the questioning, women were asked if they had any specific duties on the committees. All explained that each board member had basically the same responsibilities. Several committees were divided into subcommittees and respondents described their duties on these subcommittees. However, they explained that all members were assigned to subcommittees.

To further investiage the area of women's board functions, the sample was asked if male and female members had the same duties. In all cases, the women replied that all board members had basically the same duties and responsibilities; they could recall no differences.

Differences in the responsibilities of males and females was first indicated when interviewees were questioned about committee

leadership positions. Out of a total of eighteen reported leadership positions, four were held by women. Only one of the thirteen women actually chaired a committee; this committee was the Bicentennial Commission. Three other women indicated that they held leadership positions; one was secretary of the Civic Center Feasibility Committee; a second was vice-chairperson of the Topeka Housing Authority; and a third was vice-chairperson of the Economic Development Commission. All other leadership positions on the boards were held by men. Two of the women who held committee offices also chaired subcommittees. The number of subcommittees on each committee was not reported, but women chaired only two of these committees.

Those women who did not have leadership positions were asked if they would like to hold such a position. Only one of these women replied positively. Two women explained that they did not want the burden of responsibility and the extra work which would result. Similarly, two others noted that the male chosen had a secretarial staff and that they did not have the time. The remaining four women felt that they were not familiar enough with the committee's functions and that they had not acquired the information required for such a position.

To continue the inquiry into their effectiveness, women were questioned concerning the presence of influential board members. Only two women reported that no members were more influential on committee decisions than others. The remaining eight women who responded to this question did describe certain members as more influential than others. Four of these reported that men members were more in-

fluential than female and the other four reported that influential members included both males and females.

Similarly, the sample was asked if certain members participated in committee discussions more than others. All responded that certain members did participate more. However, only one woman said that these members tended to be men; the others reported that these members included both males and females. Perhaps it should be pointed out that although women did not conclusively report that male members were more influential or more vocal in discussions than female members, that the reverse situation was never reported to exist.

The next several questions inquired into the woman's feelings about her own effectiveness. The sample was asked directly if they considered themselves to be effective board members. All respondents answered that they did have an effective role in their committee. However, when more specific inquiries were made concerning their effectiveness, responses were less conclusive.

The sample was next asked if they could persuade their particular board to act in a certain manner, if they felt quite strongly that the board should do so. Their answers seemed to be dependent upon the board they served upon. Women on the Housing Authority and the Bicentennial Commission were quite confident in their ability to push such a decision through their committee. The remaining eight women were unsure of their ability to do so. Two women were certain that they could not bring about such a decision. The others seemed unsure as they replied, "Maybe I could, if I had the facts" or

"Maybe I could, if other members supported me."

Similarly, women were asked if they felt that their opinions were listened to and taken seriously. Although none of the respondents explicitly stated that they were not listened to, several made comments in the discussion which could be interpreted as such. One woman who said that she was listened to "sometimes" stated, "Sometimes I'm surprised when they do appear to listen." Another said, "Yes, I think they listen, but I'm not sure if they think my opinions are valid." Finally, one woman who also felt that she was listened to added this comment, "But I'm not sure if they recognize me as a person of intelligence." Again it seemed that the women of the Bicentennial Commission and the Housing Authority were the most confident in their feelings that they were listened to and taken seriously. Most of the other respondents seemed hesitant or unsure in their answer of "Yes, I think they listen."

With the exception of one woman, all respondents indicated that they participated quite often in committee discussions. Only one woman responded that she did not participate often. Several of the women who indicated that they did participate often explained that they asked mostly questions. The sample was further asked if they were ever hesitant to speak and if there were any particular topics that they hesitated to speak on. About half of the sample indicated that at times they were hesitant to speak. They explained their hesitancy saying that they hadn't been on the committee long enough to "know where things were going." In other words, they did not as yet feel competent in the subject matter. Several other women

felt that they did not have the expertise or business experience of male members. One woman felt that her lack of education made it difficult to express her opinions. When asked if there were any particular topics upon which they hesitated to speak, respondents generally stated that they felt less competent in technical and business areas - areas in which male board members were thought to have more knowledge and expertise. In general, the sample expressed the opinion that "experience in the business world" provided certain expertise which exceeded their own.

As a final inquiry into the woman's feelings about her effectiveness, the appointees were asked if they had ever felt discriminated against as a female committee member. Responses to this question again seemed related to the particular committee that the woman served on. The women on the physical and economic development boards tended to agree that they had felt a "form of discrimination."

Members of the School Safety Committee reported that sometimes their opinions were taken lightly because they "represented the children," where as the men of the committee "represented the motorist." One woman speculated that the committee was created only as a token to calm the protests of "hysterical females." They felt that some of the men on the committee served only because their job as a city employee required it. They also felt that these men somewhat resented the interference of uninformed, "hysterical mothers" in the performance of their jobs.

All of the women serving on physical and economic development

boards indicated that they had felt a form of discrimination; although they did not atribute the discrimination to the fact that they were female. Only one woman expressly stated that she had felt discrimination as a female. She described this discrimination as occurring "only in benign ways." She explained her statement saying,

> "...You're relegated in men's minds as not having as good ideas. They expect less from you and treat you with a benign patronizing attitude."

Other women who acknowledged some discrimination, did not feel that it was directed to them because they were female. One woman explained that the discrimination she felt stemmed from her "inexperience and lack of expertise in certain areas," and not because she was a female. Two other women explained that their board had formerly been restricted to representatives of business and professional groups. Their appointment as citizens-at-large was met with some indifference from other members. One woman reported that her comments on an issue had been stricken from the minutes of a meeting, while an opposing male's had been included. The other women explained, "Anyone could feel discriminated against in that group - there's no warmth, no feeling of cooperation, no unity." In general, women felt that they were discriminated against because they were representatives of the "common people," rather than because they were women.

The next several questions sought to evaluate the woman's effectiveness by examining her attendance and time spent in prep-

aration for meetings. All of the women were relatively new appointees. The longest term, which was served by two women, was two years; all the others had served less than nine months. In reference to their attendance, all of the women described themselves as among the "most faithful" of board members. All of the committees had at least one formal monthly meeting; many had additional meetings called by subcommittees. Three women had missed only one meeting and the others had never missed a meeting.

The sample was then asked to estimate the amount of time that they devoted to board work outside of the regular monthly meeting. Of those who made an estimate, four spent two to three hours a month; three spent six to eight hours; two spent twenty hours; one spent forty hours; and one woman reported that her duties as committee chairperson were becoming as demanding as a full time job. In general, the sample's responses indicated dedication to their board functions and a willingness to attend meetings and devote whatever time was required.

The final question in this area concerned possible obstacles and difficulties to women's involvement in development boards. Eight of the thirteen women did indicate that they did have such problems. Responses were fairly equally divided. The most frequent were "too busy with family", "employment", and "lack of child care". Each of these responses were acknowledged by three women. The problems concerning child care and employment resulted from the time of the board meetings. Most board meetings were held during business hours. This causes difficulties for the employed woman, who is not

free to come and go from her job as she pleases, as well as the mother with young children, whose husband is not available for child care at these hours. Three of the six employed women indicated that meeting times posed problems for them. Of the other three, one's job was directly related to her appointment and the other two had flexibility in their job schedules to attend meetings. All mothers of young children who lacked an older child available for child care, reported that the time set for these meetings made it difficult for them to attend.

The sample of women drawn from the general population was also asked to cite the obstacles which prevented their involvement in development activities. Of those responding to this question, 49.2 percent said their job prevented their participation; 29.5 percent said their household responsibilities; 29.5 percent indicated that they were not aware of the programs; 27.9 percent said they had not been encouraged or invited to become involved in such activities; 21.3 percent said that they were simply not interested; 19.7 percent pointed to health and age reasons; and 1.9 percent said they lacked child care. The two largest categories of responses were "employment" and "household responsibilities." The current practice of employed women having two fulltime jobs, one outside the home and one inside the home, severly limits the time available to them for such activities. These responses were followed quite closely by those indicating that women were not aware of these activities or that they were not encouraged or invited to become involved.

In summary, the data is not conclusive in regard to the

effectiveness of women on city development committees. It does appear that women are given the same responsibilities as men and that they are faithful in attendance at meetings and in performance of outside assignments. However, it is evident that fewer women hold leadership positions and furthermore, that most of those who don't hold such positions, do not desire to. Although men and women perform the same tasks, men were described as more influential upon the decisions of several boards. Respondents described vocal board members as including both male and females. However, it was never the case that females were described as being more influential or more vocal than male members. The major responses that did offer evidence questioning the effectiveness of women, were those directed towards the woman's personal feelings about her effectiveness. Although all of the interviewees described themselves as effective board members, this image was not portrayed through their responses to other questions. Members of social boards seemed the most confident in their status upon the board. However, members of physical and economic development committees were not as confident. They were unsure if they could persuade their board to act in a certain manner; they were unsure if their opinions were considered intelligent and valid; and they were unsure of their competency in areas where male businessmen might have more expertise. In general, women were hesitant to explicitly express doubts about their own effective functioning. However, the researcher found this implicit in their hesitancies in response to questions and in the discussions following their responses. Although women chose to atribute their

feelings of discrimination to their status as a "common person" rather than their sex, the investigator questions the accuracy of their feelings. Although the majority of these women were homemakers, their responses indicate that they were also highly educated and have been quite active in various groups and organizations. For these reasons, one can not help but wonder if their status as a "common person", lacking in expertise and knowledge of the business world, is attributed to them simply because they are women.

Contention 5: Appointees have not recognized the affect of development decisions upon the lives of women.

To investigate this contention, the sample of appointees was asked questions concerning their conception of the role of women's issues in development decisions. Women were first asked if they felt that decisions and recommendations of their committee had any specific affects upon women. If their committee dealt with only a rather restricted area to which this question would not apply, the appointees were told to refer this question to development decisions in general. With only one exception, women felt that their board decisions affected women "no more than anyone else." The most frequent response was that development decisions "affect all citizens so in turn they affect women." Only one woman said that such decisions affected women as a distinguishable group. The others could not perceive a situation in which women would be affected any differently than anyone else.

The next question asked the sample of appointees if their board had ever specifically considered how a decision would affect women. Only the women of the Housing Authority replied affirmatively. They explained that the housing projects were primarily composed of elderly females and low-income families headed by females. Thus special consideration was given to the needs of female project residents. A member of the Human Relations Commission also noted that consideration of women was made on this committee in regard to sex discrimination charges. All other appointees stated that their board had never given consideration to the affect of a decision upon women. When asked why this type of consideration had never been made, women replied, "It has never occurred to them".

Interviewees were next asked if they would support special consideration of women's needs in board deliberations, if it was not already present. Again with only one exception, the responses generally opposed this type of consideration. Responses centered on the philosophy that decisions should be made "for the good of the community." One woman stated, "I can not think of any decision that would set women apart as a class from men." In general the appointees felt that this was a form of reverse discrimination. As supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment, several women explained that they supported "equality for all." One woman is quoted, "Equality should be a general thing." Using this logic, setting women apart as a group whose needs should be given special consideration, was a violation further stated that setting women apart as a group for specific consideration would prevent women from achieving equality. Only one

woman expressly stated, "it is my charge to see that such consideration is given to women and other ethnic groups." She alone answered that she would suggest to her board that special consideration of women's needs be given.

To further investigate the appointee's consciousness of women's issues in development decisions, several questions were asked concerning the appointee's goals. When asked if they had any goals in mind when accepting the board appointment, only one woman reported that one of her goals was to represent women's interests. The appointees were further asked if they considered themselves to be representatives of women's interests upon their committee. Responses to this question were fairly well divided, with seven of the women describing themselves as women's representatives and six rejecting this title. Answers become more meaningful through closer examination. Only one woman described herself as a women's representative without qualifying her answer. All other responses were similar to the following ones: "Yes, I represent women but not anymore than anyone else."; "Yes, I represent women among others." There appeared to be a certain stigma attached to being an unqualified representative of women's interests. Most women preferred to think of themselves as representatives of the whole community.

As a final question in regard to the fourth contention women were asked if they were supportive of the women's movement. All responded that they were. They were further asked to give a brief statement of their feelings toward the movement. With the exception

of only two women, their responses were begun with the following qualification or one similar: "Well, I'm not a women's libber, but..." Women were quite reluctant to call themselves feminists. In general their statements reflected the middle-class perspective of the women's movement, by expressing support for such things as the Equal Rights Amendment, equal pay for equal work, equal rights under the law, etc. Several women explained that they supported the women's movement because they favored "equality of all". Their comments were similar to the following statement made by one woman: "I support the women's movement, because it liberates both sexes." For the most part, there seemed to be a lack of consciousness of women's issues. The only issues mentioned were those of equal pay for equal work, the Equal Rights Amendment, and equal rights under the law. These are traditionally "middle-class" women's issues.

In summary, the responses of the appointees seem to unquestionably support the contention. It appears that the great majority of women appointees lack a consciousness of women's issues in development questions. Most boards have not considered specifically how their decisions affect women and most women do not feel that this consideration is justifiable. On the contrary, they feel that studying women as a class apart from men is somehow discriminatory. Apparently there has been no realization that the physical development of the cities has adversly affected women. They do not conceive of decisions affecting women any differently than men. Furthermore, the appointees were reluctant to call themselves women's representatives. Their goals on the committee did not in-

clude those of representing women. Finally, their views of the women's movement lacked a consciousness of many women's issues. Their support of the movement was directed primarily toward the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Only two of the women regarded themselves as feminists and one of these said she would reject that title if feminists were defined as, "being only for women."

Contention 6: Women themselves question the contributions they can make in areas of development outside the traditional social area of development.

The sample of appointees was asked a series of questions in relation to this contention. First the appointees were asked if they felt that women should be equally represented on all development committees. Although all responded that women should be represented on all types of development boards, only one favored equal representation. Only one woman agreed that since females composed over fifty percent of the population, that they in turn should have equal representation. The other twelve appointees expressly opposed equal representation as what they termed a quota system. One interviewee is quoted, "A woman should be represented, if she's qualified but I don't favor appointing a woman, simply because she is a woman." In general, respondents believed that the "best, most qualified" people be appointed to development boards, whether they be men or women. Although most respondents agreed that women should be better represented, they opposed the idea of having equal representation on

all committees. Although it was not explicitly stated, the appointees' reservations concerning equal representation seemed to be suggesting that perhaps there were not enough women among the "best, most qualified" persons, to fill the quota. If respondents actually felt that females were as qualified as males, it is difficult to understand why they did not in turn support equal representation. Simply from the fact that women compose over 50 percent of the population, the law of probability should grant women equal representation. Respondents, however, felt that supporting equal representation for women, was a form of reverse discrimination.

The sample of women drawn from the general population was asked similar questions concerning female participation in development. The belief that women have few contributions to make in development activities other than those of social development, was more explicit in the responses of the general sample. Although 95.3 percent of the general sample agreed that women should participate more in development activities, they were less agreed on the question of what type of activities women should be involved in. Of the general sample, 20.8 percent objected to female involvement in all areas of development. This compares to the sample of appointees who unanimously agreed that women should participate in all areas of development.

The general sample was then asked to specify which areas women should participate in. Of those women who objected to female participation in all areas of development, 45.8 percent felt women should participate in community planning, 4.2 percent in economic development, 25 percent in community services, 0 percent in utilities,

33.3 percent in housing, 8.3 percent in transportation, 66.7 percent in social services, 70.8 percent in education, 70.8 percent in cultural enrichment. It becomes apparent that 20.8 percent of the general sample felt that social services, cultural enrichment, or educational related activities were better suited for women. Of those who answered that women should not be active in all areas of development, 90.5 percent indicated that women should participate in only the activities of the social area of development.

The sample of appointees was asked several additional questions in regard to this contention. These next several questions sought to determine if the appointees were unsure of their own skills or abilities. They were first questioned about any hesitancies that they might have had in accepting the committee appointment. Only two of the women responded that they did have some hesitations in accepting the appointment. Both explained that they hesitated because of the time that might be required. One of them did add that she was unsure if she was qualified to serve on the physical development committee to which she was appointed. In general, the women seemed confident in their abilities to serve on the committee when they were appointed. Several women indicated that they had actively sought appointment to the board.

To investigate this same area, the appointees were asked why they felt that they were appointed. The intent was to determine whether or not they felt that their abilities led to their appointment. The majority of the women indicated that they had been involved in similar activities through their voluntary associations or

in activities related to issues concerning their board. It can be assumed then that they felt their prior involvement and concern in the area provided them with the required input and skills for the appointment. Four of the women further mentioned that they had been referred for the position by the League of Women Voters.

Interviewees were next asked if they would be willing to serve on the board again. One woman stated that she would not and four others were unsure if they would serve. When asked to explain why they would not wish to serve, one woman indicated that the committee required too much time and the other four questioned the effective functioning of their committees. Again, all but one of the respondents seemed confident in their abilities to serve on the board; none listed this as a reason for refusing to serve again.

Similarly, the sample was asked if they would be willing to serve on other boards and if so, which boards they would like to serve on. Only two appointees preferred not to serve on any other committees. Of those who indicated that they would accept other appointments, two had no particular committees in mind, five mentioned social development boards and four mentioned physical or economic development boards. Thus, those who said that their interests were in the areas of physical or economic development, were in the minority.

Interviewees were then asked directly if they would serve on a more technically oriented committee dealing with such areas as utilities, transportation, or zoning. Five of the women answered that they would not, and two others said that they were unsure. When

asked to explain their reasons for refusal or hesitancy, several women said they were not qualified; others said they would have to devote too much time to these more complicated issues; and still others said they were simply not interested in these areas.

Next interviewees were specifically questioned concerning their qualifications for a more technical committee. Five of the appointees replied that they did not feel that they had the needed skills or abilities for such committees.

When asked if women should be represented on these boards, all appointees answered affirmatively. The most frequent response was, "Yes, if they're qualified." They seemed to be suggesting some doubt as to whether many women were qualified. When asked if women were affected by the decisions of these committees, only three women answered "no", but the others added that women were affected just like anyone else.

Finally, questions were asked to determine if the appointees had any generalization about the interests and skills of women. The majority of the sample did not express such generalizations. Only two women felt that women in general were not interested in the technical areas of development. The others said that a number of women were interested in such areas, but they did not wish to generalize. Answers were quite similar to the question asking if women in general had the needed skills and abilities for such boards. Only one woman responded that they did not. The others answered that many women do or some do, but were reluctant to generalize.

To conclude this frame of questioning, interviewees were

asked why women were in the minority on Topeka development boards. One woman said she had no idea; two others explained that women did not have the expertise or background. The majority felt that women were simply never thought of, because their names were not known in the business world, and because they have not actively sought appointment. Two women added to this opinion that the feeling still exists that the "woman's domain is the home," and that they are not thought of as "intelligent human beings."

In summary, the response of the appointees and of the general sample did show the existence of some doubt as to the contributions women have to offer outside of social development activities. However, this was not conclusive in all areas. This feeling was explicit in the general sample where 20.8 percent felt that women should not participate in all areas of development. When this group in the general sample was asked to designate what developments activities women should participate, over 90 percent felt women should participate in only the activities of social development. Although the appointees did think women should serve on all committees, they could not support equal representation. The great majority of the appointees did seem confident in their ability to serve on their board and indicated indirectly that their abilities had led to their appointment. However, only a minority of the women indicated an interest in serving on physical and economic development boards. The majority said they would not serve on such a board or were unsure if they would serve. A substantial number said they did not feel qualified for such boards. Nevertheless, the majority of the

appointees said that a lot of women had the necessary skills and interests to serve on technical boards, although they did not necessarily apply this description to themselves.

It does appear that doubt about the abilities of women does exist in both samples, although it is much more explicit in the general sample. The appointees do not favor equal representation and this could be an implicit suggestion that there are not enough qualified women to fill the quota. Furthermore, a substantial proportion of the appointees said they were not interested or not qualified to serve on physical or economic boards. One could safely assume that this feeling would be even greater among the general population who are less educated and less active in development activities.

Contention 7: The voluntary associations which women tend to hold membership in also limit their involvement in development activities to the social area of development.

As previously explained, the participation of the client in development activities was considered as occurring through voluntary associations as well as city-appointed advisory boards. Therefore, the final contention of this study seeks to investigate the participation of both samples of women in voluntary associations.

The sample of appointees was asked to name the voluntary associations which they were active in and any offices which they had held. No woman was active in less than two associations. Two were active in two organizations; one woman was in three; five women

were in four; two were in five; and two women were active in six organizations. This was an average of four associations per woman.

All thirteen appointees indicated that they were active in one or more service type organizations. Nine were also active in one or more civic organizations. Two women were involved in professional groups; one was in a business group; four belonged to cultural groups; four were active in church related groups; four in school related groups; and two women were active in political groups. All of the women had held numerous offices in their organizations. The only specific organization which several of the women held membership in common was the League of Women Voters. Five of the thirteen women were active in the League. Two other women were active in the Shawnee County Citizens in Action group, formerly the Office of Economic Opportunity. Aside from these two, no other associations were held in common by the appointees.

Appointees were furhter questioned about the development activities that they participated in through their voluntary associations. All answered that they did participate in such activities through their groups. When asked to explain the nature of these activities, women reported that the only groups active in the area of physical and economic development were civic groups and business groups. They explained that their activities through other groups were primarily in the area of social development-social service, cultural, and educational related activities. When asked if they felt that their involvement in these organizations led to their board appointment, all responded affirmatively. The great majority of

the appointees designated their involvement in a specific group as the single reason for their appointment.

As was expected, the sample of women from the general population was substantially less active in voluntary associations. Of the general sample of women, 24.8 percent indicated that they held no such memberships. While the sample of appointees averaged four organizations per women, the general sample averaged only 1.6 organizations per woman. Of the general sample, 24.8 percent belonged to no organizations; 27.4 percent belonged to one; 23.7 percent belonged to two; 14.1 percent held membership in three; 6.7 percent belonged to four; 1.5 percent had membership in five; and 1.7 percent belonged to six organizations.

When the general sample was asked to specify the types of groups they belonged to, their responses showed that 4.4 percent were in business groups, 21.5 percent in civic or service groups, 26 percent in professional groups, 58 percent in church related groups, 31.1 percent in school related groups, 16.3 percent in fraternal groups, and 9.6 percent in other groups which were predominantly cultural groups.

Responses showed differences in the types of organizations, as well as the number of organizations that the women of the two samples held membership in. The largest proportion of women in the general sample, 57 percent, reported membership in church related groups. The second largest category was that of school related groups containing 31.9 percent of the sample. Only 30.8 percent of the appointees sample fell into each of these categories. Rather, the

largest category reported by appointees was that of service or civic organizations. All of the appointees belonged to at least one organization in this category, with all thirteen holding membership in service groups; and nine of these holding membership in civic groups as well. Only 21.5 percent of the general sample fell into the combined category of service and civic groups. In all other associations categories, proportions of the two samples who held membership were quite similar, with the exception of the fraternal association category. Of the sample of the general population, 16.3 percent reported membership in fraternal groups, while none of the appointees acknowledged membership in these groups.

Both samples were asked if their associations participated in development activities. While all of the appointees said that they did participate in such activities, they further reported that business and civic associations were the only groups through which they participated in the areas of physical and economic development. Thus, ten of the thirteen appointees were involved in physical and economic development activities through their voluntary associations. All other group activities were oriented toward the social areas of development.

The women of the general sample were much less active in physical and economic development activities. Of those women who held memebership in voluntary associations, 67.3 percent reported that their groups were involved in development activities; this amounts to only 50.6 percent of the whole sample. Of those women who participated in development activities, 80.9 percent participated only

in the social area of development; while only 19.1 percent participated in the areas of physical or economic development. Breaking these broad areas of development into three various activity categories, 1.5 percent participated in the utilities category, 2.9 percent in transportation, 4.4 percent in economic development, 7.4 percent in housing, 13.2 percent in community planning, 19.1 percent in community services, 44.1 percent in social services, 48.5 percent in enrichment, and 54.4 percent in education. If it were not for the inclusion of health services under the functions of community services, the largest category under physical development, the participation of women in the physical and economic development sectors would be even smaller. These figures make it quite evident that women's groups are participating primarily in the traditional area of social development. Of those who participated, 80.9 percent participated in only the areas of social service, cultural enrichment, or education.

In summary, the data presented tends to support the contention that women's voluntary associations tend to limit their activities to the social area of development. The sample of appointees was much more active in the physical and economic areas of development. They also indicated that their participation in these areas was through civic and business organizations. While all of the appointees reported that they belonged to civic or service organizations, this category was among the smallest in the general sample. It thus appears that the organizations which women of the general population belong to tend to participate only in social development activities. The largest

proportions of these women belonged to church or social related groups.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to describe how the needs of women have been neglected in development decisions and in city design. It is contended that this situation resulted from the client's lack of input into the development and review of plans, as well as the failure of planners and decision-makers to identify the client and her needs. Thus, the preceeding section of this study sought to examine the participation of the client in one metropolitan area.

The client's participation was first examined in terms of their representation on Topeka's development boards. As was predicted women were far from equally represented on development boards. On the fifteen boards which were studied, females occupied only twenty-one of ninety-seven appointive positions. While women composed approximately 52 percent of Topeka's population, they occupied only 22 percent of the positions on city advisory boards.

The client's representation was further examined in terms of the types of boards that they served on. It was contended that females were stereotyped and placed on committees dealing primarily with social development issues, although women have equally valuable contributions to make in technical areas. The data seemed to support this contention. Although women were under-represented in

every area of development in Topeka, the proportion of females serving on social development boards was twice the proportion of females serving on physical and economic development boards. Furthermore, it appeared that few of the appointees were even conscious of the situation.

Just as the client, women, should be represented in all facets of development, the interests of all types of women should also have representation. Women of all ages, incomes, and life-styles should participate in the development and review of plans.

> ....Working women as well as homemakers; single women as well as married, minority women as well as nonminority - all should be fairly represented.[6]

Thus the study examined not only the representation of women, but the groups of women who were represented. The third contention charged that young women, single women, and minority women were under-represented among those women who are represented on development boards. The characteristics of the sample of Topeka appointees tended to support this conclusion. The sample was completely lacking in young women, under the age of thirty, and elderly women, over the age of sixty-four. The sample itself lacked any minority women, although a black woman did serve on one development board. Surprisingly, the sample did include three unmarried women, all of whom were divorcees. Unmarried women were still slightly under-represented in comparison to their proportion of the general sample. The study also showed that the appointees were better educated, had higher family incomes, and were less likely to be employed

outside their homes. Perhaps the most conspicuous group absent among the appointees was that of young, single women. Although they composed the second largest age group and marital group among the general sample, not one young, single woman appeared among the appointees.

If the problems of women are to be recognized, who better can relate them than women themselves. If the problems of poverty or old age are to be understood, who better can explain them than one who has experienced them first-hand. Women of all ages, incomes, and lifestyles must have input into the development of plans which affect their lives. Just as the stereotype defines the role of women as wife, mother and housewife, society similarly overlooks many women who do not fit into this category. Nevertheless, such women wish to be considered as full-fledged permanent residents and serious participants in community life.

> The pace of change, however, will depend upon the degree to which women, themselves recognize that improvement is possible, articulate their needs and monitor support to the planning activities undertaken in their behalf.[7]

As the quote suggests, the realization of needed changes will to a great extent depend upon the efforts of women themselves. It will be responsibility of women to recognize the changes that need to be made and then to work for their institution. Thus the study sought to examine not only this representation of females upon development boards, but also their participation upon these boards.

Therefore, the fourth study contention sought to investigate the effectiveness of female board members. Although the date

did lend some support to the conclusion that female board members did not always have effective roles, results were far from conclusive. The responses of appointees to certain questions were often in conflict to responses of other questions asked in relation to this same contention. This would raise some doubts as to the reliableness of the questions themselves.

It did appear that women were given the same responsibilities as men board members and that they were conscientious in attending meetings and in performance of outside assignments. It was reported that few women hold board leadership positions and still fewer women expressed any desire to hold such positions. Although appointees described both male and female members as participating in board discussions, men were described as more influential on several boards, particularly physical and economic boards.

The data which relates the major doubts as to the effectiveness of female appointees was obtained through questions directed toward the woman's personal feelings about her effectiveness. Although appointees contended that they were active board participants and effective members, they seemed somewhat unsure of their status upon the board. This was particularly true of the women who served upon physical and economic boards. They were unsure of their influence upon other board members; they were unsure if their opinions were listened to and taken seriously; and they were unsure of their competency in technical areas where males might have more expertise. Finally, appointees on physical and economic boards indicated that they had felt a form of discrimination. Only one woman attributed

this intellectual discrimination to her sex. The other women attributed this discrimination to their status as a common person, lacking expertise in the "business world". The investigator cannot help wondering if this status as common person is not equated to status as a female. Thus it appears that the effectiveness of females upon physical and economic development boards is at least questionable. Since boards are among the most influential in city development. These boards have the potential to change the larger social, physical, and economic environment for the realization of needed changes for the interests of women. However, increasing the number of women on these boards will have little effect, if they are unable to articulate their needs and monitor support in their behalf.

Likewise, increasing the representation of females on development boards will do little to further the interests of women in development decisions, if female representatives do not recognize the effect of such decisions upon women. If needed changes are to be realized, it is important that women themselves be aware of the ways in which the physical environment is at odds with the present needs of other women. They must first recognize that improvement is possible and then support planning solutions undertaken in their interest.

Therefore, the study next sought to evaluate the consciousness of female appointees of the effect of planning decisions upon women as a group. In general, the responses of appointees support the contention that female appointees have not recognized

the importance of development decisions to women's issues. Development boards have not been considering how their decisions affect women, and most female board members do not feel that such special consideration is justifiable. On the contrary, most interviewees opposed this type of consideration as a form of discrimination.

Apparently there has been no realization that the social, physical and economic environment of the cities has adversely affected women. The philosophy prevails that good decisions are blind to the sex of those that are affected by them. They believe that what is good for the community as a whole will in turn benefit both sexes. In essence, this is the philosophy of unitary public good.

Indeed, it is only recently that planners themselves have recognized that different groups may have different and conflicting needs and priorities. This realization is not apparent among the appointees. They have not realized that development decisions sometimes affect women differently than men. To believe so in their opinion, is to violate the philosophy of equality between the sexes.

Furthermore, appointees were reluctant to describe themselves as women's representatives. They preferred to call themselves representatives of the entire public. Likewise, the majority rejected the title of feminist. Their conception of the women's movement is limited to the middle class banner of equal rights under the law. They lack a consciousness of other women's issues.

As was previously emphasized, the realization of needed changes for women will depend upon women themselves and the extent

to which they, "...recognize improvement is possible, articulate their needs, and monitor support for planning activities undertaken in their behalf".[8] It appears that the sample of appointees has not yet realized that the environment of the city has in fact intensified the problems of many women. Until this realization occurs along with the realization that women sometimes have needs apart from those of men, it is unlikely that women will ever recognize a need for improvement let alone strive for its institution.

The next section of the study sought to determine the women's own feelings about the contributions they could offer to development activities. It was predicted that women themselves questioned the contributions they could make in areas other than the social area of development. Although it cannot be concluded that these feelings exist in the majority of women, their presence in some females is undeniable.

Evidence of these feelings was most explicit in the responses of the sample of women from the general population. When asked if females should participate in all areas of development, 20.8 percent of the sample said no. When this group was asked to designate the areas which were appropriate for female pursuits, over 90 percent indicated that women should only participate in the activities of social development, which includes social services, cultural projects, and educational activities.

All of the appointees agreed that women should be represented on all types of development boards; however, they would not agree to equal representation or what they termed a quota system. Although it was not explicitly stated, their concern that appointees be the "best

qualified" persons regardless of whether they be male of female, could possibly be an implicit suggestion that there were not enough *qualified women to fill the quota.* Again, this was not expressly stated by the sample. However, the strong objections raised to the issue of equal representation poses the possibility of the existence of these feelings. This, of course, is a subjective evaluation of the researcher.

The appointees did seem quite confident in their competency upon their respective boards, and they indirectly indicated that their skills in this area led to their appointment. However, only a minority of the appointees indicated a pre-existing interest in the area of physical and economic development. The majority indicated that they would not serve or would be quite hesitant to serve on such a board if asked to. A substantial portion of these indicated that their reason for refusal was that they were not interested in these areas or were not qualified. It would be safe to assume, that these feelings of lack of interest and lack of ability would be even greater among the general population who are less educated and less active in community affairs.

Therefore, to a certain degree it does appear that women do question the importance of their contributions to development decisions. The *equal representation of women in all areas* of development will undoubtedly depend upon the efforts of women themselves. The great majority do not even support equal representation. A substantial number are not interested in the concerns of physical and economic development or do not feel they are qualified to serve in such areas.

If the client is to be equally represented in the making of development decisions, it appears that planners must convince women of their right to representation, as well as the importance of their contributions.

The final area of this study sought to evaluate the participation of the client in development activities through their voluntary associations. It was contended that women's activities through such associations were limited to the area of social development. Of the women of the general sample, only 50.6 percent indicated that they belonged to such associations and that these associations participated in development activities. Of these women, 80.9 percent indicated that their group participated in only the social service, educational, or cultural activities; only 19.1 percent participated in the areas of physical and economic development.

The sample of appointees was much more active in physical and economic development activities. They also indicated that their participation in these areas was through civic and business organizations. While all of the appointees belonged to either a service or a civic organization, this category was among the smallest in the general population.

It does appear that the associations which women of the general population belong to tend to participate only in social development activities. The largest proportions of these women belong to church or school related groups.

[1]Gloria Steinen, "Volunteerism: Your Money or Your Life," Ms., February, 1975, pp. 70-71.

[2]Pat McCormick, ed. Volunteerism: What It's All About (1971), p. 5.

[3]Mc Cormick, p. 4. [4]Mc Cormick, p. 8.

[5]Mc Cormick, p. 9.

[6]Karen Hapgood and Judith Getzels, "What Can Planners Do?" PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 23.

[7]Marilyn M. Pray, "Planning and Women in the Suburban Setting," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 56.

[8]Pray, p. 56.

Chapter 5

RECOMMENDATIONS

Identifying the Client and Her Needs

For the most part the demand upon planner's and planning agencies will be to acquire a new perspective. If planners are to keep abreast of societal change, it is important that planners be aware of the changes occurring in the lives of women, as well as the ways in which the urban environment is at odds with their needs. It undoubtedly will become quite difficult for planners to remain unaware of the changes in the lives of women, as more begin to be recognized in politics, employment, and the fields of architecture, planning and development.

To initiate this new focus among planners and planning agencies, one suggestions which has been offered is the development of a client-centered approach to planning rather than the traditional function-centered approach. As was previously explained, most agencies are organized along functional lines. Functional divisions include transportation, housing, and community facilities; and sometimes health, social services, etc. Planning schools facilitate this functional orientation by training students as specialists in fields, such as housing, transportation, land use, etc. Rarely do planning agencies recognize a sub-part of the

general population. If they do so, this favored group is usually the elderly.[8]

This functional approach to planning has led to planning for the "average", middle-class family with children. Populations with special needs, such as women, youth, blacks, low-income, etc., usually are overlooked in such analyses.

To initiate a client-centered approach for planning for women, it is essential to identify the needs and interests of those for whom the planning is for. In planning for women, it can no longer be assumed that all women have the same needs and interests. Age, income, education, presence of children, marital status, employment status, ethnic background are all important variables in determining what services a woman needs, her housing demands, and the type of community she wants to live in.

Thus it is recommended that a general profile of women in the community be established. The profile should recognize the economic, social, and demographic changes which have been occurring as well as making predictions about future changes in these areas. The profile should contain the following information about the client: (1) age groupings (2) marital status (3) presence and age of children (4) income (5) education (6) employment status and (7) ethnic distributions. This type of data is often already available in the form of census data, labor force statistics, as well as information files of local health boards, unions, industries, school boards, and community organizations.[9]

The second part of the profile on women should contain an

assessment of the particular needs of local women. A community survey to develop a needs profile is a useful tool to extract information from sub-populations. Various women's organizations should also be contacted for input into both the client and the needs profile. Planning agencies also have available to them vast quantities of statistical data. The implications of this existing data should be analyzed with the needs of women in mind. Census data in particular could become quite useful if only the necessary questions were asked. A publication called Census Data for Community Action provides such directives for the use of Census Bureau data.[10]

Once the characteristics of the client are known and an assessment of their needs made, then planners may begin to base their decisions upon what is, rather than what is believed to be true about the lives and needs of women. In determining priorities, formulating policy, allocating budgets, and administering land use regulations, planners may begin to understand how these decisions affect women.

CLIENT PARTICIPATION

Throughout this study the importance of the efforts made by women themselves have been emphasized. The rate of change to a great extent will depend on women realizing that improvements are possible, making their needs and problems known, and supporting planning decisions made for their interests. If the urban environment is to begin assisting women in their expanding roles, obviously needed changes will require the support of women and women's groups.

If the client is to begin participating significantly in the development and review of plans, it will require more than seeing that they have equal representation on development boards. Increasing the numbers of women on development boards will have little effect, if they have no consciousness of the relationship of development decisions to women's issues.

Thus aside from encouraging the appointment of women to development boards, planners must make it clear to women how planning can and does affect their lives. The planning agency should assume the responsibility of educating women about the programs and policies which affect them. Women must be convinced that their opinions are valuable and that their contributions are needed on all types of development boards. Furthermore, they must be persuaded that improvement is possible. It appears that women as well as planners have simply been adjusting to a social arrangement rather than seeking one which ameliorates the problems of women. Women must become aware of the ways in which the urban environment is at odds with their needs. The findings of this study most conclusively indicate that women do not have such an awareness. They still give creedence to the philosophy of unitary public good, believing that the interests of men and women are always the same. They cannot see that development decisions may affect certain groups differently than others.

Planners should begin by encouraging the appointment of women to all boards. The representation should be broad including working women as well as homemakers, single women as well as married women,

and minority women as well as nonminority. Women's organizations should be encouraged to prepare lists of women and their qualifications for consideration for appointments by decision-makers. Planners should also encourage the scheduling and location of board meetings and public meetings in a manner to encourage participation by women. Board meetings were most often held during business hours making it difficult for working women and women with young children to attend. The scheduling of evening or weekend meetings would solve these problems. To increase female participation in large public meetings or hearings the planning agency could encourage: (1) provisions for a child care during daytime meetings; (2) schedule evening meetings in the neighborhood itself which is the subject to discussion; (3) schedule weekend meetings to attract working women.[11]

The most difficult task, however, will be educating women about how planning programs and policies affect their lives. The agencies could begin this education process by preparing special reports, newsletters, and other materials for public presentation concerning planning and development issues which affect women. These reports should be made available not only to women's groups, but also local decisionmakers, public agencies, development boards, builders and developers and the mass media. The agency could also have speakers available to speak to women's groups about the issues of local transportation, housing, and community design. A large part of the consciousness raising could be initiated by women's groups themselves, if they were first made aware of the importance of planning decisions to women's issues. Finally, the agency could encourage

the formation of local conferences or workshops whose purpose would be the definition of women's needs in terms of local planning decisions.[12]

To conclude, the importance of the efforts of women themselves can not be over emphasized. As was previously quoted,

> "The pace of change, however, will depend upon the degree to which women themselves, recognize that improvement is possible, articulate their needs and monitor support to the planning activities undertaken in their behalf."

Thus it is important that women of all incomes, ages, and lifestyles participate in the development and review of the plans which affect their lives. In turn, it is the responsibility of planners to educate women about the ways in which planning decisions affect their lives and their communities, and to convince them that their contributions to such decisions are important and worthwhile.

DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Due to the lack of prior research in the area of women's participation in development activities, the nature of this study has primarily become one of description rather than hypothesis testing. It is hoped that future studies may make use of the descriptive data of this study to form a research design which will be more reliable for the testing of hypotheses.

Several problems have arisen in this study which may have implications for future studies. The area of women's participation in the development and review of plans is in need of further research. In the future it would probably be more valuable to limit such

study to women's participation on appointed boards, rather than including a sample of women from the general population. Likewise, it would be advisable to compare the characteristics of the sample of board women to the total population of women rather than a sample, as was done in this study.

The nature of the questions which were asked of women in many ways lent themselves to the biases and subjective interpretations of the researcher, rather than the objective testing and measuring of contentions. This is particularly true in regard to the contention concerning women's effectiveness upon development boards. In this study effectiveness was considered to be influence upon board decisions and recommendations. It was thought that a women's effectiveness would be indicated by her own feelings about her status on the board. (If she felt her opinions were listened to and taken seriously; if she thought she could push a decision through the board; if she had felt discrimination; if she was ever hesitant to speak; etc.) It was also thought that effectiveness could be determined by questioning the woman about her functions on the board. (What duties she had, leadership positions, participation in discussion, attendance, etc.) Future studies should consider the reliableness of these questions as measures of effectiveness. It is possible that the answers to these questions are related more to such variables as length upon the board or service on previous boards. It would also be valuable to have a male control group to see if responses were really related to being a female or actually the function of some other characteristic.

Finally, concern has been expressed for the reliability of the questions directed to the contention that women have not recognized the affect of development decisions upon their lives. Women are asked if their boards had ever considered how a particular question affected women and in general if they thought this type of consideration was justifiable. In the future, perhaps it would be more valuable to ask women more specific questions about women's issues in this area. For example, appointees could be questioned about their conception of women's transportation needs, and whether they thought women's transportation needs should be studied by the transit authority. This question and similar questions regarding specific women's issues in development might be more reliable measures of the contention. It would also eliminate any problems which women might have had in understanding a more general question.

A final suggestion for future research concerns the assumption of this study that physical and economic development boards are more powerful in affecting changes in the urban environment which would be beneficial to women. It was predicted and data supported that a larger proportion of women served on social development committees. However, for future study it is recommended that the responsibilities and powers of all committees be evaluated to determine which specific committees were actually the most important and the most powerful. It is possible that certain social development boards may have as much potential to affect needed changes for women as do certain "blue ribbon" physical and economic development boards.

[1]Herbert J. Gans, The Levittowners, Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community (New York: Pantheon, 1967), p. 8.

[2]Paul Goodman and Percival Goodman, Communitas.

[3]Janet L. Abu-Lughood, "Designing a City for All," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 37.

[4]Jerome L. Kaufman, "An Approach to Planning for Women," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974),p. 73.

[5]W.L.C. Wheaton and Margaret F. Wheaton, "Identifying the Public Interest: Values and Goals," Urban Planning in Transition, ed. Ernest Erber (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1970), pp. 152-164.

[6]Karen Hapgood and Judith Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974) p. 73.

[7]Marilyn M. Pray, "Planning and Women in the Suburban Setting," PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 73.

[8]Kaufman, p. 74.

[9]Karen Hapgood and Judith Getzels, "What Can Planners Do?" PAS, No. 301 (April, 1974), p. 23.

[10]U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census Data for Community Action (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 11.

[11]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Can Planners Do?" p. 23.

[12]Hapgood and Getzels, "What Can Planners Do?" p. 23.

[13]Pray, p. 56.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abu-Ludgood. "Designing a City for All," Planning Advisory Service, No. 301 (April, 1974), pp. 43-49.

American Public Health Association Committee on the Hygiene of Housing. Planning the Neighborhood. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1948, p. 28.

Chafe, William H. The American Woman Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Role, 1920-1970. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Dycman, John. "Societal Goals and Planned Societies," Taming the Megalpolis, Vol. 1. New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1967.

Foley, Donald L., Accessibility for Residents in the Metropolitan Environment. Washington, D. C.: National Research Council, 1972, Working Paper No. 200.

"Equal Treatment of Women Planners," A policy statement presented at the 1972 conference of the American Institute of Planners.

Gans, Hubert J. The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community. New York: Pantheon, 1967, p. 187.

Hapgood, Karen and Judith Getzels. "Historical Perspectives: Trends in the Lives of Women," Planning Advisory Service, No. 301 (April, 1974), pp. 3-13.

_____,Karen and Judith Getzels. "Report on the Changing Roles of Women and the Practice of Planning," Planning Advisory Service, No. 301 (April, 1974), pp. 1,2.

_____,Karen and Judith Getzels, "What Are the Issues?" Planning Advisory Service, No. 301 (April, 1974), pp. 15-20.

Hoel, Lester, et al. The Latent Demand for Urban Transportation. Pittsburth: Carnegie-Mellon University, 1969, Appendicies, 4,8.

Janeway, Elizabeth. Man's World Woman's Place. New York: Delta, Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1971.

Kahn, E.J., Jr. "Who What Where How Many?" New Yorker, October 15, 1973, p. 137.

Kaniss, Phyllis and Barbara Robins. "Transportation Needs of Women," Planning Advisory Service, No. 301 (April, 1974), pp. 57-62.

Kaufman, Jerome. "An Approach to Planning for Women," Planning Advisory Service, No. 301 (April, 1974), pp. 73-76.

Lynch, Kevin. "Perception of the City," Planning Magazine, September, 1973.

McCormick, Pat, ed. Volunteerism: What It's All About. 1971, pp. 1-12.

O'Toole, James. A prepared statement at hearings before the Subcommittee on Youth and Children of the U. S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, September 24-26, 1973. pp. 98, 106.

Oppenheimer, Valerie Kincade. The Female Labor Force in the United States, Berkeley, California: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1970.

Piven, Frances Fox. "Planning for Women in the Central City," Planning Advisory Service, No. 301 (April, 1974), pp. 57-62.

Platt, John R. "Child Care Communities Units for Better Living," Urban Review, April, 1969.

Pray, Marilyn M. "Planning and Women in the Suburban Setting." Planning Advisory Service, No. 301 (April, 1974), pp. 51-56.

Rowan, Carl T. "Young Black in HEW Helps America's Vulnerable," Chicago Daily News, March 12, 1974, p. 8.

Seifer, Nancy. Absent From the Majority Working Class Women. National Project on Ethnic America, American Jewish Committee. New York, p. 48.

Shanahan, Eilien. "Women and Money All the Pigs Are More Equal," New York Times, July 8, 1973.

Smuts, Robert W. Women and Work in America. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.

Steinem, Gloria. "Volunteerism: Your Money or Your Life," Ms., February, 1975, pp. 70-71.

Steinfels, Margaret O'Brien. Who's Minding the Children? New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973.

Stuart, Mary. "Planning for Women -- Lessons From Columbia," A paper presented at the 1974 Conference of the American Institute of Planners.

Temple, Charolette. "Planning and the Married Women With Children," Planning Advisory Service, No. 301 (April, 1974),pp. 43-49.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Census Data for Community Action. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, November,1972, p. 11.

Wheaton, W.L.C. and Margaret F. "Identifying the Public Interest: Values and Goals," Urban Planning in Transition, ed. Ernest Erber. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1970, pp. 152-164.

"Women in Planning: A Report on their Status in Public Agencies," Planning Advisory Service, No. 273 (1971).

APPENDIX

1. What committee do you now serve on?
2. How large is the committee?
3. How many women serve on the committee?
4. Have you held any other appointive or elected office?
5. If so, what were they and when did you serve?
6. Have women been equally represented on the city committees on which you have served? YES NO
7. If not, are they generally in the majority of minority?
8. If women are not equally represented on your present committee, why do you feel that this situation exists?
9. What are the functions of the committee?
10. Do you feel that the particular functions of the committee explain the number of women which are on the committee? YES NO
    Please explain your answer.
11. What specific duties do you have on the committee?
12. Do men and women committee members have the same duties on your committee? YES NO
13. If not, could you explain what the differences are?
14. Do you hold a position of leadership on the committee? YES NO
15. If you do not would you like to hold such a position? YES NO
16. If not, why not?
17. What other members hold leadership positions and what positions do they hold?
18. Do you feel that certain members are more influential than others in committee decisions? YES NO
19. If so, are these members male or female?
20. Do you feel that you have an effective role on the committee? YES NO
21. If there was something that you really felt should be done, could you persuade your committee to do so? YES NO
22. Do certain members seem to participate more in discussions than other committee members? YES NO
23. If so, are these members male or female?
24. How often do you participate in discussions?
25. Are you ever hesitant to participate in discussions? YES NO
26. If so, why?
27. Are there any particular topics upon which you are hesitant to speak? YES NO
28. If so, what are they and why do you hesitate?
29. How often does the committee meet?
30. How long have you been on the committee?
31. How many meetings have you missed?
32. How much time do you spend in preparation for each meeting?
33. Have you ever felt discriminated against as a female committee member? YES NO
34. Have any of the following hindered your committee participation?

Time or place of meetings	Employment	Health
Lack of Transportation	Lack of Child Care	Not interested
Household responsibilities	Not encouraged to	Husband opposed

35. Do you feel that the decisions and recommendations of your committee have an effect on women? YES NO
36. Why do you feel this way?

37. Has your committee ever specifically considered how a decision or recommendation should affect women? YES NO
38. If not, why not?
39. Do you feel that such consideration should be given? YES NO
40. Have you ever suggested that such consideration be given? YES NO
41. In regard to development decisions in general, do you feel that what is "good for the family is also "good" for women? YES NO
42 Why do you feel this way?
43. Do you feel that women should be equally represented on all city community development committees?
44. If not, on what type of committees should they be represented?

Community Planning	Housing
Economic Development	Transportation
Community Services	Social Services
Utilities	Education
	Community Enrichment

45. Why did you pick only the committees that you did?
46. Were you hesitant to accept the appointment to the committee on which you serve? YES NO
47. If so, Why?
48. Why do you feel that you were appointed to this committee?
49. Did you have any special purposes or goals in mind when you accepted? YES NO
50. If so, what were they?
51. Do you consider yourself a representative of women's interests on this committee? YES NO
52. Would you serve on this committee again? YES NO
53. If not, why not?
54. Would you like to serve on other committees? YES NO
55. Would you serve on a more technically oriented committee, such as one for utilities, transportation or zoning? YES NO
56. If not, why not?
57. Do you feel that you have the skills and abilities required for a more technical committee? YES NO
58. Do you feel that women should be represented on these committees? YES NO
59. Do you think that women's needs and interests are at stake in the decisions of such committees? YES NO
Why do you feel this way?
60. What committees would you like to serve on?
61. Do you feel that women in general would be interested in serving on such committees? YES NO
62. If not, why not?
63. Do you feel that women in general have the skills or abilities required for appointement to technical committees?
64. Why do you feel that women are usually in the minority on such committees?
65. What voluntary organizations have you or your husband held membership in? How long did you belong? What offices did you hold?

NAME OF ORGANIZATION	HUSBAND YEARS	HUSBAND OFFICE	SELF YEARS	SELF OFFICE	TIME WEEK
BUSINESS					
SERVICE					

CIVIC

PROFESSIONAL

CHURCH

SCHOOL

FRATERNAL

POLITICAL

OTHER

66. Do you participate in development activities through these organizations? YES NO

67. If so, in what areas and through which organizations? What was the nature of the activity?

	ORGANIZATION	ACTIVITY
COMMUNITY PLANNING		
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT		
COMMUNITY SERVICES		
UTILITIES		
HOUSING		
TRANSPORTATION		
SOCIAL SERVICES		
EDUCATION		
ENRICHMENT		

68. Do you think that your organization would be interested in expanding its activities into the more technical areas of development? YES NO

69. If not, Why not?

70. Did your participation in these groups lead to your appointment? Please explain. YES NO

71. Are you supportive of women's movement? YES No

72. Could you briefly relate your reactions to it?

73. What year were you born in?

74. WHat is your race? WHITE BLACK LATIN OTHER

75. WHat is your marital status? MARRIED SINGLE WIDOWED DIVORCED SEPARATED

76. Which best describes your education? 8 years or less, High School, Some College, College Graduate, Post Graduate Degree.

77. If you are a college graduate, what was your major?
78. Have you taken any extension or any continuing education courses since you finished high school or college? YES NO
79. What is your occupation?
80. What is your husband's occupation?
81. Which best describes your family income?

Under $4500	$15,000-$24,999
$4500-$6999	$25,000 and over
$7000-$14,999	

82. Do you have children living at home? YES NO
83. If so, what are their ages?
84. How long have you lived in Topeka?

LaDonna Van Meter Moore
Regional & Community Planning
Kansas State University
Manhattan, Kansas 66502

March, 1975

Dear Ms. ,

The enclosed questionaire is part of my research as a graduate student in Regional & Community Planning at Kansas State University. The objective of this study is to determine your opinions, as a woman, of the programs for community development in the city of Topeka. The term community development refers to all activities related to the growth and improvement of Topeka and the welfare of its citizens. This would include planning, economic development, community services, utilities, housing, transportation, social services, education and community enrichment.

The success of community development programs requires the representation and involvement of all segments of the population. This is why I am seeking your observations as a woman. It is important that the opinions of homemakers, working women, single women, married women, young women, older women, minority women, and nonminority women be made known to city decision-makers. Your opinions and responses to this questionaire are important!

Please take the time to answer and return the enclosed questionaire. The results of the study will be made available to Topeka city officials, and I am sure that the study will prove beneficial to both you and your city.

Thank you,
LaDonna Van Meter Moore

Please circle your responses

Do you feel that community development programs are worthwhile?
Yes No

Does your city already have such programs? Yes No

Is public participation encouraged in these programs? Yes No

Do these programs serve the needs of women? Yes No

Do you do any type of volunteer work? Yes No

Are you an active member in any of these organizations? Yes No
If so, which ones?

Business
Service or Civic
Professional
Church
School
Fraternal
Other (please specify)_____

Do you participate in development activities in these groups?
Yes No

If so, in which type of activities?
Community Planning
Economic Development
Community Services (Health, Police, Fire)
Utilities (Water, Sewer, Pollution Control, etc.)
Housing
Transportation
Social Services
Education
Enrichment (Cultural, Beautification, Recreation)

Have you ever served on a city decision-making, advisory or citizen committee for development activities? Yes No

If so, for which type of activities?
Community Planning
Economic Development
Community Services (Health, Police, Fire)
Utilities (Water, Sewer, Pollution Control, etc.)
Housing
Transportation
Social Services
Education
Enrichment (Cultural, Beautification, Recreation)

Have you ever held a position of leadership on such a committee?
Yes No

Have you ever attended a public meeting or hearing? Yes No

If you did not participate in any type of development activities, are you interested in doing so? Yes No

If you did not participate in such activities, why didn't you?

Time or place of meetings
Lack of transportation
Household responsibilities
Lack of child care facilities
Work outside of home
Did not know about programs
Was not invited or encouraged to participate
Health or age reasons
Was not interested

Should women participate more in community development? Yes No

Should women participate in all areas of development? Yes No

If not, in what areas should they participate?

Community Planning
Economic Development
Community Services (Health, Police, Fire)
Utilities (Water, Sewer, Pollution Control, etc.)
Housing
Transportation
Social Services
Education
Enrichment (Cultural, Beautification, Recreation)

Do you have any suggestions for increasing female participation in community development?_____

What is your age? _____

What is your race? _____

What is your marital status? Married Single Widowed Divorced

Which best describes your education? Under 8 years Some College
High School College Graduat

Which best describes your family income?

Under $4500
$4500 - $6999
$7000 - $14,999
$15,000 - $24,999
Over $25,000

Are you employed outside of your home? Yes No

Are you the household head, in terms of financial support? Yes No

Do you have children living at home? Yes No

If so, are any of your children under the age of six? Yes No

A STUDY OF THE ROLES OF WOMEN AS CLIENTS OF PLANNING

by

LaDonna Jo Van Meter

B. S., Kansas State University, 1973

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTERS OF REGIONAL AND COMMUNITY PLANNING

Department of Regional and Community Planning

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan Kansas

1976

Recent attention to the status of women in the field of planning has focused upon two areas: *women in planning and planning* for women. The first area is primarily concerned with the status of women in the profession. The second area, however, has been addressed *as a new planning approach, an* approach in which the implications of the changing roles of women to the practice of planning are the center of concern.

At the base of this new approach of planning for women is the belief that the changing needs of women have not been recognized in development decisions nor reflected in city design. The purpose of this study has been to examine this problem. It was hypothesized that the disregard of the changing roles and needs of women resulted from the neglect of two basic propositions for good planning: first, planners and decision-makers have not identified the client and her needs; and second, the client has not significantly participated in the development and review of the plans which affect her life and her community.

To study the proposition that women have not been identified as clients of planning, recent planning documents and papers were researched and reviewed. These writings were studied with concern for the following contentions: first, women have been viewed as clients of planning only in regard to their family functions of mother and housewife; second, women of today have many additional roles outside of their homes and *families; and third, traditional* approaches to planning have intensified the problems of women rather

than assisting them in their expanding roles.

Planning literature, however, lacked the research necessary to document the second proposition. The area was lacking in any research of how women were participating as clients of planning. Therefore, a case study was conducted to evaluate the participation of women clients in one metropolitan area. The responses of a sample of women from the general population and of a sample of women city appointees were studied in regard to the following contentions: first, women are not equally represented on city-appointed development boards; second, women are stereotyped and placed on development boards dealing primarily with the social area of development; third, single women, young women, and minority women tend to be under-represented among women on development boards; fourth, women who do serve on development boards do not always have effective roles; fifth, women appointees have not recognized how development decisions affect the lives of women; sixth, women themselves question the contributions they can make outside of their traditional roles in social development activities; and seventh, the voluntary associations in which women hold membership tend to limit their involvement in development activities to the social area of development.

To examine these contentions two separate questionnares were developed. The first, in the form of a mailed questionnaire, was administered to a sample of 135 women of the general population of Topeka. The second, in the form of personal interviews, was administered to a sample of thirteen women who serve as city appointees to Topeka development boards.

In general, the results of the questionnaires tended to support

the previously stated contentions. As was predicted, females were far from equally represented on Topeka development boards. Furthermore, women who were represented were concentrated on social development boards. Although women were under-represented in every area of development boards than served on physical and economic development boards. When the characteristics of the women board appointees were examined, it was shown that young women, single women, and minority women were under-represented among such women. Minority women and older unmarried women did have some representation; however, this was not true of young, single women, who were not present on boards. Evidence was not conclusive concerning the effectiveness of female appointees. Although they considered themselves effective, they were unsure of their influence on the board. Perhaps the most important finding of the study, was the lack of consciousness among the appointees on women's issues. In fact, they objected to any special consideration of women in development decisions. The belief that women were not qualified to serve in development areas other than social development was most apparent in the sample of women from the general population. There were also some indications that this attitude existed among the appointees. Finally, it was found that the sample of appointees were much more active in physical and economic development through voluntary associations; their participation in such activities was primarily in civic groups. A much smaller proportion of the general sample belonged to civic organizations; the largest numbers of women of the general sample belonged to church or school related organizations, and their involvement in development activities was primarily in social service activities.

Based upon the findings of this study, it was concluded that

any efforts to encourage the participation of women as clients of planning would require more than the appointment of more women to development boards. Planners must educate women about how planning programs and policies affect their lives, and convince them that their contribution to such decisions are important and worthwhile.