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Gender and integrated area development projects: lessons from Cato Manor, Durban

Gender and Integrated Area Development Projects: Lessons from Cato Manor, Durban

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Abstract

The paper examines whether integrated area development projects are particularly well placed to recognize the complexity and diversity of gender relations and provide important space for gender sensitive planning and practice. It recounts the case of the Cato Manor project in Durban, South Africa where, despite no explicit focus on gender in design, practices were remarkably consistent with the prescriptions of the urban gender planning literature. It is argued that a multi-sectoral and integrated approach offers space for innovation and close attention to local dynamics. Hence despite a disjuncture between planning and implementation, a nuanced gender aware approach emerged. There were also limitations and these are highlighted, recognizing feminist critiques of area-based development that show gender-aware practice is not automatic. In the case of Cato Manor, it depended on facilitative political and policy conditions, politically empowered and organized women and gender-aware professionals. Nevertheless, the area-based focus of the project was also helpful.

Abbreviated article title: Gender and Integrated Area Development Projects

Introduction

In recent years, interest in integrated area development (IAD) has grown. This interest is particularly evident in Europe but IAD is also becoming important elsewhere, as more holistic forms of urban development planning become popular (Odendaal et al, 2002). It is increasingly favoured as a response to social exclusion and economic restructuring and as a form of 'joined up governance' and 'development in the round' (Turok, 1999), enabling multi-dimensional approaches to development needs in particular areas. While the limited feminist literature on IAD suggests that practice has not been sufficiently gender aware (Brownill, 2000; Brownill and Darke, 1998), integrated area development projects (IADPs) offer a potentially important space for gender sensitive planning and practice.

In spheres such as housing and settlement planning, feminist urban specialists have for some time emphasised a multi-sectoral approach to development responsive to women (Moser and Peake, 1987). While this early feminist literature was important in drawing attention to women's neglect in urban policy and planning, the more recent recognition of diversity amongst women (Beall, 1997) and the variability and complexity of integrating gender (Jackson and Pearson, 1998) demands a more nuanced approach to incorporating gender in urban development. IADP could contribute to this by facilitating a closer reading of gender relations, beyond simplistic dichotomies between the differential needs of women and men.

This paper explores this proposition through an examination of the case of the Cato Manor Development Project (CMDP) in Durban, South Africa. The CMDP is seen as an exemplary project and has been recognised as a 'best practice' by the United Nations agency UN-Habitat. It was one of the first 'Special Integrated Presidential

Projects' of the post-apartheid era, beginning as an infrastructure led development project, providing an integrated physical environment including a major residential component, but later shifting to a greater emphasis on social and economic dimensions. Tables One immediately below provides a chronology of the project. Table Two, which can be found together with the conclusion, provides a summary of its successes and failures.

Table One: Chronology of Cato Manor Development Project		
Phase of Project	**Time Period**	**Main Activities**
Forum and establishment of CMDA	1990-1993	Greater Cato Manor Representative Forum established. Development of a vision and policy framework. Negotiations around land. Cato Manor Development Association established.
Securing the preconditions for development	1994-7	Plans and policies formulated. Land assembled, invasions and land claims addressed. Law and order established. Public investment mobilised
Delivery at scale	1997-2002	Rapid delivery of infrastructure, housing and facilities. Greater emphasis on social social and economic programmes from 1999/2000.
Close down and hand over to local government	2003-	

Source: Foster and Robinson (2002); CMDA (2003).

Although project design and documentation did not include an explicit focus on gender, in implementation it came remarkably close to the prescriptions of the urban gender planning literature (Moser, 1993; Moser and Peake, 1987). Project outcomes benefited women in several ways, even if the de facto approach to needs identification and gender relations was somewhat essentialist. The national political climate in South Africa at the time, local politics and history, as well as gender awareness or activism on the part of some CMDP officers were important factors influencing the practices that emerged (Beall and Todes, 2003). However, the IAD focus of the project was also significant. Particular lessons for future area-based initiatives can be drawn from the multi-sectoral approach, the attention to integrated development, the space offered for innovation, the link between planning and implementation, the close attention paid to local dynamics, alongside systematic attention to gender as a critical dimension in local social relations.

The paper is structured in three parts. The first section provides an overview of IAD, explores links to feminist prescriptions for development projects, and considers the limits and potentials of IAD from this perspective. The second section critically

examines the case of the CMDP considering the genesis and evolution of the project, the approach to gender, and some of its achievements and limitations from this perspective. The paper concludes by assessing the space that IAD can provide for achieving more gender aware development, and some of the necessary conditions under which such development might occur.

Integrated Area Development and Gender

The term 'integrated area development' includes a wide range of practices, occurring through quite varied institutional forms. For the purposes of this paper, it refers to area-based development within urban areas, although the scale might vary considerably. IAD is not new, but new forms are emerging, and interest in it is growing. In general terms, there has been a shift from predominantly physical development projects, to a greater focus on economic and social programmes and, to a somewhat lesser extent, sustainability (Odendaal et al, 2002).

Earlier forms of IAD were dominated by integrated physical development approaches, such as the New Towns and informal upgrading schemes from the 1970s (Van der Hoff and Steinberg, 1993). This approach is still common and in some respects was the initial basis for the Cato Manor project. Here, 'integration' referred to the integration of various aspects of physical development in a single project and the planning of environments to include the range of required land uses, services and facilities. These developments were frequently undertaken through special agencies with the agility and capacity to move beyond departmental silos.

In the 1970s, the World Bank under McNamara promoted multi-sectoral projects linked to the delivery of basic needs in developing countries but by the 1980s, this emphasis was displaced by the urban management approach, on the grounds that projects were fragmented and did little to address the dysfunctional management of cities (Devas, 1993). Yet projects and IAD remain important as a consequence of current development emphases. Within housing and upgrading, attention to creating 'whole' environments, the use of participatory approaches, and the growing attention to community development and poverty alleviation, has meant that projects allow for a broadening of the sectoral base to include social and economic development. Examples include Rio de Janiero's Favela-Barrio upgrading project (Pamuk and Cavilieri, 1998; Riley et al, 2001) and DFID funded slum improvement projects in India (Amis, 2001). The later phases of the Cato Manor project were influenced by this approach.

Odendaal et al (2002) argue that UN-Habitat's emphasis on community based planning and Local Agenda 21's focus on sustainable communities reinforced new forms of IAD. Although many of these initiatives occur at neighbourhood level, through local partnerships or organisations they are sometimes linked into national or citywide programmes.

In Europe and the USA IAD has most often been used to respond to areas of economic decline or poverty within cities. The earlier 1950s urban renewal programmes were often based on physical redevelopment of areas by special agencies, a variant of which is still evident for example in docklands redevelopments. Strategies to respond to social exclusion and the persistence of concentrated poverty

in poor neighbourhoods included physical dimensions as well as other elements such as efforts to combat crime, community empowerment, social support, education, and job training. Although the efficacy of these approaches and the way they have been conceptualised were extensively criticised (Anderson, 2001; Modarres, 2001), growing urban inequalities over the past two decades have underpinned new emphasis on and approaches to IAD. Nevertheless, there is ongoing debate over the usefulness of area-based development for addressing poverty (Smith, 1999).

Current approaches are more broadly based than before. For instance, Turok (1999) outlines five main approaches to urban regeneration: business development, human resource development, physical business infrastructure, neighbourhood development, and the social economy. There is also a greater emphasis on local community and stakeholder involvement, on the development of local integrated strategies, and on linking up levels of government and agencies within in an area (Boyle and Eisenger, 2001; Modarres, 2001). In addition to the growing mainstream emphasis on IAD, some authors (Moulaert, 2001) posit IAD as an alternative form of economic development to flagship projects, based on an engagement with local histories, dynamics, needs and potentials.

The growth of IAD in recent years also reflects the search for new forms of governance (Odendaal et al, 2002). Area based initiatives are seen as offering the opportunity for more responsive, flexible, integrated, innovative and strategically focused forms of government, with the capacity to relate to community stakeholders. At least in recent forms of IAD, community participation is emphasised, and it is argued that the place-specific focus on IAD lends itself to good links with local organisations. Indeed, IAD is sometimes seen as a way of building up a sense of citizenship and of extending democratisation (Chipkin, 2000) although its efficacy depends on the nature of the area, its organisations and the communities involved (Beall et al, 2002). It is clear that IAD involves a very wide range of practices, intentions and institutional forms, reflecting different histories and purposes. The focus of this paper is largely on integrated area projects run by special agencies although lessons might have broader relevance.

The literature on gender and urban development has long emphasised the holistic nature of women's experience in the city, and the need to think in an interlinked way about women's disadvantage in terms of access to appropriate housing, employment, transport and so on (Greed, 1994; OECD, 1995; Little, 1994). Similarly in the context of housing and settlement planning in developing countries, feminist authors have emphasised the importance of creating convenient 'whole' environments, containing a range of services and facilities, but also offering local opportunities for employment and income generation (Beall, 1996; Ndinda, 2001). The inclusion of social development within human settlements planning has also emerged strongly from feminist urban specialists who generally favour a multi-sectoral approach (Beall, 1997).

Notwithstanding this orientation, the rather limited literature on gender and IAD, which largely focuses on urban regeneration in the UK, is highly critical of dominant practice (Brownill, 2000; Brownill and Darke, 1998, Alsop et al, 2001). Although regeneration is now more holistic, including a strong emphasis on social development, authors argue that explicit gender analysis and monitoring is rare and that the needs of

diverse groups of women are not being addressed. Participation by women is variable and even where women dominate in numbers, they are not necessarily able to achieve 'voice' due to power relations within institutions set up around IAD. While women may represent 'communities' the private and public sectors are often male dominant in representation (Brownill, 2000). The strategic focus, and the emphasis on targets and outputs also seem to encourage a 'macho' ethos, particularly in areas involving major industrial redevelopment.

Although much of the experience of IAD in relation to gender has been disappointing, IADPs can potentially offer opportunities for gender sensitive practice. The literature on gender and development has moved away from a dichotomised and essentialist reading of gender roles, to appreciate the diversity of women's position, the embeddedness of gender relations within broader social relations, and the need to look at men as well as women (Jackson and Pearson, 1998). This requires a complex reading of social relations and dynamics in particular contexts – beyond simplistic assumptions about the needs and interests of women and men. IAD can be an important space for developing sensitive and nuanced practice. Its multi-sectoral approach allows for a wide-ranging and open-ended definition of appropriate interventions. The space for innovation enabled by dedicated units also offers the potential for the development of programmes that are tailored to local needs and dynamics. Further, the close link between communities and project staff, the ability to understand the specificity of social relations within particular contexts and the possibility of a 'hands on' approach that is flexible and responsive to change can facilitate a more nuanced approach to gender planning. These are important advantages, particularly in view of the growing literature demonstrating the unintended and sometimes counterproductive consequences of gender policy and planning (Mukhopadhyay, 2003; Woodford Berger, 2003).   The question then, is why this potential is not regularly realised?

The development literature has shown the experience of integrating a feminist perspective internationally to be difficult and disappointing (Beall, 1998) raising doubts as to whether a purely technocratic approach can be effective. Clearly the issue of scale is important. Even in the case of IADPs gender integration is difficult to achieve where the 'area' is enormous or where the focus is necessarily on large-scale economic activity. There are likely to be other significant conditions as well. The South African experience suggests the importance of a facilitative political and policy environment, relatively empowered women's organisations (Beall, 2001) as well as gender awareness and a social justice approach amongst project staff (Beall and Todes, 2003). It is with this in mind that we turn to the experience of the Cato Manor Development Project (CMDP), and explore the way the integrated area base of the project, along with facilitative conditions, enabled gender aware practices to emerge, despite the absence of an explicit focus on gender.

The Cato Manor Development Project

The CMDP is an urban restructuring project some seven kilometres from the city centre of Durban, on a rare 'well-located' large parcel of land. Aimed at providing housing and an integrated urban environment for a largely low-income black population, it was seen as a strategic and highly visible project aimed at redressing some of the spatial divides created under apartheid. Established in 1993 with

considerable political support, the project had to respond to a series of challenges as well as to a rapidly shifting social landscape. A difficult history, together with the participatory style of planning, meant that the project staff had to be aware of and respond to complex social dynamics. In the post-war era Cato Manor had housed low-income Indian South Africans and their African tenants. Under apartheid legislation it was subsequently zoned as 'white' and some 200,000 black people were relocated to distant peripheral townships. Before these forced removals in the early 1960s, the area was home to powerful women's organisations which emerged to challenge apartheid influx control laws and subsequent relocations (Edwards, 1996). This history was encountered by the CMDP as it was later invoked to organise women towards development in the area.

FIGURE ONE ABOUT HERE (Caption to be found at end)

Much of the land remained vacant for years until squatters invaded it in the late 1980s when apartheid controls on settlement were breaking down (Makhathini, 1992; Hindson and Byerley, 1993). The decline of the apartheid state also gave space for the establishment of inclusive local forums, negotiating the development of cities in the early 1990s. The Greater Cato Manor Development Forum (GCMDF) was established in 1990 and by 1992 had developed an integrated planning framework in the area. The Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA) was established in 1993 as a development vehicle of the forum, at a time when local government lacked legitimacy. The project was seen as one of the key symbolic urban reconstruction projects, planned to house some 180 000 people. It received funding from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) after liberation in 1994, from various government departments and from the European Union in 1995.

Notwithstanding this support, in the early years CMDA was forced to respond to a series of challenges: from neighbouring middle-class communities threatened by desegregation, local government concerned that IAD would drain resources from metropolitan level investment and redistribution and from relocated Indian owners keen to reclaim their land. The CMDA also had to deal with successive waves of land invasions, complex local politics and rising crime within the area (Hindson et al, 2003). This meant that formal social analysis – including gender analysis – was neglected. However, it also meant that the project closely monitored developments on the ground. Consequently from early on consultative strategies were developed. Nevertheless, by the mid-1990s Cato Manor was an area characterised by turmoil. Some 14 868 squatters had moved in by 1994 and while there was undoubtedly an element of opportunism, many were escaping political conflicts elsewhere, associated with the end of apartheid (Hindson and Byerley, 1992). Nearly half of households (48%) were headed by women, many of whom had lost husbands during violence. Young, unemployed single people also formed a large proportion of in-migrants (Makhathini and Xaba, 1995). Thus, in contrast to the expectations of the initial plan, which saw the area as accommodating a range of income groups, migrants were largely poor and unemployed.

High levels of crime and violence abounded, linked to political conflict, social fragmentation and the absence of established social organisation. Rival groups of taxi-owners contested new routes and gang-like violence emerged between groups of unemployed youth. Crime was a critical issue from a gender perspective. For

example, rape was a frequent occurrence but while women were largely victims of crime, a few were also perpetrators (Beall and Todes, 2003). A Crime Prevention Strategy was initiated by CMDA in this period to respond to crime and violence and women played key roles in formulating and implementing it. They benefited enormously although levels of rape remain higher than in other parts of the city (Peterson et al, 2003).

Hence, women were not passive in the Cato Manor context. A set of powerful women leaders, linked to political structures, was on the board of the CMDA and played key roles in the representative community structures that were set up. They had been central to land invasions and some were involved in informal land markets. These women did articulate women's interests, and were not easily intimidated. Yet gender relations were not simple. For example, of the two ward councillors in Cato Manor, the male councillor in the longer established part of the area was seen as 'softer' and more open than the more strident woman councillor representing the newly establishing area. However, committees in his area were also more likely to be run by men.

Community representative structures set up by the CMDP tended to be dominated by political parties, ensuring good representation of women since there was political commitment to a form of quotas for women. However, it also meant that women's organisations outside of this net were excluded and some gate keeping occurred. Aware of these dynamics, the CMDA set up broader communication strategies to reach community members directly, including a community newspaper, mass meetings (attended predominantly by women) and localised participation around particular projects and issues. The CMDA also attempted to facilitate women's participation through the times at which meetings were held and by offering transport home to ensure safety. Women played an active role in committees and were sometimes dominant in numbers (an estimated 40% of development committee members comprised women overall). Men's participation was often erratic and women did much of the work. Ironically, however, women often put men forward as leaders, reflecting more general patterns of deference or strategy (Ndinda, 2001).

As a consequence of a prolonged period of contestation throughout the early years, delivery only began in 1997. Apart from the crime prevention strategy, the initial focus of the project was on physical development – on the delivery of infrastructure, housing, services, and facilities. At this stage, as has often been the case elsewhere, little direct attention was given to women or gender issues in either the project documents or in the collection of data for performance monitoring. Nevertheless, there was an implicit view that women were the centre and stable base of the community - reflecting continued social fragmentation in the area even as greater stability began to emerge - and should therefore be the focus of the development initiative. Although this reflected a rather instrumental and stereotyped view of gender, it was consistent with the assumptions of the powerful women in the community and not inconsistent with the counsel of gender planning. In addition, it was responsive to the demography of the local community, with its continuing high proportion of women headed households (44% by 2000) and transient men.

In the realm of physical planning men and women were present in equal numbers in the consultation processes that occurred around projects and women were vocal in this

process. The settlement was designed to offer full services (water borne sewerage, water inside the house, electricity), a range of social facilities (schools, libraries, community centres, pre-schools, sports fields, clinic) and access to employment and commercial services in the area through frequent public transport, all of which assisted women in their daily lives. Careful attention was given to safety in the design of layouts, public spaces and public buildings. Planners tried to put in place small, local parks that were accessible and could be closely monitored. Street lighting was developed as a priority. Moreover, planners and architects consulted on design and were responsive. For instance, while planners favoured the idea of a pre-school overlooking a park, the community development manager argued that it would make children vulnerable to men who might expose themselves, so the facility was reoriented. Several pre-school facilities were established (such facilities are not provided by government in South Africa) and a training programme was set in place to facilitate their operation, although the need to recover costs has meant that they are under used.

Despite sensitive planning the environment that has emerged in Cato Manor falls short of the CMDA's intended ideal. Informal settlements continued to grow, with many households still living in areas that are being upgraded. A mixed income settlement did not materialise and the environment of the uniformly low-income settlement is less convenient and less well served than anticipated. Commercial activities are of a lower order and fewer than expected, formal employment is limited and transport is less frequent than intended (Dewar and Kaplan, 2002). Nevertheless, no constraints have been placed on home working and some 14% of households run a business (mostly from home) and 60% of these are owned by women (Delca, 2002).

Practices in housing have also benefited women. Formal housing delivered in the area either reflected the gender distribution of households or exceeded it. Women own title to 50% of the low-income housing and 45% of higher income mortgaged housing (12% is in joint ownership). The significantly high proportion of women owners reflects efforts by both the women leadership and the CMDA, who attempted between them to ensure that the house was registered in the name of the functional head of household. This practice arose directly from observation of local social dynamics and awareness of gender relations. For instance, the CMDA staff cited cases where common law wives and children were thrown out by relatives of men who died from AIDS, or where previous wives were evicted when men found a new partner. The only social housing project in Cato Manor, the Shayamoya Project, was constructed by a non-governmental organisation. It specifically targets women and some 62% of households are women headed – well above the target of 45%. It also gives tenure rights to all household members, protecting the rights of children of deceased leaseholders and conducts workshops with users around the law pertaining to leasing, to ensure that they understand it.

FIGURE TWO ABOUT HERE (Caption to be found at end)

While women have clearly benefited from the physical development aspects of the project, the shift towards a more integrated, multi-sectoral approach that includes social and economic projects has been critical in extending these benefits. This shift also drew the organisation towards awareness of the need to deepen understandings of social and gender dynamics and to focus to a greater extent on community

development. A local economic development programme was initiated in 1999. Conceived as a 'ladder' it had interventions ranging from community development and co-operatives at the bottom, through to middle level strategies such as support to small business and, at the top, industrial and retail infrastructure and promotion. In terms of investment, emphasis was placed on the middle level. There were various limitations to this model from a gender perspective although women have benefited. In financial terms investment was towards the middle, with less attention being given to the 'bottom' end of the ladder where women are major participants (Nel et al, 2002). However, women have benefited from the 'softer' training and support programmes if not so much from the more expensive infrastructure programmes.

One limitation of the economic and social programmes is that women and men participate largely along traditional gender lines. The failure to think about gender in an explicit way in this case meant that little was done to transcend the gender division of labour. Thus, contrary to project expectations, some 92% of job placements went to men, largely because the bulk of placements were in construction and women were not trained in this field, even though the incorporation of women in construction employment is a key recommendation of gender planning (Moser and Peake, 1987). Ironically, CMDA did have an informal policy to favour women contractors but the response by contractors was to use women as fronts.

A co-operative programme works with existing informal savings clubs. The intention here was to strengthen them in order to develop the social economy. Most of the co-operatives established have developed from savings clubs and are assisted in business skills and towards improving the viability of their operation. Gender issues are integrated into training, for instance around organisational development. Co-operatives have developed in urban agriculture, commercial cleaning, crafts, block making, chemicals production, cultural pursuits (with an eye to tourism), training, health care, and traditional medicine. For the most part, the CMDA has avoided traditional women's activities such as sewing where it is difficult to compete with established markets. Nevertheless, many co-operative activities are just helping women to survive, rather than giving them a secure business future. Arguably, this is legitimate given high levels of unemployment in the area and the fact that men cornered job opportunities.

FIGURE THREE ABOUT HERE (Caption to be found at end)

The Economic Life Skills programme, which provides training in basic economic knowledge and the Home Ownership Education programme, have both been critical gender interventions although the absence of male participants is a concern. Both programmes are run by a gender activist and have important empowerment dimensions, including leadership training and capacity building. Topics discussed include, for example, inheritance practices where alternative options to simply passing everything on to the oldest son are debated.

Several of the social and economic programmes were very new in the context of South African local government, which had little prior capacity in the area of social development. The establishment of the CMDA as an autonomous dedicated unit with its own funding gave it the space to innovate. Special funding enabled it to carry the transaction costs of developing new approaches and programmes and to paying

attention to the detail of implementation. The tight link between planning and implementation allowed it to respond to a changing context and to local social and gender dynamics. CMDA as an organisation operated in a relatively integrated way, with strong sense of overall direction and of the links between different programmes. As a small organisation (about 30 staff) with considerable space for creativity, it attracted strong and dedicated personnel, many of whom came from an activist background and were committed to social justice. Several staff members were aware of gender issues and one was explicitly feminist. The organisation gave space to a consideration of gender as part of the social issues it took up, although some were critical of the lack of a specific gender focus across the wider CMDP.

As CMDA shifted towards a greater emphasis on social and economic development, the value of a deeper community development approach began to be recognised. In part due to high levels of criminality in the early years, but also because it was conceived as a physical development project, the extent of grassroots participation was initially limited to consultation around particular initiatives. With this change in approach, the importance of a stronger understanding of social and household dynamics, including gender, began to be acknowledged. Some in the organisation argued that if the project had started with a gender analysis, it might have moved more quickly towards effective and coterminous community development. Nevertheless, the importance of basic infrastructure for both women and men should be acknowledged and in a context where the new government itself was heavily focused on delivery.

It is clear that the CMDA did not venture far enough into social development, especially when compared to many European IAD initiatives. Although the area has stabilised to a degree and a level of community cohesion is beginning to emerge, Peterson et al (2003) argue that it is still characterised by significant social fragmentation and disintegration, and an ethos of distrust. High levels of rape and HIV/AIDS accompany these conditions. They suggest that a sustained integrated area approach could do much to link together the various health and social development agencies operating in the area towards more mutually supportive practices, in addition to providing a base for identifying and initiating key social projects. Hence while the CMDA initiated many innovative approaches, it might have gone a lot further before it came to its recent and, some would argue, premature end. The integrated area approach would have remained invaluable in this context.

Conclusion

The CMDP was by no means without faults of omission and commission in its efforts to incorporate gender awareness into IAD. The absence of a gender analysis made it difficult to monitor progress and as a result, understandings of gender dynamics were weaker than they might have been. A rather stereotyped and essentialist understanding of gender responsibilities and relationships was in operation and so traditional gender divides were reinforced and perpetuated in various ways. A stronger gender analysis might also have led to a more nuanced approach to community development, linking together various agencies in the area and dealing more directly with gender-based power relations within the community. The evident need to develop strategies to incorporate men into development might have emerged more readily in this context.

Nevertheless, significant benefits to women were delivered, even given the fluid and contested terrain on which the CMDA had to operate.

An obvious question though is that of sustainability. The programme is currently being shut down, and component parts are being incorporated into local government competencies and initiatives. The CMDA did provide a range of housing, services, income-generating opportunities and training that was of benefit to both women and men in the area. However, it seems unlikely that the important social and economic development aspects will be carried through, or that the potential to deepen community development will be fulfilled. While the initial exit strategy envisaged a continued social and economic project management unit operating on an integrated area basis, the present local government body responsible for the area has not accepted this.

Notwithstanding its relatively short life and limitations, the experience of CMDP does suggest that IAD - and specifically projects run through a dedicated unit - provides an interesting and inviting space for developing more nuanced approaches to gender aware planning than those suggested by the more simplistic prescriptions of early gender planning and top-down approaches to mainstreaming gender. The spatial confines of the project make it easier to understand changing local contexts and to grasp the complexity of social relations on the ground. We have demonstrated some of the ways in which the CMDP was able to do this, while acknowledging it could have taken things further. The advantage of a grounded approach is the ability to move beyond project checklists on the one hand and essentialist assumptions about gender roles and relations on the other. These quickly lose salience in the field where more complex gender dynamics become evident. In one sense, the CMDA staff remained quite essentialist in their outlook. However, they became acutely aware that assumptions that women are powerless victims did not necessarily hold, and acted accordingly.

The creation of a dedicated and autonomous project management unit in Cato Manor was important in providing space for innovation and for drawing in committed and creative staff wanting to explore new development approaches. However, that it remained perpetually outside of local government structures and in some senses in competition with them has implications for sustainability. It means that to date many of the lessons learned in relation to gender and social development have not permeated local government thinking at all and may well die with the project. The multi-sectoral potential of IAD may serve to counteract this possibility as projects such as the CMDP deal with different aspects of 'everyday life' in ways that are passed on, through staff and consultants moving on, political and consultative processes and dissemination. Moreover, in 2000, South Africa initiated a new urban renewal programme for a selection of problem areas within major cities and in 2002, the eThekwini Council (the local government for the Greater Durban area) initiated five pilot area based development programmes, at least some of which may take lessons from Cato Manor.

Table Two: The Cato Manor Development Project: Summary of Goals, Successes and Failures		
Goals	**Successes**	**Failures**
Provide affordable housing in an inner-city location for 30-40 000 households	Rapid delivery of infrastructure, and comparatively rapid delivery of housing Provided access for very low-income households, and range of household types, including social housing.	Lower numbers of households accommodated than anticipated, and slower delivery of housing than expected (4184 units by mid 2002).
Contribute to restructuring the city towards compaction and integration	Development of well-located land for low-income groups	Limited integration with adjacent middle-income area. Limited mix in terms of incomes and race. Lower density than intended.
Multi-sectoral offering a convenient environment, a range of services, facilities and offering economic opportunities	Extensive provision of parks, sports facilities, child care facilities, schools, libraries, health centers, community halls and libraries. 5118 m2 office /retail /service floor area developed. Skills programmes benefit: 517 emerging businesses 1000 from economic life skills 4500 from home ownership education 1347 job placements 16 coops started	Low density reduces level of convenience, and levels of public transport that can be supported. Lower level of economic activity within the area than anticipated, and limited interest by the private sector.
Holistic development based on participatory approach	Development committees set up in all areas and linked to the project. Local participatory processes around all developments.	Project missed a deeper community development approach. Only limited attention to social development.

Source: Foster and Robinson (2002); CMDA (2003).

There are other limits to IAD. As experience elsewhere has shown, there is no guarantee that gender will be considered and the importance of the wider political and policy environment on gender in South Africa at the time of the CMDP must be acknowledged. Even in this context when IAD is oriented to large-scale economic development through area redevelopment and/or inward investment it is frequently dominated by both a goal-oriented masculinist discourse and by a partial set of concerns, as Brownill (2000) demonstrates for the UK. Hence, the scale of operation needs to be small enough to enable real engagement with local communities. By

2003, the population of Cato Manor had risen to 90 000, but within a relatively small area, thus allowing an engaged approach. Some of the new area-based development programmes being undertaken by the eThekwini Council are very large in terms of physical area and population, raising questions as to whether the potential benefits of IAD will be lost in this context. Moreover, IADs cannot be seen in isolation but need to be viewed as 'nodes' within broader city development strategies.

Despite these limitations, IAD offers interesting possibilities to integrate gender in locally appropriate and meaningful ways, although IAD is unlikely to have these consequences automatically. The Cato Manor story demonstrates the importance of facilitative policy conditions, politically empowered and organised women and gender aware professionals. Explicit consideration of gender is also important because without it the issues do not reach the agenda, not least because of the variability of local political conditions (Beall and Todes, 2003). However, neither gender planning nor IAD can remain technocratic processes, since engaging with gender relations is ultimately a profoundly political process.

Acknowledgements

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Captions

Figure One: Map of Cato Manor within Greater Durban.

Figure Two: Arial photograph showing the different areas and some of the projects within Cato Manor and its proximity to central Durban. Copyright Cato Manor Development Association.

Figure Three: Shayamoya Social Housing Project.

Figure Four: Woman Member of Urban Agriculture Cooperative

Figure 5: The Cato Manor Development Project: Summary of its Chronology, Goals, Successes and Failures

Chronology		
Phase	Time	Main Activities
Forum and establishment of CMDA	1990-1993	Greater Cato Manor Representative Forum established. Development of a vision and policy framework. Negotiations around land. Cato Manor Development Association established.
Securing the preconditions for development	1994-7	Plans and policies formulated. Land assembled, invasions and land claims addressed. Law and order established. Public investment mobilised
Delivery at scale	1997-2002	Rapid delivery of infrastructure, housing and facilities. Greater emphasis on social social and economic programmes from 1999/2000.
Close down and hand over to local government	2003-	
Goals	**Successes**	**Failures**
Provide affordable housing in an inner-city location for 30-40 000 households	Rapid delivery of infrastructure, and comparatively rapid delivery of housing Provided access for very low-income households, and range of household types, including social housing.	Lower numbers of households accommodated than anticipated, and slower delivery of housing than expected (4184 units by mid 2002).
Contribute to restructuring the city towards compaction and integration	Development of well-located land for low-income groups	Limited integration with adjacent middle-income area. Limited mix in terms of incomes and race. Lower density than intended.
Multi-sectoral offering a convenient environment, a range of services, facilities and offering economic opportunities	Extensive provision of parks, sports facilities, child care facilities, schools, libraries, health centers, community halls and libraries. 5118 m2 office /retail /service floor area developed. Skills programmes benefit: 517 emerging businesses 1000 from economic life skills 4500 from home ownership education 1347 job placements 16 coops started	Low density reduces level of convenience, and levels of public transport that can be supported. Lower level of economic activity within the area than anticipated, and limited interest by the private sector.
Holistic development based	Development committees set	Project missed a deeper

on participatory approach	up in all areas and linked to the project. Local participatory processes around all developments.	community development approach. Only limited attention to social development.

Figure 5: The Cato Manor Development Project: Summary of its Chronology, Goals, Successes and Failures

Source: Foster and Robinson (2002); CMDA (2003).